

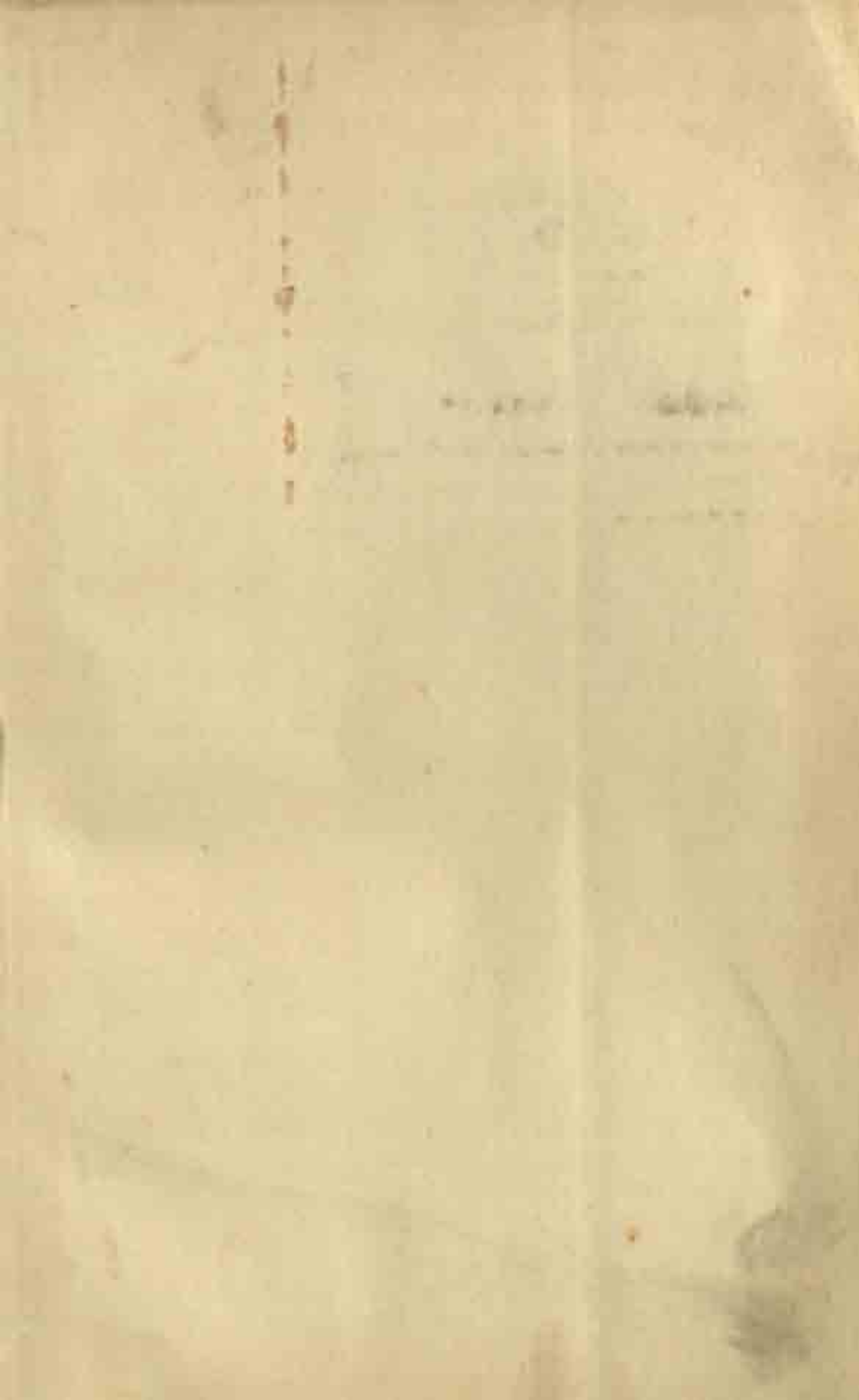
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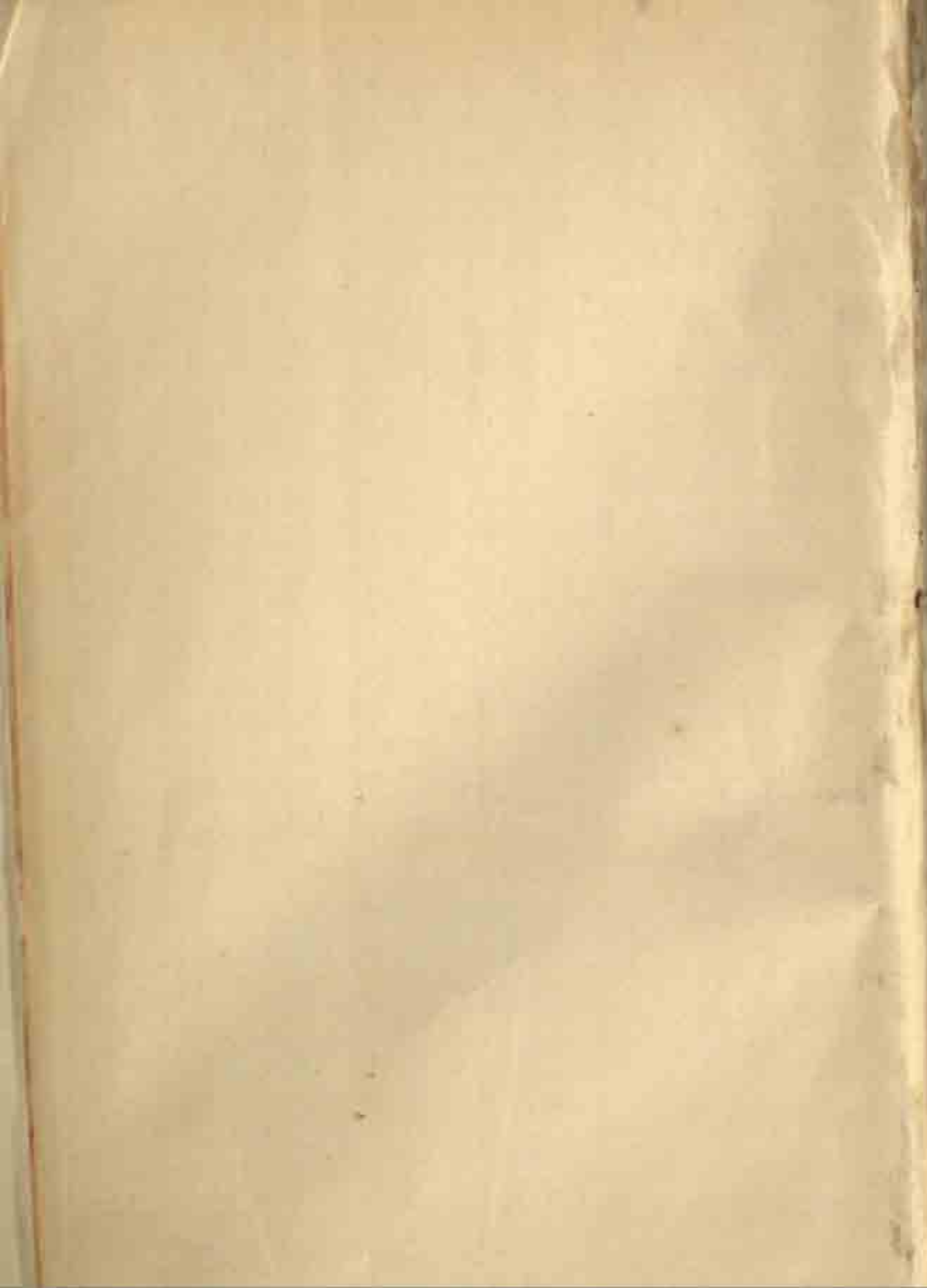
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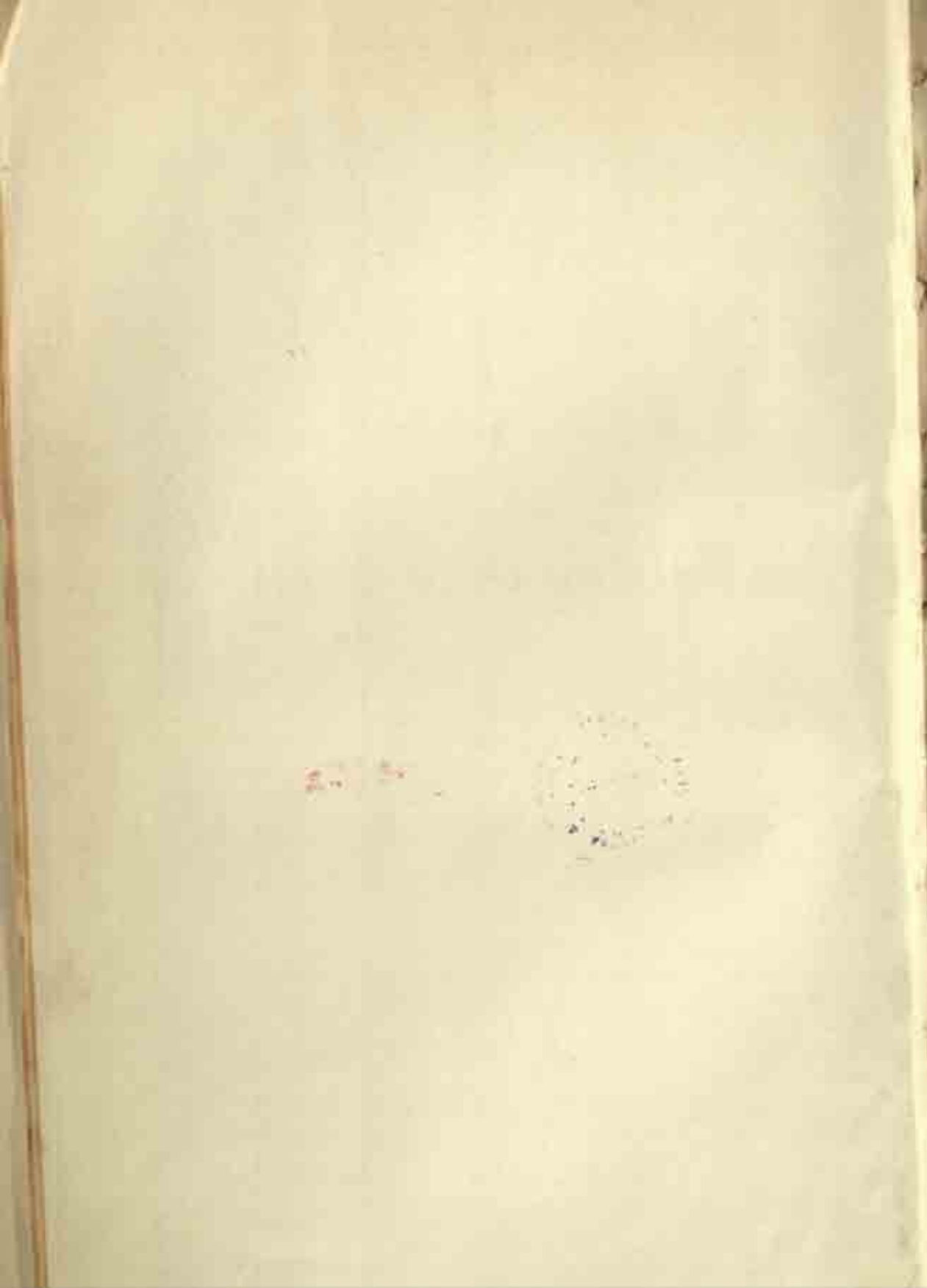
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THE
ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLĀM



THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM

A DICTIONARY OF THE GEOGRAPHY,
ETHNOGRAPHY AND BIOGRAPHY OF THE
MUHAMMADAN PEOPLES

PREPARED BY A NUMBER OF LEADING ORIENTALISTS

EDITED BY

M. TH. HOUTSMA, A. J. WENSINCK

H. A. R. GIBB, W. HEFFENING and E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL



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E.I.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

- P. 15^b, l. 5, read: Nr. 24 and 31, instead of Nov. 24 and 31.
P. 18^a, l. 32, read: 1894, Nr. 1, instead of Nov. 1, 1894.
P. 38^a, l. 4 from beneath: the words "The *Ashtin*... and" are to be cancelled.
P. 74^b, l. 23, instead of 1385, to be read 1386.
P. 88^b, l. 30, instead of Nov. 2, to be read: Sept. 3.
P. 109^b, l. 3, read: 637, instead of 630 (Feb. 2, 1222).
l. 49, 64, instead of Nāblin, to be read Nāblus.
P. 112^a, l. 46, 69, instead of v., to be read iv.
P. 203^a, l. 23, 26, 37, instead of Kalfa, to be read Kaifa.
P. 231^b, l. 42, to be added: or *istuturva*.
P. 253^a, l. 9, instead of 275, to be read 255.
l. 62, instead of l.v., to be read *della nascita*.
P. 256^a, l. 53 and 59, read: third, instead of second.
P. 272^a, l. 46, instead of Khalīfān, to be read Khalīkān.
P. 308^a, l. 28, read: two, instead of a.
P. 308^b, addition of the author to the art. *SHAMMAR*. Palgrave may be relied on for the main facts. He certainly went to Shammar, Kaysin and Riyāḍ; Daughly was convinced of this. He is untrustworthy in details: He sketched in times, distances, incidents very imperfectly remembered. (Kindly communicated by Dr. D. G. Hogarth).
Art. *SHATTARIVA*. Cf. further: Muḥammad Ghoshī b. Ḥamū b. Mūsā Shattārī, *Gulzar-i Ahrār*, Cod. Calc., especially fol. 22 vvv.; *Ethi. Cat. Pers. MSS. India Office*, No. 1915; *Iwanow, Cat. Pers. MSS. A.S.B.*, No. 1303; *Go., Carson Coll.*, No. 434.
P. 344^b, l. 8, instead of Constantine, read: Constantinus.
P. 330^a, l. 53, 56, instead of Dörenbourg, to be read Dörenbourg.
P. 389^a, Art. *SUR-ŪY*. The last sentence is to be read as follows: In the year 1300 of the era of the Seleucids (989 A.D.), according to al-Būnī, the stars of the 9th and 10th stations set on the 3rd of Shubāḥ, those of the 23rd and 24th rose on the 16th of that month.
P. 414^b, l. 5, instead of 434, to be read: 454.
P. 506^b, l. 10, Add: The place occurs on a map by Rawlinson, in *J. R. G. S.*, x, (1841).
l. 8 beneath, insert: According to H. Bell (cf. his *The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment*, London 1926, p. 52, note) *sur* is derived from Syriac *šwr*, also found in the forms *šwrā* and *šwra*, which is used in the sense of "writing", especially "a portion of scripture".
P. 612^b, l. 38, instead of: naïveté of his language, when expressing terror, read: naïveté of his dialectal language.
P. 636^a, l. 5, instead of *Muhāḡirah*, to be read *Muhāḡaru*.
P. 660^a, l. 2, instead of 1101, to be read 1099.
P. 679^b, l. 44, instead of Kal'ūn, to be read Kal'ūn.
P. 689^a, l. 18, instead of Černyav, to be read: Černyev.
P. 735^a, Art. *THA'AL*. To be added: cf. Ign. Krachkovsky, *Le manuscrit du "kitāb al-muḡāḡal" de Tā'āl au Musée Arabe (Comptes Rendus de l'Ac. des sciences de l'U. R. S. S., 1930, p. 211—217)*.
P. 804^b, l. 62, instead of *Origine*, to be read *Origine*.
P. 855^b, l. 45, instead of Chat and Ghadames, read: el-Baskut and Fohrut and an important rectification of the frontier in the region of Chat and Ghadames.
P. 885^a, l. 9, instead of *Uḡūd*, to be read: *Uḡūd*.
l. 40, instead of *Mohammadan*, to be read: *Mohammaden*.
P. 976^a, l. 42, instead of Nāḥ I, to be read Naḡr b. Aḡmad.
P. 980^a, to the first alinea to be added: The building of the monument of Firdaws has been taken in hand by the Committee for the Preservation of National Monuments (*Angjman-i Sāḡh-e millī*).
P. 987^b, l. 28, instead of Aḡwas, read: Aḡwas.
P. 988^b, l. 7, instead of 326, read: 282.
P. 990^a, l. 17, add: Siamondi (1815), Fauriel (1846), von Schack (1865), Burdach (1918), Sliger, Asia (1919) and Nykl (1931) have made enquiries into the possibilities of contact between Orient and Occident regarding this point.
l. 58, add: Finally the 'adhr love became an abstract idea of beauty.
l. 60 *sq.*, read: Zahrī, *Kitāb al-Zahrā*; extracts have appeared in my *Recueil de textes inédits* (Paris 1929), p. 232—240; the text will be edited by Nykl, who has also translated the *Tamāḡ* of Ibn Ḥam (The Dove's Neck-ring, Paris 1931).

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

- P. 994^a, l. 45, to be read: Umayyad period, Creswell thinks that it was rebuilt by the 'Abbasid prince 'Isa b. Mūsā; this would lead to its identification with East Maškūl, which was one of the last stations of Husayn before Karbalā' (cf. my *Mission*, I, 27, vol. 2).
- P. 1048^a, l. 35, instead of Sallier, to be read: Sallier.
l. 37, after "by", insert: G. K. Potter (London 1929, following Dershowitz and Schamann) and by.
l. 60, read: many, instead of any.
l. 65, to be added: cf. *al-Muḥṭaṭṭif*, xxxiv. (1908), p. 308 ap.
- P. 1049^b, l. 3, instead of Sallier, to be read: Sallier.
l. 9, to be added: and Ph. Hitti, in *R. A. A. D.*, x. (1930), p. 543—545, 592—603.
l. 52, instead of 1200, read: 1136^b.
- P. 1052^b, l. 52, to be added: a Waḳūf-Me'sūf Direction ("Waḳūfko-menitihā direksija").
- P. 1063, Art. 'Uḫayr. To be added to the *Bibliography*: Joshua Finkel, in *Muslims in Persia*, Princeton 1933, p. 162.
- P. 1177^a, art. Yūḫūk, *Bibliography*. To be added: *Türkmen 'Ağrıları*, ed. by the General Direction of the affairs of the nomads and the emigrants, Istanbul 1334 (by *نصرت قزاقچیس*), with the addition: "translated from German", esp. p. 33—45 and p. 175—184. Ahmet Reşit, *Anadolu'da Türk Ağrıları* (1906—1200), Istanbul 1930 (contains several documents concerning the Turkish nomadic tribes in the period between 1550 and 1786); Ali Rıza, *Çengizli Türkmen Oymakları*, I, Istanbul 1931—1932 (review by F. Kowalewski, in *Archiv Orientalni*, vi. 296—304); E. M. Hoppe, *Die Yuraks*, in *J. E. A. S.*, 1933, p. 25—28; vols. ii. and iii. of the work of Ali Rıza have been published at Ankara in 1933; they contain further interesting discussions and photographs regarding the Yuraks. (F. RAHAKIAROVIC).
- P. 1183^a, l. 22, to be read as follows: and Zāḫag are ruled by the same king. Ḳāḳū b. Tūḫān, d. in 907, mentions etc.;
l. 7 *ad infra*, in stead of Samatrabāḫmī, read: Samatrabāḫmī.
- P. 1183^b, l. 24, in stead of *Wai*, read: *wai*;
l. 32, in stead of eastern, read: western;
l. 35, to be added: G. Condes, *Les inscriptions malaises de Srīngga*, *Bull. de l'Éc. franç. de l'Extrême-Orient*, xxx, 1930, p. 337—380; G. Perroud, *Quatre textes épigraphiques de Sumatra et de Bangka*, *J. A.*, 1932, p. 271—326 and the literature cited there.
l. 37, in stead of Malayu, read: Malayu;
- P. 1213^b, *Bibliography*. To be added: Malatī (d. 377 = 987), *Kiṣṣ al-Tamīh wa 'l-Ḥādī*, Mr. Dāmascus (private copy. Makes the chief of the Z. & Zaidī, a political opponent of the *sayyids* and the Arabs); Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, *Ḥārūf Naḥṣ al-Balāḡa*, Cairo, n. d., II, 316—362. — The Shā'fī author Ahmad b. al-Mu'allī 'Amrī, from Barra, has written a *Kiṣṣ al-Ḥādī* *Ḥārūf al-Zawāḡ*, which is lost (Astarābādī, *Mawṣūf al-Maṣṣaf*, 10th Tehran 1306, p. 30). The orthodox Shā'fī emphasise, as an apocalyptic coincidence, the *subtle* of this rebel and the *ḡāḡa* of their mahdī (Ibn Zaynab Na'mānī, *Kiṣṣ al-Ḥādī*, 10th Teheran, p. 73—75).

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an account is given by Taḥī al-Dīn in a work composed in 1552/3. The clocks of King Alfonso of Castile owe their perfection to Moorish skill.

Bibliography: E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge SBPMS Erg.*, iii. (1905), p. 255, v. (1905), p. 408, vi. (1906), p. 11, x. (1906), p. 348, xii. (1907), p. 200, xxxiv. (1914), p. 17, lix. (1918/19), p. 272; E. Wiedemann and F. Hauser, *Über die Uhren im Bereich der islamischen Kultur, Nova Acta*, vol. c, No. 5 (Halle 1915); do., *Uhr des Archimedes, Nova Acta*, vol. ciii, No. 2; E. von Bassermann-Jordan, *Die Geschichte der Zeitmessung und der Uhren*. (J. Ruska)

SĀ'ĀDA (A.) felicity, good fortune. The root *s-ā-d* and some of its derivatives is associated in various connections with pre-Islamic Arab conceptions. Its general meaning is given as 'auspicious, fortunate (*y-m-a*, opposite *n-f-s*)'. The proper name Sa'd (feminine Sa'da, see the article SĀ'D) may therefore be synonymous with Hebrew names like Benjamin and Gad. Sa'd is also found as the name of a god; Welhausen (*Reise arabischen Heidentums*, p. 65) suggests that al-Sa'da (a house round which the Arabs used to run) was originally an epithet of al-'Uzzā. Sa'd followed by the genitive also often occurs as the name of a star (cf. also the articles SĀ'D, AL-SĀ'DĀN) and as the name of a tribe.

The form *Sa'da* in the *talbiya* formula (which is especially used on the Ḥajj) but also in the *salāt*, see the article TALBIYA) may be very closely connected with the root meaning (= *y-m-a*); cf., however, the Arabic dictionaries under *s-ā-d*.

Sa'ada (also with a following noun in apposition, in the proper name Sa'adat 'Alī Khān; see this article) seems to be a specifically Muslim term (opposite: *shāghira*). It is not found in the Korān; in Ḥadīth it has an eschatological colouring (cf. *yawm al-sa'ada*, day of the resurrection, Dozy, *Supplément*, s. v.), especially in connection with predestination. It is said, for example, that the people of *sa'ada* are helped by God towards works of *sa'ada* (al-Bukhārī, *Ḍifa'at*, bāb 83; Muslim, *Kutub*, trad. 6; al-Tirmidhī, *Kutub*, bāb 3). As a result of a development of a train of thought common to monotheistic religions, the word in the combination *ahl-al-Sa'ada* = the Muslims (cf. Dozy, *op. cit.*) assumes a less exclusive meaning. In court language it means majesty, highness and *Dār al-S* court (Dozy s. v.). *Der-i Sa'adat* is a name for Constantinople and *Sa'adat* a title in the Turkish official hierarchy.

Bibliography in the article itself.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

SĀ'ĀDAT 'ALĪ KHĀN, Nawāb of Oudh (q. v.), from 1795 to 1814; on the death of his brother, Asaf al-Dawla, in September 1797, a reputed son, Wazīr 'Alī Khān, who had been purchased by the late Nawāb but never formally adopted, had been appointed to succeed, but four months later he was set aside as incompetent, and the British Governor-General, Sir John Shore, installed in his place Sa'adat 'Alī Khān, who had been living under British protection in Benares since 1776. His reign is noteworthy for the extension of British control over the Oudh territories. A treaty concluded with the late Nawāb in 1775 had placed these territories under the protection of the East India Company, which undertook to provide troops for their defence in return for an annual subsidy; in 1798, a fresh

treaty increased the subsidy to 76 lakhs a year and transferred the fort of Allahābad to the Company as an arsenal, the Company undertaking to maintain a body of 10,000 men for the defence of the Nawāb's dominions both against internal and external enemies. The mutinous behaviour of the Nawāb's troops prompted the new Governor-General, the Marquis Wellesley (1798—1805), to propose that this useless and dangerous force, which Sa'adat 'Alī Khān had himself declared would be useful only to the enemy, should be disbanded and replaced by the Company's troops. Alarmed by the dangers that threatened his person, Sa'adat 'Alī Khān was at first eager for this reform, but afterwards refused his consent, and only in 1801 yielded to pressure and signed the Treaty of Lucknow; this relieved him from all pecuniary obligations to the Company, by the cession of six districts yielding a revenue equal to the cost of the Company's troops, and the Nawāb undertook to introduce into his territories a system of administration conducive to the prosperity of his subjects and calculated to check the ruin that threatened the resources of his country. He carried out his promise so effectually as to leave behind him the reputation of having been the wisest and strongest administrator that Oudh had ever known. He died in 1814 and was succeeded by his second son, Ghāfī al-Dīn Haider.

Bibliography: Sayyid Ghulām 'Alī, *Imād al-Sa'adat*, p. 169—174 (Lucknow 1897); Dargā Prāsād, *Bihār-i-Awāl*, p. 99—109 (with portrait; Lucknow 1892); Sir C. U. Aitchison, *Collection of Treaties relating to India*, I, p. 118—137 (Calcutta 1909); Sir John Malcolm, *The Political History of India from 1784 to 1823*, I, p. 170—177, 273—283 (London 1826); *A Selection from the Despatches of the Marquis Wellesley*, ed. by S. J. Owen, p. 188—207 (Oxford 1877); H. C. Irwin, *The Garden of India, or chapters on Oudh history and affairs*, p. 100—111 (London 1880). The following sources appear to be still unpublished: Harukh Rāe, *Mudim al-Akhbar* (Brit. Mus., Or. 1624); Muḥammad Muḥtashim Khān, *Tārīkh-i-Muḥtashim* (Bankipore Public Library, No. 605).

SAB', SAB'A, the number seven, which has a special significance for Muslims as for other — Semitic and non-Semitic — peoples. The preference for this number in various conceptions and actions goes back in part to borrowing from Jews, Christians and other peoples but in part was already indigenous among the pre-Muhammadan Arabs. The latter is doubtless true of the sevenfold (*taḥaf*) around the Ka'ba, the sevenfold course between al-Sāfa and al-Marwa (cf. SĀ'Ā) and the sevenfold casting of stones at the Ḥajj (see TAMARA I 1012 *sq.*). Another series of these beliefs is connected with peculiarly Muslim customs and views. As early as the Korān we find mention of the seven Mithān (iv. 87), which expression is usually referred to the *faṭiha*, which consists of seven verses (cf. A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?*, p. 58). The Muslim community bases its right to acknowledge various lections of the sacred text of the Korān on one (of many) explanations of the tradition, that the Korān was revealed in seven *ahruf* (Bukhārī, *Al-kunūṭ*, bāb 4; *Faḍl al-Korān*, bāb 4, 27; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Muḥḥarir*, trad. 270—274; Abu Dāūd, *Witr*, bāb 22; Nasā'i, *Iftikhār* bāb

37 etc.; cf. Goldäher, *Die Richtigungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden 1920, p. 37 sqq.). In matters relating to ritual purity the figure three has as a rule the preference (cf. THALMUTH). We are only told that soiled vessels should be cleansed seven times (e. g. Muslim, *Tuhāra*, trad. 89—93; Abū Da'ūd, *Tuhāra*, bāb 37). Ritual prostration should take place on seven parts of the body (Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 133, 134, 137, 138; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad. 227; Abū Da'ūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 150 etc.). In another case seven alternates with four, namely in the grouping of commands and prohibitions (Bukhārī, *al-Maḥallim wa'l-Ghadāb*, bāb 5; Muslim, *Libās*, trad. 3 etc.; cf. Bukhārī, *Tuhāra*, bāb 40; *Ḥaḍ*, bāb 26, etc.); in the dating of the *Lailat al-Qadr* seven is found as well as the, in this case much more frequent, numeral ten (Bukhārī, *Lailat al-Qadr*, bāb 2).

On the Christian model the deadly sins are limited to seven (Bukhārī, *Waḍ'iyā*, bāb 23; *Ḥudūd*, bāb 44; Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 144); but other classifications are also found.

In cosmology also the number seven is a favourite, one which may be partly due to borrowing. There are seven heavens and seven earths (*Sūra* ii. 27; Bukhārī, *Bad' al-Khalq*, bāb 2). Hell has seven gates (*Sūra* xv. 44); Medina also ultimately has seven gates (Bukhārī, *Fitan*, bāb 26). Cf. further the article SAB'YA. The number seven is particularly frequent in medicine and magic. Water was poured over the sick Muhammad in seven waterskins (Bukhārī, *Wuḍū'*, bāb 145); ulcerated parts of the body are cauterised seven times (Bukhārī, *Tamannā*, bāb 6). In Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du nord* (Algiers 1909), p. 154, there is an account of a *ḡadūal* consisting of 7×7 squares, of which the upper row contains the "seven seals". In the same work the text of the amulet of the *saḥ'a 'ahūd* is given (p. 112). Cf. further the same book, p. 91, 100, 118.

Numbers like seventy (*saḥ'ana*), seven hundred, etc. have also a special significance. Earthly fire is described as one seventieth part of hell-fire in strength (Bukhārī, *Bad' al-Khalq*, bāb 10). The sweat of the children of men on the Day of Resurrection will percolate seventy ells into the earth (Bukhārī, *Riḥāḥ*, bāb 47). When a sevenfold *istighfār* is mentioned, we are probably to assume New Testament influence in this case (*Sūra* ix. 81). Seventy thousand members of Muhammad's *Umma* will go straight to Paradise without a day of reckoning (*ḥisāb*; Bukhārī, *Bad' al-Khalq*, bāb 8; Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 316; Tirmidhī, *Ḥiyāma*, bāb 12, 16); seventy thousand will enter with radiant countenance (Bukhārī, *Libās*, bāb 18; *Riḥāḥ*, bāb 50, 51; Muslim, *Ḍiyāna*, trad. 14—17); seventy thousand through the intercession of a member of the community (*Dārīmī*, *Riḥāḥ*, bāb 87); seventy thousand in Paradise will be given the appendage to the liver of the fish to eat (Bukhārī, *Riḥāḥ*, bāb 44; Muslim, *Ṣifāt al-Murāḥḡin*, trad. 30). The *Bait al-Ma'mūr* is entered daily by seventy thousand angels, who never return there again (Bukhārī, *Manāḡib al-Anṣār*, bāb 42).

We may safely assume that the number seven was regarded as a rounded whole; but it is going too far, following out this conception, to try to derive with Hehn the root *s-b* and its equivalents in other Semitic languages from the root *ṣ-b* (work quoted below, p. 91 sqq.).

Bibliography: J. Hehn, *Siebenzahl und Sabbat bei den Babyloniern und im alten Testament* (Leipzig. Semit. Stud., ii. 5, Leipzig 1907) (A. J. WENSTEDT).

SABA¹, the name of the people and kingdom in South-western Arabia in the first millennium B.C., frequently mentioned in the Old Testament, in Greek, Roman and Arabic literature and especially in the South Arabian inscriptions; the old Arabic sources, which are mainly inscriptions, and isolated references in Greek sources, give us further information regarding the history of Saba¹ in the first centuries A. D. down to the period of Muhammad. In Assyrian, on the evidence of the cuneiform inscriptions down to the eighth century, *Sab'u* was the name of a country, as was *Shab(a)* (also *Shabt(1)*, *Shabo*) in the hieroglyphic texts, although of a comparatively late date. In the Bible, *Saba* was the name of a people and country and in the South Arabian inscriptions also *Saba*¹ means the land or kingdom and people (which is in keeping with the Sabaeen constitution).

The oldest known literary references to Saba¹ are, of course, the Semitic, especially those in the cuneiform inscriptions. While the oldest certain mentions only date from the eighth century, historical documents from Mesopotamia of a much earlier period seem to refer to Saba¹. For example *Sabu* in a Sumerian inscription of Aradnannar, Patesi of Lagash, a contemporary of the last kings of Ur, of the second half of the third millennium B.C., is perhaps a name for the "land of the Sabaeans". Hommel (in Hilprecht's *Explorations in Bible Lands*, Philadelphia 1903, p. 739) speaks of *Sabum* of the time of the kings of Ur (after 2500 B. C.) as the *Saba* of the Old Testament ("in Central Arabia"); on this see also *Die altisraelitische Überlieferung*, Munich 1897, p. 37). In the inscriptional narratives of the campaign of Tiglat-Pileser III (745—727) against North Arabia, among the tribes who offered their submission we find Sabaeans mentioned, the oldest certain reference for this people. Sargon II (722—705) in his Annals (for the year 715) mentions the Arabs of the desert dwelling afar off, the Queen Samst of Aribi already mentioned in the narrative of Tiglat-Pileser just quoted and the Sabaeen Itamar, who along with others brought rich gifts of tribute (gold, frankincense, jewels, etc.). With the latter name Lenormant compared Itamar, the name, known from inscriptions, of several rulers of the oldest period of Saba¹. Schrader's *Keilschriften und das Alte Testament*¹ (henceforth quoted as *K. A. T.*, p. 55) and Kiepert's (*Lehrb. d. alten Geogr.*, p. 187) suggestion that the reference here is not to the South Arabian Saba¹ has been rejected by D. H. Müller (*Burgen und Schlösser Südarabien*, ii. (1881), p. 989 (do. in *Sabäische Denkmäler*, 1883, p. 108 against Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* Leipzig 1881, p. 303, who sought to locate the Sab'u of Sargon's inscriptions in North Arabia; cf. Winckler in the *M. V. A. G.*, 1898, p. 18; but see also W. M. Müller, *Studien z. Vorderasiatischen Geschichte*, *ibid.*, p. 36); Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte u. Geographie Arabiens*, ii. Berlin 1890, p. 263 and Grimme (*Mohammed*, Munich 1904, p. 18) from the fact that the tribute consisted of regular South Arabian products deduced that even in Tiglat-Pileser's time, as in Sargon's, the Sabaeans were South Arabians;

others have more recently been inclined again to transfer It'amar's abode to North Arabia (cf. M. Hartmann, *Die arabische Frage in Der islamische Orient*, li. Berlin 1909, p. 131, 458).

From Sprenger's point of view, who maintained it to be certain that Arabia was the original home of the Semites (*Leben und Lehre des Mohammed*, i. Berlin 1869, p. 241 sq. and *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, p. 293 sq.; following him Schrader, *Z. D. M. G.*, xxvii. 421 and other notable authorities), which is still the view most generally held (cf. E. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altertums*, p. 2, p. 386 sq.), one can understand his untenable suggestion that the Sabaeans and the Minaeans came from Hadramūt and that the kingdom of Saba² was founded from Shabwat (*Geogr.*, p. 162, 230, 246, 248, 301). More recently Winckler (e.g. *K. A. T.*, 1903, p. 7, 11, 136 sq., 156; *Die Völker Vorderasiens in Der Alte Orient*, i. 2, 1, 10) and Weber (*Arabien vor dem Islam*, p. 3 sq.; *Westasien in Helmholtz's Weltgeschichte*, iii. 3, 5, 220, 225) have categorically declared Arabia to be the original home of the Semites. Hommel (*Grundr. der Geogr. u. Geschichte der alten Orient*, i. Munich 1904, p. 10 sq., 24, 80, 132) more cautiously sees in Eastern Arabia (including Chaldaea) at least the last starting point for the migration of all the Western Semites. Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 93 sqq. has adopted a decided position against this theory of the original home. There are well-founded reasons against believing that Arabia should be regarded as the cradle of all Semitic peoples. Even with this hypothesis and the assumption of an Arab migration based upon it (see most recently *Westasien*, p. 226, but also the admission there p. 242) the relation between Arabia and Babylonia does not become absolutely clear. The reverse is really more probable, that the superfluous population of the fertile Euphrates region was forced towards Arabia, in the first place to the pasturelands bordering it on the west, from which Semites naturally found their way back from time to time. In spite of Nöldeke's arguments (*Die semitischen Sprachen*, Leipzig 1899, p. 11) it is as little probable that North Africa is the home of the Semites (so again Grimm, *op. cit.*, p. 6 sq., 9 and other writers) or that there was a south-northward tendency in the immigration of the Sabaeans towards Africa. On the contrary there are indications, according to Gaidi's view (*Della sede primitiva dei popoli semitici*, in the *Atti della R. Accad. dei Lincei*, 1879), which is defended by Jacob (*Altarab. Studien*, Berlin 1897, p. 28 sq.), that the southern Euphrates territory was the oldest known home of the Semites, from which in the course of centuries migrations took place towards west and south. The way in which Arabia was peopled from there cannot, of course, be more definitely ascertained. Probably the Semites did not penetrate into Arabia by a single route but by two main routes; the one, which may have been taken by the tribes out of whom rose the Minaeans and Sabaeans of the historical period, seems to have led through the arable lands along the west coast to the south, somewhat on the line of the later caravan route, and the other along the western shore of the Persian Gulf to Oman and Hadramūt, roughly in the direction of the later eastern frankincense route. The Sabaeans, or their mother-stock, would naturally keep to the west and south coast regions, which offered the most suitable areas for

settlement on account of their good soil and water-supply. According to Hommel, the Sabaeans probably first entered South Arabia from Djof in North Arabia in the eighth century B. C. (see *Grundriss*, p. 142).

The Old Testament (Gen., x. 7, 1 Chr., i. 9) calls *Sheba* the eponym of the land and people of South Arabia, the first son of Ra'mā, therefore a Kshite, but in Gen., x. 28 (1 Chr., i. 22) he is called a son of Yokhān and in Gen., xxi. 3 (1 Chr., i. 32) a son of Yokhān, son of Abraham. These are not, however, references to three different Shebas: a people with such extensive trading connections had obviously intermarried a good deal with neighbours on the sea, on the caravan routes or in the stations and could therefore easily be given different genealogical classifications (Dillmann on Gen., x. 7). According to some, *Sheba* is originally identical with *Saba* and only dialectically differentiated from it to distinguish the African Sabaeans (e.g. v. Krenner, *Die indarabische Sage*, Leipzig 1866, p. 110 sq.; D. H. Müller in the tenth edition of Gesenius's *Hebr. Wörterb.*).

The etymology of the name Saba² is not certain (on the best known attempts to explain it, — those of Krenner, Hommel, D. H. Müller and Glaser — as well as on other points see my more comprehensive treatment of the subject in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll's *Realencycl. der klass. Altertumswiss.*, s. v. *Saba*, henceforth quoted as *R. E.*, col. 1499. —

The Bible shows that the Sabaeans supplied Syria and Egypt with spices, especially with frankincense, and also exported gold and jewels thither (cf. Psalm, lxxii. 15; Ezek., xxvii. 22; Isaiah, lx. 6; Jerem., vi. 20) and the Greek and Roman accounts (see below) agree with this. Other Biblical passages, which describe the Sabaeans as a wealthy trading people — the essential feature of the Biblical account of Saba² — are Ezek., xxxviii. 13; Ps., lxxii. 10; Job, vi. 19 (referring to Sabaean caravans), i. 13 (where the Sabaeans appear plundering in North Arabia; according to D. H. Müller, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1889, article *Yemen*, p. 738, colonists or caravans, which occasionally combined robbery with trading, at any rate according to a good source (*K. A. T.*, p. 150, and the story is not a bold poetic fiction, as W. M. Müller, *Studien*, p. 36, note 1 suggests); according to Winckler, *op. cit.* (cf. Hommel, *Explorations*, p. 748), in the passage in Job the Sabaeans are thought of as Beduins of the North Arabian desert). Joel, iii. 8, mentions the Sabaeans as "a people far off" to whom the sons and daughters of Tyre and Sidon will be sold by Judah (cf. the mention of sacred slaves, e.g. from Gaza in South Arabian inscriptions; see Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 421). — To appreciate properly the much discussed story of the Queen of Sheba (1 Kings, x. 1, 4, 10, 13; cf. 2 Chron., ix. 1 sq., 9, 12), who is said to have visited Solomon, it is decisive that all that we know of Saba² and Ma'in contradicts the supposition that there were queens there (*K. A. T.*, p. 237). In any case we are not to see in the story evidence of the existence of the rule of queens in Saba², in which Glaser still believed (*op. cit.*, p. 380, 384 sq., 403); also E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, i. 2, p. 23, still less a support for the assumption that the oldest Sabaean inscriptions belong to the ixth or xth century, or that in the time of Solomon there was only one great land of the Sabaeans stretching far to the north (Gla-

ver, *op. cit.*, p. 403). Nor have we to identify in the Sabaean princess a queen of Yathib, the alleged ancestral home of the Sabaeans (Hommel, *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen*, henceforth quoted as *A.A.*, p. 231, note 1, 235, note 1, 272, 312 sq. and Weber, *Studien*, i. 32), but in all probability we have simply in the guise of fiction a memory of the existence of queens in North Arabia, of whom for example those of Arībi are known from history to have existed. The motif has also found a place among the Arabs (in Kor'an xxvii. 16 sq.) and has been developed in the legend of Bilqīs [q. v.], 'Queen of Saba'.

Next in chronological order come the references to Saba' in Greek and Roman literature. In the former the oldest is Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.*, ix. 4, 2, a much discussed passage of great importance for history and topography, in which (on good authorities, perhaps even Androstenes) Saba' and three other South Arabian kingdoms are quoted as the place of origin of spices. In the sentence *γίνεται δ' αἰθάνος καὶ ἡ σάββα καὶ κάρια καὶ ἐν τῇ νοτιοανατολικῇ ἐν τῇ τῷ Ἀράβῳ χωρίῳ ἐπὶ τῇ Σαβᾷ καὶ Ἀδράμουτα καὶ Κερίβαν* (var. *Κατάβαν*) καὶ Μανιά (var. *Μάιν*), Σαβᾷ does not mean, as many think, a town (namely Σαβᾷ, the capital of the Sabaeans), but the land of Saba', just as Ἀδράμουτα means the land of Hadramūt (on the form of the name, the Greek representation of which has been wrongly interpreted among recent writers even by Th. Bent, *Expedition to the Hadramut in the Proc. R. Geogr. Soc.*, 1895, p. 316 and *Southern Arabia*, 1900, p. 71 sq., see *R. E.*, col. 1300) and Κερίβαν Κatabān (see the art. *ΚΑΤΑΒΑΝ*). The expression *ἐπὶ Σαβᾷ* in this passage does not mean 'around Saba'', as it has been translated e.g. by D. H. Müller, Hartmann (*op. cit.*, p. 420), and still more recently, but 'in Saba'', i. e. 'in the land of Saba'.

Theophrastus is obviously mentioning here the three well-known South Arabian territories and a fourth not so well-known, Mami, as the areas which produce frankincense (αἰθάνος, name of tree and resin, also αἰθανωτός, name of the resin, Arabic *lubān*; on the other Semitic equivalents see *R. E.*, col. 1301), myrrh (σάββα, *myrr*, etc., Arabic *myrr*, also found in inscriptions), cassia and cinnamon (κάρια: perhaps not Semitic). On wrong modern interpretations of this passage and the passage of similar content in Herodotus, iii. 107, particularly for a refutation of the utterly unfounded proposal to read in Theophrastus ΣΑΡΑ (said to be for *Shahr*, *Shahrāt*) instead of ΣΑΒΑ, and also in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xii. 52, and Solin, 710, *Sara* for *Saba*, and finally on Glaser's (*op. cit.*, p. 41 sq.) extraordinary notion that Theophrastus's statements regarding the South Arabian kingdoms refer to Somaliland in its whole extent, see *R. E.*, col. 1302 sq. Noteworthy also are Theophrastus's details (ix. 4, 2-4, 7-10) regarding frankincense and myrrh (as regards which Theophrastus's statement regarding the area which produces them is wrongly limited to Hadramūt as a result of the already mentioned misinterpretation of the passage [in the above quoted *Grundriss d. Geographie*, p. 137 and following it again quite recently], ix. 4, 5 sq.; on the Sabaeans as dwellers in a mountainous area, which yields myrrh and frankincense, and as exporters of these products; on the honesty of the Sabaeans in intercourse with one another, which rendered the watching of the spice-bearing

trees unnecessary (cf. *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, p. 32); concerning the temple of Helios, the most sacred in the land of the Sabaeans, which was used as a place for keeping the whole harvest of myrrh and frankincense, an instructive testimony to the worship of the sun among the South Arabians; for further details, as well as for information regarding the actual occurrence of these spice-trees in South Arabia see *R. E.*, col. 1307 sq. and the quotations from and collocation of the travellers' reports in A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgelände*, Vienna 1922, p. 128 sqq., 136 sqq.; lastly on the attempt to connect Saba' with the land of frankincense, Pont, see *R. E.*, col. 1312 sq.).

The next most ancient Greek authority on Saba' is contained in the much more copious statements of Eratosthenes preserved in Strabo, xvi. iv. § 2, still very important for the historical side of Sabaean studies, which in combination with the Theophrastus passage give a fairly clear picture of the oldest configuration of the South Arabian kingdoms as known to the Greeks and Europeans in general in the time of Eratosthenes. According to this authority, who, like Theophrastus, was able to make use of the results of the campaigns of Alexander as well as itineraries of sailors and caravan-travellers, there lived in South Arabia four main peoples: the *Μαῖναι* on the Red Sea with their capital *Κάτρα*, next to them the *Σαβᾶν* with their capital *Μανιά*, then the *Καταβανῶν* down to the straits and passage into the Arabian Gulf with the capital *Τάμνα*, and furthest east the *Χαβαρίτων* with their (chief) town (πόλις) *Χαβήραον*. All these towns were under absolute rulers (kings) and were prosperous. This passage (with the others in Strabo) contains the oldest known account of the respective topographical situation of the four South Arabian kingdoms with a complete list of the four principal nations and the capitals. The Sabaeans, according to Eratosthenes, were neighbours of the Minaeans (see the article *ΜΑΐΝ* for further information). It does not follow from his statement that the latter lived in the territory on the Red Sea, that he thought the Sabaeans did not also live on the sea, as Glaser (*Sitzb.*, p. 16) deduced and Weber (i. 9 in the main text) was also inclined to conclude. The correct interpretation is in agreement with the evidence of Arabic sources and of other Greek and Roman authors, for example Agatharchides (Diodorus, iii. 46) and Pliny (vi. 145) on Sabaean places on the Red Sea and the reference in Stephana Byzantinus, *Μανιά: μετρήματα Σαβαίων πρὸς τῇ ἑσπέρῃ θαλάσσῃ*, referring expressly to the passage in Strabo, in which we can still see the correct idea that Saba' stretched down to the sea. According to the description of Eratosthenes, which naturally begins with the north (this disposes of W. M. Müller's doubts, *Studien* etc., p. 36, note 2), Saba' was in his time bounded on the north by the kingdom of Ma'in, on the south (and south-west) by Katabān and by Hadramūt in the east. At that time the land of the Sabaeans stretched to the west and south coasts, as it did in the time of Pliny (vi. 154; *ad utroque maria porrectis gentibus*); only their territory on the south coast, concerning which D. H. Müller, *Burgon*, ii. 987, was rather doubtful, was larger. It apparently included the Raidān coast between Aden and Hawar (according to Glaser, p. 20). Glaser's disbelief in the statement of Theophrastus to the effect that the Sabaeans also owned a part

of the frankincense coast, was unfounded and quite wrong, as well as the alteration in the text which he proposed to suit his hypothesis in two passages in Theophrastus *Σαβαῖος* for *Σαβῆος* (Glaser, *Punt*, p. 45 sq.; cf. above). Pliny also (xii. 52), which Glaser, following Sprenger, had also to alter, repeats that the Sabaeans had possession in the frankincense region, which Sprenger himself acknowledged (*Bemerkungen* etc., *Z D M G*, xlv. 505). *Μαλαβα*, the name of the capital of the Sabaeans according to Eratosthenes and Artemidoros, reproduces the Arabic name (inscriptions Maryab, Marib, in the authors Ma'rib) as accurately as possible with the suffixed vowel *a*.

In the time of Eratosthenes, the part of the west coast south of Saba' and the most westerly part of the south coast was inhabited by the *Καταβανίται*; the eastern neighbours of the Sabaeans were the *Χατταμνίται* whom he mentions last (see *R. E.*, col. 1324 sq. and the article ΚΑΤΑΒΑΝ).

A comparison of the passage in Strabo with the list of South Arabian peoples in Theophrastus (see above) shows that three of them are mentioned by both authors, the peoples of Saba', Hadramot and Katabān, while our two authorities differ regarding the name of the fourth people, whom Theophrastus calls the *Μαμάλοι* (var. *Μάλοι*) and Strabo the *Μαίναλοι*. The assumption of a corruption in the text would easily restore perfect agreement between the two. Mordtmann for example in the *Z D M G*, xxx. 323 has explained *Μαμάλοι* as a corruption of *Μαίναλοι* and H. Müller also (*R. E.* in the articles *Arabia*, ii. 348 and *Chatramis*, where Eratosthenes is confused with Pliny, and *Anzeiger Ak. Wien*, 1909, p. 4) has assumed that the reading MAINAIA may be restored with absolute certainty for MAMAAI in Theophrastus; that is to say both authors are referring to the Minaeans. But this proposed alteration in the text, which would take the oldest mention of the Minaeans among the Greeks back to the time of Alexander the Great, need not be considered absolutely necessary (Hommel, *Grundriss*, p. 138 has also argued against it). The two Greek authors are writing from different points of view; the botanist is not so concerned as the geographer with giving a full list of South Arabian kingdoms but is only interested in those regions which yield spices. The form Mamali also finds support in the *Μαμάλοι* of Ptolemy, vi. 7, 5. Sprenger who sticks to *Μάλοι* (*op. cit.*, p. 92, 263, 266) identifies the latter without giving any evidence with Mahra (as does Hommel, *op. cit.*, p. 137: "probably the Mahra coast"). Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 420, simply takes Mali for the land of the Minaeans without giving the slightest proof.

Following the passage from Eratosthenes, we have in Strabo xvi. iv. § 5 sq. the relatively short account by a later authority, Artemidoros, of the land of the Sabaeans. The people — very fortunately (cf. Agatharchides in Photius, § 97 and K. Müller, *Geogr. Graec. Minores*, i. 186) — are called "a very powerful people" in whose land myrrh, frankincense and cinnamon grow and on the coast — a fact confirmed by modern travellers — the balsam tree also (cf. Theophrastus, iv. 4, 14 *ἀρωματικά*) and other aromatic trees and plants. Then follows information regarding the abundance of fruits in the land, regarding the capital Mariaba, laws and duties of the king, commerce and the wealth gained by the Sabaeans through trading, as well as their agriculture and other details,

which are repeated in almost the same words by Diodoros (iii. 47) from Agatharchides, who was also Artemidoros's authority — a fact which does not seem to have been appreciated in modern writers, who regard Artemidoros as an independent source. The above quoted reference to the occurrence of frankincense among the Sabaeans seems to be contradictory to Strabo's (xvi. iv. § 2) note *ἡμεῖς δὲ λιβανὸν μὴ ἐκ Καταβανίας οὐδὲν δὲ ἔχοντες*, following Eratosthenes; to remove the difficulty it has been assumed sometimes that there was confusion on the part of Eratosthenes and sometimes, as in quite recent writers, that the Katabānians had lands in the frankincense region and that there was later a change in their ownership by which part at least of Katabān passed to Saba'. However possible this may be and however little misgiving one may have about it in this case, it must also be borne in mind that Strabo's sentence cannot be taken from its context and placed in another context as an argumentum ex silentio. From the statement that Katabānia produced frankincense it does not follow that Katabānia alone produced it and that it was not found elsewhere in South Arabia. Besides the substance of Eratosthenes's remark is only found in Strabo's version.

Strabo (xvi. iv. § 23) goes on to give an account of the campaign against South Arabia of Aelius Gallus in the year 24 B. C., based on direct information; he is the earliest authority on the campaign (cf. also ii. 118, xvii. 819; Pliny, vi. 160 and Dio Cassius, liii. 29 [= Zonaras, x. 33]). The complete failure of this campaign, which was the first and most important direct contact between Rome and distant Saba' and which had been undertaken by Augustus, as Strabo tells us, in the hope of winning the wealth of the Arabs, especially of the Sabaeans, was, as Glaser (*op. cit.*, p. 45 sq.) has already emphasised in contradiction to Strabo's version, the result of the ignorance of the Romans regarding the country and people and the want of any special preparations (on the specialist literature on the subject and modern critics of the eastern policy of Augustus like Flügel, Mommsen, Winckler, Glaser, Weber, Hartmann, on the accounts of the fighting in Strabo and Pliny, the route of Gallus's march — which Sprenger for example gives wrongly — and the minor military successes of the Romans regarding which the accounts differ cf. *R. E.*, col. 1344 sq., 1380 sq.). In disagreement with the usual accounts (in d'Anville, Gibbon, Karl Müller, Sprenger, whom almost all recent writers followed, Kiepert, Mommsen, Zehme, Mordtmann, Ang. Müller, D. H. Müller, Winckler, Weber) I only mention here that the farthest point reached by the Roman expedition, which Strabo (§ 24) calls *Μαρεβάβα*, the town of the *Παυμαῖται* who were ruled by Iasaros, the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, v. 22 and Pliny vi. 160 call Mariba, was not the Sabaean capital Marib, as, following Vincent, Forbiger and Ritter, Glaser has again recently (*op. cit.*, p. 57 sq.) rightly emphasised and Landberg also, according to whom (*Arabica*, v. 82) Strabo's *Μαλαβα* (as it has generally been written since the time of v. Kremer instead of *Μαρεβάβα*, although without any justification) is undoubtedly the Maryama the ruins of which lie in the district of Baḥān al-Kuḥāb on the Wādī Baḥān (south-east of Marib; see the description in Landberg, *op. cit.*, p. 21 sq.; full information

regarding this district *ibidem*, p. 3—63; the old contrary view is still championed by Grimmer, *Mohammed*, p. 20). Glaser was, however, wrong in his attempt to locate this town exactly, which he, thinking of Caripeta in Pliny, vi. 160 which, as Fresnel had already pointed out, recalls the Arabic *Ḥarība* 'ruins', saw in the later Sabaeans capital *Ṣirwāh* (west of *Mārib*). Caripeta, however, goes back not to *Ḥarība* but to the place-name *Ḥarīb*. Much more worthy of attention is Landberg's connection of the Ramanite city, — the name of which, it is true, he wrongly reads *Mariba* and erroneously considers to be the *Mariba* Baramalacum in Pliny, vi. 157 — with the Arabic *Mariyama* and with *Marīyā* in Ptolemy, vi. 7, 33, as well as with *Mariamat* in the inscriptions, with which is to be identified the *Marīyā* of Ptolemy, vi. 7, 33, presumably the modern *Mariyama* in *Ḥaḍramūt* (not as Mordtmann-Müller, *Sabäische Denkmäler*, p. 104, thought). But he wrongly records it as a city of the *Māfirā*, the Arabic *Ma'īn* (p. 24). Landberg is wrong also in his location (in *Bahān al-Dawla*, a district south of *Bahān al-Kaḥlāb*) of the limit reached by the Roman expedition, mentioned by Dio Cassius, the name of which he wrongly (following Glaser) considered to be *Adula*, *ʿAdūla*, as the name should rather be written, is, according to D. H. Müller's suggestion, the *YṬL* (usually read *Yathil*) of the Minaean inscriptions. Mommesen wrongly (*Momumentum Ancyranum*, v. 22) found a contradiction between the statement of Augustus regarding the terminus of the campaign (*"usque in Sabaeorum fines"*) and those of Strabo and Pliny and sought to explain it by saying that Augustus was describing South Arabia with a generalising but not correct expression as the "land of the Sabaeans". The farthest point reached by the expedition was actually — as Augustus rightly says — in the land of the Sabaeans and, according to Strabo, in the land of the Ramanitai i.e. of the *Radmān* or the *Rhādāni* of Pliny, which is in agreement with the *Momumentum*. *Ilasaros*, whose name and person have been wrongly interpreted, is the *Ilharīh* *Yahdīb*, whom we know from inscriptions, regarding whose attitude to the political situation in Saba¹ during the Roman campaign Hartmann (p. 153 sq., 173 sq. etc.) has made erroneous suggestions (see *R. E.*, col. 1371 sq.).

The reports of this campaign, the military and political importance of which for the history of Saba¹ has been very much overestimated by Sprenger, Dillmann and Fabricius, brought the Roman world a better knowledge of the land and people of South Arabia — among other information a correction of the Greek statements hitherto current regarding the spices which Arabia exported. As a result of the information obtained from Gallus, Strabo (§ 24) was able to distinguish the divisions of South Arabia according to the predominant activity or quality of its inhabitants — in contrast to the earlier political division of South Arabia based on Eratosthenes (Strabo, § 2) —, a division made from the social and economic point of view which included for example the caste-system that still exists to-day in Arabia, similar to Pliny's account, vi. 161, who also relies on Gallus. Strabo goes on to deal with family life in South Arabia, including community of women, a testimony, with which passages in the inscriptions have been compared, as evidence for polyandry in Saba¹, the

occurrence of which Hartmann (*op. cit.*, p. 7) has wrongly denied; it must be granted, however, that many inscriptions, when properly interpreted, can no longer be used as evidence for the existence of polyandry.

Copious information regarding the land and the capital, the customs, mode of life and constitution of the Sabaeans and about South Arabia generally are contained in the two excerpts from Agatharchides (πρὸς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν, vol. 5, probably concluded about the year 132/1) preserved in almost identical terms in the *Bibliotheca Photius* and in Diodorus (iii. 38—48). Agatharchides was the source used by Artemidoros also. The statements regarding spices which filled the whole land with natural, pleasant odours may be compared with Herodotos, iii. 113, Pliny, xii. 86, and Wrede's report (*Reisen*, p. 80 on the *Wādī Muntash*, p. 77 on the *Djabal Sūdān*, p. 82 on the *Wādī Khilāfat*). Noteworthy also is the information he gives regarding the Sabaeans royal city *Ṣābā*, on the constitution, on the laws and duties of the kings, whose rule was hereditary in a particular family (which is confirmed by the South Arabian inscriptions), regarding customs and activities of the people, who are praised as brave soldiers, industrious tillers of the soil and traders and skilful sailors, and regarding the trade with Egypt, Syria and Phoenicia and the resultant wealth and luxury of the Sabaeans which surpassed that of all other Arabs (cf. the above mentioned statements of Strabo following Artemidoros). *Ṣābā* and *Marīyā* in Strabo, xvi. iv. § 2 (following Eratosthenes), § 19 (following Artemidoros), in Stephanus Byzantinus, s. v., as well as *Marīyā* (corrupted from *Mariyā*, according to Mordtmann) in Pliny, vi. 155 are (what Glaser, *op. cit.*, p. 58, 62, 153, 287 has not noticed) only two different names of the same town, the capital of Saba¹, *Mārib* [q. v.]. The name *Ṣābā* finds an analogy in the fact that Arab writers also sometimes call the Sabaeans capital Saba¹, e.g. al-Idrīsī, Abu 'l-Fidā², as well as Ibn Khordādhbeh and the Turks (see Mordtmann, *Sabäische Denkm.*, p. 3, note 1). The statement in Photius that the capital stood on a not high hill has been erroneously doubted by Kremer (*op. cit.*, p. 9, note 2) and confirmed by the observation of modern travellers, like Arnaud, Halévy and Glaser (Strabo's remark: "on a hill covered with trees" may be considered a sign of the decline in vegetation). — From the statement in Photius (§ 101, middle of the page) Ritter (*Erdkunde*, xii. 249), Kremer (*op. cit.*, p. 9) and Glaser, *op. cit.*, p. 10) have wrongly deduced that the Sabaeans sent out colonies or at least trading settlements into foreign lands, especially India; we are rather to understand trading voyages by sea by *πρὸς ἄλλαν* (intransitive) *ἀπὸ ἑαυτῶν*.

The literary references to Saba¹ and Arabia in general, as well as the reports of merchants and travellers, influenced the later literature of the Greeks and that of the Romans from the first century A.D. It is to them — particularly to poets of the time before the expedition of Gallus — that we owe the typical conception of the rich and fortunate Sabaeans in a remote Eldorado. I shall here pass over these references in poetic literature, as they have not the importance of independent sources and only observe that as a result of this conception of Saba¹, the chief country in Arabia, — as is intelligible with poetic lan-

guage — *Sabaicus* gradually came to be used, not with the limited application to Saba², but in the general sense of "Arabian", so that even expressions like Vergil, *Georgica*, l. 53, *males una turba Sabaci (mittunt)* ll. 117, *villis est turba virga Sabaris*, etc., are not to be used as arguments in the reconciliation of apparent differences in the nomenclature of South Arabian areas, that produced frankincense, and it cannot be deduced from them that Vergil allotted the frankincense tree to the Sabaeans alone as distinct from other South Arabians.

The amplification of the previous knowledge of the country from first-hand accounts, as a result of the Roman campaign, is also reflected in Pliny's references, which augment the extracts preserved from the older Greek writers by many details, although they are in parts confused and corrupt. The majority of the towns mentioned by him in vi. 160, which Gallus is said to have destroyed, can be proved to have existed from the South Arabian inscriptions, or from al-Hamdānī, the first author who mentions them after Pliny, or from other geographical sources. Pliny's account, based on new information regarding Arabia, which goes back to Gallus or reached Rome by other ways from time to time, is of historical importance in as much as it mentions a people, not mentioned by Strabo or Agatharchides, who produced a lasting alteration in political conditions in Saba². After giving (probably from Juba) in vi. 158 the *Homeritae* after the Minaei (Ma'in) and Rhodamnei (Badman) among the Arabian peoples, in 161 Pliny, expressly quoting the explorations of Gallus as his authority for this period, calls attention with the words *numerosissimi sunt Homeritae* to a fact which forms a turning point in the history of Saba², the rise of the Himyar (Homeritae, the *Qusairi* of the Greeks). This is the oldest reference preserved to the Himyar and their strength. At the time of Gallus, political supremacy in South Arabia was no longer in the hands of the Sabaeans under the ancient dynasty of the "Kings of Saba²", but had passed to the Himyar under rulers with the title "Kings of Saba² and Dhū Raḥḥān". The definite report of Gallus, who says that the Himyar were a predominating people in South Arabia and the legitimate conclusion that they were at this time already in possession of the hegemony, agrees at once and convincingly with Glaser's deduction (cf. *Die Arabier*, p. 31) from the inscriptions that the beginning of Himyar rule is to be placed in the second — at latest the first — century B.C., and is evidence against the attempt (made by Mordtmann, Mommsen, Hartmann and others) to shift the beginning of the Himyar period to a date after the beginning of the Christian era, nor does it even help the misadventures of others, like Krenner and D. H. Müller, to place it towards the end of the first century B.C. Glaser (*op. cit.*, p. 38) would not pronounce definitely for this date of about 70 B.C., but talks of "somewhere after 175 B.C., but certainly not after the birth of Christ" it is tempting, he says, to take 115 B.C., but there are objections (p. 31 *sq.*; so also Weber, *Arabien vor dem Islam*, p. 33; Hommel, *Geschichte des alten Morgenlandes*³ (Sammlung Göschel, Leipzig 1908, p. 148 and cf. here the article ARABIA, l. 377 *sqq.*, etc.). Sprenger's (*op. cit.*, p. 76 *sq.*, 225; Dillmann's (*op. cit.*, p. 204) and Hartmann's (*op. cit.*, p. 469,

note 1) hypotheses of the contemporaneity of and even of a causal connection between the rise of the Himyar power and the Roman campaign thus lose any basis.

A further reference to the kingdom of the Himyar is in Pliny, vi. 104, *intus oppidum, regia eius, appellatur Sapphar*, i. e. Zafar, the capital of the Himyar. We see, however, from Pliny that the Sabaeans in the time of Juba still held an important position — although they were no longer the lords of Southern Arabia — and the land ruled by them was no smaller in area than in the time of Eratosthenes. Of minor points, we shall only mention here that of Pliny's references (vi. 161) to their economic life and their wealth the expression *agrorum rigas* finds confirmation in the testimony of the inscriptions to the old irrigation works of South Arabia (wells, canals, dams and cisterns) and in the statements of al-Hamdānī regarding irrigation (see below), the mention immediately afterwards of *melis cerisque provintus* (cf. Strabo, xvi., 17, § 2) agrees with the fact that almost all the mountain regions of South Arabia are rich in honey (cf. Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 249; Glaser, *op. cit.*, p. 69 — evidence for honey and wax in the Raḥḥān district; also Landberg, *Arabica*, v. 238; Bent, *Expedition*, p. 330, *Southern Arabia*, p. 117; Harris, *A Journey*, p. 22 and other travellers' narrations; cf. the statements in al-Hamdānī, *Qasrat al-Arab*, p. 103, 105, 123, 194). The words preceding in Pliny, *silvarum fertilis odorifera* (cf. Agatharchides in Photius, § 95 and Dioscoros) refer to the Sabaean wealth in the frankincense region (Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 250), *auri metalla* to the occurrence of gold, namely in the coast regions (cf. Agatharchides, § 95, on the land of the Debai rich in gold; Strabo, xvi., iv. § 18; Pliny, vi. 150 on the *auri metalla* of the *litus Hamanum* and especially al-Hamdānī, p. 155, 177 etc. on gold mines in South Arabia and modern travellers such as Halévy and Glaser (Glaser, *op. cit.*, p. 69; Bent, p. 77) would look for the gold mines in 'Asir only or in Saao (East Somaliland), but there can be no possibility of a reference to East Africa in the Pliny passage. Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 249, would also locate the mines in the interior of the country (see further discussion below). Pliny's note (xii. 58) on the gathering of frankincense may be compared with the statements of Yāqūt (*Mu'djan*, iii. 577). Of importance for the history of civilisation also is the fact reported in xii. 54 that the collection of frankincense was considered a religious act, that only the Sabaeans as lords of the land of frankincense and with them the Minaeans were allowed to look upon the frankincense tree (whom it was being ceremonially treated), that there were said to be not more than 3,000 privileged families who claimed the hereditary right to the sole possession of frankincense trees for themselves and their descendants: *veret viciari se id nec ullo congressu seminarum fungumque, cum incidunt eas arbores aut metant, pollui*, where Sprenger (*op. cit.*, p. 92) and Glaser (*op. cit.*, p. 3; Bent, p. 44) proposed quite unjustifiable alterations in the text. *Congressus seminarum fungumque* are to the present day in Islām more or less connected with *ḥandalā* (pollution; cf. Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 219). Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 415, remarks that the passage in Pliny appears to throw some light on the aversion of the Muslims to burning fragrant spices etc. at funerals, which is dismissed

by de Goeje (*L'encensement des morts chez les anciens Arabes in Actes du 1^{er} Congrès intern. des Orientalistes*, iii, 1.), and concludes that it was forbidden in South Arabia to use frankincense in the funeral service, while nothing was known of this in North Arabia; but so early a writer as Pliny, xii, 82 talks of the *hominum etiam in morte luxuria* in Arabia Felix and modern travellers also confirm the use of incense at interments.

It is instructive for the ancient history of South Arabia that Pliny still gives for the time of Juha and Gallus the same four peoples that Eratosthenes gives as the chief peoples with a regal constitution, the Sabaei, Minaei, Catathanes and Atramentae (Charatamotitae); see the articles KATATHAN and MA'IN. The words in vi, 154, following the mention of the Sabaeni: *pars eorum* (Sabaeorum) *Atramentae quorum caput Sabota* etc., and xii, 52: *Atramentae pagus Sabaeorum in monte excelsa, a quo sita manifestibus distat regio eorum turrisera* (similarly Solin, p. 710: *Atramentae pagus Sabaeorum*, who is dependent on Pliny, a fact which Springer, *op. cit.*, p. 296 and Glaser, *Punt*, p. 47 have not recognised), show that Hadramūt in the time of Juha (not only in the first century A.D., as Glaser, *Punt*, p. 46 thought) had become a part of Saba', and that Saba' extended farther to the east, so that a change in the balance of power in South Arabia had set in while the Sabaean efforts at expansion were being continued (Beni, *Southern Arabia*, p. 49, 240, 265 and 269 speaks of ruins of Sabaean antiquity in the coast area of Zafar near Mirdā). The following words: *regia tanta omnium Marebata* (*Marebata*, see above) again emphasises Saba's suzerainty over Hadramūt and the position of Ma'rib as the capital of the whole kingdom (on erroneous alterations in the text of Pliny and Solin see above). The principal passage on the transport of frankincense is xii, 63: (*tus collectum Sabotae* *convehitur ibi decimas deo quem vocant Sabim mensura non pondere sacerdotes capiunt nec ante mercatores licet*). The frankincense was therefore bound to pass through the capital of Hadramūt, Sabota (Shalwat in the inscriptions, also mentioned by al-Hamdani, now a ruined site between Raithān and Shibām) and pay duty there. This custom of levying tolls still survives among many tribes, Glaser (*op. cit.*, p. 27) informs us. An analogy to the statement that taxes were levied on spices by the temple is quoted by D. H. Müller from the inscriptions, *Burgon*, ii, 1024, note 3 (on the inscription Halévy, *op. cit.*, p. 187); see also Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, i, 6 (on Glaser, 480 = Arnaud, 35); compare also Theophrastus's statement (ix, 4) regarding the tithes paid out of the frankincense harvest for the priests of the temple of Helios of the Sabaeni (and Landberg, *Arabia*, p. 457 on the harvest tithes to the *Magh'ibā*). The God Sabia was considered by Morinmann (*Sabäische Denkmäler*, p. 57) to be the moon-god Sin, indeed, he later regularly explained the name Sabia as Sin (*Z.D.M.G.*, xlv, 186). Quite recently the Pliny passage has been again referred to the moon-god, sometimes with proper caution, and sometimes as if it were an established fact. Not only, however, has it no connection with the moon-god, but the context of Pliny suggests that Sabia refers to Sabota; besides, Theophrastus speaks of the sun-god, from which it does not, of course, follow that

Sabia is to be identified with the sun-god, as do Ritter, Sprenger, Glaser, etc. The name also, in these identifications, would remain unexplained. Probably Sabia is a form of name which appears to have arisen neither through a misunderstanding nor through a corruption of the text, but is simply "the (Lord, God) of Sabota" (Shalwat; either *Uhu* Shalwat or regularly *'Shab(a)wi'*; cf. *R.E.*, s. v. Sabia).

It is not the above quoted mention of the Homeritae in Pliny that is to be regarded as the oldest known reference in literature to the Himyar, but the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, which is older than Pliny's work, but younger than his principal literary sources, and, indeed, as I have endeavoured to show in *R.E.*, col. 1462 ff., differing from previous dates proposed by Dillmann, Mommsen, Hartmann, Glaser etc., seems to have been composed between 40 and at latest 51 A.D., probably between 40 and 45. A light is thrown on the political situation by the statement in the *Periplus*, § 23, that Charibael, the lawful king of two peoples, the Homeritae and their neighbours, the Sabaites i. e. Sabaeans, was ruling in the capital Saphar. Saba', therefore, was under Himyarite rule at the time of the composition of the work. Saphar is Zafar (near Yarim), the capital of the "Kings of Saba' and Uhu Raidān", an identification which Landberg, *Arabica*, v, 50, could not assert. Ma'rib was no longer the royal capital. *Sabaeorum*, the Egyptian form for *Sabotae*, is also found in the Axum inscription and this too supports the emendation proposed by the editor (Fabricius, p. 60 following Salmassius). The Himyarite king Charibael is probably the Karib'il Watar Yuhā'im, King of Saba' and Uhu Raidān, known from inscriptions and coins. Hartmann's attempt to identify him (*op. cit.*, p. 154 ff., 173 ff.) collapses with his baseless premises.

A tremendous revolution in the history of Saba' took place in the period between the erection of the inscription of Adulis (*Corpus inscr. Graecae*, iii, 5127 B) in about the first third of the second century A.D., about 127, and that of the bilingual inscription of Axum of the middle of the fourth century (before 356). In the former the King of the Axumites mentions that he has waged war from Axum *ad usque* (al-Hawra') southwards as far as the land of the Sabaeans. While he was thus forced to halt in his campaign on the northern frontier of Saba', Aizanas ('Ezānā), who erected the bilingual inscription, already calls himself "King of Axum and Himyar and Saba'", etc. The most important parts of South-west Arabia had therefore been conquered by the Axumites since the beginning of the second century A.D. The doubts of Dillmann, Hartmann and others regarding the actuality of this conquest, with the inscriptional testimony for which the mention of ambassadors *ad gentem Axumitarum et Homeritarum* (Cod. Theod., xii, 12, 2) agrees, are unfounded. The fact that Himyar occurs before Saba' in the series of titles enables one to deduce that the former was the kingdom proper, beside which Saba' occupied the second place, having not yet sunk into insignificance. With the official title of the inscriptions may be compared the double title of the Himyar king in the *Periplus*.

The testimony of the Abyssinian inscriptions, that Aizanas was king of Himyar and Saba', agrees, as Glaser (*Die Abessinier*, p. 5 ff.) emphasises,

with the fact that the South Arabian inscriptions from the end of the third to the last quarter of the fourth century mention no Yemeni rulers; the latter do not appear again until 378 A.D. and then occur uninterruptedly until the first quarter of the sixth century, when (525) the Abyssinians again conquered South-west Arabia. The foundation of the power of the Axumite kingdom was an interruption of the last period of the South Arabian kingdom, from the beginning of which, about 300 A.D., the kings assumed the longer title "of Saba', Dhū Raidān and Ḥaḍramūt and Yemmal" in place of the previous title "of Saba' and Dhū Raidān".

From the statements of Ptolemy, who, apart from unimportant references, is the Greek literary source for Saba' that follows the *Monumentum adulitanum* in order of time, it may be deduced that in his map the Sabaeans (vi. 7.23) no longer occupied so large an area as they still did even in the time to which Strabo and Pliny refer, but seem to have become limited to the northern half of their former territory; the Himyarites, on the other hand, occupied a considerable part of the south coast, and other smaller peoples are also mentioned as inhabiting the South Arabian territory, which must have belonged to the Sabaeans as late as the end of the second century A.D. Quite recently the words of Ptolemy: *Καταβάναι μὲν τῆς Ἀραβίας ἐστὶν, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡμισφαιρίου τοῦ Ἀνατολικοῦ* have been erroneously interpreted to mean that after the Sabaeans the frankincense region was under the rule of the Katabānians, and further assumptions were based on the statement that Katabānians were still settled there, although an independent kingdom of Katabān then no longer existed. The lucid syntax and the linguistic practice of Ptolemy, according to which *ὑπὸ* with the accusative means "south of", "situated below", shows that it is just the reverse that is the case. Ptolemy separates geographically the frankincense region and the homes of the Katabānians. Sprenger (p. 264 etc.), from his likewise erroneous point of view, has difficulty with the statement that the Katabānians in the time of Ptolemy were "thrust out of this possession" (cf. the article KATABĀN).

In agreement with the Arabic sources, Ptolemy introduces us to a period of progressive decline of Saba'. The occasional mentions of Saba' in the Greek topographers of the first centuries A.D. are of no independent value. The name Saba' disappears from Greek and Roman literature from the end of the fourth century A.D. After this date we only have an occasional isolated reference to the Himyarites, whose name became gradually applied to the whole of South Arabia.

Only half a century ago, Sprenger (*op. cit.*, p. 236) was able to say that the Greeks and Pliny were the only sources that gave us information regarding the Sabaeans. Our knowledge of the history of ancient South Arabia which, until quite recently, could only be supplemented a little by the isolated references in the Old Testament and the quite insufficient, because utterly unhistorical, traditions of the Arabs, was increased in an extraordinary fashion by finds of inscriptions, principally in South Arabia, and the increasing progress in the study of the ancient history of the east has also thrown new light on the history of Saba'.

Yet the explorer Glaser (*op. cit.*, p. 159), famous for his epigraphical finds, does not hesitate to say that the correct interpretation of the few statements

in the classical authors is no less necessary than the elucidation of the inscriptions of Saba', and that the latter and the passages in classical writers supplement and explain one another. In any case we must not lose a sense of perspective in face of the decisive importance of the inscriptions for the study of political and cultural history; being the only direct historical source they form our most important material for research into the past of Saba' and South Arabia generally. The history of the opening of this rich and still unexhausted mine of material for research is associated with very few names. Carsten Niebuhr, a member of the expedition sent out by the Danish government in 1763, who travelled through South Arabia from Lohayya to Mokhā, Ta'izz and San'a', being more particularly engaged in geographical, ethnographical and natural history work, first reported, as the result of enquiries, the existence of old inscriptions in the ruins of Zafār (south-west of Yatta) near San'a' (*Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 94), without having seen the text itself, except for a copy of an inscription which a Dutchman had sent him; after him the first knowledge of South Arabian inscriptions was brought to Europe by Seetzen, a native of Oldenburg, who, stirred by Niebuhr's information, copied inscriptions in and around Zafār on his return from San'a' to 'Aden (1810). The copies sent by him to Europe of five short, unimportant, Sabaeans texts were published in 1811 and, though at first not understood, formed the humble beginning of the science of Sabaeans studies, the future importance of which was as yet quite unrealised. Further progress was made by Wellstedt (1834/5: discovery of the inscription of Ḥimn al-Gharab on the Ḥaḍramūt coast and of Nakab al-Ḥaḍjar), Cruttenden (1836: five short Sabaeans fragments in San'a'), both Englishmen, by Wrede (1843; but the report of his travels in Ḥaḍramawt and the copy of the Ḥaḍramawt inscription of 'Obae were only published in 1870 from his papers after his death by Maltzan) and others, among whom special mention must be made of Arnaud who in 1843 was the first European to visit Mārib and to pave the way for later more successful discoveries (ignored by Glaser, *Petermann's Mitteil.*, 1887, p. 27), and there as well as in San'a' and Sirwāh prepared copies of 56 inscriptions in all, mainly short ones. A valuable addition to our knowledge was the acquisition of inscribed stones and bronze plates from 'Amrān by Choghlan (1860). Gesenius (1841), Rödiger (1841, 1842) and Oslander (1856, 1863/4) then gained renown by deciphering and elucidating the material found. The *Eben Sifr* is only of importance as a description of Yemen; this is the Hebrew account of the travels of Jacob Saphir (I, 1861; II, 1866) who went from al-Hodaida via San'a' to 'Amrān and then back to 'Aden; the book was first made generally known through D. H. Müller (*Bergen*, i. 6 sq.) and formed a kind of guide-book for Halévy. A new epoch in the study of inscriptions is marked by the rich results of the memorable journey of Jos. Halévy, who, one may say, was the first European since Aelius Gallus to succeed (in 1869) in travelling from San'a' right up to the Wādī Naḍjān and entering the land of the South Arabian Djs, the centre of the ancient Minaean country, and visiting several very ancient Arabian sites, rich in inscriptions, which so far no other European since him has seen. The con-

crete scientific yield of this journey of exploration, not sufficiently appreciated by his immediate contemporaries, consisted of 686 copies of inscriptions of which about 50 (some 30 Minnean) were fairly long (published in the *J. A.*, 1872), the most important addition to our store of inscriptions yet made, which, marking a tremendous advance on the initial stages, helped to lay the true scientific foundation for Sabaeen research and the knowledge of the sources for the study of the ancient history of South Arabia. Some new inscriptions were made known through the journey of Captain Miles (and Werner Munzinger) in the Wādī Maifa'at (1870). The travels of Heinrich von Malzan (1870/1, in the coast regions of Yemen and Hadramawt), Millingen (1873, from al-Hodaida to San'a'), R. Manroni (1877—80, between 'Aden, San'a' and al-Hodaida), Schapira (1879, from 'Aden to San'a' and district and back to al-Hodaida) and Harris's more recent *Journey through the Yemen* (London 1893) are not of interest from the epigraphical point of view but from the geographical; Manroni's work and Malzan's later contributions are also valuable for the study of dialects. The Austrian S. Langer (1882), who sacrificed his life to the spirit of research on his epigraphical journeys from al-Hodaida first to San'a', then to 'Aden, as did Seetzen before him and Huber after him, gained copies of 22 inscriptions (Nos. 19—32 only add letters). Further details of the history of discovery in Arabia are given in Weber's monographs, *Arabien vor dem Islam*, p. 10 199. (which also contains information regarding the history of civilisation and religion, contents, alphabets and language of the inscriptions) and more especially his *Forschungsergebnisse in Sudarabien bis zum Aufsteigen Eduard Glaser (Der Alte Orient*, viii, 4, 1907) and Hommel's account in Hilprecht's *Explorationen*, p. 693 199. (see also his *Chrestomathie*, p. 63 199, with bibliography). A new era in this branch of research was introduced by the Arabian travels of the Austrian Glaser whose epigraphic discoveries (in all over 2,000 inscriptions) far surpassed all previous efforts in this field. D. H. Müller's prophecy (*Bergan*, I, 340): "There will still be courageous men, who will place themselves in the service of science and undertake the exploration of the country and collection of inscriptions", was realised in Glaser in an undreamed-of fashion. On his first three journeys alone, (1882—1884 (from al-Hodaida to San'a' and from there three tours of exploration north and west from this neighbourhood), 1885—6 (from al-Hodaida to San'a' and from there to the south-east and east as far as 'Aden; exploration of the ruins of Zafar), 1887—8 (from 'Aden to San'a' and thence to Ma'rib, where alone he copied nearly 400 inscriptions, while Arnaud and Halévy together only got 44 copies mostly of small fragments), he enriched our knowledge by some 1032 inscriptions, by sketch maps and philological observations and some 616 Arabic manuscripts. A portion of the manuscripts was published by the French Academy (*C. I. S.*, IV, i.—iii.), numerous inscribed stones (mostly Minnean) are in London, others in Berlin (published by Mordtmann in 1893). The manuscripts for the most part went to Berlin and to the British Museum (see C. Riou, *Suppl. à la Cat. of Arabic MSS. in the B. M.*, London 1894). Of his epigraphical discoveries special mention may be made of the Hadaḡān inscription, the great

Sirwāh inscription, one of the most important historical documents from South Arabia (on his fourth journey he brought back a further and perfect squeeze of it), and the two great inscriptions from Ma'rib relating to the building of the dam. His fourth journey was the most successful (1892—1894, from 'Aden to San'a', from which natives were sent out to prepare squeezes; among the new inscriptions were nearly 100 Katabān; linguistic studies; acquisition of 251 Arabic manuscripts). A portion of the treasures acquired for Vienna, a valuable collection of 39 inscribed stones, coins, numerous sculptures and other antiquities, was published by D. H. Müller. Further particulars are given by Weber in *Edwards' Glossar: Forschungsergebnisse in Sudarabien in Der Alte Orient*, x, 2, 1909 (cf. Hommel, *Explorationen*, p. 717, 720 199). Glaser could not make further use of the opportunity he still had for further journeys and discoveries because he no longer found the necessary comprehension of the importance of scientific work at the Ministry concerned. Innumerable treasures were thus irrevocably lost to science.

Working on the epigraphic material that has been gradually accumulating since Halévy's time, Halévy, Prætorius, Mordtmann, D. H. Müller, Glaser and others (for details see *Bibliography*) have made important contributions to the elucidation of the language and contents of the inscriptions. As to later journeys of exploration in South Arabia, A. Decker's journey in Yemen in 1887 was only planned to study botany. L. Hirsch, who in 1893 was, so far as we know, the first European to visit Shibām, the modern capital of Hadramawt, and Tarim, was only studying natural history, with topography and ethnography. Soon after him in 1893—4, J. Théodore Bent with his wife travelled in Hadramūt as far as Shibām and in 1895 in the frankincense country (Zafar to Mirbat), likewise without being particularly interested in epigraphy. Carlo Landberg in 1896 took a squeeze and photograph of the already known inscription of Hija al-Ghurāh; the results of his enquiries made in 'Aden in 1895—97 regarding previously little known regions between Yemen proper and Hadramūt, particularly regarding Dathinn, 'Awālik, al-Hadina and also regarding Baiḡān, Maryama, Kaidān, Harib, Timna' and even Shabwa are given in his valuable work *Arabica* (iv. and v.). The South Arabian expedition of the Vienna Academy in 1898—9, which was also supported by the King of Sweden, only succeeded in reaching 'Azīza in the Wādī Maifa'at and did not get to Shabwa. While the epigraphical results of this expedition fell behind expectations, its members took the opportunity in 1899 of making linguistic and natural history researches on the island of Socotra (see *Сокотра*) (G. W. Bury, who went to Baiḡān on behalf of the expedition, brought back from Kohlān (Katabān) squeezes and photographs of inscriptions). In 1902 W. Hein collected linguistic material in Ghishā in Hadramūt on behalf of the Vienna Academy and at the same time collected information there and later in Vienna from natives regarding Hadramūt. His collected notes, published without any editing in 1914 after his death, contain much that is new and noteworthy. Hartwig Derenbourg was able from squeezes obtained by the French Academy to publish a few *Neue Texte yemenitische Inschriften in der Rev. d'Assyriologie et d'Arch. Or.*, v, 117 199.

Glaser's finds, epoch-making of their kind, are not yet completely published (a survey of the inscriptions discovered by Glaser was given so far as then known by Hommel, *Christomathie*, p. 59—62; see also Glaser, *Allgemeine Nachrichten*, I, 1908, I A 29). The great work prepared by him on Saba' (announced, for example, in Hommel, *Explorations*, p. 722, and Weber, *Glaser's Forschungen*, p. 15, on Glaser's authority) has not yet been published. The great mass of documents left by him (consisting of copies of about 1,000 inscriptions, of geographical and archaeological notes, diaries, sketches and maps), the importance of which may be summed up by saying that it is the first duty of Sabaean studies to arrange them methodically and publish them scientifically, was handed over to D. H. Müller to edit. But neither was he spared to publish this material. After his death in 1910, N. Rhodokanakis in Graz was given the task. The latter calls his treatise *Der Grundriss der Öffentlichkeit in den sudarabischen Urkunden* (S. B. Ak. Wien, clxxvii. Abh. 2, 1915; interpretation of inscr. Glaser N^o. 890 = Halévy 49; Gl. 904 = Halévy 51; Gl. 1548/9 [Sabaeum], Gl. 1606 [Katābān] and Oslander 4; with systematic discussion of the problems of debt, taxation, ownership and legislation raised by the inscriptions) the first preliminary study to the "Corpus Glaserianum", the publication of which the Vienna Academy has in hand; he describes as a second preliminary study the first part of his *Studien zur Lexikographie und Grammatik des Altsudarabischen* (S. B. Ak. Wien, clxxviii. Abh. 4, 1915; explanation of passages in the Ḥabish inscription, Glaser 1076 and Gl. 480 [cf. above] and especially a grammatical essay on the so-called parasitic *ā* in South Arabic, for the phonetic explanation of which he postulates a double accent in Minaean-Sabaeum; the appendix contains annotations to various inscriptions). Next came his *Die Bodenwirtschaft im alten Sudarabien* (Anz. Ak. Wien, 1916, N^o. xxvii, a survey of the results of the researches contained in the second part of his *Studien zur Lexikographie* etc.) and the second part itself (S. B. Ak. Wien, clxxxv. Abh. 3, 1917; discussion of Minaean-Sabaeum inscriptions relating to buildings, boundaries and irrigation, and of inscriptions relating to agriculture with explanatory notes on the dedication and erection of buildings, on legal questions relating to water supplies and the possession of land, on taxation and administration). The next three publications of Rhodokanakis contain hitherto unpublished Katābān inscriptions: *Katābānische Texte zur Bodenwirtschaft* (S. B. Ak. Wien, xciv. Abh. 2, 1919, five inscriptions from the Glaser collection: edicts of Katābān kings on the management of state properties, with a thorough investigation, into Katābān economy and administration) and *Katābānische Texte zur Bodenwirtschaft*, Series 2 (S. B. Ak. Wien, cxviii. Abh. 2, 1922, three inscriptions with far reaching investigations, particularly as regards the third, Glaser 1693 [concerning date, locality and character of the language of the text] with observations on the Ḥamīdānids and dynasties in South Arabia generally, and lastly *Die Landwirtschaft an der Mauer von Kephir-Tinnus* (S. B. Ak. Wien, cc. Abh. 2, 1924, discussion of the inscription Glaser 1404 [remains of a building protocol], 1397 [a criminal and taxation law] and, to explain the *makarrish* title among the Katābā-

nians, still more texts); on the inscription Gl. 1605 [cf. see W. Z. K. M., xxii. 23 sq. in *Katāb. Texte*, I, 6, note 3, it is mentioned that O. Weber is preparing an abbreviated edition of the "work on inscriptions" left by Glaser. The work collecting all South Arabian inscriptions in which references are also given to earlier, less important publications, is Part iv. of the *Paris Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (*Inscriptiones Semiticae et Sabaeae continens*, Tomus I, in four fascicles, 1889, 1892, 1900, 1908; of Tomus II the first two parts, 1911, 1914, have appeared; after the death of H. Derenbourg the editorship was taken over by M[ayer] L[ambert]; Tomus III will contain the Minaean and Katābān inscriptions). The language of the inscriptions which may be divided into two main dialects, the Minaean and Sabaeum, is discussed by Hommel in the *Grundriss*, p. 133 sqq., who includes under the Minaean, along with the Minaean royal inscriptions proper, the Katābān and Ḥaḥramūt inscriptions (so also *Explorations*, p. 728 sq.). On the grammar of Minaean-Sabaeum (which he considers the oldest representative of the "Arabic section of the Western Semitic", of which we have coherent texts, *Grundriss*, p. 78 sq.) see his fundamental account in his *Christomathie*, p. 9 sq. (on the language see also earlier contributions by D. H. Müller, *Encycl. Brit.*, article *Yemen*, p. 740 (brief); Weber, *Arabien*, p. 15 sq. (popular); on the script see Oslander in the *Z. D. M. G.*, xx. 205 sq.; D. H. Müller, *Sab. Denkm.*, p. 105 sq.; Hommel *Christom.*, p. 3 sq.; *Explorations*, p. 730, *Grundriss*, p. 145 sq. (Weber, *Arabien*, p. 13 sq.; *Wustanien*, p. 235) etc.; on the religion, Oslander in the *Z. D. M. G.*, vii. 463 sq.; D. H. Müller, *Enc. Brit.*, 741 (*Burgen*, ii. 1032); Hommel, *A. A.*, I, 156 sq., *Explor.*, p. 733 sq., *Grundriss*, p. 85 sq., 143; cf. in this *Encycl.*, I, 377 sqq. (Weber, *Arabien*, p. 18 sq. [popular]; Grimme, *Mohammed*, p. 29 sq.); on symbols of deities on the monuments Grotmann (see below, *Bibliography*).

Important material is also yielded by the Minaean, Liḥyān, Nabataean and Thamūdian (proto-Arabic) inscriptions in North-Western Arabia, which Doughty discovered in 1876—78, and the texts of the copies prepared by Euting (1883/4) — in some cases for a second time, after Doughty and Huber — of the Minaean and Liḥyān inscriptions of al-'Ola (published by D. H. Müller, *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien*, 1889; the Minaean have again been published by Mordtmann, *Beiträge*, 1897).

One of the principal questions raised by the sources for the history of ancient Saba' is what is known as the Minuan question, i. e. the relation in order of time of the inscriptions of the Minaean kings to the Sabaeum and with this the relation of the two kingdoms to one another. Working on the material available just before Glaser's travels, D. H. Müller (*Burgen*, ii. 955 sq., 981 sqq., 985 sqq.) had for the first time attempted to prepare a list of Sabaeum rulers (cf. Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 133 sq., 137 sq.) and divided the history of Saba' into three periods (a survey is given also in the article *Yemen* in the *Encycl. Brit.*). These periods are known as 1) the *Makarrish* period (the pronunciation *Makarrish* selected by him and afterwards retained of the word *makarrish*, the vocalisation of which is uncertain, the name of the priest-kings, is not to be used;

others read *mukarab*, *wahrab*, *mukab*, plur. *mukrib*; see Morittmann, *Anzeige*, Z. D. M. G., xlv, 1891; Glaser, *Alexander*, p. 65; Hommel, A. A., p. 134; cf. above I. 399 sq.; Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 132, 599 etc.; 2) the period of the kings of Saba, and 3) the period of the kings of Saba and Bal-din. According to him, the beginning of the kingdom of Saba would be placed in the eighth century B. C., to which period also belongs the mention of the Sabaean It'amar in the Sargon inscription, and its end in the first century A. D. While the chronology of the Sabaean kingdom and its dynamics may be laid down with an accuracy that is fairly satisfactory, the question of the age of the Minaean kingdom is incomparably more difficult to settle, because there is no clue available for the definite dating of the inscriptions of the Minaean kings. In their attempts to arrange also the Minaean kings Morittmann, Z. D. M. G., xlvii, 407 sq., Weber, *Studien*, p. 44 sq., and Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 126 sq. (cf. also Hommel, A. A., p. 26, *Chronologie*, p. 90, *Grundriss*, p. 136) have come to conclusions essentially different from that reached by D. H. Müller (*Berlin*, II. 1021 sq.) before them. The latter thought that the two kingdoms of Saba and Ma'in existed side by side with one another and were rivals (p. 1031). In direct opposition to this view Glaser (in 1889) in the first part of his *Stäbe* argued that the Minaean kingdom preceded the Sabaean in time and was destroyed by the latter which thereupon assumed the hegemony over South Arabia. Bearing in mind the number (about 29) of the names of Minaean kings so far discovered and a supposed duration of their rule of about 750 years, he was forced to put the beginning of Minaean rule back before 1500 B. C., indeed, he even went back as far as 2000 B. C. (I. 55). In several passages of the second volume of his *Stäbe* and in later publications he again comes back to the subject of his Minaean theory. He claimed to have proved that the Minaean inscriptions date far back into the second, probably even the third, millennium B. C. (II. 110; cf. 330). He had no misgivings about supposing that we have to take the Minaean kingdom back to the beginning of the Hyksos period, i. e. the twenty-second century B. C., Glaser's theory was defended by Hommel (first in the *Beilage zur Münchener Allgem. Zeitung*, 1889, No. 291, and in his later works, e. g. in the A. A., p. 2 sq., 10, 40, 235; in the *Altisrael. Oberlieferung*, p. 77, in his *Chronologie*, p. 2 (p. 86 further bibliographical references), in *Exploration*, in the *Grundriss*, p. 134, 159, in his *Gesch. der alten Morgenl.*, p. 106, 123, 148, in this *Encyclop.* I. 399 sq., also notably by Winckler (*M. V. A. G.*, 1898, p. 19, 43 sq.; 1906, p. 89 sq.), in his *Geschichte Israels*, his *Altisraelische Forschungen*, in K. A. T., p. 146 sq., 150 and in Helmolt's *Weltwissen*, III. 247 sq.) and by Weber (in his monographs [already mentioned], in *Der Alte Orient* and in his edition of Winckler's *Weltwissen*, p. 235 sq.), Grunne, *op. cit.*, p. 16 sq. and Bousinger, *Geschichte Israels*, p. 16. H. Derenbourg, *Notice minime sur l'épigraphie minéenne*, Paris 1895, p. 7 also puts the Minaeans before the Sabaean.

A survey of the essential points in the lively controversy raised by Glaser's bold proposals has been given by Weber, *Studien*, I., and he has at the same time collected everything that seems to

support Glaser. Immediately after the appearance of the first part of Glaser's *Stäbe*, Halévy raised objections to this Minaean theory; D. H. Müller then reiterated his view (*Beilage zur Münch. Allgem. Zeitung*, 1890, Nov. 24 and 31; *W. Z. K. M.*, VIII. 6, 161). The following also declared themselves against Glaser: Morittmann (*Anzeige*, p. 182 sq.; Z. D. M. G., xlvii, 400; *Beilage*, p. 105 sq., 115); Sptenger, *Bemerkungen*, p. 502 sq.; E. Meyer, *Geschichte d. Altertums*, II. 382; Lagrange in the *Rev. bibl.*, 1902, XI. 256 sq.; Lidzbarski, *Epigraphie f. semit. Epigraphik*, II. 101 sq.; Hartmann, Z. A., x. 25 sq. and in his main work, p. 4, 131 sq.; Haart, *Geschichte der Araber*, I. 46 sq. etc. Meyer further pointed out that all previous assumptions regarding the history of the Semitic alphabet would be upset by Glaser's placing the Minaean inscriptions in the second millennium B. C. We can hardly place the origin of the Phoenician alphabet before 1000 B. C., the date of origin of the Minaean script, which is characterised by the regular, almost technical formation of geometrical figures, is certainly not earlier. This seems at once to take the ground from Glaser's theory. We must describe the dating of this alphabet to 2000 B. C. (Hommel, *Grundriss*, p. 109, 146; Weber, *Weltwissen*, p. 163; cf. Hommel, *Exploration*, p. 730) or even "at the latest far back into the third millennium" (Weber, *Arabien*, p. 15) as a quite improbable hypothesis, in spite of all that has been ascertained in recent time regarding the oldest form of the Hebrew alphabet. Nor have the speculations regarding the South Arabian epigraphy which have been renewed by the discovery of what are known as the Kemit Sinai inscriptions led to anything. Against the views of Hommel, Weber, Winckler, etc. Haart also says regarding the supposed age of the alphabet that the date 1500 is certainly much too high for the period of Minaean rule.

Greco-Roman tradition also affords arguments on the Minaean question, notably the above quoted testimony of Eratosthenes in Strabo, xvi. 768, which has already been cited against Glaser by Halévy, D. H. Müller and others and of which Morittmann has said that he cannot see how this passage is to be explained away. Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 9 betrays the precariousness of his case when he says that he must assume without giving any reason that Eratosthenes was probably "mistaken"; i. e. in his account true and false, past and present conditions are confused. Glaser, *op. cit.*, p. 15 had previously sought to dispose of the contradiction between his views and the clear evidence of Eratosthenes by asserting without proof that the latter was wrongly informed. For the interpretation of this passage, for suspecting which neither Glaser nor Weber give any ground of proof or probability and, indeed, none can be given, it is decisive that according to it all four leading South Arabian peoples — including, of course, the Minaeans whom our author mentions first, as well as the Sabaean and the other two — were under absolute rulers (*monarchien*). The fact that Eratosthenes gives for the time of his authority irrefutably the same kind of constitution, namely the regal, for Minaeans and for Sabaean, cannot be disposed of by any artifice. It also shows what value there is in Glaser's assertion (Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 7 sq.) "that the classical authors nowhere mention a kingdom, but always only a land of Minaea", or in Winckler's

(*op. cit.*, p. 45) statement that between 500 and 200 B.C., there were no Minaeans in North Arabia because there never had been any at any time. Grimmer's doubts (*op. cit.*, p. 17) as to whether the Minaeans of the Greeks are the people in question in the inscriptions are also unfounded.

Against Glaser's theory the circumstance is also decisive (cf. Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 131 *sq.*, 136) that, as we can deduce with absolute certainty from the mention of kings and kingdoms together in the inscriptions, there were kings of Ma'in and kings of Saba' reigning alongside of one another. To Glaser's argument that the two kingdoms practically never mention each other in their inscriptions, even Weber (*op. cit.*, p. 18) was forced to confess that "the Minaeans actually brought themselves on two or three occasions to break the mysterious silence", and the Sabaeans likewise. But this means confessing the impossibility of holding this theory in any form.

Glaser's view that the Minaeans had already begun to decline soon after the Hyksos period (*op. cit.*, p. 451) and had sunk into barbarism towards the end of the first century B.C. (p. 22, 69, 93, 95, 232), or were actually an extinct people (Weber, *Arabien*, p. 31) is disposed of by the statement of Artemidoros (Strabo, xvi. 776) and extracts by others from Agatharchides (§ 87, 97, in the middle) on the commercial activity and the wealth of the Minaeans and further by Pliny's statement regarding their independent position alongside of Saba' and their competition with the Sabaeans in the frankincense trade (see above), still more palpably by the significant fact that Ptolemy calls the Minaeans alone "a very great people" out of all the peoples of Southern Arabia.

The inscription of the Minaean sarcophagus of Gize, which shows that Minaeans were still supplying spices for the Egyptian temples in the Ptolemaic period, and the Minaean and Greek inscription on Delos of the second century B.C., which records the erection of an altar to Minaean gods, are likewise, as Prætorius has rightly observed (*Z. D. M. G.*, liii. 220), unfavourable to Glaser's theory, and, agreeing with the Greek and Roman evidence, are proofs that the people, language and culture of the Minaeans survived into the second century B.C. and certainly to a still later period.

The palaeography and grammar of the inscriptions likewise give no support to the Minaean theory. D. H. Müller was the first to point out that of the Sabaeen inscriptions those written boustrophedon belong to the oldest period of Sabaeen history and at the same time show the earliest forms of letters. Contradicting Hommel's (*A. A.*, p. 22 *sq.*, *Christomathis*, p. 2, 6) suggestion that the Minaean inscriptions are older in grammar and epigraphy than the Sabaeen, Mordtmann (*Beiridge*, p. 107) held that the Minaean inscriptions that have survived to us are later than the oldest Sabaeen texts and older than the Sabaeen texts of the later period (*ibid.* p. xi, note 2) and that Hommel's deductions from the palaeography of the Minaean inscriptions were very wide of the mark.

He also insisted (*op. cit.*, p. 106, *Z. D. M. G.*, xlvii. 400) that the fact that only one of the extant (or so far known) Minaean inscriptions is written boustrophedon, is not very much in favour of the claim for a very high antiquity for these

inscriptions in contrast to the Sabaeen. It must, of course, be remembered that there are texts written boustrophedon which are later than normal ones written from right to left. But although the Minaean alphabet may show occasional less developed forms, it is recognised (e.g. by Weber, p. 11) that the forms of the Minaean letters on the whole agree perfectly with the Sabaeen of the oldest period. In spite of the archaic features of the Minaean language in comparison with the Sabaeen (on the dialectal distinctions between the two see D. H. Müller, *Burgen*, p. 1009; specially thorough, especially from the lexical point of view, is Mordtmann, *op. cit.*, p. 107 *sq.*, *Z. D. M. G.*, lii. 400; Hommel, *Grundriss*, p. 133, note 3), Hommel, *A. A.*, p. 23, asserted that the Minaean inscriptions might nevertheless be later than the Sabaeen or contemporary with them, as in them older forms — as happens elsewhere — might have survived into the latest period (see also Mordtmann, p. 115 on the more conservative retention of the older vocabulary in Minaean and (p. xi.) of archaic forms of the script); we need not take account of mixed forms of earlier and later origin occurring in one and the same text.

None of the grounds on which Glaser bases his theory are convincing (they are detailed in Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 7). That Sabaeans are so rarely mentioned in Minaean texts and Minaeans even more rarely in Sabaeen sources, facts on which Glaser and his supporters lay so much stress, is explained partly from the relations of the two rivals (D. H. Müller, *Burgen*, p. 1031; Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 135), partly from the fact that the "subject matter of the inscriptions, which are not in any sense annals, afford little opportunity for mentioning such matters" (Mordtmann, *op. cit.*, p. 115, note 1), as the texts preserved from this period deal mainly with the buildings and religious matters, being occasional or ad hoc inscriptions, and only rarely touch on foreign affairs (Lidzbarski, *op. cit.*, p. 102). But these few references are quite sufficient to settle the main question. It is noteworthy that, although Grimmer (*op. cit.*, p. 17) still proposed to put the date of the earliest Minaean kings far beyond 1500 B.C., other champions of this theory, in calculating the earliest initial date for the Minaean kingdom, have now gone in the other direction and put it much below Glaser's figure. While Winckler in the first edition of *Helmolt's Vestaen*, p. 244 still held that the Minaean period could hardly have begun after 1500 B.C. (cf. p. 245), Weber significantly wrote in the second edition in the same passage (p. 235) "hardly after 1200 B.C." (cf. p. 237, "from about 1200 B.C."). Hommel, although he still put the collapse of the Minaean kingdom about 650 B.C. (*ibid.*, p. 396), and, according to him, the South Arabian (p. 394) inscriptions "begin from at least 800 B.C., but more probably many centuries earlier", also later (here above i. 399 *sq.*), says that Glaser's assumption would presuppose the placing of the Minaean kingdom from 1200 to 700 B.C. at least (in *Explorationen*, p. 729 he still puts it at 1400—700 B.C.), and that at most it may be granted that "the oldest Sabaeen inscriptions were contemporary with the latest Minaean" (above i. 399 *sq.*). On Weber's clever defence, Lidzbarski (p. 101) says that it will hardly gain further adherents for the Minaean theory and Weber himself has to confess (*Glaser's*

Forschungen, p. 30) that "no obvious proof for Glaser's view has yet been produced".

Against the theory, in perfect agreement with the Greek and Roman authorities and the ancient South Arabian sources, most readily agreeing with them, and following D. H. Müller, we must insist that the kingdom of Ma'rib existed contemporaneously with that of Saba' and at the very earliest began in the eighth century B.C. (see, for example, Mordtmann in *W. Z. K. M.*, viii, 371; Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 132 etc.). Its end did not come about 230 A.C. (so Hartmann, *op. cit.*; similarly Mordtmann, *Amurru*, Z. D. M. G., xlv, p. 184 and *Beilage*, p. 106: "soon after Eratosthenes"), but it existed at least down to the second century A.C. Saba's rivalry first with Ma'rib (and Katabān) as well as with the Himyars was of far reaching significance for its history. The period of transition from its oldest period, the so-called *mukarris* period, the period of the priest-kings, and the next epoch, whose rulers residing in Ma'rib, contemporaries of the kings of Katabān and Hadramūt, bear the title "kings of Saba'" (expressing the emancipation of the kingship from the priesthood) and whose beginning may be placed about 300 B.C., is represented for us by the great Sirwāh inscription (Glaser, No. 1000). The following (the Himyarite) period, that of the "kings of Saba' and Dhū Raidān" (from the hill or ancestral citadel of Raidān; the name occurs in Sanskrit also as *Duryādhana* [in the second book of the *Mahābhārata*]) and the last period (from 300 A.D. to the end of the independence of Hadramūt, that of "the kings of Saba' and Dhū Raidān and Hadramūt and Yemna'") have been sketched above.

At the period of the rise of Islām, Saba' was beginning to disappear from the memory of the Arab world. For Islām, which kindled new wars in the land and brought about the final collapse of the ancient kingdom, the decline of which had been begun by the Persians and Abyssinians, Saba' soon became an echo of the past, indeed, the very essence of the pre-Muhammadan period, with which only scholars still concerned themselves. The new creed had the greatest interest in obliterating all recollection of the pagan period; not only in the stone monuments which still survived the natural weathering — these were destroyed to provide material for new buildings, or to be burned for lime or sometimes out of sheer vandalism — but also in literature, and even in consigning the ancient language to oblivion. This explains why, as Sprenger (*op. cit.*, p. 244) rightly remarks, it would be useless labour to seek for any reliable information regarding the Sabaeans in Arabic sources. The relative value of the various sources for our knowledge of Saba' was estimated with equal accuracy by the most successful discoverer of inscriptions (Glaser, *Skizze*, II, §59) in his verdict that it was not the legendary tradition of the Arabs, containing very little matter of value and usually misleading, and not the poetry of the time shortly before and after Muhammad, which would give us a true picture of the past, but "simply and solely the ancient inscriptions and the few statements in the classical authors". The relatively scanty references in Arabic authors may be divided for our purpose into two main groups. The one consists of valuable geographical and historical statements regarding architectural remains of Saba's past and details

of ancient Sabaeon history, including archaeological matter and the other far less valuable legendary elements, which survived in tradition after the disappearance of Sabaeon culture and which also permeated the quasi-historical references to the affairs of the Himyar state which lay nearer in point of time. The supreme authority for information of the first category, who, of all Muslim authors, gives us the most numerous and most valuable items of information regarding Saba', is al-Hamdānī whose "Description of the Peninsula of Arabia" is our main literary source for the geography of Arabia in general and who (he was a Yemeni, a native of San'a'), out of patriotic interest in the old buildings and other antiquities of South Arabia that still existed in his time, has collected everything associated with them, often, indeed, already interwoven with legend, in his *Itih*, a history of Yemen and a description of its antiquities. The part of the eighth book of the *Itih*, which still exists, describing the citadels was, edited for the first time (Arabic text and German translation with explanatory notes) by D. H. Müller (*Die Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens nach dem Itih des Hamdānī*, S. H. A. W. W., 1879, xlv, 335 sqq. and xcvi, 1881, p. 955 sqq.), who added additional notes from the tenth book, which deals with the genealogy of the Hamdānī, as well as illuminative passages from the *Sifa Dīwān al-Arab*. Part I gives in the first place al-Hamdānī's account of Ghumdan and San'a'; al-Hamdānī quotes verses on Ghumdan and then gives the story of the foundation of the building by Shem and South Arabian traditions regarding San'a'; he goes on to give further information regarding the temperature of the country, the preservation of food in it; details regarding the topography of San'a', the ruins of the citadel of Ghumdan, and quotes verses relating to it, which reflect the legends clinging to the castle as a wonder of architecture. He next deals with Shihām-Yashkum, the old monuments and great palaces in Shihām, Shihām Bait Akyās (cf. the descriptions in the *Dīwān* and *Yāqūt*, *Mu'jam*, iv, 437, iii, 248 sq.). Next comes the district of Dahr, Bait Hanbas (cf. al-Bakrī, ed. Wartenfeld, p. 198 and the *Dīwān*), Hadakān and Kida', Sirwāh, one of the most celebrated castles of Yemen (verses are quoted), Ghaimin (the Himyar tradition regarding As'ad Tubba' is quoted, given in full in Kremer, *op. cit.*, p. 86 sq.), Dāmigh, Zafar and other citadels. This is followed by a short list of the citadels of Sarw (highlands of the Himyars) and Hadramūt. Al-Hamdānī's description of Ma'rib and Saba' is important for its subject matter, on the basis of which Müller (in Part II) endeavoured on several points to throw a brighter light on ancient Saba' and in particular to show that it is the inscriptions which must be used for the reconstruction of the lists of Sabaeon kings, rather than the statements of Arab tradition. Al-Hamdānī's description deals with the state of the remains of the dam, the inundation which spoiled the dam, the citadels of Ma'rib (with quotations from the poets). Al-Hamdānī's unhistorical statements regarding the builder of the dam (Lakman b. 'Ad, a mythical personage) are corrected by the evidence of inscriptions which mention Ithamar Balyin as the builder. It is worthy of note that Arnaud's description of the remains of the dam and Halévy's report agree with al-Hamdānī's account in the main details. Of

the Yemeni citadel of Rawḥān (between al-Djof and Ma'rib) al-Hamdāni says that it at one time belonged to the family of the Naḥk (on which he also gives information in the tenth book; following him also Naḥwān, *Ḥaṣn al-ʿUḥān*; Müller, *op. cit.*, ii, 2001, note 3). In the Minaean area he mentions the citadels of Bardiḥ and Ma'in (with quotations from the poets).

The *Ḥaṣn* also contains geographical details regarding the territory of Saba', which, however, no more enables us to form a comprehensive impression picture than the scattered notices in later Arab geographers, because they consist almost entirely of isolated names; and it is difficult to form a general idea from them. D. H. Müller, in editing the text (2 vols., Leiden 1889-1891) had therefore to struggle with extraordinary difficulties. Glaser, who, like Sprenger before him, had made very great use of al-Hamdāni, was later able to test the readings of this edition on the spot for the areas in which he travelled from his own observations and the evidence of natives.

The few memories of the history of the Sabaeans period that have survived in the prose or poetic traditions of the Arabs are beyond the range of our consideration, as they have more or less assumed the form of legend. A. v. Krenke, *op. cit.* (cf. his *Altarabische Geschichte über die Völker der Jemen*, Leipzig 1867), has collected the essential matter on the subject. In tradition also we find analogies to the Greek stories (cf. e.g. von Krenke, p. 150 on *Ḥu' Fa'ib*). The building of the dam at Ma'rib or at least its improvement was attributed to Queen Bilqis (cf. above); legends also became associated with the inundation. In the division of the pre-Muhammadan history of Yemen in the Arab historians into three periods (the first down to Tabḥā' Abū Karīb, the second to Ḥu' Nuwās and the third to Isfām) still reflects the actual division into Sabaeans, Himyarite and Abyssinian-Persian epochs (Müller, *Bergan*, i, 338). Even the lists of Himyarite kings preserved by these historians have no scientific value and at most give us a few old names which were adopted by the genealogists, but can have no claim to historical accuracy. Besides, these lists of kings refer only to the later period of Himyarite history (*ibid.* ii, 981, 997).

More important for us are the items of information found in Muslim literature regarding the social and economic life of ancient and more modern Saba', which link up with the inscriptions and Graeco-Roman sources. The finds made in the country itself are in harmony with the various classical literary sources, which agree in showing that the Sabaeans attained the greatest importance of all Arab peoples of the pre-Muhammadan period, in particular of the four leading peoples of South Arabia who were known even to the Greeks; these still extant monuments of the once highly developed civilisation, to which Saba' mainly owed its historical importance, consist of the inscriptions found since Arnaud's journey of exploration, sculptures and remains of colonnades, palaces, temples, city-walls, towers, public works, especially water-works etc., which confirm the brilliant picture of Sabaeans culture given by Agatharchides and the writers after him (see above) and at the same time show that even the legends of Islamic tradition concerning the former glory of the Himyar kingdom have a historical basis.

Striking evidence of this in Arabic literature is the above mentioned description of Qumḥān in al-Hamdāni and the poetic references to this much admired citadel (see Müller, *Bergan*, i, 345-377) as well as to other citadels in Saba', e.g. Salḥā and Balāḥ. Agatharchides's remarks on the splendid buildings of the kings and private individuals in Saba' and the descriptions of Sabaeans castles by the Arabs are confirmed by the testimony of the inscriptions, which to a great extent commemorate the building of houses (palaces) and fortifications. Of public works built to assist agriculture like barriers and dams, the most celebrated was the dam of Ma'rib. The ancient South Arabs achieved great things in the way of irrigation works in view of the dependence of their agriculture on artificial irrigation. In the South Arabian inscriptions these are frequently mentioned (cf. the references collected by Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 398 sq. and the discussions in Rhodokanakis, *Sauda*, ii, (e.g. p. 78 sq. etc.). Cisterns of the Himyar period may still be seen in South Arabia to-day.

This civilisation, on which since Arnaud's time the finds and observations of Halévy and especially of Glaser have thrown new light, owed its rise to the industry and commerce of the Sabaeans, in particular to the cultivation of frankincense. The land offered all the necessary conditions for its cultivation. According to al-Hamdāni (*Ḥaṣn*, p. 31, 8) Yemen was called *al-Ḥadira* 'the green', on account of its wealth in trees, fruits and crops (cf. Ibn al-Faḥrī, *Kitāb al-Balāḥ*, BGA, v, 34). Even Agatharchides's description of the richness of the flora of Saba' is quite satisfactorily explained by the natural formation of the country. The healthy, temperate interior of Yemen and Hadramūt produces a rich vegetation on the slopes of the hills and in the valleys. Accounts of modern journeys also bear testimony to the fertility of the soil of Yemen, and also to distinction in its woods. Al-Mas'ūdī's description, based on older authorities, of Saba' as 'the most luxurious and most fertile part of Yemen, rich in gardens, plantations and meadows', with a 'splendid climate' (cf. Krenke, *op. cit.*, p. 10, note 1) is in close keeping with Agatharchides's praise of the wealth of Saba'.

The uniformity of the temperature in the region of San'a' is emphasised by al-Hamdāni (Müller, *Bergan*, i, 343). Glaser and other travellers record that the temperature of the higher regions of Yemen is temperate and favourable to vegetation.

A parallel to the statement of Agatharchides that the Sabaeans provided the Ptolemies and Syrians with gold and the Phoenicians with costly wares of the most varied kinds, is found in the biblical passages already mentioned, relating to the Sabaeans exports of frankincense, gold and jewels to Egypt and Syria. South Arabia from the earliest times had been the very land of frankincense and the Sabaeans in particular, as inhabitants of the most fertile parts of the southern half of Yemen and owners of the frankincense country, were naturally destined to trade especially in spices. The idea — expressed in Strabo (xvi, iv, § 29, 22) — that the trade in spices was the source of the wealth of the Sabaeans is already found in 1 Kings, x, 1 sq. Adana was the great centre for trade with India and Egypt (*Edon* *Apollon*,

Periplus, p. 26; Ptolemy, vi. 7, 3; Mela, iii. 8, 8; Pliny, vi. 159; Philostorgius, *Hist. eccl.*, iii. 53; and Aden (q.v.) still is "the natural centre of the circle formed by Africa, Arabia, Mesopotamia and India" (W. Schmidt, *Das indisch-arab. Arabien*, Frankfurt a. M. 1913, p. 101, who, like Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 611) wrongly speaks of a destruction of Adana by the Romans in the first century A.D.). The references in inscriptions to sacred vessels of gold and silver, medieval finds of gold (al-Hamdānī, *Djastur*, p. 79; cf. Müller, *Burgen*, ii. 1008, *Südarabische Studien*, p. 135 sq.; Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 56 sq.), modern gold-washing, reported by Halévy and Glaser, and lastly the archaeological finds of Sabaean silver and gold coins and gems (on gems see al-Hamdānī, *op. cit.*; Müller, *Burgen*, i. 366, 374, *Südarabische Altertümer*, Vienna 1899; Glaser, *op. cit.*, p. 367; Landberg, *Arabica*, v. 128; on finds of coins see Schlumberger, *Le trésor de Souda*, Paris 1880; D. H. Müller, *Südarabische Altertümer*, Vienna 1899, pp. 65–78, Pl. xiv; E. S. G. Robinson in the *Nomismatic Chronicle*, 1923, pp. 365–368; G. F. Hill, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins of Arabia*, 1922, *passim*; do., *Ancient Coins of South Arabia*, in the *Proceed. of Brit. Acad.*, London 1915), all corroborate the accounts preserved in Diodorus from Strabo (following Agatharchides) of gates, walls, ceilings, pillared walls of Sabaean houses embellished with gold, silver and jewels, and of the gold and silver drinking vessels and other valuable household utensils and (the above-mentioned) Greek, Roman and Arabic literary references to the occurrence of natural gold (and silver, according to al-Hamdānī [cf. Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 58, 283 sq.] and other sources, also to modern authorities (*ibid.*, p. 158)).

Research has recently been devoted to the economic life of ancient South Arabia also. Rhodokanakis was the first to deal systematically with economic and the associated legal questions from the inscriptions (*Die Bodenwirtschaft in Studien*, vol. ii., and in his later (above mentioned) articles). From these studies it is clear that there existed in ancient South Arabia a strict system of regulation and administration of agriculture, dictated by national interests, especially a strict regulation of the distribution of water and of the actual tilling of the soil, and we gain an insight into a strictly regulated organisation of labour, into conditions of ownership and legal views, into the economic organisation of the state and of the temples. Historically important is the fact that the system of land administration and the constitution were (in the main at least) the same in all ancient South Arabian states.

Rhodokanakis's investigations into the economic conditions inspired A. Grohmann to his researches the results of which he has given in his work already mentioned (an earlier specimen was given in his *Die altorientalische Agrarwirtschaft in den Berichten des Forschungsinstitutes für Osten und Orient*, ii. Vienna 1918, p. 34 sq.). It deals with the land (geology, climate, water-supply), population, indigenous products (especially aromatic plants), mineral wealth, hunting, cattle-rearing and agriculture. Especially valuable are the many references from inscriptions and literary sources and from records by travellers (including works by Glaser still in manuscript). Grohmann gave himself a much wider subject than W. Schmidt, who

laid most stress on economic geography in his work (above quoted) and writes with special knowledge on modern trade and commerce; his historical observations suffer from the fact that he is not an Orientalist.

Bibliography: Of the literature to be consulted, the sources have already been quoted in the article, especially the inscriptions (the main collection is the *Paria Corpus Inscript. Semit.*, iv) and the principal historical, geographical and linguistic works, Sprenger, *Geographie*; D. H. Müller, *Burgen und Schlösser*; Hommel, 1) *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen* (3 parts, 1802–1901), 2) *Chrestomathie*, 3) *Explorations in Arabia*, 4) *Grundriss*; Glaser, *Skizze*, ii. (Part i. of the year 1889 was published privately); J. H. Mordtmann-D. H. Müller, *Sabäische Denkmäler*, Vienna 1883; J. H. Mordtmann, *Beiträge zur minütlichen Epigraphik* (*Semitist. Studien*, ed. by C. Bezold, part 12, Weimar 1897); M. Hartmann, *Die arabische Frage*; Otto Weber's monographs (on Arabia and journeys of exploration in *Der Alte Orient*) and *Studien zur südarabischen Altertumskunde*, i–iii, *Mitt. VAG*, 1907; Rhodokanakis, *Abhandlungen*, also Krenmer's two works and Landberg's *Arabica*, Leiden 1897, 1898; and of Arabic literature al-Hamdānī's *Islām and Sifa Djastur al-'Arab* (in D. H. Müller's edition). An almost complete bibliography of the antiquities of South Arabia (including Sokotrā) from 1774 to 1892 was given by Hommel in his *Chrestomathie* (p. 63–88) and a continuation (down to 1907) by Weber (*Studien*, iii., 1908, where on p. 70 he promised supplements to Hommel; some are given below). Here we must confine ourselves to quoting books and articles which in their succession form milestones of progress in the investigation of the land and people of Saba, and to more recent literature (since 1908) and for the hundreds of special articles, mainly linguistic in their nature, and for the publication and interpretation of separate inscriptions we must refer the reader to these two collections and to the reviews in the *Z. D. M. G.* (from 1908 onwards). Of travellers' narratives we may here mention: *Auszug aus einem Briefe ... Saiten's an Herrn v. Hammer* (with 1 plate) in the *Fundgruben des Orients*, ii. Vienna 1811, p. 275 sq.; J. R. Wellsted, 1) *Account* . . . (1 plate), *JASB*, iii. (1834), 554 sq., 2) *Narrative of a Journey . . . to the ruins of Nakab al-Hajar* (1 plate) in the *J. R. Geogr. Soc.*, 1837, vii. 20 sq.; do., *Travels in Arabia*, London 1838; Wellsted's *Reisen in Arabien*, Germ. edit. etc. by E. Rödiger, Halle 1842; Carter, *Transactions of the A. S. B.*, 1834; C. J. Cruttenden, 1) *Narrative of a Journey from Mokha to San'a* (1 plate), *J. R. Geogr. Soc.*, 1838, viii. 267 sq., 2) *Journal of an Excursion to San'a* . . . *Proceed. of Donb. Geogr. Soc.*, 1838; P. Botta, *Relation d'un voyage dans l'Yémen*, Paris 1841; Th. S. Arnaud, *Relation d'un voyage à Mareb*, *J. A.*, 1845, series 4, vol. v. 211 sq., 309 sq. (publ. by Mohl; see below under Fresnel); *Mission dans l'Yémen*, *Rev. d'Egypte*, i., 1894, ii., 1895; F. Fresnel, *Notice sur le voyage de M. de Wrede dans la vallée de Doan*, *J. A.*, 1845, series 4, vol. vi. 386 sq.; *Lettre de M. . . . de Wrede . . . sur son voyage en Arabie*, *Bull. de la Soc. de Géogr.*, 1845, series 3, vol.

iii. 41 sq. (from his papers: A. v. Wroble's *Reise in Hadramaut*, by H. v. Maltzan, Braunschweig 1870, with plate); K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii., Berlin 1847 (comprehensive survey based on all then known accounts of Arabia); *Eben Saïr* (see above); J. Halévy, 1) *Rapport sur une mission archéologique dans le Yémen*, J. A., 1872, series 6, vol. xix. (*Itinéraire*, p. 8 sqq., *Classification des inscriptions*, p. 60 sqq., *Inscriptions Sabéennes*, p. 129 sqq., *Traduction*, p. 489 sqq.); 2) *Voyage du Nedjran*, *Bull. de la Soc. de Géogr.*, 1873, series 6, vol. vi., 1877, vol. xiii.; S. B. Miles and W. Munzinger, *Account of an Excursion into the Interior of Southern Arabia*, J. R. Geogr. Soc., 1874, xli.; H. v. Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, Braunschweig 1873; Ch. Millingen, *Notes of a Journey in Yemen*, J. R. Geogr. Soc., 1874, xli.; K. Manzoni, *El Yemen, Tre anni nell' Arabia Felice*, Roma 1884; H. Kiepert, *Schäpiras Reise in Yemen in Globus*, 1880, xxxviii. 183 sqq.; S. Langer, *Reiseberichte aus Syrien und Arabien*, Vienna 1883; E. Glaser, 1) *Meine Reise durch Arabien und Hadramaut*, *Petersburgs Geogr. Mitt.*, 1884, xxx. 170 sqq., 204 sqq., 2) *Von Hadramaut nach Sana'a*, *Ibid.*, 1886, xxxii. 1 sqq., 33 sqq., 3) *Über meine Reisen in Arabien*, *M.G.G.W.*, 1887, p. 18 sqq., 77 sqq., 4) *E. Glaser's Reise nach Marib*, by F. Hummel, *Bell. z. Münch. Allg. Ztg.*, 1888, No. 293, 294, 5) *Bericht über die vierte Reise*, *Mitt.*, der Gen. z. Förderung deutscher Wissenschaft. . . in Bremen, Nov. 1, 1894, 6) *Bericht über einen Vortrag Glaser's über seine vierte Reise*, *Bell. z. Münch. Allg. Ztg.*, 1894, No. 97, 7) *E. Glaser's Reise nach Marib*, ed. by D. H. Müller and N. Rhodokanakis, Vienna 1913 (*Sammlung E. Glaser*, I.); A. Deless, *Voyage au Yémen*, Paris 1887; F. T. Haig, *A journey through Yemen in the Proc. R. Geogr. Soc.*, 1887, vol. ix.; (Harris see above); L. Hirsch, 1) *Reisen in Süd-Arabien, Mähra-Land und Hadramaut*, Leipzig 1896 (on it cf. Glaser, *Peterm. Mitt.*, xlii. 1897, *Litteraturber.*, p. 37 sq.), 2) *Neue Wanderungen in Yemen in Globus*, lxxiv. (1898), ii. 204 sqq., 221 sqq.; C. Landberg, *Die Südarab. Expedition der Akad. der Wissensch. in Wien*, Munich 1899; D. H. Müller, 1) *Die Südarab. Expedition der Akad. in Wien*, Vienna 1899, 2) *Zur Geschichte der Südarab. Expedition*, Vienna 1907; F. Charnay, *Une excursion au Yémen*, *Bull. Soc. Geogr. Anvers*, 1899, xliii. 79 sq.; A. Bardey, *Rapport sur El-Yémen*, *Bull. de Géogr. hist.*, 1899; Th. Bent, *Southern Arabia*, London 1900; H. Borchardt, *Reiseberichte aus dem Yémen*, *Z.G. E. B.*, 1902, p. 593 sqq.; W. Hein, 1) *Vorläufiger Bericht über die Reise nach Aden und Ghishin*, *Ans. Akad. Wien*, 1902, xxxix. 107 sq., 2) *Südarabische Itinerarien*, *MGG Wien*, iv. 1914, p. 32 sqq.; A. Beneyton, *Mission d'études au Yémen in La Géographie*, xxvii., 1913. — From Glaser's still unpublished papers Grohmann very frequently quotes his diaries and "in addition also G. W. Bury's description of his journey to Bahān in 1899" (cf. *cit.*, p. ix.; p. 56, note 1: *Expedition to Bihān*, MS.; also p. 4, note 1 etc.; Bury, *Arabia Infelix*, London 1915; also passage: *The Land of Us*, London 1911, and *Notes*); also Glaser's unpublished essay *Ost-yemen und Nordhadramaut*, p. 139 etc. — The following are exclusively concerned with present day conditions in the area once covered by the

ancient Sabaeo-Himyar kingdom which roughly corresponds to the modern Yemen (from about 19° N. Lat., Djebel Tathlith, to the south coast and in the east as far as Hawra): Zwerner, *Arabia*, Chicago 1901; Raif Fuad-Bey, *Land und Leute im heutigen Yemen in Peterm. Mitt.*, 1912, lviii., part 2; E. Behn, *Yemen, Grundzüge der Bodenplastik und ihr Einfluss auf Klima und Lebenswelt*, Diss. Marburg 1910, apart from meteorological, astronomical and natural history researches and several monographs by Glaser, Bent and others. W. Schmidt's and A. Grohmann's books have been already mentioned. On commercial activity on the south coast at the present day information is given by the *Report of the Aden Chamber of Commerce* (Aden from 1898 onwards). To the works mentioned in the beginning of the bibliography we may here add the following: J. Halévy, *Études Sabéennes*, J. A., 1873, series 7, vols. i.; ii.; A. Zohma, *Arabien und die Araber seit 100 Jahren*, Halle 1875; D. H. Müller, 1) *Südarabische Studien*, S. B. Ak. Wien, 1877, lxxvi. 103 sqq., 2) *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien*, *Denkschr. Ak. Wien*, xliii. (1894); E. Glaser, 1) *Zwei Inschriften über den Dammbruch von Marib*, *M.V.A.G.*, 1897, 2) *Altjemenitische Nachrichten*, Munich 1906, 3) *Die Abessinier in Arabien*, Munich 1895, 3) *Pant und die Südarabischen Reiche*, *M.V.A.G.*, 1899, p. 51 sqq.; H. Grimme, *Mohammed*, Munich 1904; Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia*, London 1905; J. Thes., *Saba* (R. E., s. v., cols. 1298—1511 where this material has been dealt with by me with special reference to Greek and Roman literature).

The earlier publications of inscriptions (Bird, Fresnel [to supplement the statement R. E., col. 1400, reference should be made to col. 1402: the copies as well as the transcriptions of the inscriptions with the philological observations 194 sq. in letters to Mohl are from Fresnel], Pridoux, Rehatsek, Langer [published by D. H. Müller, *Z. D. M. G.*, 1883, xxxvii. 319 sq.], Mordmann, Derenbourg, etc.) are given in greater detail in the *Paris Corpus* (see above) and in the more recent publications. Of these we will mention the more comprehensive here: J. H. Mordmann, 1) *Himjarische Inschriften und Altertümer in den Königl. Museen zu Berlin*, Berlin 1893, 2) *Musée Impérial Ottoman, Antiquités Himyarites*, Constantinople 1898; D. H. Müller, *Südarabische Altertümer im Kunsthistorischen Hofmuseum*, Vienna 1899; H. Derenbourg, 1) *Les monuments sabéens et himyarites du Mufti . . . de Marasile*, *Rev. Archéol.*, 1899, series 3, vol. xxxv.; 2) *Répert. d'Épigraphie sem.*, i. (1901 sq.), ii. (1907). Of the *Inschriften der Südarabischen Expedition der Akademie in Wien* (collected in 1899) so far only a few have been published (in the publications of Rhodokanakis). — For Sabaeo studies, the researches made on the modern dialects of South Arabia are also important. Beginnings were made as early as H. v. Maltzan in the *Z. D. M. G.*, 1873, xxvii. and others have followed him. Count C. Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, i., *Hadramout*, ii., *Dahana* (Leiden 1901—1913) are valuable. Rich material is contained in the *Schriften der Südarabischen Expedition* of the Academy in Vienna,

l.—x. (1900—1910, Somali, Mehri, Hadrami, Sokotri, Zfar, ed. by L. Reinisch, D. H. Müller, A. Jahn, N. Rhodokanakis) finally M. Bittner's *Studien* on Mehri, Sokotri and Shawri in *SB Ak. Wien*, clxii, 1909 191. (J. TKATSCII)

[All previous works on the extensive ancient coinages of South Arabia have been superseded by G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia in the British Museum*, London 1922, pp. xlv. — lxxxiv., 45—80, Plates VII—XI, L and L.V. A full bibliography is given on p. xlv. It is now certain that the greater part of the coins hitherto vaguely classed as "Himyarite" are really Sabaeans and that small groups of coins may also be attributed to the Minaeans and Katabanians. — Editorial].

ŠABANDĪA, chief place of the *nāhiya* of the same name, picturesquely situated on the South-eastern bank of lake ŠabandĪa which is well known for its clear water and its many fishes. S. belongs to the *wilāyat* Stambul and to the *Sanĵaĥ* Ismīd. It is the residence of a *Mudir* and has about 8000 inhabitants (of whom three-quarters are Muslims), 15 mosques, 2 *Madrasas*, 15 schools and about 1200 houses (cf. V. Guinet, *La Turquie d'Asie* iv. 378). Of the history of the town little is known; there are remains from the Byzantine period, not however from antiquity. The origin of the name is obscure; Ewliya Celebi reports that a certain ŠabandĪ Kūĵa founded the town (cf. *Travels*, transl. by J. v. Hammer, London 1850, ii. 91); but this report is probably not trustworthy and the personage mentioned is apparently a *hero eponymus*. More trustworthy seems the statement that the grand-westir of Sulaimān the Great, Šarīf Rūstem Paĥa, founded a mosque, a public bath and an inn with 170 rooms in the town, a statement which concords with local tradition (cf. M. Kleonimos and Chr. Papadopoulos, *Βιβλικά*, Constantinople 1861, p. 41). The place was only of some importance as a post-station; nowadays it is a railway halting-place. Of greater importance is the lake, especially because of the projected canalisation which was planned long ago, but never was carried out. Pliny (*Epist. ad Trajanum*, ed. Kukuia, Leipzig 1912, N^o. 41, 42, 61 and 62) mentions ancient remains (*ep. cit.*, p. 290 a); he proposed to Trajan to bring about a communication with the Gulf of Ismīd. The lake is 15 km long and reaches a breadth of 5 km; it occupies an area of 98 sq. km and has a circumference of 36 km (cf. Guinet, *op. cit.* iv. 334). It is already mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, xvi. 8, 3 under the name of lacus sumonensis (=suphonensis?; cf. W. Tomaschek (*SB Ak. Wien*, vol. 124, 1891, N^o. 8, p. 7). In mediaeval authors the mountain at the lake is called Siphones (G. Pachymeres, ed. Bekker ii. 332, 8), Siphon (Anna Comnena who calls the lake *Βαθὺς Ἄλως*; cf. ed. Reifferscheid ii. 72, 23; the reading *Βαθὺς Ἄλως* in Eucyrius ii. 14 is to be corrected into *Καὶ ὁ Ἄλως*; cf. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier in *Revue de l'Instruction publ. en Belgique* xl. [1897], p. 13-15 and *Byz. Zeitschrift* vi. 457), Sophon (Georg. Cedrenus, *Hist.*, ed. Bekker ii. 371, 628; Skylitzes, p. 710; Niceph. Bryenn. p. 77, 79, 82; Michael Att., p. 189; Theophanes, p. 610). ŠabandĪa is perhaps a popular transformation of Sophon.

The project of the canal (see above) was discussed several times, but without success, in the Muslim era, e. g. during the reign of Murād III

in 999/1591 (the year 909 in Hādĵĵ Khalifa, *Djĵānnumā*, p. 666, 12 is due to a printer's error and has given rise to mistakes, cf. J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. d. Osmanischen Reiches*, iv. 200 note; further during the reign of Muṣṭafā III in 1578 and later also (cf. Baron de Tott [Töth], *Mémoires*, i. 97). Cf. further the

Bibliography: On ŠabandĪa: Ewliya Celebi, *Siyāhat Nāme*, Constantinople 1314—18, ii. 171 sq., 459 sqq., v. 74; Hādĵĵ Khalifa, *Djĵānnumā*, p. 666, 673, 11; transl. M. Norberg ii. 493 (cf. J. Otter, *Voyage* ii. 45); *Le voyage de M. d'Aramon par Jean Chardin*, Paris 1887, p. 61 sq.; J. B. Tavernier, *Voyages* i. 6; P. Lucas, *Voyages* i. 204 sq.; Ft. La Boullaye-le-Gouz, *Voyages et observations*, Paris 1653; Sacabangi; R. Pococke, *Description of the East*, London 1745, ii. 95; C. Ritter, *Kleinasiens* i. 669 sq.; J. A. Cramers, *Asia Minor*, Oxford 1832, i. 188; James Morier, *Journey through Persia etc.*, London 1812, p. 408 (on the projected canal under the wezir Köprülü); Rémi Aulher Eloy, *Relations de voyages en Orient*, Paris 1843, ii. 376; W. Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, London 1842, ii. 25; J. v. Hammer, *Umblick auf einer Reise*, Pesth 1818, p. 128—142 (with copious materials on the projected canal); Ch. Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure*, i. 51; X. Hommaire de Hell, *Voyage en Turquie*, Paris 1859, i. 23 (cf. *Courier de Constantinople*, May 29th 1847 and *Das Ausland*, 1855, p. 415—418); an illustration in Léon de Laborde, *Voyage de Syrie etc.*, Paris 1838, 199, N^o. xvii, plate —. On the projected canal, cf. J. Solch in *Mitteilungen des Vereins der Geographen der Universität Leipzig*, i. (1911), p. 36—56; C. Ritter, *Kleinasiens*, i. 669 sqq.; *Revue historique et moderne (T.O.E.M.)*, iii. (1328), p. 948 sqq.; J. B. Tavernier, i. 6; Alberi, *Relazioni*, 3rd series i. 420; Wāṣil i. 162 (year 1177/1758) also in J. v. Hammer, *Umblick*, p. 177. — In Selānki's *Ta'riḥ*, Constantinople 1281, p. 277, 282 sq. the lake is called *Alḥz gōll* instead of *lyān gōll*; cf. lacus Ivaris in Leupoldius, *Hist. Musulm.*, p. 57, 18 (from this form preceded by the usual *al* the name could be derived as well); J. v. Hammer, *Geschichte d. Osm. Reiches*, i. 72, 578; iv. 200 (after Selānki); F. Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz*, Leipzig 1924, p. 93 sq., 245; W. M. Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, London 1890, p. 188. (FRANK BARINGER)

SABBĪH, title of Sūra lxxvii. of the *Kur'ān*, which is also called *al-Aḥz*, after the last word of the first verse.

AL-ŠĀBĪ', ABŪ Iṣḥāq IBRAHĪM b. HILĀL b. IBRAHĪM b. ZAHRŪN AL-ĤAKKĀNĪ was an adherent of the sect of Šāb'ians (q. v. al-Šāb'ā) and was born on the 5th of Ramaḍān, 313 A.H., according to the most trustworthy authority, his grandson Hilāl, while the *Fihrist* gives the year 320, which is certainly too late a date. His father Hilāl was a skilful doctor and in the service of Tūrṭān, who died in 324 A.H. Ibrahīm was brought up to the same sciences as other members of his family, who were all skilled in medicine, astronomy and mathematics. He is stated to have made an astrolabe of the size of a large silver coin for al-Mutahhar b. 'Abd Allāh, the Westir of the Būyid Amīr 'Aḍud al-Dawla. At an early date, however, he gave up these pursuits and became

a secretary in the State-chancellery, and here he came into prominence when the Bāyid Mu'izz al-Dawla (died 356 A.H.) sent a messenger to the Waṣīr al-Muhallabī asking him to draw up without loss of time a letter to Muhammad b. Ilyās, governor of Kirman, to ask his daughter in marriage for prince Ṣāḥib-tiyār, the later Amīr 'Izz al-Dawla. The Waṣīr, his friends and secretaries had been having a heavy drinking-bout and only Ibrahim al-Sābī was capable of drawing up the desired document, which found general approval. He must have come prominently to the notice of Mu'izz al-Dawla, who in the year 349 A.H. on the death of Abū Ishāq Ibn Thawāba appointed him chief secretary of the department of State-documents (Dīwān al-Inshā'). The Amīr tried his utmost to convert him to Islām, offering him even the post of Waṣīr as a reward, but he refused and remained true to his religious convictions till his death. However, he was a man of good manners and complied as such as much as possible with Muslim customs and fasted during the month of Ramaḍān; besides, his knowledge of the Qur'ān was perfect and he quoted from it frequently in his official letters. Upon the death of Mu'izz al-Dawla he retained his post in the Chancellery under his son 'Izz al-Dawla and in the year 364 A.H. when the latter's uncle 'Aḍud al-Dawla came to Baghḍād it was part of Ibrahim's duty to draw up the contract for an amicable settlement about their respective positions. 'Aḍud al-Dawla had at first been very favorably disposed towards Ibrahim and invited him to come to Shīraz, which he refused to do as he feared his relations during his absence might be converted to Islām. The document, however, contained terms which offended 'Aḍud al-Dawla, especially as 'Izz al-Dawla was given the prerogatives of his father Mu'izz al-Dawla, which incurred the hatred of 'Aḍud al-Dawla. The quarrel between the uncle and his nephew was disastrous for Ibrahim, for when 'Izz al-Dawla was killed in 367 A.H. and 'Aḍud al-Dawla entered Baghḍād, he was apprehended on Saturday, the 26th of Dhū l-Ka'da. 'Aḍud al-Dawla had vowed that he would have him trampled to death by elephants, but several prominent persons, among them the Waṣīr al-Muḥallabī b. 'Abd-Allāh interceded for him and he was cast into prison, where he lingered several years. To give him a chance to regain the favour of 'Aḍud al-Dawla he was ordered while in prison to write a history of the Bāyid dynasty, which was to have the title *Kutub al-Taḍfī*, after the new title of 'Aḍud al-Dawla, Tādī al-Milla. The Amīr made it his business to read the sheets of the work himself as they were composed and to make such corrections as he desired. Ibrahim, annoyed at the mode in which the work was composed, had the indiscretion to tell a friend upon his enquiry how the work was proceeding, that what he was writing was lies and bagatelles which he was scribbling. This remark was conveyed to 'Aḍud al-Dawla and only the death of the latter saved Ibrahim from violent death. After the accession of Sharaf al-Dawla he was released from prison on the 20th of Dhu'l-Hijja 371 A.H. He was compelled to live the remainder of his days in retirement and died on Thursday the 12th of Shawwāl, 384 at the age of 71 years. Some authorities state that he attained the age of 91 years, but both the date of his death and his age are confirmed by the superscriptions of the elegy which the Shānī al-Rādī composed upon his

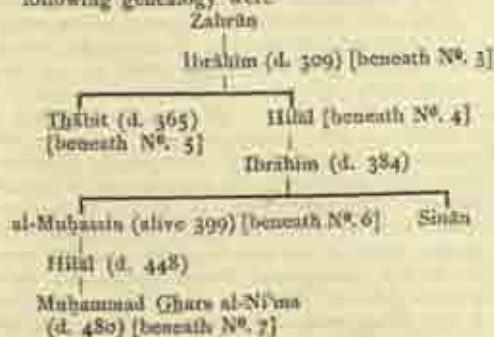
death (ed. Beirut, l. 204; British Museum, Add. 25759 and Add. 19410). He was buried in the Shānī cemetery at Baghḍād. The elegy of al-Rādī was a token of a long and sincere friendship and when reproached about mourning an unbeliever, he replied that he mourned him for his personal merits. The poem is also quoted in extenso by Tha'ālībī in the *Yatima* (ed. Damascus, li. 81—85). Of the works of Ibrahim the *Kutub al-Taḍfī* is lost, but it is quoted occasionally by later historians e.g. Mirkhwānd, *Geschichte der Sultane aus dem Geschlechte Būyeh* (ed. Wilcken, Berlin 1832), p. 13 of the Persian text, and anonymously by Ibn Miskawayh, Arabic text li. 21—22, 23, 53, 59, 86, 87, 404. The genealogy of the Bāyids quoted by Mirkhwānd *l.c.*, seems to confirm the statement of Ibrahim. Ibn Abī Usāib'a (l. 224, 23) attributes the *Kutub al-Taḍfī* erroneously to Simān b. Thābit. Ibrahim's other works are: 1) a history of his own family, which is also lost. His reputation rests rather upon his 2) *Rasā'id* or official letters which were collected and have come down to us (MS. Leiden 345, Paris 3314) and of which many examples are quoted in the *Yatima*, the *Irshād* of Yāqūt, the *Sabā' al-Aḥbāb* of Kalkāghandī and the *Ma'āhid al-Tamgha*. They are historically of the highest importance as they supplement our knowledge of the period of the decay of the caliphate. Though the Persian influence is noticeable in the diffuseness of his style, it is free from Saffī, and lucid when compared with later specimens of the same art. 4) His poems, of which ample specimens are quoted in the works mentioned above and in many anthologies, are not to be distinguished from the productions of other poets of his time. They contain verses in praise of notable persons of the age, among them the waṣīr al-Muḥallabī (died 358 A.H.), al-Muḥallabī b. 'Abd-Allāh, waṣīr of 'Aḍud al-Dawla (committed suicide in 369 A.H.), 'Aḍud al-Dawla, Sābūr b. Ardashīr, waṣīr of Bahā' al-Dawla (deposed 381 A.H.), 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Yūsuf, successor of Sābūr, Shāms al-Dawla (reigned 372—388) and others; among his elegies is one upon his son Simān.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 134; Tha'ālībī, *Yatima* (ed. Damascus), li. 23—86, l. 14, 69, 187, 188, 190, 328; Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüstenfeld), No. 12 = Cairo 1310, l. 12; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth, i. 324—358; Ibn al-Aṭfī, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, viii. 397, ix. 11, 74, 226; Abū l-Fida' (ed. Constantinople, li. 136); Hilāl al-Sifī, *Wuzara'*, Introduction, p. 3; Kifī, *Ta'riḥ al-Fukama'*; Muhammad Bakir, *Rasā'id al-Ḥijān* (ed. Teherān), p. 45 and 141; Barthelmeus, *Muḥallabī*, ed. Silihānī, p. 307; Nawā'iri, *Nihāyat al-Arab* (ed. Cairo), l. 40; *Ma'āhid al-Tamgha* (ed. 1310), i. 53, 154—161, 174, 227, 257; li. 114—115, Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, p. 149; Chwolson, *SSabir* (St. Petersburg 1856); Brockelmann, *Gesch. arab. Lit.*, i. 96; Canir, *MSS. in the Escorial*, i. 405; Nizam al-Din, *Introduction to the Ḥawā'id al-Hikāyat of Muhammad 'Awfi* (Dissertation Cambridge, Univ. Libr.). (V. KANKOW)

2. HIZAL B. AL-MUHAMMAD AL-SĀBĪ, the grandson of Ibrahim b. Hizāl was born in Shawwāl 359 A.H. and was a Sābī'an like the other members of his family. His mother was the sister of the physician and historian Thābit b. Sinān b. Kurra. He was the first member of his family who forsook

his old faith and became a Muslim. This was in the year 399 in consequence of a dream he had. He was secretary of Fakhr al-Mulk Abū Ghālib Muhammad b. Khulaf, who at his death had with him on deposit the sum of 30,000 dinārs. He was afraid to make use of the money, fearing the interference of the wazīr Mu'ayyid al-Mulk al-Ḥasan al-Rūh-khādī (died 430 A. H.); but when the latter found it out, he allowed him to keep the money. He did not use it, however, as he was in State-employment and left it to his son Ghārs al-Nīmāt. He died on Thursday the 17th of Ramaḍān, 448 A. H. The nine works which he composed have all been lost except the fragments edited by H. F. Amedroz, Leiden 1904. They consisted of the following: 1) *Ṭarīkh*, a history in continuation of that of his father-in-law Thābit b. Sinān, containing the events of the years 360—447. Of this the fragment published contains events of the years 389—393 only, and the portion preserved makes us regret the loss of the remainder. He relied for the earlier parts upon much valuable information supplied by his grandfather, who for so many years had access to all the most important documents. 2) *Kitāb al-Wuṣṣā'*, a continuation of the works of al-Šāli and al-Djāshiyārī. Of this only the beginning is preserved in the printed edition and some of the most important lives of wazīrs are lost. This work is quoted under the title *Kitāb al-A'yān wa'l-Anwāl* by Ibn Zāfir in the *Baṣ'at al-Baḍā'ih* (Cairo 1316, i. 63, 169; ii. 102), where fragments of a later portion are preserved. Ibn Khallikān calls this work by the longer title *Kitāb al-Anwāl wa'l-A'yān wa Mutanaddi'l-Anwāl wa'l-Iḥṣān* and states that it is in one volume and contains pleasant stories and rare anecdotes. 3) *Gharar al-Balāgha fī'l-Rasā'il*, a collection of his own epistles. 4) *Kitāb Riḥlat 'an il-Mulūk wa'l-Wuṣṣā'*, a collection of official letters, resembling that of his grandfather. 5) *Kitāb Rasā'il Dār il-Khilāfa*, probably an exposition of the various public offices in Baghdād. 6) *Kitāb Akhḥār Baghdād*, chronicle of the city of Baghdād. 7) *Kitāb Ma'āthir Ahlihi*, chronicle of his own family. 8) *Kitāb al-Kawā'id*, a manual for secretaries, probably after the model of the work with the same title by al-Šāli. 9) *Kitāb al-Siyāra*.

Bibliography: *Kitāb al-Wuṣṣā'*, Introduction, p. 5—7, 13; Khayr, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, Ms. B. M.; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, Nr. 756 = Cairo 1310, ii. 202; Ibn Hidjāz, *Ṭawārīḥ al-Awā'id* (Cairo 1304), i. 76; J. F. A. S. 1901, p. 501 and 749; v. Kretmer, *Darbīk. Ak. Wien*, xxxvi. 283—362; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Arab. Lit.*, 198; Brockelmann, *Gesch. Arab. Lit.*, i. 323. Other members of the family according to the following genealogy were:



3. ABŪ IḤSĀN IBRAHĪM b. ZAHIRŪN was a skillful doctor and came from al-Raqqa to Baghdād where he died on the 20th of Šafar, 309 A. H. Ibn Abi Uṣaybi'a, i. 227; Kifl, *Hukamā'* (ed. Cairo 1326), p. 55.

4. HILĀL b. IBRAHĪM b. ZAHIRŪN ABŪ 'L-ḤUBAID, the father of Ibrāhīm, was a clever physician and in the service of the amir Thān. Kifl, *Hukamā'* (ed. Cairo), p. 229.

5. THĀBIT b. IBRAHĪM b. ZAHIRŪN, also a physician, was an old man when 'Aḍud al-Dawla came to Baghdād in 364 A. H. Though at first not well received he was later granted a pension and died the 11th of Dhū'l-Ka'da, 365 A. H. He was born at al-Raqqa on the 27th of Dhū'l-Ka'da, 281 A. H. Ibn Abi Uṣaybi'a, i. 227—230; Vāḳūf, *Irshād*, i. 341.

6. AL-MUḤASSIN b. IBRAHĪM ABŪ 'ALĪ transmitted the books of Sinān b. Thābit b. Kurra. Ibn Abi Uṣaybi'a, i. 224—227; Vāḳūf, *Irshād*, i. 339 sqq.

7. MUḤAMMAD b. HILĀL ABŪ 'L-ḤASAN GHĀRS AL-NĪMA, son of the historian Hilāl. He was born in 416 A. H. and inherited at the death of his father valuable property which was valued at 12,000 dinārs; he lived a very quiet life and by improving his wealth he was worth 70,000 dinārs when he died in 480 A. H. His children soon squandered this wealth, and with him the glory of his family ended. He had founded a small library of 400 volumes of which Ibn al-Aḳānī was made librarian, but the latter proved to be dishonest and sold many of the books. Ghārs al-Nīmāt was also for a time in the chancellery of the caliph al-Kā'im. He tried to continue the history of his father, but it was only a small volume and became towards the end very succinct, probably because he dared not write all he wanted to say. According to al-Safadi, Hishat-Allāh b. al-Mubārak accuses him of having included many falsehoods in his history. We cannot verify this as all his works have been lost. His other works were 2) *al-Hafawāt al-Nādira min al-Mughaffila al-Mahḥūṣa wa'l-Saḥā'at al-Bārda min al-Mughaffala al-Mahḥūṣa* which contained historical tales, and 3) *Kitāb al-Rak'* which was after the model of the *Nigwār al-Mubāḥarāt* of al-Tanūkhī. Ibn Khallikān (ed. Cairo 1310), ii. 202; Ibn al-Kifl, *Hukamā'* (ed. Cairo), p. 77; Safadi, *Waf' il-Wafayāt*, British Museum, MS. Or. 5320, fol. 110r.

(F. KREMER)

AL-ŠĀBĪ'A, the Sabaeans. This name has been given to two quite distinct sects: 1. the Mandaeans or Sabhes, a Judaeo-Christian sect practising the rite of baptism in Mesopotamia (Christians of John the Baptist); 2. the Sabaeans of Harrān, a pagan sect which survived for a considerable period under Islām, of interest for its doctrines and of importance for the scholars whom it has produced.

The Sabaeans mentioned in the Kor'an, who are on three occasions placed along with the Jews and Christians among the "people of the book", i. e. possessors of a revealed book, are apparently the Mandaeans. The name must come from the Hebrew root *š-b* "to plunge, to immerse", by loss of *sin* and must mean "baptists", those who practise baptism by immersion. The pagan Sabaeans, who did not know this rite at all, may have adopted this name as a measure of precaution to secure the advantages of the toleration accorded by the Kor'an to Jews and Christians.

Arab writers from the fourth century A. H. onwards very frequently mention the Sabaeans of Harrān and always with interest. Al-Shahrastānī devotes a very long section to them and the exposition of their doctrines. He classes them among those who admit spiritual substances (*al-rūḥāniyyūn*), especially the great astral spirits. They recognise as their first teachers two philosopher-prophets: Adhimin (Agathodemon = the good spirit) and Hermes who have been identified with Seth and Idris respectively. Orpheus was also one of their prophets. They believe in a creator of the world, wise, holy, not produced, and of inaccessible majesty, who is reached through the intermediary of the spirits. The latter are pure and holy in substance, in act and state; as regards their nature, they have nothing corporeal, neither physical faculties nor movements in place nor changes in time. They are our masters, our gods, our intercessors with the sovereign Lord; by purifying the soul and chastising the passions, one enters into relations with them. As to their activities they produce, renew and change things from state to state; they cause the force of the divine majesty to flow down towards the lower beings and lead each of them from his beginning to his perfection. Among them are the administrators of the seven planets, which are like their temples. Each spirit has a temple; each temple has a sphere and the spirit is to his temple as the soul is to the body. Sometimes they call the planets fathers and the elements mothers. Their activity consists in moving these spheres and in acting upon the elements and the physical world through them; from this result the mixtures in the compositions, then the corporeal faculties. The general beings proceed from the general spirits and the particular from the particular spirits; thus rain in general has its spirit, its spiritual master, and every drop of rain has its own. They preside over the phenomena of the world, winds, storms, earthquakes and give to each being its faculties and lay down laws for it; their condition is very spiritual and analogous to that of the angels.

Al-Shahrastānī distinguishes between the Sabaeans who worshipped the stars, called temples, directly and those who worshipped idols made with hands (*al-shaḥāḥ*, persons), representing the stars in temples made by man. There is a very curious note on the temples and idols of the Sabaeans, as well as on their ceremonies in al-Dimishqī, (*Cosmographie*, ed. A. F. Mehren, 1866): the shape of the temples, the number of the degrees, the colour of the ornaments, the material of the idols and the nature of the sacrifices varied with the planets, and this is interesting for the history of the liturgy. Here and elsewhere we find the accusation of human sacrifices made, which undoubtedly is not to be maintained. The Jewish philosopher Maimonides says he had seen idols which resembled those of which al-Dimishqī speaks. Al-Shahrastānī further tells us that all the Sabaeans had three prayers; they purified themselves by ablution after contact with a corpse, forbade the flesh of swine, dogs, birds with talons and pigeons. They did not have circumcision, allowed divorce only by decree of the judge and forbade bigamy.

The Sabaeans were at first scattered throughout the north of Mesopotamia and had their principal centre at Harrān, the ancient Carrhae; their liturgical language was Syriac. The Caliph Ma'mūn

thought of persecuting and destroying them; but their intellectual merits gained them toleration. Towards 259 (872) the celebrated Thābit b. Qurra, having had a quarrel with his co-religionists, was excommunicated at Harrān and came to Baghdad, where he founded another branch of Sabaeism. The Sabaeans community in Baghdad lived for some time in peace; but the Caliph Kābir began to persecute them and forced Sīnā, son of Thābit, to embrace Islam. In about 364 (975) the Sabaeans Abū Ishāq b. Hīlāl, who was secretary to the Caliph Mu't and Ju'ī, caused an edict of toleration to be issued in favour of his co-religionists of Harrān, Raḥḥā and Dīyār Modār and protected those of Baghdad. In the 11th century A.D. there were still many Sabaeans at Baghdad and at Harrān. In 424 (1033) there was left only a temple of the moon, which formed a citadel at Harrān; this temple was at that date taken by the Alid Egyptians. After the middle of the 11th century A.D. all trace of the Sabaeans of Harrān is lost; we still find them at Baghdad till the end of this century.

The great men who have rendered this sect illustrious are: Thābit b. Qurra, the eminent geometrician, original astronomer, translator and philosopher; Sīnā b. Thābit, physician and meteorologist; other physicians and astronomers of the same family; Thābit b. Sīnā and Hīlāl b. al-Muḥamman, historians; Abū Ishāq b. Hīlāl, vizier, and other members of the family; al-Batūnī (Albatagūn), the celebrated astronomer; Abū Dja'far al-Khāzin, mathematician; Ibn al-Wahshīya, the author of *Nabataean Agriculture*, although professing to be a Muslim, in every way belonged to the Sabaeans school; Dīshir (Geber), the famous alchemist, about whom, it is true, there is very little known for certain, was probably a Sabaeans. Finally it may be mentioned that these scholars are quoted on mineralogy by al-Dimishqī.

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(B. CARRE DE VAUX)

SABĪL, a way, road, or path, is used in the *Kur'ān* (1) literally, e.g. *man istafā ilāhī sabīlan* (Sara iii, 91 etc.) "who is able to journey thither"; (2) figuratively, as in the expression *saḥīf-Allah*, for which see *ḤIKMĀD*; (3) figuratively, in the sense of the true way, the Apostle's way, as in the passage *ya tālūtun ittakhadhna wa'a 'l-rasūl sabīlan* (Sara xxv, 29) "Oh! would that I had taken with the Apostle a path!" i.e. his

path, or the true path; (4) figuratively, in the sense of a means of attaining or acquiring an object, or a way out of a difficulty or trouble, as in the passage *aw yaffalu illāhu lahuwa sabīlan* (Sūra iv. 19) "or God make some way for them"; (5) in the expression *ibn al-sabīl* "a son of the road", that is a traveller, or wayfarer, mentioned as a fit object of compassion, or charity. The word is now applied also to a public drinking fountain. The great merit naturally attached in arid countries and tropical climates to the provision of wells, cisterns and fountains for thirsty travellers is recognized in Islam, as in most oriental religions, and it is possible that the use of *sabīl* in this sense is suggested by the expression *Sabīl-Allāh*, applied to any work undertaken for the sake of God.

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(T. W. HAIG)

SABİL ALLĀH. [See *IMĀN*].

SABIYA "Severer", the name of various Shi'a groups who restrict the number of visible Imāms to seven. Confusion came upon the legitimist Shi'a, who believe that the character of Imām is transmitted by divine providence from father to son, when about 145 (762) Ismā'il, the (eldest?) son of the sixth Imām Dja'far al-Sādiq [q. v.], died before his father. While the majority replaced Ismā'il by another son of Dja'far, Mūsā al-Kāsim, the seventh in the series of the twelve visible Imāms of the *Ithnā-ʿashariya* [q. v.], "twelvers", and others attached themselves to the otherwise less prominent sons, Muhammad, 'Abd Allāh and 'Alī, the strictest legitimists remained faithful to Ismā'il. They denied that he died before his father's death. The evidence brought forward in support of this view seems to have impressed even their opponents, for the latter found it necessary, in order to dispose of Ismā'il, to attack his character; they said that, on account of his evil life, his father had withdrawn from him the right of succession at first intended for him. These accusations, particularly that of wine-drinking, can be explained as an attack on the slackening of the law by the Severers directed back against the Imāms who gave them their name.

From the first Severer movement was not a united one. A *Muhārakiya* sect "stood fast" by Ismā'il, so that for them he is the last Imām and the Mahdī [q. v.]. But the majority continued the imamate down to his son Muhammad, who becomes *Kā'im al-Zamān* [q. v.] with the official title of al-Tāmm "finisher", a title which, in some of the minor systems, seems to be prejudiced by the fact that he is in turn followed by inviolable Imāms, known only to the initiated. In spite of the position of Muhammad al-Tāmm, however, the name of Ismā'il remains attached to the main groups. In their hierarchical view therefore the Severers belong to the many "*Wāḥidīya*" "those who stand fast". This is, in part, naturally, explained by the political conditions of the period. In 145 the Abbāsid Caliph al-Mansūr had put down the rising at Medina led by al-Nafs al-Zakiya Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī; in the following year, the latter's brother, Ibrāhīm of Baḡra, also fell. The 'Alid question was thus disposed of for the time and with such success that even in these activist circles, who chose their Imāms from the vigorous 'Alids, who actually took to the sword, a "*Djārūdiya*" sect "stood" by al-

Nafs al-Zakiya as the concealed Mahdī. The tendency to hope for a return increased still further among the legitimists, who were bound by their dogma to definite persons, as it would have been useless to carry on into active history an imamate which had really become hopeless. There were "some who stood fast" by each of Ismā'il's brothers; the *Muḥawwīya*, nicknamed *Mamḡra*, "ruined spoon", often called simply the *Wāḥidīya*, became of some importance. Strictly speaking, such groups also come under the head of Severers. But, as a rule, *Sabiya* is used identically with *Ismā'īliya* [q. v.]. For them steadfastness did not develop into the abandonment of political aims — although it was over a century before this became apparent — but rather into the very skilful plan of retaining the very effective idea of an Imām given by sacred birth and yet rejecting the individual that chance brought forward in the person of the often very incapable first-born of the seed of 'Alī and Ḥusayn. The Severer movement thus attained considerable importance in secular history also, through men who appeared as *ḍis* [q. v.] of the hidden seventh Imām, Muḥammad b. Ismā'il, like Ḥamdān Karmat, or his successor, who came forth from concealment, like the Fātimid Sa'id b. 'Abd Allāh b. Maimūn, or as his "return" himself, as Tahart III. 2218, the narrates of the Karmatian missionary Yahyā b. Dhikrawāh). Karmatians, Fātimids, Assassins and the *Ismā'īlis* of India, Persia and Central Asia are the groups through which the Severer movement finds its place in secular history, but the Druses also and in a way the Mulkīlā and Nuḡairis also may be traced back to the old *Sabiya*.

The *Sabiya* itself, however, is quite as much a religion — and an independent religion — movement as a political one. The remarkable feature that the number of Imāms was fixed at seven at the same time with the different sons of Dja'far is more simply understood if we assume that the political reasons already mentioned were further supported by a point of view which periodized all cosmic and historical happenings by the sacred number of seven. The example of the *Khayyābiya*, who worshipped Ismā'il's father, Dja'far, as a god, shows that in the early days of development of the *Sabiya* the deification of Imāms was not entirely unprecedented. We cannot, of course, in the circumstances deal with the theology of the Severers. We only know of a single one out of the different systems and even that is often obscure, through being known only from hostile representations. We may claim for the Severers as their individual contribution to theology a gnostic cosmogony in which names and things are often, however, not used consistently. The steps of emanation are (1) God, (2) universal intelligence (*ʿaql*), (3) universal soul (*nafs*), (4) primeval matter, (5) space or the pleroma, (6) time or the kenoma, (7) the world of earth and man. This number seven recurs in the lower world in the 7 prophets or *wāḥid* "speakers" in the redemption story: Adam is the first *wāḥid*, but as a rule not the first man; then follow Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Muhammad and Muhammad al-Tāmm. Between each two of these *wāḥid* there are inserted seven "silent ones", *ṣāmit*, of whom the first, as special helpers of the *wāḥid*, under titles like *ṣāḥib*, "releaser", or *asās*, "foundation", are particularly

important because it is only through the esoteric exposition attributed to them that the teachings and laws of the *ṣūfī* receive their true meaning or are completely explained. These *ṣūfī* are Seth — which reminds one of the gnosis of the Sethians — Shem, Ishmael (son of Hagar), Aaron, Peter, 'Alī and the seventh is the inaugurator of the particular Seveener group in question, e.g. 'Abd Allāh b. Maimān. Alongside of the *ṣūfī*, there is a further lower hierarchy arranged in sevens or twelves, notably the *ḥudūdī* (q. v.) and the *ḥāfī*. The system is, however, very much upset by a theory of incarnation which actually equates the seventh Imām to God; thus Ibn Tāhir al-Baghdādī, p. 288 reports, on the authority of a man who had been for a period engaged in Imāmī propaganda, that the latter had been expected to see in Muhammad al-Tāmm Him who had revealed himself to Moses. In several groups, e.g. the Indian Ismā'īlī, the cosmogony and with it the periodisation after the sacred number seven has fallen into the background and 'Alī has become God as the first Imām. The way thus leads from the Seveeners on to the 'Alī Hāfī (q. v.). Starting with 'Alī, they count right down to the 47th Imām, Agha Khān Muḥammad Shāh. Next to the Imām and in history often surpassing him in importance here is the *ḥudūdī*. Muḥammad the Prophet appears as the *ḥudūdī* of 'Alī. But he is substituted for political reasons for Salīm al-Fārisī, who is really intended.

For salvation the recognition of the concealed Imām known only to the initiated is absolutely necessary; consequently the "instruction" of them attains increased importance and they are accordingly also called Ta'limīya. Initiation into the esoteric religion takes place through 7 or 9 initiatory stages. Ibn Tāhir, l. c., 282 *qq.* mentions (1) the *ṭafarrus*, the "exact investigation", a psychological method not particularly skilful, or almost a means of working oneself entirely into him who is to be won and of placing oneself on common ground with him. Then (2) the adept is "shown" in the *ḥadīth* the whole "beauty" of his previous belief with the suggestion that it is much more splendid than he has suspected hitherto, after which (3) in the *ṭafarrus* he becomes "shaken by doubt" that he is not yet fully conscious of his belief. After such anthroposophical spiritual guidance, the moment arrives at which the novice is "bound" and "attached" to the secret authority with the formula that real knowledge only exists in the Concealed One and his organs through (4) the *raḥī* and (5) the *ṭafarrus*. In (6) the *ṭafarrus* the real esoteric meaning is by allegorical explanations brought out of the external covering of the letter, under which all historical prophecies and laws are "obscured". (7) The "grounding" *ṭafarrus* can now begin in a novitiate proper of some length, after the expiry of which the disciple (8) subscribes himself body and soul by "agreements sealed by oaths", *ṣawābiq bilālmān*, to the bond, in return for which he is "released" in the (9) *ḥadīth* and *ṭafarrus* from all earlier dogmatic restraints and all external legislation outside these obligations.

The whole system is deliberately supported for form's sake on Korān passages, which is the more easily done in consequence of the frequently obscure allusions made in the sacred book. Thus the adept is surprised to learn from Korān xv. 99, "serve thy Lord till certainty comes to thee",

that his previous worship of God has only been a preliminary step. The passages in which the word *ḥadīth* "inner" occurs are made to supply *dicta probantia* for an extravagant, and of its kind not exactly original, system of allegory, including an extensive alphabetic kabbala, which is not limited to the mysterious letters of the Sūra's and to names of Imāms or dogmatic formulae. — It has not contributed to the elucidation of the relations of Muslim sects that one group is called after many features and that, for example, the Seveeners are also included as Bāṭinīya (q. v.) along with other bodies of quite different tendencies, like the Kharrāmīya (see KHARRAMĪYA) and Madaḥīya, and often even described as the Bāṭinīya and on this account called by their opponents by the corresponding nickname Ma'atīlīya, "emptiers, nihilists".

The actual origin of the speculative ideas of the Seveeners is, so far, hardly better known to us than to the Muslim authors, whose opinions must be taken with particular caution as their point of view was vitiated by hatred of the heretics. The Sunni symbolists usually insist on Jewish or Christian, still more Sabaeans and especially Parsi, origin; but as a matter of fact they already suspect also a connection with Hellenistic philosophy and Hermetic writings. The point still requires investigation as to how Neo-Platonic speculations, Parsi mysteries and such myths as are found in the Christian "treasure-cave" came to be clothed in a Korānic covering and developed into Ismā'īlī gnosis. The part played as an intermediary by the "Pure Brethren", *ḥāḥawīn al-Ṣafā'* (q. v.) remains also to be investigated.

All classes of Seveeners are very unfavourably criticised by the Muslims, even by the Shī'as. They are regarded as extreme "exaggerators", *ḥāḥawī* (q. v.) and usually are considered to be beyond the pale of Islām, so that some symbolists do not quote them at all. The main reason is that they drop the divinity of Allāh and the finality of Muḥammad's prophecy. It is, however, due to the great elasticity of Muslim names of sects, and to a polemical rather than matter-of-fact frame of mind that they are also called Dahrīya (q. v.) and associated with the materialists, who are essentially different from them. A contributory cause of the unfavourable opinion held of them was, of course, the bitterness felt at their revolutionary aims and their underground political propaganda in the name of the seventh Imām, but still more at their casting off the external law of religion, which is usually dismissed as sheer libertinism; the accusations commonly made against secret sects of sodomy and nightly orgies with wine and community of women also play a great part in the charges made against them. The charges of religious, moral and political nihilism made against them have also found a way into the European literature of the subject. Further investigation, which does not refuse to consider the possibility of syncretism, recognising that every religious system that has become concrete is a syncretic formation with ramifications, will alone be able to show how far the theology, or if one prefers the term, the theosophy of the Seveener movement represents an intelligible reaction against the theology of the God of Islām, so aloof from man, and in how far the libertinism, said to be general and certainly existing in many, is an attempt to

meet the disjointed total of the prescriptions of the Šari'a with a system of ethics, such as is taught by Naṣir-i-Khusrāw, for example, in verses 373-397 of his *ṣiḥḥat al-niḥāya*, regarding the seven sins of character and the seven cardinal virtues; in this investigation it will not much matter whether the "book of illumination" was written when the poet had already attained a very important place in the hierarchy of the Seveners as *ḥuffā* of the Ismā'īlīs, or whether it was written before he joined them, and reveals the attitude of mind which definitely decided him to join this body. Individual bodies of the Seveners, like the Assassins and Karmatians, were certainly extremely intolerant to other Muslims; but in contrast to this we have the tolerant and wise administration of many of the Fatimids in Egypt. Some groups are occasionally said to have been communist, but this is certainly not a general feature. While in the fourth and fifth centuries the Muslim writers report their spread and their propagandist activities in the whole Mahammadan world, the old groups have long become consolidated. But their ideas continued to be effective and were carried from Persia far to the north and from India especially to East Africa. In spite, however, of the consciousness of connection with the old Seveners, the nature of their beliefs has been essentially transformed. The political aspect has disappeared and the religious side is not so aggressive. It is noteworthy that the modern Šab'īya are often just those who are the strongest supporters of the feeling of solidarity in Islam.

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(R. STROTHMANN)

ŠABR (A.) The significance of this conception could hardly be conveyed in a West-European language by a single word, as may be seen from the following. According to the Arabic lexicographers, the root *š-b-r*, of which *šabr* is the *nomen actionis*, means to restrain or bind; thence *šabahu yashbu* "to bind and then slay someone". The slayer and the slain in this case are called *šābir* and *mašbū* respectively. The expression is applied, for example, to martyrs and prisoners of war put to death; in the Hadīth often to animals which — contrary to the Muslim prohibition — are tortured to death (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Ḥaḥ*, 23; Muslim, *Sūḥ*, trad. 58; Aḥmad b. Hanbal, *Musnad*, III, 171). The word has a special technical application in the expression *yamīnu šabru*, by which is meant an oath imposed by

the public authorities and therefore taken unwillingly (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Manāḥif al-Anṣār*, 14b 27; *Alimān*, 14b 17; Muslim, *Ṭūḥ*, trad. 176).

In the *Ḥ* and *ʿ* derivations from the root *š-b-r* frequently occur, in the first place with the general meaning of being patient. Muḥammad is warned to be patient like the Apostles of God before him (xxviii, 16; alvi, 34: "for Allāh's threats are fulfilled", is added in xxx, 60). A double reward is promised to the patient (xxiii, 113; xxviii, 54; cf. xxv, 75). In xxix, 16, it is even said that the *šābir* shall receive their reward without *ḥisāb* (which in this case is explained as measure or limitation).

The conception is given a special application to the holy war (e.g. iii, 140; viii, 66); in such connections it can be translated by endurance, tenacity. The eighth stem is also used in almost the same sense, e.g. *Sūra* xix, 66: "Serve him and persevere in his service". The third stem is also found (iii, 200; cf. below).

The word is next found with the meaning resignation, e.g. in the Joseph (xii, 18) where Jacob, on hearing of the death of his son, says: "Now goodly resignation is fitting" (*ṣabara ḥamīdun*).

Sometimes *šabr* is associated with *ṣiḥ* (ii, 42, 148). According to the commentators, it is in these passages synonymous with fasting and they quote in support the name *shahr al-šabr* given to the month of Ramaḥm.

As an adjective we find *šābir* in the Kor'an, associated with *ḥabir* (*Sūra* 14, 3 etc.); cf. thereon al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*: "It is well with the man who is resigned when misfortune afflicts him, grateful when gifts of grace become his"; and Muslim, *Zuhd*, trad. 64: "Wonderful is the attitude of the believer; everything is for the best with him; if something pleasant happens to him, he is thankful and this proves for the best with him; and if misfortune meets him, he is resigned and this again is for the best with him." The ideas of *šabr* and *ḥabir* are also associated in al-Ghazālī, cf. below.

The later development of the conception is, of course, also reflected in the commentaries on the Kor'an; it is difficult to say in how far these interpretations are already inherent in the language of the Kor'an. In any case, the conception *šabr*, in all its shades of meaning, is essentially Hellenistic in so far as it includes the *ἀνυστασία* of the Stoic, the patience of the Christian and the self-control and renunciation of the ascetic; cf. below. In place of many other explanations of the commentators, we will give here only that of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (*Mafāḥ al-Ghaib*, Cairo 1278, on *Sūra* iii, 200). He distinguishes four kinds of *šabr*: (1) endurance in the laborious intellectual task of dealing with matters of dogma, e.g. in the doctrine of *ṭawḥīd*, *ʿaḥ*, *maḥṣūn*, *maḥṣūl* and disputed points; (2) endurance in completing operations one is bound or recommended by law to do; (3) steadfastness in refraining from forbidden activities; (4) resignation in calamity, etc. *Maḥṣūn* is, according to him, the application of *šabr* to one's fellow-creature (like neighbours, people of the Book), refraining from revenge, the *Amr bil-ma'rūf wa'l-nahy ʿani'l-munkar*, etc.

The high value laid upon *šabr* is also seen in the fact that *šābir* is included among the beautiful names of Allāh. According to the *Lisān* (s.v.

ṣabr), Ṣabr is a synonym of ḥalīm; — with the difference that the sinner need not fear any retribution from the Ḥalīm, but he is not sure of such leniency from the Ṣabr. Allāh's ṣabr is in the Ḥadīth increased to the highest degree in the saying that no one is more patient than He, towards that which wounds His hearing (al-Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, bāb 3).

In the Ḥadīth, ṣabr is, in the first place, found in general connections like: to him who practises ṣabr Allāh will grant ṣabr, for ṣabr is the greatest charisma (al-Bukhārī, *Zabāḥ*, bāb 50; *Riḍā*, bāb 20; Ahmad b. Hanbal, iii, 93); in the Ḥadīth also, ṣabr is applied to endurance in the holy war. A man asked Muḥammad: "If I take part in the Dīḥād with my life and my property and I am killed ṣābir^{an} and resigned, rushing forward without fleeing, shall I enter Paradise?" And Muḥammad answered: "Yes". (Ahmad b. Hanbal, iii, 325); the word is found in other passages in the sense of enduring, e.g. towards the public authorities: "after my death ye shall suffer things, but exercise ṣabr until ye meet me at the heavenly pool" (*ḥawā*) (al-Bukhārī, *Riḍā*, bāb 53; *Fitan*, bāb 2; cf. *Aḥḥām*, bāb 4; Muslim, *Ṣabr*, trad. 53, 56 etc.). The word here usually has the meaning of resignation as in the oft recurring saying: "The (true) ṣabr is revealed at the first blow (*inḥām*) 'I-ṣabr 'inda 'l-ḥadāṭi 'l-ūla, or anwāl 'al-matn or anwāl 'l-ḥadāṭi, al-Bukhārī, *Ḍiyā'at*, bāb 32, 43; Muslim, *Ḍiyā'at*, trad. 15; Abū Dāūd, *Ḍiyā'at*, bāb 22 etc.).

Significant, in other respects also, is the story of the epileptic woman who asked Muḥammad for his *al-ḥā* for her healing; he replied to her that if she refrained from her request and exercised ṣabr, paradise would be her portion (al-Bukhārī, *Mardā*, bāb 6; Muslim, *al-Birr wa'l-ḥila*, trad. 54). The word is often found in this connection associated with the proper word for resignation, viz. *ḥatā'a* (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Aimūn*, bāb 9; Muslim, *Ḍiyā'at*, trad. 11); with this should be compared the following *ḥadīth ḥadīth*: "If my servant is deprived of the light of both his eyes, I grant him paradise in compensation" (al-Bukhārī, *Mardā*, bāb 67; Ahmad b. Hanbal, iii, 285).

In conclusion we may remark that in the canonical Ḥadīth the meaning resignation is exceedingly rare, which receives so great an importance in ethico-ascetic mysticism (cf. what has already been said above on *ṣāra* 2, p. 128). Bāb 20 of al-Bukhārī's *Kiṭāb al-Riḍā* (which, like the chapter *ṣāra* in the other collections of traditions, represents the oldest stage of this tendency in Islam) has in the *tarḡam*: "Umar said: 'We have found the best of our life in ṣabr.' Here we already can trace the Hellenistic sphere of thought for which resignation was the kind of life fitting the true man, the wise man, the martyr.

What the Korān and Ḥadīth say about ṣabr occurs in part again in ethico-mystical literature; but the word has here become, so to speak, a technical term and to a very high degree, as ṣabr is the cardinal virtue in this school of thought. As with other foundational conceptions (see the series of definitions of Ṣāfi and Ṣūfī in Nicholson's essay in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1905), we find numerous definitions of ṣabr, definitions which often point rather to fertility of imagination

than give an exhaustive exposition of the idea, but are of great value for the light they throw upon the subject like lightning flashes. Al-Ḥaṣṣārī in his *Kiṭāb* (Baṣṣā 1287, p. 99 sq.) gives the following collection: — "The gulping down of bitterness without making a wry face" (al-Djānāid); — "the refraining from unpermitted things, silence in suffering blows of fate, showing oneself rich when poverty settles in the courts of subsistence"; — "steadfastness is fitting behaviour (*ḥuṣn al-adab*) under blows of fate" (Ibn 'Atā); — "bowing before the blow without a sound or complaint"; — "the ṣābir is he who has accustomed himself to suddenly meeting with forbidden things" (Abū 'Uthmān); — "ṣabr consists in: welcoming illness as if it were health"; — "steadfastness in God and meeting His blows with a good countenance and equanimity" (Amr b. 'Uthmān); — "steadfastness in the ordinances of the Book and of the Sunna" (al-Khawwāṣ); — the ṣabr of the mystics (literally: lovers) is more difficult than that of the ascetics" (Yahyā b. Ma'ād); — "refraining from complaint" (Ra'wān); — "seeking help with God" (Ibn 'I-Nūn); — ṣabr is like His name (Abū 'Alī al-Dakḥḥ); — "there are three kinds of ṣabr, ṣabr of the *muta-ṣabir*, of the *ṣābir* and of the *ṣābir* (Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Khafī); — "ṣabr is a steel that never stumbles" (Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb); — ṣabr is: not to distinguish between the condition of grace and that of trial, in peace of spirit in both; *ṣābir* is calm under blows, while one feels the heavy trial" (Abū Muḥammad al-Djānāid; cf. *ḥawāṭi*).

This literature, besides play on words and definitions, is also fond of producing shades of meaning by prepositions. Al-Shiblī asked a man: "what kind of ṣabr is the most difficult for him who practises it?" He answered: "al-ṣabr *fi'l-ḥāl*". Then al-Shiblī said: "No". The man: "al-ṣabr *illāḥ*". Al-Shiblī: "No". The man: "al-ṣabr *ma'a'l-ḥāl*". Al-Shiblī: "No". The man: "But what then?" Then al-Shiblī said: "al-ṣabr *'an* 'l-ḥāl", and he added an explanation which threatened to drive his interrogator crazy (al-Ḥaṣṣārī, *Kiṭāb*, p. 100, 3).

Al-Ghazālī treats of ṣabr in the fourth part of the *Iḥyā'*, which describes the virtues that make blessed, Book II. We have seen that already in the Korān *ṣabr* and *ḥukm* are found in association. Al-Ghazālī discusses the two conceptions in the second book separately, but in reality in close connection. He bases the combination, not on the Korānic phraseology, but on the *ṣūfī*: "belief consists of two halves: the one ṣabr and the other *ḥukm*". This again goes back to the tradition: "ṣabr is the half of belief" (cf. the traditions given above which also associate ṣabr and *ḥukm*).

Al-Ghazālī comprises the treatment of ṣabr under the following heads: (1) the excellence of ṣabr; (2) its nature and conception; (3) ṣabr, the half of belief; (4) synonyms with reference to the object of ṣabr; (5) kinds of ṣabr as regards strength and weakness; (6) opinions regarding the necessity of ṣabr and how man can never dispense with ṣabr; (7) consequences of ṣabr and means of attaining it. — This division is virtually adopted by Bar Hebraeus in his *Ḥikāyat* for the *Metaphysics* (see A. J. Wensinck, *Bar Hebraeus' Book of the Dove*, Leiden 1919, p. cxvii-cxix).

Only the following out of these sections can

be given here. *Sabr*, like all religious *maḥmūdāt*, consists of three parts, *maḥrifā*, *ḥāl* and *ʿamal*. The *maḥrifā* are like the tree, the *ḥāl* the branches and the *ʿamal* the fruits. Out of the three classes of beings man alone may possess *sabr*. For the animals are entirely governed by their desires and impulses; the angels, on the other hand, are completely filled by their longing for the deity, so that no desire has power over them and as a result no *sabr* is necessary to overcome it. In man, on the contrary, two impulses (*ḥawā*) are fighting: the impulse of desires and the impulse of religion; the former is kindled by Satan and the latter by the angels. *Sabr* means adherence to the religious as opposed to the sensual impulse.

Sabr is of two kinds: (a) the physical, like the endurance of physical ills, whether active, as in performing difficult tasks, or passive, as in suffering blows, etc.; this kind is laudable; (b) the spiritual, like renunciation in face of natural impulses. According to its different objects, it is called by synonyms like *ʿiṣā*, *ḍaḥḍ al-naṣe*, *ṭuḡḡā*, *ḥilm*, *waṭ al-qadr*, *ḥimān al-ʿarr*, *ṭahd*, *ḥimān*. From this wide range of meaning we can understand that Muḥammad, when asked, could answer: "*ḥimān* is *sabr*". This kind is absolutely laudable (*maḥmūd tāmm*).

As regards the greater or less strength of their *sabr*, three classes of individuals are distinguishable: (a) the very few in whom *sabr* has become a permanent condition; these are the *ṣiddīqūn*, the *muḥarrarūn*; (b) those in whom animal impulses predominate; (c) those in whom a continual struggle is going on between the two impulses: these are the *muḥāḥidūn*; perhaps Allāh will heed them. One of the gnostics (says al-Ghazālī) distinguishes three kinds of *ṣābirūn*: those who renounce desires, these are the *ṣāḥibūn*; those who submit to the divine decree, these are the *ṣāḥibūn*; those who delight in whatever Allāh allows to come upon them, these are the *ṣiddīqūn*.

In section VI, al-Ghazālī shows how the believer requires *sabr* under all circumstances; (a) in health and prosperity; here the close connection between *sabr* and gratitude is seen; (b) in all that does not belong to this category, as in the performance of legal obligations, in refraining from forbidden things, in whatever happens to a man against his will, either from his fellow-men or by God's decree.

As *sabr* is an indication of the struggle between the two impulses, its salutary effect consists in all that may strengthen the religious impulse and weaken the animal one. The weakening of the animal impulse is brought about by asceticism, by avoiding whatever increases this impulse, e.g. by withdrawal, (*ʿazā*) or by the practice of what is permitted, e.g. marriage. The strengthening of the religious impulse is brought about (a) by the awakening of the desires for the fruits of the *Maḥmūdāt*, e.g. by means of the reading of the lives of saints or prophets; (b) by gradually accustoming this impulse to the struggle with its antagonist, so that finally the consciousness of superiority becomes a delight.

Bibliography: Besides the references in the text, see also: Springer, *Dict. of the Techn. Terms*, I. 823 sqq.; M. Asín Palacios, *La mystique d'al-Ghazālī* in the *M. F. O. R.*, vii. 75 sqq.; R. Hartmann, *al-Rūschidī Darstellung des Ṣā-*

ḥimān, *Türk. Bibl.*, xviii, Berlin 1914, Index; L. Massignon, *Al-Hallaj, mystique mystique de l'Islam*, Paris 1922, Index; do., *Essai sur les origines . . . de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1922, Index. (A. J. Wessink)

SABR or **SABTU**, the aloe, the dried juice from the leaves of a group of African aloes belonging to the Liliaceae; a bitter drug and strong purgative, described as early as by Dioscorides, which is highly esteemed in Arab medicine. At the present day the aloe of Sokotra is considered the best quality. Al-Dimashki (*Nuḥbat al-Dahr*, ed. Mehren, p. 81) gives a good description of the plant; and a description of how the sap is obtained is given by al-Nawairi; see also the lexicons (Lane, *Lexicon*, ii. 1645).

Bibliography: O. Warburg, *Die Pflanzenwelt*, iii. 448; L. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, ii. 148 sqq.; Abū Maḥmūd Muwaffaq, *Kit. al-Adwiyā 'an Ḥaḍḍ al-Adwiyā*, ed. Seligmann, p. 164, transl. by Abū-Chalig Achundow, Halle 1893, p. 227; Ibn al-Baitār, transl. Leclerc, ii. 361–367; E. Wiedemann, *Britt.*, xlix; *SBPMS*, 1916, p. 20. (J. RUSKA)

SABB, the Arabic equivalent of the Hebrew *Shabbat*, the name of the Jewish day of rest. According to the Korān, Sūra iv. 153, the Sabbath was imposed upon the Jews on Sinai as a binding law; according to Sūra xvi. 125, upon those "who have differences of opinion regarding this", by which expression, according to the commentators, either the Jews or — which is more probable — the Jews and Christians are intended. Sūra vii. 163–166, ii. 61, iv. 50 contain allusions to a legend, according to which Jewish sabbath-breakers were punished by being turned into apes (or swine). This story is said to have happened at Allā (on the Red Sea) in the reign of David.

Muḥammad did not adopt the Sabbath commandment; on the contrary, he definitely rejected it. That the reason for it given in the Bible, namely that God rested from his labours on the seventh day, did not appeal to him, is indicated in the Korān (l. 37) and in the Ḥadīth they are very fond of referring to this, as Goldziher shows in his essay quoted below. It is on this alleged "rest of God" that the reproach of anthropomorphism, continually made against the Jews, is very frequently based; as a result of the tendency of anti-Jewish polemics to calumniate more and more on this point, the seventh day acquired an actually unfavourable character in many traditions and was characterized as a "day of deceit and treachery", or as a day intended for evil things.

That on the other hand the Jewish Sabbath formed the model for the institution of the Friday service may be regarded as certain. Tradition contains definite evidence of this (Wessink, *Muḥammad in de Joden te Medina*, p. 111 sq.). In its later development the Friday observance borrowed many of the Jewish Sabbath laws or at least adopted features that recall them, but Friday never acquired the character of a day of rest. For further information on this see the article *HUMĀ*.

Bibliography: Besides the commentaries on the Korān passages mentioned see especially: — I. Goldziher, *Die Sabbathinstitution im Islam* (*Gedenkschrift z. Erinnerung an D. Kaufmann*), Breslau 1900, p. 86–105; do.,

Islamism et Purisme, R. H. R., xliii. (1902), 27—28; Bockel, *Zur Geschichte des islamischen Kultus in Der Islam*, iii. (1912), p. 378 sqq. (= *Islam-Studien*, Leipzig 1924, i. 477 sqq.); W. Rudolph, *Die Abhängigkeit des Qorans von Judentum und Christentum* (Stuttgart 1922), p. 55 sq.

SABTA. [See **CRUYA**.]

AL-SABTI, AHMAD b. DJAFAR AL-KHAZRAJJI ABU 'L-'ABHS AL-SABTI, a holy man famous for his virtues and his miracles, born at Ceuta in 540 (= June 24, 1145—June 12, 1146) and died on Monday Djumada II 6, 601 (= Jan. 31, 1205) at Marrākhish where he was buried near the Tāzrit gate. He studied more particularly under Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Fakhkhār, the pupil of the celebrated Kādī 'Iyās of Ceuta. He was eloquent and had no difficulty in convincing his questioners; he was very pious and used to recite the Qur'an by day and night; he recommended the giving of alms. He himself kept nothing out of the numerous gifts he received, except what sufficed for his needs and those of his family for one day only. He retained good for evil and showed compassion to widows and orphans. At the beginning of his career he lived in a *fundūq*, where he taught and with his fees provided for the wants of foreign students. He used to go through the streets of the town reprimanding and even beating those who did not say their prayers.

The memory of the saint remained very vivid among the people but became surrounded by numerous legends. Thus he is said to have prophesied the capture of Ceuta by the Christians to punish his compatriots for their ill-treatment of him; legend relates that after his departure from this town, he was very badly received by the holy men of Marrākhish who feared that his cult would one day eclipse theirs; he has actually become the principal patron saint of this town. But his power extends much farther. The popular belief in Morocco sees in him the master of the winds who is invoked at sea to calm a storm and to raise the necessary wind during a calm. In many places in Algeria as well as in Morocco, the first measure of new grain is given to the poor in his honour.

Bibliography: Ahmad Bābā, *Nuṣṣ al-Bihār*, Fas 1317, p. 31; Maḥarrī, *Amḥar*, Leiden 1858—61, ii. 68, *Nafḥ al-'Iḍ*, Cairo 1302, iv. 355—61; Anon., *al-Dhakhīrat al-ʿarabiyya*, Algiers 1921, p. 42; Ahmad b. Khālid al-Nāṣir al-Salāwī, *al-Isṭiḥṣā*, Cairo 1312, i. 209; Ibn al-Mawakkīt al-Mishwī, *Taʿrīf al-Anfās fī l-Taʿrīf bi Shāikh Abī 'L-'Abās*, Fas 1336; do., *al-Saʿādāt al-abadiyya fī l-Taʿrīf bi Maḥarrī al-Hafṣat al-Marrākhishīya*, 1341, p. 115.

(MORT. BEN CHENEN)

AL-SABU', *Ṣurat al-Sab'*, the constellation of the Wolf, and *Ṣura Kīyas Sabu' al-Dahr*, constellation of Cetus, Kīyas (cf. al-Bihār, *al-Kunūn al-Maʿnūb*, Berl. Ms. or. 8^o, 275, p. 207 a and 220 b). The *Ṣurat al-Sab'* with the Arabs (just as with Ptolemy) consists of 19 single stars, none of which is of more than the third magnitude (according to modern star catalogues the brightest are of 2.8 and 2.9 magnitude). The Greeks called the constellation (undefined) *vi θωρίω* (= the beast); but even among the oldest Hellenists the suggestion of a *raging* beast seems to have been present. The name is in Babylonian (mul) ur-us (= loud) Ur-idim, but in

Sumerian: *z* (*zakkab*) kalbu ṭhegā, which means "raging dog" (*Wolf* probably = Lupus + Centaurus to the north-east); cf. F. X. Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sternnamen in Babyl.*, Ergänzungen (Münster 1913/14, p. 28, 32, 223), *al-Sabu'*, which is also used for L. 109 is in Arabic probably the direct reproduction of the Greek: *ri ṭhegōi*; J. J. Scaliger, as a matter of fact, is said to have found on his Turkish planisphere the name *al-Anda*, the likeness, applied to it.

The animal was formerly thought of in close connection with the centaur. The latter was thought to hold the animal by the forefoot. The Arabs then called the stars of the two constellations, on account of their accumulation at *Shawrīḥ* (= branch of palm with bunch of dates, or a bunch of grapes).

Bibliography: L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen* (Berlin 1809), p. 278—280; Fr. W. V. Lach, *Anleitung zur Kenntnis der Sternnamen* (Leipzig 1796), p. 138 (to be used with care).

(C. SCHÖV)

SABUN soap (cf. English soap), has penetrated through Latin *sapo* and Greek *σαπών* as a loan-word to the East also. According to Pauly-Wissowa, (*Realenz. d. klass. Altert.*, second series, iii. 1112, the ancients were not acquainted with our soap; in Pliny *sapo* means a hair-dye (*ratilaudis capillus*) and also medical salves; for cleansing purposes certain poor earths were used, which were sometimes perfumed. There can, however, be no doubt that soap came into use in the middle ages along with other latherly lotions and in addition to its uses for cleansing the person and for washing was much used for external application in medicine. The statements made regarding its manufacture in Lane, *Lexicon*, iv. 1649 sound quite modern; the "Maghribi" soap, which is not cut into pieces but looks like boiled starch, is apparently our soft soap.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Baīṭr, French transl. by Leclerc, ii. 359; Abū Manṣūr Mawaffaq, *Kīy al-Aḥnāʾ 'an Ḥafā'ish al-Adwiyā*, ed. Seligmann, p. 166, transl. by Abdul-Chalig Achundow, p. 228.

(J. RINCK)

SABUR [See **SHARḤA**.]

SABUR b. ARDAHSH, ABU NAḤS, vizier of the Buyid Bāhā' al-Dawla (q. v.). Sabūr was appointed vizier in 380 (990—991). He did not, however, remain long in office, for he was dismissed in the following year, but in 382 (992—993) was restored to his former rank. At the same time Bāhā' al-Dawla also appointed Abū Manṣūr b. Ṣāliḥ vizier and the two then acted jointly as viziers of the Buyid Emīr. After some time, however, the Dailamī troops began to show their dissatisfaction with Sabūr; his house was sacked and he had to go into hiding (383 = 993—994). As his colleague Ibn Ṣāliḥ was not inclined to fill the office alone, Abū 'L-Kāsim 'Alī b. Ahmad was given the post of vizier; but as soon as the Dailamīs had settled down again Sabūr came back. In 386 (996—997) Bāhā' al-Dawla again appointed him vizier; this time he remained only two months in office and then went to al-Rayḥa. His public activities did not come to an end with this, however, for by the year 390 (999—1000) we again find him in Baghdad as vizier of Bāhā' al-Dawla. In Muharram of the following year (December 1000) the Turkish mercenaries mutinied and demanded that

they should be paid before taking the field. Sābūr had to fly; hostilities developed between the Turks and the rest of the populace in which the Sūnīs took the side of the former and it was only after much bloodshed that the riots were quelled. After Sābūr had fled, he wrote to Bal' al-Dawā and laid the blame for what had happened on an 'Alid, Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. Yahyā, and his companions and then appeared before Ishāq al-Dawā in Shirāz and secured permission from him to arrest them. But when he went to Wasit to carry out this plan, he was outwitted and had to abandon it. In the meanwhile Abu 'l-Ḥasan had made his peace with Bal' al-Dawā and when in the beginning of Dhu'l-Ḥijja 1, 392 (end of March, 1002) Sābūr appeared in Baghdad, the latter had played his last card, so that he left the city within the same month and retired again to al-Jaythā. He died in 416 (1025–1026). In the first period of his viceroyalty — in 381 (991–992) or, according to another statement, not till 383 (993–994) — he had founded a great library, to which he is said to have presented over 10,000 volumes. This existed down till Tughrulbeg's entry into Baghdad when it was set on fire.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), ix, 54 ff., 64, 67 ff., 71, 90, 115, 119, 246; *The Historical Remains of Hishām al-Sābi* (ed. Amelroos), see Index.

(K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

SĀD, the fourteenth letter of the usual Arabic alphabet (numerical value: 90; cf. the article **ARJAD**). How the now usual form of Sād developed out of the Nabataean (still closely resembling the primitive Semitic form) form of the letter may be seen from plate I of the article **ARABIC WRITING**. As to its pronunciation, Sād was even in ancient times and still is an unvoiced, velarized (and according to Meinhof "stopped") alveolar spirant, in which a groove is formed on the front part of the tongue. All these elements (except perhaps the last) were recognised and described as early as Sibawaihi. Of our European sounds the French *s* in *son* is nearest to it, if we add the so-called *ishād* (velarisation: according to Meinhof, with "stopping" at the same time, — Sibawaihi only notes the transition from *s* into *ṣ* (and further into *ḍ*) before *d* (for example, *maḍār* instead of *maḍār*); at the present day it is also found before other voiced consonants (cf. Egyptian Arabic *zuḡḡayr* < *zuḡḡayr*). For further information see Schade, *Sibawaihi's Lautlehre* (see Index). Cf. also Mattson, *Études phonologiques sur le dialecte arabe vulgaire de Beyrouth* (Upsala 1911), p. 24 ff. and especially C. Meinhof, *Was sind emphatische Laute, und wie sind sie entstanden?* in the *Zeitschr. f. Eingeborenensprachen*, xi, 81–106 (especially p. 83–86). — Sād is also the title of Sūra xxxviii of the Korān.

(A. SCHAEHR)

SĀ'D, constellation of good fortune, a common name in Arab astronomy for small groups of stars. They are all in the three adjoining constellations of Pegasus, Aquarius and Capricorn and usually consist of two, sometimes of three or four stars of low magnitude. Four groups form four successive stations of the moon, namely 22. *Sā'd al-ḡhabib* = αβ in Capricorn, 23. *Sā'd bulb* = μν in Aquarius, 24. *Sā'd al-ḡnīd* = βδ in Aquarius and 25. *Sā'd al-ḡḡayr* = γζ in Aquarius. A further four belong to Pegasus: *sā'd*

al-baḡ'īn (3α), *sā'd al-ḡmūd* (ζξ), *sā'd al-nāṣ* (αμ) and *sā'd al-maḡar* (εε). Lastly *sā'd al-mulk* = π in Aquarius.

Bibliography: L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, p. 114, 191 ff., 269.

(J. RUSKA)

SĀ'D n. Abī Waḡḡā, an Arab general. His father's full name was Mālik b. Waḡḡā b. 'Abd. Manāf b. Zuhra b. Kilāb b. Morra. Sā'd, who had become a convert to Islam at the age of seventeen (cf. al-Bukhārī, *Manāqib al-Daḡar*, lib 31; Ibn Mājja, *Sunan*, introductory chapter, lib 11), was one of the oldest companions of the Prophet, being a special favourite of his and one of those who had been promised Paradise (Almad b. Ḥaḥal, i, 193; ii, 222); he took part not only in the battles of Badr and Uhud but also in the campaigns that followed. When al-Muḥannaṣ b. Ḥāritha, who assumed command in al-Hira after the departure of Khālid b. al-Walid, in view of the danger threatening of an encounter with the Persians, asked the Caliph 'Umar for reinforcements, the latter at first appeared inclined to take command of the army himself, probably simply in order to stir up the enthusiasm of the Muslims; in the end, however, he did not do so but gave the post of commander-in-chief to Sā'd, according to one version because Djarir b. 'Abd. Allāh al-Baḡḡālī, who had already been sent to the 'Irāk to support the hard pressed Muslims, would not consent to be subordinate to the Bakrī al-Muḥannaṣ. In spite of his proved bravery and ability, the Beduin al-Muḥannaṣ, who had not adopted Islam till after the death of Muḥammad, would, in view of the well known jealousy among the Arab tribes, probably have proved less suitable as commander-in-chief than Sā'd who belonged to an old Meccan family and was known to be one of the most faithful followers of the Prophet. Sā'd advanced against the Persians with a large army and encamped at al-Qādisiyya [q. v., ii, 511 ff.] on the frontiers of Persia and Arabia. Here — probably in the first half of the year 16 (summer of 637) — a great battle was fought, which is said to have lasted several days; the details of it have been much elaborated by the Arab historians. Illness prevented Sā'd from taking part in the battle personally and he had to confine himself to directing the whole operations, which, however, was not quite in accordance with the traditional Arab custom. After the Sāsānian leader Rostam had fallen, the slaughter ended in the complete defeat of the Persians and Sā'd was now master of the whole of 'Irāk al-'Arabī; nor were the Persians able to hold permanently al-Mada'in [q. v.], the capital of the provinces east of the Tigris. The young Sāsānian king Yazdgerd had to flee and abandon his capital to Sā'd. When the latter entered the city, he obtained countless booty and made al-Mada'in his headquarters for the time being. At the end of the same year his nephew Ḥāshim b. 'Uṭba b. Abī Waḡḡā again inflicted a disastrous defeat on the Persians at Djalāla [q. v.].

To this period also belongs the foundation of Kufa. To Sā'd likewise is due the credit of having made a strong military camp here, which in course of time grew into an important city; Sā'd was appointed first governor of the rapidly growing settlement. He seems, however, not to have paid

due attention to the Caliph's insistence on the maintenance of old-fashioned simplicity. At any rate we are told that Sa'd built a splendid palace in Kufa modelled on the Ték-i Khusrav at al-Mada'in; but when 'Umar, who feared the injurious influence of Persian luxury on the simple habits of the Arabs, heard of this, he is said to have administered a sharp rebuke to Sa'd and even to have had the palace burned by Muhammad b. Maslama. Sa'd was dismissed from his post as early as the year 20 (640/641) because the seditious and turbulent inhabitants of Kufa — of all possible elements, Arabs and Persians, Jews and Christians — accused him of being unjust and tyrannical. When, however, Muhammad b. Maslama appeared in Kufa by the Caliph's order to investigate Sa'd's conduct in his office, only one or two individuals dared to appear against him. Nevertheless Sa'd was dismissed and 'Ammār b. Yāsir appointed his successor; but the latter only remained a short time in office and was followed by al-Mughira b. Shu'ba [q. v.]. The great military and administrative services of Sa'd were, however, later fittingly recognised by 'Umar. When on his deathbed the latter empowered six of Muhammad's most trusted companions to choose a new ruler within three days, he chose Sa'd as one of his advisers and is even said to have added that if Sa'd was not given the office himself, he would recommend the future Caliph to compensate him with a governorship, because he had been removed from his post neither for incompetence nor for treacherous conduct. Following this suggestion, 'Uthmān in 25 (645/6) restored to him the governorship of Kufa; again, however, he was dismissed after a short period of office and his place given to al-Walid b. 'Ukba b. Abi Mu'it. After the assassination of 'Uthmān, Sa'd was requested to come forward as a claimant to the throne but declined, because he wished to live in peace; nor was he inclined to take any steps to take vengeance on the murderers. When 'Alī was chosen Caliph, Sa'd declined to pay homage to him and retired to his estate in al-Akīf, where he lived till his death remote from politics, which one of his sons made a reproach against him (Mas'ūm, *Zuhd*, trad. 11; Ahmad b. Hanbal, *Musnad*, i. 168, cf. 177). According to the usual statement he died in 50 (670/671) or 55 (674/675), aged about 70. He is said to have left vast wealth behind him and was buried in Medina.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt* (ed. Sachau), III, 97 sqq., vi. 6; Ibn Hishām (ed. Wüstenfeld), see Index; al-Baladhārī (ed. de Goeje), see Index; al-Tabarī (ed. de Goeje), passim; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), see Index; do., *Uṣṣal al-Ghāba*, II, 290 sqq.; Ibn Hajar, *al-Iṣṣāḥ*, II, N° 4086; al-Nawawī (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 275 sq.; al-Ya'qūbī (ed. Houtsma), see Index; al-Wāqidi, transl. Wellhausen, see Index; Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Tabarī, *al-Kiyāf al-nabīya* (Cairo 1327), i. 17 sqq., II, 292 sqq.; Wellhausen, *Sketches and Fragments*, VI, 70 sqq., 95 sqq.; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, see Index.

(K. V. ZETTERSTERN)

SA'D b. MU'ADH b. AL-NU'MAN b. IMRU' AL-QAYS b. ZAYD b. 'ABD AL-ʿAZHAR AL-ANṢARĪ AL-AWSĪ, a contemporary of Muhammad's. He was head of the great clan of the Banū 'Abd al-ʿAzhar in Medina. Sa'd was won over to the new faith by Ma'qab b. 'Umayr, who accom-

panied the twelve Medinan participants in the first meeting at al-Akaba [q. v.] when they returned home and made a successful propaganda for Islam. From the very first he showed great zeal for the faith and when Muhammad undertook an expedition against Bawā, he appointed Sa'd (or, according to a different report al-Sa'ī b. Uthmān b. Ma'ūn) to be his deputy in Medina. The latter carried the standard in the battle of Badr and with Sa'd b. 'Uldāda [q. v.] he went to the assistance of the Prophet when the latter was wounded in the battle of Uhud. Like Sa'd b. 'Uldāda and 'Uldā b. Hudair, he protested against the negotiations with the Ghatafan in the "war of the ditch", but was soon afterwards severely wounded in the hand by the arrow of a Qurayshī. After the retreat of the confederates Muhammad decided to rid himself of the troublesome Banū Kuraiza and began to besiege them in Medina, although their only crime lay in the fact that they had remained neutral during the "war of the ditch". The negotiations, which they were soon forced to begin with the Prophet, ended in their surrendering unconditionally, probably in the hope that they could save themselves through the intervention of their former allies, the Aws. When Muhammad asked them whether they would leave the decision to a man of the tribe of Aws they declared their readiness to do so. Sa'd, who lay mortally wounded in the mosque where he was being tended by a woman, was then asked for his opinion and after he had secured a promise from the Prophet and all present that they would obey his decision implicitly, he declared that the men should be killed, the women and children sold as slaves and their property divided. The verdict was put into execution the next day. Over 600 Jews are said to have sacrificed their lives for their faith and soon afterwards Sa'd also died of his wound; he is represented in Tradition as a glorified hero of the faith.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd (ed. Sachau), II, 2—15; Ibn Hishām (ed. Wüstenfeld), 290, 322, 344, 433, 439, 445, 674, 697; Tabarī (ed. de Goeje), passim; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), see Index; do., *Uṣṣal al-Ghāba*, II, 296 sqq.; Ibn Hajar, *al-Iṣṣāḥ*, II, N° 4086; Nawawī (ed. Wüstenfeld), s. v.; Ya'qūbī (ed. Houtsma), II, 52, 53; al-Wāqidi, transl. Wellhausen, see Index; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, see Index; A. J. Wessink, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina* (Leiden 1908), p. 171—173.

(K. V. ZETTERSTERN)

SA'D b. MUHAMMAD [See HAJJA HAJJA].

SA'D b. 'UṢṢA b. DULAIM b. HARTHA b. ABI HAZIMA b. DHA'KARA b. TAKIF AL-KHAZRAJĪ, a contemporary of Muhammad's. The distinguished and prosperous Sa'd was one of the few people who were able to write in Arabia in his time; he was besides celebrated as a fine swimmer and archer. In the history of Islam we first meet with his name in the accounts of the second meeting at al-Akaba [q. v.] where he is mentioned among the nine Khazrajī who were chosen to be guarantors (*naḥīb*) of the new converts. He then fell into the hands of the Meccans and was severely handled by them; it was only through the intervention of two Meccan friends, to whom he had once done valuable service, that he succeeded in escaping. During Muhammad's expedition against al-Absā' [q. v.] Sa'd remained

behind as his deputy in Medina. In the battle of Badr, according to the most reliable authority, he did not take part; on the other hand he was at the battle of Uhud where with Sa'd b. Mu'adh [q. v.] he tended the wounded Prophet. In the other military enterprises of Muhammad also, he proved himself an exceedingly energetic champion of Islam; and several times acted as standard-bearer. In particular he distinguished himself by great liberality. During the siege of the Basal Najd he distributed dates among the Muslims at his own expense; the troops besieging the Basal Karra were likewise supplied with provisions by him. He supported the expedition to Tabuk by a particularly handsome contribution. When the Prophet began secret negotiations with the two chiefs of the Ghatafan in the "war of the ditch", Uysina b. Hishm and al-Harith b. 'Awf and promised them a third of the next date-harvest of Medina if they would retire and the Ghatafan declared their readiness to do so, his plan met with opposition from those Muslims who were inclined for fighting; the most ardent opponents of the attempt to bring about an agreement are said to have been Sa'd b. 'Ubadah, Sa'd b. Mu'adh and 'Uthayb b. Hufayr. In the intended campaign against Mecca which led to the treaty of al-Hudaybiya Sa'd's energy and thirst for fighting were clearly seen. Although he insisted that Muhammad should take the necessary precautions and provide the Muslims with the necessary weapons, the Prophet declined to follow his advice. After the death of 'Abd Allah b. Ubayy [q. v.] Sa'd became undisputed head of the Khazraj and it need cause no surprise that he was proposed as successor to the Prophet. As soon as the news of Muhammad's death had spread through Medina, the Aws and Khazraj assembled; Sa'd addressed them and recommended some one among the Ansar. The majority of those present were already inclined to pay homage to him at once. Then other Muslims appeared, notably Abu Bakr and 'Umar, and after fairly heated negotiations which threatened to end in open fighting, Abu Bakr received homage as Caliph. Henceforth Sa'd retired from public life and later went to al-Hawran where he died "two and a half years after the accession of 'Umar" i. e. about the year 15 (636/637).

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat* (ed. Sachau), iii. ii. 142—145; vii. ii. 115 sq.; Ibn Hisham (ed. Wüstenfeld), see Index; Tabari (ed. de Goeje), passim; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil* (ed. Tornberg), see Index; do., *Ud al-Qaba*, ii. 283—285; Ibn Hajar, *al-Ishah*, ii. N. 1006; Nawawi (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 274 sq.; al-Wakidi, transl. Wellhausen, see Index; Ya'qubi (ed. Houtsma), i. 267; ii. 136, 137; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, see Index. (K. V. ZETTERSTERN)

SA'D b. ZANGI ABU SHU'BA' MU'AWWAZ AL-DIN, Salghurid Atabeg of Fars. According to the *Ta'rikh-i Ghusa* he claimed the throne at the death of his elder brother, Takla b. Zangi, but his claim was contested by his cousin Tughril, the son of his father's elder brother Sankur, who had founded the dynasty. Tughril retained the royal title for nine years, but throughout that period warfare between him and his cousin continued without a decisive result for either, the country was wasted and depopulated, none would till the ground, and famine and pestilence smote the people. At length, in 399/600 (1203), Sa'd captured his cousin and as-

ceded the throne of Fars according to Mirkhwand this happened in 693 A. H., after Tughril had been defeated by Takla but at the beginning of his reign the famine was so sore in the land that the strong starved and ate the weak, and even when the famine had abated the pestilence remained, but Sa'd gradually restored prosperity to his people, and, having completed this task, conquered Kirman from the Shataskiras. In 698/13 (1216) he invaded Iraq, but was taken prisoner by the army of Sulayman Muhammad Khwarizmshah, and in order to regain his freedom was obliged to pay a ransom of two thirds of a year's revenue of his kingdom, to surrender Isfahar and Arghar, and to agree to pay tribute annually. On his return to Shiraz his son Abu Bakr, who had occupied the throne during his captivity, opposed his restoration, and a battle was fought between father and son, in which Sa'd was wounded in the eye with an arrow, but the citizens admitted him into the city by night, and he seized and imprisoned his son. When Sulayman Khwarizmshah passed through Fars on his return from India in 1224 he interceded for Abu Bakr, and succeeded in persuading Sa'd to release him. Sa'd b. Zangi died in 626/1230 (1231), or, according to Mirkhwand on the 21st of Jumada I 623 (May 20th 1226), and was succeeded by his son, Abu Bakr.

Bibliography: Hamd-Allah Mustawfi al-Kazwini, *Ta'rikh-i Ghusa* (Gibb Memorial Series) i. 503 sq.; Mir Khwand, *Rawdat al-Safa* (Ishran lithographed edition 1266) i. 176; Djawaini, *Ta'rikh-i Dikhun-Gusha* (G. M. S.) ii. 96, 150 sq., 202; Muhammad al-Nawawi, *Histoire du Sultan Djelal al-Din Munkshirvan*, transl. Houdas, Paris 1895, p. 5 1/2, 24—26, 33—34. (T. W. HAIG)

SA'D AL-DAWLA. [See RAMDANTIE].

SA'D AL-DIN. [See SA'DIYA].

SA'D AL-DIN b. HAJAN DIN. [See KHUJA EFENDI].

SA'D AL-DIN AL-HAMAWI. MUHAMMAD b. AL-MU'AYYAD b. ABI 'L-HASAN b. MUHAMMAD b. HAMAWAH, born in 587 (1191) or 595 (1198/9). The surname of al-Hamawi has nothing to do with the town of Hamā but comes from his great-grandfather Hamawah or Hamōye; in some old texts the more correct form Hamūy is found (ham-ū-y-y). According to al-Ya'qubi, he was a native of Djawain. In his youth he joined in Khawarizm the Dervish body called *Dhahabiya-i Khawarizm* which had gathered round the great Sufi Naqsh al-Din Kahrā and he became one of the twelve great *Khalifa* of the *Shaykh*. Like many of the latter's disciples he emigrated during the period of Mongol domination. After leading a retired and devout life in Syria in the Djabal Khumayn, he returned to Khawarizm and settled at Bahrabad. He died on Friday 10th Dhu l-Hijja (on the day of the 'Id al-kurban) in 658 A. H. (Nov. 10, 1260), according to the author of the *Ta'rikh-i Ghusa*, or in 650 (Feb. 11, 1252), according to the *Nafahat al-Uns* (whose statements are based on al-Ya'qubi). His tomb is also at Bahrabad.

Sa'd al-Din was one of the famous mystics of his time. Sa'd al-Din al-Konyawi took part while a young man in his mystic gatherings. Al-Ya'qubi also speaks of his disciples, of his miracles and of sayings attributed to him. In the collections of legendary lives we read that his soul quitted his body for 13 days. Sa'd al-Din composed mystical poems in Arabic and Persian, especially *rubai*; he was also the author of several treatises on the

taqwawuf, such as the *Maḥabba al-Awliya* and the *Saḥamīyat al-Awāḥ wa-Nuḥūṣ al-Awāḥ*, according to Ḥajjī Khalīfa, this last work was written at Hama. In the opinion of several Muslim authors who deal with mysticism, however, these treatises are very obscure because of the great number of veiled allusions.

His son Sulṭān al-Muḥaddithin Sa'd al-Dīn Ibrāhīm had been summoned from Bahraḥ by the Amir Nawrūz, at the time of the conversion of Ḥabashā Khān to Islam (*Dawlat-Shāh*, ed. Browne, p. 213, on the authority of al-Banākātī). Down to the eleventh century of the Hijra (eighteenth A.D.). We find at Bahraḥ dervishes whose *ḥilla* dated back to Sa'd al-Dīn; among them was Muḥammad al-Dhawānī, author of an imitation of the *Guṣṣa* (Dawlat-Shāh, p. 241). The Shīfī Mawlānā Sa'd al-Dīn of Bahraḥ, mentioned by al-Nawā'i continually recited the sayings of the Shaikh. The tradition of the Yasāwīs wrongly regarded him as one of the *ḥalīfa* of Ahmad al-Yasawī.

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(KÖPRÜLÜ ZADE FU'AD)

SA'D AL-DİN KÖPEK (or GÖBEK (in early texts and inscriptions: *K-u-b-ē īn Muhammad*), a very important personage in the history of the Seldjūqs of Asia Minor. There is a tradition according to which he was himself a convert to Islam but this is contradicted by the fact that his father was called Muhammad. His origin and date of birth are unknown. We first meet with him as *ṣargūmān* in the palace of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kaiḫūwād and next, in connection with 'Alā' al-Dīn's building operations at Kabadābād (on this place and its buildings see Khalil Edhem, *Kāṭariyya Shihri*, Constantinople 1334, p. 50), as *mīr* and as *amir al-khān*. As the office of *amir al-khān* was of considerable importance in the Seldjūq palaces, we may deduce that in the reign of 'Alā' al-Dīn, Sa'd al-Dīn was already one of the most important personages in the state. Indeed, there still stands in a plain three hours from Konya on the road from Konya to Ak-Sarai a large *kāḥn* which Sa'd al-Dīn built, the interior of which was completed in the last year of 'Alā' al-Dīn (638 = 1237); at that date then he already occupied an important position. It is not, however, till the early years of the reign of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaiḫūwād that we find Sa'd al-Dīn playing an important part in history. He had attached himself to Ghiyāth al-Dīn and supported the latter's claim to the throne against 'Izz al-Dīn Kūddī Arslān; it is to his influence also that we must attribute the fact that Ḥusām al-Dīn Kīr Khān, one of the

Amirs of Kūwārīm, who had taken refuge with the Seldjūqs and who was governor of Būzā, was accused of belonging to 'Izz al-Dīn's party and imprisoned. As a result of that event the Amirs of Kūwārīm, settled in Asia Minor, laid waste the Seldjūq empire with thousands of Kūwārīmīs and went on into Syria and Mesopotamia where after numerous adventures they were in the end wiped out completely (cf. Kamāl al-Dīn, *Histoire d'Alep*, ed. Moquet, Paris 1900, p. 111; Koprulu Zade Fu'ad, *Amasunt al-Baṣṣa*, p. 60). With the principal amirs of the time of 'Alā' al-Dīn, Sa'd al-Dīn was an accomplice of this Sultan in the execution of his mother-in-law, Malika 'Adiliya and her two sons; in this way he attained considerable influence. Ibn Bibi and the historians who follow him are wrong in making Sa'd al-Dīn exclusively responsible for these crimes, which were repeated in 634/5 = 1238. As public opinion was greatly shocked by these happenings, Sa'd al-Dīn Köpek was appointed commander of a military expedition; in the month of Dhū'l-Hijja, 635 (July-Aug., 1238) he captured Şumṣāshāt. Profiting by the influence, which this victory secured him, he succeeded in having great amirs like Ḥusām al-Dīn Kaimarī and Kamāl al-Dīn Kāmyar put to death. But the Sultan, who, on the one hand, wished to clear himself of the general repugnance which he had inspired by putting all the responsibility on Sa'd al-Dīn and, on the other, was anxious to get rid of an accomplice who threatened to become dangerous, had him put to death treacherously. Ibn Bibi gives a detailed account of this.

The great *kāḥn* of Sa'd al-Dīn already mentioned is known among the people as the *ḥalāḥ al-kāḥn*. This imposing structure measuring 200—240 feet long and 200 feet broad is now in ruins. At the outer gate is an inscription of 634 A.H. dedicated to Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaiḫūwād. Tradition says that Köpek Oghlu, who played a certain part in the history of Amasunt during the reign of Sulṭān Mehmed I, was a grandson of Sa'd al-Dīn and that at the place now called Köpek Koyi in the vicinity of the town there is a *ḥalāḥ*, which belonged to the family. This tradition, however, is devoid of definite proofs.

Bibliography (besides the works mentioned in the text): Houtama, *Recueil de Textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjūqs*, vol. III and IV, Leiden 1902, Index; Khalil Edhem, *Kāṭariyya Shihri*, Constantinople 1334, pp. 73—4; Nedjib 'Asim wa-Mehmed 'Arif, *'Othmānī Tarīkh*, Constantinople 1335, p. 443; Konya *Rehberi*, Constantinople 1229. (KÖPRÜLÜ ZADE FU'AD)

SA'D AL-FIZR is the name by which a large section of the tribe of Tamīm is named. The curious name *Fizr* has received no satisfactory explanation and the philologist Abū Manṣūr al-Azhārī asserts that he never met any person who could explain it. Some lexicographers explain it as meaning "more than one", others as "goats", but we may assume that Ibn Duraid is correct when he derives it from the verb "*fazara*" with the meaning "to split" and that "*fizr*" means "a chip" or "fragment". The Arab genealogists give the name of the common ancestor as Sa'd b. Zaid Manṣūr b. Tamīm and relate tales to account for the curious name which amount to the following: Sa'd had much cattle which he ordered his sons, by different mothers, to take to pasture; they refused and he invited the kindred tribesmen

of Malik b. Zaid Manat to come and rob the camels. Then when only goats remained he gave his sons the same order and they again refused to take them to pasture. In his anger he called Arabs of every tribe together (or, according to another version, took his animals to the fair of Ukay) and asked them to take each one goat as plunder (*intakha*), but allowed no one to take more than one. Thus the goats were scattered all over the country and this is said to be the origin of the proverb: "I shall not do that till the goats of al-Fizr (are collected again into one herd)". The goats are probably imagined to have had the *mawr* or brand-mark of his clan. The underlying idea appears to be that the divisions of this tribe were found scattered over the whole of Eastern Arabia. The tribe of Tamim is mentioned in the remotest antiquity, centuries earlier than the Arab genealogists can imagine, and the genealogies in their case are more fictitious than with other tribes, and all they can serve is to show which of the clans shortly before and after the introduction of Islam felt to possess a certain relationship. The poet al-Akhtal says: "In every wilder are Sa'd" pointing to their wide distribution. Of the many subdivisions mentioned by genealogists only those derived through his sons Ka'b and al-Harith appear to have had a claim to pure descent, while the descendants of the other sons, 'Abd Shams, 'Uthman, 'Awf, 'Uwafa and Malik were called the "Abna'". There were doubts as to the purity of their descent; they were settled in Bahrain and had largely intermixed with the Persian settlers when this province was under Persian rule. They were as regards numbers perhaps the largest Arab tribe and for this reason played an important part in the wars shortly before Islam and during the conquests and many persons mentioned in the early times of Islam were members of the various clans of Sa'd al-Fizr. They sided with 'Ali during the struggle for the caliphate and were most prominent during the unruly times in Khurasan under the later Umayyads and appear to have settled in Persia in large numbers. Others emigrated to North-Africa and the Aghlabi rulers of Ifrikiya claimed descent from them. The many subdivisions cannot be enumerated here, but it must be stated that the genealogists are far from unanimous in the affiliation of the various sections, and their names disappear early from history under the general name of Tamim. — Importance may be attached to the tribe of Sa'd al-Fizr and their nearest kindred clans for having spoken that Arabic which forms the basis of the classic Arabic of literature, as the earliest philologists seem to have framed the rules of Arabic grammar upon the dialect of Tamim. This was no doubt on account of their widespread diffusion through which their dialect was understood in most parts of Arabia.

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(F. KRENKOW)

SADA, a town in South Arabia, the capital of the district of the same name in Yemen. It lies on the pilgrim road from Mekka to San'a', 60 parasangs (120 miles) or five days' journey from the latter town. In the days of paganism the town is said to have been called *Djuma'* and to have been built on the site later occupied by *Hija Talamus* built by the Imam al-Mutawakkil 'ala 'l-lah Ahmad b. Sulaiman b. al-Mutahir. According to al-Hamdani, the name *Sada* owes its origin to the following circumstance: — a man from the *Hijaz*, who was passing by the strong castle that stood in *Djuma'* and lay down exhausted beside it, marvelling at its height called out twice *laqat qat aladu* "he has raised it in fine fashion". Similar popular etymologies are found in other places. Six minutes south of the modern *Sada* lay the village of al-Khank, where the ruins of a great reservoir for irrigating the land and of other buildings survived into Muslim times. Near *Sada* is also the town of al-Ghail, which name al-Biruni would regard as the ancient name of *Sada*.

Sada was and — in spite of the catastrophes that have overwhelmed it — still is a flourishing, populous and wealthy town, in which merchants from all parts, especially from al-Bagra, met. The principal industry of the city has always been the dressing of hides and sole-leather which was exported mainly to the *Hijaz* and Yemen, and the manufacture of leather water-skins of particularly fine quality. For *Sada* lies in the very centre of very vast plantations of the *karaz* tree (*acacia arabica* W.), the leaves of which are used in dressing leather. In *Sada* excellent lances (*said*) and spear-heads used also to be made. Iron, which was brought to *Sada* from the vicinity in the form of dust and was purified there, must have been used for the latter. Iron is still found near *Sada*. Gold used also to occur in the neighbourhood — at al-Kuffa —. The flourishing trade of the town and the busy caravan traffic as well as its native industry yielded large sums in dues and taxes to the treasury of the Zaidi Imams, whose capital it was. Yaqut estimated the yield at 100,000 dinars. The Imams al-Hadi Yahya b. al-Husain (d. 298 = 910/911) and Yusuf b. Yahya (d. 430 = 1012/13) are buried in *Sada*.

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SADAK. [See MAHR.]

SADAQA, *alms*, is so called, according to the Arab writers, from the verb *sadaqa*, because the Muslim's almsgiving shows the sincerity (*sida*) of his religion; but it is, in point of fact, merely a

transliteration of the Hebrew word *ṣēdāqā*, which meant originally "honesty", but was used by the Pharisees for what they considered the chief duty of the pious Israelite, namely almsgiving, a meaning which it still retained at the time of the coming of Islam and afterwards. Its proper sense is, therefore, voluntary or spontaneous almsgiving or what we call "charity".

Arabic authors, however, use the word *Ṣadāqa* in two different senses. In the first place it is frequently employed as synonymous with *Zakāt* [q. v.], that is, the legal poor-rate, which is involuntary, and of which the amount is fixed. It is so used in the *Qurʾān*, ix. 34, 35, 104, 113 (see Lane, s. v.). It is so used also in the *Muwaffāq* of Mālik ibn Anas, in which, in the *Kitaḥ al-Zakāt*, *Ṣadāqa* is substituted for *Zakāt*. He does this apparently when it is a case of *Zakāt* upon quadrupeds (*manāʾiḥ*, camels, flocks and herds), but also in other cases. In Buhārī, on the other hand, *Ṣadāqa* seems to be put for *Zakāt* quite indiscriminately, and the two words are used simultaneously as synonyms. Instances will be found in the notes to Houdas and Marçais' translation. Thus in l. 31 of the *Kitaḥ al-Zakāt* the two words are used indifferently. Buhārī uses *Zakāt* where Mālik uses *Ṣadāqa* (e. g. l. 43); he quotes the tradition "There is no *Ṣadāqa* on less than five *ḍiḥad* of she-camels" in the same form as Mālik, yet speaks of the *Ṣadāqat al-Fitr* where Mālik uses the usual *Zakāt al-Fitr*. The same failure to distinguish between the two words is found also in later writers, both legal and historical (e. g. Ibn al-Aṭṭar, *al-Nawāḥi*, iii. 42, after Ṭabarī). If there were any doubt as to the identity of this *Ṣadāqa* and *Zakāt*, it would be removed by the fact that the six or seven classes of persons who are entitled to benefit by them are the same in each case, namely, the poor and needy, those engaged in the work of distributing the *Ṣadāqa* or *Zakāt*, Muslim captives in enemy hands, debtors, those engaged in the *Djihad*, travellers, and (originally) the *Muallafat Qulūbuhum*.

The proper use of the word *Ṣadāqa* is, however, as has been said, in the sense of voluntary almsgiving. In this sense it is, for the sake of distinction, called *Ṣadāqat al-Tafarruḥ* ("alms of spontaneity"). Ibn al-Arabi thus defines this *Ṣadāqa*: "Voluntary *Ṣadāqa* is an act of worship arising from free choice mixed with authority; and if it be not so then is it no voluntary *Ṣadāqa*, for the man makes it obligatory upon himself, just as God makes mercy obligatory upon Himself towards those who repent, and corrects those who do ill in ignorance".

Ṣadāqa appears to be used in this sense in the remaining passages of the *Qurʾān* where it occurs, other than the two cited above. Alms may be given openly (ii. 273), so long as this is not done for ostentation (ii. 266); but alms given in secret are better. There is more profit in alms than in many (ii. 277), but they must be given with goodwill (ii. 265). Those who are disposed to be charitable must not be discouraged (ix. 80), but the reverse (iv. 114). Voluntary alms, of which the amount was left to the giver, were prescribed to be given before interviewing the Prophet, but this import was remitted provided the interviewers had paid their *Zakāt* (lviii. 13, 14). Alms might also be given in place of some other obligation, such as that of shaving the head after the pilgrimage (ii. 192). These passages naturally form a basis

for much that is found in the succeeding writers. In the *Kitaḥ al-Zakāt* of his *Muwaffāq* Mālik ibn Anas frequently cites a certain "Letter" of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb in regard to the *Ṣadāqa*. This unfortunately refers to the *Ṣadāqa* in the sense of *Zakāt* only. Mālik himself treats of the *Ṣadāqa* in its etymological sense along with a variety of other matters in the closing paragraphs of his work. He does not use any distinctive term such as *Ṣadāqat al-Tafarruḥ*. What he says is as follows. Under the heading "Inciting to almsgiving" he records a saying of Muḥammad: "Whoever gives an alms out of honest gain (and God accepts only the honest) is only placing it in the palm of the Merciful, and He will make it grow for him, just as one of you lets his weanling foal or camel grow until it becomes like a mountain". Anas ibn Mālik [q. v.] used to tell how Abū Ṭāḥa, who was the richest Anṣārī in Medina, prized above all his wealth a well beside the mosque, from which Muḥammad was in the habit of drinking. When the verse "You shall never win piety until you spend of what you love" (iii. 92) came down, he wished to give this well. Muḥammad, however, persuaded him to keep it in his own family. Zaid ibn Aslam is the authority for the prophetic saying: "Give to the beggar, as if he come upon a mare". The wives of the believers are exhorted not to look down upon the alms given by their neighbour, "even if it be the burnt leg of a sheep". 'Aṭṭā [q. v.], when fasting, gave to a beggar the only loaf she had with which to break her fast. She received the timely present of a sheep. To some who were ever begging Muḥammad gave, but with the reproof that "the best of gifts is endurance". It was when speaking from the pulpit about almsgiving and about refraining from begging that the Prophet used the oft-quoted saying: "The upper hand is better than the lower hand". Mālik interprets that the upper hand is the hand that spends and the under hand is the hand that asks. 'Umar even refused his stipend on the ground that Muḥammad had advised them not to take anything from another. Muḥammad explained that he was speaking of asking for gifts. 'Umar replied that he would never ask, nor would he refuse what came without asking. Muḥammad also said: "By Him in whose hand my life is, it were better for one of you to take a rope and gather fuel upon his back, than to beg from one to whom God has given of his bounty, whether he give or refuse". A certain Asadi who had encamped in the *Baḳā'* al-Gharqad [q. v.] was urged by his family to seek something of Muḥammad. He went and found another applicant being sent away with the words: "The beggar who possesses an ounce of gold or its equivalent is guilty of importunity (*ḍiḥāf*)", the Prophet adding that he had nothing to give. Mālik explains that an ounce is 40 dirhams. He adds that the Asadi returned to his family without begging, but when the Prophet received fresh supplies, he was not forgotten.

Under the heading "What is disliked in regard to alms" Mālik notes that the family of Muḥammad may not accept alms, which are only "the outpouring of mankind" (*amṣāk al-nās*). It was not lawful for Muḥammad to give alms out of the *Ṣadāqa* (that is, the *Zakāt*). He might give only of his own. So too Aslam wished a man to

request of 'Umar to let him ride one of the camels of the "Ṣadaka", but the other asked him if he would like to drink the water in which a person had washed himself. Aslam exclaimed: "God forgive you! Do you say the like of this to me?" The other replied: "Alms are but the offscouring of men, which they wash from off them". There is some slight confusion here between the two senses of *Ṣadaka*. So far Malik.

Al-Bukhārī in the following century deals with *Ṣadaka* in both its senses in the 25th book of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, on *Zakāt*, without perhaps being aware that he is speaking of two different things. Of the voluntary almsgiving he says in various *Abwāḥ*, that alms is the duty of a Muslim. If he lacks the means to give alms, he must work and gain them. If he cannot find work, he must at least refrain from ill, and this will be counted to him for alms. The alms given should be according to his means, out of the surplus of his possessions. They must be given with the right hand, and not given to the wrong person. A wife may give alms out of her husband's substance, and a slave out of his master's. Begging is not to be indulged in; but alms may be taken from the rich and given to the poor. Almsgiving atones for sin.

Al-Ghazālī discusses almsgiving in the *Kitāb awrār al-Zakāt* of the *Iḥyā' al-'Ulūm*, especially in the 8th *maṣiḥa*, in which he defines the proper recipient of alms. He must be ascetic, learned, truthful, uncomplaining, necessitous and related to the giver. In the 4th *faṣl* he takes up *Ṣadakat al-Taḥawwū'*. After recounting sayings ascribed to Muḥammad and others, he comes to the question raised in the *Qur'ān*, whether it is better to do alms in secret or openly. Those who prefer to give in secret, say that this preserves the self-respect of the recipient, and does not cause people to talk, nor excite the envy of others. Others hold that alms given openly prevent mistakes and misunderstanding, promote humility, and so on. Ghazālī, like Sir Roger de Coverley, decides that much may be said on both sides, and that all depends on circumstances and motives. He then turns to the question whether it is better to accept *Zakāt* or *Ṣadaka*. Some prefer the former because it is a legal due, and does not place those who accept it under an obligation. On the other hand the recipient of the *Zakāt* may not be worthy of help, and the element of friendliness is eliminated. Once more Ghazālī declines to make a general rule. Cases differ.

Ibn al-'Arabi deals with this matter in the *Futūḥ al-Makkiyya*, in *ḥik* 70, on "the secrets of the *Zakāt*". He also discusses the question of secret or open alms. His definition of voluntary alms has been given above.

The Shi'ite views of *Ṣadaka* and *Zakāt* are similar to those of the Sunnis, but, while both debar the family of the Prophet from benefit of *Zakāt*, the Shi'ites permit them to share in the *Ṣadaka*.

Care for the poor is a characteristic of the Semitic peoples, but the Arabs were not troubled by the feeling of pity. It is possible, therefore, that the provision made for those in need, whether by voluntary or involuntary aid, may have been borrowed from the Hebrews. Cf. Tobit, xii. 8 sq.; Matt. vi. 1, which certainly appear to be quoted. Alms are not a feature of Arabia before Islam, but Freytag gives (xxiv. 5) the proverb: "The best alms are words".

Bibliography: Malik Ibn Anna, *al-Muwaffa'* (ed. Fez 1318), pt. I. sheet 19 and pt. IV. sheet 23; Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Ṣaḥīḥ* (ed. Krehl), i. 352 sqq.; transl. Houtsma and Marquis, *Les Traditions Islamiques* (1903-1908), I. 453 sqq.; Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (Cairo 1326), I. 149 sqq.; Ibn al-'Arabi, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* (Cairo 1329), I. 562 sqq.; al-Marghinānī, *The Hidayah with its commentary called the Kifayah*, ed. by Abdool Mujeeb and others (Calcutta 1834), I. 481 sqq. (*Bāb Ṣadakat al-Sawm*); Hedaya ... translated ... by Charles Hamilton, 1791, III. 310 sq.; al-Nawawī, *Minhajj al-Talibin* (ed. v. d. Berg 1882-1884); transl. van den Berg and E. C. Howard (London 1914), p. 277 sq.; T. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes* (Laiden and Leipzig 1910), p. 109 sq.; A. Quatrecy, *Recueil de lois concernant les musulmans sévites* (Paris 1871 sq.), translated from the *Sharḥ al-Uṣūl* of 'Uṣṭāṭ b. Sa'īd al-Hillī. (T. H. WEIR)

ṢADAKA E. MANṢUR B. DUBAIB B. 'ALI B. MAZYAD, SAID AL-DAWLA ABU 'L-HASAN AL-ASADI, ruler of al-Hilla. After the death of his father in 479 (1086/1087), Ṣadaka was recognised by the Saljuq Sultan as lord of the territory of Malik Shāh on the left bank of the Tigris. During the fighting between Sultan Barkiyārūq and his brother Muḥammad, Ṣadaka was at first on the side of the former, but when Barkiyārūq's vizier, al-A'az Abu 'l-Mahasin al-Dihistānī, demanded a large sum of money from him in 494 (1100/1101) and finally threatened him with war, Ṣadaka abandoned Barkiyārūq and had the *khutba* read in name of Muḥammad. The Sultan then tried to win him back by peaceful means; but Ṣadaka demanded that the vizier should be handed over to him and as Barkiyārūq could not grant this, the negotiations fell through. Instead of agreeing with Barkiyārūq, Ṣadaka drove the Sultan's governor out of Kufa and himself occupied the town. In the following year al-Hilla [q. v.] was founded; previously the Banū Maryad had lived in tents.

When Gümüştekin al-Kaisarī by Barkiyārūq's orders appeared in Baghdad in the middle of Rabi' I. 496 (end of December, 1102), Ighār b. Urtak, Muḥammad's governor there, made an alliance with Ṣadaka. In the meanwhile the Caliph al-Mustaghir had Barkiyārūq again proclaimed Sultan; nevertheless Ṣadaka still declined to acknowledge his suzerainty. Soon afterwards Barkiyārūq's name was again dropped from the *khutba* and the imāms confined themselves for the time being to praying for the Caliph only without mentioning by name either of the two contending Sultans. But the war was continued; by Rabi' II. 496 (January, 1103) Gümüştekin had to evacuate Baghdad and as he was unable to hold out in Wasit either, Muḥammad was again recognised as Sultan in both cities. Ṣadaka then extended his power over a great part of the 'Irāq; in the same year, he took the town of Hill on the Euphrates, which Barkiyārūq had granted as a fief to one of his followers, and appointed his cousin Thābit b. Kamil governor of it. In Shawwāl, 497 (June-July, 1104), Wasit met the same fate and here Mahaddih b. al-Dawla al-Sa'īd b. Abi 'l-Khair was appointed governor. Next came the turn of Basra, which had fallen into the hands of the Saljuq Ismā'īl b. Arslāndīk during the war between

Barkiyārūq and his brothers. It was not till after the death of Barkiyārūq that Sulṭān Muḥammad was able to think of dislodging Ismā'īl from it and in 499 (1105/1106) he asked Šadaqa to fight him. In 500 (1106) he asked Šadaqa to fight him. In 500 (1106) Šadaqa took the field against Ismā'īl, who was soon forced to surrender, whereupon Šadaqa appointed one of his grandfather Duḥayr's Mamluks named Alimūṭish to govern Bagda. But as the latter was very soon surprised and captured by Beduin bandits, the Sulṭān himself appointed another governor in his place. In 500 (Oct., 1106) Kalikabādh b. Ḥazim al-Dailamī, lord of Takrit, had also to yield. After the death of Barkiyārūq, Muḥammad had sent the Emir Akmanṣar al-Bursakī (q. v.) to Takrit to occupy the town. As Kalikabādh would not obey, he was besieged. After several months had passed, he saw the impossibility of holding out any longer, and sent to Šadaqa and surrendered the city to him. Warrām b. Abi Firda was then appointed governor of Takrit. But Muḥammad could not always look on quietly while Šadaqa's power kept growing, especially as the latter never had any scruples about affording shelter to anyone who had fallen into disgrace with the Sulṭān. When Abū Dulaf Surkhsh b. Kalikabādh, lord of Sawa, took refuge with him and Šadaqa refused to hand him over, long negotiations between Šadaqa and the Sulṭān only resulted in an open breach between sovereign and vassal. The Sulṭān set out in person from Baghdad with a large army and in the fierce battle which was fought (according to the most usual statement) in the latter half of Rabi'ah, 501 (beginning of March, 1108) Šadaqa was killed at the age of fifty-nine. Like his ancestors he bore the title 'Malik al-'Arab'; the highest praise is given him by Arab poets and historians for his virtues, notably his liberality and readiness to give assistance, and he is rightly described by A. Müller (*Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, II, 122) as "a true Beduin, brave, stubborn and wily".

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(K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

AL-SA'DĀN, the two lucky stars, Jupiter and Venus in contrast to the two unlucky stars (*nasib*), Saturn and Mars. Jupiter is called the great good fortune, *al-Sa'd al-akbar*; whoever is born under his rule will be among the happy ones in the future life and distinguished for devoutness, fear of God, brightness and continence. Venus is called the little good fortune, *al-Sa'd al-aṣḡar*; whoever is born under Venus may expect good fortune and success in this life, in all worldly pleasures, such as food and drink and especially in all love and matrimonial affairs.

Bibliography: for the Greek views see F. Boll, *Sphaera*; *Kat'ill Nihān al-Sa'd* (ed. Bumbay), I, 72; Dietrich, *Propäutik der Araber*, p. 70; al-Karwini, *Adjā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, I, 22, 26; transl. by H. Eshé, *Die Wunder der Schöpfung*, I, 48, 57.

(J. RUSKA)

SA'DI, Shaikh Muḥib al-Dīn, whose renown is second to that of no Persian poet, was born at Shīrāz in 580/1184. His father was in the service of the Salghurid Atabeg, Sa'd b. Zangī, from whom the poet took his *Takhalluṣ*, or poetical pseudonym, of Sa'di. It has been suggested that this name was taken from Sa'd II, son of Abū Bakr and grandson of Sa'd I, but this is improbable, for Sa'd II did not begin to reign until shortly after Sa'di, who was then sixty-seven years of age and had already written much, returned to Shīrāz from his travels, and he reigned for no more than twelve days. He had no opportunity of doing anything to earn Sa'di's gratitude, whereas his grandfather had been the patron of the poet's father. Sa'di began his studies in the famous Niẓāmiya College at Baghda, and continued his education by studying the mysticism of the Sūfīs under Shaikh 'Abd al-Kādir al-Djīlī (Djīlānī) (cf. the art.), with whom he made the pilgrimage to Mecca—a duty which he is said to have performed no less than fourteen times. Of his long life of 102 (lunar) years he spent the first thirty in study, the second thirty in travelling and the composition of poetry, the third thirty in religious seclusion and the completion and arrangement of his poems, and the last twelve in supplying wayfarers with food and water and in discourse on mysticism.

In the course of his travels he visited Asia Minor and India, and in both countries bore arms in dīhād against the misbelievers. He says of himself:

I have wandered afar in the ends of the earth,
I have consorted with all sorts and conditions of men;

In every corner have I found both pleasure and profit,

From every harvest have I gleaned a sheaf.

Towards the end of the thirteenth century the Martyr Prince Muḥammad Khān, governor of Mālān on behalf of his father, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban, invited Sa'di to visit India once more, and the poet was deterred only by his age from setting out on his travels again. Of his wit many stories are told. Khwādja Humām al-Dīn, a rich citizen of Tabriz and himself a poet, meeting him in the public baths, asked him whence he came, "From Shīrāz," said Sa'di. "It is strange that there should be more Shīrāzis than dogs in Tabriz," said the Khwādja. "It is not so at Shīrāz," replied Sa'di, "for there Tabrizis are less than dogs". The Khwādja left the bath but met Sa'di again in the street. "Do they recite the verses of Humām in Shīrāz?" he asked the traveller. "Yes," said Sa'di, looking at the handsome youth who was fanning the Khwādja, "especially this:

"Between me and my beloved Humām stands
as a veil;

It is time for me to draw this veil aside".

His wit betrayed him. "You are Sa'di," exclaimed the Khwādja. "Yes," was the reply; and the delighted Khwādja, having begged his pardon, took him home and feasted him royally.

Sa'di died at Shīrāz in September, 1292, at the great age of 102 lunar or nearly 99 solar years, and is buried in the environs of the city.

His best known works are the *Būstān* (Garden), written in 1257, and the *Gulistān* ("Rose-garden"), written in the following year, which are read wherever Persian literature is studied. The former is a collection of poems on ethical subjects and the latter is a collection of moral stories in prose,

plentifully interspersed with verse. He has also a *divān* or volume of *ghazals* (short odes), a number of *ḡazā'id* (long odes), and collections of poems known as *Tarīyāt* (Pleasuries), *Haṣṣyāt* (jest) and *Kāshīyāt* (obscenities). He is regarded as the master of the *ghazal*, or short ode. An unknown poet has written:

*There are three prophets in poetry,

Despite the saying: 'There shall be no prophet after me';

One in encomium, one in the *ḡazal*, and one in the *ghazal*;

They are Firdawsī, Anwarī and Sa'dī".

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Literary History. All MSS. of Sa'dī's works are based on the redaction of 'Alī ibn Aḥmad Abū Bakr of Bīstūn who flourished 50 years after Sa'dī's death. They are divided into a Persian-Indian and a Persian-Turkish family. On the first is based the Calcutta edition of the *Kulliyāt* in two volumes (1791 and 1795), containing also the preface of that redactor. Vol. I. of this edition begins with the seven so-called *Risāla's*, prose treatises of mystical and ethical contents. In the same volume follow *Gulistan*, *Būstān* and *Pand-nāma* (generally not considered as Sa'dī's own work; cf. Ethé, *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, II, 295; it is a *moṭahawwī* after the fashion of Aṭṭār's *Pand-nāma*). Vol. II. contains the *Divān*, comprising the Arabic and Persian *ḡazā'id* (lyrical, didactical and panegyric), the *Marāthī*, the *Mulamma'āt* and *Tarīyāt* and the four collections of odes. Finally the *Ṣāḥib-nāma*, *Muḥaṣṣāt*, *Khakīyāt*, *Mudhakkāt*, *Ruk'iyāt*, *Mufradāt*. All *Kulliyāt*, published since in Persia and India have about the same division.

Besides the many biographical works on Persian poets, Sa'dī's own works are valuable material to complete our knowledge of his life and the development of his literary production. Thus he must have composed a good deal of the *ḡazā'id* in later age, as they are addressed to personalities whom he had known only after his return to Shirāz. If the four groups of odes have been arranged after the different periods in Sa'dī's life, in which they have originated, the *Tarīyāt*, the *Bas'īr* and the *Khawāṭir* are all to be placed after the poet's return to his native town; they contain a few allusions to events and persons connected with his later life. On the other hand, the *ḡazā'id* appear to be a work of his youth. All this, however, is rather uncertain. The alphabetical arrangement according to the final letters of each poem makes chronology impossible; but some MSS. constitute an exception, e.g. the oldest known MS. described by Ethé under N^o. 1117 on p. 655-659 of his *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Indian Office* (N^o. 876; cf. also p. II. of White King's Introduction to his edition of the *Tarīyāt*, Calcutta 1919); so a careful examination of the older arrangement might give some results. The *Ṣāḥib-nāma* (ed. and transl. by W. Bacher, *Sa'dī's Aphorismen und Sinngedichte*, Strassburg 1879) containing moralizing poems, was dedicated to the Ṣāḥib-Dīwān Shams al-Dīn Djuwainī and belongs equally to the last period of Sa'dī's life.

In the short stories of *Gulistan* and *Būstān* (also called *Sa'dī-nāma*) there occur many personal recollections of the author. In his monograph on Sa'dī, Massé has tried to restore a biography based on those informations. But he seems to have trusted Sa'dī's veracity too much. The truth of many of these stories has been doubted before (Barbier de Meynard, Rückert) and Sa'dī himself declares that whoever has been much about in the world, may lie a good deal. If we are not wholly to distrust the author, he must have lost his father in an early age, being old enough, however, to remember some of his wise lessons. The anecdote in the *Gulistan* about the poet's visit to *Kashgar*, when he was still very young, sounds rather improbable and has puzzled many orientalists; certainly the easiest way is to consider the whole story as fantastical (cf. Schaefer in *Der Islam*, xiv, 187). To the period of Sa'dī's youth must equally have belonged his sojourn in Syria as a prisoner of the Franks in Tripoli (Massé suggests of the siege of that town in 1221) and his ephemeral marriage with the daughter of a paternal friend who redeemed him from slavery. It is impossible to follow him closely during the period of his long journeys (± 1226-1255); it seems probable that he visited Central Asia, India, Syria, Egypt, Arabia (many of the short stories relate experiences in the desert on the way to or from Mecca), Abyssinia, Morocco. In India Sa'dī pretends to have passed through the well-known adventure in the temple at Sonantī, where he discovered the priest's trick in deceiving the people and afterwards killed him in order to escape his vengeance. This story too, however, has many intrinsic improbabilities (*Būstān*, ed. Graf, p. 388 *app.*). Sa'dī's second marriage in Yemen is also to be placed in this second period. In the last period of his life he was, as the *ḡazā'id* prove, in relation with the Atabak Abū Bakr ibn Sa'd ibn Zangī, on whose death he composed an elegy († 1260) and whom he has celebrated in the first pages of the *Būstān*. There is the Arabic *Marthiya* on the fall of Bagdad and in the same period his panegyrics on the Mongol conquerors and their satellites. The *Tarīyāt* are dedicated to the last Atabak of Fārs, Saldjūqshāh. There are also *ḡazā'id* dedicated to Anḡīzān, the Mongol governor who succeeded that prince, and also to Sa'dī's exalted patrons 'Aṭā Malik and Shams al-Dīn Djuwainī (an anthology of these panegyrics is to be found on p. 67-70 of the Persian introduction to the Gibb Fund edition of the *Īḡhān-Gushā*). As in Sa'dī's works there is no allusion whatever to the tragical death of both the brothers Djuwainī (1282 and 1283) Massé thinks that the poet must have died before or very shortly after these events; in that case the informations of the biographers, varying between 1291 and 1292 give too late a date. Now if, as most authors do, the year 580/1184 is adopted as the year of Sa'dī's birth (Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, II, 526), he may not yet have reached 100 (solar) years.

Sa'dī's tomb is outside Shirāz, a little farther off than that of Hāfi. The tombstone is not old, the original one having been destroyed by a fanatical *mudhakkāt*, as Sa'dī is generally believed to have been a Sunni. It is probable for this same reason that Sa'dī's tomb lies rather deserted, whereas many Shi'ites have chosen for the place

of their last repose the neighbourhood of Hāfīz (Browne, *A year amongst the Persians*, London 1893, p. 281). According to the colophons in the oldest MSS., the name of the author must have been Muḥarrir al-Dīn ibn Muḥliḥ al-Dīn 'Abd-Allāh (Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, ii. 595).

Ethé (*Grundriss der Ir. Phil.*, ii. 292) counts Sa'di among the poets that first have combined the originally separated mystical and didactical tendencies in Persian poetry. With Sa'di the didactical, moralizing element is predominant; to this it is that he owes his great popularity.

There is no doubt that he was well versed in the "science" of mystics. Besides 'Abd al-Kādir al-Jīlānī, Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī was his teacher in Baghdad (Būstān, ed. Graf, p. 150). According to an anecdote told by Afāki (transl. by Huart, i. 238-7), he even might have met with Djalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī (cf. Būstān, p. 165 sqq.). For him as for other poets the often paradoxical mystical ideas must have been valuable literary material. The question whether Sa'di was himself susceptible of mystical feelings is probably to be answered in the negative, as his practical nature made him more inclined towards a moralizing attitude, in which he made mysticism only serve a higher moral conception of earthly life. In many instances he puts moderate common sense against exaggerated zeal for the life to come. In his Būstān the lofty mystical sentiments of the Naṭṭawī or the Manṣūf al-Tair should not be sought for. Sa'di often speaks of the Šūfī's, but his attitude towards them is always more that of a moralist than of a fellow-mystic. His practical mystical ideal is realised in the Šāhidnāma, the truly wise people who do not care for the outer appearances of this world, without, however, despising it wholly. For it is precisely the world's perishableness that makes it valuable as a rare ruby, and in many places Sa'di shows himself a good Muslim, when he finds in the variety and beauty of earthly existence a reason for great thankfulness towards the Creator. He preaches a moderate fatalism and disapproves of exaggeration in the religious life: "Don't be more pious than Muḥammad!"

As a moralist Sa'di gained much profit from the vicissitudes of life through which he had passed. His knowledge of the world gives to his ideas and opinions a cosmopolitan character, reached by no other Persian poet. It is due, probably, to this fact, together with the elegance of his style, that he has earned his great popularity in his own country and abroad, so that he has been compared with Horace, Rabelais and La Fontaine. Sa'di looks upon the world with sympathetic humour and is seldom satirical; and he can never enough exhort his readers to follow his moral counsels. Now these moral precepts, chiefly to be found in *Gulistan*, *Būstān* and *Pand-Nāma*, are far from being uniform. For common mortals the author cites in the *Pand-nāma* a number of virtues and vices; as the chief virtue he seems to regard "goodness" (*ṣalt*), great sympathy for our fellow-creatures without any egoistic view. He that obtains the qualification of good is really immortal. On the other hand Sa'di's social morals are sometimes quite different; here revengefulness is sometimes recommended instead of mercifulness, insincerity instead of veracity. Man is admonished

to guard by all means his independence from other people. Especially for princes several machiavellian precepts are given (the 2nd part of the 6th *riḍla* is a short treatise on politics, dedicated to Anḳānā), and for derwishes again other moral norms exist.

The different aspects of Sa'di's morality make it difficult to believe in his sincerity, the more so as his morality is considerably compromised by the obscenities uttered in some chapters of the *Gulistan* and in the *Khawāṣṣāt*, though, in an introduction to this collection, he tries to excuse himself in saying that he could not withdraw from an order given to him to compose these poems. However, with a Persian poet it is often difficult to separate what belongs to himself and what must be regarded as a concession to the taste of his patrons and of the public. The favour he has met with all through the eastern world should always be taken into serious consideration before judging too severely his character. In any case he has shown himself in all his humanity and he has amply satisfied the predilection for moralizing in literary form, which the Persians have had since pre-Islamic times.

Moreover, his elegant style, his ease of expression, the way in which he knows how to make attractive the most tedious moral maxims, in short his art, would have been enough to gain him the admiration of his countrymen. The *Khawāṣṣāt* are considered to be his most perfect compositions; the Arabic *Ḳāṣida's* are less appreciated by orientlists. Arabic and Persian lines follow alternately in his *Muḥammadiyat*, and in one of his poems he uses 16 different languages and dialects (Bacher in the *ZDMG.*, xxx. 89).

In Persia Sa'di's *Divān* is more read and appreciated than the *Būstān* and the *Gulistan* (Browne, *A year amongst the Persians*, p. 281). Still, nowadays, many Persians know one of both these works by heart and quite a number of Persian poets have followed Sa'di in writing similar works. They are enumerated by Ethé in the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, ii. 297. The most famous of the imitations of the *Gulistan* is Dāmī's [q. v.] *Bahārīstān*. But none of them has been able to surpass the originals in popularity.

Outside Persia Sa'di's influence has been great in Indian and in Turkish literature. After the Calcutta edition the poet's works have often been printed in India, without and with commentaries by Indian scholars. The *Gulistan* has been translated several times into Hindustānī, the best known being the translation of Afāki (1802). Garcin de Tassy's assertion that Sa'di must have been the first Hindustānī poet has been definitely refuted now (cf. Browne, *Literary History*, ii. 533). But a certain relation between Sa'di's way of composition, especially in the *Gulistan*, in which a prose story is everywhere followed by a short poem, and the old well known literary form of Indian tales, admits on the one hand of the supposition of Indian influences on Sa'di himself and may explain on the other hand his popularity in Hindustān.

Turkish translations of Sa'di's works were made at an early date. The *Būstān* was translated in 1354 by the learned Taftāzānī (Gibb, *History of Ott. Poetry*, i. 202) and there exists a translation of the *Gulistan*, made in 1391 by

Saif al-Sarāfi in the Turkish dialect of Egypt (MS. Leiden, N^o. 476 in Dory's *Catalogue*, I. 355; cf. also *Mithāṭ al-taḥṣīl al-maḥṣūl*, Sept.-Oct., 1331, p. 133). The Turkish poet Komāl Pāshā Zāde († 1534) imitated the *Gulistan* in his Persian *Nigāristān*. Sa'di belonged to the poets whose works were much studied during the early period of Ottoman literature. In a way he has even been of some influence on the development of modern literature in Turkey, as Ziyā Pāshā, in his autobiography, tells that it was only when he read the *Gulistan* that he discovered what language was (*Ghibb, Hist. of Ott. Poetry*, v. 53). In his *Kharāṭih* (ed. Constantinople 1291, i. p. 22 of the introduction) Ziyā Pāshā puts Sa'di above all other Persian poets: "When one reads the *Būstān*, then only does one understand what the world is like". He does not doubt of Sa'di's sincerity and admires in him the fact, that even in his panegyrics he is still courageous enough to remind the mighty of the earth of moral precepts. During the sixteenth century several other Turkish translations have appeared. Turkish scholars have also undertaken to write commentaries on *Būstān* and *Gulistan*; such are: Surūrī († 1561), Shām'ī, Sīdī (both at the end of the sixteenth century), Hawā'ī, al-Bursawī and others. In the sixteenth century some of these commentaries were printed.

The existing translations of the *Gulistan* and the *Būstān* and sometimes of other of Sa'di's works, in all modern languages, prove sufficiently the great renown he has obtained beyond the boundaries of Islām. First, the *Gulistan* became known through the French translation by André du Ryer (Paris 1634), followed by several editions in Latin (by Gentius, Amsterdam 1651), German (by Olearius, Hamburg 1654), Dutch (transl. from Olearius) and English (by Sullivan in 1774). The *Būstān* appeared later. In the eighteenth century Thomas Hyde is said to have made a translation of it. The oldest printed translation is in Dutch (Amsterdam 1688) by D. H. (Havert). So in Western European literature Sa'di became familiar as early as the eighteenth century; mention need only be made here to the works of Lafontaine, Voltaire and Goethe.

The latest monograph on Sa'di is Henri Masé's *Essai sur le poète Saadi* (Paris 1919), a dissertation for the doctorate of the Alger University. In his *Thèse Complémentaire*, called *Biographie de Saadi* (Paris 1919) Masé gives a very valuable bibliographical survey, to which reference may be made here. Since that date a new edition of Sa'di's odes has begun to appear: Sir Lucas White King, *The Odes of Sheikh Majlūh al-Dīn Sa'di Shīrāzī* Part I (*Tayyibāt*), Fasc. I. (1919), ii. (1920), iii. (1921), published at Calcutta in the Bibliotheca Indica, New Series, N^o. 1424.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

AL-SA'DI, 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN b. 'ABD ALLĀH b. 'IMRĀN b. 'AMIR, the historian of the Songhai kingdom in the Sudan, belonged to an old family of scholars in Timbuktu where he was born on 1st Dhu'l-Hijja 11, 1004 (1596); here he received his education from Ahmad Bābā [q.v.]. On the conclusion of his studies he sought with his brothers a sphere of activity in Djenné [q.v.], the old commercial town which at that time rivalled Timbuktu as a commercial and intellectual centre. Here in 1036 (1626) he succeeded in obtaining the post of Imam of the Sankore Mosque,

i.e. of the mosque in the foreign quarter, having previously acted as deputy for his predecessor in the office. He extended his knowledge of the world at the end of 1039 (July 1630) by a journey to the Fulbe kingdom of Māsina north of Djenné on the left bank of the Niger, which at that time included the island of Djimbala in the Niger. It was the Kādi there who had invited him, but he received such an honourable reception from the Sultān himself and the notables of the kingdom, that he repeated his visit three years later. On this occasion he rendered diplomatic services to the Sultān by settling a feud between him and one of his vassals. He and his family, however, suffered a good deal from the tyranny of the Moroccan governors in Djenné. In 1044 (1634) one of his brothers was banished from his new home to Timbuktu and he had to go back there to intervene on his behalf. Two years later he himself was even dismissed from his office. On complaining to the Pasha in Timbuktu, the latter gave him this much satisfaction that he dismissed the Kādi who had been his enemy. But he gave up further claim to his office and preferred to live as a private individual and occasionally placed his knowledge at the disposal of the smaller vassals in the southern Songhai kingdom as secretary and teacher. In 1056 (1646), however, the Pasha of Timbuktu, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Ojūmā, summoned him to be his Secretary of State, and he seems to have held this office under Muḥammad's successors also till his death. On several expeditions on which he had to accompany the Pasha, he became acquainted with the north and east of the Songhai kingdom which he did not hitherto know. He then decided to write a history of his native land which he entitled *Tārīkh al-Sūdān*. He introduced his work with the early history of the tribes of the Songhai, Melli and Tuareg, and of the towns of Djenné and Timbuktu. In 1053/54 Barth was able to make extracts from the smaller half of this history in Timbuktu and G. Ralfs published these in a translation in the ZDMG., ix. 518 sqq. He interspersed these remarks with numerous ethnographical digressions — introduced as 'Addat — which Barth omitted. In chapter x. he gives a survey of the scholars of Timbuktu as a supplement to Ahmad Bābā's *Dhail al-Dīnā*. The history proper begins with the establishment of Muslim emir by the Khārījī Sunnī 'Alī in the ninth (fifteenth) century. He then describes the role of the orthodox Askīyā dynasty and the conquest of the kingdom by the Moroccans and their dominion down to the death of the author. The style is much interspersed with colloquialisms and is faulty in other respects also. The date of completion of the chronicle is given by him as Monday, Dhu'l-Hijja 5, 1063 (Oct. 28, 1653). On the following day he added a list of officials as an appendix. In a further appendix he detailed happenings down to Dhu'l-Hijja 16, 1066 (March 14, 1656). He seems to have died soon afterwards. A continuation to his work, a history of the Moroccan governors in the Songhai kingdom entitled *Tadhkirat al-Nayyān*, was written in 1104 (1751) by an unnamed author, who was born in Timbuktu in 1112 (1700) and was a grandson of the Emir Muḥammad b. Sūwū.

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(C. BROCKELMANN)

SA'DIANS (BANU SA'D), the name of the dynasty of Sharifs in Morocco which in 1544 (951) replaced the Wattāsid dynasty on the throne of Fās.

From the beginning of the fifteenth century the expeditions of the Portuguese and Spanish against the Muslim lands in Spain or North Africa had raised to a great pitch the fanaticism of the Berbers and of the Arabs who reacted violently under the leadership of holy men, sharifs [q. v.] and marabouts [q. v.].

In a country organised according to tribes or divided into numerous little states of a feudal character, among peoples whose only link of solidarity was the bond of religion and who were often at war with one another, the powerless rulers had had to submit to the Christian invaders. Then under the influence and the guidance of marabouts, knowing only Islam, acting in its name and not in that of the State which they ignored, centres of resistance were formed nearly along the whole length of the coast of North-west Africa. In this revolution those dynasties which had not tried, or had not been able, to direct the movement into regular channels were swept away; new powers, with the support of the religious party, in their place established themselves, notably the Turks in Algiers and the Sa'dian Sharifs or Banū Sa'd in al-Sūs (district in Southern Morocco). Chronicles and traditions are quite in agreement regarding the fortunes of the latter.

The first of the Banū Sa'd to come to power was a certain Muhammad surnamed al-Mahdī and al-Sā'in bi Amrī l-lāh. He practised magic, it appears. He had been put by Sidi 'Abdallāh U-mabrek, the most important holy man in al-Sūs, at the head of the tribes fighting against the Portuguese in this area. Some successes gained against the Christians and rather tactless pecuniary assistance given by the Wattāsid Sultān of Fās to the two sons of the sharif consolidated the latter's position. He took advantage of this to extend his power to the north of al-Sūs and had himself proclaimed sovereign in 1509 (915). He died at Afughāl in al-Hajā about 1517/18 (924).

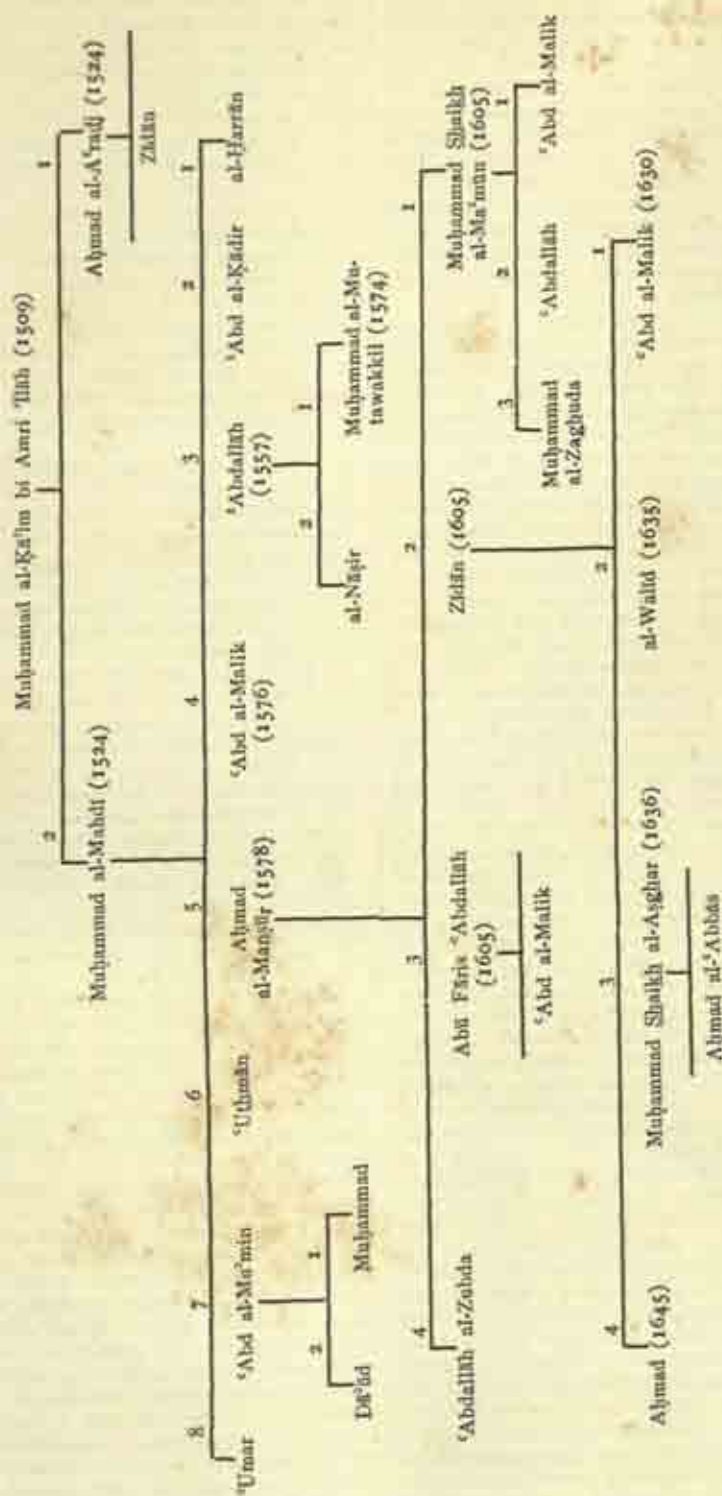
Ahmad al-A'raǧi and Muhammad (also surnamed al-Mahdī), his two sons, succeeded him. They fortified themselves first at Tarudant, capital of al-Sūs, on account of the inroads of the Christians who were masters of the coast to the south of Anfa (Casablanca); then they made an alliance against them with the governor of Marrākesch. The assassination of this governor enabled them to seize the town where Ahmad al-A'raǧi was installed as ruler. The activities of the two sharifs had been facilitated by the conflict of duties and the rivalries between the Portuguese agents Nunho Mascarenhas and Yahyā ben Tahfūfa; their task was rendered still more easy when the latter, taken by surprise and killed, was disposed of. Henceforth masters of the capital of Southern Morocco and strongly supported by the majority of the marabouts, they gave offence to Muhammad al-Boṭṭagāli, the Wattāsid Sultān of Fās, who laid

siege to them several times in Marrākesch but without success until he died in 1525 (971). Competition arose on the death of this ruler between three claimants to the throne from his family and the result was anarchy, civil war and progress by the Christians. The new Wattāsid Sultān Ahmad in order to have freedom of action against the latter treated with the Sharifs, abandoning to them the government of Marrākesch and of its territory. But they feeling strong enough broke the agreement. The Sultān took the field against them and was defeated at the battle of Bū Aḥba (July, 1536/942). Fighting between the various tribes became more and more frequent; the country threatened to sink into anarchy while the menace of invasion by the Christians was always hanging over it. Then the marabouts intervened to impose peace by dividing the kingdom between the two rival factions. This is what was done.

Rivalry then broke out between the two brother Sharifs. Muhammad al-Mahdī seized the lands of Ahmad al-A'raǧi and exiled him, then continued the struggle with the Sultān of Fās, whose capital he took for the first time (1550/957). The Wattāsids were interned at Tarudant; but one of them, the former claimant Bū Hassūn, a refugee first in Spain, then at Algiers, succeeded in procuring the intervention of the Turks. With their support he captured Fās and was proclaimed there. But the massacre of the Wattāsids at Tarudant and the assassination of Bū Hassūn left the Sharif Muhammad sole master of Morocco. He once more entered Fās where he was definitely proclaimed Sultān in 1554 (961). This prince, energetic, clever and adroit, and gifted with the qualities of an organiser, may be considered the real founder of the dynasty of the Banū Sa'd. He demanded from trade and from industrial monopolies the resources which war did not supply him in sufficient quantities. In exchange for his produce, England supplied him with arms. His successors followed his example in this respect. He also supported the policy of Spain against the Turks, which cost him his life, for they assassinated him in 1557 (965). His son 'Abd Allāh, called al-Ghalib, succeeded him, followed the same policy and tried to counteract the preponderating influence of the religious party. He died in 1574 (981). His son Muhammad al-Murawakkil had to fight for his throne against his two uncles, 'Abd al-Malik known as Mullāy Mullik, and Ahmad. It was a rare thing on the death of a Moroccan sovereign when the 'ulama' of Fās proclaimed as his successor the same person as the 'ulama' of Marrākesch. When one of the claimants was supported by the Turks, the other immediately sought the assistance of the Christians. This was a necessity imposed by the difficulty of obtaining military supplies. The Turks had another important reason for interfering in the affairs of Morocco; this was the claim of the Moroccan Sharifs to exclusive legitimacy in the government of Islam as sharifs descended from the Prophet and this meant a great deal to the Sultāns in Istanbul.

The Christians, pursuing their policy of occupying the coast, took advantage of the confusion to get ports ceded to them. Their lack of a Muslim religious policy enabled the religious party to exasperate more and more the inhabitants of various districts and to bring about a divorce between them and the sovereigns of the Maghrib.

GENEALOGY OF THE SADIYAN SULTANS¹⁾



a) The figures in brackets give the date of the first proclamation of the ruler.

The Arab tribes and the Berber tribes, never quite reconciled to one another, favoured sometimes one and sometimes the other pretender. Like the Christians, the Turks charged dearly for their services, and sometimes, to weaken their neighbours still more, lent their help to several competitors at the same time.

Mulāy Mulūk, supported by the Turks of Algiers, was proclaimed ruler of Morocco. But Muhammad al-Mutawakkil attacked him with Portuguese assistance. A famous battle took place at Wād Makhāsin (battle of the three kings) in which the king of Portugal, Don Sebastian, his ally Muhammad al-Mutawakkil and Mulāy Mulūk were all three killed. The ex-pretender Ahmad was then proclaimed sovereign of Morocco with the support of the Turks (1578 = 986).

The latter is known as Ahmad al-Manṣūr, or Ahmad al-Dhahabī. He kept on good terms with the Turks and took advantage of the respite offered him by the Portuguese and Spaniards, who were exhausted or occupied in Europe, to conquer the Sūdān. This was the most remarkable episode in the history of the dynasty. This ruler died of the plague in 1603 (1012). His three sons at once disputed the succession; the one, Muhammad Shaikh, known as al-Ma'mūn, was the candidate of Philip III; Zidān, proclaimed at Fās, was supported by the Turks while Abū Fāris was proclaimed at Marrākeṣh. The latter succeeded in defeating his rival of Fās, who took refuge with the Turks, then tried to reconquer Morocco from the south. But the people of Fās preferred to submit to al-Ma'mūn who was proclaimed in 1604 (1013). The assassination of Abū Fāris by 'Abd Allāh, son of al-Ma'mūn, disposed of one of the rivals but the struggle between the two surviving brothers continued. Zidān was proclaimed and dethroned three times in all.

The marabouts, to whom the Banū Sa'd had at first owed their elevation to the throne, took advantage of the situation to strengthen their personal power in their sphere of influence. Their attitude forced the Sultāns to take action against them. In 1610 (1018) the cession of Larache to the Spaniards by al-Ma'mūn became the signal for general risings. Piracy against the Christians developed at Tetuan and at Salé (q. v.). An adventurer, Abū Mahallī, seized Tafilalet, Dra'a and Marrākeṣh. He was threatening to occupy the whole of Morocco when he was killed in 1613 = 1021. In the north-west the town of Sīa and the surrounding country accepted the rule of a marabout, al-Ayāṣhī.

Sultān Zidān continued to reign, buffeted about by all these troubles, and died in 1627 = 1038. His three sons, 'Abd al-Malik, al-Walid and Muhammad Shaikh al-Aghar, were equally the playthings of Christians, Turks and marabouts for over nine years. The latter reigned at this time quite without restraint: a certain 'Alī Bū Domaīya was master of al-Sūs; Tafilalt was ruled by a creature of the Turks, Muhammad b. Ismā'il; the marabouts of the Zāwiya of Dila ruled Teda and the region of Fās; al-Ayāṣhī, champion of the holy war against the Christians, had added al-Gharb and al-Habāṣ to his territory. Muhammad Shaikh al-Aghar succeeded in getting himself proclaimed at al-Marrākeṣh in 1636 (1045) but he was confined to this one town of his. Even there Karīm al-Hādī, a kind of mayor of the palace, seized the

power on the death of the Sultān. He imprisoned Ahmad al-'Abbās, son and successor of the ruler Muhammad Shaikh, and put him to death (1654 = 1064). With the latter the Sa'dian dynasty disappeared, after lasting about a century, just at the time when that of the 'Alawī Sharīfs, originally of Tafilalt, began to establish themselves in the north of Morocco.

Order of succession:

1. al-Kā'im, proclaimed in 1509 in al-Sūs;
2. { Muhammad al-Mahdi, proclaimed with his brother in 1524;
3. { Ahmad al-'A'radī, proclaimed with his brother in 1524;
3. Muhammad al-Mahdi alone; he was proclaimed at Fās in 1554;
4. 'Abd Allāh al-Ghālibī, proclaimed in 1554;
5. al-Mutawakkil, proclaimed in 1574;
6. 'Abd al-Malik, also called Mulāy Mulūk, proclaimed in 1576;
7. Ahmad al-Manṣūr, proclaimed in 1578;
8. { Abū Fāris 'Abdallāh, proclaimed in 1605;
9. { Zidān
9. { Muhammad Shaikh al-Ma'mūn, proclaimed in 1605;
9. 'Abd al-Malik b. Zidān, proclaimed in 1630;
10. al-Walid, proclaimed in 1635;
11. Muhammad Shaikh al-Aghar, proclaimed in 1603. He died in 1654. His son, Ahmad al-'Abbās, never reigned but was assassinated in the same year; with him the line became extinct.

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ṢADIḲĪ, the name given by Tipū Sultān of Mysore (1197—1213 = 1782—99) to a gold coin of the value of two pagodas, weighing 106 grains (6.86 grammes). The name is derived from the well-known epithet of Abū Bakr [cf. the art. *ṢADIḲ*], in accordance with Tipū's custom of naming his denominations after *khalfas* or *imāms*.

(J. ALIAN)

SA'DIYA or **DIHAWIYA**, an order of dervishes named after the founder SA'D AL-DIN AL-DIHAWI, i. e. of Dihā, "between the Hawrān and Damascus". His death-date is variously given as 700 and 736 A. H.; and the accounts which we have of him are clearly fabulous. According to the *Khawāṣṣ al-Aghar*, i. 34, his father was the Shaikh Yūnus al-Shalbānī, a pious man, whom in his youth he disobeyed, becoming a leader of banditti in the Hawrān; owing, however, to his father's prayers he was favoured with a vision which resulted in his conversion. The authority followed by Depont and Coppolani makes him practise severe asceticism, and visit various sanctuaries, including Mekka; after this he returned to Syria, and founded in Damascus the order which bears his name, but which is traced by a *silila* through

Djunaid, Sari Sakat and Ma'ruf al-Karhi to the inmates of the Prophet's house.

In the *Akhuṣṣat al-Aṭhar*, the author of which died in 1092 A.H., the Hanṣi Sa'd al-Dīn appear as a society (*ṣūfiya*) in Damascus, noted for their piety; there they held a service in the Umayyad Mosque after the Friday prayer, and they possessed a *ṣūfiya* in the district Kubaibūt, whence the descendants of the founder took the name Kubaibūt (i. 33 and ii. 208). The biography of Muhammad known as Ibn Sa'd al-Dīn, who became *shaikh* of the society in 986 A.H. (ibid., iv. 160), seems to suggest that the institution began with him; for it records how having begun life as a trader he was miraculously converted at Mekka. With him one of his brothers was associated, and the two divided the duties of the headship between them; presently domestic disputes arose, and this Muhammad became sole head of the society, in which capacity he acquired vast wealth, and became the most influential personage in Damascus. He died in 1030, and was succeeded by his son Sa'd al-Dīn, who died on pilgrimage in 1036.

In this account the Hanṣi Sa'd al-Dīn specialized in the cure of insanity. "On a scrap of paper they draw some lines anyhow, and the patient is cured thereby (i.e. by drinking the water in which the scrap has been immersed). In order to drink it he must abstain from everything spirituous; they then write an amulet which the patient is to use (wear on his person) after he has drunk the potion. The words which they signify by the lines and which they write on the amulet are the *basmala*".

At some time — possibly later than this period — the society spread to Egypt and Turkey; Depont and Coppolani give a long list of its meeting-places in Constantinople and the neighbourhood. They regard the Sa'diya as a branch of the Rifā'iya; but the authorities of J. P. Brown make of it an original order, and, indeed, second in the list. He states (p. 56) that the Sa'di's have twelve *ṭarṭas* in their cap, wear turbans of a yellowish colour and perform on foot. The cloth of the cap which covers the head is in six gores (p. 214); and they wear long hair. They are supposed to possess special powers over snakes.

In Lane's time the order was well represented in Egypt, and on the day preceding the night of the Mawlid practised the ceremony called *dāsa*, wherein the *shaikh* of the order rode on horseback over the backs of the dervishes, who lay flat on the ground with their faces downwards for the purpose. It was supposed that none of them suffered any harm in consequence. This ceremony was forbidden by the khedive Tawfik. After the *dāsa* there used to be an assembly wherein some of the dervishes ate live serpents; according to Lane, the serpents had first been deprived of their poisonous teeth or rendered incapable of biting; all that was eaten of the serpent was the head to the point about two inches further back where the thumb of the dervish pressed. By the time of Lane's second visit this practice had been forbidden by the *shaikh* of the order on the ground that such food was unlawful. The *dāsa* was then followed by a *dāḥir*, where in the formulae employed were *Allāhu ḥayy* and *Yā Dā'im*.

The *dāsa* resembles performances by Sūfis of a much earlier period, who were supposed to override natural laws in a variety of ways. Egyptian historians do not appear to allude to it, unless al-Djāharī have it in mind when he commends the Khawāṭirya system for not enforcing on its members more than they can bear (i. 294 ult.). It does not therefore seem possible at present to say when or whence it was introduced. The practice of snake-charming, whereby followers of the order are said to make their living still in Egypt, is attributed to the founder and explained by fables connected with his conversion.

Writers on Sūfism pay little attention to this order, though it is just mentioned in the *Djāmī al-Uṣūl*, without any specification of its doctrines or practices. The founder is mentioned neither in the *Tabaṣṣūt* of al-Shāṭirī, nor in the *Nafahāt al-Uṣṣ* of al-Djāmī, who suggests that one Sa'd al-Dīn al-Ḥamawī, d. 650 A.H., was the founder of a society. It would seem then that the society began with a medico-magical aim, and by process of development became a mystical order.

Bibliography: al-Muhibbī, *Akhuṣṣat al-Aṭhar*, Cairo 1284; Depont and Coppolani, *Confessions religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897; E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the modern Egyptians*, London 1871; J. P. Brown, *The Dervishes*, London 1886.

(D. S. MARGOLIOUTH)

SĀDJ, the teak tree, *tectona grandis*, a large tree belonging to the verbenaceae with broad lanceolate leaves, "like the shields of the Dailam". It is found principally in the drier parts of Further India, in Burma, Siam and Java and, according to Arabic sources, also in East Africa (Zandj). The dark coloured hard wood resists, as no other does, the effects of sea-water and has therefore from ancient times been the best wood for ship-building. Nor is it attacked by insects. The main markets for it were Basra and Egypt. Ibn al-Baitār (transl. Leclerc, ii.), p. 233, mentions the use in medicine of the powdered wood and of an oil obtained from the fruit.

Bibliography: O. Warburg, *Die Pflanzenwelt*, iii. 166, 167 (with illustrations); al-Mas'ūdī (ed. Paris), iii. 12, 56. (J. RUSKA).

SADJ is the name given to a peculiar mode of rhetoric in which at short intervals words occur which rhyme, though it is distinguished from poetry (*ṣa'ir*) by not being bound by a regular rhythm or metre. Probably this was the earliest mode of elevated expression practised by the Arabs before the development of the regular metres. There is ample evidence that it was this mode of expression practised by the Kahins [q. v.] of the times of Paganism for their oracles, though the examples cited in the *Sira* of Ibn Hishām and in the traditions can hardly have been handed down correctly. We can safely believe Ibn al-Kalbī that the Arabs remembered nothing of their ancient poetry except that which was composed very shortly before Islām (*Kitaḥ al-Aḡnām*, ed. Cairo 1332, p. 12, 3) and we must assume from this, that no very ancient Sadj has been preserved. I believe, however, that we are safe in allowing that the various Talhiyāt, or shouts uttered by pilgrims to the many shrines, as recorded by Ibn al-Kalbī (*Aḡnām*, p. 8) and elsewhere, are handed down correctly as they must have been in vivid memory at the beginning of Islām. Such Talhiyāt were, no

doubt, ancient ritual property of the tribes and go back to remoter antiquity than the Sadj^h speeches of Kuss b. Sa'ida and other rhetoricians of pre-Islamic times. We are told that Damsa b. Damsa, al-Ak'ra b. Hābis and others used to give their judgments in Sadj^h when they acted as judges (Djāhiz, *Bayān*, i. 113, a). Muhammad reproved a man who used Sadj^h by saying: "Do you speak Sadj^h like the Kāhins of Paganism?" (Djāhiz, *Bayān*, i. 112, a); he also prohibited it to be used in prayers (Bokhārī, ed. Juynboll, iv. 194, a). Yet the most striking of Sadj^h is the Qur'ān itself; especially the older Sura's are kept to the same tone as the specimens of the oracles of the Kāhins quoted by Ibn Hishām, as e. g. the oracles of Shakk and Saffi (*Sura*, p. 11 etc.). Later authors, Djāhiz, al-Kall and others delight in citing descriptions of weather, persons etc. in Sadj^h attributed as a rule to anonymous Bedouins. These quotations are probably in all cases inventions by philologists to enable them to explain the many difficult words, which could not have been accumulated as easily in a forged poem of regular metre. There was, however, from early time a predilection for this style of prose, which found its fullest development in the literature of the Makmāt of Badī' al-Zamān, Hariri and their imitators. The style unfortunately found its way into letter-writing, and while the earliest specimens of letters, both private and official, are remarkably free from Sadj^h, with progress of time its use increased to such an extent, that both private and official correspondence became conspicuous for the volume of rhymed sentences with very little meaning. It was considered the height of accomplishment in a secretary to write in Sadj^h. The style was called *Mansūdj* but the matter was the same. Sadj^h invaded other branches of literature, even the chronicles, of which conspicuous specimens are in Arabic the *Ta'rikh al-Yamīni* and 'Imād al-Dīn's writings and in Persian the history of Wazir. In both these works everything is sacrificed for the jingling rhymes. This exuberance of Sadj^h may be due to the bad taste of the Persians who from 'Abbāsid times increasingly took a larger share in Arabic letters; the disease seems to spread gradually towards the West and has become one of the main causes why so much of Muhammadan literature, whether Arabic, Persian, Turkish or any other language under their influence, does not appeal to European tastes.

Bibliography: Djāhiz, *Bayān* (ed. Cairo, 1310), i. 111—118; Abū Hilāl al-Askari, *Kitāb al-Sinā'at* (ed. Const. 1320), p. 199—203; Marāzī, *Asmā* (ed. Haidarābād 1332), p. 179 sq., and the Arabic dictionaries s. v. Sadj^h.

(F. KRENKOW)

SADJĀH, Umm Sādir bint Aws b. Hikm b. Usāma, or bint al-Harith b. Suwaid b. 'Ukfa, prophetess and soothsayer, one of several prophets and tribal leaders who sprang up in Arabia shortly before and during the *rida*. The genealogy, which her history proves to be the true one, shows that she belonged to the Banū Tamīm. On her mother's side she was related to the Taghlib, a tribe which comprised many Christians. She was a Christian herself, or at least had learnt much concerning Christianity from her relatives. Next to nothing is known concerning the import of her revelations and doctrines; she delivered her messages from a *minbar*, in rhymed

prose, and was attended by a *mu'adhḥin* and a *ḥajjib*. Her name, or one of her names, for God was "the Lord of the clouds" (*rabb al-sāqāt*).

Sadjāh came to the fore in 11 A. H., after Muhammad's death. One account of her exploits describes her as a Taghlib apatart, who had arrived from Mesopotamia at the head of a band of followers belonging to Rabi'a, Taghlib, the Banū al-Namr, the Banū Iyād, the Banū Shaibān; she found the Tamīm divided, in consequence of the Prophet's death, by deep internal strife between apostates, Muslims and those who wavered between revolt and allegiance to Medina, and succeeded in converting by her revelations and uniting under her command both branches of Hanzalah (the Banū Mālik and the Banū Yarbū'), which she intended to lead against Medina. The extent of her influence on the Tamīm seems, however, to have been much greater than this version, intended to minimize their share in the *rida*, would have us believe. The prophetess was no outsider, she really belonged to the Tamīm, as the end of her career implies, and had gained, probably for some time before Muhammad's death, the support of her whole tribe, whose conversion to Islām had been mainly a matter of expediency, easily shaken off.

Sadjāh's forces began by attacking the Banū Ribāh, in obedience to one of her revelations, and were severely beaten. Repairing to al-Nibādī (in Yamāma) they suffered a second defeat at the hands of the Banū 'Amr, and Sadjāh had to promise that she would leave the territory of the Tamīm. Followed by the Yarbū', she decided to join the prophet Musailima, who still controlled most of Yamāma, in order to unite their fortunes or to restore her own. Their encounter happened at al-Amwāh or at Hadjr. Musailima was menaced by the Muslim army, and the neighbouring tribes threatened to shake off his authority, so that the arrival of a vanquished, ambitious and desperate colleague, accompanied by many armed followers, was a trying, indeed a dangerous visitation. There is no reliable account of the meeting; according to one version, the strange couple came to an understanding, recognized each other's mission and decided to unify their two religions and their worldly interests; they were actually married, and the prophetess stayed by Musailima to the hour of his tragic death. Al-Tahari preserves obscure and very probably fictitious details concerning this union, which must have been rather a political alliance than a lustful orgy; the wedding, according to these legends, was celebrated in the same walled garden where Musailima was to meet his death.

Other accounts of the meeting are that Musailima, after having married Sadjāh, cast her off, and that she returned to her people; a third version does not mention the marriage, and says that the prophet tried to persuade his rival and would-be ally to attack the Muslims, hoping thus to get rid of her; on her refusal he offered, if she consented to depart, half the year's crops of Yamāma; she declined to go unless he promised half of the next year's harvest as well, set off with the first part of the booty, and left her representatives with Musailima to wait for the rest, repairing to her kinsfolk. The second part of the ransom was never collected, as Musailima was vanquished and massacred by Khalid before the next harvest.

Whatever the outcome of Sadjāh's relations with

Muallima, her own career was either merged into his, or cut short by repulse, and we hear nothing more of her mission. According to all accounts, she went back to her native tribe, and lived obscurely amongst them. On Ibn al-Kalbi's authority we learn that she embraced Islam when her family decided to settle in Bagra, which had become the principal centre of the Tasim under the Umayyads, lived and died there a Muslim, and was buried with the customary prayers and ceremonies.

Bibliography: al-Tabari (ed. de Goeje), i. 1911—1920; al-Baladhuri (ed. de Goeje), p. 99—100; *Kitāb al-Aghani*, xviii. 165; Ibn Khaldūn, *Bar*, Bulak 1284, ii. App. p. 73; Wellhausen, *Sketchen und Vorarbeiten*, vi. 13—15; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, A. H. 11, § 160—164, 170—173, A. H. 12, § 92—93; Fāsi, *Dalīlāt*, transl. Shea and Troyer (London 1843), vol. iii. (V. VACCA).

AL-SADJĀWANDĪ ABU 'L-FADL (according to others **ABU 'ABD ALLĀH OF ABU DĀ'FAR**) MUHAMMAD B. TAIFUR AL-AḤMADĀWĪ, reader of the *Qur'ān*, died about 560 = 1164/5. While he also occupied himself with *Qur'ān* exegesis and grammar, he is mainly known by his works on the recitation of the *Qur'ān*. At quite an early period a beginning was made with distinguishing different kinds of pauses in reciting the *Qur'ān* [see the article *ḲIRĀ'Ā*]. Al-Sadjāwandī further developed the system in his work on this subject entitled *Kitāb al-Waḥf wa'l-Ibtidā'*. He divided the possibilities of allowing a pause to intervene into 5 categories and in addition instituted as an abbreviation for each a letter of the alphabet: 1) *waḥf lāzim* (و), 2) *w. muṣṭaḥ* (ط), 3) *w. dī'is* (ذ), 4) *w. muḥṣanaw liwaḥf* (س), 5) *w. muḥṣanaw liwaḥf* (ق or د). His system was soon generally adopted in a somewhat extended form and therefore in the later eastern copies of the *Qur'ān* (except the Maghribi) we find pause marks, which are either placed according to his system or are at least dependent on it.

Bibliography: Ḥādījī Khalifa, *Kaṣf al-Zunūn*, ed. Flügel, iii. 326, iv. 284, v. 170, vii. 858; al-Suyūṭī, *Tabaḥṭ al-Mufaṣṣirīn*, ed. A. Meursinge (Leiden 1839), No. 98; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itḥān fī 'Ulūm al-Ḳur'ān* (Cairo 1287), i. 105 sq.; S. de Sacy, *Notice d'un traité des pauses dans la lecture de l'Alcoran* (N. E., ix. 111—116); Th. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte der Qurān*; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 387 sq. (R. PARET).

AL-SADJĀWANDĪ SIRĀJĪ AL-DĪN ABU ṬĀHIR MUHAMMAD B. MUHAMMAD B. 'ABD AL-RASHĪD, jurist, belonging to the Ḥanafī school and flourishing about the year 1200 A. D. His *Kitāb al-Farā'id*, known as *al-Farā'id al-Sirāḍiyya* or briefly *al-Sirāḍiyya*, which deals with the law of inheritance, is celebrated and widely used and regarded as the principal work on this field. The author himself was the first to write a commentary on it and since then it has been frequently edited and annotated by other scholars down to the present time, sometimes also in Turkish and Persian.

Bibliography: Ḥādījī Khalifa, *Kaṣf al-Zunūn*, ed. Flügel, i. 248, ii. 207 sq., 562, iii. 325, 376, 384, 482; iv. 399—406; G. Flügel, *Ibn Ḳuṣṭubū's Tabaḥṭ der Hanafīen* (*Abhandlungen der D. M. G.*, vol. ii., No. 3), No. 166; R. Basset, *Les manuscrits arabes de la*

Zamya d'El Hamel, No. 31 (*Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana*, x. 58—64); G. Flügel, *Die Classen der hanafitischen Rechtsgelehrten* (*Abhandlungen der phil.-hist. Class der kgl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, iii., 1881), 318; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.* i. 378.

(R. PARET)

SADJDA, Prostration (see *SUNNĪ*). The word has almost the same value in practice as our "adoration". It is used as the title of two *sūra's* (xxxii and xli) which are distinguished from one another by the opening letters; the second is called *ḥ-m al-Sajda*, because it begins with the letters *ḥ-m*. The ideas and the subject in these two *sūra's* are analogous; the Prophet presents the revealed book, praises the pious who believe, give alms and perform the *ṣalāt*, threatens the impious and reveals the signs of God in nature. Nöldeke puts these two *sūra's* down to the third period; in the second the Prophet is said to have had in view the conversion of the Meccan notable 'Otba b. Rab'ā. *Sūra* xxxii was also called *al-Maḍāḡi* "couches" and *al-Djurn* "barren soil", *Sūra* xli *Fuṣilat*. "They believe only in our verses; when they are recited to them, they fall prostrate or rise from their couches calling upon their Lord". Pious readings and night prayers were already in use among the devout at the period when these *sūra's* were published.

Bibliography: The *Qur'ān* and its commentaries; Th. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte der Qurān*, Leipzig 1909. (CARRE DE VAUX).

SADJĀDA (A., plural *sadjjādāt*, *sadjjādāt*, *sawwājīd*), the carpet on which the *ṣalāt* is performed. The word is found neither in the *Qur'ān* nor in the canonical *Ḥadīth*; the article itself, however, was known at quite an early period, as may be seen from the traditions about to be mentioned. In the *Ḥadīth* we are often told how Muhammad and his followers performed the *ṣalāt* on the floor of the mosque in Medina after a heavy shower of rain with the result that their noses and heads came in contact with the mud (e. g. al-Bukhārī, *Aḥādīth*, bāb 135, 151; Muslim, *Sayām*, trad. 214—216, 218 etc.). This shows that at the time when such traditions arose the use of these carpets was not so general that people dated their origin as far back as the time of the Prophet. With this may be compared the fact that in a series of traditions the saying is put into Muhammad's mouth that it was his privilege in contrast with the other prophets that the earth was for him *matjīd wa-ṣakūr* (e. g. al-Bukhārī, *Tayammum*, Bāb 1; *Ṣalāt*, bāb 56, etc.). Al-Tirmidhī (*Ṣalāt*, bāb 130) also tells us that some *ṣaḥāba* prefer the *ṣalāt* on the bare earth and in modern Egypt and Morocco persons of the lower orders do not use these mats at all.

The canonical *Ḥadīth* gives us the following picture. Muhammad performs the *ṣalāt* on his own garment, protecting his arms against the heat of the soil during prostration with one of its sleeves, his knees with one end and his forehead with the *'imāma* or *ḥalawūṣ* (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 22, 23; Muslim, *Matājīd*, trad. 191; Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, i. 320). On the passage quoted from Muslim, al-Nawawī observes that, according to al-Shāfi'ī, it is forbidden to prostrate oneself on the garment one is wearing. Al-Bukhārī (*Ṣalāt*, bāb 22) tells us that Muhammad performed the *ṣalāt* on his quilt (*ṣawāḥ*).

The *Ḥaṭṭh* also informs us that the *ṣalāt* was performed on mats; e. g. al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 131, where a *ḥiṣṣ* is mentioned (so also Ibn Māḍja, *Iḥkāmāt al-Ṣalamāt*, bāb 63; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 232, 273; iii. 160, 171, 184, 212); in

the latter passage it is observed that this *ḥiṣṣ* was made out of palm-leaves, *ḥiṣṣ al-naḥl*. Al-Tirmidhī adds that most scholars permit the *ṣalāt* on *ṭunṣūn* or *ḥiṣṣ*. A similar mat of palm-leaves on which the *ṣalāt* was performed is called

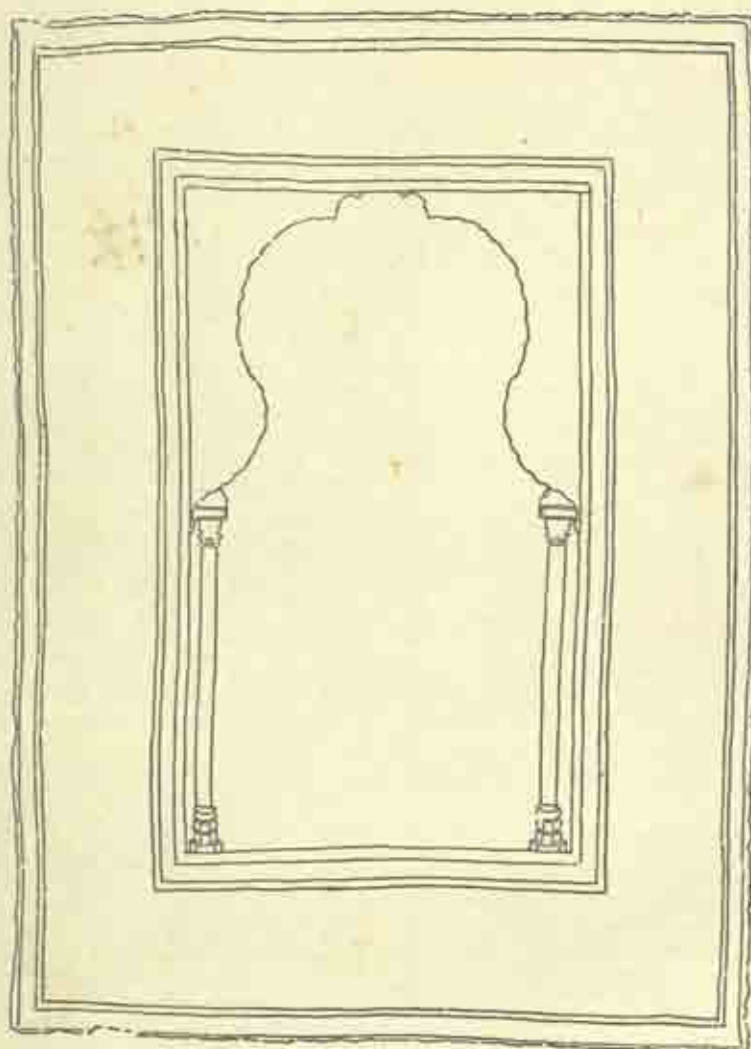


Fig. 1
Turkish Sadjdjāda
1.72 × 1.27 M.
Turkey, 16th century¹⁾

¹⁾ Reproduced from F. Sarre and F. R. Martin, *Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerken Muhammedanischer Kunst in München 1910* (Munich, F. Bruckmann A.-G., 1912). Here the characteristic outlines are given only.

ṣaṭṭ (e. g. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 20; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 52, 59, 130 sq., 145, 149, 164, 179, 184 sq., 190, 226, 291). This tradition is also found in Muslim, *Maṣāḥid*, trad. 266; al-Nawawī observes on this passage that the *fakih* generally declared the performance of the *ṣalāt* permitted on whatever grows out of the earth. It is, however, evident from Abū Dāwūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 91,

that at the end of the third (ninth) century dressed skins of animals were already being used (*farwa waṭṭuḡha*).

At the same time we frequently find it mentioned that Muḥammad performed the *ṣalāt* on a *ḥumra* (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 21; Muslim, *Maṣāḥid*, trad. 270; al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 129; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 269, 308 sq., 320, 358;

il. 91 sq., 98; al-Nasā'ī, *Mustajjida*, bāb 43; Ibn Sa'd, I/II, 160). The distinction between *ḥumra* and *ḥajir* appears to have lain not in the material of which they were made but in the size. According to Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Alawī's marginal glosses to Ibn Māǧīa, *ḥumra*, bāb 63, 64, the *ḥumra* afforded just sufficient room for the

prostration, while the *ḥajir* was of the length of a man.

The word *sadjjāda* is found a century after the conclusion of the canonical Ḥadīth literature. Al-Djāwharī, *Ṣaḥāḥ*, s. v., explains *sadjjāda* to be synonymous with *ḥumra*. In his *Supplement*, Dozy quotes passages from the 1001 Nights

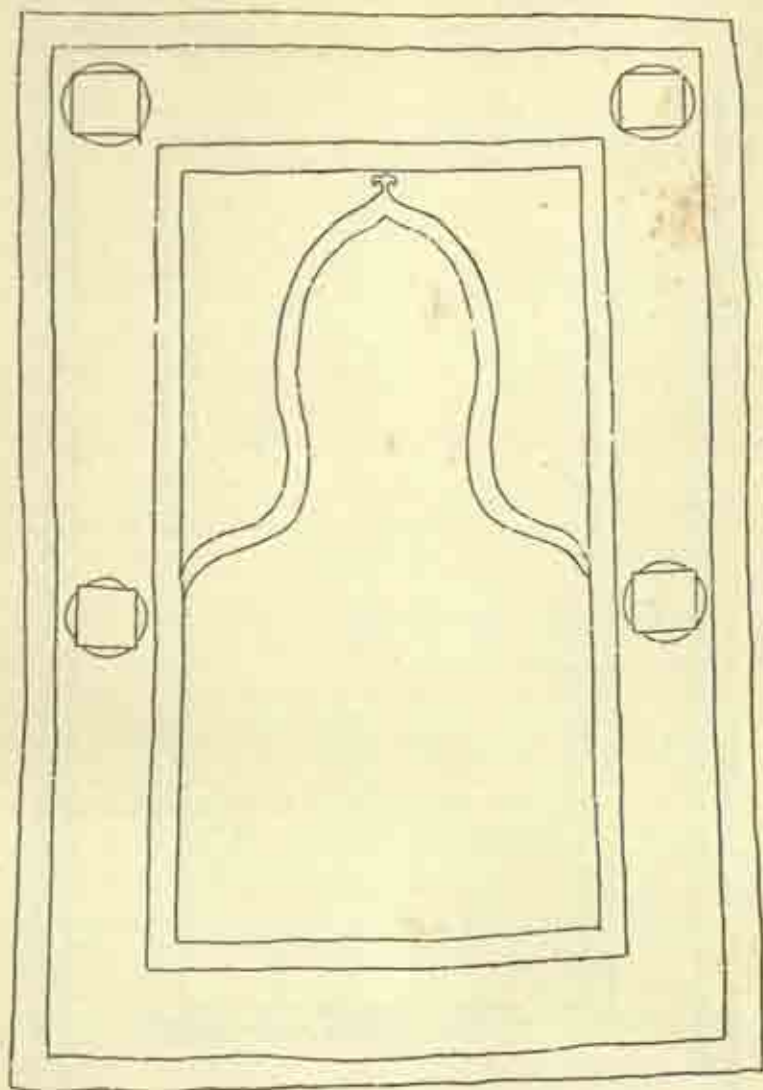


Fig. 2
Persian Sadjdjāda
1.58 × 1.10 M.
Persia, 16th century

and Ibn Baṭṭūta. The latter mentions among the customs of the inmates of a certain *zāwiya* in Cairo that the whole body went to the mosque on Friday, where a servant had laid his *sadjjāda* ready for each one (ed. Paris, I, 73; cf. 72). The same traveller tells us something similar regarding Mālli, where every-one sends his servant with his *sadjjāda* to the mosque to lay it ready on his place. He adds that they were made out of the leaves of a palm-like tree (IV, 422).

In modern Mekka every one in the great mosque performs the *ṣalāt* on a *sadjjāda*, usually a small carpet, just large enough for the *ṣalāt*. After use it is rolled up and carried off on the shoulder. The lower orders believe that it is not advisable to leave the *sadjjāda* unrolled after use as Iblīs would seize the opportunity to perform the *ṣalāt* on it. Well-to-do people have sometimes their *sadjjāda* kept by a servant of the mosque but even among them this is not at

all general. In place of a carpet a towel is sometimes used, for example the one which has been used for drying oneself after the *maḡḡ*. The lines woven in the carpet are not symmetrical but run to a point on one of the short sides which is

placed in the direction of the *kibla* [q. v.]; cf. below Lane's "niche" (this information has been given me orally by Prof. C. Snoeck Hargrunje).

In Morocco the common people do not make any use of the *S.*; the middle classes favour small

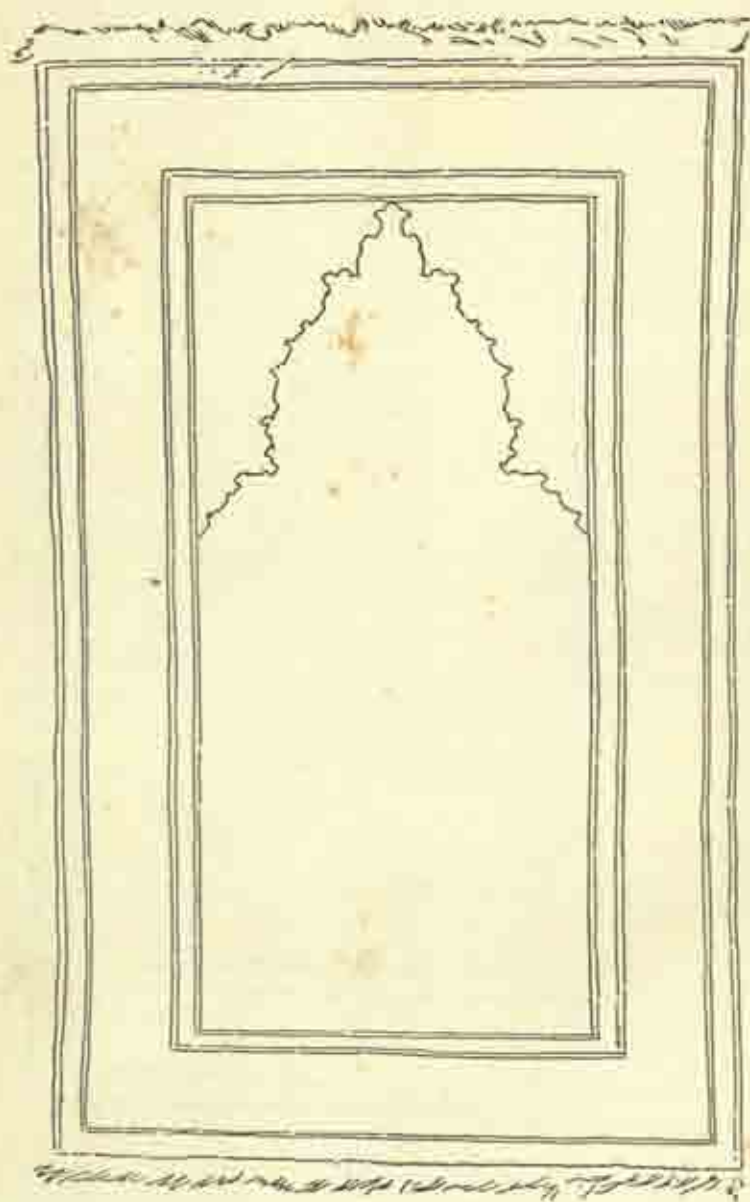


Fig. 3
Indian Sadjijāda
1.56 × 1.06 M.
India, 17th century

felt carpets (*āḥḥa*) like saddle cushions, just large enough for performing the *sadjā*. They are especially used by the *ṣaḥḥa*, so that they have almost become one of their distinctive marks. They fold them and bear them under their arm in an ostentative way, wherever they go, and

sit down on them especially when visiting Christians. Certain *ṣaḥḥa* from Morocco, when travelling in Algeria, even refuse to sit down on anything besides their *āḥḥa*, a pretentiousness which hurts the feelings of people in Algeria. In the latter country the *S.* is very rarely used, except among

the heads of the *tarika's* and various *marabout's*. Here the *Sadjidjada's* usually consist of simple skins of goats or gazelles. The common people ascribe miraculous powers to these skins; in legends the *marabout's* are often represented as using them in order to have themselves transferred thereon to Mekka or to walk on the waves. Occasionally the pilgrims bring home from Mekka *sadjidjada's* analogous to those described above by Prof. Snouck Hurgronje; these rugs are nowadays often imported from Europe. The pilgrims do not seem to attach to them any particular value (this information has been given me by Prof. H. Basset).

According to Lane, *sadjidjada's* (carpets) are imported from Asia Minor into Egypt and used there only by the rich to perform the *salat* upon and also as saddle-covers. They are about the size of a wide hearth-rug. A "niche" is represented upon it, the point of which is turned towards the *qibla*. Persons of the lower orders often perform the *salat* upon the bare ground simply; and they seldom immediately wipe off the dust which adheres to the nose and forehead as a result of prostration (cf. the well-known traditions regarding the traces of the *sadjidjada*); but when a person has a cloak or any other garment, which he can decently take off, he spreads it upon the ground.

The usual practice in the Dutch Indies is described by Snouck Hurgronje. A number of long narrow mats and carpets are placed broadwise on the floor of the mosque before the beginning of the service. After the service these are rolled up and laid aside (*De Islam in Nederlandisch-Indië*, Batavia 1913, p. 10; *Verzamelde Geschriften*, iv/ii. 366). But it is usual here also to bring one's own mat to the mosque.

As Dr. J. H. Kramers tells me, the carpet which covers the floor of the Aya Sofya is divided up by patterns into separate *sadjidjada's*, but in performing the *salat* this separation is not observed.

In the chapel in the Scagliio in Constantinople, in which are preserved the relics of the Prophet, the alleged *sadjidjada* of Abū Bakr is preserved (d'Ohsson, *Traité de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1787—1820, i. 267). In Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. Turco-français*, we find, s. v., a number of Turkish phrases in which the *sadjidjada* plays a part.

The *sadjidjada* has assumed special significance in the religious societies and in the Dervish orders. Among the latter — at least in Egypt — the word has become synonymous with order in the expression *Shaykh al-Sadjidjada*, which is applied to the head of an order in Egypt.

In the terminology of these societies, *sadjidjada* alternates with *Naq* (cf. above) and expressions borrowed from other languages. According to the hierarchic legend, Gabriel brought Adam a *sadjidjada* made out of the skins of the sheep of Paradise, on which he had to kneel during the *ghadd* ceremony. This *sadjidjada* *al-ghaddiya* was the one used by all succeeding generations in the same ceremony; Maḥammad, Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī are especially mentioned. From 'Alī it has been passed on to the *shaykhs* of the order down to the present day. The *Shaykh* therefore sits on this *sadjidjada* during the *ghadd* ceremony and the expression *shaykh al-farīd(a)* makes the *sadjidjada* in a certain sense the throne of the whole order. Before the beginning of the *ghadd* ceremony it is spread by the *naqib* whose duty

this is. The *Shaykh* sits down ceremonially after his seat, as it were, has been broken by its being spread out. The candidate on whose account the ceremony is being performed stands, on the other hand, on the *biḥḥ al-ḡam*. From the descriptions it is not always clear, whether by candidate is meant an ordinary novice or rather a *naqib*.

A whole series of mystical interpretations is associated with the *sadjidjada* or *biḥḥ*. Head, foot, etc. are ascribed to it as to a living animal; it has four letters, which are connected with the elements; references are found to the *sadjidjada* of the path of salvation and the *sadjidjada* of the *ṣūfī* profession is called the *sadjidjada* of the faith. Accounts are given of the material of which the *sadjidjada's* of various people were made or are made, as well as of their colour (cf. the picture in *Der Islam*, 1916, vi. 170).

Bibliography: In addition to the works quoted in the text cf. also: Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, Index (s. v. *sadjidjada*); J. P. Brown, *The Dervishes*, London 1868, p. 196; H. Thorning, *Beitr. zur Kenntnis des Islams*, *Veröffentlichungen, Türk. Abh.*, xvi., Berlin 1913, Index; P. Kahle, *Zur Organisation der Dervischeorden in Egypten* in *Der Islam*, 1916, vi. 149 sqq.; F. Taeschner, *Aufnahme in eine Zunft*, op. cit., p. 169.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

SADIJIDS, a family which takes its name from the founder of the dynasty, Abū 'I-Sādī, and which ruled in Adhakhaidjan under the nominal suzerainty of the 'Abbāsid Caliphs at the end of the third (ninth) century and the beginning of the fourth (tenth). It comprised five rulers:

1. Abū 'I-Sādī Dīwād b. Yūsuf Dīwād, a native of Oghruzan, a Turkish general in the service of the Caliph al-Mutawakkil, who was appointed to take charge of the road to Mecca in 242 (856), returned to Baghdad in 252 (866) and was then sent to recover the taxes in al-Sawād on behalf of Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Tāhir; he was then appointed governor of Aleppo and Kinnasrin under al-Mu'tazz in 254 (868) and of al-Ahwāz in 261 (874—875); in this capacity he wished to fight the Zangī, who, having defeated his son-in-law, 'Abd al-Rahmān, had seized al-Ahwāz. Having taken the side of Yūsuf b. Laith, the Saffarid, he lost his estates after the defeat of the latter by the ruler al-Muwaffak in 262 (875—876). He was then recalled to Baghdad, but died on the way at Qundal-Sāḥūr in 266 (879—880).

Dīwād in Persian means "given by the demon" and *Dīwād* "he who has the hands of a demon". The alternation of *ī* for *ā* which is sometimes found in the manuscripts indicates an old pronunciation *dīwād*, *dīwād*.

2. His son Muḥammad Afshin Abū 'Uḥād took Mecca from the lieutenant of the chief of the Zangī, Abū 'I-Mughira 'Isā b. Muḥammad al-Makhlūf in 266 (880). Three years later he attacked Dīdda and captured two ships filled with money and munitions from al-Makhlūf. He was given the governorship of Asbār, Tarīk al-Furāt and Raḥba. On the death of Ahmad b. Tulun [q. v.] in 270 (883—884) he tried to conquer Syria in alliance with Ishāk b. Kandalak. They were assisted in this enterprise by the army of the Caliph, which defeated the Egyptian forces at Shaizar, but was itself defeated as the result of an

ambuscade at the battle of the mills (*ṣawāḥib*). After a quarrel with Ishāk b. Kendaḡlīk, Muhammad turned towards Khumirawāh, defeated his former ally on the Euphrates and conquered Mawṣil. In 274 (888) he quarrelled with the Egyptians, lost a battle near Damascus in Muḥarram, 275 (May-June, 888), lost Hims, Aleppo and al-Rahla and retired to Takrit. He took the field again and defeated, before Mawṣil, Ishāk b. Kendaḡlīk, who was pursuing him.

In 276 (889-90) al-Muwaffak appointed him governor of Adharbaidjan. He then took Marāgha from 'Abdallāh b. Ḥasan al-Hawādḡhī (280-893) and was sent by the Caliph to carry gifts — a royal crown and other presents — to the Bagratid Sempad, king of Armenia. His brief rebellion against al-Mu'taḡid in 284 (897) ended in his prompt submission and cost him nothing. He took Kāza, which belonged to Sempad, as well as his capital Tovin. They then made peace. Muhammad died of the plague at Berda's in Rabi' I, 283 (March, 901).

3. Yūsuf, brother of Muhammad Afshā, after having forced his nephew Dīwād, son of N° 2, to break himself to the Caliph's court, entered into friendly relations with Sempad, and made an alliance with him; he then took the side of Kakeg Artāwūt, captured several fortresses, put Sempad to death who had surrendered to him, captured Rai, Karwin, Zandjan, Abhar from Muhammad b. 'Alī Sulṭān, governor for the Sāmānid Negr b. Ahmad. He defeated the troops sent against him by the Caliph in 305 (917-918). He was, however, forced to give up Rai. He defeated Mu'nis, who took refuge in Zandjan in 307 (919), but the latter defeated him before Ardabil, took him prisoner, treated him with consideration and brought him to Baghddād. He was set free in 310 (922) and was granted the governorship of Rai and Adharbaidjan. The Caliph appointed him to fight the Kartatians, but he was defeated and taken prisoner in the first battle, in spite of his valour. He was put to death with all the prisoners.

4. In Dhu 'l-Hijja, 315 (Feb., 928) Abu 'l-Muḥṣir Fath, son of Muhammad Afshā, was given his uncle's governorship and remained governor till his death; he was poisoned at Ardabil by one of his slaves in Sha'ban, 317 (Sept., 929).

5. His son Abu 'l-Faraj was a general of the Caliph and a friend of the first Amir al-Umara', Ibn Rāḡh.

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ŞADR AẒAM (for *ṣadr-i-aẓam*), strictly "the greatest of the high dignitaries", a title which from the time of Sulaimān the Magnificent has been borne by the first minister or "grand

vizier" of the Ottoman empire, also called *ṣadr-i-āzā*, *ṣāhib-i-dawlat*, *darsh-i-akram*, *ṣadr-i-penāh*, *ṣadr-i-aẓam* (from the name of the legendary minister of Solomon), etc. (cf. below). Earlier he was called *wasir* (see *WAZIR*), then *wasir-i-sawar* (*aẓam*, *akbar*). After the suppression of the "viziers of the dome" (*ḡubbe wasirleri*) under Ahmad III, the *Ṣadr aẓam* were appointed by no fixed rule, at the Sultān's pleasure. The official chosen received and kept always by him a gold ring with the Sultān's seal. In his capacity of *ṣāhib-i-muḥr*, he was the plenipotentiary (*wasil-i-muḥṣir*) of the sovereign in civil and military matters and made appointments to all the military (*akhi-sayf*) and civil (*akhi-sulṭan*) offices. The legal officers (*qānūn*) were under the *Shāikh al-Islām* [q. v.], appointed, like the *Ṣadr aẓam*, by the Sultān himself.

The *Ṣadr aẓam* presided over the *Diwān*, held monthly audiences, received the principal officials twice a week, made rounds (*ḡor*) periodically and rendered assistance in case of fire. He had the right to eight guards of honour (*ḡāfir*), twelve led horses (*ḡadek*), a barge with thirteen pairs of rowers, with a green canopy. When he appeared in public the *ḡannā* shouted acclamations (*al-ḡāḡ*), the formula of which was Byzantine in origin. He had the privilege of being able to go to the Sultān personally at any hour of the day or night.

In case of war, the *Ṣadr aẓam* could become commander-in-chief — *Sardār-i-akram* (*efkhem*) — and carried with him the standard of the Prophet (*Sandḡah-i-ḡāfir*) [q. v.]. A deputy (*ḡā'im muḥṣir*) [q. v.] replaced him in the capital.

Like the Khedive of Egypt, the *Ṣadr aẓam* had the right to the honorary epithet of *darsh-i-fikhamatli*, or "Highness", besides the other epithets to which he was entitled: *ḡām*, *ḡā* "sublime" and *ḡāḡ*. Like the *ḡapudan paḡa*, before the reforms of Mahmūd II, he wore a white hat (*ḡalamī* for *ḡullamī*), shaped like a truncated pyramid with rounded corners, adorned with an oblique band of gold.

The office — *ṣadr-i-aẓama* (*ḡubra*) — was innocuous and ephemeral. The dismissed *Ṣadr aẓam* handed over his seal at an audience and went into exile, when he was allowed to live. Not being hereditary, the office was only exceptionally continued in the same family (the *Koprulu*).

After the constitution of 1908 the Grand Vizier became responsible to parliament; the Sultān continued to nominate the *Shāikh al-Islām* as well as the *Ṣadr aẓam* and it was the latter who chose his other colleagues. These two dignitaries, however, disappeared with the Sultān himself in 1922 (law of Angora of Nov. 1). The last *Ṣadr aẓam*, Dāmīd Ferid Paḡa, died at Nice on Oct. 6, 1923. The President of the Council is now called *Baḡh Wāḡh*, a title which Mahmūd II had tried to establish in 1838.

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ŠADR AL-DĪN, MUHAMMAD B. ISHĀH, known as MULLĀ ŠADRĀ, a Persian theologian and philosopher of the Safawid period. He was the son of a governor of Fārs and owed his epithet to his superior merit; he is still called Akhūnd, "master". Born at Shirāz, he spent a long time in retirement among the mountains of Kūm, travelled in Persia and was a pupil, at Isfahān, of Šāikh Bahā' and of Amīr Muḥammad Bāqir Dāmād, after the instructions of Saliyid Abū 'l-Kāsim Firdirisi.

When Allāh-Wardkhān, governor of Fārs, had finished building the minaret erected by him in Shirāz, he asked Šadr, then at Kūm, to return to his native land and made him professor in his new foundation.

Mullā Šadr restored the teaching of Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna); to escape persecution from the *mudṭabid*, he concealed his doctrines by the use of the *šimās* under deliberately obscure expressions. Among his pupils were Muḥsin Fā'ī, 'Abd al-Razzāq and Kāzī Saliyid al-Kummi. He seven times made the pilgrimage to Mecca and died at Bagra in 1050 (1642) on his way back from the seventh.

A prolific writer, he wrote some twenty volumes, of which some are commentaries on different chapters of the Korān, a dissertation on authentic traditions, fifty treatises on theodicy, forty-four works on obscure points of doctrine, written in the mountains of Kūm, and four books of travels quoted by Riḍā-Kulī-Khān. The British Museum possesses the *Tūn* for *mudṭabihāt*, a polemic against the teachers of canon law and a defence of the dervishes, and *al-Wāridāt al-Ḥalīya* "the intuitions of the heart".

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al-ŠAFĀ, a mound at Mecca which now barely rises above level of the ground. The meaning of the name is like that of the name of the eminence al-Marwa, which lies opposite to it: "the stone" or "the stones" (cf. al-Tabari, *Tafsīr* to Sara ii. 153).

As is well known, Muslims perform the *sa'y* between al-Šafā and al-Marwa in memory, as the legend relates (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *al-Anbiyā*, bāb 9), of the fact that Hājar ran backwards and forwards seven times between these two eminences to look for a spring for her thirsty son. — It is certain that cults were located at al-Šafā and al-Marwa even in the pagan period. According to most traditions there were two stone idols there, one on al-Šafā and Nā'ila on al-Marwa, which the pagan Arabs on their *sa'y* used to touch. On the origin of these images the following story is given in the commentary of Nisā'iri on Sūra ii. 153, and al-Shāfi'ī gives his approval to it: Iṣṭ and Nā'ila were guilty of indecent conduct in the Ka'ba and were therefore turned into stones, which were placed on the two pieces of raised ground al-Šafā and al-Marwa to be a warning to all. In course of time the origin of the stone

figures was forgotten and people began to pay them divine worship. — According to another tradition there were copper images there (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, p. 26); according to a third story demons lived on the two hills who shrieked at night (given in al-Tabari, *Tafsīr*).

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ŠAFAD, a town in Upper Galilee, 30 miles East of 'Akkā and N.E. of the Lake of Tiberias, about 1600 feet above sea level on a hill which al-Dimaghki calls Kan'an (so also Cuinet) and which is called Dībil 'Amīla in Yāqūt, iii. 399 (whose statements are otherwise wrong; on this see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, p. 23). It was only through the Crusades that it first attained importance, for before the 13th century it is not mentioned by any Arab geographer. But it must have already existed in the second century, as Sephath is found in the Jerusalem Talmud (Tract. Roḥe Hashaḡa, ii. 2; in Schwab's translation, vi. 75); it is probably also identical with Šaf in Josephus, *Jelium Judaeorum*, vol. II, ch. xx. § 6. The older Arabic orthography *Šafat* or *Šifat* agrees with this. Al-Kalkashandī gives etymological notes on both forms of the Arabic name.

Šafad is one of the places where the Crusaders built fortresses to defend the strip of coast conquered by them against the aims of Damascus and later against the Aiyūbids; with the fortress of Belvoir (= Šhafīk Amūn) it formed a point of support for the hinterland of 'Akkā. Its history is therefore closely associated with that of Akro. The citadel probably built about 1140 by the Crusaders was the special property of the Templars (al-Dāwīya); in 1157 King Baldwin of Jerusalem was forced to take refuge there when he was defeated by Nūr al-Dīn's troops as he returned from the town of Bānās. After Saladin's great victory over the Crusaders at Ḥaṭṭin (1187) he laid siege to Šafad and took personal direction of the operations next year, when he succeeded in capturing the town after five weeks' resistance on the 14th of Shawwāl, 584 (Dec. 6, 1188). Saladin's biographer, Ibn Shaddād, describes in great detail how Saladin unceasingly took part in the siege operations. The garrison went off to Tyre. This capture was considered very important by the Muslims as the town lay "in the midst of their lands" (Ibn al-Athīr). In 1219 or 1220 the fortress was razed to the ground by the Muslims as they feared that the Franks might capture it again and, indeed, in 1240 Šafad was actually ceded by al-Šallī Imā'īl, Sultān of Damascus, by treaty to the Templars (as was Šhafīk Arḍūn also) because Imā'īl thereby hoped to gain the Franks as allies against his cousin, the Egyptian Sultān. After the Khwarizms storm had swept over Galilee in 1244, the Mamlūk Sultān Balbars [q. v.] advanced against the fortress and took it after eleven days' siege in 1266 (Šahān 19, 664 = May 26, 1266, according to Ibn al-Athīr; the European sources put it some years later). The whole garrison was put to death in spite of the pledge given. Balbars also strengthened the defences and built a mosque there. 'Akkā next fell in 1291.

Under the Mamlûks Şafad remained an important centre. It was the capital of one of the large *mamlûka*'s or *niyâba*'s into which Syria was divided. The *niyâba* of Şafad comprised the whole of Galilee with 'Akka. The town itself was the seat of a *na'ib* and was a centre of literary life, as Ibn al-Nabâ al-Şafadî of several Arab authors shows, notably that of the biographer Khalîl b. Aḥak, who was born there in 696 (1296); the geographer al-Dimashqî is said to have died there in 1327 (Mehren, p. vi., infra). In this period there also flourished al-Uḥmîrî, chief *ḳāḍî* of the *mamlûka* of Şafad (d. 780 = 1378; cf. Brockelmann, *Gesch. Arab. Litt.*, II, 91), who wrote a *Tarîkh Şafad* now lost. Şafad was at the same time an important centre of Rabbinical learning.

The town gradually began to lose in importance. After surrendering to the Ottoman Sultan Selim I in 1516 without striking a blow along with other towns in Palestine, the old *niyâba*'s at first remained intact but later, in the XVIII century, the whole of Palestine belonged to the great pashalîk of Damascus. Şafad was the capital of a *sanjak* to which also belonged 'Akka and Tyre (Hadjî Khalîfa). During this period Şafad several times belonged to the sphere of influence of the Druse Amîr Fakhr al-Dîn of the Lebanon, who used it as a fortress to protect his possessions in Galilee. At Şafad in 1633 is also said to have taken place the battle in which 'Alî, the son of the Amîr, was killed.

When about 1750 'Akka again became important under Shaiḳh Zâhir, the strategic importance of Şafad also increased once more. Zâhir himself came from Şafad where his father, Shaiḳh 'Umîr al-Zaidânî, had been representative of the Amîr Bashîr; under his rule the town was almost completely destroyed by an earthquake (1759). Ahmad Dîzârî, who succeeded Zâhir in 'Akka in 1775, at the same time conquered Şafad, and Bonaparte before his unsuccessful siege of 'Akka had first to take Şafad (1799), where he entrusted the authority to a son of Zâhir. Dîzârî later revenged himself on the town by completely destroying the Jewish quarter.

The most important events of the XIX century were the earthquakes of 1819 and 1837 which wrought great damage. After the Turkish administrative reforms of 1830 Şafad became the capital of a *kaḍâ* in the *sanjak* of 'Akka in the wilâyet of Bairût. It is now within the mandated area of Palestine.

The population has varied greatly in course of time. In the XIX century it was a town of average size (Abu'l-Fida'). After the earthquake of 1759 it was an almost deserted village (Volney). The later figures vary very much, which is probably due to the fact that the figures for the town and the *kaḍâ* were not kept separate. The population of the town in 1900 may be put at 15,000, of whom about a third are Jews. In 1492 there were still about 10,000 Jews there. After this their numbers declined very much down to the middle of last century, when a great influx of Moroccan, Algerian and Persian Jews took place, which has been increased since 1880 by Zionist immigration. Şafad is also a place of pilgrimage for Jews. According to Hadjî Khalîfa (p. 568), when the Jewish tribes immigrated the tribe of Zabulon is said to have settled near Şafad. In the vicinity of the town there are now many Dunes (according to v. Oppenheim, 15,000 in the district of 'Akka

and Şafad); their immigration from the Lebanon had already begun in al-Dimashqî's time.

The town itself is built on three hills, of which the Jews inhabit the north. The Muhammadan part has four fair-sized mosques. In the valleys between the hills and on the slopes down to the lake of Tiberias lie fields and gardens belonging to the town, which yield rich crops of wheat, maize, olives, tobacco, cotton and many kinds of vegetables. The splendid view over the lake is generally admired. The ruins of the fortress lie high up the hill and are called al-*Ḳal'a* or al-*Ḳal'a*. Practically nothing is left of the castle of the Crusaders; of the more recent defences there are still to be seen only the foundations of a strong round tower, probably that which was built by Balbars (according to al-Dimashqî, while Conder and Kitchener consider it one of Zâhir's buildings). Below, close to the fort, is a well, of which al-Dimashqî gives a detailed description.

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(J. H. KRAMER)

ŞAFADÎ, SALĪḤ AL-DĪN KHAḤIL b. AḤAK b. 'ABD ALLĪH ABU 'L-ŞAYḤ was born in 696 or 697 = 1296/97 (*Durar al-Kāmil*, MS. (B. M., Or. 3034) has about the year 694 A.H.). He was of Turkish descent and, according to his own statement, his father did not give him a good education and it was only when he was 20 years of age, that he began the pursuit of studies. He wrote a very nice hand as is proved by several autographs which have come down to us. He attended the lectures of the very best teachers of his time, among whom are named the grammarian Abū Ḥayyân and the poets Shihâb al-Dîn Maḥmūd, Ibn Sa'īyid al-Nas and Ibn Nubâta. Later he became an intimate friend of the renowned authors Shams al-Dîn al-Dihābi and Tādj al-Dîn al-Subkî. His first post was that of secretary in his native town

of Şafadî, then at Cairo, later he was secretary at Halab, al-Kahla and finally he was in charge of the treasury at Damascus. He was of pleasant manners but towards the end of his life became deaf. He died at Damascus on the 10th of Shawwâl 764 = 1362/63. He was a most prolific author and stated himself in his autobiography that his compositions would fill 500 volumes and that the amount he had written as secretary would come to at least double that quantity. His biographers content themselves with mentioning only the most important of his works, many of them being nearly worthless compilations of verse and prose from modern authors. Besides a prodigious quantity of verse in his own anthologies and works of contemporary and later authors, the following works have come down to us either complete or in part. All are practically compilations from earlier authors, which he very frequently states faithfully. 1) *Wāfi* *al-Wafayāt*, an enormous biographical dictionary is about 30 volumes, of which some are found in many libraries, though I doubt whether the complete work has been preserved. Some volumes are numbered, but volumes with the same contents have at times different numbers, from which it appears that the material of the work was divided into volumes of varying size by different scribes (for the contents of some volumes see Horowitz, *M.S.O.S. Ar.*, xlii, p. 45; while the newer MSS. in the British Museum contain: Or. 6587 'All, Or. 6645 Muhammadīn, 5320 other Muhammadīn). We find in the *Wāfi* many biographies for which we should look in vain in other works of a similar nature and a full index of the names of the persons of whom biographies are found in the known volumes, would form material for a volume of considerable size. The introduction to this work was published by Amar, *J. A.*, 1911-12, in vols. 17-18 and 19. The most exhaustive account of the *Wāfi*, based upon all known manuscripts, is by G. Gabrieli in *R.R.A.L.*, Series 5, vols. xx to xxv 199. From this it appears that the work is preserved practically complete, except for two gaps and the preserved parts contain over 14,000 biographies. 2) *ʿAyūn al-Aʿr wa ʿAʿwān al-Najr*, an extract from the preceding work in six volumes, containing biographies of contemporaries. This work has been largely extracted by Ibn Hajar for his *Durar al-Kināya*. MSS. are probably in the Escorial (Nº. 1717) and Berlin, while the volumes in the Aya Sofya (Nº. 2962-70) appear to be parts of the *Wāfi*. It is quoted in the printed edition (Cairo 1305) of the *Tabaḥṣiṭ al-Khiṣṣat al-Sūfiyya* of ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Wāsiṭ under the title of *Taʿrīḥ al-ʿAyūn al-Aʿr*. 3) *Masālik al-Aḥqār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*, a book on geography, a MS. of which is in the Sidiqiya library in Tunis. 4) *Turūḥ al-Awāṣif*, probably another extract from the *Wāfi*, also in MS. in the same library as the preceding. 5) *Tuḥfat Dharrat ʿl-ʾAlḥad*, an *Urjūʿ* on the rulers of Egypt to his own time, abbreviated from a work of Ibn ʿAsākir. 6) *Nukat al-Himyan fī ʾNukat al-Uyūn*, biographies of celebrated blind persons. This work has recently appeared in print in Egypt in a very careful edition, based upon 4 MSS. It was edited by Ahmad Zeki Paşa and dated 1911. After explaining that Şafadî was induced to write this book through finding a short account of blind persons of note in the *Kiṭāb al-Maʿarīf* of Ibn Kataba and a work of al-Djannī, he enlarges on the

etymology of blindness and its limits. The principal portion of the work is occupied by a large number of biographies arranged in alphabetical order, among which figure a number of valuable notices of men of all ages of Islām. 7) *Kiṭāb al-Shaʿar fī ʿUṣr*, biographies of persons who had lost one eye. 8) *Aḥsan al-Sawādī min al-Nāṣi wa ʿl-Kāfi*, containing letters addressed by him and to him, giving in many cases the dates. The first letter in MS. (Brit. Mus., Or. 1203) is dated 745 A.H. 9) *Munṣṣaʿat*, a collection of his own epistles. 10) *al-Taḥkīrat al-Salḥiya*, a collection of extracts from other works, interspersed with his own compositions. It is difficult to ascertain of how many volumes the work consisted; the good old MS. (India Office, Arab. 3799) contains vols. 48 and 49. From these it appears that each volume commenced with the exposition of some verses of the Qurʾān, then was followed by extracts of the most varying character. For example B. M., Or. 1353, the contents of which were given by Flügel, *Z.D.M.G.*, xvi, 538-544, contain the *Kiṭāb al-Iḥāʾ wa ʿl-Muṣawwāʿa* of Ibn Fāris; not used by Brünnow for his edition of that work, on fol. 53v-77v, examples of the poetry of al-Bākhārī on fol. 77v and following; MS. Brit. Mus., Or. 7301 (named on title-page *Kiṭāb al-Maḥāsin wa ʿl-ʾAḥād*), contains extracts from the medical work of ʿIsmāʿīl al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Maḥmūd al-Aḥqār entitled *Iḥṣāʾ al-Maʿāḍi wa ʿl-Diyūn* (fol. 35v) MS. India Office, Arab. 3799, contains in vol. 48 extracts from the autograph *Diwān* of Amīn al-Dīn ʿIsmāʿīl al-Kawwāl entitled *Nafʿ al-Waḥdī wa Rafʿ al-Waḥdī* (fol. 20v-26v), extract from the book *al-Taʿjīnāt ʿalā Ibn ʿIsmāʿīl* of Abū ʿAlī Ibn Fūrajḍja (fol. 71v), extract from the *Riḥāṣun* of al-Ṣāhib Ibn ʿAbbād (fol. 90v). Extracts of this work are found printed in the *Thamarāt al-Awāḥ* of Ibn Hūdja (Cairo 1304), vol. ii, 182, 183, 184 and 192. 11) *Diwān al-Fuḥḥāʾ wa Turjūmān al-Bulaghāʾ*, an anthology composed for Malik al-Ashraf. 12) *Lawʾat al-Shāḥi wa Damʾat al-Bāki*, life of a prodigal with poems to the boy he loved. This worthless composition has been printed repeatedly, first 1274, then 1280 in Tunis, later in Constantinople and Cairo, showing that the work is appreciated in many countries of Islām. 13) *al-Hawā al-Sarīḥ fī Mafāt Maḥb*, another worthless anthology containing a hundred poetical quotations by contemporary poets and the author himself upon pretty youths. 14) *Kaḥf al-Hāṭ fī Waḥf al-Khāl*, another small collection of poems containing words which have different meanings if vocalized differently. 15) *Ladhḥat al-Samʿ fī Sifat al-Damʿ*, a similar collection of verses of the author and contemporaries on tears in 37 chapters. 16) *Al-Raḥf al-Naṣīm wa ʿl-Zaghaf al-Bāṣim*, a similar collection of eratical extracts. 17) *Kaḥf al-Tuḥb ʿalā ʿl-Waḥf wa ʿl-Taḥḥib*, anthology of metaphorical verses. 18) *Raḥf al-Zulāt fī Waḥf al-Hilāl*, anthology of verses on the New Moon (vide Nº. 33). 19) *Raḥf al-Raḥīḥ fī Waḥf al-Harīḥ*, a makām on wine. 20) *Al-Ghāṭh al-Muḥḥiḥ fī Sharḥ Lāmīyat al-ʿAdām*, commentary on the poem of Tughraʾī. He explains first every word, then the rhetorical figure quoting many verses, principally by modern poets. The work has also the title *Ghāṭh al-ʿAdāb al-laḥḥi inṣāḥam fī Sharḥ Lāmīyat al-ʿAdām* (printed Cairo 1305 in two vols. 4vo). 21) *Kiṭāb al-Arab min Ghāṭh al-ʿAdāb*, extract of the preceding work

(printed in Cairo without date, but recently). 22) *Kitaḥ Taḥḥiḥ al-Sam' bi Inḥiḥ al-Dam*, printed in Cairo s. d.; perhaps similar or identical with N^o. 13, 23) *Nuḡrat al-Ṭaḥir 'ala 'l-Maḥal al-Sa'ir*, against the well-known work of Ibn al-Aṣḥr entitled *al-Maḥal al-Sa'ir*; cf. Hoogvliet, *Spec. Div. Script.* (Leiden 1839), p. 153. 24) *Ḍiḥn al-Ḍiḥn* ḥ 'l'm al-Baḍī, paranomasia consisting principally of the author's own verses (printed Constantinople 1299). 25) *Iḥḥirā' al-Kāfir*, explanation of obscure verses lexicographically and as to their rhetorical figure. 26) *Faḍl al-Kāḥim 'ani 'l-Tawriya wa'l-Jiḥād*, on metalepsis and the use of words which can be altered so as to give different meaning. 27) Commentary on the work of Ibn al-Arabī entitled *al-Shuḡrat al-Nu'māniya fī 'l-Duḥat al-Uḥmāniya*, prophecies about the Turkish dynasty. 28) *Taḥḥ al-Hamūma*, abbreviation of the commentary of Ibn 'Abdūn on the poem of Ibn Badrūn. 29) *Tamīm al-Murūn fī Sharḥ Riḍat Ibn Zaidūn*, commentary on the celebrated epistle of Ibn Zaidūn, no doubt inspired by the work of his master, Ibn Nabātā. 30) *Kiṭāb Ghawā'id al-Saḥāḥ*, a small work on the obscurities of the *Ṣaḥāḥ* of al-Dīhawharī (autograph in the Escorial, N^o. 192, dated 757 A. H.). 31) *Nuḡd al-Falāḥ fī Muḥṭaṭar al-Ṣaḥāḥ*, abbreviation of the *Ṣaḥāḥ*, omitting the evidentiary verses and correcting errors. This work he completed in Ramaḍān 757 A. H. 32) *Ḥaḍy al-Nawāhid 'alā mā fī 'l-Ṣaḥāḥ min al-Shawāhid*, explanation of the evidentiary verses quoted in the *Ṣaḥāḥ*. 33) al-Suyūṭī composed a work containing verses of Şafadī and his contemporaries on the new moon, which he extracted from the *Taḥḥira* of Şafadī and gave it the same title as N^o. 18; when he discovered this he re-named his book *Raḥḥ al-Laḥḥ fī Waḥḥ al-Hiḥl*. This book was printed in Constantinople in the *Tuḥfat al-Baḥḥ*, p. 66-78.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥaḍjar, *Durur al-Kāmina*, B. M., Or. 3043, fol. 120v; Ibn Kāḍī Shuhba, *Tabaḥḥ*, B. M., Add. 23362, fol. 155; Subki, *Tabaḥḥ* (ed. Cairo), vi. 94-103; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* (ed. Bombay 1857), iii. part 2, p. 9; Amar, *J. A.*, series 10, vols. 17-19; Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Lit.*, ii. 31-33; Hartmann, *Muḥallā*, p. 81; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, p. 423; Hoogvliet, *Div. Script.* (Leiden 1839), p. 152-158; *Notice sur Khallīl*, *J. A.*, series 9, vol. 5 p. 392. Verses of Şafadī are quoted in nearly every anthology later than his own time; he is extensively cited in the *Ḥabīb al-Kumāl* of Nawāḥī and the *Ma'āhid al-Tamīl* of 'Abd al-Rahīm al-'Abbāsī.

24. AL-ḤABAN K. AḤI MUḤAMMAD 'ABD ALLAH AL-ḤASHIM AL-ŞAFADĪ appears from casual remarks in his work to have been an intimate courtier of the Egyptian Sultān al-Nāṣir b. Kālā'ūn. It has been impossible to find any biography in any of the accessible works dealing with the history of his time. He must have died early in the eighth century of the Hidjra as the last events recorded in his history are dealing with the year 711 = 1311/12 or perhaps as late as 714. From a statement fol. 62v Brit. Mus. it appears that he composed the history in the year 716. He probably had held earlier an appointment in the office of the waḥḥ for he tells (MS. Brit. Mus., fol. 69v) that in the year 694 he received instructions from the waḥḥ Ibn al-Khallīl to investigate a case of cannibalism during the famine which prevailed in Egypt

during that and the following year. He composed a short history of Egypt which in the Paris MS., N^o. 1706 has the title: *Nuḥḥat al-Maḥḥ wa'l-Maḥḥ fī Muḥṭaṭar Sirā man waḥḥiya Miṣr min al-Mulūk*, while in the other Paris MS., N^o. 1931, 22 it has the erroneous title of *Faḍl al-Miṣr*, yet the London MS. has another title from which it appears that probably the first is the correct one. The earlier part beginning with the natural and other advantages of Egypt gives a very succinct account of the earlier rulers consisting mainly of anecdotes, but the chief interest lies in the portion which deals with the Turkish Sultans; here he gives exact dates and facts which supplement our knowledge of the closing years of the 7th century of the Hidjra. Perhaps the account of the great flood in Baḥabak in 717 found in the London MS. may be by him, but it is not found in the other two copies. The MS. in the British Museum written for the Egyptian caliph al-Mutawakkil proceeds to give events down to 795, but from fol. 113v it contains only matter concerning the family of the owner of the manuscript, first a genealogy of al-Mutawakkil (fol. 113v) and then a long list of his children, first the boys then the girls, indicating in each case the date and hour of their birth, and in cases where they died before 794, the dates of their death. The last entry by the same hand but with different ink records the birth of a son, in 795 A. H., the 25th of Shaḥbān. The three MSS. all contain the same work in spite of their varying titles: Brit. Mus., Add. 23326; Paris 1706 and 1931, 22.

Bibliography: in the article.

(F. KERNOW)

ŞAFAR, name of the second month of the Muhammadan year, also called *Şal-ḥaḥir* or *Ş. al-muṣṭaḥḥ* because of its being considered to be unlucky (C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehese*, i. 206; do., *Meḥa*, ii. 56). The Muhammadan Tigre-tribes pronounce the name Şafar, the Achehese Thapa. According to Wellhausen in the old-Arabian year, Şafar comprised a period of two months in which Muharram (which name, according to this scholar is a Muslim innovation) was included. As a matter of fact, tradition reports that the early Arabians called Muharram Şafar and considered an 'umra during the months of the Hidjra as a practice of an extremely reprehensible nature. They embodied this view in the following saying: *Iḥḥā bara'o 'l-dabar wa'afu 'l-faḥar wa' nṣalaḥḥa Şafar ḥallatī 'l-'umra li-man fī tamar*, i. e.: When the wounded backs of camels are healed and the vestiges [of the pilgrims] are obliterated and Şafar has passed, then the 'Umra is allowed for those who undertake it.

Bibliography: E. Littmann, *Über die Ehrennamen und Neubenenennungen der islamischen Monate in Der Islam*, viii. (1918) 228-277; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehese* i. 194-195; J. Wellhausen, *Reise arabischen Heidentums*, p. 95; Bukhārī, *Ḥaḍḥ*, bāḥ 34; *Manāḥil al-Anṣār*, bāḥ 26 and Kaṣṣallān's commentary.

(A. J. WENSING)

ŞAFAWIDS, the most famous and glorious of the native dynasties of Persia since the introduction of Islam, which takes its name from Shaikh Saḥī al-Dīn Iḥḥā [q. v.], from whom its founder, Ismā'īl Şafawī [cf. Ismā'īl 1], was sixth in descent. The family had long been settled at Ardabīl [q. v.] as hereditary spiritual instructors of the people, and at

the end of the sixteenth century Ismā'īl, after the death of his two elder brothers, extended his authority by degrees over Shirwān, Ādharbāidjān, Trāḡ and the rest of Persia, "the ground having been assiduously prepared by widespread politico-religious propaganda". The Shī'a doctrine had always been popular in Persia, but Ismā'īl was the first ruler to make it the state religion, and to propagate it among the Turkish tribes of the north, whom he enlisted in his service and distinguished by giving them red hats, whence they were known as Kizil-bāsh (Red-heads). He virtually extinguished the Sunnī religion in Persia. He died on May 24, 1524, and was succeeded by his son, Tahmāsp I, who repeatedly expelled the Uzbegs from Khurāsān, waged a not entirely unsuccessful war against the 'Uthmānī Turks who, under Salīm I, had defeated his father, and helped Humāyūn to recover his Indian throne. On his death in 1576 the throne fell, after a contest, to his fourth son, Ismā'īl II, a worthless and debauched tyrant, during whose shameful reign the kingdom was a prey to intestine strife and foreign aggression, but on his death he was succeeded by his youngest son, Shāh 'Abbās I (1585—1628), justly entitled the Great, who restored Persia to her legitimate place in the Islāmic world. He inflicted on the Turks a defeat which deterred them from molesting his kingdom, he drove the Uzbegs and Turkmāns from Khurāsān, and he recovered Kāndahār from the emperor of India. He was just and tolerant, he imported an industrious colony of Armenians from Djulfa [q.v.] on the Araxes to Isfahān, where they built and inhabited the suburb of New Djulfa, he encouraged trade and intercourse with western nations, and he was a liberal patron of architecture. His grandson, Šāfi I, who succeeded him, and reigned for fourteen years, was a blood-thirsty tyrant who disgraced the throne of his ancestors and was devoid of either justice or humanity. His armies repelled the raids of the Turkmāns in Khurāsān, but in his reign Kāndahār was recovered by the emperor of Dillī. The Turks, encouraged by the disorders which his tyranny engendered, recovered Baghdād and even occupied Tabriz, but were compelled by the severity of the winter and the scarcity of supplies to withdraw from Ādharbāidjān. Šāfi recovered Erivān from the Turks, and died in 1642, when he was succeeded by his son, 'Abbās II [q.v.], then only ten years of age. 'Abbās recovered Kāndahār from Shāh Djahān of Dillī, and a movement of his troops against an Uzbeg chief on the Khurāsān frontier caused the Indian forces to evacuate Balkh. The relations of Persia with Turkey were greatly improved in his reign, and intercourse with the western powers was extended. He died on Oct. 26, 1666, and was succeeded by his elder son, Šāfi, who frustrated an attempt of the amirs to exclude him from the throne, and assumed the name of Sulaimān. He was an enlightened and tolerant monarch and welcomed the ambassadors of European powers, even of the Russians, whose habits disgusted him. His health was always poor, but he reigned for twenty-nine years, and on his death in 1694 was succeeded by his son, Sulṭān Husain, a weak prince who permitted ecclesiastics to conduct all affairs of state. Those who refused to conform to the state religion — that of the Shī'a — were persecuted, and this fatuous policy provoked the hostility of the Afghāns who held Kāndahār

for the King of Persia, so that in 1709 Mir Wais, governor of that province, proclaimed his independence. In 1722 Mahmūd, son of Mir Wais, invaded Persia and besieged Isfahān. Famine compelled the city to surrender, and Mahmūd deposed Sulṭān Husain but died soon afterwards. In 1729 Ashraf, the brother and successor of Mahmūd, was expelled from Persia, and Nādir Kuli [see the art. NĀDIR SHĀH] placed Tahmāsp III, of the Saffawī family, on the throne, but shortly afterwards deposed him as being unfit to reign, and caused his son, then only eight months old, to be proclaimed under the title of 'Abbās II. The child died soon afterwards and on Feb. 26, 1737, Nādir Shāh's assumption of the royal title extinguished the Saffawī dynasty.

Bibliography: Muhammad Muhsin Mustawī, *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh*, MSS.; Malcolm, *History of Persia*; E. G. Browne in *J.E.A.S.* for July 1921 p. 395 *seq.*; Chardin, *Voyages en Perse*, Amsterdam 1735; *Grundriss der iran. Philol.*, ii. 579—85, with references on p. 588; P. Sykes, *A History of Persia* (London 1921), ii. 158—230; E. G. Browne, *History of Persian Literature in modern Times*, Chap. I—IV, Cambridge 1924.

(T. W. HAIG)

AL-SAFFĀH [See ARU 'L-ABNĀS].

SAFFĀRIDS, a dynasty founded by Ya'qūb b. Laith al-Saffār which originated in Sadjistān and reigned in Persia for thirty-three years. Ya'qūb, who was a coppersmith (*saffār*) by trade abandoned his handicraft and became a brigand, but his chivalrous conduct in his predatory calling, attracted the favourable attention of Šālih b. Naṣr (or Naḍr), and he gave him the command of his troops. Ya'qūb rebelled against Dirham b. Naṣr. In 253 (867) he was master of the whole of Sīstān. Having thus established himself in Sīstān he captured Herāt, and Muhammad b. Tāhir b. Ahmad, governor of Khurāsān, attempted to divert his attention from this town by bestowing on him the government of Kirmān. In 253 (867), however, he recaptured Herāt and took some Tāhirids prisoner. He sent an embassy with magnificent presents to the Caliph al-Mu'tazz, tried to take possession of the province of Fārs, defeated the governor 'Alī b. al-Ḥassan and entered Shirāz, without injuring the population. Then he returned to Sadjistān without establishing his power in Fārs. — He then turned to the domain of the princes (*rūmlar*) of al-Rukhkhadj. In 256 (870) he conquered Balkh, Bāmiyān [q.v.] and Kābul. In 257 (871) Ya'qūb again tried to take possession of Fārs. In order to turn his attention from this province, al-Muwaffaq gave him Balkh, Tukharistān and Sind in fief. In 259 he marched against Naisābur, which he captured in Shawwāl. There he took Muhammad b. Tāhir prisoner. After an unsuccessful expedition to Tabaristān, he finally remained in possession of Khurāsān. The Caliph however, refused to acknowledge him. This induced him to conduct his army through Khurāsān against Baghdād, after having defeated the governor of Fārs. He was in his turn defeated at Dair al-'Aḳul, retired to Khurāsān and died at Djundī Shābur (Shawwāl 265 = June 879) where his tomb is still shown.

He was succeeded by his brother 'Amr [q.v.], whose descendants maintained themselves in Sīstān till 1163.

Bibliography: Hamd Allāh Mustawfī al-Kāzawī, *Tārīkh-i-Gušta* (Gibb Memorial Series); Mir Khān and Rawdat al-Safā (Tihān lithographed edition; Ya'qūbī (ed. Houtama), ii. 605, 616; *B.G.A.* i. 245—247 = ii. 302 *sqq.*, cf. index; Tabari (ed. de Goeje) iii., 1500—1926, passim; Mas'ūdī (Paris ed.) viii. 41 *sqq.*; Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüstenfeld), No. 838; Noldeke, *Sketches from East. Hist.*, p. 178 *sqq.*; Barthold, *Zur Gesch. der Saffariden* (Feitsch, Noldike) i. 171 *sq.*; Lang in *Z.D.M.G.*, xli. 262.

(T. W. HAIG)

AL-SAFFĀT, title of Sūra xxxvii. of the Qur'ān, after the first word wa'l-Saffāt.

SAFI, more accurately Asfi, ethnic Masfiwī, a port in Morocco on the Atlantic Ocean, a few miles south of Cape Cantin, at the top of a very open bay. Safi has about 21,000 inhabitants of whom 3500 are Jews and a thousand Europeans.

Safi does not seem to date back to any great age. Al-Bakrī (ixth century A.D.) mentions it without attributing any great importance to its al-idrīd in the next century says it is a fairly busy port but the roads are not at all safe. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, a ribāṭ arose there. But the importance of Safi really date; only from the coming of the Portuguese, who, continuing their progress along the Moroccan coast, settled there in 1507. There they established a stronghold which in 1510 resisted a vigorous attack; with the help of a local chief, Yahyā ben Tafūf, who seems to have been a personage of considerable importance, the Portuguese for several years made Safi the principal centre of their operations. They established a regular protectorate there, gradually winning over the neighbouring tribes and daily advancing their outposts and their razas further afield. They ultimately reached the very gates of Marrākush. But Portugal, with her hands full elsewhere, especially in the Indies, could not long sustain such an effort; on the other side too, the holy war movement gradually increased in force and the administration, in difficulties for funds, forced to exploit more and more the subdued country, became worse and worse. In 1516 the governor Lope de Barriga was taken prisoner; in 1517 Yahyā b. Tafūf was killed in an ambush. The attacks of the Shurfa became more and more serious and after 1534 the question began to be considered of evacuating Safi and Azemmour (which had been occupied in 1513), to concentrate the defence on Mazagan. They were forced to this solution of the problem in December 1541 after the loss of Agadir in March of that year. The evacuation was made in good order under the direction of Joāo de Castro.

The Sa'īd Shurfa having occupied Safi made it their principal port; as a matter of fact it is the nearest to Marrākush, which was their usual residence. Safi thus attained great importance in the xvth and xviith centuries; a considerable part of the Christian trade was centred there. When the 'Alawids seized the power and moved their capital to the towns of the north, Meknes or Fās, Safi became the busiest port and Safi lost a great deal. In the xvth century, however, Christian merchants were still numerous there; the representatives of France, it may be noted, lived there for several years. In the sixteenth century its decline became more marked. It is now a fairly busy little town from which are exported the agri-

cultural products of the rich country of the 'Abda, of which Safi is the centre. Of the ancient ribāṭ it has retained the name of one of its two quarters while the name of the other is commemorated in walls for the most part Portuguese.

Bibliography: Besides the geographers and historians of Morocco (al-Siawī in particular — cf. the bibliography to the article MOROCCO) see the Portuguese chronicles; Pedro de Salazar, *Historia en la qual se cuentan muchas guerras entre Christianos e infideles* (1550); Diego de Torres, *Hist. des Cherifs*; Marmol, transl. Perrot d'Abancourt, Paris 1667, ii. 78—93; Chénier, *Recherches historiques sur les Maures*, Paris 1787; among contemporaries see especially de Castris, *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc* (in course of publication), passim; cf. also Welz, *The Shaikhs of Morocco in the XVIIth Century*, London 1904; Cour, *Les Beni Wattat*, Constantine 1920.

(HENRI BASSET)

SAFI, FAKHR AL-DIN 'ALĪ b. AL-HUSAIN AL-WAK'IL AL-KASHIRI, with the *al-kashir* SAFI, son of the preacher and man of letters al-Husain al-Wak'īl al-Kashirī (d. 910 = 1504/5), a Persian author. From the preface to his work *Lafā'if al-Tawā'if* it appears that he was a prisoner in Herāt for a year and in 939 (1532/3) entered the service of Shāh Muḥammad, prince of Ghazni where he composed the *Lafā'if*. He must therefore have died after 1533; the exact date is not known any more than that of his birth.

WORKS: 1) a romantic poem, *Mahmūd u Ayyar*, as far as is known the oldest poetic version of the theme; 2) *Rashahāt-i-'Alm* 'l-Hayāt, a *taḥḥīr* of the Naḡhbandī Shaikh, ed. Tashkent 1529, finished in 919 (1513/4); a Turkish translation of it appeared at Constantinople in 1236, at Hüllā in 1256 (Ethé in the *Grundr. der Iran. Phil.*, ii. 365); 3) the above mentioned *Lafā'if al-Tawā'if*, also called *Lafā'if al-Zarā'if*, a narrative work found in a considerable number of manuscripts in European libraries, which contains in 14 *hābs* anecdotes regarding individuals of various classes of society (extracts in Schefer's *Christ. Pers.*, i. 106 *sqq.*).

Bibliography: Ethé in the *Grundr. der Iran. Phil.*, ii. 250, 332, 334, 365; Sachau, *Catalogue of the Persian... Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, i. 428 *sqq.*; Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, p. 353, 757; do., *Supplement*, p. 69; Perisch, *Die persischen Handschriften der Herz. Bibl. zu Göttingen*, p. 121; do., *Verzeichnis der persischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, cf. Index iii. under 'Alī Ibn al-Husain; de Goeje, *Cat. Cod. Orient. Bibl. Acad. Lugd. Bat.*, v. 295. (V. F. BUCHNER)

SAFI AL-DIN (Shaikh), ancestor of the Saffarids [q.v.] in Persia, was born at Ardabil [q.v.] in 650 = 1252/3, the son of Khwāja Kamāl al-Dīn 'Arabshāh and Dawlati, said to be in the twenty-fifth line of descent from 'Alī and in the twentieth from Mūsā al-Kāsim, the seventh Imām (on his genealogy see E. G. Browne in the *J.R.A.S.*, 1921, p. 397 and *Silsilat al-Nasab-i Saffawiya*, Berlin 1924). He was the fifth of seven children and his father died when he was six years old. He is described as a serious youth who grew up without comrades and early devoted himself to religious exercises. As he found no one among the learned men of Ardabil who pleased him as

a teacher he went to Shiraz with the intention of attending the lectures of Shaikh Najib al-Din Burghush (d. 678 = 1279), but the latter died before he arrived there. He made the acquaintance of pious dervishes and devout men, including Shaikh Rukn al-Din al-Baidawi and Amir 'Ala' Allah, who finally referred him to Shaikh Zahid, i. e. Taj al-Din Ibrahim b. Rawshan Amir b. Babul b. Shaikh Buhār al-Kardī al-Sandjānī of Gilan, who was reported to live on the Caspian Sea. He is said to have spent four full years searching for him and ultimately discovered him in Hilyakirān in the Khānbalī district of Gilan. Shaikh Zahid gave him a kindly welcome and Safi al-Din remained 25 years with him until Zahid died at the age of 85. Safi al-Din then became his successor in Zahid's brotherhood until he in turn passed away, likewise aged 85, on Monday, Muharram 12, 735 = Sept. 12, 1334. Shortly before his death he had made the pilgrimage to Mekka and had previously designated his son Sadr al-Din as his successor. On his return he became ill, lay for twelve days in bed and then passed away. He had two wives, Bibi Fātima, daughter of Shaikh Zahid, and the daughter of Akhi Sulaimān of Gilkharān. The former was the mother of 1) Muhyi al-Din, who died in 724 = 1324, 2) Sadr al-Din (born April 27, 1305 = Shawwāl, 704, died 794 = 1392), Safi al-Din's successor and 3) Abū Sa'īd. The second wife bore him two sons, 'Alā' al-Din and Sharaf al-Din, as well as a daughter, who was given in marriage to Shaikh Shams al-Din, a son of Shaikh Zahid.

Safi al-Din was the founder of the Dervish order of the Safawis which later attained political control of Persia. The organisation and history of this brotherhood have not yet been thoroughly investigated. It is closely connected in its political and religious history with the dervish bodies which later appeared in Anatolia and became powerful there, like the Akhis and the Bektāshis [q. v.]. Its members later wore as a badge a twelve-pointed cap of scarlet wool (later called *shams-i haidar*; cf. *Islam*, xi, 83), from which comes the Turkish name *khalī-bāsh* "red head". Of the religious system of the order it is certain that its later point of view was that of the Shi'a, although it is said that Safi al-Din himself, the founder, was a Sunni (cf. E. G. Browne, *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, p. 43 sq., following the *Akshar al-Tawārīkh*). Safi al-Din received numerous adherents from Persia and especially from Anatolia (cf. *J. R. A. S.*, 1921, p. 403-4) and it is to him that the order owes its great prestige in Shi'a circles and its later great extension, which was ultimately to prove almost fatal to the Ottoman Empire.

Bibliography: The principal source is Ibn al-Bazzāz, *Safwat al-Safā'*, lith. Bombay 1329 = 1911; MSS. in the British Museum, Add. 11745 and in King's College, Cambridge (cf. E. G. Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 35); this work, of which Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 38 sq., gives an excellent survey, deals exclusively with Safi al-Din's influence and neglects almost entirely the merely biographical data of his career. The *Silsilat al-Nasab-i Safawiya*, extracts of which have been given by E. G. Browne in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1921, p. 395-418 (cf. thereon F. Babinger in the *Islam*, xii, 231 sqq.), and published by him in Persian at the Kavianī press in Berlin in 1924,

is also important; on it see the earlier article by von Khanikoff in the *Mitteilungen Asiatischer ... de St. Petersburg*, i, 850-853. On further Persian literature see P. Horn in the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, II, Strassburg 1896/1904, p. 586 sq., and v. Khanikoff in the *Mitteilungen Asiatischer ...*, i, 543 sq. On Shaikh Safi al-Din cf. especially the very full account by E. G. Browne, *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, Cambridge 1924, p. 3-44; on his order, the Khilash, and their connections with Anatolian dervish orders see F. Babinger, *Scheich Bedr al-Din*, Leipzig and Berlin 1921, p. 78 sqq. (*Isi.*, xi, 78 sqq.), with the sources there quoted and also do., *Marino Sanuto's Tagebücher als Quelle zur Geschichte der Safawija in A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to Edward G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, p. 28-50.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

SAFIYA BINT HUYAIY b. ARHTAR, Muhammad's eleventh wife, was born in Medina and belonged to the Jewish tribe of the Banu 'I-Nasir; her father and her uncle Abū Yāsir were among the Prophet's most bitter enemies. When their tribe was expelled from Medina in 4 A. H., Huyaiy b. Akhtab was one of those who settled in Khaibar, together with Kināna b. al-Rabi', to whom Safiya was married at the end of 6 or early in 7 A. H.; her age at this time was about 17. There is a tradition that she had formerly been the wife of Sallām b. Maḥkam, who had divorced her.

When Khaibar fell, in Safar 7, Safiya was captured in a fortress, al-Qamīs or Nizar, together with two of her cousins. In the division of the spoils she had been assigned, or actually given, to Dihya b. Khalifa al-Kalbi, but when Muhammad saw her he was struck by her beauty, and threw his mantle over her as a sign that he had chosen her for himself. He redeemed her from Dihya against seven heads of cattle, and induced her to embrace Islam. Her husband was condemned to a cruel death by Muhammad for having refused to give up the treasure of the Banu 'I-Nasir; the desire of marrying Safiya may have influenced the Prophet, for the nuptials were celebrated with unseemly haste, either in Khaibar itself or at al-Sabbā', some 8 miles from it, on the way back to Medina. Safiya's dowry consisted in her emancipation, and she assumed the veil (*hijāb*), thus establishing her position as a wife, which at the beginning appears to have been questioned.

In Medina Safiya received a cold welcome: 'Ā'isha and Muhammad's other wives showed their jealousy with slights upon her Jewish origin. She seems to have lived aloof from her surroundings, for we find no further mention of her in the years preceding Muhammad's death, except in an episode that shows how, during his last illness, she expressed her devotion to him, and was criticised by the other wives. With the Prophet's daughter Fātima she was, however, on good terms.

In 35 A. H. Safiya sided with 'Uthmān; while he was besieged in his house she made an unsuccessful attempt to reach him, and she used to bring him food and water by means of a plank placed between her dwelling and his. When 'Ā'isha asked her to be present at 'Uthmān's last interview with 'Alī, Talha and al-Zubair, which took place in her house, Safiya went, and tried to defend the unfortunate Caliph.

She died in 50 or 52, during Mu'awiya's caliphate, leaving a fortune of 100,000 dirham in land and goods, one third of which she bequeathed to her sister's son, who still followed the Jewish faith. Her dwelling in Medina was bought by Mu'awiya for 180,000 dirham.

In Cairo there is a xvii. century mosque dedicated to Sitt Safiya, which gives its name to the surrounding quarter.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 354; 653, 762, 766; Ibn Sa'd, viii. 85—92; L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, i. 379, 415; II/i. 29, 34; viii. 223; al-Tabari, ed. de Goeje, i. 173; Lammens, *Mu'awiya*, p. 246. (V. VACCA)

AL-SAHĀBA. [See *ASHĀB*.]

SAHARA (AL-SĀḤARA), an African desert. *Sahra'* is the feminine of the adjective *asḥar*, 'of a fawn colour'. The word is applied by some writers to a combination of stony soil, steppes and sands (cf. al-Idrīsī, ed. de Goeje, p. 37 note), while the word *mudjibba* is more particularly applied to areas covered with moving sands and absolutely devoid of water (cf. Abu 'l-Fida', *Taḥsin al-Buldan*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 137; transl. Reinaud, ii. 190). Leo Africanus uses it as a synonym for desert in general (Schefer I, i. 5).

The Sahara lies between Barbary, Tripolitania, Cyrenaica and Marmarica in the north, the Sūdān in the south, the Atlantic in the west and the Nile valley in the east. Some geographers even extend it as far as the Red Sea, and thus link it up with the Arabian deserts. Its area, if we leave out Egypt, may be estimated at three million square miles, or a quarter of the total surface of Africa.

The Sahara, as a whole, may be regarded as an ancient 'plain' concealed in many parts by more recent geological formations. Its surface, far from being uniform, presents considerable variations of level. Some parts, in the vicinity of the Egyptian border, in the south of Tripolitania and in the south of Tunisia, are below the level of the sea; in other parts, however, there are high plateaux and mountain ranges, for the most part of volcanic origin, tower up (Tibesti, Air, Hoggar), some of whose summits are over 10,000 feet high (Tibesti). On the whole, we may say that low-lying areas predominate in the western Sahara and the heights in the eastern.

The desert character of the Sahara is primarily due to the climate of this part of Africa. Rains are very rare and irregular there; the extreme dryness of the air produces an intense evaporation, which reduces to a minimum the rising of springs to the surface. The great variations of temperature and violence of the winds result in the break up of the rocks and the denudation of the surface. The conditions of animal and vegetable life are, in consequence, extremely precarious. It is, however, right to make a distinction in this respect between the border zones and the desert strictly speaking. In the north, indeed, the fairly abundant rainfalls have allowed the development of a zone of steppes suitable for stock-rearing, of which the high plateaux of Algeria show the most perfect type; in the south a border of savannah and bush rolls almost without interruption from the Atlantic to the Nile basin, and forms the transitional link between the Sahara and the fertile regions of Equatorial Africa. This is the 'Sūdānese Sahara', in which the desert character lessens gradually as one goes southwards. The Sahara,

properly so called, occupies the whole area between these two zones and even in the north reaches to the Mediterranean in the region of Sidra and Marmarica. It presents very different aspects in its different parts. Sand-dunes cover enormous tracts (cf. the article 'AREG'), separated from each other by rocky plateaux (Hamada), bounded by steep slopes. In other parts we find river valleys, usually dried up, called *wādī* (wadi) or flat plains of a soil sometimes perfectly uniform (Reg) as in the Algerian Sahara, sometimes filled with pebbles which makes walking very difficult, as in the Libyan desert. The most desolate parts are the 'Tanenraft', absolutely sterile regions and totally without springs. On the other hand, wherever we find surface water and wherever sheets of subterranean waters are sufficiently near the surface to be reached by wells or irrigation channels, there have arisen centres of population and cultivation, known as 'oases', some isolated, others grouped like the islands of an archipelago: Fezzān, Kavar, Wādī Rir (*wādī Rirā*), Zibān, Tidikelt, Tuāt, Gurara, Tafilalet etc.

The Arab authors only give us fragmentary and often vague information regarding the Sahara. The only region that they know with any exactness is the northern zone, adjoining Ifrīkiya and the Maghrib, the zone in which Ibn Khaldūn (*Les Berbères*, ed. de Slane, i. 120; transl. de Slane, i. 190) includes Tafilalet, Tuāt, Gurara, Fezzān and even Ghadames. The Arabs, however, do not agree as to the bounds of the Sahara. Al-Bakrī, for example, says that the sands mark the beginning of the 'lands of the blacks' (*Majālīk*, Algiers 1911, p. 21; transl. de Slane, p. 49). Ibn Khaldūn, on the other hand, makes it clear that this country is separated from Barbary by a vast region of deserts, 'in which one is in danger of dying of thirst'; here and there also we find some notes on the parts of the deserts traversed by caravan routes (e.g. on the western Sahara; cf. the description of the desert called *Nīsar* or *Tīsar* by al-Idrīsī, *Yasr* by Abu 'l-Fida') or the accounts of commercial centres like Tadmakka, Audaghost (al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, p. 339).

Leo Africanus gives a resumé of the data supplied by his predecessors. He identifies the Sahara with the Libya of the ancients (Bk. i. 5) and attempts a division into regions based on their populations. He distinguishes five different areas in the Sahara: (1) the desert of the Zenaga (زنقة), from the ocean to the salt beds of Tegaza; (2) the desert of Waurigha from the salt-beds of Tegaza at the Air in the east to the desert of Sidjilmassa in the north; (3) the desert of the Targa (تارغة = Tuareg), bounded in the west by Ighidi, in the north by Tuāt, Gurara and Mzab, in the south by the kingdom of Agades; (4) the desert of the Lamta bounded on the north by the deserts of Wargia and Ghadames, in the south by deserts which reach as far as Kano; (5) the desert of the Bardāwa lying between the desert of the Lamta in the west, the desert of Awdjila in the east, Fezzān in the north, Bornū in the south (Leo Africanus, Bk. vi.; transl. Schefer, iii. 267 *seq.*).

In spite of the sparsity of its resources, the Sahara has always been the home of man. The discovery on numerous places, at a great distance from one another, of wrought flints, pottery, rock carvings, etc. testify to the presence of man there

at a very remote epoch. The ancients gave these Saharan people the name of Ethiopians (Herodotus) or Libyans. They peopled the Sahara in the strict sense of the word, while Fezzān was occupied by the Garamantes, negroes, perhaps related to the present day Bornians. In the northern border zones, Berbers of a white stock lived; gradually, however, the negroes were pushed southwards and had to give way to the whites. According to E. Gantier (*Le Sahara*, p. 93 *seq.*) this ethnic change was the result of the introduction into North Africa in the Imperial period of the camel which supplied the Berbers with the indispensable means for the conquest of the Sahara. In any case, from this time onwards the Berbers never ceased to advance into the interior. When the Arabs came, the Zanāta were already settled in the oasis of the Wādī Rir, while the Sanhādja were leading a nomadic life to the south of the great Atlas as far as Senegal. In the fifth century A. D. the Almoravids [q. v.] ruled the whole of the western Sahara. Three centuries later the Berber tribes (Gadala, Lamtūna, Urziga, Maslifa, Lamta and Targa) formed from west to east a cordon stretching to the borders of the land of the negroes (Ibn Khaldūn, *Le Berbérie*, ed. de Slane, I. 21; transl. de Slane, p. 104). The advance continues in the centuries following. In the sixteenth century A. D. the Tuareg occupied the Air, in the seventeenth and eighteenth they settled in Adrār and reached the banks of the Niger.

Arab penetration followed the Berber penetration. In the first century A. D. the Arabs first arrived in Fezzān; during the period following, they found their way into the central Sahara and into the western Sahara, as missionaries and merchants. But it was the Hilāl invasion that brought in whole tribes, who, finding the Maghrib too small for them, overflowed into the desert, thrusting forward the Berber tribes and forcing them to go further south, so that by the time of Ibn Khaldūn, Arab tribes were occupying the border country north of the desert. Certain later happenings contributed to the diffusion of the Arab element, for example the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, which brought refugees even as far as Shingit in Adrār, and the conquest of the Sūdān by the Sa'diāns at the end of the sixteenth century A. D. The Arab expansion has gone on into our own times; witness, for example, the settlement in Bordj about 1820 of the Awlad Sulaimān (Uled Sliman), who came from the shores of the Gulf of Sidra. The existence of fairly active commercial relations between the two sides of the Sahara has always contributed to facilitate this infiltration. From the early centuries of the Hijra, caravan routes connected Fezzān with Tchad, Southern Tunisia with Nigeria, and the extreme Maghrib with the empire of Ghāna. In the seventh century A. D. Walata was in regular connection with Morocco and Tuāt, Kanem with Ifrīqiya. In the sixteenth century A. D. Timbuktu traded with Morocco and Tunisia; in the nineteenth the routes from Tripoli to Bornū and Wadai were still busy and Arab traders were settled at all the caravan stations.

This Arab and Berber penetration has, however, been checked from time to time by return offensives by the Sūdānese. At more than one period, indeed, negro empires have extended over the Sahara. The Soninke empire of Ghāna stretched

over all Mauritania; the Mande empire reached to Tuāt; the authority of the Sultāns of Kanem has been recognised around Wargla, that of the Askia of Gao even to beyond Timbuktu.

This ebb and flow of peoples has left its trace in the present ethnography of the Sahara. We find in it the elements of white and black, either pure or altered by mixture in different degrees. The first, numerically the most important, is represented by the Arabs and the Tuareg [q. v.]. In spite of the differences of origin and of language which distinguish them, they both present some features in common. They lead the same kind of life, a purely nomadic one, to which a kind of secular selection has wonderfully adapted them; as regards politics, they have not advanced beyond the rudimentary organisation into tribes and confederacies of tribes. Their geographical areas, however, are quite distinct. The Tuareg predominate in the Central Sahara from which they have advanced, gradually mixing more and more with black blood, as far as the bend of the Niger. The Arabs predominate on the frontiers of the Maghrib and especially in the western Sahara, which they have arabised, and where their intermarriage with the Berbers has given birth to a mixed population, the Moors. The families who have preserved their Arab descent almost intact and who bear, as a rule, the name of "Hassū", constitute an aristocracy among them, while the other sections of the population, with the exception of some groups of Sanhādja and Almoravid descent, are treated as an inferior caste (cf. the article MAURITANIA).

The black population also includes elements of various origins. The aboriginal population, gradually thrust back by the whites, seems to be represented at the present day only by the Tibu [q. v.], who, numbering barely 10,000 or 20, occupy Tibesti and the neighbouring regions (see the article VIRESTI). The vast majority consists of individuals of different origins (Hausa, Bornians, etc.), whose ancestors were settled in the Sahara as the result of the Sūdānese conquests, or who have been brought into the country as slaves. The intermarriage of these negroes among themselves and with Berbers seems to have given birth to a particular type, the "harratani" (plur.: *karratani*), among whom black blood predominates; they play a very important part in the economy of the Sahara, especially in the villages and oases of the Northern Sahara. In contrast to the essentially nomadic white, the black is a settler; he cultivates the oases, a work for which the whites are unfitted by their inclinations as well as their physiological organisation. The black tiller of the soil secures for the nomads the means of subsistence, without which they could not do, but he is kept by them, whether Arab or Berber, in a state of dependency and service.

If it has not opposed an insurmountable obstacle to the relations between the Mediterranean region and the Sūdān, the Sahara has been no more a barrier to the diffusion of Islām, the progress of which coincides with that of the white element in the desert. Introduced into Fezzān in the first century A. D., Islām was spread by the Arab traders, who frequented the caravan routes and commercial centres, and by the nomad Berbers, like the Lamta and the Lamtūna. The conquests of the Almoravids gained for Islām a vast

area in the western Sahara and up to the borders of the Sūdān. This Islām, quite superficial by the way, like that still professed by the Tuareg, allowed traces of previous beliefs and practices contradictory to Korānic law to go on; on the other hand, it met with centres of resistance like the Tuāt, where Judaeo-Berbers maintained themselves till the fifteenth century A. D. At this period the religious revival which began in North Africa had its repercussions in the Sahara. Marabouts and Shorān, coming for the most part from Morocco, appeared in all places of any importance, exterminated all who differed from them, preached the orthodox doctrine and themselves became founders of Marabout factions, whose members enjoyed great material and moral prestige. The activity of this religious brotherhoods became added to that of individuals, and is still felt at the present day. The western Sahara is under the influence of brotherhoods attached to the Kādīriya order and, in a smaller degree, to the Tijāniya; the eastern Sahara to that of the Sanūsiya.

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(G. VVER)

SAHĀRANPŪR, a city of northern India, situated in 29° 57' N. and 77° 33' E., was founded about 1340, in the reign of Muhammad b. Tughlayk, and was named after a local Muhammadan saint, Shāh Haran Chishtī. The city and district suffered severely during the invasion of Timūr; and in 1526 Babur traversed them on his way to Panipat, and some local Mughal colonies trace their origin to his followers. Muslim influence gained much by the proselytizing zeal of 'Abd al-Kuddūs, who ruled the district until the reign of Akbar. In the reigns of Drahāngir and Shāh Drahān, Sahāranpūr was a favourite summer resort of the court, owing to the coolness of its climate and the abundance of game in its neighbourhood. Nur Drahān had a palace in the village of Nūrnagar, which perpetuates her name, and the royal hunting seat, Pādshāh Mahall, was built for Shāh Drahān. After the death of Aurangzib the district suffered severely from the incursions of the Sikhs, who massacred Hindūs and Muslīm indiscriminately, until, in 1716, they were temporarily crushed by the imperial authority. The upper Doab then passed into the hands of the Sayyids of Bārha, and on their fall in 1721 into those of several favourites. In 1754 Ahmad Shāh Durrānī conferred it on the Rohilla, Najīb Khān, as a reward for his services at the battle of Kōtila. Before his death, in 1770, it was overrun by Sikhs and Marāṭhās. His son Zāhib Khān revolted from Dillī, but was reconciled, and his son Ghulām Kādīr, who succeeded him in 1785, established a strong government and dealt firmly with the Sikhs. He was a coarse and brutal chief and in 1788 he blinded the emperor Shāh 'Alam and was justly mutilated and put to death by Sindhya. Sahāranpūr remained nominally in the hands of the Marāṭhās, but actually in those

of the Sikhs, until its conquest and occupation by the British after the fall of Allāgh and the battle of Dillī in 1803.

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(T. W. HAIG)

ŠAHIB, the participial form of *shāh*, to be the companion of, meant originally to be on equal terms of friendship, and was especially used of all those who came into contact with Muḥammad, and died in the faith of Islām [cf. the art. *Aḥlāh*]. But also in Muslim literature it often has the common meaning of companion. Muḥammad calls himself *shāhibkhan* when he addresses his companions; and the Kaizer is called *Shāhib al-Kūn*, the governor of al-Baḥr *Shāhib al-Baḥr*. By 167—783/84 the Caliph al-Mahdī created an Inquisitor and gave to him the title of *Shāhib al-Zamānīka*. Still, for Government, the term *Hākim* was preferred. It is probable that the sacred association with the Prophet's Companions led to this preference.

The term *Shāhib* is used universally in India to-day to designate Europeans, and is a formal mark of respect. When applied to Indians of high station it is an added honour, e.g. Khān Shāhib.

Curiously enough the Arabic feminine form is seldom in use, and not in an honorific sense. In the Creed of Al-Ash'ari (Spitta, *Zur Geschichte Al-Ash'ari*, p. 133 144.) he says of God: "He has taken to Himself no companion (*shāhib*)". This use, however, is very exceptional. In India at present the feminine is obtained by prefixing *Madam*, with an elided *d*, and pronouncing *mad-zāhib*, and this is the form by which all European women are addressed.

On the use of *shāhib* in the Mekkan dialect, cf. Spoonck Hurgromje, *Mekkanische Sprichwörter*, No. 23.

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(T. CROUTHER GORDON)

ŠAHIB KIRĀN, a title, meaning "Lord of the (auspicious) conjunction". *Kirān* means a conjunction of the planets, *Kirān al-aḥdām* (cf. the art. *SA'DĀN*) a conjunction of the two auspicious planets (Jupiter and Venus), and *Kirān al-mahram* a conjunction of the two inauspicious planets (Saturn and Mars). In the title the word refers, of course, to the former only. The Persian *ī* of the *īqāfa* is omitted, as in *Shāhib-dīl*, by *fakḥ-i-īqāfa*. The title was first assumed by the Amir Timūr, who is said to have been born under a fortunate conjunction, but with whom its assumption was, of course, an afterthought. After his death poets and flatterers occasionally applied it to lesser sovereigns, even to so insignificant a ruler as Burhān Nizām Shāh II, of Ahmadnagar, but it was officially assumed by Timūr's descendant, the emperor Shāh Drahān, who styled himself *Shāhib Kirān-i-Zamān*, "the second Lord of the Conjunction".

Shāhib Kirān was also, in Persia, where it has since been corrupted into *Kirān* or *Kirān*, the name of a coin of 1000 *dirāms*, the tenth part of a *rumāl*.

Bibliography: Sharaf al-Din 'Ali Yasdi, *Zafer-nâme*, Bibliotheca Indica series of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; Muhammad Kâsim Firsihti, *Gulshan-i-Ibrâhîm* (Bombay lithographed edition of 1832); 'Abd al-Hamid Iâhori, *Fâhish-nâme*, Bibliotheca Indica series of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; Standard Arabic and Persian lexica, s. v. *Şîrân*.

(T. W. HART)

ŞAHİH, sound, free from defect or blemish, is the name given to (a) a tradition whose chain of guarantors or transmitters is unassailable; and (b) the collections which contain nothing but *şahîh* traditions, namely those compiled by al-Bukhârî [q. v. l. 783] and Muslim b. al-Ḥajjâdjîdî.

(a) The *şahîh* tradition, according to al-Djurjânî (d. 816) embraces categories so wide apart as the *sunna* (supported by authorities resting on the prophet) and the *ford* (peculiar to one district or one reporter).

(b) The *Şahîh* of al-Bukhârî contains 7,397, or, according to other authorities, 7,295 traditions. These were selected by the author from the 600,000 *hadîth* current in his day and the 200,000 it is asserted that he memorized. A remarkable feature of his *Şahîh* is the chapter heading or *tarjama* which is often tendentious and sometimes misleading; e. g. when he prefaces a tradition which professes to record the equal efficacy of a pilgrimage to the mosques of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem with the words 'Of the superiority of prayer in the mosques of Mecca and Medina'. (*Bûk Faḥl al-Şahîh*, ed. Krehl, i. 299).

The contents of Muslim's *Şahîh* are practically the same as al-Bukhârî's except that the *imâm*s differ considerably; and instead of the chapter headings so characteristic of al-Bukhârî, the author gives as a valuable preface in which he discusses the conditions which a tradition must fulfil before it can be regarded as authentic.

Both works (al-Bukhârî's more systematically) are planned to provide, where possible, apostolic *hadîth* on which to ground the existing laws and regulations of Islâm. So great waxed the reputation of al-Bukhârî's *Şahîh* that it was regarded as a charm against shipwreck and other calamities and the author's tomb became the resort of believers in distress.

Bibliography: Edw. E. Salisbury, *Contributions from original sources to our knowledge of the science of Muslim Tradition*, J. A. O. S., vii. (1862), p. 60—142 and the other books cited above, i. 784 and ii. 194; and the writer's *The Traditions of Islam* (Oxford 1924), p. 26—32; 84—88.

(ALFRED GUILLAUME)

ŞAHİL is a reversed word, of the measure *fâ'il* instead of the measure *ma'f'ûl*, and its original meaning is 'abraded (by the sea)'. Hence, the shore of the sea or of a great river, a sea-shore, sea-coast, or sea-board; also a tract of cultivated land, with towns or villages, adjacent to a sea or great river, and the side of a valley.

Bibliography: The lexica s. v.

(T. W. HART)

SÂHIR, *İHLÂK*, a notable modern Ottoman poet and author. Born in 1883 in Constantinople, the son of İsmâ'il Hakkî Paşa who died in Yemen, he early showed literary inclinations and a talent for declamation. Through his writings he

was very soon able to procure for himself a prominent position among Turkish men of letters. He acted as a teacher of French and of belles-lettres and was for a time employed in the Foreign Office. Later he acted chiefly as editor of various periodicals, e. g. the literary part of the *Şerret-i şûnûn*, the ladies' newspaper *İsmî* (the *Nowgay*), founded by him in 1909 but which expired after 7 numbers, the *Fedîr-i âlî*, the *Türk den*, the *Meşveret Muhiş*, the monthly *Bilgi* (knowledge), also founded by him (1913) — he was president of the *Türk Bilgi Dîrneyi* —, the *İktisâdîyet Meşmûrîy* (journal of national economy) (1916), etc. His undeniable flair for practical business is in remarkable contrast to his sensitive, elegiac, very tender style of poetry. He takes first place among the younger poets as regards perfection of language and depth of feeling. The euphony of his verse is fascinating. As a prose writer a simple and brilliant diction best fits him.

With a sure instinct he at once attached himself to the modern school of the *Şerret-i şûnûn* (*Tewfîk Fikret* — *Şakîlî Zîyâ*). He actively championed the simplification of the language. As regards prosody, however, he adhered strictly to the old classical form (*arûz*). That for a period he also wrote in the national metre which counts the syllables (*parmak kâzîbî*), obeying the national tendency, was only an interlude. His early period of extravagant and fantastic descriptions of nature was followed by a transition to psycho-analysis. His true sphere, in which he is considered a master, is woman and love, which he sings in an inexhaustible variety of ways. He celebrates them in inspired, indeed feverishly tender poems. For him 'the poem is a woman and woman a poem'. This praise of woman is done in a perfectly pure, morally noble and ideal way. Only reluctantly does he turn to other themes, although here also he has produced many fine poems. A certain tendency to the morbid, to *weltchmerz*, foreboding of death and longing for death is strongly marked in him. It is no wonder that many, while fully recognising the merits of his charming personality, cannot regard him as a poet such as New-Turkey needs in her period of transition.

With the constitution a somewhat more vigorous national tone entered his work. Since then he has been above all a champion of women's rights, for which he fights with tongue and pen. He was president of the *Fedîr-i âlî* (the coming dawn), Sturm und Drang club, which, comprising about 20 men of letters of the *Şerret-i şûnûn* circle, endeavoured to control the direction of development of Turkish literature but collapsed owing to internal dissensions after only seven months. Besides numerous poems and articles in the most varied papers and periodicals he has published the following books: a collection of poems entitled *Beyâz Kâğıtlar* ('White Shadows') (1325) and the collections of mingled prose and poetry entitled *Başkân* ('Crises') (1325) and *Siyâk* ('black') (1328), all in the series, so important for modern literature, called *Edîbîyât-ı İhtisâsî Kâvîb-Şâmîrî* (Nos. 13, 19 and 27); and a work entitled *Simûn*. His *İstambul İlmî mîlletî mîmârlarınca*, published anonymously in 1335, contains political and satirical verses.

Bibliography: Şihâb ed-Dîn Sâlimân, *Târîh-i Edîbîyât-ı 'Osmâniyye*, Constantinople

1328, p. 376—7; *Nawā'id-i milli*, Constantinople 1330, p. 243—247; Rā'if Nejdī, *Hayāt-i Edebiye*, 1909—1922, Constantinople 1922, p. 44—45 and 169—170; Reshīd Thuraiya, *Edebiyāt-ı Dîvānî* and the *Kıyâs-ı edebiye* (ed. by Djelâl Sâhir and Mehmed Fu'ād), both the latter Constantinople 1328; *Österreichische Rundschau*, vol. 46; part 6, Vienna 1916; *Aus dem Osmanenreiche. Literarische Beiträge, gesammelt von Djelâl Sâhir*; M. Hartmann, *Unpolitische Briefe aus der Türkei*, Leipzig 1910; do., *Aus der neueren osmanischen Dichtung*, M. S. O. S. As., xix, Berlin 1916, p. 154—166; xxi, ibid. 1918, p. 43—44; do., *Dichter der neuen Türkei*, Berlin 1919, p. 88—91; O. Hachmann, *Die türkische Literatur des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1916, p. 29—30; Th. Mentel, *Die türkische Literatur*, in Hinneberg's *Kultur der Gegenwart*, Leipzig 1924, p. 316.

(Th. Mentel.)

SAHL b. HÄRÜN, an Arab author and poet who flourished at the end of the second and beginning of the third century A. H. (= beginning of the ninth century A. D.). According to the *Fihrist*, he was of Persian descent and born in Dastmaisin, between Bagra and Wāqī. Al-Huṣri makes him come from Malsin, which is quite near it, and gives him also the kunya Abū 'Amr (on the margin of the *Idā*, II. 190). The name of his grandfather is variously given: Rāmnūy, Rāhyūn (both in the *Fihrist*) or Rāhiyūn (al-Djāhiz, *Kitaḥ al-Bayān*, I. 24; cf. also van Vloten's note to p. 10 of his edition of al-Djāhiz, *Kitaḥ al-Bukhārā*). Sahl later settled in Bagra from which he is said to have taken his *nisba* (al-Huṣri); the *Fihrist*, however, calls him al-Dastmaisi. Exact details of his life are lacking and we have to rely mainly on anecdotal references. He held high offices in the Chancellery at the Caliph's court. We find him already in the reign of Hārūn al-Raṣīd, secretary to the Barmecid Yahyā b. Khālid, whom he is said to have succeeded as *qāḍī al-dawwān* (Ibn Badrūn). Whether he retained this high office under al-Amin, we do not know, but under al-Ma'mūn he was again in great esteem although the latter had at first little regard for him. By revealing his Shu'ūbi predilections, he then gained the Caliph's favour. Along with other men of letters such as Sa'īd b. Hārūn and Salm (or Salmā, cf. *Fihrist*) he was engaged by al-Ma'mūn in his treasury or house of wisdom (*khizānat al-ḥikma*, *Dār al-ḥikma*).

Sahl b. Hārūn was a fanatical adherent of the Shu'ūbiya (q. v.); it was no doubt as such that he gained the favour of the Barmecid Yahyā, whom he praises in some much quoted lines for his absteniousness, just as the same sentiments later gained him favour with al-Ma'mūn (cf. the anecdote in al-Huṣri, *op. cit.*). Together with Ibn al-Muqaffa' and others, Sahl belongs to those authors who continued Persian tradition in Arabic literature. As an author, Sahl was popular in his day for two kinds of literary product. He wrote a *Kitaḥ Zā'la wa-'Afrā* (90 in the *Fihrist*; other sources give very varied spellings of these words); in this work he imitates the celebrated book of fables *Kalīla wa-Dimna* (q. v.) by making animals speak and also retaining its divisions into sections. Al-Huṣri (*op. cit.*) gives a few quotations from this book. Sahl was next famous for his praise of avarice and misers. The

only work of his that has survived is a *Kitaḥ al-Bukhārā*; it is incorporated in the *Idā* (III. 335 sq.) and forms the beginning of the *Kitaḥ al-Bukhārā* of Dhāhiz. In this *Kitaḥ* Sahl defends avarice or rather wise frugality and economy, the rational form of avarice, as al-Djāhiz says. It is dedicated to Sahl's nephews who had reproached him with some remarks he had made in praise of avarice. It is very probable that these remarks were made in the *Kitaḥ Zā'la wa-'Afrā*, as is suggested by the above mentioned passage in al-Huṣri. Sahl was (according to al-Djāhiz, *al-Bukhārā*, p. 114) with Abū Rahmān al-Thawri the first to devote a special book to avarice; this style of book was later imitated by several authors, e. g. by al-Djāhiz himself. Goldziher sees in his praise of avarice a Shu'ūbi attack on the national Arab virtue of generosity. He is also said to have written several *Rasā'il* on this subject and al-Huṣri thinks he wished to show his literary power thereby. An anecdote reports that the vizier al-Faḥm b. Sahl (q. v.), who had sent him by Sahl a treatise on avarice dedicated to him, replied that he had taken the lesson given him to heart; and therefore did not send him the expected reward.

The list of Sahl's other works is given in the *Fihrist*: al-Djāhiz (*Kitaḥ al-Bayān*, I. 24) mentions three: *Kitaḥ al-Ḥikma* (in the *Fihrist*: *K. al-Bayān*); *fi Ittibā' al-Ḥikma*, *K. al-Ma'ā'il* (perhaps the same as *K. Dimna al-Rasā'il* of the *Fihrist*) and *K. al-Maḥāsim wa 'l-Hudhaliya* (the same in the *Fihrist*). The greater part of his works presumably belonged to the domain of belles-lettres; the *Kitaḥ Tadhīr al-Mulā wa 'l-Siyāsa* mentioned in the last place in the *Fihrist* shows, however, that Sahl also dealt with political science. He was also esteemed as a poet, as some poems of his quoted by various authors show. According to the *Fihrist*, however, he did not leave more than 50 pages of poetry. Besides his reputation as a wit, he seems to have achieved fame as a connoisseur (anecdotes in Ibn Khallikān); indeed, in Arabic literature there is connection between the *Bukhārā* and the *Akhla*.

Sahl b. Hārūn found his greatest admirer and successor in his younger contemporary al-Djāhiz (q. v.) who even published several books under his name and in his *K. al-Bukhārā* followed him in taking avarice as his subject. He praises Sahl as a brilliant representative of all branches of literature (*K. al-Bayān*, loc. cit.); whether he was personally acquainted with him is a doubtful question. Sahl's name later became widely known through the *1001 Nights*.

Bibliography: al-*Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 120 etc.; Hādijī Khallīf, *Kaṣf al-Zunūn*, ed. Flügel, v. 238 sq.; al-Djāhiz, *al-Bayān wa 'l-Taḥyāt*, Bulaq 1313, I. 30, II. 150; do., *Kitaḥ al-Bukhārā*, ed. van Vloten, Leiden 1900; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iḥḍ al-Farid*, Bulaq 1293, III. 335 sq.; al-Huṣri, *Zahr al-Adab wa Thawar al-Adab* (on the margin of the *Idā*), II. 190 sq., III. 142; Ibn Badrūn, *Sharḥ Ḥayāt Ibn 'Adām*, ed. Dozy, Leiden 1846, p. 243 sq.; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, N. 226, Fasc. III. 29 sq.; al-Mas'ūdi, *Murājī' al-Dhahab*, Paris 1861—77, I. 159; al-Muḥammad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Wright, Leipzig 1864, p. 323; Goldziher, *Mohammedanische Studien*, I. 14, 161; Silvestre de Sacy in the *N. E.*, s. 139, 160, 173 sq., 267; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, s. 516;

Iranian influence on Muslim Literature, transl. from the Russian of M. Isakhaniev by G. K. Nairman, Bombay 1918, p. 32, 169 *op.*

(J. H. KRAMERS)

SAHL AL-TUSTARĪ, and MUHAMMAD SAHL R. 'ABDALLĀH R. YUNUS, a Sunni theologian and mystic, whose language was Arabic, born at Tustar (al-Ahwāz) in 203 (818) and died in exile at Rayā in 283 (896).

A pupil, through his master Ibn Sawwār, of strict Sunnīs like Thawrī and Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā', Sahl was above all an ascetic of a very strict moral discipline. He was also a theologian with a vast store of intellectual knowledge.

Of his life, apparently quiet and solitary, only one detail is known: his exile to Rayā at the time of the revolt of the Zindī (about 261—274) when the 'ulama' of al-Ahwāz condemned his doctrinal treatise on the obligatory character of contrition (*tauba fard*).

Sahl wrote nothing, but his 'thousand sayings', collected and edited by his pupil, Muhammad Ibn Sallim (d. 297/909), presented sufficient dogmatic coherence to give rise to a theological school, the Sālimiyya [q. v.]. It is from Sahl that this school derives its characteristic: experimental introspection practicing the rites of worship and a technical semi-gnostic vocabulary tending to monism.

Sahl's argumentation is purely dialectic (*taḥḍīr*, *qāṭ*, *far'ī*) like that of the *mutakallimūn*; he does not yet argue in syllogisms in the Greek fashion as his old pupil Hallāj [q. v.] was to do after leaving him. In psycho-physics he teaches that man is composed of four elements (*hayāt, rūḥ, nūr, ḡayā*), that the *rūḥ* is superior to the *waḥī* (against the view of the Hellenisers) and that it survives after death (against the view of Muḥarrad).

In Qur'anic exegesis each verse has four meanings, literal (*ḥaṣr*), allegorical (*ṭāḥīn*), moral (*ḥaṣr*) and axiological (*muṭāṭā*); he admits the Imāmī theory of *ḥaṣr*. The examples of the prophets should be meditated upon in order that we may gradually attain their state of soul.

For Sahl, as for Ibn Karrām and al-Ash'arī, the 'Islamic community' comprises all believers, provided they turn towards the *qibla* (the Sunni view; opposed to that of the Mu'tazilīs and Imāmīs). The word 'faith' (*īmān*) signifies at once acquiescence with the *ḥaṣr* (law), conformity of conduct (*amāl*), identity of intention (*niyya*) and inner enjoyment of the real (*yafīn*).

The true worshipper of God ought first to obey the state and strictly observe the rites: 'to love is to extend obedience' (al-Tustarī, also, said '*ḥarīḍa wa' adāḥa*'). He is bound to produce actions, in imitation of the Prophet (semi-Mu'tazilī notion of *ikhtiyār*, opposed to the quietist *tanazzul* of Shāḥī and Ibn Karrām), but he ought continually to turn towards God (*Allāh ḥablat al-ḥayā*) with incessant contrition (*tauba fard* *fi* *ḥaṣr waḥī*). The analysis that Sahl makes of the stages of the voluntary act, derived from that of al-Muḥāsibī and adopted by al-Ghazālī, remains classic. In the supreme degree the ascetic 'expatriated' from the world ought to possess the essential reality of God (*yafīn*) beyond rites of worship (*ghayba* *bi* *l-maḥḥūḥ* 'an al-*ḥikr*); an adumbration of the Hallājī doctrine of mystic union.

In eschatology Sahl uses with discretion the semi-gnostic data of Imāmī origin; the 'column

of light' (*ʿamūd al-nūr*, 'all *muḥḥūḥ* *hikr*'), a kind of 'mass of primordial adoration', composed of all the souls of saints to be (as opposed to ordinary men, *adamiyyūn*), an adumbration of the *nūr muḥammadiyya* of the later mystics. The saints alone are predestined to possess *irr al-rubūḥiyya* or *irr al-ʿanā*, 'mystery of the sovereign personality', or 'divine right to say "I"'. This idea is an adumbration of the *hamsa ḥamsa* [q. v.]. From it Sahl deduced the probability of final rehabilitation for Satan; an idea later developed by Ibn al-Arabi and 'Abd al-Karīm Jīlī [q. v.].

The *ḥikr*-formula which Shāḥī Saḥāḥ ascribes to Sahl (*Saḥāḥ*, v. *Saḥāḥiyya*) is of modern origin.

Bibliography: Sahl al-Tustarī, *Tafīr*, ed. Na'sānī, Cairo 1326 (artificial compilation); Abū 'Uṣaym al-Sakallī (who wrote in Kānawīn in 390/999 and also left a *ḥifā al-awḥiyyāt*), *Sharḥ wa-haym līmā aḥḥal min ḥaṣr Sahl*, and *Kifā al-mu'arafa wa'l-radd 'alā ahl al-frāḥ min ḥaṣr Sahl*, MS. Kopt. 727, Istanbul; al-Hudayrī, *Kaḥf al-muḥḥūḥ*, transl. Nicholson, London 1911, Index, s. v.; R. Hartmann, *al-ḥaḥiyya Darstellung des Saḥāḥiyya*, Berlin 1914, Index, s. v.; L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines . . . de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1922, p. 264—70; *Id.*, *La position d'al-Hallāj*, Paris 1922, Index, s. v.

(L. Massignon)

AL-SAHM, the arrow. a. Geometrical term. If one erects a perpendicular \perp in the middle of a chord of an arc, which reaches to the arc, this is called *al-sahm*, the versed sine (*al-ḡaib al-ma'ḥūḥ*) of the arc ab ; the sine (*al-ḡaib al-muḥḥūḥ*), which corresponds to our sine, is $a \sin$ (see — in addition to many other passages — *Mafāḥiḥ al-ʿUlūm* (ed. v. Vloten), p. 205. The versed sine played a much more important part in the older mathematics from the Hīndus onwards than it does in modern mathematics (cf. e. g. A. von Braunmühl, *Geschichte der Trigonometrie*). Sine and versed sine are measured in the parts of the radius of the circle, the latter being taken as equal to 60 parts or = 1.

b. Astrological term: Ibn al-Kifī says that the expression *sahm al-ḡaib* (the arrow, the hitting of the secret of the future, see *ḥifā*, s. v. p. 327, 338, 410) is astrological. (E. WIDEMANN)

c. Astronomical term: *Surat al-Ramī*, constellation of Sagittarius, and also al-*Kawī*, bow of Sagittarius (cross-bow), a southern constellation of the ecliptic, which, according to Ptolemy and the Arabs, consists of 31 stars mainly of southern latitude, which are almost all of the 3rd to 6th degrees of magnitude. Ptolemy gives only star 24 of Sagittarius (Arabic: *rukbat al-yad al-yamīn*, elbow of the left arm) the magnitude 2—3, while al-Bīrūnī (*al-Kānūn al-Ma'ād*, Berl. MS. 275, fol. 205f) gives magnitude 2 for stars 24 and 23 (*ḥab al-yad al-yamīn* = knuckle of the left hand); of Sagittarius in Ulug Beg, however, except star 3 of Sagittarius (*ʿala l-ḡaib al-ḥanūl min al-ḥawī* = the one south of the bow), which, according to him, is 3—2 in magnitude, they are only of the 3rd or lower degrees of magnitude. This 20° Sagittarii is really of 1.9 magnitude (on *ʿUrūḥ al-rāmī* see C. A. Nallino, *Opus astronomicum*, II. 163). The following stars of Sagittarius are also noteworthy: *Naf al-sahm*



= point of the arrow, and the so-called "eye of the archer", *ʿayn al-ramī*, or, according to al-Bīrūnī (*op. cit.*), *al-Salṭib al-muḍāʾ* of *ʿayn al-ʿatn* = the nebulous double-star which is in the eye. Neither in al-Bīrūnī nor in Ulug-Beg is there any mention of ostriches (the ostrich going to drink and coming back from drinking) which are mentioned by L. Ideler (see below).

Among the Greeks Sagittarius was called *σagittēros*, among the Romans Sagittarius, Sagittifer and Arciteneus. There is no evidence that the ancient Egyptians or Babylonians knew of *al-ḥawz* as a bow-constellation. The bow-constellation of the latter was the bow-shaped-group of stars *αβγδ* Canis majoris + *αα* Puppis.

Bibliography: L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen* (Berlin 1809), p. 185—191; F. W. V. Jach, *Anleitung zur Kenntnis der Sternnamen* (Leipzig 1796), p. 85; al-Sāḥī, *Description des étoiles fixes composées au milieu du dixième siècle de notre ère par Abd al-Rahman al-Sāḥī*; transl. by H. C. F. C. Schjellerup (St. Petersburg 1874), p. 30; E. H. Knobel, *Ulug Beg's Catalogue of Stars* (Washington 1917), p. 40, 105. (C. SCUDOV)

SAHNA, a little township in the Persian province of Kermānshāh on the great road between Kangāwūr and Bīstūn. The district of Sahnā contains about 28 villages inhabited by settled Turks belonging to the tribe of Khodābandū (of Hamadān). At Sahnā there are a few Abi-l-Jakḥ (see the article 'ABI-ILKŪ'), who are in touch with their spiritual superiors in Dinawar (see DINAWAR), a frontier district in the north. Sahnā must not be confused with Senne, the capital of the Persian province of Kurdistan, the former residence of the Waḥs of Anlīsān (q. v.). Quite near Sahnā on the steep bank of the stream are two funerary chambers carved out of the rock and dating in all probability from the Achaemenid period. A Sahnā (with S, not with Ṣ) near Anlīsān (q. v.) is mentioned by Yāqūt.

Bibliography: E. Flaudin, *Voyage en Perse*, Paris 1851, I, 413; Čirikov in the *Petersburg Journal* of 1848—1852, St. Petersburg 1875, was the first to give a description of the two tombs; Babino, *Kermānshāh KAM*, vol. xxxviii, March 1920, p. 1—40; E. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Arsen*, Berlin 1920, p. 8 (detailed description of the principal tombs). (V. MINORSKY)

SAHNUN, 'ABD AL-SALĀM b. SA'ĪD b. ḤABIB AL-TANUGH, was nicknamed Sahnun after the name of a sprightly bird on account of his quick wit. His father Sa'īd had come as a soldier from Hims to Kairawān, where Sahnun was born in 160 = 776/77. Apparently his father was not rich but Sahnun enjoyed the teaching of the best scholars of his native city, especially al-Bahlūl b. Rāḥid (d. 183; Ibn Farḥūn, p. 104), and when Sahnun went to Tunis to pursue his studies there his teacher wrote a letter of recommendation to 'Alī b. Ziyād (d. 183) in consequence of which 'Alī, out of respect for al-Bahlūl, used to come to the lodgings of Sahnun to teach him what he had learned from Mālik. In the year 178, according to his son Muḥammad, he went to Egypt to study under the pupils of Mālik b. Anas and met there 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Kāsim, Ibn Wabb and Aḡḡlab, who were prominent followers of Mālik. This was the year before the death of

Mālik and Sahnun had brought with him from Kairawān the portions of the *Muwaffa'* of Mālik which Anas b. al-Furāt had heard under the master. When some questions arising out of the study of the *Muwaffa'* were discussed before 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Kāsim, Sahnun required further information and he was asked why he did not travel to hear Mālik himself. He replied that his poverty and lack of money alone prevented him. This association with 'Abd al-Rahmān was of far-reaching consequences for the spread of the Mālikī school of law in the West. Most authorities place the journey of Sahnun to the East in 188, but this is an evident error, as it is also stated that he went there during the life of Mālik, who died in 179 A. H. He later had the gratification of travelling further and performed the pilgrimage in company of 'Abd al-Rahmān, Aḡḡlab and Ibn Wabb riding on the camel behind the latter. Later he visited also al-Medina and Syria studying under the most prominent followers of Mālik. He returned to Kairawān in 191 and made it his calling to spread the doctrines of Mālik. Some of his biographers state that he was the first who introduced these doctrines into the West, but before him 'Alī b. Ziyād, al-Bahlūl and Asad b. al-Furāt had taught the *Muwaffa'* or at least parts of it. Sahnun worked out the doctrines in a large work, the *Mudawwana*, the basis of which was the text of Asad b. al-Furāt, which he commented by questioning 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Kāsim upon the most trivial points. Here the acumen of Ibn al-Kāsim and Sahnun come into prominence. Sahnun asks: "Is this point confirmed by tradition or the teaching of Mālik?" and Ibn al-Kāsim answers: "This was the teaching of Mālik" or "this is my own opinion" (*ḥadīth in'yī*). We see that great scope was given in the *Mudawwana* to rational judgment and no attempt is made to introduce genuine or forged traditions to affirm a point of law. In consequence the *Mudawwana* is quite a readable book in clear language and a safe guide to the genius of the compiler and his teacher. When Wabb, a foster-brother of Sahnun, died, Ibn Abi l-Jawād, who preceded Sahnun in the office of judge, said the prayers and Sahnun refused to say them after him because Ibn Abi l-Jawād was a Mu'tazilī. When the ruler Ziyādat Allāh (reigned 201—223) heard of this he commanded the governor of Kairawān to give him 500 stripes. His waṣī 'Alī b. Humaid hearing this stopped the messenger bearing the order and went to the amir to get the sentence revoked. He pointed out that al-Bahlūl had succumbed to a similar punishment (in 185) inflicted by order of the governor Muḥammad b. Muḥṭāṭil. Ziyādat Allāh then forgave him. During the short usurpation of Aḡḡlab b. al-Aḡḡlab (231—232) he introduced the inquisition about the creation of the Qur'ān and Sahnun fled from Kairawān to the hermitage of an ascetic named 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Kaṣīr Ziyād. Aḡḡlab sent a courtier named Ibn Sulṭān to arrest Sahnun, because he knew that the latter hated Sahnun, like most courtiers, on account of his severe criticism concerning the licentious life at Court. The malevolence of Aḡḡlab, however, made Ibn Sulṭān to lean towards Sahnun. He was apprehended and led captive to Kairawān, but when they were about a mile from the city they received news that Muḥammad b. al-Aḡḡlab had regained his

power and that Ahmad had been killed. This caused Sahnun to be liberated. One of the first acts of Muhammad b. al-Aghlab was to depose the Kāfi 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abī 'l-Djāwad. This act met with the approval of Sahnun, who exclaimed in the presence of bathi: "May God reward the amir for freeing the people of their oppressor." Muhammad now, in 233 A. H., offered the office of judge to Sahnun who for a whole year, refused to accept it but finally accepted it in Rabi' al-Thani 234. He said on that occasion to his daughter Khudija: "To-day thy father has been stilled without a knife". Others had proposed Sulaimān b. 'Imrān for the post, but he refused, saying that while Sahnun lived no one else was competent to fill the office. Sahnun accepted no presents or salary from the amir, but defrayed his expenses and those of his officials from the poll-tax imposed upon non-Muslims. To perform his duties as judge undisturbed he had a room built adjoining the mosque and admitted only the litigants and their witnesses. One of his first acts was also to exclude all heretical sects from the mosque, as there were many Šafīis, Ḥanbalīs and Mu'tazilīs at Kairawān; he was also the first to appoint a regular Imām for the mosque and the first who placed pledged property with trustworthy persons in the town, while up to his time pledges had been kept in the house of the judge. Sahnun as a judge treated all parties with the utmost courtesy and did his utmost to appease any fears of litigants and witnesses by telling them to say frankly what they knew. In answering legal questions he was very careful, as he believed that hasty replies led to more trouble than anything else. Biographers of later times know of many *ḥarāmāt* (blessings) accruing through his influence, which proves the veneration in which he was held. He died on Sunday the 6th or 7th of Rajab, 240 A. H. and his death in spite of his great age caused general consternation in Kairawān. Brockelmann in his *History of Arabic Literature* says that it was due to Asad b. al-Furāt and Ibn al-Kāsim that the doctrine of Mālik spread in the West, but, as already mentioned, the merit is principally due to the work of Sahnun in arranging and publishing the *Muwawwān*, which, though based upon the *Mawāṭṭa'* of Mālik, is a much more comprehensive work. Manuscripts are comparatively scarce, but the work has been printed in two editions in Cairo, one in 4 volumes 4^{to} printed 1324/5 and the other in 16 parts dated 1905/6 in 8^{vo}. There exist in private hands seven parts written on parchment in Kairawān about the year 400, which I have been able to consult and which, I hope, will find their way into a public library.

The work of Sahnun being too large for quick reference was abbreviated by Abū Muhammad 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Zaid (died 386 A. H.), whose work has been printed several times. I have also seen an early manuscript written before 400 A. H., in private ownership, entitled *Muḥṭaṣar al-Muwawwān*. This work contains also a few additions by Ibn Abī Zaid. Another abbreviation is by Abū Sa'īd Khālaf b. al-Kāsim al-Azdi al-Barādī, who was one of the principal pupils of Ibn Abī Zaid. He re-arranged the abbreviation in the order of the *Muwawwān* and omitted the additions of Ibn Abī Zaid. This work has found many commentators (Ibn Farḥūn, ed. Pāz, p. 115). Among the many commentaries written upon the

Muwawwān is one by Sahnun's son Muhammad, 2) by Abū 'l-Kāsim 'Abd al-Khalīq al-Sayrī, who died in Kairawān in 460. 3) By Abū Ishāq 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī 'Imrān al-Fāsi, who died in 443. 4) Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muhammad al-Rabā'i, who died in Šīraz in 478. 5) Abū Muhammad 'Abd al-Ḥamid Ibn al-Sā'igh. 6) Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muhammad al-Zarwāl al-Sughair, who died in 719. The latter's commentary consists of 12 volumes. Abū 'l-Walīd Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Rūḥd wrote an exposition of difficult passages of the *Muwawwān* entitled *al-Muḥaddamāt al-muwawwān*, which has been printed in Cairo (1325) in two vols. 4^{to}.

Bibliography: 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad al-Dabbāgh, *Ma'ālim al-Imām* (Tunis 1320-25), ii. 49-68; Ibn Farḥūn, *Diwān* (Fās), p. 171; Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wustenfeld), No. 355 = Cairo 1310, i. 291; 'Abd al-Wahid al-Marākhi (ed. Dozy, Leiden 1847), 201; *Bayān al-Mugharib*, ed. Dozy, passim; Khayyām (ed. Madrid 1914), p. 101, 107, 108 and 156 of the Arabic text; Houdon, *Contenues de l'École des Langues Orientales* (principally after Dabbāgh); Brockelmann, *G.A.S.*, i. 177; Vincent, *Études sur la loi musulmane*; Introduction the Cairo edition 1324/5, vol. i. 63-65. (P. KRENKOW)

SAHUL, a village in South Arabia, in Ḥilāl al-Kalā' in the Yemen, half a day's journey from Zafar. Sahul, which was called *Alīr al-Yemen* on account of its wealth in corn, was celebrated for the Sahuli cloaks (*saḥūliyya*) made there of white cotton.

Bibliography: al-Ḥamdāni, *Sifat Dīstār al-'Arab*, ed. H. Müller, Leiden 1884-1891, p. 107; al-Mukaddasī, *B.G.A.*, iii. 98; al-Mas'ūdī, *B.G.A.*, viii. 283; Yāqūt, *Ma'ājam* (ed. Wustenfeld), iii. 50; *Marā'id al-Iḥṣā'*, ed. T. G. J. Juyuboli, Leiden 1853, ii. 15; al-Bakrī, *Ma'ājam*, ed. Wustenfeld, Göttingen 1876, ii. 767; A. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiseberichte des Orients* (Abh. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes, III/3, Leipzig 1864), p. 190, 147, 154; do., *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Berlin 1875, 73, 184. (ADOLF GROHMANN)

SAHYUN. [See ŠHYAWN.]

ŠA'IB, MİRZA MUHAMMAD 'ALĪ, whose *taḥṣīl* was ŠA'IB, a Persian poet, born about 1012 (1603) near Isfahān, hence called Isfahānī, though also called Tabrizi, because his father Mīrā 'Abd al-Rahīm came from Tabriz. Thū 'Abd al-Rahīm moved to 'Abdābād near Isfahān, where he was appointed *kāshgār* of the merchants of 'Abdābād. Ḥakīm Raknāy Kāshī and Ḥakīm Shīrī Isfahānī are mentioned as Ša'ib's masters in poetry. He spent a considerable time in India, where the governor of Kābul, Zafar Khān, became his patron and obtained his introduction to the court of Shāh Dīshān. He afterwards followed Zafar Khān to Kashmīr, whence he ultimately returned home to Persia. Shāh 'Abbās II gave him the title *Malik al-Shawar*. He died at Isfahān in 1080 (1677) but other dates are also given (see *Catalogue Baniqere*, iii. 148).

Ša'ib was one of the most prolific Persian poets of the later period; Oriental critics place him very high; according to them, he was the creator of a new style. His works are, in addition to a romantic poem, *Majmūd n Ayāz* (Kthē in the *Grande, de Iran, Phil.*, ii. 250), *kawā'id*, *ghazals* (in Persian and in Turki), *mathnawī's* and shorter

poema. On account of the great bulk of his *Divān* anthologies from it have been compiled: *Wāḍiḥa 'l-Hifā' Mirā' Sa'id* of Darwāsh 'Amillā al-Balkhī; *Mir'ātu 'l-Djamāl*; one author makes the remarkable assertion that these anthologies were compiled by the poet himself (*Col. Baniḥpur*, iii. 149). The *Divān* was published in Lucknow in 1292 A. H.

Bibliography. Ethé in the *Grande der Iran. Phil.*, ii. 250, 312; Sachau-Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, l. 697 sqq.; Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the Indian Office*, l. 880 sqq.; Pertuch, *Verzeichnis der persischen Handschriften der Kgl. Bibliothek in Berlin*, cf. index iii. under Sā'id; Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, p. 693, 807, 1001; do., *Supplement*, p. 287, 235, 267; Flügel, *Die arab., pers. und türk. Handschriften der K. K. Hofbibl. in Wien*, i. 589, 597, 609, iii. 508; Sprenger, *Catalogue of the ... Manuscripts of the libraries of the King of Oudh*, l. 384 sqq.; *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Baniḥpur*, iii. 146; Beovius, *History of Persian Literature in modern times*, p. 164 sq., 205 sq. (V. F. BUCHNER).

SA'ID b. AL-'ĀS b. SA'ID b. AL-'ĀS b. UMAIYA b. 'ABD SHAMS b. 'ABD MANĀF b. KURAYB, governor of Kūfa and Medina. At the death of Muḥammad, Sa'id was about nine years old; his father had fallen among the unbelievers at Badr. Sa'id was a member of one of the most prominent families of the Quraysh and was especially noted for his liberality and eloquence. He was held in high respect by 'Othmān and when the latter had decided to establish a definite text for the Kor'ān, Sa'id was nominated to the committee appointed for the purpose. In the year 29 (649/650) or 30 (650/651) 'Othmān appointed the young and inexperienced Sa'id to be governor of Kūfa in place of al-Walid b. 'Ukba who had made himself impossible. During his governorship he undertook expeditions against Tabariḥān and Djamān and suppressed unrest there but aroused unpopularity among the people of Kūfa by his aggressive demeanour. The Kūfāns complained, but without success, to the Caliph, but when Sa'id's attitude continued to give cause for discontent ten men of Kūfa, among them the respected and influential Malik al-Ash'ar, appeared before 'Othmān and demanded the dismissal of Sa'id, who was with the Caliph at the time. 'Othmān declined to pay heed to the complaint and ordered Sa'id to return to his post at once. But al-Ash'ar was not satisfied with this; he returned without delay to Kūfa and stirred up the easily roused inhabitants, and when Sa'id was on his way back to Kūfa, al-Ash'ar's emissaries met him with a strong force and compelled him to return to Medina at once. Al-Ash'ar then went into the mosque in Kūfa and proclaimed Abū Mithāb al-Ash'arī [q. v.] governor on his own initiative. After these present had taken the oath of fealty to the Caliph, al-Ash'ar agreed to be chosen as governor and 'Othmān confirmed the appointment. Sa'id had remained in Medina and when the rebels attacked the Caliph in his house Sa'id fought for him until he was himself severely wounded. When Talha, al-Zubair and 'A'isha left Mecca after the assassination of 'Othmān and went to Ḥajra to raise the troops there for their cause Sa'id at first went with them;

but when he reached Marr al-Zahrān or, according to another authority, Dhāt 'Irāq, he declined to accompany the others any further, because he did not believe in the honourable intentions of the two leaders of the enterprise, Talha and al-Zubair, and endeavoured to dissuade the others from the project. Marwān b. al-Hakam contradicted his assertions, but al-Maghira b. Shu'ba joined Sa'id, whereupon these two with a few others separated from the other members of the party. Sa'id then settled in Mecca and did not take part in the battle of the Camel nor in the battle of Siffin. During the reign of Mu'awiya he was governor of Medina alternately with Marwān b. al-Hakam. Marwān filled the office first; then came Sa'id's turn and when he was dismissed the former received the post again. But after a time he was again dismissed and Sa'id once more appointed his successor. Sa'id died on his estate in al-'Aḥq, according to the most usual statement in 59 (678/679), according to others, as early as 53 (672/673) or 57 (676/677) or 58 (677/678).

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'id, *Tahqīq*, ed. Sachau, x. 19 sqq.; al-Nawawi (ed. Wustenfeld), p. 281 sq.; Ibn al-Athir, *Uṣṣ al-ḥikma*, ii. 309 sqq.; Ibn Hajar, *al-Iṣṣā*, ii. N^o. 5058; al-Tabari (ed. de Goeje), see Index; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kāmil*, (ed. Tornerberg), iii and iv, passim; al-Balādhuri (ed. de Goeje), p. 119, 198, 280, 322, 328 sq., 334, 336; al-Ya'qubi (ed. Houtsma), ii. 152, 199, 192, 207, 267, 283 sq.; Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi. 218 sqq.; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, see Index. (K. V. ZETTERSTERN)

SA'ID b. AWS. [See **AW' ZAYD**.]

SA'ID b. MAS'ADA. [See **AL-AKHFAṢH**.]

SA'ID b. ZAYD b. AMR b. NUFAYL..... b. KA'BA b. LU'AYY, one of Muḥammad's earliest companions. His mother was Fāṭima bint Ba'ṭha b. Umayya of the clan of Khum'a. His *kunya* is Abū 'A'war or Abū Thawr. He was one of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb's cousins and at the same time his brother-in-law through his wife, who was 'Umar's sister, as well as through 'Umar's wife who was his sister. He assumed Islam before Muḥammad entered the house of Zaid b. al-Aḥkam and 'Umar's conversion is said to have taken place under the influence of Sa'id and his family.

His father, Zaid b. 'Amr, was one of the *ḥaṣif*'s; he was much interested in monotheism, refused to worship idols, warned his contemporaries against idolatry and confessed the "religion of Abraham" (cf. ZAYD b. AMR). It is said that he died in the year when the Ka'ba was rebuilt, an event in which also Muḥammad is said to have taken part.

Sa'id migrated with the Muslims to Medina, where Muḥammad allied him with Rāṣ b. Mafik al-Zurāḥī, or, according to others, with Ḥabā b. Ka' b.

When the rumour of the return of the Qurayshite caravan from Syria reached Medina, Sa'id, together with Talha b. 'Ubayd Allāh, was sent on scouting service. They met the caravan at al-Hawrā' and hurried back to Medina to report the news. But Muḥammad was already on the way to Badr and the battle took place without their taking part in it. They nevertheless obtained their portion from the booty. Sa'id was present at all the other *ma'z* and distinguished himself in the battle of Adḥūdāin (13 A. H.), where he was at the head of the cavalry, in the battle of Fijī (13 A. H.), where the infantry was under his command, and in the battle of the Yarmuk (15 A. H.).

At Umar's death Sa'id belonged to those who promoted Uthman's election as Caliph. Yet he was not content with his government, though he did not join the 'Alid party.

He died in 50 or 51 A.H. in 'Akk near Medua, where he was buried. It is said that he reached the age of over 70 years. According to others, he died as governor of al-Kufa under Mu'awiya.

Sa'id never played the first role in the Muslim community. He was honoured because of his early conversion and belongs to the ten who were promised Paradise (*ash-sha'ir al-mubashshirun*). Muhammad is sometimes (Ahmad b. Hanbal, *Musnad*, i. 187 ff.) represented as ascending mount Hira' or Uhud with some of his companions. As the mountain begins to tremble, he says: "Stand fast, oh mountain, for on thee walk a prophet, a *qadih* and witnesses." Then he proceeds to testify his companions, among whom Sa'id mentions himself in a veiled manner in some traditions. Some of the forms of this report remind us of Jesus' transfiguration on the mountain (Matthew 17).

Sa'id belonged to those whose curse (*du'a*) is efficacious. This is illustrated in the story of a woman who, being cursed by him, became blind and was drowned in a well into which she happened to fall because of her blindness.

Sa'id's *musnad*, i. e. the traditions handed down on his authority, is to be found in Ahmad b. Hanbal's *Musnad*, i. 187—190.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'id, *Ta'rikh*, ed. Sachau, iii. 275—281; Ibn Hadjar, *Isaba*, s.v.; Ibn al-Athir, *Ud al-Ghata*, s.v.; Ibn Hisham, ed. Wüstenfeld, index; al-Jahiz, ed. de Goeje, *Indice*, s.v.; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, Indices, s.v. (A. J. WENSING).

SA'ID PASHA, called KÜÇÜK (the "little"), not so much to indicate that he was particularly small in body as simply to distinguish him from numerous other Sa'id's, was with the reformer and organiser Ahmed Midhat Pasha the greatest statesman in Turkey of the last half century. He was born in 1254 (1838) in Erzurum and died in Constantinople on March 1, 1914; he was the son of 'Ali Naimî Efendi, at one time "controller of expenditure on the eastern frontier" and trusted adviser to the governor of the day, who had been for a period consul and later Turkish chargé d'affaires in Teheran (d. Oct. 4, 1853); Sa'id came from a pure Turkish family of Angora, the Sel's-side. He is buried in the cemetery in Elyûb near the Hazret-i Khâlid mosque. His twin brother Fehid died prematurely and his younger brother Mehmed Ferid at his death in 1882 was *Taht-ı Emlak Müdürü*.

Sa'id received his early education in Erzurum. When 16 he entered the civil service there, in which he was destined to have a brilliant career and pass through all stages up to the very highest office. Two years later he was moved to a post in the military administration of Asatolia, then came in the course of his duties to Constantinople, where his versatility procured him a post in the office of the Supreme Council. He accompanied the Inspector-General to Salonika, Monastir, Janina and Trikkala. He next became general-secretary for Janina, and then for Salonika, after which he filled successively the offices of Director of the Imperial Printing Press in Constantinople, Manager of the official newspaper, *Takvîm-i Vakiyyat*, General-Secretary to the Council of State, to the Ministry of Commerce, to the Grand Vizierate, to the

Ministry of Education and in 1875 Councillor of the Ministry of Commerce and Agriculture and Member of the Commission on reforms. From Sept. 1, 1876, to Jan. 10, 1878, he occupied the important and influential position of trust of First Secretary to 'Abd al-Hamid.

After acting for a short time as Wali of Angora and of Brussa (Khadwendigir) he became Grand Vizier in 1879, an office which he filled nine times in all, a record attained by no other Grand Vizier, although, as regards length of tenure of the office, many others have considerably exceeded his total period of 7 lunar years and 15 days. He was also at different times Minister of the Civil List, of the Interior, of Foreign Affairs and of Justice.

The list which he himself gives of his first seven periods of office as Grand Vizier, in his *Sadri-i Milliye Sa'id Pashanın şumârîsine neşir oluyû mektûblerin küstürîsine* (1908), a collection of his articles published in the *Tanin* and in the *Sabah*, contains a number of discrepancies in the dates which we shall endeavour to remedy here. The dates are not without importance for the history of the Young Turk movement.

Sa'id Pasha was Grand Vizier (after the introduction of the so-called Constitution of Midhat the title "First Minister" was used until Sa'id in 1882 again introduced the traditional title Grand Vizier, *Sadr-ı pâni* [q. v.]) as follows:

- 1) October, 1879—June, 1880;
- 2) September, 1880—May, 1882;
- 3) June, 1882—November, 1882;
- 4) December 2, 1882—September 25, 1885;
- 5) June 9, 1895—October 3, 1895;
- 6) November 18, 1901—January 15, 1903;
- 7) July 22, 1908—August 6, 1908: restoration of the Constitution;
- 8) October 4, 1911—December 30, 1911;
- 9) December 31, 1911—July 17, 1912.

Sa'id was a trustworthy guide to his country at a very difficult time, the period of continual endeavour to link up with modern European development, although his abilities as statesman and organiser could not obtain full scope in view of the special conditions of the times. He was a statesman of the old school, conservative, but quite friendly to reforms. To 'Abd al-Hamid he was a faithful and indispensable councillor and he seems to have brilliantly seconded him in his aim of gathering all power into his own hands and making the Yildiz the political centre of gravity to the exclusion of the Sublime Porte. At all events he is silent in his "Memoirs" regarding his activities as First Secretary to the Sultan, although the Young Turks for a time laid special emphasis on his work during this period. He seems also to have been not unconnected with the notorious document in defence of 'Abd al-Hamid's regime by Ahmed Midhat Efendi (*Uss-ı İnkilâb* and supplement *Zübde-i Hakaik*, 1877 and 1878). Except for Ahmed Vefik Pasha, Sa'id was the only real personality among the creatures of the Sultan and he was able to retain the respect and esteem of both friends and opponents.

In a way quite unusual in a Turkish statesman he laid stress on his pure Turkish blood and on a specifically Turkish patriotism. He sought as far as possible to limit the spread of foreign influence in Turkey although he was regarded as Anglophile and progressive. On Dec. 4, 1895 he had to seek refuge in the British Embassy at Constantinople to escape an order from the Sultan for his arrest,

until 'Abd al-Hamid gave a written guarantee of safety. He spent the next six years, however, in his *havas* in Nigbantash in a retirement which was practically confinement to the house until he was again summoned to power.

During his "English flight" he drew up his scheme for writing his reminiscences, although he could hardly expect to publish such a work during the regime of 'Abd al-Hamid.

In spite of many attacks by the court *camilla*, among whom he had many opponents, and the open enmity of Kamil Pasha, his great antagonist from 1886 to 1913, he had been able to make himself indispensable; in any situation of particular difficulty they always came back to him, who possessed an unusual degree of energy and an unflinching breadth of vision in matters of policy, in spite of his submissive disposition. He never prejudiced himself in the slightest but retired as soon as his own views became too much in contrast to those of the Sultan. As early as 1896 he had had the courage to demand an independent responsible ministry.

At the outbreak of the revolution of 1908 he was entrusted by 'Abd al-Hamid with the restoration of the constitution. But he retired as soon as the Young Turks demanded an entire change of system and complete breach with the past and handed over the Grand Vizierate to Kamil Pasha. But when the Italian campaign in Tripoli had to be settled and the Balkan War, which had taken so unexpectedly a tragic turn as a result of the destruction of the whole organization of state and army in Turkey by the doctrinaire Young Turks, seriously threatened the stability of the Empire, it was again Sa'id who was called upon to save what was still left to save. His power of adaptation was so great that he was now regarded as a Young-Turkish statesman.

In the first three sessions of the new parliament he was President of the Senate. In this capacity also he presided over the National Assembly in S. Stefano on April 22, 1909, which declared that the proceedings of the besieging army were in accordance with the wishes of the people, whereupon 'Abd al-Hamid was deposed on April 27, 1909.

When the Young-Turk party came to political power, he became President of the Council of State but later handed over this office to Khalil Bey and retained only the presidency of the Senate, which he had received after the assassination of Mahmud Shefkat Pasha in succession to the Albanian Ferid Pasha on June 11, 1913. He was still President when he died after a month's long illness at the age of 76.

Sa'id is probably the first Turkish statesman who left his memoirs, a work of the first historical importance. It was published in 3 volumes in Constantinople (1328) under the title *Sa'id Paşanın Kâğıratı*, but this does not seem to be complete. The circumstances of the time prevented these reminiscences being fully utilized; although biased in many directions, they form documentary material of inestimable value for contemporary history and were published to defend his policy, when he took refuge in publicity. Only Kamil Pasha, whom he exposed more than any other of his opponents (d. Nov. 14, 1913 at Larnaca in Cyprus), at once replied in his pamphlet *Kamil Paşanın A'yan ve Sa'id Paşaya Derslikleri*, 2nd ed., Constantinople 1328, and followed this up with his own

memoirs, *Sade-i sâhib Kamil Paşanın Kâğıratı*, Constantinople 1329; *Tarih-i ayyân-i Daulat-i 'aliye*, Zihni Pasha also replied ("Presentation of the Truth", Constantinople 1327).

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(Th. MENZEL.)
SA'ID PASHA, Viceroy (Khedive) of Egypt from 1854 to 1863. Muhammad Sa'id, youngest son of Muhammad 'Ali Pasha, was born in 1822. His father had a very high opinion of this, his fourth, son whom he sent when only 19 to Constantinople to conduct negotiations regarding the tribute to be paid by Egypt.

Sa'id, who was francophil, was not on good terms with his nephew and predecessor, 'Abbas I [q.v.]. The latter had done everything possible to induce the Porte to alter the law of succession formulated by the Sultan's firman in favour of Muhammad 'Ali and to secure the succession in direct line for his own descendants by abolishing the law by which the eldest living descendant of the founder of the dynasty was always called to succeed to the throne. Sa'id would thus have been excluded but 'Abbas died before he could realize his project. By an intrigue, however, the death of 'Abbas was kept secret for a week and it was only then that Sa'id was able to enforce his claim to the throne (July, 1854).

Sa'id was a well intentioned prince and quite popular, although he had not the energy of his father, perhaps on account of his indifferent health. In November, 1856, he created a kind of Council of State, composed of princes of the blood, four generals and four high dignitaries. He relaxed the extreme centralisation of the administration instituted by Muhammad 'Ali and contributed considerably to relieve the economic position of the people by promulgating an agrarian law which granted all his subjects the right henceforth to own landed property and to dispose of it freely (1858). It was he who first attempted to abolish the trade in negro-slaves (visit to Khartum in 1857). In the reign of Sa'id as in that of his predecessor the policy of expansion southwards was not continued. The Sudan received certain privileges and prince Halim was appointed governor. Sa'id kept up the Egyptian contingent of 18,000 men which 'Abbas had sent to reinforce the Turkish army in the Crimean War and he also allowed a regiment of fallahin to take part in an expedition sent by Napoleon III to Mexico. By making it, however,

possible for the fallāḥ to obtain the rank of officer, he began the gradual diminution of the power of resistance of the Egyptian army.

In his reign the railway between Cairo and Suez was finished and a telegraph concession granted to the Eastern Telegraph Company. The Bank of Egypt was founded in 1854. The most important act of his reign was undoubtedly the concession which he granted to Ferdinand de Lesseps in 1856 to construct the Suez Canal. Although English diplomacy was able for two years to prevent the Sultane Porte from ratifying the concession, it was owing to the perseverance of the Khedive that the work could be begun in 1859, the necessary labour being supplied by levies raised by conscription from the fallāḥ. The town of Port Said situated at the northern exit of the canal is called after Sa'id Pasha.

Finally, it was in the reign of Sa'id that Egypt's foreign debt originated. The financial embarrassment resulting from the military help given to Turkey and from public works necessitated a loan of over £ 3,000,000 sterling from a London banking-house. This was the first step on the disastrous path later followed by Isma'il Pasha.

In 1860 Sa'id Pasha travelled to Europe; during his absence his place was taken by his heir presumptive Isma'il Pasha, his nephew. He died at Alexandria on Jan. 27, 1863, and was buried in that town.

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AL-SA'ID or **SA'ID** MUX, the Arabic name for Upper Egypt. The region thus named extends from the south of Cairo to the cataract of Assuan: at the present day the expression has no administrative significance and, indeed, has not had since the time of the Mamlūks. Besides, the political frontier of Egypt now extends to within reach of Wādī Halfā, thus including the whole of Lower Nubia. The expression, however, is still used, for it preserves a very marked geographical distinction, which contrasts the long narrow valley of the Nile above Cairo to the large fan-shaped area of alluvial deposits of Lower Egypt, in Arabic, the low country (*safal al-ard*). Indeed, the word *Sa'id* has always been limited in application to the cultivated regions bordering on the river, excluding the Faiyūm and the Oases of the Libyan Desert. This strip, about 600 miles long, extremely narrow in places (3 to 6 miles on an average), reduced to the bed of the river only at certain points between Edfu and Assuan, reaches its maximum breadth in the neighbourhood of Bani Su'f (15 miles). Upper Egypt is now divided into 8 *mudiriyyas* called, with one exception, after their chief towns: Gīsh (Djize), Bani Su'f, Faiyūm, Minya, Ayyū (to which are attached the Oases of Dakhle and Kharge), Gīrgā (chief town Sohāg), Kēnā and Assuan.

The Arabs after the conquest of Egypt retained

the division into pagarchies, which they called *ḥara's*, a transcription of the Greek *χώρα*. Upper Egypt corresponded to the duchies of Arcadia and the Thebaid, a memory of which is still retained in the division of the *Sa'id* into *al-'ala* (upper) and *adna* (lower); Yāqūt even makes three divisions: *Sa'id al-'ala* from Assuan to Akhmīm, an intermediate region stretching northwards as far as Bahasā and the *Sa'id adna* which stretched to Fūshā. As a matter of fact there were three Byzantine duchies, of which two were in the Thebaid, and the frontier between the latter lay south of Panopolis (Akhmīm).

If we compare the list of the *ḥara's* preserved by al-Makrizī with that of the pagarchies given by Hierocles, we find that the alterations are quite insignificant. In course of time certain towns fell into decay and gave place to younger ones; for example Philai which became supplanted by Assuan. An administrative redistribution took place under the Fāṭimids. They introduced a division into large provinces (*amāl*) which has survived in its main lines to the present day. The nine or ten provinces of the Fāṭimids, the Ayyūbids and the Mamlūks, corresponded to the eight *mudiriyyas* of to-day. The most notable differences were the following: the provinces of Atfihya and of Bīṣriya combined into one province from the Mamlūk period under the name of Atfihya have given place to the *mudiriya* of Bani Su'f. Minya has succeeded to Bahasā, now an insignificant town. The former districts of Akhmīm and Manfalūt (the latter intermittently) have gone to increase the province of Ayyū. In the south we still find the two mediaeval subdivisions but their capitals have been removed from Akhmīm and Kūs to Gīrgā and Kēnā. On account of the frequent Nubian invasions, Assuan down to the end of the Mamlūk period was considered as a *limos* (*ḥaḡḡ*) without administrative autonomy, being under the governor of the province of Kūs, whose authority extended eastwards as far as 'Aidāb. The Oases sometimes formed an independent province and sometimes were administered by officers who held them as *ikṣā'* (as part salary).

Although we find under the Fāṭimids the title *ḥakīm al-Sa'id al-'ala*, we cannot say with certainty that the reference is not to the governor of the province of Kūs, which was in the middle ages the most important in Upper Egypt. It is certain, on the other hand, that under the Mamlūks the various provincial governors were under a governor-general of Upper Egypt called at first *ḥakīm al-waḡḡ al-'ala*, then *na'ib al-waḡḡ al-'ala* when Barṣuk gave this official the rank of *na'ib al-saltana*. Al-Kalkandand gives the following account of the administration of Upper Egypt at the beginning of the 19th/20th century: two governors of different ranks shared the authority there; alongside of the *na'ib*, who administered the Nile valley, there was a *ḥakīm*, who governed the Faiyūm and the province of Bahasā, the latter having at its head a *ḥakīm*. Below the *na'ib*, who lived at Ayyū, there were three governors of the first class, at Akhmīm, Kūs and Assuan, and three of the second class, at Gīsh, Atfih and Manfalūt.

Under Turkish administration Upper Egypt comprised 24 *kāshlik*, a list of which is given as by Vansleben.

The population of Egypt has almost doubled in the last 35 years.

1882	6,818,000 inhabitants
1897	9,734,405 "
1907	11,287,359 "
1917	12,750,918 "

Although none of the great centres of population are in Upper Egypt, the figures for certain towns are quite high and a comparison with the figures for 1897 shows that the towns of the Sa'id have in general prospered in the last 20 years except in the extreme south: Asyūṭ 51,431 (compared with 42,000); Madīnat al-Faiyūm 44,000 (31,000); Minya 34,945 (20,400); Banī Suṭī 31,986 (15,000); Kēnā 23,357 (27,500); Sohāg 20,760 (14,000); Gīzāh 18,714 (16,820); Kūs 13,000 (14,200); Assuan 11,293 (13,000). The population was greater in the middle ages as we may deduce from the figures given for the deaths during the drought of 806 (1403); there were 17,000 deaths at Kūs, 11,000 at Asyūṭ, 15,000 at Hā, now a wretched little hamlet about 20 miles west of Kēnā.

The settled population of Upper Egypt is in the main autochthonous, whether converts to Islām or Jacobite Copts. The latter are especially numerous in the Sa'id, especially between Asyūṭ and Esne. Al-Kāshānī and al-Maḥrī give in detail the list of Arab tribes who were settled in Upper Egypt; the principal were the Balī, Djuḥīna, who penetrated right into Central Africa, and especially the Banū Hīlāl and Banū Sulaym, whose ultimate emigration into North Africa is celebrated in history. Their old names do not seem to have survived and the descendants of these tribes are now known by other names (*Fāwāsiya*, *Mu'aw*, *Banū Wūṭīl*, *Aḥwānī*). The Banū 'I-Kanz alone, an isolated branch of the Rabi'a, still exist in the Assuan region under the name of Kunūṣ. There is no longer any trace of the Berber tribes who accompanied the Fāṭimids into Egypt (Luwāṭa, Hawwāra). On the other hand, we still find in the southern part of Upper Egypt the nomadic Bedja who have often been identified with the ancient Blemmyes. Their principal subdivisions at the present day, the *ʿAḥāḍ* and the *Bīḡārīn*, lead a nomadic life in the Arabian desert from the latitude of Asyūṭ to beyond Nubia, leading a miserable existence on the products of their camels and goats.

The Bedja played an important role during the period of Arab domination, for they held the flourishing port of Aidiḥ where one embarked for Djidda, Yemen and the Indies. This town was linked by caravan routes with Assuan, Zaḥī and Kūs; this last road Kūs—Aidiḥ was the most frequented and assumed considerable importance during the Crusades from 460 to 660 (1068—1262), for it was the usual road for pilgrims. This road is now nothing but a memory. This is not the case with the Kēnā—al-Kaṣīr road, which is still in use at the present day; the starting point on the Nile used to be Kūs, which had taken the place of the ancient Coptos (Kēf). The Bedja country aroused the cupidity of the Egyptian government which under the Mamlūks succeeded in exploiting on its own account the gold mines of al-Allāḥī in Lower Nubia. Farther north in the desert between Kēf and Assuan (granite quarries) the Mamlūk sultān also worked an emerald mine. The valley of the Nile in the strict sense of the word, an alluvial formation, is an excellent soil for the growth of cereals: agricultural

development has been improved in recent years by the construction of the barrages of Assuan, Esne and Asyūṭ which allow more perfect use to be made of the waters of the Nile. Industry is almost non-existent here and here again we have a contrast with the prosperity in the middle ages. The looms (wool for clothes and carpets, cotton, silk and linen) were then extremely numerous; we may mention those of al-Ashmūnīn, Akhmīm, Asyūṭ and Bahnāsī.

Muḥammadian art is poorly represented in Upper Egypt: at Madīnat al-Faiyūm, Asyūṭ and Gīzā, however, we find mosques with a certain amount of character. We must also mention the mosques of al-Bāb and Bilāl, south of Assuan, built of unbaked bricks which have a minaret surmounted by a small dome — a fairly frequent type in this region even in the villages (e.g. Shanhūr, south of Kūs). The Fāṭimid minbars of Kūs and Bahnāsī should not be omitted. As to epigraphy, Asyūṭ, Kūs and Sohāg have preserved Kūfic inscriptions and we find Mamlūk decrees at Edfū, Minya, Madīnat al-Faiyūm, Asyūṭ, Sohāg, Kūs and Kūsīya. This is not the place to discuss the monuments of ancient Egypt: it is sufficient to say that the Arab authors describe the temples in their fashion and have localised here a series of legends. We may note, however, that they paid no attention to the buildings of Thebes-Carnac and that in compensation we have a fine description of the temple of Akhmīm, destroyed in the xvth century.

Dja'far Aḍwī, a writer of the viiith century A. H., composed a dictionary of famous men of Upper Egypt, preceded by a brief geographical summary, the *Taḥṣīl al-Sa'id* (publ. in Cairo 1333 = 1914); its interest is not great. In the domain of folklore, we may note the stories of Ibn al-Hawā at Assuan, of Abu 'I-Hadīdī at Luḡsor, of the princess of China at Gīzā, to which we may add the legend of the serpent of the Djabal Harīḥī.

Without going into details, the following is a rapid enumeration of the main historical facts relating to Upper Egypt. The conquest of Egypt by the Arabs became an established fact after the fall of Babylon and Alexandria. Al-Baladhuri mentions trentles made with certain towns of Middle Egypt. The Arabs seem to have taken no notice of the Faiyūm for some time and their advance towards this region must have been impeded by very heavy fighting which gave rise to the historical novel, the *Futūḥ al-Bahnāsī*. In 23 (644) there was an unsuccessful invasion of Nubia which was resumed in 27 (648) and concluded in 31 (652) by an advantageous treaty, which 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz renewed in 100 (719). A census of the population was taken in 112 (730); the governor of Egypt, al-Walīd ibn Rīf'a, took charge of this in person and conducted a six months' tour of inspection of Upper Egypt as far as Assuan and we possess a papyrus containing his instructions. During the Umayyad period, the Sa'id seems to have enjoyed more peace than the Delta which was often agitated by risings; one is noted for 121 (739). It was in Upper Egypt that the Umayyad dynasty collapsed in the person of its last Caliph, Marwān. There was a rising of the Umayyad pretender Dihya ibn Mu'ab who became master of the whole of the Sa'id in 167 (784); he was defeated and put to death in 169 (785); Upper Egypt felt the consequences — though less than the

Delta — of the struggle between al-Amin and al-Ma'mun. There was a rising of the Bedja in 241 (855) and a successful expedition against them under Muhammad al-Kumt. Some years later 'Abdallāh al-Umari invaded the gold-mining area and ultimately declared himself independent there; he was put to death but the contingents of the Rabi'a which he had taken there remained amalgamated with the Bedja. In 256 (870) there was an unsuccessful rising led by Ibn al-Sufi at Enne and Akhmim. In 308 (920) a Fātimid invasion; fighting at al-Ashmunāin and Bahasā. The king of Nubia invaded the Oases in 339 (950), took Assuan in 345 (956) and in a third expedition in 353 (964) advanced as far as Akhmim. Towards the end of the 10th century, Abū Bakr rose against the Caliph al-Hakim. Order was disturbed after the great death in the reign of al-Mustansir: Badr al-Djāmāl set out in person for Upper Egypt to re-establish peace (inscriptions at Asyūṭ and Enne). Towards the end of the Fātimid period, several statesmen, like Tāli' ibn Ruzzik and Shāwar, served their apprenticeship to political life in Upper Egypt. It was against Shāwar, who was assisted by a body of Franks, that Shirkūh fought the battle of al-Bahsāin near al-Ashmunāin. This region continued to be much disturbed by Fātimid propaganda, which was kept up in the extreme south by the Banu 'l-Kanz. Saladin subjected them in 568 (1173) sending his brother Turān Shāh against them, who advanced as far as Ibrim. Other risings were crushed with great severity in 570 (1174) and in 572 (1176). There was a very serious rebellion in the whole of the land in 651 (1253), led by an important individual, the Sharif Hish al-Dīn Thā'ib, which was an episode in the struggle between the Arab tribes and the Mamlūk government. In 671 (1272) and in 674 (1275) Bahars intervened in the domestic affairs of Nubia and sent an army which reached Dongola, which was again occupied by a second expedition in 686 (1287). Upper Egypt in 701 (1302) suffered from the brigandage of the Arab tribes, which necessitated the despatch of a powerful force against them. They were suppressed in a most bloody fashion. During the anti-Christian movement of 721 (1321) churches were destroyed in the provinces of Atfih and Bahasā, at Minya, Asyūṭ, Kāz and Assuan. Violent disturbances are again mentioned in 815 (1412), mainly at Assuan, and again in 825 (1422). The reign of Kā'it-Bey was filled with risings by the Hawwāra tribe which it took three years to subdue (881—883 = 1476—1478). As to the events after the Turkish conquest and especially the rising of 'Alī Bey and the French occupation, information will be found in the European travellers and historians.

Bibliography. See the articles dealing with subjects referred to in this article, the indices to Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam (ed. Torrey), al-Kindī, al-Makrīzī (ed. Inst. franç.), Abu 'l-Mahāsīn, the Guide Joanne, Baedeker's *Egypt*, Murray's *Egypt*. Cf. al-Kāshgharī, *Subh al-Ashar*, iv. 24—27, 64—69; Quatremère, *Mém. sur l'Égypte*, ii. 201—211; Massignon, *Notes sur les études archéologiques et Deuxième note*, BIFAO, vi. 2—13; ix. 4—11; Wiet, *Les incursions ar. d'Égypte*, *Comptes rendus Acad. Inscr. et Belles Lett.* (1913), p. 503—504; J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géogr. de l'Égypte*, MIFAO, xxxvi. 15—16, 117, 129, 131, 147—148, 153,

156—157, 170—192, 227—229 (with a vast bibliography); Massignon, *Annuaire du monde musulman*, 1923, p. 119—121, 125—126.

(G. WIET)

SAÏDA, a town in Algeria (department of Oran), 110 miles from Oran and 60 miles S. S. E. of Mascara, 2900 feet above sea-level, on the Wādī Saïda, a branch of the Habra, in a fertile and well-watered country, suitable for the cultivation of cereals and vines. Population: 12,232 inhabitants of whom 5,410 are Europeans. Saïda is the chief town of a mixed commune of 42,469 inhabitants of whom 39,500 are natives.

Owing to its position on the very edge of the high plateaux, Saïda has always been of considerable military importance. There was a Roman station here. 'Abd al-Kādir built a fortress here in order to control the nomad tribes of the district, but destroyed it on the approach of the French in 1841. In 1844 General Lamoricière, struck by the advantages of this position, built a stronghold 1½ miles north of the Saïda of 'Abd al-Kādir, around which the modern town has grown up. (G. YVER)

SAÏDĀ. [See SAÏDĀ].

SAIF b. DHĪ YAZAN, of the Himyarite royal line, played a part in Arabian history in the expulsion of the Abyssinians from South Arabia, where they had held sway since the time of Dhī Nawāsa. Native tradition records that he first sought assistance against the foreign yoke of the Abyssinians at the Byzantine court and later at the court of the Persian Khuraw. The latter, however, would not risk anything in an enterprise with such hopeless prospects; so he only gave Saif a number of criminals out of the jails under a leader named Wahriz to assist him. The Abyssinians under Masruk were defeated and driven out of the country by them and Saif's countrymen who rose against the foreign yoke, whereupon Saif was installed by the Persians as king. From this tradition and several Arabic poems relating to the story there results as a certain historical fact that Saif b. Dhī Yazan conquered the Abyssinians with the help of the Persian king Khuraw Anūshirwān, broke their rule over Yemen and held sway over the land of his ancestors under a Persian protectorate. His victory over the Abyssinians may be dated about 570 A.D. The victory over the Abyssinians is wrongly ascribed not to Saif himself but to his son Ma'dikarib.

That South Arabian history and with it the story of Saif b. Dhī Yazan was studied and transmitted among the Muslims from the beginning of the Islamic period onwards we know from several sources. It is, therefore, no wonder that Saif b. Dhī Yazan found a place in the Arab saga on account of his successful struggle with the Abyssinians, who in the period of Islam particularly became dangerous and lasting enemies to the new international movement starting in Arabia. In the romance which bears his name, the *Great Saif ibn Dhī Yazan*, the war between the Muslim Arabs and the pagan negroes and Abyssinians occupies considerable space. The king of the latter, whose conflict with Saif b. Dhī Yazan runs almost throughout the book and forms a considerable part of the subject matter, gives us a clue to the date of origin of the *Sira*. He is called Saif Ar'ad and corresponds to the Ethiopian king Saifa Ar'ad whom we know from history and who reigned in

Abyssinia from 1344-72. From this reference we may deduce with considerable certainty that the existing versions of the *Sira* date from about the 14th century, in any case not earlier than the end of the 13th century. The rest of the positive and negative data agree with this, while telling practically nothing separately and having only some value when taken cumulatively; among them are several clearly discernible borrowings from the cycle of the 1001 Nights. It does not, of course, follow that the whole romance arose at this time; isolated parts may very well have been composed and put into circulation earlier. The place of origin of the *Sira* is Egypt, to be more definite Cairo. This is clear from the many personal and place-names which all point to localisation mainly in Egypt and in part even presuppose an accurate knowledge of its topography. This statement is not invalidated by the occurrence of a few place-names from Damascus and its neighbourhood. As regards contents also, Egypt is the most satisfactory place of origin of the romance; the strong undercurrent of superstition and belief in the marvellous is perhaps also an indication of an African birthplace for the romance.

The contents of the book are in keeping with the fact that it was composed and related, if not by the people, at least for them. It is therefore easily explained why we find alongside the good Muslim general tendency so many ideas which are rather to be described as pagan, and which can only with difficulty and superficially be brought into harmony with Muslim principles. The new religion of Islam did not by any means penetrate so quickly or thoroughly among the masses as among the educated classes, whose intellectual sustenance was for the most part confined to a science and literature permeated to a great degree by Islam; among the masses the old beliefs and customs did not have any counterpoise great enough to have driven them out. As has already been mentioned, in the *Sira* Saif a great part is played by the war of the Muslim Arabs against the pagan Abyssinians and negroes. As it is assumed to be known by every one that the hero of the struggle, Saif b. Dhī Yazan, lived in the pre-Islamic period, he has first of all to be transformed into a warlike predecessor of Muhammad and a professing Muslim. The generally accepted possibility of obtaining a glimpse into the future by magic oracles, dreams etc., and by the guidance of pious *shaykhs* disposes of the difficulty. Saif, like his father Dhī Yazan before him, becomes convinced of the truth of Islam before Muhammad's coming and is won over to the new religion. In his struggle mainly directed against the Abyssinians and negroes the antagonism of race now gives place to that of religion. On his many wanderings and campaigns in the lands of men and *djinn*s he spreads by force the religion of Islam, often with the support of helpful spirits. As Muhammad has not yet appeared, in place of his name is the profession of faith we find that of Ibrahim, the *Khalīl-Allāh*. The campaigns thus are no longer waged for the satisfaction of the ambitions of Saif and the Arabs but with the object of gaining recognition for the unity of Allah and his "friendship" with Ibrahim. As soon as the quondam enemies satisfy this demand by repeating the profession of faith, they are accepted into the Muslim community. The superiority of the Semitic over the Hamitic

race is, of course, not thereby done away with. It is the South Arabians in particular and in them the alleged ancestors of the later Muslims of Egypt, who have the honourable task of preparing the way for the last and greatest prophet, while the Abyssinians and negroes either remain in their ancient paganism and thus show themselves unworthy of Islam or with their adoption of Islam play a passive rather than an active role in the religious movement. It is further remarkable that in the whole romance there is not the slightest trace of the Abyssinians professing Christianity. While the worship of Saturn is ascribed to them, the other non-Muslim religions are traced back to the worship of fire, of idols, rulers claiming divine worship, and of different animals (a ram, an ostrich, cows, bugs, hens). Many of these notions may have originated in the unlimited fancy of the narrators; but in part at least vague memories of the old Egyptian mythology may have crept in. The mention of fire-worship points to the old Persian religion. A knowledge of Christianity gleams through only in the mention of crosses, sometimes of stone, which are worshipped and at which oaths are taken. The motives of the *Sira* are not exhausted with the stories of the spread of Islam. The common people are also interested in profane history and in stories of events with as much action as possible. Thus in the romance we find stories of the origins of famous towns, places and buildings, of the bringing of the river Nile into Egypt etc. We further find an account of the many travels and adventures which Saif b. Dhī Yazan and his sons, paladins and spirits have to go through, of the love affairs of Saif and others which continually appear in new guise, of the splendid buildings, regions and men which are described to the hearers, and of much else. The imagination that is called upon to arouse the astonishment of the public becomes unbounded towards the end of the *Sira*, as the extraordinary is in the end no longer effective and must be surpassed again. Considerable space is further taken up — as already mentioned — by magic and superstition and all connected with it. Mentions is very often made of divination by sand to ascertain the unknown past, present and future. Purely magical also is the oft recurring idea that from the act of Saif's marriage with his first wife Shāma the destruction of the Abyssinians and negroes will result, and the latter therefore endeavour to prevent the marriage at any cost. Countless are the magic treasures mentioned in the course of the story; the possession of which assures wonderful powers or control over powerful spirits. Dangerous magicians form the greatest obstacles to the spread of Islam. Their power is not denied, only they are weaker than their colleagues on the Muslim side, and if this is not the case, al-Khidr, the helper of the Muslims in need, takes up the cause of those commended to his charge and overcomes the powerful magicians. When they are converted their activities do not cease, but they place all their skill and knowledge at the disposal of the new religion. Belief in spirits is exceedingly prominent in the *Sira*. Endless troops of *djinn*s of all classes fight for or against Islam. They are in much closer relationship with men than in the period after Muhammad's preaching and constitute a considerable if not the greatest part of Saif's followers. If we were to cut out of the *Sira* all the passages that deal with or are

connected with spirits or magic, we should have barely half of it left.

Taken all in all, the *Strat Saif b. Dhī Yazan* gives a faithful picture of the popular mind in Muslim Egypt at the end of the middle ages and forms therefore a valuable source for the history of Islam in its widest sense.

Bibliography: V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, iii, 138 sq.; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, i, 146—156; A. v. Kremer, *Über die indiarabische Sage*, Leipzig 1866, p. 22 sqq., 130 sqq.; Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, p. 220—234, 249 sq.; *Strat Saif ibn Dhī Yazan*, 17 parts in 4 vols., Cairo 1322; W. Ahlwardt, *Die Handschriftenverzeichnisse der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, 20 vols. (= *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften*, 8 vols.), p. 73 sqq.; R. Paret, *Strat Saif ibn Dhī Yazan, ein arabischer Volksroman*, Hannover 1924.

(R. PARET)

SAIF B. 'UMĀR AL-ASADĪ AL-TAMĪNĪ, an Arab historian, who, according to the *Fihrist* (ed. Flügel, i, 94), composed two books: *Kifā al-Futūḥ al-Kabir wa 'l-Ridda* and *Kifā al-Djāmil wa-Matīr 'Alga wa-'Alī*. Neither of these books has survived to our times. Al-Tabarī, however, was still able to use Saif as principal authority for the period of the *Ridda* and the early conquests (ed. de Goeje, i, 1794—1255) i.e. from 11—36 A.H. A fairly full discussion of Saif's value as a historian is given by Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, 3—7. He is not favourable to Saif. Although he impresses us by the wealth of his details, it is evident from a comparison of his data with those of other Arab historians and with the Christian chroniclers that his 'Iraq tradition is less reliable than that of the Hujjān. Caetani makes a critical use of the fragments of Saif in the course of his *Annali*, indices to vols. iii, iv, and v., s. v. Saif b. Umar.

Bibliography: see the references in the article; cf. also Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litt.*, i, 516.

SAIF AL-DAWLA, ABU 'L-HASAN 'ALĪ IBN HAMDĀN, the most important ruler of the Hammadid dynasty, lord of Aleppo, famous for his military activities, his struggle with the Greeks and the protection which he gave to scholars.

He was born in 303 (915/916) or perhaps in 301. He was the grandson of Ibn Hammad, who owned the fortress of Mardin and rebelled against the Caliph al-Mu'tadid in 281. His father Abu 'l-Haidja' in 302 received the governorship of Mawṣil and of Mesopotamia from the Caliph al-Muktadir; he fought against the Karmaṭians in 315 and saved Baghdad by having the bridge of al-Anbār destroyed. His power increased under al-Kāhir; he perished during the troubles in Baghdad in the course of which the Caliph was deposed.

Abu 'l-Hasan 'Alī at first owned Wasīṭ and the country round it; his eldest brother held Mawṣil. In 330, under al-Muttaḥi, these princes took part in the murder of Ibn Rā'ik, who was entitled Amir al-Umarā'; the Caliph then gave this rank to the prince of Mawṣil; he gave him the surname of Nāṣir al-Dawla and to his brother 'Alī that of Saif al-Dawla. Nāṣir al-Dawla only held the office of Amir al-Umarā' for thirteen months in Baghdad; he was dispossessed of it by the Turk Tug̃l. The situation of the Caliphate was then very precarious

and the empire divided into numerous factions. The Caliph, wishing to escape from the tutelage of Tug̃l, asked for the protection of the Hammadid princes. He took refuge with his harem and all his court at Mawṣil and went from there to al-Rakka in 332. Tug̃l begged him to return to his capital and made him many promises of loyalty. The Caliph consented against the advice of Saif al-Dawla; but hardly had he reached the neighbourhood of Baghdad than he was seized by Tug̃l, who deposed and blinded him in 333. The Caliph's stay with the Hammadid princes had cost them enormous sums.

The same year Saif al-Dawla took Aleppo from a lieutenant of al-Ikḥshid, who was ruler of Egypt. The latter sent against him an army commanded by Kāfir; Saif al-Dawla met this army near Ijima and then besieged but did not take Damascus. In the following year 334, al-Ikḥshid having died at Damascus, Kāfir, the negro eunuch, went back to Egypt. Saif al-Dawla seized the opportunity to attack Damascus again, which he captured. He then advanced on Egypt, took Kamla, but encountered the Egyptian forces, who defeated him on the Jordan. A peace was concluded between him and the Ikḥshidids; the Hammadid prince retained Aleppo and the Egyptians Damascus.

In 337, Saif al-Dawla carried war into the land of Rūm and from this date till his death, a period of nearly twenty years, never a year passed without his invading Greek territory or fighting some battle with the Greeks. He was defeated this year; the Byzantines took Mar'ash and massacred the inhabitants of Tarsūs. In 339 he advanced a considerable distance into the land of Rūm, captured several strongholds and great booty; but as he returned, the Greeks closed the passes against him and regained the baggage and prisoners they had lost. Saif al-Dawla, with a few companions, succeeded in escaping (al-Maṣṣa expedition). In 342, he took the field against the Praetorian-prefect Baros Focas, who had collected a large army which included Russians, Bulgars and Khazars, and defeated him outside Mar'ash. He captured Constantine, son of Focas, and brought him to Aleppo. The latter died in captivity. By Saif al-Dawla's orders the Christians gave him a magnificent funeral. In 343 Saif al-Dawla again defeated Focas near the castle of al-Hadath, which he rebuilt. This fortress was destroyed again three years later. In 347, the Greeks Basil and Yānīs, sons of Tsimitēs, captured Sumaisāt and inflicted a severe defeat on Saif al-Dawla near Aleppo. Seventeen hundred Muslim horsemen were taken captive to Constantinople.

In the same year, Saif al-Dawla arranged a peace between his brother, Nāṣir al-Dawla, and the Būyids who had taken Mawṣil. He guaranteed them the payment of an annual tribute and kept Mawṣil for his family along with Raḥba and Diyār Raḥ'a.

In 351, Nicephoros, now Praetorian-prefect, advanced on Aleppo with 200,000 men; a battle was fought near the town before the gate of the Jews, in which Saif al-Dawla was defeated. The town was captured, except the citadel, which held out, defended by Dailamites. The Greeks took 1,200 prisoners, whom they put to death at once, ravaged the country, plundered and destroyed the palace of Saif al-Dawla which lay outside the town; after a week they retired.

Next year Saif al-Dawla was paralysed in hand

and foot. Nevertheless he continued to fight the Greeks and defeated them, notably in the vicinity of Aleppo, to which they had returned in 353. In 355 he presided over an important exchange of prisoners on the banks of the Euphrates. He died at Aleppo in 356 of retention of the urine. His body was brought to Mayyāfārīqin and buried in the *turbe* of his mother outside the town. He had given orders for a brick made of soil that he had won in his campaigns to be placed under his head in his coffin.

Saif al-Dawla was a strong-minded prince, little liking advice, but brave, generous and eloquent; like other members of his family he was a poet. Abu 'l-Mahasin and Ibn Khallikān quote a delicate little poem on the rainbow by him, which gives a very high idea of his talents. He surrounded himself with poets and scholars. The most celebrated are the sceptical poet al-Mutanabbī, who was his panegyrist and afterwards that of Kāfir, and al-Fārābī, the great philosopher and musician, who died while accompanying him on a journey to Damascus. The author of the "Book of Songs" (*Kitāb al-Aghāni*) dedicated to him the autograph manuscript of this celebrated work.

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(B. CARRÉ DE VAUX)

SAIF AL-DAWLA. [See **DAWA** B. MANŠUR].

SAIF AL-DĪN AL-BĀKHARZĪ, ABU 'L-MĀ'ĀNĪ SHAHĪD SA'D AL-DĪN SA'D B. MUẒAFFAR AL-BĀKHARZĪ, a native of the Bākhara district between Nishāpūr and Herāt (Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 357). After having finished his studies, he joined the great Saif al-Nadīm al-Dīn Kūhrī at Khwāram. The latter after interrupting Saif's second retreat (*arba'in*) sent him to Bākhara as *khālifa*. Al-Bākhari occupies an important place among the *khālifa's* of Nadīm al-Dīn Kūhrī; he lived for a considerable time in Bākhara where he attained great fame and gathered round him a large number of disciples; he even took the surname of Shaikh 'Alam. The mother of the Mongol emperor Mangū Khān, Sirkhytay Ikki (or Sirkhokhstaitai Beigi, according to Blochet) (d. in Dhū 'l-Hijja, 649 = Febr.-March, 1252; see *Tārīkh-i Dīkhānqūshā*, ed. Gibb Mem. Series, ii. 256), had, during her son's reign, given 1,000 *kalāsh* of silver to build a *madrasa* at Bākhara and had entrusted its administration to Saif al-Dīn al-Bākhari (Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, London 1876, i. 188). This shows the fame of the Shaikh in his life-time, just as some anecdotes in the *Nafahāt al-Uns* testify that he was an object of veneration on the part of the great men and princes of his time. Well-known Saif's of the period, like Khwārdjā Gharīb and Hasan al-Bulghārī, showed him respect (al-Kāshif, *Nashabī 'Am al-Hayāt*, Turkish transl., p. 37-38). His mystic Persian quatrains are very popular among the dervishes. The death of the Shaikh,

according to the most probable tradition, took place in 658 (1259/60). His tomb is at Bākhara, at Fathābād, the place where his *takke* is situated. His poems are preserved in several manuscript collections: 31 of his quatrains have been published in the Z. D. M. G., 1905, lix. 345-354 by S. Khuda Bakhsh.

This monastery of the Shaikh in the suburb of Fathābād remained famous for centuries. His descendants there held the rank of *shaikh*. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited the *takke* in the viiith century A. H., found as Shaikh there Yahyā al-Bākhari, grandson of Saif al-Dīn, and relates that a repast was prepared for him at which the principal inhabitants of the town gathered together and Turkish and Persian songs were recited in addition to the recitation of the Korān and sermons. A Persian writer who visited Bākhara in 816 (1398/9) says that the tomb and the monastery of the Shaikh are half a *farṣakh* from the Kāshī gate (cf. the article *BUGHĀNĀ*) and face the east, and that the *takke* and the monument were built in 788 (1385) by order of Timūr and ornamented with tiles of precious faience; since then, however, these tiles have been torn off and sold. He adds that the descendants of the Shaikh are buried there along with the calligrapher Mīr 'Alī. The tradition of the Yasawī, according to which Saif al-Dīn al-Bākhari was a follower of Ahmad al-Yasawī, is contradicted by historical facts.

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SAIF AL-DĪN GHĀZĪ. [See **GHĀZĪ**].

SAIFI, Mawlānā, of Bākhara, is also known as 'Arūḍī, "the Prosodist," from his work 'Arūḍ-i-Saifi. Little is known of his life, but he lived for many years at Herāt, at the courts of the Timūrids, Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd (1459-1469), great-grandson of Timūr and grandfather of Bābur, and Abū 'l-Ghāzī Sulṭān Husain Mīrā (1473-1506), great-grandson of Timūr's second son, 'Umar Shaikh Mīrā. As a poet he was of little consideration, and his poems are trivial. His fame rests on his work 'Arūḍ-i-Saifi, ed. Blochmann, Calcutta 1867 ("Saifi's Prosody"), also known as 'Arūḍ-i-Kāfiya (the amply sufficient Prosody) and *Mīzān al-Aḥkār* (the Measure of Poems), written, as he tells us, to supply the want of a work on an art which was a favourite subject of discussion between him and his friends. The poet Djāmī had already written on this subject, but Saifi's work is the fuller and more detailed of the two, and is one of the best works on Persian prosody which we have. Saifi died in 1504.

2. Saifi was also the *takhalluṣ* or pen-name of

a poet of Nishapur, the encomiast of Takash Khan, Khwarezm Shah.

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SAIHAN, one of the larger mountain rivers in the south-east of Asia Minor, the Saros of the ancients. It rises on the Kommas Daghi not far from Kaisariya (cf. Mehmed Edib, *Manatik al-Hadidi*, Istanbul 1232, p. 41; also al-Mas'udi in the *B.G.A.*, viii. 58, 7, 199, 183, 7, 199; "at the town of Saihan ... not far from Malatya"), enters the Cilician plain of Adana, which lies on its bank, whence it makes straight for the sea, receiving a number of tributaries on its way; it enters the sea by several mouths (the *Cepita Sari* of the ancients) below Tarsus. On the course of the river which remained for long uninvestigated see Tchihatcheff, *Asie Mineure*, i. 293-299, and C. Ritter, *Kleinasion*, ii. 133. The name Saihan is most probably, like the name of the neighbouring river Djahhan, an "arbitrary transference" (cf. Noideke in the *Z.D.M.G.*, xlv. 700), an assimilation to the Muslim names of the two Central Asian rivers Oxus and Jaxartes. The Saihan was considered one of the rivers of Paradise (cf. al-Mas'udi, ed. Paris, ii. 358 sq., *B.G.A.*, viii. 295; Yakkut, i. 179, ii. 82, iv. 558, 579; al-Isakhari, *B.A.G.*, i. 63, 64; Ibn Hawkal, *B.G.A.*, ii. 122; al-Baladhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 165, 166, 168). Under the Umayyads it was one of the rivers on the frontier against the Byzantine empire, at which prisoners taken during the Arab wars of conquest were ransomed. There was a famous bridge over the Saihan between al-Mas'isa and Adana called *Djar al-Walid*, which dated from the time of Justinian and was renovated in 125 (743) and again in 225 (840) (cf. G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 131 sq.). See also the article **DIJAHAN**.

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Ch. Texier, *Voyages*, ii. 40-44; Ritter, *Kleinasion*, i. 15, 16, 62, ii. 133 (*Die Erdkunde*, xviii. and xix.); Ern. Chantre, *Mission en Cappadoce*, Paris 1898, passim M. F. G. Beyrouth, *ms.* (1908), p. 459, v. (1911), p. 285; H. Grothe, *Mein Vorderasienexpedition*, Leipzig 1911-1912, ii. 105 sq. and index; do., *Geogr. Charakterbilder*, Leipzig 1909, Nr. 4-44; A. v. Krenner, *Beiträge zur Geographie des nordl. Syrien*, 5, Vienna 1852, p. 18 sq.; F. X. Schaffer, *Cilicia*, Gotha 1903 (Supplem. part Nr. 141 to *Petermann's Mitteilungen*). — On the Saros of the ancients see Ruge in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzykl.*, ii. 3, p. 34 (1921), where the classical references are given. (F. BAHRINGER)

SAIHUN. [See **SIX DARYA**.]

SALMARA. [See **SEIMERE**.]

SAIN-KALA, a little town and district in southern Adharbaidjan, on the right bank of the Djaghata. In the south the boundary runs a little over the river Saruk, a tributary on the right bank of the Djaghata. In the north it is bounded by the district of Adjari, in the east by the province of Khamsa. The name is derived from the Mongol *saïn* = good.

Population: The Turkish Afghar tribe, of which a part had to emigrate to Urmia to make room for the Çardawri (Çardowli) tribe of Litr origin (the district of Çardawri on the Seimere) whom Fath 'Ali Shah brought from Shiraz at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The chief of the Çardowli lives at Mahmudjik and commands about 5,000 men. The town of Sain-Kala has 2,500-3,000 inhabitants and a small bazaar. In 1830 it was destroyed by a Kurdish invasion under Shaikh 'Ustadallah. Sain-Kala, formerly occupied by a Persian garrison, guarded the entrance to Adharbaidjan through the Djaghata valley. The caves of Kereftu with a Greek inscription described by Ker Porter (*Travels*, ii. 538-552; Ritter, ix. §16) as well as the site of Takhti Sulaiman (the ancient Gazaka; al-Shis of the Arabs; cf. Marquart, *Eruntahr*, p. 108) are in the territory of the Afghars of Sain-Kala. The lake of Camli Göl (near the village of Baderli) with a floating island is likewise well known. A section of the Afghars belong to the Ahli-Hakk sect (cf. the article 'ALI ILALI) the local chiefs of whom in Bent's time lived at Naran-baba and Gendjabad (cf. V. Minorsky, *Notes sur la secte des Ahli-Hakk*, (*R.M.M.*, 1920, xl.-xli. 19-97; reprint of the *R.M.M.*, 1922, p. 53, 76).

Another fortress of the same name on the river Abhar, east of Sulayniya, and mentioned in the fourteenth century by Mustawfi (see Le Strange, *The Lands of the East. Caliph.*, p. 222), should not be confused with this Sain-Kala.

Bibliography: H. Rawlinson, *J.R.G.S.*, 1841, x. 40; H. Schindler, *Z.G.E.B.*, 1883, xviii. 327; Th. Bent, *Scottish Geogr. Magazine*, 1890, p. 91; A. F. Stahl in *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, 1905, p. 33 (with a map of the district and indications of its mineral wealth); Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 121 sq.

(V. MINORSKY)

SA'IR. [See **AL-SAR**.]

SA'UN (Sə'un, Səwun, Seyōn, Sēōn), a town in Hadramot in South Arabia on the side of the hill of the same name, four hours' ride from Shibām on the right bank of the Wadi Masfa. The town lies in the centre of luxurious vegetation;

far and wide one can see palm-groves and well-tilled fields with *qṣm* and wheat. The town is surrounded by a wall, is densely populated and has about 4,500 inhabitants. The streets are broad and clean. Within the town also there are fields and palm-groves, mainly the endowments of the mosques, of which there are said to be not less than 300 in the town. The most beautiful were built by families of the Saiyids after whom they are named; among them are the mosque of Ḥabīb 'Abdallāh Saḥkaf with a fine dome and a beautiful carefully whitewashed minaret, a cemetery and a garden of palms and dōm-trees surrounded by a wall. The mosque of Tāhā is kept in the same way and has also a garden. Of the other mosques the Maḡḡūr with its beautiful pierced minaret and the al-Riṣṣā of Ḥabīb 'Alī al-Ḥabībī Bā 'Alawī are worthy of mention. The saint is very hospitable and is said to feed no less than 6,000 persons once a year. He was the founder of a new centre of Muslim learning here which came to overshadow the old celebrated school of Tarīm. Contributions from all parts, especially from Java and India, came to the support of the school which 'Alī built at his own expense and maintained himself at first. It now enjoys great prestige far and near. The palace of the Sultān lies on an eminence surrounded by a wall with projecting *ḥāṭ'a* and flanked by round towers, while the roof is crowned by three watch-towers. Immediately adjoining it are the principal mosque and the bazaar.

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SAIYID (A., plur. *Sā'id*), a prince, lord, chief, or owner; one who is eminent by means of his personal qualities, his possessions, or his birth. In this last sense it is used throughout the Muslim world almost exclusively of the descendants of Muḥammad (see the art. *SHARIF*). It occurs only twice in the *Qur'ān*, where it is used once (iii. 34) of John the Baptist, and once (xii. 25) of the husband of Zulaikha. By the Arabs it is applied not only to men, but to the *ghinn*, to animals, and to inanimate objects. A verse refers to "*ghinn*, who are aroused by night, summoning their chief (*sayid*)", the wild ass is called the *sayid* of his female, and al-Zuhayr calls the *Qur'ān Sayid al-Kalām*, "the paragon of speech". Of its application to non-Muslims the best known instance is Rodrigo Díaz, "el Cid Campeador". But for *Sā'id*, *Sā'id* etc. of the art. *SH*.

Bibliography: E. W. Lane, *Lexicon*, x. v. (T. W. JIANG)

AL-SAIYID AL-HIMYARI, ABU ḤASHIM, IMĀ'IL B. MUḤAMMAD B. YAZID B. RAḤ'Ā B. MUḤARRIR (according to others Raḥ'ā Maḡarrigh), born in 105 (723) at Baṣra, an Arab poet, belonged to an *Riḥlī* [q. v.] family, but quite early in life he went over to the Shī'a "by the grace of God" as he prided himself. He became an adherent of

the Kaṣābiya sect [q. v.], but not only did he expect with them the return of their Imām, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiya, but held the doctrine of metempsychosis etc. in both forms, belief in the *saḡ'a* (return in human form) and the *tanḥīn* (change into animal form). He even proclaimed himself the reincarnation of the Prophet Jonah. His attitude on religious and political questions forced him to move from Baṣra to Kūfa, but did not prevent him, after the rise of the 'Abbāsids, from offering them poetical tributes also: he enjoyed the favour of al-Manṣūr in particular. He also placed his art at the service of provincial governors, e.g. Abū Budayr of al-Ahwāz. Poetical talent was hereditary in his family; his grandfather Yaṣid had been drenched as a satirist, who had lashed the governor Ziyād with his lampoon. He himself was distinguished not only as a prolific composer (over 1,000 *ḥaṣids* by him are said to have been current among the Banū Ḥaṣim), but also for the gracefulness of his language. Like Abu 'l-'Aṭhiya, he avoided embellishing his poems with strange words, but aimed rather at being generally understood. With the latter and al-Baḥḥār, he is considered the most distinguished of the later poets, but the peculiarity of his political and religious views prevented the wider circulation of his poems, of which not even a *Diwan* has survived. He died in Wasī in 175 (789).

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(BROCKELMANN)

AL-SĀK, the leg, the thigh, is used in several senses in Arab geometry: (1) *Sāk* means the perpendicular of a right-angled triangle; (2) the side of an equilateral triangle. Thus we find in al-Bīrūnī for example (*al-Kānūn al-Ma'ādī*, 3rd Maḡāla, Ch. 1): *mutḥallalū ḤBC*, *al-mutawāwī ṣḥat ḤB*, *HC*; (3) *Sāk* means the foot or the leg of a pair of compasses and is then synonymous with *riḡl* (foot). This is shown by the following text: "And you place the compass's "foot" on the line on the wall which is near the meridian and this span is the curve of the *inḥirāf*. Place this arc in the compasses in such a way that one of its legs stands in one and the other in the other end of the angle (arc) (Muh. Sibt al-Ma'rūdī († 1495 Cairo), *On the calculation of tables for the construction of Muḥarrifāt* (inclining sundials) (Oxford MS., Bodl. Or. II, No. 285, fol. 26, 70). (4) The Western Arab astronomer Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Marāḡhī († c. 1260 in Morocco) speaks in his *Djāmī al-Mabūdī wa 'l-Ghāyāt* (transl. by J. J. Sedillot and published by L. Am. Sedillot under the title: *Traité des instruments astronomiques des Arabes*, Paris 1834—35, p. 446) of a *Sāk al-Jarāda* (locust-leg) and means by this an hone-line traced in the plane by a cylinder, whose course in the plane has some resemblance to the shape of a locust's leg. (5) In names of constellations we also find the word *Sāk* used to name a star, in the leg of an animal (or man), e.g. *Sāk*

al-'Uṣṣ (α Boötis), *Sāk jāl* = Ophiuchus 20, *Sāk al-'ūd* (in Leo = Arcturus and Spica).

(C. SCHWY)

SAKĀLIBA, Slavs. The name *Sakāliba* (the singular forms are *saklab*, *saklabb* and *saklabb*, also with initial *s* instead of *j*) is usually applied by the Arab geographers of the Middle Ages to the peoples of various origins who lived in the lands adjoining the territory of the Khazars, between Constantinople and the land of the Bulgars. See the articles *BULGHAR*, *KHAZAR*, *SLAVS*.

The Slavs of al-Andalus. In Muslim Spain the word in its plural form is found very early as the generic name of the foreign private bodyguard of the Umayyad Caliphs of Cordova. Originally, it was applied to all the prisoners brought by German armies back from their expeditions against the Slavs and then sold by them to the Muslims of al-Andalus. But as early as the time of the traveller Ibn Hawqal, the name *Sakāliba* was given in Spain to all the foreign slaves enrolled in the army or appointed to various services in the royal palaces and harems. The geographer tells us that at the time he went through the Iberian Peninsula, the "Slavs" who were there did not come only from the shore of the Black Sea but also from Calabria, Lombardy, the country of the Franks and from Galicia. Indeed, it seems that they were largely supplied by the raids conducted by Maghribi and Andalusian pirates on the European shores of the Mediterranean. Those who were intended to guard the *harim* were the objects of a special trade in the hands of Jewish merchants who had important "manufactures d'eunuques", to use Dozy's expression, in France and particularly at Verdun. The majority of these prisoners were still young men when they arrived in Andalusia. They very soon began to speak Arabic and became Muslims.

Their number soon became very large. According to al-Maḳkarī, in the reign of 'Abd al-Rahmān III, successive censuses of them in the capital gave the figures 3,750, 6,087 and 13,750. In spite of their condition of servitude, we find them at this time holding a considerable position in society. Some attained wealth and even owned vast estates and had slaves of their own. They became cultured through contact with the brilliant Andalusian civilisation; among them were scholars of note, poets and bibliophiles and one of them — if we may believe Ibn al-Abbār and al-Maḳkarī —, Ḥabīb al-Sikāhī, composed in the reign of Hishām II, a whole book devoted to the merits of the literary Slavs of Andalusia; it was called *Kitāb al-istīḥār wa 'l-muḥallabāt alā man anḥara faḥḥil al-Sakāliba*.

Like the praetorians in the Roman empire and the 'Abid at a later date in the Morocco of the Sharif dynasties, the Slavs in Spain, in proportion as their numbers increased and they occupied a more important place in Andalusian society, came to play a predominating part in politics. It is in the reign of 'Abd al-Rahmān III that we first find them definitely occupying high civil offices in the state and even military commands. The Caliph used them to counterbalance and combat the influence which the Arab aristocracy had retained in his empire. He thus had no hesitation — in spite of the discontent in his court — in trusting to the Slav Naḍja in 939 the command of the expedition which he sent against the King of León — an expedition which, however, ended

disastrously in the catastrophes of Simancas and Alhandega and the pursuit of the Muslim army by the forces of Ramiro II and his allies of the kingdom of Navarre.

'Abd al-Rahmān III's successor, al-Hakam II, allowed the *Sakāliba* a no less important role in his empire and his indifference to their more and more arrogant or even insolent conduct did not fail to arouse the wonder of the chroniclers of the reign of this enlightened prince. At his death the Slavs felt themselves masters of the situation. According to the author of *al-Bayān al-Maghrib*, there were then in the palace over a thousand eunuchs and at Cordova a body of *Sakāliba* guards was entirely at the disposal of two very important individuals, Faṭḥ al-Niḥāmī, grand master of the wardrobe, and his assistant Ḥawdhār, grand jeweller and grand falconer. These two Slav eunuchs kept the death of al-Hakam secret and tried to prevent the proclamation of the heir-presumptive, who was still an infant; but they were opposed by the viziers al-Muḥaffi and Ibn Abī 'Āmir, whose popularity was only increased by punishing them.

Space will not allow me to trace in detail the part played by the Slavs during all the period of the decline of the Umayyad Caliphate of Spain; we find them taking part in all the plots hatched at Cordova, or in the rest of Andalusia, sometimes on the winning side, sometimes on the losing, but showing always the same spirit of initiative, the same ambition and the same despotism; we may mention from among them the eunuch Khairān who, at the beginning of the eleventh century A.D., was the leader of the Slav party in the capital.

After the end of the Caliphate of Cordova, the Arab historians are much less detailed regarding the political and social role of the Slavs in al-Andalus; but it is probable that the latter, having by now been Muslims for several generations, became absorbed in the rest of the population and lost, along with the memory of their foreign origin, the importance which they had been able to claim in the period of decline of the Umayyads of Spain.

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(E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL)

SAKĀRYA (sometimes *Sakārya*), a river in Asia Minor. It rises near Bayt in the north-east of Aḥyūl Kara Hüdā. In its eastward course it enters the wilāyet of Angora through which it runs to a point above Çahmak after receiving on its left bank the Saiyid Ghāzī Sū and several other tributaries on the same side. It then turns northwards describing a curve round Siwri Hüdā. Here it receives on the right bank the Engürü Sūya from Angora and near this confluence the Pursak on the opposite bank. A little to the south of this point is the bridge of the Eski-Shehr-Angora rail-

way. Farther on, towards the north, the Sakarya receives on its right bank the Kirmir Şu and then taking a sudden turn it runs westwards to Lefke, traversing the willets of Kutahia and Khudawendigar. At Lefke the Sakarya is joined on the left by the Gök Şu from Bursa. After Lefke it turns sharply to the north, entering the sandjak of Izmid near Mekteş, having now run 250 miles. The most flourishing part of its course now begins, and we have fine crops of cotton, wheat, vegetables, besides vineyards and the rearing of silkworms. It now runs in a north-easterly direction through the kaşa's of Geiwe, Ada Bazar and Kanderi, to enter the Black Sea near İğdirli. The stretch of its course in the sandjak of Izmid is 70 miles; near Ada Bazar it receives the waters of the Mudirni Şu from Kastamuni on the right bank and of the Çarh Şu from lake Şabandja on the left, 1 1/4 miles north of Geiwe is a bridge of six arches built by Sültan Bayazid I and at Lefke Ewliya Çelebi (iii. 11) also mentions a fine bridge of wood. The train crosses the river four times between Izmid and Bilecik.

The Sakarya is the ancient Sangarius (see Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, Ser. 2, I, col. 2269) it has changed its course since the Byzantine period, as is shown by the great bridge built by Justinian over it in 561, which is now two miles from Ada Bazar. This bridge is now called *Büyük Köprü* (in classical times *Pentagephyra* or *Pontogephyra*; see Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, London 1890, p. 214, 215), but at the present day the river no longer runs below its arches.

The Sakarya is not navigable; its lower course is only used for transporting to the Black Sea the wood from the thick forests of the neighbourhood. In prehistoric times the river ran westwards into the Sea of Marmora; the lake of Şabandja and the Gulf of Izmid mark the track of its ancient course. In 909 (1503) Sültan Salm I conceived the idea of reestablishing communication between the Sakarya, the lake (the level of which is above that of the river) and the gulf in order to bring more easily to his capital the wood required for the building of his fleet. Being convinced of the feasibility of the project by the report of experts, he gave orders for its execution but the opponents of the scheme were able to frustrate it by the argument of the *rişwet* (Hadjili Khalifa, *Djikkunnun*, Constantinople 1145, p. 660).

For a period, in the reign of Osman, the Sakarya formed the frontier of his territory on the west and south and for his conquests he had to cross the river (for example for the capture of Ak-Hisar in 1308; see 'Ashik Pashaide, *Ta'rik*, Constantinople 1332, p. 12, 24). Since then the Sakarya had not played an important part in Ottoman history until the famous battle on the Sakarya from Aug. 24, to Sept. 10, 1921, when the Greek army was defeated in a last great effort to reach Angora. By the counter-offensive of Sept. 10, the Greeks were thrown back to the west of the Sakarya and forced to take up the line Eski-Shehri-Afyon-Kara-Hisar. In August, 1922, the Turkish army was victorious for a second time near the Sakarya; this was the beginning of the Turkish offensive which ended in the complete reconquest of Anatolia.

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Description de l'Asie Mineure, Paris 1849, I. 56 sqq.; Berthe Georges Gault, *Angora-Constantinople-Londres*, Paris 1922, p. 89—98; for the geographical bibliography see Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der Altertumswissenschaft*, series 2, i. col. 2269. (J. H. KRAMERS)

AL-SAKINA is a loan-word borrowed from the Hebrew (*שְׁקִינָא*). There it signifies the presence of God, in the purely spiritual sense, sometimes made clear by a sign like fire, cloud, or light, which can be appreciated by the senses. Muhammad was apparently not quite clear regarding the true meaning of the word, when he says (Sura ii. 249) that the *sakina* along with some relics was in the sacred ark of the Israelites. Possibly he associated with this Hebrew loan-word conceptions from pagan demonology; many Kur'anic exegetists at any rate give here quite a djinn-like description of *sakina* (cf. al-Tabarī, *Tafsir*, ii. 385 sq.; it is noteworthy that on this point Wahb b. Munabbih relies on a Jewish source; he also confuses the ark of the covenant with the oracle of the 'Urim Wetummin). Where else the word is found in the Kur'an, it is generally explained by the commentators as the subjective condition of peace of soul and security (see the commentaries on ix. 26, 40, and xviii. 4, 18, 26). From this a secular meaning of the word gradually develops: *sakina* means the quality of calm and dignity in character (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Bad' al-Khalq*, bāb 15) and then simply: to keep quiet, e.g. at the *ṣalāt* (al-Bukhārī, *Djum'a*, bāb 18) or at the *ifāda* (al-Bukhārī, *Ḥaḍḍ*, bāb 94). Besides this there is a change of meaning of the word in its religious use as the Jewish meaning of the word gradually penetrates into Islām. Thus the *sakina* is said to come benevolently down when the Kur'an is recited (al-Bukhārī, *Faḍl al-Kur'an*, bāb 11 and 15). As among the Jews the Ruah Haššodesh, which rests on the Prophets, gradually develops out of the *šēkinā*, so we find in Islāmic writers also *sakina* occasionally used with the meaning "Holy Ghost" (see Goldziher, p. 149 sq.).

Bibliography: A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judentume aufgenommen?*, Leipzig 1902, p. 53 sq.; I. Goldziher, *Über den Ausdruck "sakina" in den Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, Leiden 1896; the same in *R.H.R.* xxxviii. 1—13. (B. JOEL)

SAKIZ, the Turkish name of the island of Chios (corrupted from the Greek *αἶξ Χίος*) and at the same time the word for mastic (*μαστίκη*) which is only found on this island and is obtained in excellent quality from the *Pistacia Lentiscus* L. and was very popular in the East as a valuable drug in the middle ages and, indeed, still is in modern times. How old the form *sakiz* is, is shown by the occurrence of the word as an appellative in Kuman and Old Turkish (Houtsma, *Turkish-Arabische Glossar*, p. 37) and in Persian (Josephat Barbaro, *Viaggio in Persia* — Anno 1471 —, Venice 1543, p. 59: Syo è luogo molto nominato ne la Persia, & in tutte quelle parti & è chiamato Seghex, che vuol dir in nostro idioma mastico; Vullers, *Lexicon pers.-lat.*, s. v. sekiz). In Syriac also mastic is called *šiyā* i. e. Chios from its place of origin (Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, p. 70). By the reverse process the Arabs have named the island from its best known product "mastic island" (*Djazarat al-Mašiki*; Abu 'l-Fida', *Taḥṣin al-Buldan*,

ed. Reinaud, ii/i. 268 and al-Dimashqi, ed. Mehren, p. 228, the first Arab geographers to mention it, know it only by this name.

In the middle ages Chios had attained very great importance as a station on the sea-route for pilgrims and merchants to eastern lands (Palestine, Syria and Egypt). On the decline of the Byzantine empire in the second half of the middle ages the rich island became exposed to the raids of the petty Seldjuk princes of the opposite coast of Asia Minor and in 1089 Trachas, father-in-law of Kilidj Arslan I and lord of Smyrna, which is not far away, succeeded in establishing a temporary footing there (Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, vii. Ch. 8). In 1303 the Emperor entrusted the Catalan mercenaries with the defence of the island against the raids of the Turks (Muntaner, *Chronik*, Ch. 203 and 206; Pachymeres, ed. Bonn, ii. 344, 345). A few years later — in 1307 or 1308 — and after the Genoese Benedetto Zaccaria had usurped rule over Chios (from 1304) 30 "Turkish" ships laid waste the island (Pachymeres ii. 510) and Martino Zaccaria, who had succeeded Benedetto Zaccaria in 1314, had much hard fighting with the Turks; in 1329 he was dispossessed by Andronicus III but by 1346 another Genoese, the Admiral Simone Vignosi had seized the island, which remained till 1566 under the rule of the Ghustiniani, the family of the Genoese "Manne" of Chios, as the legal successors of the conquerors called themselves. But in order to maintain their position the latter were forced to pay tribute to the local Turkish dynasts in Asia Minor and later to the Ottoman Sultans and occasionally to support them with their fleet. They paid the Aidsin-oghlu 500 ducats yearly and the same to the Sarukhan-oghlu of Magnesia. The first intercourse with the Ottomans was of a hostile nature: after the overthrow of the petty princes of Aidin, Sarukhan and Mentemhe, about the year 1397, Bayazid I stopped the export of corn from Asia Minor to the islands of the Archipelago and with 60 ships undertook a campaign against Chios and laid the island waste with fire and sword (Ducas, ch. xiii). After the capture of Smyrna by Timur (Dec., 1402) the Maoneses, like the Frankish lords of Lesbos, did not fail to pay homage to the conqueror (Sharaf al-Din 'Ali Yazidi, *Zafar-nama*, Calcutta edition ii. 482; Ducas, ch. xvii; *Historia del Gran Tamerlan*, Madrid 1782, p. 230). They repeatedly lent their galleys to Sultan Mehmed I and his successor Murad II for the defeat of Djansaid (1415 and 1421); the yearly tribute was fixed at 4,000 ducats. After the fall of Constantinople the Maoneses hastened to pay homage to Mehmed the Conqueror; the Sultan left them their autonomy but raised the tribute to 6,000 ducats and some years later, as the result of an encounter of the islanders with the admiral of Gallipoli, to 10,000 ducats, with 2,000 in addition to dignitaries of the Porte. The island was able to retain its independence for over 100 years but when it fell two years in arrears with the tribute, this omission and the fact that it served as an asylum for escaped Christian slaves was used as a pretext for sanctions. At Easter 1566 the Admiral Piale Pasha landed unnoticed on the island and took possession of it without a blow being struck. The churches in Castro were destroyed or turned into mosques and the Genoese dignitaries led away into a miserable captivity. It was said that the Greek population, dissatisfied

with Frankish rule, had called in the Turks. On the intercession of the French Ambassador, the exiles received permission to return a few years later and the island was granted a limited degree of self-government (Hadjji Khalifa, *Tuhfat al-Kibar*, p. 37th sq.; Leonclavius, *Annales*, p. 110 sq.; Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, p. 50, 123; Zinkeisen, *Gesch. des Osm. Reichs*, ii. 900 sq.). Very serious consequences, especially for the Frankish inhabitants, followed the disastrous attempts of Virginio Orsino, Duca di Bracciano, who landed in April, 1599, with five Tuscan galleys in Castro, but had to begin an ignominious retreat a few hours later. The efforts of the French Ambassador de Brèves secured for the Catholics the preservation of their churches; the skulls of 400 soldiers whom the Tuscan admiral had left in the lurch on the mainland on his retreat, long adorned the battlements of the fort of Castro (Na'ma, *Turikh*, ed. 1280, i. 212; Sandys, *Traveller*, London 1658, p. 9 sq.; D[es] Hayes de] C[ourmenin], *Voyage de Levant en l'année 1621*, Paris 1632, p. 346 sq.; Sagredo, *Memorie storiche de Monarchi Ottomanni*, p. 766 sq.; v. Hammer, *Gesch. des Osm. Reichs*, iv. 297 sq.). In July, 1681, the harbour of Castro was the scene of an encounter between a French squadron and Tripolitanian corsairs, in which many buildings in the town and several mosques were destroyed by the fire of the ships' guns (Zinkeisen, *op. cit.*, v. 43; von Hammer, *op. cit.*, vi. 371 sq.).

During the great war of the allied Austrians and Venetians against Turkey at the end of the xviiith century, the town of Chios was temporarily occupied by the Venetians under Antonio Zeno; the fort of Castro capitulated after a short resistance on Sept. 21, 1694; but after a few months the Venetians were forced to retreat after the unfortunate naval battles at the Spaladore islands, 9 and 18 Feb., 1695. The Roman Catholic inhabitants were accused by the Orthodox of having brought about the foreign invasion and they lost what remained of their privileges; their churches were closed and handed over to the Greek Orthodox (Rashid, *Turikh*, i. 199th sq., 207th—209th; Rycant, *History of the Turks*, London 1700, p. 518, 525 sq.; Kantemir, *Gesch. d. Osmanischen Reichs*, Hamburg 1745, p. 646 sq., 661 sq.; Sathas, *Toupanourion 'Ellaδe*, Athens 1869, p. 401 sq., 414 sq.). But the island was far more seriously affected by the Greek war of independence. On March 22, 1822, Samiote irregulars landed on Chios and besieged the Turkish garrison in the fort of Castro; on April 11, the Kapudan Pasha Nasuh Zade 'Ali appeared with a strong fleet, relieved the besieged garrison, who had put up a heroic defence under the *Muhâziz* Wahid Pasha, and drove out the Samiotes. The defenceless island was terribly punished and, although only a few natives had joined the Samiotes, it was ravaged like an enemy country with fire and sword. Of the over 100,000 inhabitants which Chios numbered at the beginning of the century, 23,000 are said to have been massacred and 47,000 carried off into slavery. The responsibility for these excesses was assumed by Wahid Pasha in his report to the Sublime Porte; the Kapudan Pasha, who had in vain opposed them, was blown up by Kanaris in the night of 18/19 June before Çezhne with his flagship; Wahid Pasha was degraded and banished to Alaya (Djavidat, *Turikh*, xii. 40—48; K. Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *Geschichte Griechenlands*, Leipzig 1870, I. 250 sq.).

The prosperity of the island was destroyed and to this day it has not recovered from this catastrophe. Chios was visited by a severe earthquake on April 3 and 11, 1881; the number of dead was estimated at 3,000, that of the injured at 1,000 (S.B. Pr. Ab. W., 1881, p. 801 sqq.). As a result of the Balkan War the island was ceded to Greece in 1913.

Under Turkish rule Chios in the older period was under the jurisdiction of the Kapudan Pasha; later it formed a *sandjak* of the wilâyet of the archipelago (*Defter-i Bahr-i Sâhil*); in 1910 its population (almost exclusively Greek, a few Jews) was estimated at 80,000 souls.

The Chiotex have been famous from early times for their intelligence and enterprise; especially as merchants and bankers but also as physicians, apothecaries and skilled gardeners, they were scattered all over the Levant; of their scholars the learned Leon Allatius and the Hellenist Korais have attained a European reputation. The products of their industries (silks, the so-called *chiotex*, a cotton cloth) were much in demand; among the products of the soil we might mention mastic and southern fruits of all kinds.

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the xvth and xvth century: Carayon, *Relations intérieures des Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Paris 1864, p. 18 sqq., 250 sqq.; *Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus dans le Levant*, I, Paris 1715; Emil Varenbergh, *Correspondance du Marquis de Ferriol*, Antwerp 1870, p. 58 sqq. On administration, trade and products of Chios in modern times: Guinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, I, 406—429; of the extensive Greek literature we may mention: Chr. B. Mavropoulos, *Toupaia vryyapa êkôntera vry êrepla vry êleu*, Athens 1910; cf. *Bys. Neugr. Jahrbücher*, II, 491 sqq.; *Γεωγραφ. I. Ζεφύρου*, *Τετράς vry êleu* (two vol. so far publ., Athens 1921); map of the island with plan of the town of Chios on the scale 1:50,000, by Konst. N. Kanellaki, Chios 1903.

(J. H. MORITZMANN)

AL-SAKKÂKÎ, ABU BAKR YUSUF b. ABÎ BAKR b. MUHAMMAD SIRÂDÎ al-DÎN al-KHAYRÎ was born in Transoxiana on the 2nd of Djamâd 1 555 A. H. He was originally a metal-worker and excelled in engraving dies, from which art he received his *laqab* al-Sakkâkî, and making intricate locks. One day he had made an inkstand furnished with a lock, the whole weighing no more than a *qirât*, which he presented to the ruler of his country, whose name is not mentioned by the biographer. He was suitably rewarded, but soon another man came to the audience and great honour was shown to him; this amused Sakkâkî, and upon enquiry, he was told that the man was a person of learning. Seeing that learning was in greater honour than handicraft he decided to become a scholar himself. His first studies were far from successful and his ill success made him lose heart and only when he saw how the perpetual dropping of water had made a hollow in a rock, did he take up his studies again. There is exceedingly little known of his life, the names of neither his teachers nor pupils are known, no doubt on account of the Mongol invasion of his native country towards the end of his life. He is reckoned among the Hanafî lawyers; two of his teachers in that branch, Sa'id al-Khayrî and Mahmûd b. Sa'id b. Mahmûd al-Harîrî, are mentioned and also one of his pupils, Naḥṣr b. Mahmûd al-Zahîdî, the author of a Hanafî law-book entitled *al-Kāya*. He died in the village of al-Kindî near the town of Almâligh (Almalîk of the geographers) in Ferghana in the year 626 A. H. As a Turk he is credited with some Turkish poetry, but his reputation rests upon his work in Arabic, the *"Miftâḥ al-Uṣṣ"*, which is the most comprehensive book on rhetoric written up to his time. In spite of its great reputation, manuscripts of the book are scarce, as it was early superseded by the abridgement and commentary of the third part of the work written by al-Karwîrî under the title of *Fakḥ al-Miftâḥ*, which has become the standard work on the subject and has in turn become the subject of numerous commentaries. Another reason why the *Miftâḥ al-Uṣṣ* became superseded is, no doubt, its very difficult language which at times is quite obscure on account of long sentences such as are unusual in Arabic, and which might point to Greek influence if such could be assumed. It may be that Sakkâkî had also studied the translations of Greek philosophical books, being a contemporary of the celebrated Naḥṣ al-Dîn al-Jûzî, and it is perhaps not without signifi-

case that, sparing as he is in mentioning any authorities, he frequently refers to statements of al-Rummānī who is reported to have indulged in philosophical theories on grammar. The book is fortunately accessible in two printed editions (Cairo 1317 in 4° and Cairo 1318 in 8°), which, though printed without points, so necessary for this work, enable us to study it. The original plan of the author was to divide the book into three principal sections: morphology, grammar and rhetoric, to which he has added other branches akin to the subject. The part dealing with morphology is preceded by a chapter on phonology, teaching theoretically the proper pronunciation of the Arabic sounds, while in the part dealing with exposition and rhetoric he embodies chapters on *Badi'*. Though he attempts to classify the subjects scientifically, his divisions vary both in their titles and in the enumeration. The first book is divided into three *Faṣl's*, while the second is divided into several *Faṣl's* and *Bāb's*, those towards the end not being numbered. The chief portion on Rhetoric is divided into *Kawn's* and these again into *Fann's*. The part dealing with *Bayān* or eloquence has two *Asl's* and five *Faṣl's* and again several unnumbered chapters. The third *Faṣl* on Metaphorical expressions is divided into six *Kawn's* and at the end some additional chapters not numbered. Here the author says, he ought to finish his book, but as what follows really belongs to the art of Rhetoric, he adds long expositions on *Itidlāl* or Reasoning by deduction and a lengthy account of the art of poetry, with the usual details of the metres etc. The work was too extensive and too badly arranged to serve as an easy hand-book; in consequence the abbreviation and commentary of al-Karwī under the title of *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* soon superseded this work and the latter with its many commentaries, especially those by al-Tafīṣānī entitled *al-Mufaṣṣṣat* and *al-Mukhtaṣar*, have held sway in Arabic literature till the present day. The *Miftāḥ al-Ṭilās* has been the subject of numerous commentaries; in addition to those named, among others one by Maḥmūd b. Maṣ'ūd al-Shīrāzī (died 726 A. H.), which deals with the third part only; another commentary on the third part is by al-Burdjānī, who completed it in 803 A. H.

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(F. KERNKOW)

AL-SAKKĀKĪ, an Eastern Turkī poet, born in the last quarter of the eighth century, was celebrated in the first half of the ninth century at the court of the Tūmīdids in Transoxania. The only information regarding this poet of whom we know neither the date of birth nor of death, is found in the *Maḥallī al-Naf'is* of al-Nawā'ī. Al-Sakkākī was himself a native of Transoxania and achieved his fame in Samarkand. He is believed to be buried in the vicinity of this town. Al-Nawā'ī in the *Maḥallī* alleges that al-Sakkākī's poems do not justify his fame. In the introduction to his *Khaṭṭ-i Dawūdī*, the same author says that al-Sakkākī composed a complete *Divān* and is famous in Turkistan. On the other hand, in

his *Muḥakamat al-Lughatīn* he says that al-Sakkākī cannot be compared with the Persian poets, although he acknowledges his claims as one who spread Čaghatai literature, like Lāfī, for example, author of a Turkī *Divān* and a *Guruz Nauris*, also in Turkī. The uncertainty regarding his life and the period in which he lived has led several modern writers to confuse him with the famous scholar Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf al-Sakkākī (see e.g. Naḍīb 'Aṣim and Mehmed 'Arif, *'Oṭmānī Tarīḫi*, Constantinople 1335, p. 275). In the British Museum is an incomplete copy of the *Divān* of al-Sakkākī; the *ḥaṣṣa's* which it contains and which are dedicated to the Tūmīdī Khalīf Salṭān (d. in 812/1408), to the great Sufī Khwāja Fāris (d. in 822/1418), to Ulugh Beg (814/1410—850/1445) and to the great Amir Arslān Khwāja Tarkhān, general of Ulugh Beg, apparently the principal patron of the poet and himself the author of several poems in Turkī which still survive (Naḍīb 'Aṣim, *Ḥikāt al-ḥaṣṣa's*, Constantinople 1334, p. 92—94), give us a fairly clear picture of the period and surroundings of the poet. In the various dictionaries of Čaghatai we find passages quoted from al-Sakkākī; in the MS. No. 4757 of the Aya Sofia written in Uigur characters, which contains, among other things, the *Ḥikāt al-ḥaṣṣa's*, there are three of his *ghazal's*. The poet, who had not yet been forgotten when al-Nawā'ī visited Samarkand (870—873 = 1465—1468), played an important part in the history of Čaghatai poetry in spite of the fact that he was not an artist of the power of Lāfī or Haidar al-Khwarizmi (cf. the art. TURKEY [language and literature]).

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SAKKĀRA, an Egyptian village, 15 miles S. W. of Cairo, Lat. 29° 75', Long. 31° 13', situated near the left bank of the Nile halfway between Dīṭre and Dahshūt. It measured 700 faddān (according to Ibn al-Dīnār, *al-Thaḥṣa al-saniya*, p. 144; see also de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte*, p. 675) and its valuation (according to Ibn Duqmāḥ, *Khaṭṭ al-Intiqār*, Bulaq 1309, iv. 133) was 10,000 dīnārs. Pococke in his travels found it a rather poor village at the foot of the hills, with a mosque and a few clusters of date-palms. The name in Arabic means "falcon's nest"; but it is no doubt a corruption of the name of the old Egyptian god of death, Seker or Sokar (*Socharis*), "the confined one", who presided over the great cemetery on the Western Plateau. The extensive ruins (5 miles in length and 1 mile in width) of this famous necropolis exhibit every conceivable variety of sepulchral monument, notably tombs of the Ancient Empire (described by Mariette, *Revue Archéologique*, 2nd series, xix. 8 189).

Of the twenty odd pyramids of the Sakkāra group an outstanding one is the so-called Step Pyramid (*al-haram al-mudarradja*), which is in reality a transitional mastaba. This, which is regarded as the oldest extant monument of its kind, was designed, it is believed, by Imhotep ("Imouthes")

the prime minister of King Zoser of the third dynasty (H. R. Hall in *The Cambridge Ancient History* (1923), i. 276). It is 197 feet high, and is roughly constructed of small stones quarried in the neighbourhood, and having eleven successive layers of masonry with six steps with sloping sides. It is not oriented (Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, London 1891, p. 28 sq.). The interior is a congeries of chambers and branching passages, many of them the work of Arab tomb-robbars. One of such depredators named Ahmad al-Nadīdār ('The Carpenter'), c. 820 A. D., has left his name in red ink behind him on the walls of a neighbouring pyramid. The Pyramid of Pepi I is known locally as the Pyramid of Shaikh Abū Manṣūr, while the Pyramid of Teti is believed by the natives to be in the vicinity of the place of Joseph's incarceration, and for that reason is known as the 'Prison Pyramid'. Another tomb in the same pyramid field is named by the Arabs *Maṭṭab al-Fir'awn*, 'Pharaoh's Throne'.

Regarding the 'Prison of Joseph', there is a quotation in al-Makrīzī to the effect that it is at Būṣṭr (al-Sidr), whose pyramids 'Abd al-Laṭīf describes (see the art. *Ḥṣṣa*). But De Sacy (*op. cit.*, p. 206) considers that these include the pyramids of Sakkāra as known to us (De Sacy mistakenly writes the name as *Sakkara*; although he afterwards corrects this in a foot-note, *ibid.*, p. 675). This would agree with the textual addition (see de Sacy, p. 671, note 6) which states that Sakkāra is one of the dependences of Būṣṭr. The 'Prison of Joseph' was a regular place of pilgrimage. The Fakih Abū Ishāq al-Marwazī said: 'If a man comes from Iraq to visit it I shall not reproach him for undertaking the journey' (al-Makrīzī, p. 610). And there is a record in al-Masūhī's chronicle of the month of Rabi' al-Awwal, 415 A. H. (May 13—June 11, 1024) that the populace of Cairo thronged the streets with drums and trumpets demanding from the merchants money to take them to the 'Prison of Joseph'. On the merchants' refusing, the matter was laid before the Khalifa ('Alī ibn Ḥakīm bi-amrī 'l-Ilāh) who ordered the merchants to pay the customary annual sum for the purpose. Thereupon the processional march to the 'Prison of Joseph' took place led by the grand Kādī 'Izz al-Dawla (al-Makrīzī, *ibid.*, p. 610 sq.).

Near the Sakkāra pyramids are to be seen the remains of the celebrated Serapeum or Apis Mausoleum, where, in the rock-cut tombs below, the mummified carcasses of the sacred Apis-bulls worshipped at Memphis were enshrined in huge sarcophagi of Assuan granite. The chapels built above the vaults formed the Serapeum proper. Thither a wonderful *Dromos* or Avenue of Sphinxes led. Fresh excavations in 1911—12 revealed the remains of the early Coptic monastery of Apa Jeremias (see *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, Cairo, register). The well-known wooden statue, in Billak, of the *Shaiḫ al-Balad* came from Sakkāra (see F. B. Zincke, *Egypt of the Pharaohs and of the Khedives*, London 1871, chap. ix.).

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the al-Makrīzī references are to the *Description topographique de l'Égypte* in the *Mission Archéologique Française au Caire*, vol. ii.; *Travels of Ali Bey* (London 1816), ii. 25.

(J. WALKER)

SAKKIZ, a town and district in Persian Kurdistan, administered sometimes from Senne, sometimes from Tabriz and situated on the upper Djaghān east of Hāne. The inhabitants are Kurds (Mukri). In religion they are Shāfi'i Sunnīs; there are also adepts of the Nakshbandī Shāikh. The family of local Khāns is related to that of the Wālis of Ardilān. The town has 1200 houses, 2 mosques, a bazaar, etc. The district (with its dependency Mirede) comprises 360 villages. According to the census of 1296 A. H., there were 34,024 people in the district. The government taxes amounted to 6305 tumāns a year. Cf. 'Alī Akbar Wāḳ'ī-nigār, *Ḥadīqat-i Nāṣiriya* (manuscript history of Persian Kurdistan written in 1309 A. H.).

(V. MINORSKY)

SAKŠIN, a place on the Dnieper (according to Ibn Sa'īd, quoted in Abu 'l-Fida', *Taḥwīn al-Buldān*, ed. Reimund and de Slane, p. 205), also located on other rivers e.g. on the Jaik (cf. Dorn, *Caspia*, p. 116) and on the Volga (according to Westberg; cf. Marquart, *Ost-türkische Dialektstudien*, p. 56). It is situated in 67° E. Long. and 53° N. Lat.; a town ساکسین, without *ya'*, is said to exist in 162° 30' E. Long. and 40° 30' N. Lat., but this must be another place. East of Sakšin lies the town of سوس (v.l. سوسه)

which belongs to the territory of Sakšin (Abu 'l-Fida', *op. cit.*, p. 202). According to Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, iv. 670, the fortress of Manḡushlāgh is between Khwārizm and Sakšin and the lands of the Rūs near the sea of Tabaristān (Caspian Sea). Further information is given in Hamdallāh Mustawfī (cf. *The Geographical Part of the Nushat al-Qulūb*, ed. G. Le Strange, Gibb Mem. Series, xxiii): Sakšin and Bulghār (this combination is frequent in other authors also) are in 32° = 750 farsangs distant from Mekka (text, p. 10; transl., p. 10); the eastern frontier of Irān, which begins in Sindh, runs to the frontier of Sakšin and Bulghār (p. 21 = 23 of the transl.); Khwārizm, Sakšin and Bulghār are east of the Caspian Sea (p. 239 and 231); Sakšin and Bulghār are two small towns in the sixth clime; much land belongs to them and they export furs (p. 259 and 252). Al-Yazdānī in Ibn Isfandiyyār (Gibb Mem. Series, ii. 33 sq.) says that in his time Amul was the market for the wares of Sakšin. Merchants from the Irāk, Syria, Khwārizm and India came to Amul to purchase there. The voyage by boat from Amul to Sakšin took three months but the return journey only one week because the former was up stream and the latter down. Ibn Isfandiyyār wrote probably at the beginning of the sixteenth century. We see that there is no agreement regarding the situation of the place: on the one hand it is said to be on the Dnieper and on the other east of the Caspian Sea; while Yāqūt seems to place it among the Rūs, al-Kāẓimī in *Āthār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 402 sq., calls it a town of the Khazars; he says it is large (contrary to Mustawfī), inhabited by 40 tribes of the Ghuzz, with a large number of strangers and merchants in addition. The climate is cold, the inhabitants are Muslims, for the most

part Hanafis, although there are also some Shāh'is. The houses are covered with roofs of pine-wood. The river of Sakšin is larger than the Tigris and rich in fish of a kind only found there, which are sold at the rate of 100 *wann* for a half *dīnār*; these fishes yield train-oil and isinglass. The currency there is lead, of which three Baghdad *wann* = 1 *dīnār*. Sheep cost $\frac{1}{2}$ *dīnār* each, rams $\frac{1}{4}$ (*farrūf*); there is also much fruit. Al-Qarnāṭ relates that the river is frozen in winter and can be crossed on foot. So far al-Kāzwinī's account of the place, an excerpt of which is given by al-Bākuwī, a geographer of the fifteenth century (quoted by d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, i. 346, note 1); but al-Bākuwī adds that in his time the town no longer existed (*op. cit.*: "Socassin est à présent submergé; il n'en reste aucunes traces; mais près de là existe maintenant une autre ville, le Séral de Barca, résidence du souverain de cette contrée").

In the history of the Mongol period Sakšin is several times mentioned: conquered by Čingis Khān (*Tārīkh-i Ghalā, Gibb Mem. Series*, vol. xiv., part i. 572; cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, i. 255), it belonged to the territory of Tūghī, his eldest son (*Tārīkh-i Dīshkūnūshā, Gibb Mem. Series*, vol. xvi., part i. 31; *Tārīkh-i Ghalā*, i. 375). Ogolai shortly after his accession sent an army to Kipčak, Sakšin and Bulghār (*Tārīkh-i Dīshkūnūshā*, i. 150); the *Dīshkūnūshā* Sakšin was-Bulghār is mentioned as Khān's territory (*ibid.*, i. 205). The descendants of Khān Dārīkūh (d. 1626 A.D.; Abu 'l-Fidā, *op. cit.*, p. 205) afterwards lived there. We have already seen that it no longer existed in the fifteenth century. The "Séral of Barca", mentioned in al-Bākuwī in connection with it, is probably called after the reigning family. The combination *Sakšin-i Rūm* is found in a Persian poem, which the rebel Atsız sent to king Sandjar (*Tārīkh-i Ghalā*, i. 488).

The name Sakšin may — at least in European sources — also denote the inhabitants of the place. This is perhaps the case with the *Saxi* in Joannes de Plano Carpini, vii. 3, although the Mongols could not conquer them according to this writer, which is contradictory to the Persian sources. In the passage from a Russian Chronicle which is quoted by Dorn, *Caspia*, p. 21 in the note — here also there is a reference to the Mongol wars — we find *Sakšini* alongside of *Polowci* as the name of a people.

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SAL (r.), a year, a word also used by the Turks. It is normally the time that elapses between two successive passages of the vernal equinox by the sun, the astronomical year; but the word is also used to designate anniversaries of births, of arrivals, etc. Solar, lunar, astronomical and civil years are distinguished; the civil year is 365

days, the astronomical year 365 days, 5 hours, 49' (Handjery).

SĀL-NAME (r. and r.), literally: year-book, annual, almanac, calendar; the term *rū-nāme* from *rūn* "day" is also used; the Arabic word for calendar is *taqwīm*. The Turks make great use of tables whether annual or perpetual; the latter cover a period of 80 to 85 years; they are in the form of little rolls or tiny volumes usually written with great care and in ink of several colours. They give the year in the eras of Alexander, of Christ, of Diocletian and in the Djalālī era, the era of the Saldjūk Sultān Malik Shāh, the name of the year in the Turco-Mongol animal cycle, a horoscopic table, the Muslim, Jewish, Christian and Persian feasts, the correspondence with the Syrian months, astronomical and meteorological predictions, the dates at which the principal agricultural operations should be performed, as well as other operations. The *Mu'adhdhūn* use tables called *shij* or *taqwīm* to know the canonical hours and the new moons. M. d'Ohsson quotes a highly esteemed calendar from the xviiith century A.D. made in Turkey by Dārendawī which covered the period 1192—1277 A.H. *Sāl-nāme* is also the name of the official annuals (gazetteers) of the Ottoman Empire.

Bibliography: d'Ohsson, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol. ii., Paris 1788, p. 160—162; Carré de Vaux, *Notice sur un Calendrier turc*, in *A Volume of Oriental studies presented to Professor E. G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922. (CARRÉ DE VAUX).

SALĀ, in dialect *Slā* (ethnic *Saldūw*, dial. *Sāwī*), or, following the official French orthography commonly used, *Salé*, the English *Salé*, *Salah* or *Sallee*, is a town in Morocco on the Atlantic coast at the mouth of and on the north bank of the river Bū Ragrag. On the other bank just opposite stands Rabāt. The estuary of the river serves as the harbour of the two towns. *Salé*, the less important, has about 20,000 inhabitants of whom 2,000 are Jews.

The name is ancient, but the Punic *Sala* and the Roman *Sala Colonia* did not stand on the same site; the remains of the Roman *Sala* can still be seen near the modern *Shāla* (Chella), a few miles up the river and on the other bank. It is not till the Idrisid period (ixth century) that the new *Salā* (*Salé*) first appears, distinct from old *Sala* (Chella) then in ruins. At the beginning of the xiith century it was the capital of a little Ifridid kingdom, which fought with the Barghawāna [q.v.], heretics settled to the south of the Bū Ragrag. There was already at this time a *ribā* built against these heretics on the south bank, where Ribāt al-Fatā was afterwards built (Ibn Hawkal). In the middle of the xiith century, *Salā*, if we may believe al-Idrisi, was a fine and strong town with rich harbours, a harbour frequented by Spanish ships, which brought oil in exchange for foodstuffs; entrance into the river was already very difficult.

The building of Rabāt by the Almohads opposite *Salé* does not seem to have done much harm to the latter. It is from this period that the great mosque dates and *Salé* remained prosperous while Rabāt declined after the death of Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr. It fell into the power of the Marinids in 649/1251 and after several vicissitudes Ya'qūb b. 'Abd Allāh, a member of the reigning family of the Marinids, declared himself independent there. The

Christians from Spain entered it by surprise in 658/1260. The Sultan Abū Yūsuf Yūṣuf the Marinid drove them out again after a few days, closed its ramparts and built the Sea-Gate still visible to-day. The Marinid sovereigns on several occasions mobilised on the left bank of the Bū Raḡrāḡ the troops intended for the holy war, had an arsenal at Salé where ships were built, and heightened the town. We may specially note the beautiful madrasa built by Abū Ḥasan. A little later, Ibn al-Khaṭīb spent several years there and wrote of its charm.

In the course of the great wars waged by the Spaniards and Portuguese in the xvth and xvth centuries, Salé was one of the few points on the Moroccan coast where they could not gain a footing. In the beginning of the seventeenth century when expelled by the edicts of Philip III (1609) the Spanish Moors took Rabāt; Salé, slipping from the rule of the Sherifs, became independent under the Muḡāhid al-Ayāshī in 1627. It became his base for attacking al-Mamora (al-Madhiya) which was held by the Spaniards. Salé played a part in the feuds which divided the town and ḡasba of Rabāt, then fought unsuccessfully against one and the other, until when al-Ayāshī was killed and the three towns fell into the hands of the Marabouts of Dillā (1641). Salé recognised the authority of ḡhailān (1660) and after the defeat of the latter by al-Raḡhid became finally incorporated in the lands of the Filālī dynasty in 1666.

This disturbed century was also the age of piracy. The Corsairs of Salé were famous; but under the name of Salé at this period the Europeans comprised the three towns and the pirates in reality almost all came from the ḡasba of Rabāt and from Rabāt. These three towns, strange as it may appear, formed at the same time the principal commercial port of Morocco. Down to the end of the xvth century this was the usual route by which travellers and merchandise from Europe went to Fās and it was on several occasions the residence of diplomatic representatives of the Christian powers.

As compared with Rabāt, the administrative capital of Morocco, Salé is now a quiet little town where many scholars live. It is also a market for the tribes who live on the north bank of the Bū Raḡrāḡ.

Bibliography: Besides the geographers and Arab historians of Morocco cf. especially P. Dan, *Histoire de la Barbarie et de ses corsaires*², Paris 1649; *Relation de la Captivité du sieur Mouette*, Paris 1682; Chénier (who was consul at Salé), *Recherches historiques sur les Maures*, 3 vols., Paris 1787; and among modern works: *Villes et tribus du Maroc, Rabat et sa région*, part I, Paris 1918; de Castries, *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc* (in course of publication), especially *Archives et Bibliothèques des Pays-Bas*, series I., vol. v., Paris 1920, Introduction; L. Brunot, *La mer dans les traditions et les industries indigènes à Rabat et Salé*, Paris 1920; Henri Basset and E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chella*, Paris 1922; H. Terrasse, *Les Portes de l'arsenal de Salé*, in *Hespéris*, 1922, p. 357—372. (HENRI BASSET)

SALADIN, AL-MALIK AL-NĀṢIR ṢALĤH AL-DĪN YŪṢUF I, was the son of the Amir Nāḡim al-Dīn Aiyūb (see Aiyūb), born in Takrit in 532 (1138). His father moved shortly — according to others a few years — after his birth to Syria and was

appointed governor of Ba'albek by Zangī [q.v.] and remained on there (with one third of the town and its appanages as a fief) after the Burid Atābeg Abāḡ [see BURIDS] had seized the town. Saladin and his brothers were brought up there. When 17 years old he came with his father to the court of Nūr al-Dīn when the latter had captured Damascus in 549 (1154) (on the occupation of Ba'albek and Damascus see the introduction to *Baalbek in islamischer Zeit* in vol. III. of *Baalbek, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1899—1905*, Berlin 1925). It is remarkable how little is known regarding Saladin's youth and education; he played no part at the court of Nūr al-Dīn; the Amir Ūṣama, who lived there, did not even know him, as we see from his biography. He first came into the public eye when in 559 (1164) "in spite of his reluctance" (as Abū Ṣhāma reports without giving any reasons) Shirkūh [q.v.] took him with him on his first campaign against Egypt. Shāwar, the vizier of the Caliph al-Āḡid [q.v.], had been displaced by a rival, Dirghām [q.v.], and had applied for assistance to Nūr al-Dīn, Atābeg of Syria. He promised the latter a third of the revenues of Egypt, while Dirghām had asked king Amaury I of Jerusalem for support and had promised him a vast tribute. Dirghām was defeated and slain before Amaury could give him any assistance, and Shāwar restored to the vizierate. As the latter did not fulfil his promises, Shirkūh, to gain his dues, ordered Saladin to occupy Bilbā's (see BILBĀS) and the district and collect the taxes there. Fierce fighting was the result. Shāwar, finding himself in a tight corner, called in king Amaury to help him, so that Shirkūh and Saladin were forced to entrench themselves in Bilbā's. The town was so well defended by the two that Shāwar and Amaury could not take it. While this was going on, Nūr al-Dīn captured the important fortress of Hārim and advanced on Bāniyās so that Amaury was now forced to retire to Syria in order to prevent Nūr al-Dīn from making further captures. He had agreed with Shirkūh that the latter should withdraw from Egypt and leave Shāwar in possession. Shirkūh arrived in Syria with Saladin in the beginning of 560 (towards the end of 1164) with his forces intact. The main result of the campaign was that it gave Nūr al-Dīn and his men a clear idea of Egypt, its wealth and relative strength. Shirkūh was attracted by the idea of conquering the land and settling there but Nūr al-Dīn did not wish to split up his forces in view of the war with the Crusaders. It was only three years later when Shāwar made a new alliance with Amaury that Shirkūh received orders to begin a second campaign against Egypt and again he took Saladin with him (October 1168) "in spite of his reluctance at first". His first objective was the occupation of the bank of the Nile; after overcoming the difficulties of the march and eluding the Franks he reached the south of Cairo and built a fortified camp near Djire; very soon afterwards, Amaury arrived with his troops and encamped opposite him at al-Fuṣṣāṭ. At the same time he concluded an agreement regarding subsidies with the Caliph himself. Amaury then attacked Shirkūh and forced him to retreat to Upper Egypt. At Babān he forced Shirkūh to make a stand and the latter, after some hesitation, gave battle on the advice of Saladin and some of the Amirs; he succeeded in beating Amaury, while

Saladin put to flight the Caliph's troops. Shirkūh was not in a position to follow up this victory; he retired with Saladin to Alexandria and left the latter there with half his army while he himself went to Upper Egypt to collect tribute. This was Saladin's first independent command. Amaury advanced on Alexandria with his own and the Egyptian forces, while the fleet of the Crusaders watched the coast. Saladin had difficulty in holding the town against the Franks, who put up huge siege artillery, and therefore called upon Shirkūh for assistance. The latter returned by forced marches and never pitched his camp until he was before Cairo. He then entered into negotiations with Amaury for peace which was concluded in the middle of Shawwāl, 562 (beginning of August, 1167); he bound himself to return to Syria with Saladin, prisoners were exchanged, Saladin was received hospitably in Amaury's camp and the Christians visited Alexandria. Both sides claimed the victory; Amaury left a garrison in Cairo as well as an office for the collection of his tribute. The fear of Nūr al-Dīn's successes may have been the main reason for the conclusion of the treaty. Amaury did not keep the peace. His advisers induced him to invade Egypt only 14 months later and his garrisons in Alexandria and Cairo advised him to take possession of Egypt definitely. He therefore advanced on Bilbā's, took the town on Muḥarram 29, 564 (Nov. 2, 1168) and had nearly all its inhabitants put to death. This act of barbarity estranged the Egyptians from him. He next marched against Cairo. To protect the town the vizier Shāwar had the suburb of al-Faṣṣā (cf. above I, § 17 *qq.*) set on fire. It is said to have burned for 54 days and the smoke which it raised prevented Amaury from besieging Cairo from an advantageous position. The Caliph had with all speed sent messengers for assistance to Nūr al-Dīn, while Shāwar negotiated with Amaury. Nūr al-Dīn sent Shirkūh and with him Saladin, who was still impressed by the sufferings during the siege of Alexandria and only with reluctance decided to go. He was supplied with men, horses and arms. Amaury sought in vain to intercept Shirkūh and on Rabī' II 1, 564 (Jan. 2, 1169) he began his retreat; a few days later Shirkūh appeared before Cairo and was hailed as a rescuer; Shāwar, however, remained hostile to him and plotted to take him and his Amirs prisoners on the occasion of a feast. When Shirkūh and his men learned of this treachery, Saladin decided to get rid of him. He seized Shāwar when riding in the vicinity of Cairo and had him executed. The Caliph, delighted at being freed from his tyrannical vizier, appointed Shirkūh his successor on Rabī' II 17, 564 (Jan. 18, 1169). But Shirkūh died only two months later and the Caliph, who thought that Saladin, owing to his good nature, would be a complacent servant, appointed him vizier with the title "al-Malik al-Nāṣir" (March, 26 = Jumādā II, 25). In a letter of congratulation Nūr al-Dīn recognised him as commander of the Syrian troops. Henceforth the greatness of Saladin is revealed. The power, that had become his through favourable circumstances, found a highly gifted man who knew how to use it. If he had hitherto hesitated to devote his life to warfare, so that Nūr al-Dīn had almost to force him to take part in the campaigns against Egypt, if he had hitherto cared for nothing so much as theological discussions and appeared in public as little as

possible, as we saw, and had even indulged in forbidden wine, all this either ceased (like wine-drinking) or (like the theological discussions) was only exercised as a pastime in hours of recreation. His path lay clearly marked before him; to secure power for himself and his family, to put down the Shī'a and to fight the Crusaders to the utmost. He was able to attain these aims to a great degree, because, quite apart from his own ability and valour, the ground was prepared for him. But for the previous work of Nūr al-Dīn, and the diplomatic ability of his father Aiyūb, but for the decline of the Fātimid Caliphs and the sluggishness of the Egyptian people, but for the internal feuds of the Crusaders, he could never have achieved the great successes of his life to the same extent, in view of the initial lack of unity among the Muslim rulers. He was a politician rather than a general, amenable to the advice of capable advisers, clever and fortunate in the choice of his colleagues, without ever allowing power to leave his own hands. Two men of learning, al-Kāfi al-Fāfi [q.v.] and later 'Imād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī [q.v.], both noted for the style and grace of their correspondence, conducted his cabinet as viziers and were in constant correspondence with the highest officials and with rulers who were Saladin's friends. The number of Saladin's letters and the fulness of the political reports contained in them is overwhelming. At a later date, from 584 (1188), the Kāfi Ibn Shaddād [q.v.], his biographer, entered his service as private secretary.

In Egypt, Saladin took a firm grasp of the reins of government and aroused the enmity of the black guards (Nubians and Abyssinians) who had been brought to Cairo as mercenaries, had risen to power under the weak Caliphs and filled influential positions at court and in the government. They were joined by all, who, being ardent Shī'is, were predisposed to be dissatisfied with Saladin as a Sunnī. The Caliph's major-domo sent to king Amaury for help; but as the messenger was captured, the plan fell through. The eunuch was executed and the Caliph's palace placed under the protection of men who could be relied upon. The negro guards thereupon mutinied in Cairo and Saladin to overcome them had their quarters burned down. They escaped to Djizra and were there wiped out by Saladin's troops. The Franks, who could not reconcile themselves to his rule, as they with good reason regarded it as a threat to Jerusalem, had sent envoys urgently begging for assistance to France, Germany, England, the Byzantine Emperor and the Pope and had succeeded in getting a fleet with troops sent from Constantinople and an auxiliary force from South Italy. The Byzantines and the Franks decided by mutual agreement to capture Damietta [q.v.] first and then to march on Cairo. Saladin sought assistance from Nūr al-Dīn, as he had to defend himself on one side against the Franks and Byzantines, on the other possibly against the always turbulent Egyptians. He also asked that the reinforcements should be sent under the command of his father, just as he had already called other members of his family to his side in Cairo. The successes of the Franks and Byzantines would perhaps have been greater if the siege had not been too far prolonged by the energy of the defectors. The Byzantine army began to suffer from shortness of commissariat and Amaury, doubting if he could gain a complete victory, preferred to

negotiate with Saladin and to conclude peace for a considerable sum of money. Envy and fear may have worked together upon him. In the meanwhile Nūr al-Dīn had invaded the Haurān [q.v.] and prepared himself against the counter-attacks of the Franks, but a terrible earthquake in the summer of 565 (1170) which wrought tremendous devastation in the Syrian cities forced Franks and Muslims alike to lay down their arms and take up the task of rebuilding the shattered cities. In the following year (566) Saladin made a raid into Palestine and advanced as far as Ramla and 'Asqālān [q.v.], then retired to Egypt to prepare for the taking of the port of Aila [q.v.] on the Red Sea and gradually to secure communications between Egypt and Palestine; in the same year he succeeded in taking Aila. In the next year (567) he fulfilled Nūr al-Dīn's desire by omitting the mention of the Fātimid Caliph in the Friday *salāt* and continuing to name the 'Abbāsid Caliph. Soon afterwards the Caliph al-'Ādīd died, whether of a natural death is uncertain; Christian writers say that he either committed suicide or was put to death by Saladin's brother, Tūrān Shāh, by the former's orders. Nūr al-Dīn is said to have been very pleased at the end of Fātimid rule. When the news of the extension of his territory was conveyed to the 'Abbāsid Caliph he sent robes of honour to Nūr al-Dīn but not those befitting the latter's position (as a suzerain), so that, although he did put them on, he immediately sent them on by the Caliph's envoy to Saladin.

The relations between Saladin and Nūr al-Dīn were soon to become clouded. Saladin in Cairo was too independent for him; his father and his brothers were with him so that Nūr al-Dīn had no hostages in his power. When Saladin wanted to take up his scheme for securing the communications between Egypt and Palestine, he proposed to Nūr al-Dīn to besiege Shawbak and Kerak [q.v.] and set out to do so; but when Nūr al-Dīn departed for Kerak Saladin was advised by his Amirs not to go to him as they feared for his safety. Taking their advice, he turned back and excused himself by pleading the unsettled condition of Egypt. Nūr al-Dīn was furious at this and collected troops against Saladin. When this became known at Saladin's court, a section of his Amirs advised him to fight, but his father, who feared the great prestige of Nūr al-Dīn, advised him to write a submissive letter so that tolerable conditions were once more restored. But their mutual mistrust was not overcome, so that the two cities mentioned (Kerak and Shawbak) were not captured, nor did Saladin at this time support his suzerain against the Crusaders to the best of his ability. In the next year Saladin went to Kerak, but withdrew again, pleading his father's illness, when Nūr al-Dīn approached. In this difficult situation Saladin resolved to create a position of security for himself and his family in a way which would satisfy Nūr al-Dīn. In 569 (1173/4) he sent his brother Tūrān Shāh against the sectarian 'Abd al-Nāṣir, who had taken possession of the Yemen. Tūrān Shāh succeeded in driving him out and conquering the Yemen. He had himself mentioned in the *khutba* as ruler next to the Caliph and sent messengers to Saladin, who in turn notified Nūr al-Dīn and the Caliph. Nevertheless Saladin's position was still threatened, especially as he had again to face a rising in the spring of this year. Nūr al-Dīn now decided to take the field against him, especially as it vexed

him that the strength of the Crusaders was increased because Saladin held back. He had already collected an army (see AL-MALIK AL-ḤATĪB, the Zangid) when he was attacked by a severe illness in Damascus and died in a few days on the 11th of Shawwāl (May 15). Saladin was thus relieved of a great anxiety and was now free to develop his power. He then recognised Nūr al-Dīn's eleven-year-old son al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl (see AL-MALIK AL-ḤATĪB, the Zangid) and devoted himself to fighting the Normans of Sicily, who had appeared before Alexandria with a strong fleet at the end of the year 569 (1173/4). They landed their crews but within three days they were defeated and for the most part killed with the help of troops sent to reinforce the strong garrison. Saladin captured enormous booty. King Amalric also had died shortly before, so that Saladin was left secure in possession of vast power and could devote himself entirely to the object of his life, the struggle with the Crusaders. He began by turning his attention to Syria, to which he was summoned by the Amirs in Damascus in 570 (1174). He found the position there unsatisfactory in as much as there was no single guiding will among the Muslims. He rightly considered it, as Nūr al-Dīn had done before him in a similar situation (see *supra*), absolutely necessary to gain the real power in Syria, even if for the time being it was as vassal of Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl, whose guardian he endeavoured to become. Things went against him at first when he took the field against Ismā'īl's Amirs from whom he claimed to be going to liberate Ismā'īl. Aleppo itself resisted him as did Hamā, Hims and Ba'albek. Ismā'īl's uncle al-Ghāṣi came from Mesopotamia with a large army so that Saladin was ready to make a peace favourable to Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl. As his conditions were not accepted, Saladin found himself forced to fight. He declared himself independent and dropped Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl's name from the *khutba*. The decision was in his favour, for the enemy were completely defeated at Qarān Hamā. Saladin behaved with great moderation: he left Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl, who seemed quite harmless to him, in possession of Aleppo and gave Hamā, Hims and Ba'albek, which surrendered to him without a blow, to relatives as fiefs. Then, in Dhū'l-Ḥiǧga, 570 = May, 1175) he was, at his own request, granted by the Caliph ruler (*bi'l-wilāya*) over Egypt, Nubia, the Yemen, the Maghrib from Egypt to Tripolis, Palestine and Central Syria and henceforth considered himself as *Ṣulṭān*, as Abu'l-Fida' expressly mentions, and was also regarded as such by his contemporaries. He did not, however, adopt the title as such; he calls himself *Ṣulṭān al-Islām wa'l-Madīnīn*. A last attempt by the Zangid party to overthrow Saladin ended after several battles and a third siege of Aleppo with a peace towards the end of 571 (end of June, 1176) by which Saladin was finally left in possession of the lands conquered by him. He next besieged in his citadel an ally of Ismā'īl's, the so-called Old Man of the Mountain, the Shaikh Sinān of the Assassins [q.v.] in Masyaf, who had sent his Assassins against him several times; but he could not take it as the fanatical Assassins defended it vigorously. He raised the siege and received from Sinān a promise that he would not attack him again. This danger also was thus disposed of and Saladin returned to Egypt.

He considered the building of the Citadel, which

he began in this year, a very important task in Cairo (see the art. CAIRO, i. 824 *app.*). In Dhū al-Ḥiǧǧa 1, 573 (November, 1177) he suddenly made a rapid march into Palestine and laid waste the country round Gaza and Ascalon. King Baldwin IV opposed him but had to withdraw in face of Saladin's apparent superiority. Saladin's troops thereupon dispersed to plunder the country while Baldwin collected the Templars and many Knights under the leadership of Raynald of Kerak and again appeared upon the scene. Saladin had first of all to collect his numerous forces. The armies met to the south of Ramla. The Knights distinguished themselves by great bravery so that Saladin suffered an annihilating defeat on the 11th of Dhū al-Ḥiǧǧa II, 573 (1177) in spite of his superiority. The victory was so surprising that the Crusaders ascribed it to a miracle. Saladin himself is said narrowly to have escaped capture; his nephew, other leaders and learned men of his retinue were taken prisoners. A great thanksgiving was held in Jerusalem in honour of the victory. One consequence of this defeat was that in the next year (574 = 1178) King Baldwin built a fortress at the Banat Ya'qūb bridge over the Jordan, which gave him control over the river Jordan and the plain as far as Bāniyās, without Saladin being able to prevent him. Saladin, who had in vain offered the king an indemnity of 100,000 dinars if he would leave off building, had to attack this fortress. He sent his ablest general, 'Isa al-Dīn Farākh-Shāh, his nephew, against Baldwin, who suffered a reverse at the end of 574 (May, 1179). A year later, Saladin succeeded in inflicting a severe defeat upon him at Maḍǧī 'Aylān on Muḥarram 2, 575 (June 10, 1179); a large number of distinguished Franks were captured. Two months later Saladin took the fortress at Jacob's Ford and levelled it to the ground. The next year brought no fighting on a large scale. In Muḥarram, 576 (June, 1180) Baldwin concluded a two years' truce with Saladin. Next year Nūr al-Dīn's son, Imā' al-Aleppo, died. His successor, in keeping with his dying wish, was his cousin 'Isa al-Dīn Mas'ūd, a capable soldier, who, however, exchanged Aleppo for Sinǧār with his brother Zangī II to obtain a consolidated dominion. In the meanwhile war had broken out between Saladin and the Franks as a result of the continued raids made by Raynald de Châtillon, prince of Kerak, on caravans going to Egypt. Zangī II, on the other hand, made peace with the Franks. Saladin, however, endeavoured to obtain sole control of the Muslim lands and used the next few years to conquer the rest of Syria (Aleppo), in Šafar, 579 (June, 1183), and to gain the suzerainty of Mesopotamia by occupying the most important towns and restoring them as fiefs. While there was no lasting peace with the Crusaders, fighting on a large scale was avoided by both sides and in the same year a four years' peace was concluded between Baldwin V, guardian of Raymond III of Tripoli, and Saladin. Soon afterwards Baldwin V died and his successor, Guy de Lusignan, ascended the throne in the following year in spite of Raymond's objections. Peace was again disturbed by Raynald de Châtillon, who from Kerak fell upon a large caravan and refused to give any satisfaction or compensation. Saladin was exceedingly angry and at the end of 582 (Feb., 1187) invaded the region of Kerak and

summoned his Egyptian troops to protect the pilgrims returning from Mecca, while his Syrian troops concentrated at Ḥārim. The Crusaders recognised the terrible danger. Guy made peace with Raymond, troops arrived from all sides so that Guy was able to collect an army of 20,000 men and take up a position in Šaffūriya. On Rabī' II 17, 583 (June 26, 1187) Saladin arrived south of Lake Genesareth and captured the town of Tiberias after six days' siege; the citadel alone held out. Raymond in vain warned the Crusaders against leaving their well sheltered position with its ample water supply during the frightful heat. His enemies, who believed that he had come to an arrangement with Saladin, advised the king to attack the Saljan. He ordered an advance to be made towards Tiberias and encamped the night at Ḥaṭṭīn [q. v.] where the army did not even find sufficient water. In spite of very great bravery the Crusaders were completely defeated, the king and a considerable number of his Knights captured. While Saladin gave the king a friendly reception, he slew with his own hand Raynald, the disturber of the peace, and had all the Templars and Knights of St. John executed by his Amīr and Kāfīs. Just as the battle of Qurūn Ḥamā had secured him rule over Syria, the decisive battle of Ḥaṭṭīn gave him Palestine with Jerusalem. The fortress of Tiberias, Nazareth, Samaria, Sidon, Beirut, Baṭṭīn, 'Akkā [q. v.], Ramla, Gaza and Hebron fell. He then advanced on Jerusalem and took Bethlehem, Bethania and the Mount of Olives in Rajab, 583 (Sept., 1187). Saladin first of all encamped to the west of the town, the inhabitants of which defended themselves bravely; but when he attacked the city from a more favourable position in the north and used the catapults and ballistas it had to capitulate at the end of the month. People of means were able to ransom themselves; those who could not pay were sold into slavery but several thousands were released on the intercession of Muslim and Christian persons of standing as were a large number of the poor by Saladin himself. Only a few sick people were allowed to stay as well as those who pledged themselves to pay a poll-tax. Everything associated with the Christian religion was destroyed, the Kubbāt al-Šakara (Dome of the Rock) and the Aḳṣā mosque were restored and hospitals and schools built in memory of the great event; numerous Ayyūbid princes increased the splendour of these days by their presence and their rich foundations. It may be said that the whole of Islām joined in celebrating the capture of Jerusalem, which had been so ardently desired. The consequence of this victory was that Saladin gained possession of the cities and fortresses still Christian by force or by capitulation; only Antioch, Tripoli, Tyre and a number of smaller towns and castles remained in possession of the Christians. The remainder of the year was unfortunate for Saladin; he made the mistake of giving his weak, overtaxed army no time to recuperate but went on to besiege Tyre. Here he suffered a severe reverse owing to the brave defence of the garrison and his mishaps at sea. 'Akkā was rebuilt and fortified for him after long consultations by his Amīr Karakūsh [q. v.], who had already proved his worth by building the citadel of Cairo. Saladin, after a futile attempt to take Kawkab, then went to Damascus and in Rabī' II, 584 (June, 1188) he summoned the

Muslim princes of Syria and Mesopotamia with their troops for a new campaign. In the course of the fighting that followed Lādhikya, Djabala [q. v.], Ṣāliyūn, Samrin and Burziya were captured and a seven months' truce was concluded with Bohemund III of Antioch. Saladin on the 1st of Ramaḍān of the same year returned to Damascus and dismissed his allies from Mesopotamia but kept his own forces under arms in order to conquer Ṣafad [q. v.], Kawkab, Kerak and Shawbak. This campaign was long but successful and ended on the 1st of Dhū l-Ka'da, 585 (Dec. 11, 1189) with the capture of all these places.

On learning of the capture of Jerusalem Gregory VIII proclaimed a Crusade and after his death Clement III continued his efforts. All hostilities between European rulers ceased and steps were taken to secure a rapprochement between Philip II of France and Richard I of England. The first reinforcement sent by the new Crusaders was a fleet despatched by William of Sicily, which relieved Tripolis and henceforth formed a support for the Palestine seaports. Gradually larger and smaller bodies set out from Europe for the Holy Land and all landed in Tyre. The Emperor Frederick I undertook a Crusade with numerous, well equipped troops; he went via Constantinople after he had in vain challenged Saladin to hand over Jerusalem. The Emperor Isaac of Constantinople, who had made an alliance with Saladin which proved ineffective, could not prevent his passage. The Franks, reinforced by the continued new arrivals, began the siege of 'Akkā on Raddjāb 14, 585 (Aug. 28, 1189), which is considered one of the greatest military operations of the Middle Ages. King Guy de Lusignan and the Count of Montferrat, who had been taken prisoners at the taking of Jerusalem, had been released by Saladin at the request of Queen Sibyl as early as Djumādā I, 584 (July, 1188) on pledging themselves not to fight again against him; after having been released from their oath by the patriarch, they began the siege of 'Akkā relying on the help of Frederick I of Germany, Richard I of England and Philip II of France and supported at first by continual arrivals of Crusaders from many countries of Europe. Saladin's energy was now revealed in its fullest development and in this several years' struggle the Crusaders learned to know and appreciate the great Sultan.

King Guy led the Franks up to 'Akkā after two months' preparations and Saladin arrived next day. The struggle for the city was waged by land and sea. The Crusaders had the advantage that the garrison was almost always cut off from the sea and suffered from lack of food. Besides, although the Crusaders at 'Akkā were joined by only very few German Knights owing to the death of Frederick I, they were given a decided superiority over the Saracens by the arrival of the army of Philip and more particularly that of Richard I and by the regular arrivals of ships with food and soldiers. They also had very fine siege artillery while the Muslims on their side had very clever artificers to make their fire-bombs. Saladin had the advantage of the single command, although his army was weakened by the long years of war so that even the relief of the garrison in 'Akkā could not be of much avail to him and his own army finally mutinied. The Crusaders were hampered by their quarrels with one another and the rivalries

of King Guy and the Count of Montferrat as well as those of Richard and Philip. The succeeding years were full of fighting by land and sea. Saladin in vain endeavoured to get new forces from the East through the intervention of the Caliph. On the 7th of Djumādā II, 587 (July 12, 1191) the garrison capitulated of its own accord without waiting for Saladin's decision. The fortress and all the prisoners in it were to be handed over and the garrison released on payment of 200,000 pieces of gold. When the money had not been paid at the end of a month, Richard had 3,000 prisoners put to death. This cruel deed, which was condemned by Christian chroniclers also, resulted in all the Christian prisoners in the hands of the Muslims being slaughtered. Richard soon afterwards captured Kaisūriya [q. v.] and fortified Jaffa, while Saladin destroyed the fortress of Ramla. Negotiations for peace henceforth went on almost without interruption between the two combatant parties; the principal agent in them was Saladin's brother, al-Malik al-Adil. The principal demands were the cession of Jerusalem and the surrender of the Holy Cross; Richard, who was full of romantic ideas, afterwards proposed that his sister should marry 'Adil, who was to rule over Jerusalem; he followed a policy of reconciliation which gradually led to peace. He knighted al-Malik al-Kāmil [q. v.], 'Adil's son. After several more battles peace was concluded on Shabān 23, 588 (Nov. 2, 1192). Lydda and Ramla were divided, Ascalon razed to the ground and the Crusaders allowed to make pilgrimage to the Holy Places unarmed. The main cause of the conclusion of peace on Richard's side was his illness and his desire to return to England, as well as the cessation of reinforcements from Europe. In spite of the exertions of the whole of Europe the greater part of Palestine had become Muslim under Saladin, except for the strip along the coast, and communication between Palestine and Egypt secured; Saladin was on friendly terms with Bohemund of Antioch. Saladin was able to enjoy peace during the few months that he still had to live; he strengthened Jerusalem, then went leisurely to Damascus, where he was welcomed with rejoicings by the people towards the end of Dhū l-Ka'da (end of November). He spent the winter there with his family; he fell ill in Safar, 589 (February, 1193) and died 14 days later at the age of 55. His eldest son received Damascus, his second Aleppo, another Egypt and his brother 'Adil North Arabia and Mesopotamia. The unity of his dominion disappeared within a few years after his death. It is not likely that, even if he had lived longer, he could have induced his family to come to an intelligent arrangement. During his lifetime, however, he hardly ever had to fight against one of his own family. His authority, based on his ability, kindness and piety, could not be assailed. Covetousness was remote from his character; twice — at the death of the Fatimid Caliph al-Adid and at the death of the Atabeg Nūr al-Dīn — he had an opportunity to acquire great wealth. He distributed the Caliph's treasures to his troops and retainers and did not touch Nūr al-Dīn's wealth but gave it to his son. He was fanatical against the Crusaders as a body but not as individuals and not against the subjected Christians of his empire, although when he came to the throne he at first enforced more strictly the regulations regarding dress for Christians and Jews. He followed

the same course as Nūr al-Dīn and may (see the art. *AYYUBIDS*) be claimed as a champion of the Sunnī reaction against Shī'ī (Persian) fashion in architecture, style and writing of official documents. In the last years of his reign the personal relations between Muslims and Christians were good; it appears that some Muslims were actually knighted by Richard, e.g. al-Malik al-Kāmil, son of al-Malik al-Adil. Saladin was beloved and respected by his people and with Sultān Balbars [q.v.] and Hārūn al-Rashīd [q.v.] is to this day the most popular figure in the East. In Europe he is considered the pattern of chivalry and, as a matter of fact, he never was unnecessarily cruel but was often magnanimous in releasing prisoners and bestowing gifts (e.g. the citadel of 'Aḍā to the young sister of al-Salīh Ismā'īl, several villages to Bohemund of Antioch after the peace with Richard I). The Arabs have with only one exception (a chapter in the romance of Balbars) not given Saladin a place in ballad or romance, whereas very soon after his death he touched the fancy of English minstrels in connection with Richard, although they depicted him in an unfavourable light; in the poetry of the French and Italians he is described more favourably. Modern novelists like Scott in his *Talisman* and Lessing in his *Nathan der Weise* have introduced him into their works; to the former he is a vigorous Oriental ruler while the latter depicts him with as fine feelings as a European. He was a friend of theological learning, a patron of scholars and a builder on a grand scale as he showed in the Citadel of Cairo and in the restoration of the buildings in Jerusalem.

The epigraphical materials concerning S. have been treated, in a detailed study by G. Wiet, *Les Inscriptions de Saladin* (Syria, iii, 307—328).

Bibliography: The still unprinted manuscript sources are quoted by Blochet in the introduction (p. 1—55) to his translation of al-Makrizī's *Sulūk* (period of the Ayyūbids, Paris 1908) in most commendable fashion; numerous extracts from the *Mufarrīj al-Karīb* of Ibn Wāsil and from the "History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria" are also given there in notes in French translation; the printed literature down to 1889 is given in Derenbourg, *Ousūma Ibn Mounqidh* in the P.E.O., xii/1, Paris 1889. — Contemporary Arabic and European sources are to be found in the *Recueil des historiens des Croisades. Historiens orientaux*, i.—v., Paris 1872—1906, and *Historiens occidentaux*, i.—vi., Paris 1844—1886, and in Reinand's *Extraits des historiens arabes relatifs aux guerres des Croisades* and in other parts of Michaud, *Bibliothèque des Croisades*, Paris 1829. — The best and most thorough utilisation of early sources is that of Röhrich in his *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem*, Innsbruck 1898, where Röhrich's other works and many bibliographical references are also quoted. Cf. also van Berchem, *Notes sur les Croisades* in the *Journ. As.*, series 9, 1902, vol. xix, 385 sqq. Of bibliographical works in addition to Derenbourg's edition of the *Ousūma* there are the biographies by Ibn Khallikān and Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād (both also in the *Recueil des hist. orient.*, vol. iii); the last named in English as *The Life of Saladin* by Behā' ad-Dīn, ed. by C. W. Wilson, London

1897; by Von Hammer-Purgstall in the *Gemälde-saal der Lebensbeschreibungen grosser muslimischer Herrscher*, vol. v., Leipzig 1838, now obsolete, and by Stanley Lane-Poole's brilliant and lucid *Saladin and the Fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the Heroes of the Nations Series*, London 1898. On the siege of 'Akkā etc. see Kate Norgate, *Richard Lion-Heart*, London 1924, Index, s.v. *Acre* and *Saladin*. On the European legends relating to Saladin see Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, ch. xxiii, 377 sqq., where the pertinent passage in the romance of Balbars as well as Scott's and Lessing's characters of Saladin are fully discussed (Lane Poole was not aware that the passage quoted by him belongs to the Balbars romance). On European legends of Saladin see Gaston Paris, *La Légende de Saladin* in the *Journal des Savants*, 1893, and the reprint; cf. also Röhrich in his *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem*, p. 351, note 1. (SOBERNHEIM)

SALAF (A.) or **SALAM** (A.) is regarded by law as a permissible purchase (*bai*). The purchaser in this case has to pay the purchase money in advance while the seller, on the other hand, is only required to deliver the article purchased after the expiry of a definite period. That which is sold must be a thing which can be replaced, not simply mentioned by kind but accurately described in the contract. The place where delivery is to be made must also be exactly defined. According to the Shāfi' school it is not necessary to define the date of delivery expressly in the contract; if this has not been done, delivery can be demanded immediately. In the view of the other Fikḥ-schools, however, it is absolutely essential to state a short period at least for delivery. The *fuḥūḥ* in the *Ḥidāyā* usually called this kind of purchase *salām* but in the 'Irāq the name *salaf* was usual.

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(TH. W. JUYNBOLL)

SALĀM (A.), verbal noun from *salama*, "to be well, uninjured", used as substantive in the meaning of "peace, health, salutation, greeting"; on the statements of the older Arab lexicographers see the *Lisān al-'Arab*, xv, 181—183, *passim*.

The word is of frequent occurrence in the *Qur'ān*, especially in the *Sūras*, which are attributed to the second and third Mekkan periods. The oldest passage that contains *salām* is *Sūra* xcvi, 5, where it is said of the *Lailat al-Qadr*: "It is peace until the coming of the dawn". *Salām* is also to be taken in this meaning in *Qur'ān* i, 33, xv, 46, xxi, 69, xl, 50. *Salām* means peace in this world as well as in the next. In the latter meaning we find it used in the expression *Dār al-Salām*, "the abode of bliss" for Paradise (*Sūra* 2, 26, vi, 127). In the Medina verse v, 18 which is addressed to the *Ahl al-Kita* we find the expression *Subḥ al-Salām*, the paths of bliss (cf. Isaiah, lix, 8; *Durūḥ Ḥādīd*).

But *salām* is most frequently used in the *Qur'ān* as a form of salutation. Thus in *Sūra* lvi, 90 (first Mekkan period) the people of the right hand are greeted by their companions in bliss with *Salām laha* "Peace be upon thee" (according to al-Baidāwī;

for other explanations see the *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xv. 184, s. 199; and the art. *ALLĀH*. *Salām* (Sūra xxxvi. 58, xiv. 28, x. 10, xxxiii. 43) or *Salām ʿalaikum* (xvi. 34, xxxix. 73, xlii. 24) is the greeting which is given the blessed in Paradise or on entering Paradise (cf. also xxv. 75); *Salāmūn salāmūn* in Sūra lvi. 25 (other reading *Salāmūn salāmūn*; cf. xix. 63) is presumably also intended as an auspicious exclamation (other interpretations in al-Baidāwī). Those on the Aʿraf [q. v.] call to the dwellers in Paradise *salām ʿalaikum* (vii. 44). *Salām* is also the greeting of the guests of Ibrāhīm and his reply (li. 25, xl. 72; cf. xv. 52). Ibrāhīm takes leave with *Salām ʿalaikum* (xix. 48) from his father, who threatens him. In Sūra xx. 49 Mūsā in his address to Firʿawn is made to use the expression *al-salām ʿala man ittahafa ʿl-Hudā* "peace be upon him who follows the right guidance". According to the first explanation in al-Baidāwī, *al-salām* here means the greeting of the angels and guardians of Paradise; but as these words are not at the beginning of the speech, an other interpretation prefers to consider it as an affirmative sentence and to take *salām* as "security from Allāh's wrath and punishment" (cf. al-Baidāwī on the passage and the *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xv. 183, s. 207). *Salām ʿalaikum* "peace be upon you" is found in Sūra vi. 54 at the beginning of the message which the Prophet has to deliver to the believers and in Sūra xxvii. 60 a *salām* is uttered over Allāh's chosen servants. As a benediction *salām* is also used repeatedly in Sūra xxxviii. where at the end of the mention of each prophet a *salām* is uttered over him (verses 77, 109, 120, 130, 181; cf. also xix. 15, 34). *Salām* may be used in an ironical sense in Sūra xliii. 89 at parting from the unbelievers and *salām ʿalaikum* in Sūra xxviii. 55 (other interpretations in al-Baidāwī). This might perhaps hold of *salāmūn*, Sūra xxv. 64, also, with which the servants of the Merciful reply to the ignorant (*ḡāfilūn*), but the commentators take it in the sense of *salāmūn* or *ḥarāmūn*. In Sūra lix. 23 (Medinese) *al-salām* occurs as one of the names of Allāh, which al-Baidāwī interprets as *maʿyār* used as *ʿiṣā* in the meaning of "the Faultless" (for other explanations cf. *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xv. 182, s. 199, s. 200). *Al-Salām* in the expressions *Dār al-Salām* and *Subul al-Salām* is therefore also interpreted as a name of Allāh (cf. al-Baidāwī on Sūra vi. 127, x. 26, v. 18; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xv. 182, s. 207). The word has even been taken to mean Allāh in the formula *al-salām ʿalaikum* (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzi), *Mafātīḥ al-Ḡhayb* on Sūra vi. 54, Cairo 1278, iii. 54, s. 19; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xv. 182, s. 207). It is improbable that the greeting is intended in *al-ḥā ʿl-salāma* in Sūra iv. 96; another reading is *al-salamū* as in the similar expression in iv. 92, 93, xvi. 30, 89.

The denominative verb *salāma* is first found in the Medina chapters, namely Sūra xxxiii. 56, where it is recommended to utter *salāt* [q. v.] and *salām* over the Prophet, and in xxiv. 27, 61 (see below).

At quite an early period the view became established among the Muslims that the *salām* greeting was an Islamic institution. This is, however, only correct in so far as the Korʾān recommends the use of this greeting in a late Mekkan passage and in two Medina passages: in vi. 54 it is commanded to the Prophet: "If those come to you who believe in Our signs say: 'Peace be upon you' (*Salāmūn ʿalaikum*). Your Lord hath

laid down a law of mercy for himself"; and in xxiv. 27: "O ye believers, enter not into dwellings" which are not your own before ye have asked leave and said *salām* (*wa-tasallimū*) on its inhabitants etc.; similarly xxiv. 61: "If ye enter dwellings, say *salām* upon one another (*fasallimū*) etc. (cf. a similar prescription Matth., x. 12, Luk., x. 5); iv. 88, where the more general expression for greeting (*ḥayyā*) is used, is also referred to the *salām* salutation. But Goldziher has pointed out (*Z. D. M. G.*, xvi. 22 sq.) and quoted passages from poets in support of the view that *salām* was already in use as a greeting before Islam. The corresponding Hebrew and Aramaic expressions *Shālām ʿlāh*, *Shālām lāh* (*ḥayyā*), *Shālāmā ʿlāh*, which go back to Old Testament usage (cf. Judges, xix. 20, 2 Sam., xviii. 28, Dan., x. 19, 1 Chr., xii. 19), were also in use as greetings among the Jews and Christians (cf. Dalman, *Gramm. d. jüd.-paläst. Aramäisch*, Leipzig 1905, p. 244); according to *Talmud Yerushalmi, Shabʿat*, iv. 35b, *Shālām ʿlāh* was Israel's greeting. Cf. also Peahita Mt., x. 12, xvi. 49, Luk., x. 5, xxiv. 36, Joh., xx. 19, 21, 26, and Payne Smith, *The Syriac*, col. 4189 sq.). A very great number of Nabataean inscriptions further show the use of *sh-l-m* to express good wishes in North-west Arabia and the Sinai Peninsula (*C. I. S.*, II, *Inscriptiones Aemmanae*, i. N^o. 288 sqq., twice repeated in N^o. 244, 339, thrice repeated in N^o. 302) and the Arabic *sh-l-m* frequently occurs in the Safaitic inscriptions as a benedictive term. Cf. E. Littmann, *Zur Entzifferung der Safaitischen Inschriften*, Leipzig 1901, p. 47, 52 sq., 55, 56, 57, 59, 61, 64, 66, 67, 70; do., *Semitic Inscriptions*, New York-London 1905, Safaitic Inscriptions, N^o. 5, 8, 12, 15, 69, 128, 134.

If the line *salāmaka rabbānā fī hulli faḡḡā* quoted in the *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xv. 183, s. 207, were genuine and really by Umāyā b. Abī ʿl-Salt, one might perhaps conclude from it that there was a benedictory use of the *salām* formula in the morning service in certain monotheistic circles of North Arabia. Presumably the usage, influenced by Christian and Jewish views, had given the word a special significance in the region of Aramaic culture. Lillibarski's suggestion (*Zeitschr. für Semitistik*, i. 85 sqq.) that *salām* reproduces the idea expressed by *εὐαγγέλιον* need not be discussed here but his explanation of *ʿlām* as the infinitive of a denominative verb *ʿalama* formed from *salām* - *εὐαγγέλιον* ("to enter into the state . . . of *salām*"), cannot be reconciled with such expressions frequent in the Korʾān as *ʿalama waḡḡahu li ʿlāh* - *ʿalama li-Rabb al-ʿālamīn* etc.

Muḥammad must have placed a high religious value on the *salām* formula as he considered it the greeting given by the angels to the blessed and used it as an auspicious salutation on the prophets who had preceded him. A *salām*, like that in the *taḡḡahūd* (see below) or like the salutation of peace which closes the *ḡalāt* and has its parallel in the Jewish *ḡḡillā* (cf. E. Mittwoch, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des islam. Gebets u. Kultus* in the *Abd. Pr. Ak. W.*, ph.-h. Kl., 1913, N^o. 2, p. 18), may have been from the first an essential feature of the ritual of divine service. According to a tradition (al-Bukhārī, *al-Tarīḡḡūn*, bāb 3, *al-Adhān*, bāb 148, 150), originally they uttered the *salām* at the close of the *ḡalāt* on Allāh, on Djibrīl, Mikāʾīl and other angels. With the

remark that Allāh is himself the *salām* (cf. Korān, lix. 23) the Prophet disapproved of this and laid down what should be said in the *taḥḥahhud* (q.v.); the *salām* utterance belongs to it in the form given below. On varying traditions regarding the *taḥḥahhud* see al-Shāfiʿī, *Kit. al-Umm*, Cairo 1321, i. 103 sqq.; cf. also Goldziher, *Über die Eulogia* etc. in the *Z.D.M.G.*, i. 102).

In the ritual of the *ṣalāt* as legally prescribed the benediction on Allāh and the *salām* on the Prophet, on the worshipper and those present and on Allāh's pious servants precede the confession of faith in the *taḥḥahhud* (al-*salām*u 'alaika, *ayyuhā 'anabīyū, wa-rahmatu 'ilāhī wa-barakātuhū; al-salām*u 'alainā wa-'alā 'ibādī 'ilāhī 'l-ḥayyūn). Among the compulsory ceremonies of the *ṣalāt* there is also at the end of it the *taslīmāt al-ni'a*, the fuller form of which consists in the worshipper in a sitting position turning his head to right and left and saying each time al-*salām*u 'alaikum wa-rahmatu 'ilāhī. Cf. al-Bāḍi, *Ḥaḥḥiya 'alā sharḥ Ibn Kārim al-Ghazālī 'alā matn Abi Shudjā*, Cairo 1321, i. 168, 170.

The preference of the Korān for the *salām* formula and its liturgical use may have contributed considerably to the fact that it soon became considered an exclusively Muslim greeting (*taḥḥiyat al-islām*). As already mentioned above, the Korān prescribes the *salām* on the Prophet to follow the *ṣalīya*. Tradition reports that the latter endeavoured to introduce it. When 'Umar b. Waḥb was brought before him and gave him the pagan greeting (*an'imū ṣalāḥ*), the Prophet said: "Allāh has given us a better greeting than thine, namely al-*salām*, the greeting of the dwellers in Paradise (Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 472 *infra* 21; al-Tabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 1353, 10 sqq.). Those around him are also said to have been eager to introduce this greeting. Al-Wāḥidī relates that 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd, who immediately after his conversion wanted to convert his own townmen in Tā'if to Islām, called the attention of the Thaqif, who saluted in the heathen fashion, to the greeting of the dwellers in Paradise, al-*Salām* (Ibn Sa'd, al-*Tabaḥḥāt*, v. 369; Sprenger, *Das Leben . . . des Moḥammad*, iii. 482; Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, i. 264). According to Ibn Ishāq, al-Mughira b. Shu'ba instructed the deputation to Muḥammad from the Thaqif how they were to salute the Prophet, but they would only use the greeting of the Djahiliya (Ibn Hishām, p. 916, 5 sqq.; al-Tabarī, i. 1290, 9 sqq.; Sprenger, *op. cit.*, iii. 485; Goldziher, *loc. cit.*). The Jews are said to have distorted this greeting with respect to Muḥammad to al-*ṣām* 'alaika "death to you", whereupon the Prophet answered wa-'alaikum "and to you" (al-Bukhārī, al-*Istīḥḥān*, bāb 22; al-Adab, b. 38; *Lisān al-'Arab*, xv. 206). According to Ibn Sa'd (*op. cit.*, iv/l. 163, 13), Abū Dharr was the first to greet the Prophet with the Muslim greeting. In the same author (*op. cit.*, iv/l. 82, 2) we find *salām* 'alaikum at the beginning of a letter from Mu'āwiya to Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī.

The expressions which could be used were *salām* or *salām* 'alaikum (-ka) or al-*salām* 'alaikum. Umm Aiman is said to have used simply (al-)*salām* to the Prophet (Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, viii. 163, 7 sq. 9 sq.). In the Korān the use of *salām* 'alaikum preponderates. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī endeavours to explain that the indefinite form is preferable and expresses the conception of perfect greeting (*op. cit.*, ii. 500, 33 sqq., iii. 512, 11 sqq.). Following

him al-Shāfiʿī is said to have preferred *salām*u 'alaika in the *taḥḥahhud* (*op. cit.*, iii. 512, 33); but the Shāfiʿī school also allows the definite form here (al-Bāḍi, *op. cit.*, i. 168; *Lisān al-'Arab*, xv. 182, 13 sq.). The formula al-*salām* 'alaikum was, however, much used as a greeting. This undetermined form is expressly prescribed in the *taslīmāt* (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, ii. 501, 5; al-Bāḍi, *op. cit.*, i. 170; *Lisān al-'Arab*, xv. 182, 13 sqq.). As a return greeting wa-'alaikum al-*salām* became usual (for further details on this inversion see Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, ii. 500, 33 sqq., iii. 512, 21 sqq.). According to Ibn Sa'd (*op. cit.*, iv/l. 115, 19 sq.), 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar replied with *salām* 'alaikum.

According to some traditions, Muḥammad had described the expression 'alaika 'al-*salām* as the salutation to the dead and insisted on being greeted with al-*salām* 'alaika (al-Tabarī, iii. 2395; Ibn al-Athīr, al-*Nihāya fi Ḥaḥḥiyat al-Ḥadīth wa'l-Aḥbar*, Cairo 1311, ii. 176 below). The first named form of the greeting is actually found in elegiac verses (*op. cit.*, ii. 177; *Lisān al-'Arab*, xv. 182). But there are also traditions in which the Prophet greets the dead in the cemetery with an expression beginning with (al-)*salām* (al-Tabarī, iii. 2402, 10 sqq.; Ibn al-Athīr and *Lisān al-'Arab*, *loc. cit.*). 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar also on returning from a journey is said to have saluted the graves of the Prophet, of Abū Bakr and of his father with al-*salām* 'alaika (Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, iv/l. 115, 5 sqq.).

The *salām* formula was very early extended by the addition of the words wa-rahmatu 'ilāhī or wa-rahmatu 'ilāhī wa-barakātuhū. The first extension became used in the *taslīmāt* and the second in the *taḥḥahhud* (cf. above). Applying the Korānic commandment (iv. 88: "when ye are saluted with a salutation, salute the person with a better than his or at least return it") it is recommended (*sunna*) in the return greeting to add the wish of blessing and benediction or occasionally, when replying to a simple *salām*, only the former (cf. al-Bukhārī, al-*Istīḥḥān*, bāb 16, 18, 19). If anyone is saluted with the threefold formula, he must reply with the same (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on Sūra iv. 88, *op. cit.*, ii. 502, 14 sqq.). According to Lane (*Manners and Customs*, i. 229, note), the threefold formula was very common as a return greeting in Egypt; cf. also Nallino, *L'Arabo parlato in Egitto*, Milan 1913, p. 121. In Mekka it is comparatively rarely used; the reply usual there is wa-'alaikum al-*salām* wa-rahma (wa-rahmatu 'ilāhī or wa-l-ḥayyūn); cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekkanische Sprichwörter u. Redensarten*, The Hague 1886, p. 118. Landberg (*Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, ii. 788, note) thinks that the longer form recalls the priest's blessing in Num., vi. 24-26. The application of 'alaikum to a single person is explained by saying that the plural suffix includes the two accompanying angels or the spirits attached to him (i. e. the person; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, ii. 501, 19 sqq.; cf. iii. 513, 17 sqq.).

At the conclusion of a letter the expression wa-l-*salām* ('alaika, -hum) is often used, e.g. Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, i/l. 27, 17, 28, 2, 3, 29, 17, 21. Al-Ḥariri (*Durrat al-Ghawwār*, ed. Thorbecke, p. 208, 9 sqq.) disapproves of the use here of the indefinite form (*salām*), which, according to the more correct use, should only be used at the beginning. — *Wa-l-salām* has occasionally the meaning of "and that is the end of it" (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.*, p. 92).

In keeping with Kor'an xx. 48, it became usual to use the form *al-salām* 'alā man ittaba'a 'l-hudā to non-Muslims when necessary (cf. Fakhr al-Din al-Rāzi, *op. cit.*, ii. 501, *sq.*, iv. 706, *sq.*). It is found, for example, in letters ascribed to Muḥammad (al-Bukhārī, *al-ṣiṭṭah*, bāb 24; Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, i/ii. 28, *sq.*; cf. line 6 there at the beginning of the letter: *salām* 'alā man ḥawana). Papyri of the year 91 (710) bear early testimony to its use (Papyri Schott-Reinhardt, i. ed. by C. H. Becker, Heidelberg 1906, i. N^o. 29, li. 40 *sq.*, iii. 87 *sq.*, x. 11, xi. 7, xviii. 9). A letter from Muḥammad to the Jews of Maḥnā concludes, however, with *wa 'l-salām* (Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, i/ii. 28, *sq.*); similarly a letter to the Christians in Allā (*ibid.*, p. 29, *sq.*). In Hadith also a tendency is noticeable not to deny the *salām* greeting, at least as a reply, to unbelievers and the *Ahl al-Kiṭāb* (cf. al-Tabarī, *al-Taṣṭiṣ*, v. 111 *sq.*; Fakhr al-Din al-Rāzi, *loc. cit.*).

On the rules and limitations regarding salutation cf. the article *TASLĪM*.

Salām means also a *salawāt* litany, which is pronounced from the minarets every Friday about half an hour before the beginning of the midday service before the *ṣalāt*. This part of the liturgy is repeated inside the mosque before the beginning of the regular ceremonies by several people with good voices standing on a *ḍikka* (Goldziher, *Über die Enzyklen*, etc. in the *Z.D.M.G.*, l. 103 *sq.*; cf. Lane, *op. cit.*, i. 117). The same name is given to the benedictions on the Prophet which are sung during the month of Ramaḍān about half an hour after midnight from the minarets (Lane, *op. cit.*, ii. 264).

The auspicious formula *'alāhi 'l-salām*, which, according to the strictly orthodox opinion, like the *ḥayyā*, should only follow the names of Prophets, but was more freely used in the earlier literature (cf. also al-Bukhārī, *al-ṣiṭṭah*, bāb 43: *Faṭīma 'alāhi 'l-salām*), was used by the Shī'a without limitation of 'Alī and his descendants also (Goldziher, *op. cit.*, *Z.D.M.G.*, l. 121 *sq.*; Fakhr al-Din al-Rāzi, *op. cit.*, iii. 511 *sq.*).

The Sanni's of British India make a magical use of the so-called seven *salām's* which refer to Sūra xxxvi. 58, xxxvii. 77, 109, 120, 130; xxxix. 73; xvii. 5. In the morning of the festival of Akhīr-i Chāḥr-ghamba (see *XXIII*) they write the seven *salām's* or have them written with saffron-water, ink, or rosewater on the leaf of a mango-tree or a sacred fig-tree, or of a plantain. They then wash off the writing in water and drink it in the hope that they may enjoy peace and happiness (Djāfar Sharrīf—Herklots, *Islam in India or the Qānūn-i Islām*, new ed. by W. Crooke, London 1921, p. 186 *sq.*).

On coins *salām* (sometimes abbreviated to *s*) means 'of full weight, complete' (cf. J. G. Stickel, *Das grosse Orient. Münzabinet zu Jena (Hands. d. Morgenl. Münzkunde)*, Leipzig 1845, l. 43 *sq.*; O. Cöndrington, *A Manual of Muslim Numismatics*, London 1904, p. 10).

Bibliography: In addition to that mentioned in the article: Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī, *al-'Iḍ al-farīd*, Balāḥ 1293, l. 276 *sq.*; Lane, *op. cit.*, i. 298 *sq.*; Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, Leiden 1905—1913, ii. 776—781, 786—789. (C. VAN ARENDONK).

SALAMA B. RADJĀ, governor of Egypt from Ibn 'I-Hiddja 161 (August 30 to September 27, 778) until Muharram 162 (October 778).

Bibliography: al-Tabarī, ed. de Goeje, iii. 492, 493; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *Kāmil*, vi. 38, 39; *Corpus Papyrologum Raineri*, iii. Series Arabica, ed. A. Grohmann, i/ii. 119, 120. (A. GROHMANN).

SALĀMA B. DJANDAL, a poet of pre-Islamic times, was a member of the clan al-Ḥārith, which belonged to the large division Sa'd al-Far of the tribe Tamīm. He is numbered among the excellent poets of the Dīshīliya of whom only few poems are preserved. He must have flourished during the second half of the sixth century of our era, as the most prominent event in his life recorded is about his brother Aḥmar (sometimes misspelled Aḥmad). When 'Amr b. Kulthūm, the chief of the tribe of Taghlib, made his raid south, Aḥmar was made a prisoner by 'Amr, but released without ransom upon the petition of Salāma (*Diwān* of 'Amr, Introduction to poem N^o. 2; *Aghāni*, ix. 183, 18). Whether there is an error on the part of Arab tradition is not certain, but in the *Diwān* of Salāma we are told in the notes on poem N^o. 8 (edition Cheikh) the same thing happened to Aḥmar with a certain Sa'ḥa b. Maḥmūd b. 'Amr b. Marḥad. The latter probably belonged to the Kaia clan of 'Amr who resided as allies (*ḥulafā'*) among the tribe of Shaibān, or he may have belonged to the celebrated Yamanite family of Marḥad. In his longest poem Salāma refers to the death of al-Nu'mān, king of al-Hira, who was trampled to death by elephants at the order of the Persian king Farwēs (*Diwān*, N^o. 3, v. 39; *Arma'yāt*, N^o. 53, v. 39). Further the *Naf'ā'is* of Djarir and Farazdaq give two poems by Salāma, not in the *Diwān*, in which he celebrates the victory of Dīādū, in which the clan of Mīnqar, also a division of Sa'd al-Far, defeated the tribe of Bakr b. Wā'il. These two events place the life-time of Salāma towards the end of the sixth century. The time of his death cannot be fixed; he did not live to the time of Islām and none of his descendants appear to be named in the biographies of early Muslims.

Cheikh is mistaken when he assumes that Salāma is identical with the renowned chief Salāma b. Djandal b. Nahshal, the latter being of the clan Nahshal b. Dārim and related to Muḍjahid, the ancestor of the poet al-Farazdaq. Salāma is reputed to excel in the description of horses. His collected poems have come down to us in two old manuscripts, which were edited by Cheikh in 1920. This *Diwān* contains only nine poems or fragments of such, 135 verses in all, to which the editor has added a further 36 verses collected from various sources and to which I can add only one verse quoted in the *Kiṭāb al-'Ala* (ed. Baghdad), p. 108. We have no reason to doubt the genuineness of most of the verses. The poet speaks in them of departed youth which unfortunately is no guide to his age, as such statements belong to the ordinary phraseology of such poems. That he mentions Allāh (N^o. 1, v. 12) I should not take as a sign of later interpolation, as I believe that before Muḥammad some form of monotheism through the influence of Christianity and Judaism was widespread in Arabia, though the form al-ilāh is probably the correct form in earlier times. He mentions swords of Bayrā and al-Madā'in, which are seldom or never mentioned in verses of later times, as swords were no longer obtained from there. That he mentions writing or even inkstands and parchment (N^o.

3; v. 2) is not at all strange as these things were more widely known than is generally admitted. His poetry has otherwise the stamp of what is called Bedouin poetry, a rather unfortunate designation as it gives a wrong impression (cf. the art. *ḤĀ'IN*). The text of the *Diwān* is a combination of the Baṣrian (Aṣma'i) and the Kūfic (Abū 'Amr al-Shāhīn) school, of whom the latter will generally be found more reliable, but unfortunately the recensions are not kept apart in this case to discern any differences. It would be wrong to assume that they collected the poems; their work was the commenting of the text which they found handed down by earlier scholars. The edition by Cl. Huart (*J. A.*, 1910) is superseded by that of Cheikh (Beyrouth 1920), which contains all that is known about Salāma.

Bibliography: *Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, ed. Lyall, N° 22, text and translation; ed. Cairo, I. 54; ed. Thorbecke, N° 20; *Aṣma'iyyāt*, ed. Ahlwardt, N° 53; Muḥammad b. Sallām, ed. Heil (Leiden 1916), p. 36; *Nabā'id*, ed. Bevan, p. 147—148; Ibn Kūaliba, *Kiṣāb al-Shi'r*, ed. de Goeje, p. 147; *Poètes Chrétiens*, ed. Cheikh, p. 486—491. Verses of Salāma are cited in most books dealing with ancient Arabic poetry e.g. in the *Liḥā al-'Arab* 40 times.

(F. KRENKOW)

SALAMANCA, the capital of the Spanish province of Salamanca, on the right bank of the river Tormes, 172 miles by rail N.W. of Madrid, with a population of 25,690 (1900). In the Roman period the city was constituted a military station, being the ninth on the Via Lata, which was the great highway of Spain, running from Merida to Saragossa. Trajan built a magnificent bridge there, the original piers of which still exist. Like the rest of Spain the city suffered from the Gothic invasion.

It was a greater change for the city, when Muṣā, the governor of Africa, appeared with 18,000 picked men in Southern Spain (712), and began a methodical campaign in the Peninsula. Capturing Seville, Carmona and Merida, he covered the road that many a Roman legion had tramped before him, until he came before Salamanca. The city, which once had all the dignity and defiance of a Roman fort, offered but a poor resistance to the Muslim warriors. But although the district was now in the hands of foreigners, the inhabitants found their masters not impossible tyrants. If they paid their tax, and followed their faith, without unduly propagating it, their lives and their property were safe. Indeed, they soon found that a new intellectual life had come to the city, and they had to bow before the classical and oriental learning of the invaders. It is by no mere chance that Salamanca boasts of the oldest and largest university in Spain. Its foundations were laid by the unpromising pioneers of Islam.

Ibn al-Athīr states that in May 757 A.D. (24 A.H.) King Alfonso opened an attack on the Moors, and drove them out of Salamanca, but this does not seem to have been anything more than a predatory raid. The city, however, was never a Muslim possession in the sense that Cordova or Seville was. It certainly was considered an admirable piece of work of Ibn Abī 'Amr, when in Sept. 977 he succeeded in capturing the suburbs of the city from the Christians, for he was rewarded with the title of *Dhū l-Wizāratayn* and a

princely salary. So the fate of Salamanca wavered from decade to decade, until finally through internal disunion, and the more determined hostility of the Spanish Christians, Moorish pride and power were swept from the city in 1055, never more to be re-instated.

The University, founded officially in 1220 by Alfonso IX of Leon, was in itself sufficient to give distinction to Salamanca, through all the succeeding centuries, until the great battle of 1812, when Wellington settled the fate of the French in the Peninsula.

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SALAMIYA, a small town in Syria in the district east of the Orontes, about twenty-five miles S. E. of Hamā and thirty-five (a day's journey) N. E. of Hims (for the exact situation cf. Kiepert's map in Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, I, and part II. 401). It lies in a fertile plain 1500 feet above sea level, south of the Djabal al-A'la and on the margin of the Syrian steppe. The older and more correct pronunciation was Salamiya (al-Jāḥirī, *B. G. A.*, I. 61; Ibn al-Fakīh, *B. G. A.*, v. 110) but the form Salamiya is also found very early (al-Muḥaddad, *B. G. A.*, III. 190; Ibn Khordādhbeh, *B. G. A.*, VI. 76, 98) and it is now the form almost universally in use (cf. also Yāqūt, *Muḥḥan*, ed. Wüstenfeld, III. 123, and Littmann, *Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 169 sq.). The *nishā* from the name is Salami. The town seems to be the ancient Salamias or Salaminias, which flourished in the Christian period, but the references of the classical authors to this place are uncertain. Yāqūt (III. 123) gives a popular etymology. The town, he says, was originally called *Salām-mī'a*, after the hundred surviving inhabitants of the destroyed town of al-Ma'tāfika.

The situation of the town was important as an outpost of Syria, where main routes from the steppe (Palmyra) and 'Irāq joined; but it was never of any great military importance. It was conquered by the Arabs in the year 15 A. H. and became one of the towns of the Djund of Hims; it was only after 1500 in the Mamlūk period that it was placed in the district of Hamā for administrative purposes. In the second century of the Hijra, after the victory of the 'Abbāsids, the descendants of the 'Abbāsīd Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās settled in Salamiya. The town is said to be most indebted to Ṣāliḥ's son, 'Abd Allāh, who rebuilt it and made arrangements for the irrigation of the neighbourhood. This 'Abd Allāh was held in high esteem by his cousins, the Caliphs. He married the sister of al-Mahdi and became governor of the 'Irāq. This Caliph visited him in Salamiya and was astonished at 'Abd Allāh's dwelling there (al-Tabarī, III. 500). There are also other references to the fact that many 'Hāshimīs lived in Salamiya.

Almost nothing has survived of this period. There is the foundation inscription of a mosque

on a stone (not *in situ*) at the entrance to the citadel. It is probable that this inscription is dated 150 (767) and that it belonged to a mosque founded by those Hashimites, which may have been destroyed about 290 (902/3) by the Karnamejians. Still another inscription dating from an 'Abbasid has been found in the citadel; according to Littmann's probable suggestion, it belongs with two other inscriptions to the period from 280 (893) (or, for another view, see M. Hartmann in the *Z.D.P.V.*, xiv, 55). The fact that Salamiya was the centre of an important branch of the Hashimites and the isolated position of the town perhaps account for the fact that about 250 (864) it became the secret centre of Isma'ili propaganda. It is difficult to ascertain who was the first Grand Master of the Isma'iliya to settle in Salamiya; in any case it does not seem to have been so early as 'Abd Allah b. Maimun himself (as de Sacy, *Exposé de la Religion des Druses*, Paris 1838, Introd., p. 71, 166 supposes), for the latter, as de Goeje (*Mémoires sur les Carmathes du Bahrein*, Leiden 1886, p. 19) makes probable, was probably never in Salamiya. The first leader to be sent here was apparently Husain b. 'Abd Allah b. Maimun (de Goeje, *op. cit.*, p. 21), whose son, Sa'id 'Ubad Allah, destined to become the first Fatimid Caliph, was born in Salamiya in 259 or 260 (873/4) (Ibn Khallikan, *Wafayat al-A'yan*, ed. Wustenfeld, No. 365); according to a blessed statement in Ibn al-Athir (viii, 22), 'Ubad Allah was the son of a smith in Salamiya whose widow afterwards married Husain. When Husain died about 270 (883/4) his brother Ahmad b. 'Abd Allah b. Maimun, also known as Ibn Shalaghlagh, became Grand Master and guardian of his nephew 'Ubad Allah, till his death (about 280=893/4). 'Ubad Allah continued to reside in Salamiya till 289 (902) when he set out on his successful journey to North Africa (de Goeje, *op. cit.*, p. 64). In the next year the town was practically wiped out by the Karnamejians from Iraq under their leader Husain, who had assumed the title of Mahdi. Of all towns in Syria, Salamiya, as home of the former companions in faith and later bitter enemies of the Karnamejians, was treated the worst (de Goeje, *op. cit.*, p. 50). Soon afterwards, however, the Syrian towns were reconquered by the Caliph. It is not impossible that the quadrangular citadel in the centre of the town goes back to the Isma'ili period; according to van Berchem, it belongs to an early period architecturally.

In the fourth (xth) century, Salamiya must have been in an area inhabited by Beduins (Saif al-Dawla's campaign; cf. Hartmann in the *Z.D.P.V.*, xlii, 175, 176). At the end of the fifth (xith) century, it was included in the possessions of the brigand chief Khalaf b. Mula'ib (M. Hartmann reads Mula'ib), who acknowledged Fatimid suzerainty. There is evidence of this in an inscription in Kufic characters on the door beam of the mosque of 481 (1088). According to Ibn al-Athir (x, 184), Khalaf took Salamiya in 476 (1083); he was then already master of Hims. But in 485 he lost Hims and the lands that went with it to the Seldjuk Tugush, brother of Malik Shah. In the inscription Khalaf says that he has erected a *maghad* on the tomb of Abu 'I-Hasan 'Ali b. Djarir, whose servant (*amir*) he calls himself (Khalaf is very fully dealt with by M. Hartmann, *Z.D.P.V.*, xxiv, 58-65).

During the Crusades Salamiya is never mentioned

as a fortress but frequently as a meeting-place for the Muslim armies. Politically it has always shared the fate of Hims [q.v.]. Thus it passed to Ridwan, son of Tutush, in 496 (1102/3). In 532 (1137/8) the Atabeg Zangi, who was then besieging Hims, set out from Salamiya on his campaign against the Greeks at Sbeitar (Ibn al-Athir, xi, 36 sq.) and in 570 (1174/75) Saladin obtained the town together with Hims and Hamā from the Amir Fakhr al-Din al-Za'farani (Ibn al-Athir, xi, 276). In 626 (1229) we find al-Malik al-Kamil in Salamiya as a starting point for Iraq; the lord of Hamā came there to submit to him. Two years later, al-Kamil gave the town to Asad al-Din Shirkuh, who rebuilt the fortress of Shumaimish north of it on one of the peaks of the Djabal al-A'la (Ibn al-Athir, xii, 318, 329) which had been destroyed by the earthquake of 1157 (Kamil al-Din, *Histoire d'Alep*, transl. Blochet, Paris 1900, p. 21).

In 1299, the Egyptian army was defeated at Salamiya by the Mongols under Ghazna; the battle was followed by the brief Mongol occupation of the city of Damascus.

In the eighth (xivth) century, Salamiya was part of the important frontier lands (called al-Sharqiya) of the *mamlaka* of Damascus. Abu 'I-Fida', in whose territory as lord of Hamā the town lay during the Mamluk period, mentions an aqueduct between Salamiya and Hamā. In 726 (1326) he went with his troops to clear out this channel (autobiography of Abu 'I-Fida' in the *Rec. des Hist. des Crois.*, *Hist. Orient.*, i, 168, 185). This aqueduct no longer exists. Perhaps it is the same as is mentioned by al-Dimashqi (p. 207) as in existence between Hims and Salamiya and built by the 'Abbasid 'Abd Allah b. Salih. At this time Yāqūt (iii, 123) speaks of seven prayer-niches near Salamiya below which some *isbān* were buried; he also mentions the tomb of al-Nu'mān b. Bashir, the companion of the Prophet.

Under Turkish rule, the town ceased to be of importance. In the middle of the nineteenth century it was entirely deserted, probably on account of the lack of adequate protection against the Beduins. But an Isma'ili Shaikh from the Nusairi mountains settled there and succeeded in settling the place with his followers. The Shaikh, whom van Berchem met in 1895, was a young man who traced his descent from 'Abd Allah b. Maimun. These Isma'ilis in a short time made the town very prosperous, which induced the Turkish government (in 1892) to create a special *kaḍā* of Salamiya in the sandjak of Hamā in the wilāyet of Bairūt. The population of the *kaḍā* is given by Cuiet (1896) as 53,084, of whom the smaller half are Muslims and the larger Christians. The town itself is said by the same authority to have 6,000 inhabitants, in addition to the Druses (by whom he probably means the Isma'iliya). The irrigation is excellent; the crops of the district consist mainly of corn and legumes.

On the fortress of Shumaimish see van Berchem and Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, I, 171, 173.

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Moslems, London 1890, p. 510, 528; E. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1883, p. 66; M. Hartmann, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der syrischen Steine*, Z.D.P.V., xlii. 151 1894, xlii. 108 1894; M. van Berchem and E. Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, I, Cairo 1914, p. 167—171; *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Orientaux*, iii. 298 (Ibn Shaddād), 546 (Mīrāt al-Zamān), 592 (Kamāl al-Dīn), v. 180 19. (Abū Shāma); M. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, I, Berlin 1899, p. 124 19. 305; V. Guinet, *Syrie, Liban et Palestine*, Paris 1896, p. 436, 453 19.; Sāmi, *Kāmil al-Aḥām*, iv. 2609. On the inscriptions cf. Rey, *Rapport sur une mission scientifique accomplie en 1864—1865 dans le Nord de la Syrie* (Archives des Missions scientifiques et littéraires, second series, iii. 345); M. Hartmann, *Die arabischen Inschriften in Salamiya*, Z.D.P.V., xxiv. 49—68; E. Littmann, *Semitic Inscriptions*, New York 1905, p. 169—178; M. v. Berchem, *Arabische Inschriften (Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien, gesammelt v. M. von Oppenheim)*, I = *Beitr. z. Alt. u. sem. Sprachw.*, vii./I, Leipzig 1909, p. 32—34.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

SALÄMLİK (A.-T.) (Turkish pronunciation: Selamlık).

1) Reception-room in Turkish houses of the upper classes, derived from *salām*, greeting, welcome. In the general plan of this type of house (*hane*) there is an ante-room or court behind the main door, at one side of which a stair-case leads up to the *selamlık*, *mā-bān* [q. v.] and to the corridor (*sofa*), which together form the part of the house allotted to the males. On the other side of the court is the entrance to the harem [q. v.]; there also is the swivel-box (*delab*) through which the women communicate with the harem kitchen. Although *Selamlık* originally meant only the room in which the guests are welcomed, the word has come to receive the wider general meaning of the whole of the men's apartments as opposed to the harem or haremlik. It thus coincides more or less with the *ἀνδρῶν* or *ἀνδρῶν* of the Greeks. Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. Turc-Français*, Paris 1886, mentions a room called *Harem-selamlık* which is situated between the two parts of the house and cannot be entered by strangers; it is therefore probably another name for the *mā-bān*.

In Turkish houses of the lower classes it seems that strangers were not admitted at all (Hans Dierschwan's *Tagebuch*, ed. Babinger, 1923, p. 134); there was therefore no *selamlık* there.

In northern Mesopotamia where wood is scarce the rooms of the houses are hollowed out of sandstone and a kind of dome of stone and clay put over them. Moltke, *Briefe aus der Türkei*, Berlin 1893, p. 242, describes this type of house where one of these domed rooms is *selamlık*, another *harem*, another a stable, etc.

Bibliography: d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, II. 199 17.; Charles White, *Three Years in Constantinople, Domestic Manners of the Turks*, 3 vols., London 1845, iii. 173—175.

2) A ceremony in Constantinople on the occasion of the ceremonial visit of the Sultān to a mosque for the Friday service.

That the Ottoman Sultāns were accustomed to pay a ceremonial visit to a mosque on Friday is often mentioned by travellers. Every Friday they

visited one or other of the so-called Sultān's mosques (*ḡawāmiḡ-i Salāṭin*) where they had their boxes or stalls. While at an earlier period the high officers of state used to accompany the Sultān, etiquette since the time of Ibrāhīm I has only expected the court officials to go. The streets through which the procession went were usually guarded by Janissaries and the reception in the mosque by the Aga of the Janissaries and the administrator of the mosque was very ceremonious. In winter it was usually the Aya Sofya, as the mosque nearest the palace, that was visited.

D'Ohsson assumes a connection between the Sultān's visit to the mosque and his dignity of *Imām* in his capacity as caliph at the *palātū 'l-ḡum'a* but adds that the Sultān never himself appears as *Imām*. This view is quite in agreement with d'Ohsson's ideas on the caliphate, but perhaps this ceremonial visit to the mosque should rather be regarded as an imitation of similar ceremonies at the Imperial Byzantine court.

Down to the beginning of the nineteenth century the Sultān always appeared on horseback on this occasion (picture of the year 1788 in Jouannin and van Gaver, *Turquie*, Paris 1840). Only a very few Sultāns omitted the ceremony, as their non-appearance would have aroused resentment among the populace. From the time of Mahmūd II it was the custom for the Sultān to drive in a carriage (cf. von Moltke, *Briefe aus der Türkei*, Berlin 1893, p. 122).

The name *selamlık* for this ceremony seems only to date from the second half of the sixteenth century. The word has presumably nothing to do with the meaning "reception room" but is rather to be connected with the expression *selam dermaḡ* "to present arms"; it belongs therefore to military terminology. Ahmad Wāḡik Pāshā in his *Lehce-i 'Othmāni* (1306 = 1889) paraphrases it as *bināḡ ḡum'a āḡayl*.

The ceremony became particularly important in the reign of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II. The Sultān was surrounded by a brilliant body-guard, of which his faithful Albanians in their costly uniforms formed the centre, along with the Estoghrul regiment mounted on white horses. From the time he lived in the Yıldız palace the *Selamlık* was usually held in the Ḥamidiye mosque. Formal audiences were held after it, to which great political importance was attached, while the display of pomp and splendour was intended to impress the foreigners invited. The holding of the ceremony was announced on each occasion in the official gazette *Taḡzīm-i Wāḡā*.

It became less important after the reign of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd and after the abolition of the sultanate by the General National Assembly in November, 1922, in Angora. 'Abd al-Majīd, who now retained only the dignity of Caliph, retained the *selamlık* ceremony, which fact is of significance for the character given to it since d'Ohsson's day. The last *selamlık* took place on Febr. 29, 1924 (1342) in the mosque of Dolma Baghçe and was little more than a parody of its former splendour. There was not even music and the carriage was drawn by only two horses (the *Wāḡan* newspaper of March 1, 1924).

Bibliography: d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1787—1820, I. 205, iii. 328.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

SĀLĀR (s.), commander. From the older Pahlavi *sardār* there arose as early as the Sāsānid period the form *sālār* with the well-known change of *rd* to *l* and compensatory lengthening of the *a* (cf. *Grundr. d. Iran. Phil.*, i. 267, 274). The synonymous word in modern Persian (*sardār*) is not a survival of the ancient *sardār*, but is a modern formation; indeed, the elements from which the ancient word was composed still exist in the modern language. The old Armenian took over the Pahlavi *sālār* in the form *salār*; the form *sardār* which would give **sardar* in Armenian is not found in the latter language. A latter, probably modern Persian loan-word in Armenian is (*spā*) *salār* with *l* instead of *t*. On this and on other late Armenian forms cf. Hübschmann, *Armen. Gramm.*, i. 235 and 239. In the first of these two references the Pahlavi combinations of the word are also given. On the etymology cf. also Horn, *Grundriss der neuop. Etymologie*, p. 153; Hübschmann, *Perische Studien*, p. 72; Junker, *Die Frakung i Pahlavik* (1912), p. 37 and 79.

The term which is primarily military (cf. *spāh-sālār*, commander of an army; *sālār-i dījān*) is transferred to several court offices, e. g. *sālār-i khwān* (and *khwān-sālār*), Steward; *sālār-i kār*, Marshal; *ākhūn-sālār*, Master of Horse. We need not trouble here with what else the native Persian lexicographers say about the word (cf. Vullers, *Lex.*, s. v.); it may be noted, however, that expressions like *ākhūn sālār* for "king" belong to the language of poetry and the meaning "old" (*kāhūn* = *sāl-ākhwārā*) (which, as far as I know, has not yet been found anywhere) is perhaps based on an incorrect etymology which connects the word with *sāl* (year). (V. F. BÜCHNER)

SĀLĀR DJANG is the title by which Mir Turāb 'Alī, a Sayyid of Persian descent and one of the greatest of modern Indian statesmen, was best known. He was born at Haidarābād in the Dakan on January 2, 1829, and, his father having died not long after his birth, was educated by his uncle, Nawwāh Sirājī al-Mulk, Minister of the Haidarābād State. He received an administrative appointment in 1848, at the age of 19, and on his uncle's death in 1853 succeeded him as Minister of the State. He was engaged in reforming the administration until 1857, the year of the Sepoy mutiny, when the Nizām, Nāṣir al-Dawla, died and was succeeded by his son Afḡal al-Dawla. The news of the seizure of Dillī by the mutineers greatly excited the populace, and the British Residency was attacked by a turbulent mob, aided by some irregular troops, but throughout the darkest days of the rebellion Sālār Djang not only remained true to the British, but strengthened the hands of his master and suppressed disorder. The services of the State were recognized by the rendition of three of the districts assigned in 1853 on account of debts due to the Company, and by the cession of the territory of the rebellious Rājā of Shorāpūr. In 1860 and again in 1867 plots to estrange the great Minister from his master and to ensure his dismissal were frustrated by two successive British Residents, and Sālār Djang remained in office. In 1868 an attempt was made to assassinate him but the assassin was arrested and executed, despite Sālār Djang's efforts to obtain a commutation of the sentence. On the death of Afḡal al-Dawla in 1869 Sālār Djang became one of the two co-regents of

the State during the minority of his son and successor, Mir Maḥbūb 'Alī Khān, and on January 5, 1871, he was invested at Calcutta with the insignia of the G. C. S. I. In November, 1875, he and other nobles represented the young Nizām at Bombay on the occasion of the visit of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales to India, and in April, 1876, he visited England and was presented to Queen Victoria. He received the honorary degree of D. C. L. from the University of Oxford and the Freedom of the City of London. In January, 1883, he was engaged in making preparations for the contemplated visit of the Nizām to Europe, but on February 7, after entertaining Duke John of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, who was visiting Haidarābād, on the Mir 'Alam Lake, he was attacked by cholera, and died on the following morning, regretted by all. Though always known by his first title, Sālār Djang, he bore the higher titles *Shujā' al-Dawla* and *Mukhtār al-Mulk*.

Bibliography: Syed Hossain Bilgrami, *Memoir of Sir Sālār Jang, Shujā' ud-Dawla, Mukhtār al-Mulk, G. C. S. I.* (Bombay 1883); Syed Hossain Bilgrami and C. Wilmott, *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of H. H. the Nizām's Dominions* (Bombay 1883).

(T. W. HAIG)

ṢALĀT, the usual name in Arabic for the ritual prayer or divine service. The translation "prayer" simply is not accurate; the Arabic word *ṣalāṭ* corresponds to the conception prayer (Snouck Hurgronje has several times drawn attention to this distinction; *Vergrader Geschiedenis*, i. 213 sq., ii. 90, iv. 56, 63 sq., etc.). The word does not seem to occur in the pre-Korānic literature. Muḥammad took it, like the ceremony, from the Jews and Christians in Arabia. In many Kūfic copies of the Korān and often in later literature also in connection with the sacred book it is written *ṣalwa*. It is very often assumed that this orthography represents a dialectic pronunciation (Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qurān*, p. 255; Wright-de Goeje, *Arabic Grammar*, i. 12 A; Brockelmann, *Arabisches Grammatik*, p. 7). The writing of a *wāw* in place of the *ālif* which one would expect is found, it is true, in several other words belonging to the language of the Korān; but with the exception of *rubā* (ربو) only in the termination *āt* (or *at*), so frequent in Aramaic. The view that in forms like *ṣalwa*, *ṣalwa*, etc. Aramaic influence has been at work should therefore always be borne in mind (Fränkel, *De vocabulis in antiquis Arabum carminibus et in Corano peregrinis*, p. 21).

The etymology of the Aramaic word *ṣlōṣā* is quite transparent. The root *ṣ-l-ṣ* in Aramaic means to bow, to bend, to stretch. The substantive *ṣlōṣā* is the *nomen actionis* from this and means the act of bowing, etc. It is used in several Aramaic dialects for ritual prayer, although it can also mean spontaneous individual prayer, which in Syriac at least is usually called *ḥōṣā*. Muḥammad took over the word *ṣalāt* in this sense from his neighbours and the Muslim *ṣalāt* shows in its composition a great similarity to the Jewish and Christian services, as will be shown in greater detail below. — The verb *ṣallā* is a denominative derived from the substantive *ṣalāt* with the meaning "to perform the ṣalāt".

Gabriel came down five times in one day and performed the ṣalāt in Muḥammad's presence and the latter on each occasion imitated the angel (al-Bukhārī, *Mawāḥiṭ*, bāb 1; Muslim, *Mawāḥiṭ*, trad. 166, 167; Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 2; al-Tirmidhī, *Mawāḥiṭ*, bāb 1; al-Nasā'ī, *Mawāḥiṭ*, bāb 1, 10, 17; Ibn Mājjā, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 1; al-Dārimī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 2; Malik, *Ḥuḍūd*, trad. 1; etc.). This idea cannot, however, survive literary and historical criticism. In a short but searching study Houtsma has come to the following conclusions (*Iets over den dagelijkschen gebed der Mohammedanen in the Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1890, xxiv. 127 199). How the Mekkan practice was regulated is seen from Sūra al. 116: "And hold the ṣalāt at the two ends of the day as well as at the ends (?) of the night". With this Sūra xvii. 80 agrees, where a morning ṣalāt, a ṣalāt when the sun declines and the night ṣalāt (*ṣalāt al-layl*) are prescribed; cf. Sūra xiv. 57, where the *ṣalāt al-fajr* and the *ṣalāt al-'iḥṣā'* are mentioned. Then we find appearing suddenly in the Medina Sūra iii. 239 the "middle ṣalāt" (*al-wuṣṭā*). This must therefore have been added in Medina to the two usual ṣalāts and probably after the example of the Jews, who also performed their *ṣhallos* three times a day.

We thus arrive at three daily ṣalāts in Muḥammad's life-time. The question how the number five came to be fixed upon is answered by Houtsma, who says that the two midday ṣalāts (*ṣubr* and *'aṣr*) and the two evening ṣalāts (*maḡrib* and *'iḥṣā'*) are duplications of the *wuṣṭā* and *'iḥṣā'* respectively, duplications which are easily explained from the lack of accurate means of defining the times for the ṣalāt as in Muḥammad's life-time (cf. E. Miltwoch, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des islamischen Gebets und Kultus*, Abh. Pr. Ak. W., 1913, No. 2, p. 10 199). Goldziher, on the contrary (*Islamismus et Persisme in the R.H.R.*, 1901, xliii. 15), assumes Persian influence in settling the number at five. Caetani called attention to the fact that the number five was not yet firmly established in 'Umar II's time (*Annali, Introduction*, § 219 note, with reference to Goldziher, *Mus. Studien*, ii. 20, 29). Thereon it should be noted that 'Umar's admonition to "Urwa to be careful was not concerned with the number five but with the exact fixing of times. The latter, as a matter of fact, is also a subject of discussion in canonical Tradition, which deserves a separate investigation. When the theory of the five obligatory daily ṣalāts became firmly established cannot be exactly settled as yet. According to Ibn 'Abbās, Muḥammad "combined" in Medina several ṣalāts, e.g. the *ṣubr* and *'aṣr* ṣalāt on the one hand and the *maḡrib* and *'iḥṣā'* ṣalāt on the other, without his being on a journey or threatened by danger (Muslim, *Muṣṣaf*, trad. 49). Asked for Muḥammad's presumed reason, Ibn 'Abbās replied that he did not wish to expose any members of his community to (the danger of) sinning (by overburdening them) (*ibid.*, trad. 50; cf. 54, 55). In another version of the same ḥadīth we read: "We were wont in Muḥammad's life-time to combine ṣalāts in twos (*ibid.*, trad. 58). Al-Nawawī's commentary on the passages quoted (ed. Cairo 1282 A. H., ii. 196 29) is instructive for the difficulties which these traditions prepared for the 'Ulamā' and how they were able to overcome them. To us, such traditions are an indication that the

number of daily ṣalāts had not yet been fixed at five in Muḥammad's lifetime.

In the canonical Ḥadīth the number five is found in numerous traditions. In the schools of law there is no difference of opinion on this point. We shall therefore have to place the origin of this theory before the end of the seventh century.

The five compulsory ṣalāts are named as follows, according to the time of day at which they are observed (see the article *Ṣalāt*): *Ṣalāt al-Ṣubr*, often also called *Ṣalāt al-Fajr*; *Ṣalāt al-Zuhr*; *Ṣalāt al-'Aṣr*; *Ṣalāt al-Maḡrib*; *Ṣalāt al-'iḥṣā'*, often also called *Ṣalāt al-'Atama*, but the latter name is often condemned as unfit (Muslim, *Mawāḥiṭ*, trad. 228, 229; Abū Dā'ūd, *Ḥuḍūd*, bāb 78; al-Nasā'ī, *Mawāḥiṭ*, bāb 23; etc.).

II

Every Muslim who has attained his majority and is *compos mentis* is bound to observe the five daily ṣalāts (*al-maḥṭūba*, in contrast to the voluntary ṣalāts, which are called *nāfla* or *ṣalāt al-taṭawwū'*). The obligation is suspended for the sick. Ṣalāts omitted must be made up (*ḥaḍr*). The theories of the Shāfi' school on this point are given in al-Nawawī's commentary on Muslim, *Muṣṣaf*, trad. 309—316 (ii. 178 199). According to the strict theory (which in Islām has in very many cases little or nothing to do with practice), any one who deliberately omits the ṣalāt because he does not recognise it as a legal duty is to be regarded as *kāfir*. Even deliberate neglect without any such theoretical basis makes him liable to the death penalty (cf. *KATL*) (see al-Nawawī, *Minḥāḥ al-Talīb*, ed. v. d. Berg, i. 202; cf. Abū Ishāq al-Shirāzī, *K. al-Tanīh fī 'l-Fiqh*, ed. Juybol, p. 15).

Several preliminary conditions must be fulfilled for the performance of a valid ṣalāt.

The requisite ritual purity must be restored, if necessary, by *wuḍū'* (q. v.), *ghusl* (q. v.) or *taḥannum* (q. v.). The dress worn should fulfil the legal regulations which aim at the "covering of the privy parts" (*sitr al-'awra*). This means that in men the body must be covered from the navel to the knees, in free women the whole body except the face and hands. The latter regulation is remarkable, because it is in striking contrast to the popular European opinion regarding the compulsory veiling of Muslim women (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Twee populaire dwalingen in the Verspreide Geschieden*, i. 295 199). In the Ḥadīth the question of dress, like so many others, has not yet reached a uniform formulation. Sometimes only the covering of the privy parts is mentioned (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 10), and sometimes the saying is ascribed to Muḥammad that the shoulders also should be covered (e.g. Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad. 175); sometimes the use of the scanty *jamāda* is expressly mentioned in this connection (e.g. Ahmad b. Hanbal, *Musnad*, iii. 322 etc.) and at the same time we are told that the ṣalāt in one *ḥawṣ* is permitted or even quite common (e.g. Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 77, 80—82); on the other hand it is said that one who owns two *ḥawṣ* should put them on at the ṣalāt (e.g. Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 82; Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii. 148).

The ṣalāt need not be held in a mosque but may be celebrated in a dwelling-house and any other place; the authority given for this is the saying of Muḥammad that he was granted

the privilege that for him the earth was *maṣṣid wa-ṣabūr* (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 56). Tombs are excepted (e.g. Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-Muṣṣirīn*, trad. 208, 209) and unclean places, like slaughter-places etc. (e.g. al-Tirmidhī, *Mawāḥiṣ al-Ṣalāt*, bāb 147).

The place where the ṣalāt is performed is marked off in some way from the surrounding area by a *sutra*; on this cf. the article *SUTRA*. A *ṣaḥif* [q. v.] is used as a rule. Attention has also to be paid to the direction of Mekka; cf. the article *KIBLA*.

The ṣalāt proper consists of the following elements, our description of which is based on the Shāfi'i practice.

The *niya* (= intention, q. v.) is pronounced aloud or in a low voice, with an announcement of the ṣalāt which one intends to perform: it corresponds to the Jewish *šamwānā* (cf. Mittwoch, *op. cit.*, p. 16; A. J. Wensinck, *De intentie in recht, ethiek en mystiek der semitische volken in de V. M. A. W.*, series 5, vol. iv.). Then are pronounced the words *Allāhu akbar*, the *takbīrat al-ihṛām*, which begins the consecrated state (cf. the article *ḤAJJ*). Mittwoch has compared this formula with the benedictions of the Jewish *šfila* (*op. cit.*, p. 16 sq.). The ṣalāt is performed standing. Mittwoch points out that the Jewish *šfila* is called *amīlā* (*op. cit.*, p. 16). It is *sunnā* to utter a *du'a* or a *ta'awwuz* after the *takbīra* (see *Minhāḡ*, i. 78). Then follows the recitation which usually consists of the *fātiḥa*. In the Ḥadīth the importance of this *ḥir'a* is expressed in the maxim: *lā ṣalāt ḥimān lam yaḥṣa' bi-fātiḥati 'l-kitāb* (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Adhūn*, bāb 95; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad. 34—36, 42). In a congregational ṣalāt it is the custom for only the *fātiḥa* to be recited along with the *imām*; if the latter begins with the second *ḥir'a*, those present have to listen (cf. *Minhāḡ*, i. 80). In the Ḥadīth are numerous statements as to whether recitation should be loud or low; e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Kuṣūf*, bāb 19; Abū Dā'ūd, *Tahāra*, bāb 89; al-Nasā'ī, *Istisḥā*, bāb 27—29, 80, 81 etc.; cf. al-Bukhārī, *Adhūn*, bāb 96, 97, 108; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad. 47—49; al-Nasā'ī, *Istisḥā*, bāb 27, 28, 80 etc.

Next comes the *rukū'* which consists in bending the back till the palms of the hands are on a level with the knees (the Jewish *ker'a*; see Mittwoch, *op. cit.*, p. 17 sq.; cf. also the pictures of the various attitudes in the ṣalāt in Lane's *Manners and Customs* in the chapter on *Religion and Laws* and in Juynboll, *Handbuch*, p. 76). The upright position is then resumed (*ʿitdāl*); as soon as the head is raised after the *rukū'*, the hands are uplifted and the worshipper pronounces the words: "Allāh hears him who praises him." This is found quite early, even in Ḥadīth (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Adhūn*, bāb 52, 74, 82; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad. 25, 28, 55, 62—64 etc.).

There have been differences of opinion regarding the raising of the hands in *ṣalāt* and *du'a*. Some say that Muḥammad used to lift up his hands at the ṣalāt (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Adhūn*, bāb 83—86; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad. 21—26; Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 114—126; al-Nasā'ī, *Istisḥā*, bāb 1—6, 85—87; Ahmad b. Hanbal, i. 93, 255, 289 etc.). Importance is attached (as may be seen in the passages just quoted) to giving the height to which it is permitted to raise the hands. Besides raising the hands the spreading out of them also occurs (al-Bukhārī, *Adhūn*, bāb 130). It is also evident from

the passages of Ḥadīth quoted that the raising of the hands took place not only after the *rukū'* but also in other parts of the ṣalāt. This ritual gesture was made with special preference at the ṣalāt for rain (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Ḍiyū'a*, bāb 34, 35; Muslim, *Istisḥā*, trad. 5—7; Ahmad b. Hanbal, iii. 104, 153, 181 etc.). Occasionally the *raf' al-yadain* is declared permitted for no *du'a* except the *istisḥā* (e.g. al-Nasā'ī, *Kiyām al-Lail*, bāb 52; Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii. 243). What value was given this rite may be seen, for example, from the fact that Muḥammad is made to perform the *waḥḥ* before raising the hands in the *du'a* (al-Bukhārī, *Maḡhāz*, bāb 55). This all becomes quite clear when we reflect that the raising of the hands is as it were a measure of coercion used by man towards the Deity, as Goldziher has shown in his *Zauber-elemente im islamischen Geiste* (*Nödlke-Festschrift*, i. 320). The *Sunna* further associates with the *rukū'* the *ḥuṣūl* [q. v.], which in parts falls into the same category as the raising of the hands, as Goldziher has also shown in the essay just mentioned.

The next "pillar" of the ṣalāt in order is the prostration (*sujūd*), which was also one of the rites of the Jewish (Mittwoch, *op. cit.*, p. 17 sq., *hishḡawwā*) and of the Christian service (Wensinck, *Muḥammad in de Joden te Medina*, p. 104 sq.); for further details see the article *SUJŪD*. Next the worshipper assumes the half-kneeling, half-sitting position, which in Arabic terminology is usually called *qūlūs* (cf. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 76, fig. 7). Then comes another *sujūd*.

The ceremonies from the recitation of the *fātiḥa* to the second *sujūd* inclusive constitute a *rak'a*. It is to be noted that in the Ḥadīth literature at least this terminology still varies a good deal. Sometimes *rak'a* seems to be used in the same sense as *ṣaḥif*, sometimes (and this is the regular usage later) *rak'a* is the more comprehensive term, applied to the middle part just described of the whole *ṣalāt*. Only the history of the Muslim ritual, which has still to be written, will make clear the exact state of affairs. The most usual (in Ḥadīth also) terminology gives the number of *rak'a*s for each ṣalāt, viz. for the *ṣalāt al-faḍr*, 2; for the *ṣalāt al-ḡaḥr*, 4; for the *ṣalāt al-'aṣr*, 4; for the *ṣalāt al-maḡrib*, 3; for the *ṣalāt al-'iṣḡā*, 4. Muslim tradition even says that the ṣalāt originally consisted of two *rak'a*s, that this number was retained for the ṣalāt on journeys, but four was fixed for the normal ṣalāt (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 1; Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-Muṣṣirīn*, trad. 1—3, etc.). Mittwoch (*op. cit.*, p. 18 sq.) assumes Jewish influence on the original choice of two *rak'a*s.

The statement that this or that ṣalāt consists of so many *rak'a*s means that the introductory rites which precede the first *ḥir'a* and those which follow the second *sujūd* (see below) need only occur once in the ṣalāt in question while, on the other hand, the ceremonies in between are repeated so many times.

The rites which follow the second *sujūd* are the *taḡakkud*, the profession of faith, which is pronounced sitting. That the rule just mentioned for the repetition of certain parts of the ṣalāt only developed gradually is evident from a tradition which ascribes to Muḥammad the pronouncement that the *taḡakkud* should be repeated at every two *rak'a*s (Ahmad b. Hanbal, i. 211).

Then comes the ṣalāt on the prophet which

It is clear that at first Muhammad had not the material available in ample measure for the ritual. The texts which were recited and sung in the solemn litanies of the Christians and Jews in their services were lacking to him. This fact may still be deduced from the celebrated tradition regarding the revelation of Sūra xvi., according to the common view, the first that was revealed to him. To the command of the angel urging him to recite he replied: "I have nothing to recite". The divine part of this dialogue, which so troubled Muhammad, is then said to have at once become the first text for recitation, and it was followed by others with longer or shorter passages.

Although the salāt is nowhere described or exactly regulated in the Korān, it can be assumed that its characteristic features have not changed in the course of development of the worship. The indications in the Korān of its various component parts lead us to believe this. The standing position is everywhere presupposed in the salāt, alternating with inclinations (*rukūʿ*) and prostrations (*sujūd*). How closely the salāt was bound up even in the Mekkan period with the recitation of the Korān is seen from the fact that in Sūra xvii. 80 the morning salāt is called *Korān al-Faḍr*. On the other hand we find the recitation of the Korān by itself also associated with prostration (Sūra lxxiv. 21).

That at this period praises already constituted a very considerable part of the salāt is clear from Korānic passages like Sūra xx. 130 and xxiv. 41, where *taḥmīd* and *tasbeḥ* are mentioned in the closest connection with the salāt.

From the mention of the *salāt* and the verb *ṣallā* in the oldest Sūra's (e.g. lxxv. 31, lxx. 23, cvii. 5, lxxiv. 44, cviii. 2) it may be further seen that we can assert that this rite was an accompaniment of Islām from the earliest times and that Caetan's sceptical reflexions and hypotheses do not give sufficient weight to the Korānic evidence (cf. *Annali, Introduzione*, 219 note — in part in connection with similar views of Grimme). How much Muhammad disturbed the Mekkan with his new religion may be seen from Sūra xvii. 110, where he is recommended by Allāh not to perform the salāt too loudly, which is interpreted by tradition — and, no doubt, rightly — to mean that his unbelieving fellow-citizens molested him for holding his services too noisily. This is in agreement with the fact that in the period during which Muhammad is continually advised to imitate the example of the earlier prophets and model himself on their patience, attention is regularly called to their also having summoned those around them to hold the salāt (e.g. Sūra xxi. 73, xix. 32, xiv. 40, xix. 56, xx. 132).

In the Korān the salāt is very frequently mentioned along with the *ṣawm*; the two are obviously considered the manifestations of piety most loved by Allāh (e.g. Sūra ii. 77, 104, 172, 277, iv. 79, 160, v. 15, 60 etc.). In Sūra ii. 42, 148 the believers are exhorted to seek help in *ṣalāt* and *ṣawm*. *Ṣawm* [q.v.] is interpreted in this connection as fasting. There is further in the Korān no trace so far of the five "pillars" which later attained such an important position. The *ṣalāt* is an expression of humility (Sūra xliii. 2) which latter was considered throughout the Hellenistic world as the attitude of the deity most befitting man. Punctual observance (*muḥāfaẓa*) of the salāt is

repeatedly enjoined (vi. 92, xliii. 9, lxx. 34; cf. lxx. 22) and neglect (*ṣakw*) is censured (cvii. 5). In Sūra iv. 104 a similar injunction is given the following justification: "for the salāt is a *ḥudūd* *muḥḥḥ*" i.e. "a regulated ordinance of religion". It is blamed in the Munāḥḥūn [q.v.] that they perform the salāt without real and with eye-service only (Sūra iv. 141). The limitation and later interdiction of the use of wine owed its origin to the fact that over-indulgence disturbed order at divine service (Sūra iv. 46).

As has already been observed, we may assume that the essential features of the later salāt were in existence from the very beginning. We know only very little about peculiarities of the salāt and its accompanying phenomena in the oldest period of Islām. A ritual ablution (cf. the articles *ḡhusl*, *ṭahara*, *wuḍūʿ*) before the salāt is prescribed in Sūra v. 8; the *nidaʾ* for the salāt is mentioned in v. 63 and in lxii. 9 for the Friday salāt. A special salāt in case of imminent danger is described in Sūra iv. 103 (see below under *Salāt al-Khawf*). Praises of Muhammad and the *Tasbeḥ* form the conclusion of the later salāt. This practice can be justified by Sūra xxxiii. 56, where it is written: "Allāh and his angels bless the Prophet; ye who believe, bless him and bring him salutations of peace". The Friday salāt is mentioned in lxii. 9 in the words: "O believers, when the call to the salāt occurs on Fridays, haste ye to the invocation (*dhikr*) of Allāh and quit trafficking. This is better for ye when ye know."

In these circumstances it is intelligible that Muhammad laid great stress on those who showed themselves ready to adopt Islām being at once initiated into the practice of the salāt. Tradition thus reports that he sent Aḥmad b. Zurāra or Muṣāb b. Umair to the Medinese for this express purpose and that the latter was the first to hold the Friday service with them (see A. J. Wensinck, *Muhammad in de Joden te Medina*, p. 111 sqq., and C. H. Becker in *Der Islam*, iii. 378 sq.). In Muhammad's messages to the tribes of Arabia the salāt is frequently inculcated as a Muslim duty (see J. Sperber, *Die Schreiben Muhammads an die Stämme Arabiens* in the *M.S.O.S. Ar.*, xix., reprint, p. 16, 19, 38, 58, 77 etc.). According to Muslim tradition, the establishment of the number five in the daily salāt dates back to the beginnings of Islām. It is connected with Muhammad's ascension to heaven (see the article *isrāʾ*). When Muhammad is taken up to the highest heaven fifty salāts daily are imposed on his community by Allāh. Muhammad leaves the presence of Allāh with this commission; on his way back he meets Mūsā who asks him what Allāh has imposed on his community. When Mūsā hears the orders he says: "Return to thy Lord for the community is not able to bear this." Allāh then alters the fifty to twenty-five. On his way back Muhammad tells Mūsā of the alteration and receives the same reply. The same processes are repeated until finally the number remains at five (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 1; Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 259, 263; al-Tirmidhī, *Mawāḥiṣ al-Ṣalāt*, bāb 45; al-Nasāʾī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 1; Ibn Māǧja, *Ḥama*, bāb 194; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 315 (ter), iii. 148 sq., 161; cf. Ibn Saʿd, i. 143 etc.). The scene bears some similarity to Genesis, xviii. 23 sqq., where Abraham's intercession for Sodom and Gomorra is described. — On the other hand, in a widely disseminated tradition we are told that

consists of eulogies in which occurs the much discussed formula *Ṣallā 'lāhū 'alaik wa-sallama*. These formulae are pronounced sitting. The worshipper remains seated for the concluding ceremony, the *salām* or *ṭaḥiyyat al-ṭahīl*, which ends the consecrated state. The fullest version of it is, according to al-Nawawī (*op. cit.*, p. 91 sq.): *al-salām 'alaikum wa-rahmatu 'llāh*; but it may also be abbreviated. It is pronounced twice, once looking to the right and a second time to the left. It is considered a salutation to the believers; but it is also referred to the guardian angels present (cf. *Sūra* xvii. 80). On analogies in the Jewish service see Mittwoch, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

The different ceremonies of the *ṣalāt* are classified according to their importance or their obligatory or sunna character. Al-Nawawī (*op. cit.*, p. 74 sqq.) numbers the following among the *arkān al-ṣalāt*: *niyya*, *takbīrat al-iḥrām*, *qiyām*, *qir'ān*, *rukū'*, *ṣittāḥ*, *ruḥūḍ*, *qiyūḍ*, *ḥuḍūḍ*, *ṭaḥiyyat*, *ḥuḍūḍ*, *al-ṣalāt 'ala 'l-Nabī*, *salām* and (13) the correct order of succession (*ṭarīq*). The other ceremonies — some of which are mentioned above — are considered sunna by him. Cf. Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī, *Tanbīh*, p. 25.

It is the many sunna ceremonies which, according as they are abbreviated or carried through in great detail, give each *ṣalāt* its peculiar character and in particular affect its length. This is true especially of the eulogies interspersed (see Mas'ūḍī Muhammad 'Alī, *The Holy Qur'ān*, 2nd ed., Lahore 1920, p. 11) and of the *qir'ān*; for the recitation of the *fātiha* may be followed by the recitation of further chapters from the *Korān*. The *Ḥadīth* has much to say on this subject. It appears that the great zeal of many imāms in this respect has often been a burden to the faithful. Complaints on the subject are said to have been made to Muḥammad and he is said to have readily admitted their justice. "Reflect", he is said to have warned the imāms, "that there are weak and old men among you" (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Ḥim*, bāb 28; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad. 179-190; Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 122, 123 etc.). We even find him quoted as describing the imām concerned as a *fattān* (tempter) (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 60; Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 308). Praise is also given to Muḥammad because no one went through the *ṣalāt* more completely and in a shorter time than he did (Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 279, 282 and many other passages).

It is natural that the correct order of the ceremonies in the *ṣalāt* is considered one of its pillars by the faḥīḥa. But we are justified in supposing that there was still considerable variation in this long after Muḥammad's death. Such unintentional deviations from the usual number and order of the ceremonies are discussed in the *Fikḥ* and *Ḥadīth* — the *infant terrible* of the *Fikḥ* — supplies the historical background for them. Both say that these unintentional deviations in minor points are made good by the performance of additional *rukū'a*s or *saḥḥa*s. With what painful accuracy the *Fikḥ* deals with this subject may be seen, for example, from al-Nawawī (*op. cit.*, p. 90 sqq.). *Ḥadīth*, on the other hand, is content, as a rule, to say that Muḥammad, who was later also credited with such deviations, in these cases used to perform two additional *saḥḥa*s, which are called *saḥḥat al-ṭaḥīl* (e.g. Muslim, *Masāḥid*, trad. 85; Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 12, 37, 42;

al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 88; *Sahw*, bāb 4 etc.). Al-Bukhārī in the heading to bāb 32 of the chapter *Ṣalāt* preserves the memory of less minutely regulated conditions.

The *Fikḥ* also defines quite minutely what actions and contingent states of body destroy the validity of the *ṣalāt* (al-Nawawī, *op. cit.*, p. 103 sqq.; Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī, p. 28 sq.). The *Ḥadīth* records that at first the believers used to talk freely with each other during the *ṣalāt* and greeted Muḥammad and one another, but that the Prophet put an end to this licence (al-Bukhārī, *al-Amāl fī 'l-Ṣalāt*, bāb 2-4). The old state of affairs is strikingly illuminated in the oft told story of how Muḥammad performed the *ṣalāt* with Zainab's little daughter hanging round his neck; when he came to the *ruḥūḍ* he, it is said, put down the child and took her up again when he arose (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 106; Muslim, *Masāḥid*, trad. 41-44; al-Nasā'ī, *Masāḥid*, bāb 19). In another tradition it is related how Ḥasan and Ḥusain jumped on Muḥammad's back during his *ruḥūḍ* (e.g. Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 513). These were the good old days which the faḥīḥa clearly did not wish back again.

III

Besides the five daily *ṣalāts* there are some that are not compulsory; al-Ghazālī divides them into three categories: *sunna*, *mustahabb* and *taḥawwūf* (*Iḥyā'*, Cairo 1302, i. 174); some of them may have come into use after Muḥammad's death and were therefore never given legal force, others had already fallen somewhat into desuetude in Muḥammad's lifetime.

The latter is true of the night-*ṣalāt* (*ṣalāt al-layl*). This name is the most usual in the *Ḥadīth*, while in the *Korān taḥaḍḍiḍ* (*Sūra* xvii. 80) is used. The etymology (the "waking") of this word suggests a close connection with the Christian vigils and especially with the custom of keeping awake (Syriac *shaharā*), which was much cultivated among ascetics and mystics of Western Asia. We have quite a minute knowledge of this rite from Syriac ascetic literature; in it the keeping awake is in itself a very meritorious work; it is usually combined with the reading of scripture, meditation and ritual prayer. We must imagine the *taḥaḍḍiḍ* to have been something similar. In the description of the nightly exercises in the *Lailat al-Kubr*, and in the nights of Ramaḍān in general, the name *qiyām* is preferably used, which shows that great value was put upon standing and waking in themselves.

That such nightly exercises were zealously carried through in the oldest Muslim community is clear from the *Ḥadīth*. For further details see the article *TAḤAḌḌIḌ*. Here we shall only say that even in Muḥammad's lifetime these exercises have been deprived of their obligatory character (Abū Dā'ūd, *Tafawwūḍ*, bāb 17, 26; al-Nasā'ī, *Qiyām al-Layl*, bāb 2; al-Dārimī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 165).

The night-*ṣalāt* is closely connected with the *wir*. This word means "uneven" and the rite really consists in the addition of one *rukū'a* to the even number of *rukū'a*s in the night-*ṣalāt*. For further information see the article *WIR*. How varying the practice was in the oldest community with regard to the daily *ṣalāts* may be seen from the statements regarding the *ṣalāt al-duḥā*, the only one in the forenoon. In Ahmad b. Ḥanbal,

i. 147, the time is fixed in the following way: Muhammad used to perform the *ṣalāt* when the sun had risen the same distance from its starting point as it is distant from its place of setting at the *ṣalāt al-ṣuḥr*. Some make Muhammad recommend the *ṣalāt al-ṣuḥr* (al-Nasā'ī, *Ḥiṣṣat al-Lail*, bāb 28; *Siyām*, bāb 81; al-Dārimī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 151; Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii. 175, 265 bis, 271, etc.) and perform it regularly (Ahmad b. Hanbal, i. 89, ii. 38); it is even said that it was *farīḍa* for him and *ṣunna* for the Muslims (do., i. 231, 232, 317 bis). Others again say that Muhammad only performed this *ṣalāt* once or that the authority in question only saw him do it once (al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 41; Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-Muṣṣirīn*, trad. 80, 81; Abū Dā'ūd, *Taḥaḥḥud*, bāb 12; Ahmad b. Hanbal, iii. 156); or that Muhammad only performed it on returning from a journey (Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-Muṣṣirīn*, trad. 75, 76). Such statements are supported by the traditions which say that the great authorities like Abū Bakr, 'Umar and Ibn 'Umar did not perform the *ṣalāt al-ṣuḥr* (al-Bukhārī, *Tahajjud*, bāb 31; al-Dārimī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 152). The last named goes so far as to call it a *bid'a* (= innovation; a strong word) (Muslim, *Ḥaḍīṣ*, trad. 220; Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii. 128 sq., 155).

The *ṣalāts* before and after the obligatory ones, usually consisting of two *rak'as*, are very numerous. Before and after the *Ṣalāt al-fajr*: al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 15; Abū Dā'ūd, *Taḥaḥḥud*, bāb 6. Before and after the *Ṣalāt al-ẓuhr*: al-Bukhārī, *Tahajjud*, bāb 25; Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-Muṣṣirīn*, trad. 105, 106. Before and after the *Ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr*, but care should be taken to avoid coinciding with the sunset (see the article *al-ḥaṣr*): Abū Dā'ūd, *Taḥaḥḥud*, bāb 8; al-Bukhārī, *Mawāḥiṭ*, bāb 53; cf. *Maḥāṣin*, bāb 69. Before and after the *Ṣalāt al-Maghrib*: al-Bukhārī, *Tahajjud*, bāb 35, 25 (six *Rak'as* after the *Ṣalāt al-Maghrib*: al-Tirmidhī, *Mawāḥiṭ*, bāb 203). After the *Ṣalāt al-ʿiṣā*: al-Bukhārī, *Tahajjud*, bāb 25. But it is reported even of Muhammad that he did not observe all these voluntary *ṣalāts* every day; the number is usually fixed at 16 or 12 (Ahmad b. Hanbal, i. 111, 142, 143, 146, 147 sq.). In addition there are such *ṣalāts* on different days of the week and month (see al-Gharālī, *Iḥyā'*, i. 174 sqq. in bāb 7 of the chapter *Ṣalāt*) and on different occasions, such as on entering a mosque, returning from a journey (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 60; Muslim, *Muṣṣirīn*, trad. 74).

IV

One may perform the daily *ṣalāt* by oneself; but it is recommended to perform it with the community (on differences of opinion on this question see al-Nawawī, *op. cit.*, i. 126 sq.). In any case, according to al-Nawawī, there is no obligation on women; it is even not recommended for them. In the *Ḥadīth* the advantages of the congregational *ṣalāt* are strongly emphasised (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 29—31, 34; Muslim, *Maṣāḥib*, trad. 245—259, 271—282; al-Nasā'ī, *ʿAlimna*, bāb 42, 45, 48—50, 52). The mosque is at the same time recommended as the place of assembly, although not obligatory, nor does the validity depend on a certain number of participants being present. In Abū Ishāq al-Shirāzī (*Tanbīh*, p. 31; cf. Ibn Māḍja, *Iḥyā'*, bāb 5) it is said that two persons can hold a *ḡamā'a*. Very often *ṣalāts* performed by three individuals are described (e.g. Muslim, *Maṣāḥib*, trad. 269).

One is recommended to go quietly to the *ṣalāt* (al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 20, 21, 23; Muslim, *Maṣāḥib*, trad. 151—155). It is also considered particularly meritorious to take one's place some time before the commencement of the *ṣalāt* and to wait some time after its conclusion (Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii. 266, 277, 289 sq., 301). If anyone comes so late that he can only take part in one *rak'a* he has nevertheless "achieved the *ṣalāt*" (al-Bukhārī, *Maṣāḥib*, bāb 29; Muslim, *Maṣāḥib*, trad. 161—165 etc.; the opposite view is held by Mālik, *Wuḥūṭ*, trad. 15). Even if one enters the mosque after already performing the *ṣalāt* concerned by oneself, one should take part in the *ṣalāt* with the congregation (Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 36; al-Tirmidhī, *Mawāḥiṭ*, bāb 49). The opposite view, however, has also its supporters (Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 57). The frequently mentioned rule is that one should make up in private for what one has missed in the *ḡamā'a* (Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii. 237, 238, 239, 270, etc.).

The worshippers arrange themselves in rows (*ṣaff*) on the closed and good order of which much stress is laid (al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 71, 72, 74—76, 114; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad. 122—128; Abū Dā'ūd, bāb 93—100; Ahmad b. Hanbal, iii. 3, 112 sq., 114, 122, etc.). The places in the front row have special advantages (al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 9, 73; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad. 129—132); within this row again the places on the right of the *imām* are especially recommended (Ibn Māḍja, *Iḥyā'*, bāb 34). This, however, is true only of men; women are advised to take their places in the last row (Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii. 247, 336, 354, 370). The *ṣalāt al-ḡamā'a* is conducted by an *imām* who takes up a position before the front row, or, if there are only two individuals present besides him, between the two or so that one is on his right and the other behind him (Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 98; al-Nasā'ī, *Taḥṣīṣ*, bāb 1; Ahmad b. Hanbal, i. 451).

It is laid down that one should copy the *imām* exactly (al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 51—53, 74, 82 etc.). Anyone who neglects this rule exposes himself to punishment from God (Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii. 425; Mālik, *Nida'*, bāb 57).

Mittwoch (*op. cit.*, p. 22; cf. thereon Becker in *Der Islam*, iii. 386 sqq.) has pointed out that the *imām* corresponds to the *shelish ha-qibla* at the Jewish service. At the latter as in Islam the duties can be carried through by any member of the community qualified to do so. In Muhammad's lifetime the position in Medina was that it only happened exceptionally that the Prophet did not conduct the *ṣalāt*. During his last illness and also on other occasions when he was absent Abū Bakr is said to have usually represented him. The *Ḥadīth* loves to expand itself on this point; in this we have probably to consider many things as reflections of the events after Muhammad's death. The conducting of the *ṣalāt* was then of tremendous importance as is clear from the manifold meanings of the word *imām*. The leader of the *ḡamā'a* in the mosque of the Prophet was naturally also the leader of the community in political matters. Gradually there came about a separation of the functions but the Caliph and the leader of the smallest village *ḡamā'a* alike retain the title of *imām*.

While the *imām* — at least in the days of the early Caliphs — was appointed to the mosque

of the Prophet, in the provinces an alternation in the exercise of the duties was more to be expected. In the canonical Hadith we look in vain for a regular usage in the provinces. Perhaps it may be concluded from this that in the first century of the Hijra no regular usage had yet developed. If a number of persons assemble for the *ḡamā'a*, sometimes it is said that the oldest (al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 17, 18, 35, 49, 140; *Ḍiḥād*, bāb 42; al-Nasā'ī, *Adhān*, bāb 7 etc.), sometimes the one with the best knowledge of the Korān should conduct the ṣalāt (Muslim, *Masājid*, trad. 289—291; al-Nasā'ī, *Adhān*, bāb 8; Ahmad b. Hanbal, iii, 24, 34, 36 etc.). Slaves and freedmen could perform the duties (al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 54). In a Zaidi tradition there is even a mention of women as Imām (*"Corpus Juris" di Zaid ibn 'Alī*, ed. Griffini, N° 189). The question behind whom one may perform the ṣalāt is also discussed in the Fikh books and in the collections of traditions (al-Nawawī, *op. cit.*, p. 131 *sqq.*; al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 56; Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 63).

The responsibility of the Imām (Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii, 232, 284, 377 *sq.*, etc.) as well as his heavenly reward are laid stress upon (Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 58; Ibn Mādjā, *Iḥṣā*, bāb 47). One should retire if some one is there who has greater authority in religious matters (al-Nasā'ī, *A'imma*, bāb 3, 6). No one should thrust himself on the people (Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 62; al-Tirmidhī, *Mawāḥiṭ*, bāb 149). The Imām is not to be a stranger but a local man (Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 65; al-Tirmidhī, *Mawāḥiṭ*, bāb 147; Mālik, *Ṣalāt al-ḡamā'a*, bāb 15).

The direction of the *ijmā'a* gradually developed into a more or less definite office. In Egypt the Imām is often a small tradesman or a school-master (Lane, *Manners and Customs*, p. 96 *sq.*). In the larger mosques there are two imāms appointed who are paid out of the funds of the mosque. In Mekka we find the most distinguished scholars and quite insignificant individuals alike acting as Imām (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 234, note). In the Dutch East Indies the duties are often performed by the *paṅḡulu*, who also holds juridical offices (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Veraprijsde Geschiedenis*, ii, 116 *sq.*, 177; *De Atjehers*, i, 89). See further the article *MASJID*.

Besides the five daily ṣalāts there are special services to be held by the community on certain occasions. The first place among these is occupied by the Friday ṣalāt; for a description of which see the article *ḤUM'Ā*. For the ṣalāt on the two feasts see the article *ĪD*, for the ṣalāt for rain see *ISTISKĀ* and for the *Ṣalāt al-Kusuf* see *KUSUF*. Here we shall only say that much ancient and popular matter has survived in these divine services.

Of quite another kind, i.e. special or short forms of the true Muslim ṣalāt, is the ṣalāt on journeys, which consists of two *rak'as*. The jurists naturally devote much attention to the question of what is meant by a journey. Another alleviation on journeys consists in the combination of two or more ṣalāts into one (*ḡamā'*). The Hadith has much information on the subject (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Takfir al-Ṣalāt*, bāb 6, 13—19; Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-Musāfirin*, trad. 42—58 etc.). As mentioned in section I, it is said that Muhammad combined several ṣalāts in Medina; on the significance of such statements cf. what is

said there and also al-Nawawī, *op. cit.*, p. 159 *sq.*

A special ṣalāt, already described in the Korān, is that which is held when danger threatens from the enemy (Sūra iv, 102—104). The deviation from the usual ritual consists mainly in the fact that the believers are arranged in two rows of which one keeps watch with weapon in hand during the *suḡūd* of the other; they repeat this in turn until all have performed the *suḡūd*. The *ḡashshud* is then recited by them all together. If the enemy is to be expected from another direction than that of the *qibla*, the ritual is modified as conditions demand (for further information see e.g. al-Nawawī, *op. cit.*, p. 181 *sqq.*). In this case also the ṣalāt may be abbreviated (Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-Musāfirin*, trad. 4, 5; al-Nasā'ī, *Ṣalāt al-ḡhawf*, bāb 4, 7, 23, 24, 26, 27). There is even mention of a *Ṣalāt al-ḡhawf* of only one *rak'a* (Ahmad b. Hanbal, i, 237, 243).

In conclusion we must here deal briefly with the ṣalāt for the dead (*al-ṣalāt 'ala 'l-mayyit*, *ṣalāt al-djinnā*). It is a common duty (*farḡ al-ḡibaya*) which can only be omitted in exceptional cases (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Veraprijsde Geschiedenis*, i, 138, note 3). In some traditions the ṣalāt is ordered for every dead Muslim (Ibn Mādjā, *Djannā'is*, bāb 31; al-Nasā'ī, *Djannā'is*, bāb 37). In the Hadith (al-Bukhārī, *Djannā'is*, bāb 23, 85; *Tafsiṭ*, Sūra 9, bāb 12, 13; Muslim, *Faḡḡil al-Ṣaḡāba*, trad. 25 etc.) it is related how Muhammad held the ṣalāt for the dead 'Abd Allāh b. Ubāy, the arch-munāfiḡ, and was reproved by 'Umar for doing so. Therefore Sūra ix, 85 was revealed: "and never perform the ṣalāt for one of them who dies and stand not at his grave, for they are unbelievers against Allāh and His Messenger and they die as *fāsiḡ*" (on the legal definition of the conception of *fāsiḡ* see Snouck Hurgronje, *Veraprijsde Geschiedenis*, ii, 97).

In the Hadith it is further related that Muhammad omitted the ṣalāt in cases where the deceased had committed suicide (Muslim, *Djannā'is*, trad. 107; Abū Dā'ūd, *Kharāḡi*, bāb 46). Al-Nawawī, *op. cit.*, p. 225, says, however, that no exception was made in this case. The Hadith also tells us that Muhammad refused to hold this ṣalāt unless the debts of the deceased had already been paid (al-Bukhārī, *Hawāḡāt*, bāb 3; Abū Dā'ūd, *Buyū'*, bāb 9; Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii, 290, 399). In law therefore the mourners are recommended to settle this matter quickly (al-Nawawī, i, 221). In the Hadith we find contradictory statements regarding the question whether Muhammad held the *ṣalāt al-djinnā* on behalf of those who had been legally executed (Abū Dā'ūd, *Djannā'is*, bāb 47; al-Nasā'ī, *Djannā'is*, bāb 63, 64). We shall hardly be wrong if we suppose that this ṣalāt also retained certain pre-Muhammadan customs (cf. A. J. Wensinck, *Some Semitic Rites of Mourning and Religion in the Veraprijsde Geschiedenis*, vol. xviii, N° 1, Chap. 2 and 3). According to Abū Ishāḡ al-Shirāḡī (ed. Juybolil, p. 47 *sq.*), the following is the order of the ṣalāt for the dead: the Imām stands at the top of the bier in the case of a man, at the bottom in the case of a woman (this is the old tradition; cf. al-Bukhārī, *Djannā'is*, bāb 63; Muslim, *Djannā'is*, trad. 87, 88 etc.); he pronounces the *niyya* and utters four *takbīr's* with hands raised; at the first he recites the *fatḡha*, at the second he utters the eulogy on Muhammad, at the third he pronounces the *du'a'*

for the dead man, at the fourth a *duʿāʾ* for those who take part in the service; the two *taʿlīmāt* conclude the ceremony.

Difference of opinion prevails regarding the place where the *ṣalāt al-djānāz* should be held. There are indications that in the ancient Medina the *muṣallā* [q. v.] was used, for example in the case of the service for Naḍjāshī [q. v.], who died in Abyssinia (al-Bukhārī, *Ḍjānāz*, bāb 4; Muslim, *Ḍjānāz*, trad. 63, 64). In Ibn Saʿd, *Iṣṭi*, 14, it is said that the *ṣalāt* was held by Muḥammad in the home of the deceased. People therefore thought it an innovation when the body of Saʿd b. Abī Waqqās was brought into the mosque at the request, it is said, of ʿAʿisha or of the widows of the Prophet. ʿAʿisha is said to have replied to the complaints that were made: "How short is the memory of the people. Muḥammad was indeed wont to hold this *ṣalāt* in the mosque" (Muslim, *Ḍjānāz*, trad. 99—101). Muslim's commentator, al-Nawawī, gives on this passage (as al-Zurkānī does on Mālik, *Ḍjānāz*, trad. 22) the points of view of the different schools with reference to the legal category in which they place the holding of this *ṣalāt* in the mosque (on the question cf. also *Semitic Rites of Mourning and Religion*, p. 2—4). In any case it is the custom in various parts of the Muslim world to-day to perform this *ṣalāt* in a mosque (Lane, *Manners and Customs*, p. 526; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 189). In Atjeh, on the other hand, as is usually also the case on Java, it takes place in the front part of the enclosure before the house of the deceased (Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehese*, i. 423; do., *Verspr. Geschr.*, iv. 1. 242). This is at least permitted by the law although not recommended (it depends on the *madhhab*).

The body is not necessarily present at the *ṣalāt*. In Mekka it is the custom to hold the *ṣalāt al-djānāz* for residents who have died away from home (*Mekka*, ii. 189). Justification may be claimed for this practice in the widespread tradition according to which Muḥammad held a service in Medina for the dead Naḍjāshī (cf. above).

V

The question of the significance of the *ṣalāt* is usually approached in a one-sided fashion by European critics. They like, it must be admitted, to follow Ranke in placing a high value on the *ṣalāt* as a disciplinary measure and certainly it is difficult to appreciate this too highly. A considerable part of the life of the community must have centred in and around the *ṣalāt* in Medina in Muḥammad's life-time and through it the transformation of the old Arab mind into the Muslim must have taken place. The same phenomenon was afterwards repeated in the provinces of the Caliphate. The *ṣalāt* must have been one of the most effective formative elements in the communities.

The European, on the other hand, usually forms his judgment of the *ṣalāt* from his own point of view; the Protestant misses the intensification, the Roman Catholic the imposing ceremonial.

Both attitudes are wrong from scientific standpoint. Whoever wishes to gain a clear idea of the significance of the *ṣalāt* must ask the question: "what does it mean to the Muslim?"

This question may be partly answered by observing the enthusiasm for the *ṣalāt* displayed by Muslims in different countries. The results of such

observations almost everywhere go to suggest that there are few Muslims who regularly observe the five daily *ṣalāts* (Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 84; Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, iv. 1. 8, 16). In the Dutch East Indies the Achehese so prominent in the *Djihad* [q. v.] only take part in small numbers in the congregational *ṣalāt*; in Banten (Java), in Palembang (Sumatra) and in isolated parts of the Archipelago on the other hand we find it much more religiously observed (Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, iv. 1. 343 sq.; *De Atjehers*, i. 89 sq.).

Lane's remarks regarding the *ṣalāt* in Egypt (*Manners and Customs*, p. 98) are important: "The utmost solemnity and decorum are observed in the public worship of the Muslims. Their looks and behaviour in the mosque are not those of enthusiastic devotion, but of calm and modest piety. Never are they guilty of a designedly irregular word or action during their prayers. The pride and fanaticism which they exhibit in common life, in intercourse with persons of their own or of a different faith, seem to be dropped on their entering the mosque, and they appear wholly absorbed in the adoration of their Creator — humble and downcast, yet without affected humility or a forced expression of countenance".

A rich source for the study of the significance of the *ṣalāt* in the religious life is to be found in the literature. For the first two centuries it is mainly the Ḥadīth that we have to use. In the enumeration of the five pillars of Islām the *ṣalāt* always appears in the second place (al-Bukhārī, *Imān*, bāb 2; Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 19—22; in passing it may be noted that the first pillar is variously given). In the so frequently recurring story of the untutored Beduin who suddenly asks Muḥammad the question: "How shall I be saved?" the latter answers with a list of the duties imposed by Islām upon the believers, viz.: five *ṣalāts* daily, fasting in Ramaḍān and *zakāt* (al-Bukhārī, *Imān*, bāb 34; Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 8). In other traditions also, which enumerate the obligations of a Muslim, as, for example, in the commission given to Muʿādh b. Dīḡāl when he was sent by Muḥammad to Yemen, we find mentioned besides the *ṭawḥīd* or the service of Allāh the five *ṣalāts* and the *zakāt* (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Zakāt*, bāb 1; Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 29—31). Here the ḥajj and the fasting in Ramaḍān are omitted. In the scale of the most meritorious works the *ṣalāt* often appears in the first place (al-Bukhārī, *Mawāḍiʿ*, bāb 5; cf. Ibn Māǧja, *Taḥḍira*, bāb 4; al-Darīmī, *Waḡḍ*, bāb 2). The strict observation of the five daily *ṣalāts* secures admission into Paradise (al-Nasāʾī, *Iḥṣān*, bāb 6; Mālik, *Ṣalāt al-Lail*, trad. 14 etc.). The omission of the *ṣalāt* is a bridge to unbelief and heathenism: "between man and polytheism and unbelief lies the neglect of the *ṣalāt*" (Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 134; cf. al-Nasāʾī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 8).

The cleansing power of the *ṣalāt* is allegorically described in Tradition: "The *ṣalāt* is like a stream of sweet water which flows past the door of each one of ye; into it he plunges five times a day; do ye think that anything remains of his uncleanness after that?" (Mālik, *Kaṣr al-Ṣalāt fī ʿi-Saḡar*, bāb 91; cf. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 71 sq., 177, ii. 375, 426, 441, iii. 305, 317 etc.). It is described without allegory in the equally well-known tradition: "an obligatory *ṣalāt* is a cleansing for the sins which are committed between it and the

following one" (*op. cit.*, ii. 229; as is well known grievous sins are usually excluded from the cleansing effect of pious exercises (*op. cit.*, ii. 359).

We have just quoted the tradition according to which the observation of the daily ṣalāt secures entrance into Paradise. The following utterance goes still further: "He who knows that the ṣalāt is a compulsory duty will enter Paradise" (*op. cit.*, i. 60). At the final reckoning on the Day of Resurrection the more or less faithful observance of the ṣalāt will be a consideration of the first importance: "The first thing to be dealt with is the ṣalāt; if this point is in order, the man has attained bliss; if not then he is lost (cf. al-Nasāʾī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 9; al-Tirmidhī, *Mawāḥiṣ*, bāb 188; Ahmad b. Hanbal, i. 161 sq., 171, ii. 290 etc.).

The ṣalāt should be performed devoutly with concentrated attention. It is often related how Muḥammad put away one of his garments because figures woven on it distracted his attention at the ṣalāt (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 14; al-Nasāʾī, *Ḥikma*, bāb 20; cf. bāb 12).

That the ṣalāt does not, as is sometimes said, imply only the performance of a duty but that the heart is in it too is seen from the following tradition: Muḥammad said: "Of worldly things women and perfume are dearest to me and the ṣalāt is the comfort of my eyes" (Ahmad b. Hanbal, iii. 128 bis, 285). Weeping at the ṣalāt is also sometimes mentioned (Abū Daʿūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 156; al-Nasāʾī, *Sakaw*, bāb 18; Ahmad b. Hanbal, iii. 188, iv. 25 bis, cf. 26).

By far the most significant characteristic of the ṣalāt is the one which we find in two different settings, namely that the ṣalāt is intimate conversation with Allāh. On the one hand it is found in the Ḥadīth, in which spitting in the direction of the *Ḥibla* during the ṣalāt is forbidden, the reason given being that the ṣalāt is intimate conversation with Allāh (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 39; *Mawāḥiṣ*, bāb 8; Muslim, *Mawāḥiṣ*, trad. 54; Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii. 34 sq., 144, iii. 176, 188, 199 sq., 234, 273, 278, 291 etc.). On the other hand we find it expressed in the following form: "If one of ye performs the ṣalāt he is in confidential converse with his Lord; at that time he ought to know exactly what he says in this way with his Lord; therefore no one should drown the voice of another at the recitation" (Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii. 36, 67, 129). An illustration to this utterance is given in the following *Ḥadīth quṣṣa*: Allāh says: "I have divided the ṣalāt into two halves between Myself and My servant, one of which belongs to Me while the other is for My servant and My servant obtains what he asks". The Messenger of God said: "recite! when the servant says: 'Praise be to Allāh, the Lord of the Worlds!', Allāh says: 'My servant hath praised Me'; when the servant says: 'to the Merciful and Compassionate', Allāh says: 'My servant hath glorified Me'; when the servant says: 'to the Lord of the Day of Judgment', Allāh says: 'My servant hath praised Me'; when my servant says: 'Thee do we serve and Thee do we beseech for help', Allāh says: 'this verse is between Me and My servant and he receives what he has prayed for'; when the servant says: 'lead us the right way, the way of those whom Thou favourest, with whom Thou art not angry and who do not err', Allāh says: 'This belongs to My servant

and he receives what he has prayed for" (Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii. 460).

That the ṣalāt was also used as a means of healing is not remarkable in view of similar phenomena in other religions (Ibn Maḥjā, *Ṭibb*, bāb 10; Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii. 390, 403). At the same time we may mention the *Ṣalāt al-Ḥajja*, which is observed to secure the attainment of some ardently desired object (al-Tirmidhī, *Witr*, bāb 17), and the *Ṣalāt al-Istikhāra* [see *ISTIKHĀRA*] before a more or less important decision (al-Bukhārī, *Tahdīd*, bāb 25; Abū Daʿūd, *Witr*, bāb 31; al-Tirmidhī, *Witr*, bāb 18; Ahmad b. Hanbal, iii. 344 etc.).

The description of the ṣalāt as *muṣāḥaba* is characteristic of the meditative tendency found even in the oldest Islām (on this see especially L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1922); it has certainly been one of the main avenues by which mysticism entered Islām from without.

One of the oldest Muslim mystics, al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243 = 857), wrote a treatise on the significance of the ṣalāt (cf. Massignon, *op. cit.*, p. 259, note 1) and the philosopher al-Tirmidhī (d. 285 = 898) expounded the mystical side of the ṣalāt in 42 aphorisms (quoted in Massignon, *op. cit.*, p. 259). Among the more modern mystics the ṣalāt gives place in importance to *Ḍikr* and *Wird*. Al-Kushairī does not devote a separate chapter to it in his *Risāla*. In al-Hudjwiri it appears as especially suitable for novices, who are to recognise in it to some extent a reflection of the whole mystic way. To them the *ṭahāra* represents the conversion, the *ḥibla* the dependence on spiritual leadership, the recitation of the *shāhīd*, the *rukūʿ* humility, the prostration self-knowledge, the *ṭahakkud* the *muṣ*, the *ṭaslim* renunciation of the world. Of the real mystics everyone sees something different in the ṣalāt: to one it is a means to *ḥuḡūr* with God, to another to *ghaiba* (al-Hudjwiri, *Kaṣf al-Mahjūb*, transl. Nicholson, *Ghīb Mem. Ser.*, xvii. 301 sq.). Al-Hudjwiri, however, also emphasises the affection of various Ṣūfis for the ṣalāt.

Of the philosophers, Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) is only to be mentioned here, who wrote a short treatise on the ṣalāt (*Fi 'l-Kaṣf 'an māliyat al-Ṣalāt wa-bilma Taḥrīr al-Ḥimā al-Ḥadīth*, Cairo 1335 (1917), p. 2-14). According to him, the essence of the ṣalāt is the recognition of God in His existence and necessity of it. It is esoteric or esoteric according to the character of the believer who performs it. The law-giver knew that not all men can ascend the steps of the spirit. Such men therefore require corporal discipline and compulsory mortification, to keep their natural impulses in check. This is the esoteric side of the ṣalāt. Its true esoteric significance is the *muṣāḥaba* al-*Ḥaqq* with pure heart and a soul which is liberated and purified from desires (*anām*). Ibn Sīnā then proceeds to deal with the saying that a man at prayer is in intimate converse with his Lord (see above). This can, he says, only happen outside of the material world. Those who are in this state of mind are spiritually in the presence of God and they gaze upon the deity (*al-Ilāh*) in a real vision. The ṣalāt is therefore a real *muṣāḥaba* and a pure worship, i.e. the real divine love and spiritual vision.

Al-Ghazālī's chapter *Ṣalāt* has in the *Iḥyā'* in the *Raʿ al-Ḥadīth* a position between *Ṭahāra*

and *Zakāt* (as in the *Fiqh*). As with the other *'ibādāt* it should be observed in this case also with what painful accuracy he describes the legal regulations (ed. Cairo 1302, I, 140 *sqq.*) and how on the other hand he raises the *salāt* to an ethico-mystical level which sufficiently meets all the demands of intensification. After what has been said above in II and III, we need only briefly survey here the latter side of his exposition. The inward *ma'ānāt* which bring the life of the *salāt* to perfection are the six following: the presence of the heart (*ḥuḍūr al-qalb*), understanding, respect (*ta'zim*), reverence (*ḥabiba*), hope and humility (*ḥayā*).

Particularly significant are his remarks on the presence of the heart (p. 145). The *ṣābiḥ* demand the presence of the heart only at the *takbīr*; according to the *Fuḥūḥ al-mutaṣawwiriyyūn* and the *'Ulamā' al-Aḥbira*, on the other hand, the heart should be present at the whole *salāt*. But only very few succeed in achieving this. The ideal *salāt* is that of Ḥatīm al-Aḡamū, who said: "When the time for the *salāt* arrives, I perform a copious *wuḍū'* and go to the place where I want to perform the *salāt*. There I sit till my limbs are rested, then I stand up, the *Ka'ba* straight in front of me, the *qibla* under my feet, Paradise on my right, Hell on my left and the Angel of Death behind me; and I think that this *salāt* is my last. I then stand wavering between hope and fear, join in the *Takbīr* and *Tahkīm*, recite with *Tartīl*, perform the *Rukū'* in submission and the *Sujūd* in humility, sit on my left thigh, spread out the upper part of the left foot and fix the right one on the great toe and accompany this with *Iḥtīq*. Then I do not know whether my *salāt* has been graciously accepted by Allāh or not (p. 139, 7 *sqq.*).

Al-Ghazālī lays down his ethical point of view in the sentence: If his *salāt* does not restrain a man from evil and wrong-doing, he only obtains estrangement from God by it (cf. *Sūra* xvi. 9).

In the chapter on "the useful remedies for securing the *ḥuḍūr al-qalb*" distracting thoughts are given as the principal obstacles which divert attention at the *salāt*. These enemies are to be overcome by fighting their causes. These are of two kinds, external and internal. The external causes of distraction (*ḡafla*, in the Syriac mystics *fehā*) come from the organs of sense. One therefore ought to prevent these from being distracted. The *muta'abbidūn* therefore perform the *salāt* in a dark cell with only sufficient room for the *sujūd*. Ibn 'Umar is said not to have allowed a single object in this cell. The internal causes of distraction exercise a much stronger effect. They have their root in earthly cares, thoughts and occupations. But desires have the most powerful influence. They are to be fought by meditation on the future world. All preparations for the *salāt* and all its parts should be connected with the *Aḥbira*. At the *niḥāya* one should think of the *niḥāya* on the Day of the Resurrection. At the covering of the *'awra* one should enquire whether there is no internal *'awra* etc.

The highest goal of the *salāt* is complete absorption in the Deity by humiliating oneself. Sufyān al-Thawrī is reputed to have said: "If a man does not know humility, his *salāt* is invalid". This is laid down in two special sections (*Buyān Iḥtirāq al-Khushū' wa-Huḍūr al-Qalb*, p. 145 *sq.*, and *Iḥkāmāt wa-Aḥbār fī Salāt al-*

Khaṣṣa, p. 157 *sq.*). In the latter he shows by several examples how much the great leaders used to be absorbed in their *salāt*.

(A. J. WENSINGER)

SALGHURIDS, one of the dynasties known as *Atābaks*, or *Regents*, which arose on the ruins of the empire of the *Saldjūks*. Salghur was the chief of a band of *Turkmāns* who migrated into *Khurāsān* and attached themselves to *Tughril Beg* [q. v.], the first of the Great *Saldjūks*. *Būrās* [q. v.], one of Salghur's descendants, was killed in battle by *Salṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mas'ūd*, the fourth of the *Saldjūk* kings of *Irāk* and *Kurdistan*, and his nephew, *Sunkur b. Mawdūd*, rose against the *Saldjūk* and in 1148 established his independence in *Fārs*, where he founded a dynasty which ruled for more than 120 years but seldom enjoyed complete sovereignty, being tributary first to the *Saldjūks* of *Irāk*, then to the *Shāhs* of *Khwarizm*, and lastly to the *Mongols*. *Sunkur* died in 1161 and was succeeded by his brother, *Zangī b. Mawdūd*, who was molested at the beginning of his reign by his cousins, the *Atābaks* of *Syria*, who claimed the throne of *Fārs*. After overcoming them he did homage to *Arslān b. Tughril I*, *Saldjūk* of *Irāk*, who confirmed him as ruler of *Fārs*. On his death in 1175 he was succeeded by his elder son, *Takla*, who remained tributary to the *Saldjūks* of *Irāk* and reigned for twenty years. On his death in 1194 the throne was claimed both by his cousin *Tughril*, the son of *Sunkur*, founder of the dynasty, and by his younger brother, *Sa'd b. Zangī* [q. v.]. *Tughril* first gained possession of the capital and assumed the royal title, but *Sa'd* maintained the contest for eight years, during which period the kingdom was devastated and depopulated. In 1203 *Sa'd* captured *Tughril* and ascended the throne. During the early part of his reign he was occupied in restoring prosperity to his country, which had been wasted by famine and pestilence. Meanwhile the *Saldjūks* of *Irāk* had been overcome by the *Shāhs* of *Khwarizm*, who in 1194 had annexed their country. *Sa'd* attacked *Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad Khwarizm Shāh*, but was defeated and taken prisoner by him, and as a condition of his release was obliged to cede *Isfahār* and *Ushkumwān*, and to agree to pay the tribute which had formerly been paid to the *Saldjūks*. He is famous as the ruler from whom the great poet *Sa'di* took his *takhalluṣ* or pen-name. He reigned for twenty-eight years, and on his death in 1231 [but cf. *SA'D B. ZANGI*] he was succeeded by his son *Abū Bakr*, who had attempted to usurp the throne during his father's captivity and had been for this offence condemned to imprisonment, from which he was released at the instance of *Djalāl al-Dīn Mangobartī*, *Shāh* of *Khwarizm*. He extended the boundaries of his kingdom, but was obliged to pay homage and tribute first to *Ogotai Khān*, supreme *Khān* of the *Mongols* as son and successor of *Cingis Khān*, and afterwards, in 1256, to *Hulagū*, the *Mongol* *Il-Khān* of *Persia*. *Ogotai Khān* conferred on him the title of *Kutluḡ Khān*. *Abū Bakr* died in 1260, and was succeeded by his son, *Sa'd II*, who reigned for no more than twelve days, when he died and was succeeded by his infant son, *Muḥammad*, whose nominal reign was ended by his death in October, 1262. The child was succeeded by his cousin, *Muḥammad Shāh*, son of *Salghur*, the younger son of *Sa'd I*. *Muḥammad Shāh* was overthrown and put to death on July 18, 1263, and

I., Munich 1889, p. 35, 36, 88, 89, 95; II., Berlin 1890, p. 500—502; do., *Bemerkungen zur Geschichte Alt-Abschaniens*, Graz 1894, p. 21, 23; do., *Reise nach Marib* (Collection Eduard Glaser, I., ed. by D. H. Müller and N. Rhodokanakis, Vienna 1913), p. 138, 139; *M.V.A.G.*, 1923, xxviii, 97, 98; C. Conti Rossini, *Storia della Arabia*, R. I. I., 1906, xv, 49; M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient, II, Die arabische Frage*, Leipzig 1909, p. 149, 158; F. Hommel, *Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients*, II, 654, 666 and note 1.

(ADOLF GROHMANN)

AL-SALIB (A., plural *Salib*, *Sulṭān*), the cross. This general meaning occurs in several special applications, e.g. to the *maim* branded in the skin of camels in the form of a cross etc. In the sense of the chief Christian symbol the word may have been taken over from Aramaic where it has the same form. It does not occur in the *Qurʾān*. In *Hadīth* it is used in eschatological descriptions. *ʾIṣ* (Jesus) will reappear in the last days, combat the Antichrist (al-Dajjāl), kill the wise and break the cross into pieces (al-Bukhārī, *Anbiyāʾ*, bāb 49; Muslim, *Imān*, Trad. 242, 243; Ibn Māǧā, *Fitan*, bāb 33; Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, II, 240, 272 etc.). On Doomsday all religious communities will appear before Allāh with their symbols or idols. The Christians will follow the cross and, on their confession that they did worship the Maṣṣīh Ibn Maryam, be thrown into Hell (al-Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, bāb 24).

Further al-Bukhārī speaks of a *ṭhawb muqallab*, a garment or cloth into which the form of the cross was woven, and which ʿAṣṣa removed on Muhammad's order, because it distracted his attention from the *ṣalāt* (*Salāt*, bāb 15).

Lexicographers call the cross the *ḥilb* of the Christians; apparently they were acquainted with the Christian custom of praying before the crucifix.

In ʿUmar's treaties with the inhabitants of several towns of Palestine a special *amān* for their churches and crosses was granted them (al-Ṭabarī, I, 2405 sq.). A document belonging to a late period of tradition and of doubtful authenticity prohibits the public use of the cross as a Christian symbol (Hamaker, *Incerti auctoris liber de expugnatione Memphidis et Alexandriae*, Leiden 1825, translation, p. 137; cf. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, Anno 17, § 174 sq.).

In the debate between Christian and Muslim doctors at the court of al-Ma'mūn the Christian worship of the cross is one of the controversial points between the combatants (cf. A. Guillaume, *A Debate between Christian and Muslim Doctors in the Centenary Supplement to the J.R.A.S.*, October 1924, p. 242).

In the battle of Hattin in 583 (1187) the Muslims captured the *Ṣalīb al-palānī* "the cross of the crucifixion", a cross in which a piece of the true cross was incorporated (*Historiens des Croisades, Historiens orientaux*, I, 685). See further the articles *Ṭāḥ* and *NAṢṬĀḤ*. In Christian Arabic literature the Christian legends concerning the cross, its recovery etc. have found their place. The verb *ṣalaba* denotes the Oriental form of crucifixion as a capital punishment.

On the diminutive form *Ṣalīb* cf. this article. *Bibliography*: The lexica A. v.; L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, Anno 17, § 174 sq., vol. III, 957 sq.; W. Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline and Fall*, new ed. by T. H.

Weir, Edinburgh 1924, p. 137; A. v. Kremer, *Culturgegeschichte des Orients*, I, 103; H. A. Hamaker, *Incerti auctoris liber de expugnatione Memphidis et Alexandriae*, Leiden 1825, translation, p. 165 sq.

(A. J. WESSINK)

ŠALIH, a prophet who was sent to the Arab people *Thamūd*. He is, as usual, depicted as a sign and a warning in the style of Muhammad; he demanded that his countrymen should turn to him and pray to Allāh alone (Sūra 7, 71, 11, 64, 26, 141); he called their attention to the benefits received from God (7, 70, 51, 43) and prided himself on seeking for no reward from them (26, 141). But they rejected him abruptly, called him bewitched (26, 133), a man like themselves, who could make no claim to revelations (54, 24); they could not surrender the religion of their fathers (11, 65) and scorned the idea of a day of judgment (69, 4). His appearance produced a schism in the people (27, 46) for only the weak believed in him, while the strong scoffed at him (7, 73). The only new feature was that they had placed their hope in him before he irritated them by his preaching (11, 64), which, if based on some corresponding incident, would be an interesting contribution to the history of Muhammad. Then follows the special story of this prophet. Allāh sent them as a sign a she-camel (17, 61) and Šalih begged them to allow it to feed unharmed and to share water with it (7, 71, 26, 155, 54, 28). But they lamed it and killed it (7, 75, 11, 65, 26, 137) through the hand of a particularly godless individual among them (91, 20, 54, 29) and scornfully asked Šalih to inflict the threatened punishment (7, 75). He told them to hide three days in their houses (11, 68); then a tremendous storm broke out (11, 70, 51, 44); according to 7, 76 an earthquake; cf. also 54, 31, 69, 5) and on the following morning they lay dead in their houses. In the later Muslim stories of prophets these brief features are elaborated in various ways.

This story has a certain amount of foundation in fact in as much as the *Thamūd*, according to 7, 73 the successors of the ʿĀdīs, were an ancient Arab tribe known also from other sources (see the art. *THAMŪD*). The dwellings which the *Thamūd* had hewn out of the rocks (89, 8, 7, 70, 26, 140), often mentioned in the texts, the remains of which were still visible (29, 32), are undoubtedly the tombs, containing remains of human bones, hewn in the rocks of al-ʿŪla (see *AL-ʿŪLA*), which has led Philippe Berger to the further supposition that the word *kafrā* (tomb) found in the inscriptions there may have been explained as *kufr* (unbelief). But whence Muhammad got the name Šalih and the story of the camel cannot be ascertained. It is further remarkable that the stories of Šalih and Hūd [q. v.] are in contradiction to the usual teaching of Muhammad in the Mekkan period to the effect that no prophet had been sent to the Arabs before him (28, 46, 32, 3, 34, 43, 36, 3). The stories of these two prophets are found in the earliest Mekkan Sūras e.g. 53, 31 sq., 85, 11 sq., 89, 4, 91, 11 sq., and frequently recur in the following sections; on the other hand they disappear in the Medina revelations except for the brief enumeration in 9, 71.

Bibliography: the *Qurʾān* commentaries on Sūra 7; al-Maʿnūnī, *Murādī al-Dhahab* (Paris, 1861—1877), III, 85—90; al-Thaʿlabī, *Ḥiṣṣa*

al-Anbiyā' or *Ar-Risāla al-Madīyā*, Cairo 1290, p. 58 199; Grimme, *Mohammed*, Münster 1892—95, ii. 80; Philippe Berget, *L'Arabe avant Mahomet d'après les inscriptions*, Paris 1885; The Qur'ān, transl. Palmer (*Sacred Books of the East*) i. 147 19; Caetani, *Andalusi dill Islām*, ii. A. H. 9 § 34; cf. Register. (F. A. Buhl.)

AL-MALIK AL-SĀLIH 'IMĀD AL-DIN ISMĀ'IL, son of Sultān al-Malik al-ʿAdil Abū Bakr, son of Aiyūb, was born in the year 598 (1202). He is not mentioned in connection with the division of the lands which his father made among his brothers. He is mentioned for the first time in 623 (1226) as a partisan of his brother al-Malik al-Muʿazzam Isā; he is described as lord of Boḡrā. After Muʿazzam's death he attached himself to his son al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāʿūd, by whose side we often find him fighting. He was with him in the battle at Damascus in 626 (1229) and when Dāʿūd was forced to capitulate, he was left in possession of his fief Boḡrā. In the next year, we find him in the service of his brother al-Malik al-Aḡraf Mūsā, who sent him to the siege of Baʿalbek, which he was to take from al-Malik al-Aḡdjad Bahrām Shāh; Ismāʿil forced the latter to surrender after a long siege. On the death of his brother Mūsā in 635 (1237), he inherited Damascus and he began to play a more important if afterwards despicable part. As he had good reason to fear his brother al-Malik al-Kāmil, Sultān of Egypt, he concluded an alliance with the Aiyūbid princes of Syria (except with the prince of Hamā). He then prepared to stand a siege as he had already news of the advance of al-Kāmil and his nephew Dāʿūd. His resistance availed him little; he had soon to surrender Damascus and received in compensation Baʿalbek and al-Bikāʾ, while Boḡrā also remained to him.

The remaining part of his life is so closely associated with the careers of his nephews al-Malik al-Sāliḥ Nadjm al-Din Aiyūb and Sultān al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf II, that the reader may be referred to their biographies. Ismāʿil was killed in Cairo in the year 648 (1250) when fighting with Sultān Yūsuf in the battle of ʿAbbāsa against the Egyptians. He repeatedly allied himself with the Khwārisms and the Franks out of selfish ambition and love of power to the detriment of his subjects and fellow-Muslims.

Bibliography: See the article AL-MALIK AL-SĀLIḥ NADJIM AL-DIN AIYUB. (SOBERNHEIM).

AL-MALIK AL-SĀLIḥ 'IMĀD AL-DIN ISMĀ'IL, son of Sultān Muḥammad al-Nāṣir [q.v.] of the line of Kalāʾūn, was chosen Sultān at the age of 17 after the deposition of his brother Ahmad (743 = 1342) whose cruelty had aroused the fury of the Amīrs. He was considered a virtuous and pious young man, but later fell under the destructive influence of his harem. After making new appointments to the principal administrative posts in the provinces, his next task was to put an end to the intrigues of his brother Ramadān, who was soon captured and executed. He then proceeded to fight his brother Ahmad in Kerak, which cost great efforts and expenditure in troops. He tried to gain the Beduins of the neighbourhood to his side to make it difficult for Ahmad to get supplies, but the latter's watchfulness foiled the attempt. On the other hand Ismāʿil feared he would lose support as even his vizier was in secret negotiation with Ahmad. In the beginning of 744 (1344) he appointed another Amīr vizier and sent an expedition to Kerak, by

which he finally captured the town and took the citadel also, when reinforcements arrived in the beginning of 745. Ahmad was taken prisoner. A few days later he was strangled in prison. The struggle with Ahmad had occupied all Ismāʿil's time and means, so that he had neglected everything else. He is a typical example of the decline of Oriental dynasties. His time and strength were entirely absorbed in wars against his brothers and in excesses. As a result of the great expenditure at court, the revenues of the state declined and often the requisite money was not available for necessary military expeditions. His weakness was taken advantage of by the regular enemies of the Mamlūk kingdom, the Amīr of Meḡka and of the Yemen, the dynasts of Asia Minor and the Beduin chiefs of Northern Syria, who rebelled against the governors in their lands under the Sultān's suzerainty. On the other hand the authority of the Caliph and of the Sultān remained unbroken in the remoter East and in India. Muḥammad b. Taghlak of Dehli sent the Caliph an embassy to ask for investiture and declared himself vassal of the Sultān; he also asked for some people learned in the law to be sent to him to enable his subjects to become better acquainted with the principles of Islām. His requests were readily acceded to. Sultān Ismāʿil was so deeply affected by the struggle with Ahmad and his execution that he could not recover; he died in 746 (1345) after two months' illness when still only 20.

Bibliography: Well, *Geschichte d. Chalifen*, iv. 452—461; *al-Manhal al-Safī*, Paris MS. Ar. 2068—2073 under AL-MALIK AL-SĀLIḥ ISMĀ'IL. (SOBERNHEIM)

AL-MALIK AL-SĀLIḥ NADJIM AL-DIN AIYUB, the eldest son of al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad, son of al-Malik al-ʿAdil Abū Bakr, son of Aiyūb, was born in 603 (1207). His father designated him successor in 625 (1228) and made him his representative in Egypt, while he was away on his campaigns in Syria. At this time (Rabīʿ I, 626 = February, 1229) al-Kāmil ceded Jerusalem to the Emperor Frederick for ten years. The relations between Aiyūb and his father were disturbed in 628 (1231) by the slanders of one of al-Kāmil's wives who wanted to get the succession in Egypt for her son al-ʿAdil Abū Bakr. She accused Aiyūb in a letter of trying for the throne while his father was still alive, as he had enlisted over 1,000 Mamlūks of his own. Al-Kāmil, secured by the peace with the Emperor, returned to Cairo to take the reins of power into his own hands again. In 629 (1232) political conditions (the advance of the Tatars and of the Khwārisms up to the frontiers of the Empire) caused him to go to Syria and he gave the command of the army to Aiyūb in order to get him out of Egypt in this way.

Al-Kāmil achieved his object on this campaign of getting Mesopotamia into his own hands, as a strong bulwark against the Tatars and Khwārisms, and granted his son Aiyūb Ḥiṣn Kalāʾa as a fief and later, in 633 (1236), the towns of al-Ruhā (Edessa) and Harrān conquered by him in addition.

Aiyūb's position with regard to the Tatars and Khwārisms cannot have been an easy one. He allied himself with the latter and took them into his service with the permission of al-Kāmil. In 635 (1238) he received Sindjār and Naḡḡḡn in addition to his other territory. So long as al-Kāmil was alive, Aiyūb was master of the east and no one dared attack him. This state of

affairs was altered, however, when al-Kāmil died in the same year (635) in Damascus, which his brother al-Malik al-Šālih Ismā'il had ceded to him two months before in return for Ba'albek and Boṣrā. Al-Malik al-ʿAdil II was recognised in Cairo as al-Kāmil's successor and al-Malik al-Djāwād Yūnus appointed governor of Damascus in his name. Aiyūb received the news of his father's death while he was besieging Raḥba; he at once raised the siege, but met with opposition from the Khwārizmīs who were in his service. Enraged at the thought of their booty escaping them, they were going to seize him and he had to take to flight. The Sultān of Rūm, Ghiyāth al-Dīn, also tried to capture him, besieged ʿAmid and divided the towns which Aiyūb possessed between Syrian and Mesopotamian princes even before he had captured them. Lu'lu', the ruler of Moṣul, was also hostile to Aiyūb. He besieged him in Sindjār, where he had taken refuge. In this perilous position, Aiyūb was saved by the intervention of his highly esteemed Kādī, who regained for him the help of the Khwārizmīs. This made it possible for him to relieve Sindjār and inflict a terrible defeat on Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu'. Next he raised the siege of ʿAmid and routed the Sultān of Rūm. Mesopotamia was now secured to him. In the next year (636) he was invited by al-Malik al-Djāwād, governor of Damascus, to exchange Damascus for Sindjār, Raḥka and ʿAna, as the latter did not feel his position safe from Sultān al-ʿAdil of Egypt. Aiyūb handed over his eastern possessions to his son al-Mu'azzam Tūrān Shāh, while he granted the Khwārizmīs Harrān, al-Ruḥā and the province of Djazira. He then accepted the invitation, went with his army to Palestine and occupied Damascus.

Sultān al-ʿAdil and Prince Dā'ūd of Kerak decided to take the field against him. But a number of the Amīrs abandoned the Sultān, whose love of pleasure had made him unpopular, and decided to join Aiyūb. Dā'ūd himself offered his support on condition that he was given Damascus. When Aiyūb refused, he returned to al-ʿAdil. The Caliph, continually threatened by the Tatars and Khwārizmīs, had a lively interest in the maintenance of peace and the strengthening of Aiyūbid power generally, but he sent an envoy to Aiyūb in vain to negotiate a peace. In 637 (1240) Aiyūb left Damascus with 5,000 men and went to Nāblūs to prepare for his advance on Egypt there. He had also endeavoured to secure the support of his uncle, Ismā'il, who pretended to agree but deceived him by false messages (see Sobernheim, *Bauftick zu islamischer Zeit*, p. 9 of the reprint, and the account in al-Maḥḥāzī, transl. Blochet, p. 445, and Abu 'l-Fida' under the year 637). But Ismā'il made a secret agreement with the prince of Hims and by promises tempted Aiyūb's troops to desert him and come to him in Damascus. Finally Aiyūb was left almost alone. In the meanwhile Dā'ūd of Kerak had again quarrelled with Sultān al-ʿAdil and had begun negotiations with Aiyūb. But when he learned that Aiyūb was almost alone in Nāblūs, he went thither with his army, took him prisoner and sent him to Kerak. He treated him well and refused to hand him over to his brother al-ʿAdil. In the meanwhile the treaty between al-Kāmil and Frederick II regarding the occupation of Jerusalem had expired. Dā'ūd felt himself strong enough to take the city by force from the Franks, who would not

hand Jerusalem over voluntarily. After a twenty-one days' siege, he succeeded in taking it in Jumādā I, 620 (Feb. 2, 1222); he destroyed its fortifications, which the Franks had rebuilt during the last months of their occupation.

Aiyūb's fortunes now began to turn. When, in spite of long negotiations between Dā'ūd, Ismā'il and al-ʿAdil, no alliance was achieved, an agreement was made between Aiyūb and Dā'ūd through the intermediary of the prince of Hamā. Aiyūb was released in Ramaḍān of the same year and went with Dā'ūd to Jerusalem, where they concluded a treaty. Aiyūb was to receive Egypt, Dā'ūd Syria and the eastern provinces. The combination of the two princes naturally caused al-ʿAdil great anxiety. He persuaded Ismā'il of Damascus to take the field against the two allies, while he himself went with an army to Bilbā'is. A section of the Mamlūka, the Ashrafīya (called after al-ʿAdil's uncle, al-Ashraf Mūsā), were dissatisfied, deposed him and sent him as a prisoner to the citadel of Cairo; after some hesitation they offered the crown to Aiyūb, with the request that he should come at once to Bilbā'is. Aiyūb and Dā'ūd went at once to Egypt and everywhere received a hearty welcome from the Amīrs. After Aiyūb had occupied Cairo, he was recognised as ruler in the Friday *khutba* and later confirmed by the Caliph in a diploma. Al-ʿAdil was kept prisoner in the citadel and not put to death till 645 (1247) when he declined to move to the fortress of Shawbak, as the Sultān ordered. Aiyūb was now secure in the possession of Egypt. In the East (Mesopotamia) his son Tūrān Shāh guarded his interests. The third member, Damascus, was still lacking to give him practically the empire of Saladin once more.

He therefore did not hand over to the unreliable Dā'ūd the lands between Egypt and Syria which he had occupied, nor Shawbak and Jerusalem, but declared the treaty of Jerusalem had been extorted from him. He avoided an open breach, however, by promising him Damascus as an independent possession when they would have conquered it together. In the next year (638=1240) Aiyūb busied himself securing the foundations of his rule in Egypt. He put down the rebellious Beduins in Upper Egypt, had the Amīrs whom he could not trust arrested one after the other and gave their fiefs to his own Mamlūks; it was then that he began the buildings on the present Nile (Baḥr) island of Rōḍā (which was then still a peninsula): his palace and the barracks for his Mamlūks called Baḥrīs, who gave their name to the first Mamlūk dynasty (see the art. BAḤRĪ).

In the same year fighting broke out between Aiyūb and his enemies. Dā'ūd realised that he would never get any increase of territory from him and Ismā'il rightly felt himself threatened when Aiyūb sought to gain possession of Damascus. In the East Lu'lu', prince of Moṣul, was reinforced and had taken ʿAmid from Aiyūb's son, Tūrān Shāh, so that the latter now had only Hims Kaifa and Ka'at al-Haiḥam. Ismā'il and Dā'ūd concluded an alliance with the Franks, in which they ceded them Tiberias, Shaḥīf Arnūn and Safed, and allowed them to purchase arms in Damascus. Relations between the Muslim and Christian leaders became so close that they did many things for each other. Thus the Franks handed over the prince al-Djāwād, who had taken refuge with them, for a sum of

money, to Ismā'il, who at once put him to death. Dā'ūd and Ismā'il in their turn warned the Franks of a mutiny of Muslim prisoners in Shakīf Aṭnūn, so that they moved the prisoners to Akkā and put them to death there. The Franks and Ismā'il's troops now marched together against Aiyūb. The armies met between Ḡhazza and Ascalon. But when the Muslim troops went over to Aiyūb, the Franks were defeated and lost many prisoners, who were employed in the building operations on the island of Rōḍa in Cairo. The prisoners, however, were liberated by the peace concluded in the same year, which was a very favourable one for the Franks. They were allowed to retain their possessions in Palestine and Syria.

While in the next few years, Aiyūb kept out of Syria, fighting on a small scale went on with great cruelty between Dā'ūd and the Franks. In 641 (1243) negotiations were going on between Aiyūb and Ismā'il; Aiyūb's son, al-Malik al-Mughīth, was to be liberated from his imprisonment by Ismā'il and Aiyūb was to be recognised as sovereign in the Friday prayer. But when Ismā'il learned that Aiyūb was secretly stirring up the Khwārizmīs against him, the negotiations fell through and before the end of the year Ismā'il and Dā'ūd had made a close alliance with the Franks and ceded to them large tracts of Palestine with Jerusalem and the holy Muslim places there. Dā'ūd, that most ardent enemy of the Christians, had to see the mass read in the Sakhra and hear bells rung in the Akṣā mosque. Aiyūb summoned the Khwārizmīs to help him against these allies and they came next year (642), temporarily occupying Jerusalem and wreaking frightful devastation. Aiyūb sent an army from Cairo to support the Khwārizmīs. Ismā'il in turn sent troops to the Franks who joined forces with them. The hostile armies met at Ḡhazza in a terrible battle, in which the Khwārizmīs and Egyptians won a decisive victory. The Khwārizmī booty was countless. As a result of this victory, the Egyptian troops were able to conquer Jerusalem and Palestine again, and they remained in Muslim hands down to 1018. Dā'ūd could only retain Kerak, al-Salt and Adlūn. The Egyptian troops besieged Damascus, which held out for a long time. Ismā'il did not capitulate till next year (643 = 1245), surrendered Damascus and limited himself to Ba'albek, Bosrā and their dependencies. In view of these successes the Khwārizmīs expected high pay and as this was not to their satisfaction they entered the service of Ismā'il and Dā'ūd and laid siege to Damascus on their behalf, which was defended by one of Aiyūb's generals and still held out at the beginning of 644 (1246). To put an end to the Khwārizmī terror, the princes of Aleppo and Hims, who had so far shown little sympathy for Aiyūb, sent their troops against the Khwārizmīs. They were thereby forced to raise the siege and to go to meet the Aleppo troops. In the battle of Kaṣab the Khwārizmīs were severely beaten; one of their leaders was killed and another put to flight. Ismā'il sought refuge in Aleppo and enjoyed the protection of the ruler there, Yūsuf II, but lost Ba'albek to Aiyūb; his sons and wives were taken prisoner to Cairo.

Dā'ūd also was deprived of all his possessions except Kerak and likewise sought refuge in Aleppo. He appointed his youngest son his deputy. The ruler of Aleppo cherished a continual distrust of Aiyūb. He tried to secure himself against any further

advance of the latter by getting prince al-Aṣḥraf to hand over Hims to him in 646 (1248) after a two months' siege.

Aiyūb, full of wrath, went to Damascus to fight Yūsuf II and sent one of his generals to Hims to recapture the town from al-Aṣḥraf. On his arrival in Damascus he heard of the arrival of the Crusaders, whom Louis IX had led against Damietta. This induced him to conclude a peace at once with Yūsuf through the intermediary of the Caliph. Although he was very ill, he set off in a litter and soon arrived in Aṣḥmunān. He could not prevent the landing of the Crusaders and the capture of Damietta, as the discipline of his army had become slack through his illness. The Beduin tribe of Kinṣūn, to whom was entrusted the guarding of the district, fled like cowards, because they thought they had been abandoned by the Sultan's troops.

Shortly before his death Aiyūb heard with joy that the older sons of Dā'ūd, who, dissatisfied with the transference of authority in Kerak to their younger brother, had attacked and taken prisoner the latter, were handing over the government of Kerak to him in exchange. He at once sent one of his Amirs thither with troops to take over the fortress. Aiyūb died on Shabān 15, 647 (Nov. 23, 1249); on his successor and the result of the Crusade see the art. *SHALJAR AL-DURR*. He was a skilful politician but no general; at least he hardly ever led his troops in person. His great ambition was to found an empire like Saladin and al-Kāmil, which should consist of Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia. By the end of his life he had achieved a considerable part of this, but the independent principality of Aleppo and the principality of Moṣul were not under his influence. He strengthened his position by the formation of a corps of Mamlūks, a measure of expediency for the moment, but which, as often in similar cases, brought about the ultimate fall of his dynasty (see the art. *SHALJAR AL-DURR*). He himself kept his Amirs and officials firmly in control; they never dared speak unasked in his presence. He took a great interest, indeed an extravagant pleasure, in building. His palaces on the Nile peninsula Rōḍa, in Kaṣab and his madrasa were famous in their day. He founded the town of Sālīhiya as a frontier-fortress in Egypt.

Bibliography: Weil, *Geschichte der Croisades*, vol. iii.; also the literature of the Crusades quoted under SALADIN. (M. SÖRKENHEIM)

AL-MALIK AL-SĀLĪH NUR AL-DĪN ISMĀ'IL of the line of Zangī, son of the Atābeg of Aleppo and Damascus, Nūr al-Dīn [q.v.], son of Zangī, succeeded his father on the throne in 569 (1173) at the age of eleven. A few weeks previously his circumcision had been celebrated with great ceremony and alms for the poor on a particularly large scale. His name was mentioned in the Friday prayer and put on the coins without opposition from the Amirs in Damascus and Aleppo or from Saladin [q.v.]. Only his cousin Saif al-Dīn al-Ḡhāṣī of Moṣul, who was about to come to Nūr al-Dīn with troops which the latter intended to use against Saladin, seized the opportunity to occupy with his army the towns in the Dḡazira belonging to Nūr al-Dīn. The Franks likewise thought it a suitable occasion and advanced on the fortress of Bāniyās. In this difficult situation the Amirs had either to appeal to Saladin for help or come to terms with the enemy. They did the latter, left

Salaf al-Dīn al-Ghāzī in possession of his conquests and made it clear to the Franks that they would only be unnecessarily irritating Saladin, who had suppressed the rising in Egypt and had no longer cause to fear Nūr al-Dīn. The Franks received an indemnity in addition and then retired. By the alliance with al-Ghāzī the centre of the administration was transferred to Aleppo and Ismā'il brought there in security; the regency and the government were taken over by capable men. The Amirs of Damascus, whose influence was thus lessened, called in Saladin; the latter, enraged at the weakness shown in face of the Franks and at the surrender to al-Ghāzī, wrote Ismā'il a letter full of reproaches for not having asked his assistance. Just as earlier it had to be Nūr al-Dīn's endeavour to gain possession of Damascus in place of the weak Bīrid Abak (see the art. *Bīrid*), so now it became absolutely necessary for Saladin to have the real power in his own hands. Formally he continued to profess himself Ismā'il's faithful liegeman. When he reached Damascus the citadel was not handed over to him; Raihān, one of Ismā'il's eunuchs, only surrendered it after several months' negotiations when Saladin again declared himself Ismā'il's faithful servant. No arrangement was come to between Saladin and Ismā'il; on the contrary the Aleppo government was secretly negotiating with the Franks. Saladin resolved to take the offensive. He captured Hamā and Hims and in Djumādī II, 570 (end of 1174) proceeded to besiege Aleppo. But al-Ghāzī had asked Gümüştikin as Ismā'il's ally for assistance. The latter sent troops which, united with the Aleppo force, advanced on Hamā and threatened Saladin from the rear. Ismā'il, who cannot be denied the possession of a certain natural ability, conjured the people to defend him, the orphan, to the utmost as an act of gratitude for the benefactions of his father. Moved by his appeal the citizens of Aleppo defended the town by sorties and held out on this occasion and later ones also; indeed, the people of Aleppo were unique in Syria in frequently showing a feeling of independence and a certain pride in their citizenship. The commander of Aleppo, Gümüştikin, was as unscrupulous in the struggle with Saladin as he was brave; he had even asked Sinān, the chief of the Assassins [q.v.], to send his notorious murderers against Saladin. But they did not succeed in murdering Saladin and they suffered death for their attempt. Gümüştikin had also gone so far as to release Count Raymond of Tripoli, who was a prisoner in Aleppo, and induced him to attack Hims. In this dangerous situation Saladin declared himself ready to hand over Hims and Hamā on condition that he was allowed to retain Damascus, as governor for Ismā'il. This offer was foolishly not accepted as al-Ghāzī was relying on getting the help of his brother Imād al-Dīn Zangī II. But the latter did not join in as he was on friendly terms with Saladin. Saladin's army met their opponents at Hamā and he gained a decisive victory which settled the fate of Syria. For a second time he besieged Aleppo, which he invested more tightly on this occasion, and forced Ismā'il to make peace in Shawwāl, 570 (1175). He retained Hamā, Hims, Damascus and several of the larger towns. Ismā'il was left only with Aleppo. This victory was of great importance because Saladin declared himself independent of Ismā'il and omitted Ismā'il's name from the Friday prayer and from the coins.

Soon afterwards an envoy from the 'Abbāsīd Caliph al-Mustafī arrived in Hamā and presented Saladin with the diploma of Sultanate (al-Saltana) over Egypt and Syria in addition to the usual robes of honour. In the next year (571) there was fighting between Saladin and the Zangid princes after the conclusion of which Saladin again laid siege to Aleppo in Dhu 'l-Hiddja of the same year. But the garrison and the civilian population defended themselves so bravely that he had to withdraw and definitely conclude peace at the beginning of the year 572 (July, 1175). The conditions of the earlier treaty were confirmed. Soon afterwards, at the request of his young sister, Ismā'il was ceded the castle of 'Aziz by Saladin.

Henceforth there was peace between Saladin and Ismā'il. The latter is even said by one authority to have intended to help Ismā'il to attain greater power again but was dissuaded by his Mamlūks from this. Ismā'il seems to have been really satisfied with the secure possession of Aleppo. Of military enterprises there is further to be recorded an expedition against the territory of Djabal Summak (west of Aleppo; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, II, 21) in 572 (1175), the inhabitants of which wanted to join Sinān, the "Old Man of the Mountain", and the siege of Hārim, which he had to take from Gümüştikin, whom he had for long been unable to trust. Gümüştikin was convicted of having brought his treasure out of Aleppo and of having carried on negotiations with the Franks regarding the surrender of Hārim. Ismā'il thereupon had him seized and soon afterwards put to death in 573 (1176). But the Franks held by their treaty with Gümüştikin, advanced on Hārim in 574 and reduced the town to great straits. Ismā'il sent it reinforcements on the appeal of its citizens and finally induced the Franks to withdraw on payment of an indemnity and by threatening to surrender the town to Saladin. He then had the town transferred to himself and appointed a governor. In 576 Ismā'il became very ill and designated 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd, prince of Moḡul, as his successor, as he was unmarried and without direct descendants (and al-Ghāzī had died shortly before), because he thought him capable of withstanding Saladin. In the following year (577=1180) Ismā'il died. At his accession he was so young that he could not have been blamed for having lost his lands. How far he was responsible for the particularist policy by alliances with the Franks, cannot be decided. He kept possession of Aleppo with a strong hand. He seems from childhood to have been popular with his subjects and he was always bravely defended by them and his death was honestly lamented.

Bibliography: The fullest account is the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Orientaux*, I, Abu 'l-Fida' and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil al-tawārīkh*; II, Ibn al-Athīr, *Histoire des Atabecs*; III, Kamāl al-Dīn, *Bughyat al-Talab fī Tārīkh Halab*; Kamāl al-Dīn, *Zubdat al-Halab fī Tārīkh Halab*, transl. Blochet, Paris 1900; and the literature of the Crusades quoted under SALADIN. (SOBENHEIM)

AL-MALIK AL-SĀLIH ṢALĀH AL-DĪN ḤAKIM, son of Malik al-Aḡraf Shā'bān (see the art. SHĀ'BĀN) of the line of Sulṭān Kalā'ūn, succeeded to the sultanate on the death of his brother 'Alī as a boy of 6 in 783 (1381). Some months later he

was deposed on Ramaḡān 19, 784 (Nov. 26, 1382) by the Atabeg Barḡūk, as the kingdom required a man and not a boy on the throne. Ḥādīdī was sent back to the harem and Barḡūk, as had been arranged before, was appointed Sulṭān (on the events down to the restoration and second deposition of Sulṭān Ḥādīdī see the art. BARḠŪK). In 791 (1389) Ḥādīdī, who was now 13, was once more installed as Sulṭān but badly treated and not allowed to interfere in the government by his Atabeg Velboghā. It is related how he appointed his tailor court-tailor and gave him a robe of honour. The latter was robbed of his robe of honour, then beaten and imprisoned and only with difficulty liberated by one of the great Amirs. The Sulṭān was very angry at Velboghā's shameful treatment of him; even his father's old Mamlūks and the eunuchs and chamberlains were removed from him. He was relieved when Minṭāḡh (see the art. BARḠŪK) came into power again and allowed him more liberty. When Minṭāḡh afterwards began the campaign against Barḡūk in Syria, he took the Caliph and the Sulṭān with him to show the righteousness of his war against the rebel. This step was to prove to his disadvantage. While Barḡūk was beaten in the decisive encounter, he captured the insufficiently defended tent with the Caliph, the Sulṭān and the Qādī. Success was therefore on his side and in addition he was victorious in a second battle. He hastened with his important prisoners to Cairo where in the meanwhile one of his supporters, the Amir Buṭā, had seized the citadel and had him named as Sulṭān in the Friday prayer. Ḥādīdī was deposed by the Caliph by Barḡūk's orders. He was allotted an abode in the citadel but was honourably treated by Barḡūk who frequently visited him. In later years Barḡūk gave up these visits as Ḥādīdī, who was of a cruel disposition, ill-treated his slave-girls and had music performed and songs sung to drown their cries. He also took to drink and heaped insults on Barḡūk when he visited him. The family of the great Kalī'ūn ended with this unworthy scion.

Bibliography: Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, v. 538—540, 556—571; *al-Manhal al-ḡaṣṭī*, Paris MS. Ar. 2068—2073.

(M. SOBERNHUM)

AL-MALIK AL-ŠĀLIH ŠĀLIH AL-DIN ŠĀLIH, son of Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Nāḡir of the line of Kalī'ūn, was chosen Sulṭān when 14 years old in place of his brother Ḥammān as a result of quarrels among the Mamlūks in 752 (1357). The feuds between the Amirs did not cease in his reign; the eternal quarrel between the governors of the Syrian provinces and the dignitaries of the court in Cairo was also an important factor. When on his campaign in Syria he had succeeded by his prestige in withdrawing their supporters from the rebels and defeating them, the quarrelling among the cliques in Cairo broke out again. His addiction to pleasure prevented him from conducting the government himself to prevent the predominance of anyone Amir with his followers. He thus fell a victim to the intrigues of the Amirs; he was deposed in 755 (1354) and his brother Ḥammān recalled to the throne.

Bibliography: Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, v. 490—499; *al-Manhal al-ḡaṣṭī*, Paris MS. Ar. 2068—2073 under al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Šāliḥ.

(SOBERNHUM)

ŠĀLIH B. 'ALĪ B. 'ABD ALLĪH B. 'ABDĀS AL-'ABDĀS was born in Sawād or in the highlands of al-Baḡdād in the year 92 (710/11), he, along with Abū 'Awn 'Abd al-Malik b. Yariṣ al-Ḥusaynī, commanded the expeditionary force sent to Egypt in pursuit of the last Umayyad Caliph Marwān b. al-Hakam and on Muḥarram 1, 133 (Aug. 9, 750) was appointed governor of this province. On Shu'abūn 1, 133 (March 4, 751) he was recalled from Egypt and given the governorship of Palestine after installing his companion-in-arms Abū 'Awn as his successor in Egypt. But by Rabi' I 5, 136 (Sept. 753) he was again given the governorship of Egypt along with the control of the finances of the country and was further appointed governor of Iḥṣkiya so that the whole of the Maghrib was united under his rule. On Rabi' II 5, 136 (Oct. 8, 753) he entered Egypt but had to return to Palestine within a year and half on Ramaḡān 4 of the following year (Feb. 21, 755) as a result of a rebellion in Egypt and again handed over the governorship of Egypt and the financial control of the country to Abū 'Awn. He had next to exchange Palestine for Syria (141=758/9). He undertook two campaigns against the Byzantines and died at Kinnasrīn or at 'Ala Uṭāḡh at the age of 58 after appointing his son al-Faḍl governor of Hima.

The name Šāliḥ is found on two glass measurement-stamps in the Fouquet collection in P. Cassin's *Catalogue des pièces de verre des époques byzantine et arabe de la collection Fouquet*, M.M.A.F., 1895, vi. 370, N^o. 140, 141, and on copper coins of Ḥalab of the year 146 (763/4), and 148 (765/6) in H. Nitzsch, *Katalog der orientalischen Münzen in den Kgl. Museen zu Berlin*, i. 328, N^o. 2083/84, and p. 329, N^o. 2086; cf. also Isma'īl Ḥalīb, *Musāḥhar-i ḥadīth-i islāmīyā Catalogue*, p. 284, N^o. 769, 770; S. Lane-Poole, *Brit. Mus., Cat. Orient. coins*, 1200, ix. 94.

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(ADOLF GROHMANN)

ŠĀLIH B. MIRDĀS ABU 'ALĪ ABAD AL-DAWLA — see his genealogy in his biography in Ibn Ḥalīkīn, transl. by de Slane, Paris 1842, i. 631 — was one of the most important Beduin chiefs of the Near East in the fifth century A.H. His tribe was the Kilābi, who migrated under his leadership northwards from the ḥaḡk to Aleppo in the beginning of the fourth century and gained him this principality (see the art. HALAB). We know little of his character and private life but he seems to have been a brave and resolute man. He is mentioned for the first time in 390 (1008) as the ally of the otherwise unknown Ibn Muḥkam, when the latter appealed to him for help in defending Raḡḡa which he had captured. The alliance was not a close nor a loyal one. After a certain amount of friction, a reconciliation took place between the two leaders in which Šāliḥ married Ibn

Muḥkam's daughter. He continued to have his residence in Hilla, as Ibn al-Athīr expressly mentions. In spite of the family links which united them, the friendship with Ibn Muḥkam did not last. In the same year Šalīh had his father-in-law murdered, seized Raḥba and administered it in the name of the Fātimid Caliph in Cairo whom he recognised as his overlord in the Friday prayer. In the next year (400 = 1009) he was involved in the affairs of Aleppo for the first time (see the art. HAMDĀNĪS). Manṣūr Murād al-Dawla, son of the Hamdānīd Mamūk Lu'ā', was ruling there but his position was challenged by the pretender Abū 'I-Hijāz, grandson of Saif al-Dawla. The latter had taken the Kilābis into his service but they had gone over to Manṣūr who had promised them large tracts of land. In consequence it was easy for Manṣūr to beat the Hamdānīd. But when the Kilābis became pressing in their demands for their reward and invaded and plundered his lands, he had recourse to an old stratagem. He invited the Kilābi chiefs to a feast to discuss the matter, fell upon them and killed some and took the others prisoners. The story that 1,000 Kilābis were killed on this occasion in addition to the chiefs may be an exaggeration. Šalīh had so far to humiliate himself as to declare his wife to be divorced in favour of Manṣūr. For three years he languished in chains. It was not till 405 (1014) that he succeeded in escaping, in chains, as some say, or, as others report, after sawing them through with a file that had been smuggled unto him. After lying in concealment for some time he gradually collected the Kilābis around him again and attacked Manṣūr. The latter was defeated, captured and put into the same chains, the story goes, as he had bound Šalīh with. He was then released on certain conditions and handed over 5,000 dinārs, 70 pounds of silver and 500 robes, but did not fulfil the condition that he should pay the Kilābis half the revenues of Aleppo for the year 405 and marry Šalīh to his daughter. The Kilābis then laid siege to Aleppo and Manṣūr, who could not trust Faṭḥ, the commander of the citadel, fled to the Byzantines in 406 (1015). Faṭḥ came to terms with Šalīh and delivered Aleppo over to 'Alī b. Ahmad al-Adami, the Fātimid governor of Apamea. The Caliph, angry at the flight of Manṣūr, recognised 'Alī as governor, lauded Faṭḥ and Šalīh to whom he gave the honorary title of Asad al-Dawla and granted him the promised half of a year's revenue of Aleppo. (On the governors of Aleppo to the year 406—411 see above, p. 229 sq.). The rule of the Fātimids with their continually changing governors aroused the discontent of the Beduin tribes, who combined against Fātimid authority in 414 (1024) (see above ii. 229 sq.). Šalīh conquered Aleppo, Hims, Ba'albek and Sidon in the next two years and his authority stretched to beyond Anah on the Euphrates. When the power of the Fātimids increased again, the Caliph Zāhir sent a new army in 420 (1029) under Anuṣṭukīn al-Dizbarī against whom Šalīh took the field. He fell in the battle of Ukhuwāna on the Jordan; his son Nuṣr (see the art. SHĪR AL-DĀWLA) escaped with a portion of the army and retained rule over Aleppo. Šalīh's importance lies in the fact that he led his tribe from Mesopotamia to Aleppo and gave them permanent settlements there.

Bibliography: Kamāl al-Dīn 'Umar b. al-Adām, *Zuhdat al-Halab fi Tārīkh Halab*, St.

Petersburg, Arabic MS. of the Asiatic Museum 522, Paris 1666, of which the part dealing with the Mirdāsids has been edited by J. J. Müller, *Historia Mirdasidarum*, Bonn 1830; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kamil*, ed. Tornberg, ix. 148, 159 sq.; Ibn Khallikān, transl. by de Slane, Paris 1842, i. 631; cf. also the articles HAMDĀNĪS, above, p. 247 sqq. and HALAB, p. 227 sqq. (M. SOERENHUIS).

ŠALĪH b. ʿARIF. We know very little definitely about this individual, the prophet of the Barghawāta of Tāmasnā (the western coast of Morocco) and the founder of their heresy, or at least it was he to whom it was attributed. According to the information transmitted by al-Bakrī and which later writers simply reproduce, ʿArif b. Shamaʿūn b. Yaʿqūb b. Ishāq was one of the companions of Maṣāra, promoter of the Khārījī insurrection in the Maghrib in the eighth century A. D. and the leader of a section of the Zenāta and of the Zūghā; then he was recognised as their chief by the people of the Tāmasnā among whom he settled. His son Šalīh succeeded him, declaring himself to be the prophet — the *Šalīh al-mu'minin* of the Korān — sent to complete the mission of Muḥammad. He elaborated his doctrine, which he kept secret, then set out for the East leaving his power in the hands of his son al-Yās and saying that he would return under his seventh successor. Al-Yās in his turn kept this teaching secret and was succeeded by his son Yūnos who preached it and spread it by force of arms in the course of the third century A. H. in the lands now comprised in western Morocco, but the chronology is extremely vague. The descendants of Šalīh b. ʿArif continued to reign over the Barghawāta down to the period of their defeat by the Ifrānīs of Salé (beginning of the xth century), then by the Almoravids (end of the xth century) and lastly by the Almohads (middle of the xth century). — According to other traditions, hostile to the Barghawāta, Šalīh was of Jewish origin and born at Barchīn in Spain, whence the name Barghawāta given to his followers. But these traditions are of no value. It may be asked if this enigmatic figure Šalīh is really the author of the heresy of the Barghawāta or rather if Yūnos, who spread it, did not, in order to give it more prestige, place it to the credit of his grandfather who had mysteriously disappeared and whose return was predicted. This would be quite in keeping with the psychology of the Berbers. An account of the teaching of Šalīh b. ʿArif will be found in the article BARGHAWĀTA.

Bibliography: The only really important Muslim source is al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique Septentrionale*, ed. de Slane, Algiers 1857, p. 134—141; cf. also René Basset, *Recherches sur la religion des Berbères*, Paris 1910, p. 48—51. The remainder of the Bibliography will be found in the article BARGHAWĀTA.

(HENRI BASSET)

ŠALĪH. Arab historians and genealogists are unanimous in stating that the tribe or clan Šalīh were the first Arabs who founded a kingdom in Syria, though the three princes mentioned by them appear not to be named on inscriptions or by Greek and Syrian authors. There is also doubt as regards their affiliation with other tribes; some reckon them to Ghassān, while others say they were a branch of Qudā'a. Their first ruler is named al-Nu'mān b. 'Amr b. Mālik who was succeeded by his son Mālik after whom followed the latter's

his class. One night, after a drinking party at court, Uwais sent a slave with a candle in a golden basin to light him home. The next morning the king sent for the basin and received a verse in reply:

"Last night the candle was consumed, and in my lamentation

I too shall be consumed, if the king demands the basin".

The poet was allowed to keep the basin.

As a reward for an ode which he wrote in answer to the odes of Khawāja Zahir Fāryābī, Salmān received two villages in the Rai district and some land in the neighbourhood of Sāwa, his native town, in Sayrghāl, and in his old age he retired from court and lived in peace on his estate.

Uwais, who ruled over Irāk and Ādharbāidjān, died in 1374 and Salmān emerged from his retirement and mourned for some time over his patron's grave, chanting an elegy which he had composed on him. Salmān himself died at an advanced age in 775 (1376).

[Salmān wrote both epical and lyrical poetry. There exist of him two *Mathnawīs*, viz. *Firāsh-nāma*, composed in 761 (1359) on demand of his patron Sultān Uwais, and *Djāmshīd u Kāwār-shīr*, an imitation of *Kāwār u Shīrīn*, written in 763 (1362). His lyrical works contain *Ghazals*, *Rubā'is*, *Kifās*, and the *ganz* in which he excelled, *Kāfidas*. In this latter kind of poetry, notable in the artificial *Kāfida* (*Kāfida-i majnūn*) he surpassed even his greatest predecessor Dhu 'l-Fikar of Shirwān. Of poetical figures, Salmān cultivates especially the *Tawghīf*, i. e. the incorporation of a smaller poem into a longer one (cf. Ibn Kālī, *Mu'jam*, Gibb Mem. Ser. x., p. 362 sqq.). Many of the *Kāfidas* are reflexes of historical events of the time, Salmān's *Ghazals* could not, in the eyes of Persian critics, win the renown of his *Kāfidas*.

A lithographed Bombay edition of his *Kulliyāt* is mentioned by Browne, *Hist. of Persian Lit. under Tartar Dominion*, p. 261].

Bibliography: Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā'*, ed. E. G. Browne, London 1901, p. 257—263; Lutf 'Alī Beg (Ādhur), *Atashkade*, ed. of 1277, p. 208—211; *Die Handschriftenverzeichnisse d. bñ. Bibl. zu Berlin*, iv. 842; Rieu, *Cat. of Pers. Mss. in the Brit. Mus.*, ii. 629; do., *Supplement*, index; Flügel, *Die arab., pers. und türk. Hist. zu Wien*, index; Browne, *A suppl. Handlist of ... Cambridge*; do., *History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, p. 260 sqq.; 296 sq. (parallels between Salmān and Hāfi); *Z.D.M.G.*, xv., p. 758—774; Ouseley, *Biographical notices of Persian poets*, p. 117; *Catalogue Bankipore*, i. p. 219 sqq. (copious references to Persian and European literature on Salmān); Ethé in *Grundriss d. iran. Philologie*, ii. 248, 251, 254, 270, 303 sq. (T. W. HAIG).

SALMĀN AL-FĀRISĪ, a companion of the Prophet and one of the most popular figures of Muslim legend. According to one tradition, the most complete version of which among the many that exist goes back to Muḥammad b. Ishāq, he was the son of a *dāghān* of the Persian village of Dāy (or Dāyān; cf. Yāqūt, ii. 170) near Isfahān. According to other stories, he belonged to the vicinity of Rāmihmurz and his Iranian name was

Māhbeh (Māybeh) or Rūbeh (cf. Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 217, 277). Attracted by Christianity while still a boy he left his father's house to follow a Christian monk and having changed his teachers several times arrived in Syria; from there he went right down to the Wādī 'l-Karā in Central Arabia seeking the Prophet who was to restore the religion of Ibrāhīm, the imminence of whose coming had been predicted to him by his last teacher on his deathbed. Betrayed by Kalbi Beduins, who were acting as his guides through the desert, and sold as a slave to a Jew, he had occasion to go to Yathrib where soon after his arrival the *hijra* of Muḥammad took place. Recognising in the latter the marks of the prophet which the monk had described to him, Salmān became a Muslim and purchased his liberty from his Jewish master, after being miraculously aided by Muḥammad himself to raise the sum necessary to pay his ransom.

The name of Salmān is associated with the siege of Medina by the Mekkans for it was he who on this occasion advised the digging of the ditch (*Khandaq*) by means of which the Muslims defended themselves from the enemy. But, as Horowitz (see the *Bibliography*) has shown, the earliest accounts of the *yawm al-khandaq* make no mention of Salmān's intervention, the story of which was probably invented in order to attribute to a Persian the introduction of a system of defence the name of which is of Persian origin. The other references to the career of Salmān (his part in the conquest of the Irāk and of Fars, his governorship of al-Madīna etc.) are equally devoid of authority and almost all date from the historian Saif b. 'Umar, the bias of whose work is well known. Indeed, the fame of Salmān is almost entirely due to his Persian nationality: he is the prototype of the converted Persians (just as the Abyssinians and the Greeks are represented by Bilāl [q. v., i. 718] and Ṣuhayb respectively), who played such a part in the development of Islām; as such he has become the national hero of Muslim Persia and one of the favourite personages of the *Shi'arūbiya* (cf. Goldziher, *Mus. Studien*, i. 117, 136, 153, 212). What explains the majority of the traditions relative to Salmān is the fact that the Prophet foretells to him that the Persians will form the better part of the Muslim community; he declares him member of his own family (*ahl al-bait*); his annuity is equal to that assigned to Hasan and to Husain, the grandsons of the Prophet etc. In reality, the historical personality of Salmān is of the vaguest and it is with difficulty that one can even admit that his legend is based on the actual fact of the conversion of a Medina slave of Persian origin.

The figure of Salmān has had an extraordinary development. Not only does he appear as one of the founders of Sūfism along with the *Aḥl al-Suffa* (*Kitāb al-Luma'*, ed. Nicholson, p. 134—135) but the alleged site of his tomb very early became a centre of worship (at latest in the 10th century A.H.; cf. Ya'qūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldan* in the *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, vii. 321); it is still pointed out in the vicinity of the ancient al-Madīna, at the place called after him Selmān Pāk ("Salmān the Pure") near the former Asbāndur suburb. His sepulchral mosque, which was seen in its older form by Pietro della Valle in 1617 (*Viaggi*, ed. Gancia, Brighton 1843, i. 394), was renovated by Sultān Murād IV (1623—1640) and

recently restored (in 1322 = 1904—1905) (Hersfeld-Sarre, *Archäol. Reise im Euphrates- und Tigrisgebiet*, II, 262, note 1, based on information given by the learned Mesopotamian journalist Kāḡim al-Dūdjalī; and cf. *ibid.*, p. 51 [topographical sketch] and p. 58). It is the object of numerous pilgrimages, especially on the part of Shī'īs who do not fail to visit it in returning from Kerbelā (cf. Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1908, p. 426—428). Other traditions locate the tomb of Salmān in the vicinity of Isfahān, where there is evidence of his cult in the vith century (Yāqūt, II, 170), and elsewhere (for Lydda in Palestine cf. Clermont-Ganneau, *Études d'archéologie orientale*, II, 108).

Salmān plays a remarkable part in the development of the *futuwa* and the workmen's corporations. He is venerated as a patron of barbers, whence comes the tradition, unknown in ancient collections of tradition, which makes him the Prophet's barber (H. Thorming, *Studien zu East Madad et-Taufiq*, Diss. Kiel 1913, p. 33—37 and 85—90 = *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des islamischen Vereinswesens*, *Türkische Bibliothek*, vol. 16; Goldziher, *Abhandl.*, *z. arab. Philol.*, II, Ixvi, Lxxvii.). He is also one of the principal links in the mystic chain (*silsila*) in various religious orders (Depont and Coppolani, *Les Confréries musulmanes*, p. 91). The veneration accorded to Salmān among the Sunnis is naturally exceeded among the Shī'īs: not only do they attribute to him a mass of *badith's* in honour of 'Alī and his family but among the extremist sects he is placed immediately after 'Alī in the series of divine emanations. The Nuṣairiyya make him the third member of the trinity formed by the three mystic letters A ('Alī), M (Muḥammad) and S (Salmān), of which he forms the gate (636) (cf. Dassauid, *La Religion des Nuṣairis*, p. 62; Goldziher, *A. R. W.*, xii, 88).

The death of Salmān is placed in 35 or 36 A.H., a statement which has no value except to indicate that the historian's tradition had no note of his activity after the accession of 'Alī (end of 35 A.H.). Like many other individuals, said to have embraced Islām after long experiences of other religions, he is credited with an extraordinary longevity: 200, 300, 350 and even 553 years (Goldziher, *Abhandl.*, II, lxxvi.).

Bibliography (besides that mentioned in the course of the article): Ibn Hishām, p. 136—142 (= Ibn Sa'd, IV, 1, 53—57; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Muṣnad*, v, 441—444; Pseudo-Balkhī, *Kitāb al-Bad' wa-l-Tarīkh*, ed. by Cl. Huart, p. 110—113, 345, 673, 677; Ibn Sa'd, IV, 1, 53—67; al-Jābir, ed. de Goeje, *Index* s.v.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Und al-Ghāṣa*, II, 328—332, and other collections of biographies of the Companions; L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, v, 399—419 (35 A.H., §§ 541—598) and *index* to vols. I—II, III—V.; do., *Chronographia Islamica*, I, 383 (35 A.H., § 73); C. Huart, *Salmān al-Fārisī in Mélanges H. Derenbourg*, Paris 1909, p. 297—310; do., *Nouvelles recherches sur la légende de Salmān al-Fārisī in l'Annuaire de l'École pratique des Hautes Études*, Section des sciences religieuses, 1913; J. Horowitz in the *Isl.*, 1922, xii, 178—183. (G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

SĀLMĀS, a district in the province of Adharbāydjān in Persia, to the north-west of the Lake of Urmīyah and having an area of 25 miles (N. to S.) by 40 (E. to W.). To the south the chain

of the Awghān (Afghān)-dagh with its pass Wer'gewiz (6,150 feet high) separates Salmās from the district of Urmīyah (Urmī); the eastern portion of the Awghān-dagh forms the lofty promontory of Kāra-bāgh (q.v.) which runs out into the Lake; at the end of it is the fortress of Güwerčīn-Kā'a. In the west the Harṭwīl range (in Turkish Ara'ul) separates Salmās from the Turkish district of Albak; the pass of Khānāsūr is 7,900 feet high. To the north Salmās marches with Khol; in the north-east with the district of Günel ("exposed to the sun"; former administrative name Arwanak-wa-Anzāb) which lies on the north bank of the lake and has Tasudj as its capital. Salmās consists of the fertile plain watered by the Zola-Čai and of the mountainous districts of Čahrīk, Shīnetāl and Shepīrān.

The region of Salmās has been inhabited since very early times to judge by the remains of Khaldic (Vannic) buildings. Later it formed part of the province of Persarmenia belonging sometimes to Atropatene and sometimes to Armenia. Faustus Byzantinus includes the region of Salmās in the province of Kortēk'. Constantine Porphyrogenetos mentions *Σαλμας* alongside of *Χαρ* (now Khol).

Al-Muḥaddas describes Salmās as a fine town with good markets and a stone mosque; the population in the fourth (xth) century was of Kurd origin. In Yāqūt's time the town was in ruins; among natives of the place he mentions Mūsā b. 'Amrān, a learned man who died in 380. According to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, the city wall, 8,000 paces in circumference, was rebuilt by the vizier Khādja Tādī al-Dīn 'Alī Shāh in the reign of Ghāzān. The taxes of Salmās in the viith (xivth) century amounted to 39,000 dinārs. At the present day there is no town named Salmās. The passages in the Muslim writers must refer to the hamlet known as Kuhna Shahr ("the old town") in the north-west of the district on the road from Albak and Kōtūr. There are at Kuhna Shahr about 1,000 families of Shī'īs who speak the Azeri dialect of Turkish, 100 Armenian families and a Jewish colony, always the sign of an old established settlement in Persia. The fact that the tower of Mīr-Khāfīn is situated near Kuhna Shahr is equally significant.

The modern capital is Dilmān (written Dilmāḡān), the name of which seems to indicate some connection with the Dailamīs of Gilān (cf. the art. DAILAM) some of whose little forts are at Shahrī-sūr etc. (cf. Yāqūt, s.v. Dailamastān). There are at Dilmān 1,400 houses (in 1852 only 300) and 8,000 inhabitants (almost all Shī'īs). The town advantageously situated at the intersection of the routes in the centre of the plain is surrounded by walls of earth and has 5 gates. It has 11 mosques (those of Aghā, of the Shaikh al-Islām, of Hādījī 'Alī Rīdā, Hādījī Sādīk Aghā, Kānī, Shālī, etc.) and a *tekkiye* of dervishes founded by Rawshan Efendi (whose seal bore the date 1251 A.H.; cf. Véliamīnoff Zernoff, *Scheref-Nāmah*, 1860, I, 18).

The plain of Salmās about 1850 (Čirikow) had 51 villages with 3,310 houses. Their number towards 1900 had risen to 108 with a population of over 50,000 of whom 63.20% were Shī'īs, 13% Sunnis, 22.5% Christians and 1.3% Jews. Alongside of purely Muslim villages or those with a mixed population, there were Christian villages of fair size: Armenians (Kā'a-sar, Haftuwān, Peryādīk) or Syrians (Khosrowa, Patāvur, etc.). The Catholic (Chaldaean) Syrians were found mainly at Khosrowa, a prosperous hamlet of 500 houses with

2 churches (one built in 1844), the see of a bishop and of a Lazarist mission. As early as 1281 a bishop of Salmās was present at the *synodus* of the Nestorian patriarch Mar Yalabaha (Avesmani, ii. 456) at Baghdad. The inhabitants of Khawrowa were converted to Catholicism in the course of the eighteenth century. Among the Muslims of Salmās there are a few Leks, who came originally from southern Kurdistan but claim to have come to Salmās from Isfahan. The representatives of the different races and religions agreed very well together and were only disturbed by the invasions of Kurds who came down from the mountains to plunder in the plains. The exports and imports of Salmās before the war amounted to a million gold roubles. The exports consisted of wax, almonds, skins and cattle. The Russo-Turkish fighting and the period of trouble that followed the war from 1918 onwards have seriously affected the prosperity of Salmās.

Čahrik, the administrative centre of the mountainous region inhabited by the Kurds, is a little fortress built on a rock rising up in the centre of the gorge of the Zala-Čai (see the photograph in E. G. Browne, *Nagharā 'l-Rūd*, 1910). In 1828 Čahrik was occupied by the Russians. In 1848 the Bāh [q.v.] was imprisoned there before his execution at Tabriz. At this date the governor of Čahrik was Yalyāš Khān, brother-in-law of Muḥammad Shāh. After the assassination of his son Timūr Khān, Čahrik was occupied by the 'Awdol Kurds. This clan belongs to the great tribe of Šekakkīk, which occupies both sides of the Persian-Turkish frontier here. According to the 'Awdol, their ancestors came from Diyār Bakr to Urmīya towards the middle of the xviiith century. The tomb of their chief Ism'īl Aghā (on the Nārū Čai) is dated 1231 (1816). His son, 'Alī Khān, seized Čahrik in 1864. The son of 'Alī Khān, Dī'fūr Aghā, a bold bandit, was put to death at Tabriz in 1905 by order of the governor-general. His younger brother Ism'īl (known as Simko) played a considerable part in the troubled politics of these marches. In 1918 the Nestorian patriarch was assassinated at Kūna Shahr in an encounter provoked by Simko's men. In 1922 a Persian military force drove Simko back into Turkey.

Among the antiquities of Salmās there should be noted: 1) the Khaldic (Urmian) buildings discovered by Ker Porter (*Travels*, ii. 60) on the hill of Zūfūr Kāl'a near the village of Tamar; 2) a bas-relief (Sassanian) on the rock of Pir Čū'āh, representing Galerius, Nares and Tiridates (Ker Porter, *ibid.*; Flandin and Coste, iv. Pl. 204—205) or, according to another explanation, Ardashir I Šāpūr and his son Šāpūr (Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 81; Sarre, *Iran. Führer*, p. 246); 3) The fortress of Güwērtin Kāl'a ('fortress of the pigeons') on the rocks, sometimes forming a peninsula and sometimes on island in the lake of Urmīyah. Some parts of G.-F. may date from the Khaldic period. N. Khanykoff in 1852 discovered there a fragment of a Muslim inscription of a certain Abū Nāsir Hussain Bahādur Khān (the newspaper *Kāshān*, Tiflis 1852, N° 22, 23); 4) The brick tower near Kūna Shahr. Its inscription dated about 700 (732) and deciphered by Max van Berchem attributes its erection to Mīr Khātūn, daughter of Arghūn Aka. The last named is known as governor of Khorāsān in the time of Hūlākū and Abūka (cf. Lehmann-Haupt, *Mate-*

rialien zur ältesten Gesch. Armeniens, Abh. G. W. Göt., New Series, ix. 158—159; photograph in Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, p. 320).

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SALSABİL is the name of a fountain in Paradise, mentioned only once in the Korān, in Sūra lxxvi. 18. The passage runs: "And there shall they (the just) be given to drink of the cup tempered with ginger, from the fount therein whose name is Salsabil".

Grammarians differ as to the derivation of the word. Some refer it to the triliteral root *s-b-l* while others derive it from a quinqueliteral root of which it is, except in its own feminine form, the sole derivative. Some explain it as meaning "that which slips or steals (*yanallu*) into the throat", as though the only radical letters were *s* and *l*. The derivation from *sal-sabilan* as in the comment *sal-rabbah-sabilan illā hādhihi 'l-āim* is condemned as erroneous. The word is explained as meaning "easy" or "smooth" (as a beverage), "in which is no roughness", "easy of entrance into the throat", and is applied as an epithet to milk, water and wine, but in the Korān it is understood to refer to wine, which will be lawful to Muslims in Paradise.

Some grammarians take it to be the proper name of the fountain, and therefore imperfectly declined, without *tanwīn*, but it is given *tanwīn* in the verse quoted in order that it may conform with

سلسبیل, but others understand it as an epithet

applied to the fountain, and therefore perfectly declined, with *tanwīn*. That the conception of the word as of a proper name was popular in the Muslim community, appears from a tradition in Muslim, *Ḥaṣṣ*, N° 37, where it is said that the fountain in Paradise from which the faithful will drink is called Salsabil.

Bibliography: The standard lexica and the commentaries on the Korān. (T. W. HAIG)

SALŪK (in al-Ḥamdānī: Khariṣat Salūk), an ancient city in South Arabia in the district of Khālid in the Yemen on the site of which the village of Ḥabil al-Riyyaba stood in al-Ḥamdānī's time. In the ruins of the great city of Salūk there were found slag-heaps, lumps of gold and silver as well as ornaments and coins. It was celebrated for the splendid double meshed mail-shirts which were manufactured in it. There was also a fine breed of dog specially suited for hunting gazelles (*salūḥ*), which was said to be the result of a cross between dogs and jackals, which came from this place. To this day, as I am informed by Alois Mühl, there is a saying among the Shīmanar Beduins:

Hu drūhī, lā lāl wa-lā slūhī "He is a bastard, not a dog and not a Salūki (hound)".

Bibliography: al-Hamdānī, *Sifat Djastrat al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller, Leiden 1884—91, p. 78, 79; 'Aḡm al-Dīn Ahmad, *Die auf Süd-arabien bezüglichen Angaben Nabatūn's im Sami al-'Uṭm*, Gibb Memorial Series, vol. xxiv, Leiden 1916, p. 51, 62; al-Karīmī, *Asfār al-Makhlūṣat*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848, II, 29; Yāqūt, *Ma'ājam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, III, 125, 126; *Marāṭid al-Iṣṣā*, ed. T. G. J. Juynboll, Leiden 1853, II, 47; al-Bakrī, *Ma'ājam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1876, II, 780, 781; A. Sprunger, *Die alte Geographie Arabien*, Bern 1875, p. 185; F. W. Schwartz, *Die Wägen der alten Araber*, Leipzig 1886, p. 200, 334; E. Glaser, *Skizzen der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, II, Berlin 1890, p. 19; G. Jacob, *Alt-arabisches Bodenleben*, Berlin 1897, p. 26, 84, 245. (ADOLF GROHMANN)

SALUL. There are two tribes of this name, one South Arabian and a branch of Khuzā'a, the other North Arabian and reckoned to the federation of tribes known by the collective name of Hawāzin. Both tribes appear to have been in little estimation and I am in doubt whether the two are not really identical as some members are at times reckoned either to Khuzā'a or Hawāzin.

1) The branch of Khuzā'a had immigrated into the Hijāz at an early date, Arab genealogists giving the time as after the break of the dam at Ma'rib, and became custodians of the Ka'ba. A member of the tribe, Abū Ghabshān al-Muhtariḡ b. Halāl b. Salūl, sold the key of the temple to Kuway b. Kināna, through whom the custodianship came down to the tribe of Quraysh, for a skin of wine. This tribe was divided into three principal branches: Hubshiya, 'Adi and Ilimis, the last of which was probably very small as no notable persons belonging to this clan are mentioned. Hubshiya was divided into several families, namely: Halāl, Kumair, Dāir, Kulāib and Ghādira. To the first belonged al-Muhtariḡ mentioned above and Kurs b. 'Alkama who followed the Prophet on his flight from Mekka to al-Medina as far as the cave where he lost trace of him, when he found a spider-web over the entrance of the cave. He lived to the time of Mu'āwiya and it was through his knowledge of the topography of the country that the limits of the Holy Territory were fixed, which have been retained to this day. Of the family of Kumair was Kaḥḥab b. Dhū'alb, who was born in the life-time of the Prophet and died in Syria in 86 A. H., and Malik b. al-Haitham b. 'Awf, one of the principal emissaries of the 'Abbāsids and friend of Abū Muslim, who left him in charge of the army when he went to see the Caliph al-Manṣūr and was murdered.

2) The tribe descended from Hawāzin was named after their maternal ancestor Salūl, daughter of Dhūhī b. Shalbān, the ancestor in the male line being Murra b. Sa'ā'a b. Mu'āwiya b. Bakr b. Hawāzin. They were settled to the East of Mekka. They were divided into ten clans: 'Amr, Duḥai'a, Nahār, Suhāim, Ghādira, Udayl, Dhābir, Mu'āwiya, Ljānī and Duḥaiy. Of the clan Ghādira were Imrān b. Ḥusayn, a companion of the Prophet who was sent by 'Umar I as judge to al-Baṣra, and the poet Kuthayyir 'Asa [q.v.]. To the clan 'Amr belonged the poets 'Abd Allāh b. Hammām and al-'Uḡair. In comparing the genealogies of the various members

of the tribe Salūl not inconsiderable divergences are encountered, Ghādira e.g. occurring in both, from which it seems safe to infer that, though the general membership was known the affiliation was more than uncertain in most cases, which the ingenuity of the genealogists has not been able to bring into one common scheme. The chief difficulty was, no doubt, that Salūl was the name of a woman, not of a man, in spite of the "lun" of the genealogists and we have a case of a matriarchy, not uncommon in the genealogies of Arab tribes.

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SALUR is the name of one of the tribes of the Oghuz which traces its name and origin to the eldest son of Daḡh Khān, one of the six sons of Oghuz Khān; in the texts the orthography

سَلَوَر (It occurs in a Persian *Oghuz-nāma* in manuscript in my private library) or سَلُور (*Divān luḡāt al-Turk: Ta'riḡh-i Guzda*) is rarely found; the commonest is سَلَوَر or سَلُور. As in the case of many other Turkish tribes the historical data regarding their ethnology are very scanty and confused. This much is, however, certain for their early history that from the earliest times they shared the fortunes of the other Oghuz tribes, since they came from the lands of Il and of Iḡgh Göl on the banks of the Salḡūn [q.v.] and then migrated into Transoxania, Khwāzīm and Khorāṣān, and finally, at the conquest of Asia Minor, a part of the tribe settled in Eastern Anatolia (for the details see Köprülü Zāde Fu'ād, *Turkiye ta'riḡhi*, Constantinople 1923, I, chap. 5). It was from them that the Salḡuri dynasty [q.v.] arose after the fall of the Seldjūk empire (*Ta'riḡh-i Guzda*, Gibb Memorial Series, xv/1, p. 503); the royal poet Kaḡī Burhān al-Dīn [q.v.] was also a descendant of the Salur ('Asī b. Ardashīr Astārābādī, *Basm-a Raam*, MS. of the Aya Sofia, No. 3465). Seeing that, according to the translation of the *Salḡūn-nāma*, the Salur, who had come into Asia Minor, were in the army of Bahrām Shāh, prince of Er-sindjān, of the family of Mengūcek (Houtsma, *Revue* etc., III, 37), we may conclude that the Salur played an important part in the history of the Seldjūks of Asia Minor along with the Kaḡī Bāyandur and Bayāt tribes (see the Index to vol. IV, of the *Revue* and J. Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komnenen*, p. 189 in the *Abh. G. W.*, new series, vol. XIII, No. 1, Berlin 1914). According to a Persian manuscript of the *Oghuz-nāma* in my private library, the Karamān-Oghlu [q.v.] belonged to the Karamān branch of the Salur. It is very probable that the villages bearing the name Karamān in Adharbāidjān in the Caucasus were originally founded by the Salur. Among the solid bodies of Turkomen that we find in these regions in the 15th century A.D. (al-Nasā'ī *Histoire du Sultan Djelāl ad-Din Munkshirī*, transl. Haudas, Paris 1895, p. 264, 374, 383) there were certainly these

Karamān. After a large part of the Salur had migrated westwards, as a result of Seldjūq policy, which aimed at dispersing the Oghuz tribes in different directions, those who had remained at Marw and Sarakhs played a part in later history under the general name of Turkomans. In the opinion of several scholars a certain number of these Salur went between 1380 and 1424, via Samarqand, Turfan and Sou Tchou, to Si Ning where they settled and became the present Salar of Kan-Su (it still remains to be ascertained whence and when these latter emigrated). The Salur, reduced in number and in strength by these two emigrations, became gradually weakened by their fighting with the other nomad Turkomans and particularly by their continual incursions into Persian territory; they finally ceased to be of any importance as a result of the great losses sustained against 'Abū Mirzā, son of Faṭṭā 'Alī Shāh, during the latter's expedition to Sarakhs in 1831.

Present state of the Salur. The Salur regard themselves as the oldest and noblest of the Turkomans who live clustered round Sarakhs and scattered along the Russo-Persian frontier near Hari-Rūd. They are divided into three groups: Alavaḥ, Karamān and Anabeleghi; these groups have their subdivisions. Evnewit gives the following divisions:

Yalowaḥ: 1) Ordouhōjja, 2) Daz, 3) Bek-Sakar. Karamān: 1) Jugroudjihli, 2) Bek-Gheren, 3) Alain.

Kirahē Agha: 1) Kirahē Aga, 2) Bech Ourouk (all these names after the orthography of the *R. M. M.*, lvi. 60, 67).

These subdivisions are again divided into clans. Their numbers are variously estimated. Dubeux puts the number of the Salur around Sarakhs at 2,000 tents, Petronchewitch at 3,000, Vámbéry at 5,700 (which is an exaggeration). Recently J. Castagné has put it at 3,000 tents.

The number of Muslim Salur in the originally Tibetan district of Kan-Su is put at 70,000 (according to Grenard, 50,000). They dwell on the right bank of the Yellow River in an area stretching from Ourouanvou to T'ao-Hō with the little town of Sin-Hoa-Ting or Salar as its centre; on the left bank they occupy some villages on a rather dangerous and mountainous road between Si-Ning and Hō-Tcheou. These Turks are readily distinguished by their physical type from the other Muslims of Kan-Su; they have retained their Turkish language. Grenard has published materials concerning their dialect and has drawn certain conclusions from it regarding the origin and time of emigration of the Salur but these materials are neither sufficient nor reliable. The Salur are Hanafī Sunnīs; they have always been Nakshbandīs and the *dhikr dhikr* is common among them. They despise the Chinese and as a rule are brigands.

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Paris 1898), p. 457 199; Ritter, *Erkunde*, vii. 702; J. Castagné, *Russie Slave et Russie Turque*, in the *R. M. M.*, lvi., Paris 1923, p. 66—67; L. Massignon, *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*, first year 1923, p. 268—269; J. von Hammer, *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1836—1841, i. 9—10. (KÖRÖLÖ ZÁOK FÜXD)

SĀM (Shem) is regularly given first among the sons of Nūḥ and in the *Ḥijāz al-Anbiyā'* of al-Tha'labī is expressly mentioned as Nūḥ's first-born. Only one isolated tradition in al-Taḥart (ed. de Goeje, i. 196) gives the order Yafith, Hām, Sām, in agreement with a Jewish tradition in the Babylonian Talmud, *Sanhedrin*, fol. 69b (cf., however, on this the statements in the *Al al-Tawarīḥ* of al-Taḥart, *op. cit.*, p. 223). Sām is the favourite son of Nūḥ. He not only shares the paternal blessing with Yafith (cf. *Genesis*, ix. 27) but his dying father also appoints him his successor and gives him special tasks. His preference is transmitted to his descendants; they enjoy special beauty and prophecy is innate in them. Sām's wife, Ṣalīb (Ṣulāib), was descended, like the wives of Nūḥ's other sons, from Ḥāim b. Adam and bore him four sons, whose names can readily be identified with those in *Genesis*, x. 22; whether Sām's fifth son, Aram, had the same mother is uncertain. The Arabs are regularly said to be Sām's descendants, frequently the Persians and Romans in addition, sometimes also the Jews. When Nūḥ divided the earth among his sons, he allotted 'the centre' to Sām, i. e. the region between the Nile, Euphrates-Tigris and Oxus-Jaxartes. Sām himself lived in Mekka.

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SĀM MİRZĀ, a Persian poet, son of Shāh Ismā'il I, born in 923 (1517). Was installed by his father as governor of Khorāsān under the guardianship of Dürmish Khān in the town of Herāt after it had been relieved from the siege by the Uzbeks in 938 (1531). He rebelled in 969 (1561) against his brother Shāh Tahmāsp I and was thrown into prison and then put to death on the accession of Ismā'il II in 984 (1576—77). Besides a few verses that have been preserved, he was the compiler of the *Tadhkira-i Sāmī*, an anthology of contemporary poetry, a continuation of Dawlat-Shāh, written in 957 (1550).

Bibliography: Khondemir, *Ḥabīb al-tayār*, III/iv. 83, 100, 104; Rīdā kuli-khān, *Madīna al-Fusahā*, Teheran 1265, i. 31; Latīf 'Alī Beg, *Atash-Jade*, Bombay 1277, p. 14; Arād, *Āḥ-ṣinc-i 'Amir*, Cawnpore 1860, p. 6; Mir Husain Dost, *Tadhkira*, Lucknow 1292—1875, p. 148; Ch. Rieu, *Cat. Pers. MSS.*, p. 367b; E. G. Browne, *Hist. of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, Cambridge 1920, p. 459, 507, 514; Hammer, *Gesch. der schönen Redekünste Persiens*, p. 379; Silvestre de Sacy, *N. E.*, iv. 273; O. Frank, *Über die morgenl. Hist.*, in München, p. 126; Flügel, *Die arab., pers. und türk. Hist.*, in Wien, ii. 367; A. Krafft, *Die arab., pers. und türk. Hist.*, in Wien, p. 34. (CL. HUARY)

SAMĀ' (de Sacy's *simā'*, *Grammaire Arabe*, i. 347, is quite false; cf. Fleischer, *Klein Schr.*, i., p. 260) is an infinitive, like *amā'* and *simā'*, of

the root *s-m-* and means "hearing", often passing into the thing heard, like music and hearing music; also, like *istimaʿ*, "listening" (Lane, *Lexicon*, pp. 1427^b, 1429^b; *Lisan*, p. 26 sq.); it does not occur in the *Qurʾān* but it belongs to old Arabic even in the meaning, "a singing or musical performance" (Lane, p. 1617^b under *naghār* and references there). In lexicology and grammar it means, with *samʿi*, what is received on authority, as opposed to *ḥisrī* "analogical" (de Sacy, *loc. cit.*, and Lane, p. 1429^b). In theology it, and *samʿ*, are opposed, in the same sense, to *ʿaql*, "reason" (Goldziher, *Die Fichtungen der isl. Koranauslegung*, p. 136 sq., 166). But its principal technical use is undoubtedly in Sūfism, in which it means the listening to music, singing, chanting and measured recitation in order to produce religious emotion and ecstasy (*waḥd*) and also such performances by voice or instrument. To this on all its sides al-Ḥazālī has devoted a Book of the *ḥyāʾ*, the viiith in the Sections of Customs, vol. vi., p. 454-end in ed. with commentary, *Ḥayāt al-sūfī*; cf. *ḤAYĀLĪ* above. It has been translated with commentary and analysis by D. B. Macdonald in *J.R.A.S.*, for 1901, 2, and is the *locus classicus* in Islām for the whole subject of the attaining and controlling of religious emotion by such means, on its legal, psychological, theological and esthetic sides. Al-Ḥazālī considers it both as an advanced mystic and experienced ecstatic and as an orthodox Ashʿarite and Shāfiʿite, and this Book by its subject forms the kernel of his *ḥyāʾ*. Al-Hudjwiri, an earlier Persian writer and a theologically more advanced mystic — although still holding to his professed orthodoxy — has given to the same subject a chapter of his *Kaṭṭāf al-maḥḥūb*; see the translation (Gibb Memorial Series, vol. xvii.) by R. A. Nicholson, p. 393—420; see also, *Mystics of Islam and Studies in Islamic Mysticism* by the same author, both by index; Massignon, *La Passion d'al-Hallaj*, by index and especially p. 780, 795 sq. Al-Kushairī has also given a section to this in his *Risāla*, ed. with commentaries of al-ʿArūfī and Zakariyā (Bulak 1920), iv., p. 122—146; cf. on this passage R. Hartmann, *Al-Kushairī's Darstellung des Sūfismus*, p. 134—148. There are two vivid descriptions of seances by Rifāʿite darwishes for *samāʿ* in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's *Travels*, Paris ed., ii., p. 5—7.

Bibliography: has been given above.

(D. B. MACDONALD)

SAMAD. [See ALLĀH, I. 303*].

AL-SAMAK, fishes. There are numerous kinds, some so long that one cannot see both ends at the same time — a ship had once to wait four months till one of these monsters had passed — but others are so small that one can hardly see them. They breathe water through the covers of their gills and do not require air in order to live: air is injurious to them all except flying-fish. They are very voracious on account of the coldness of their temperament and because in them the stomach is very near the mouth. Like snakes they have great strength in their movements, because they have not to distribute their nourishment over many limbs. Many fishes pair; others are produced from sand and slime or decaying matter. According to al-Djāhiz, there are migratory fish, which one only finds at certain periods of the year, like migratory birds. Al-Karwini gives 79 names of fishes and 130 names of birds for Lake

Menzaleh in his *Adjāʾib al-Makhlūqāt* (ii. 119). The eating of fish is permitted by law, in whatever way they may have perished or been killed but they must not be roasted or eaten alive. Fishes are considered to be cold and moist and therefore good for people of a hot temperament and they fatten the thin. Freshwater fish have many bones but have a fine flavour; fishes which live on mud are forbidden. If a drunk man smells fish, he becomes sober. Eating fish makes one thirsty. Al-Rāzi deals very fully with the cooking of fish and their wholesomeness. Wonderful tales are given in the 1001 Nights and are also told by al-Damiri.

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AL-SAMAKATĀN, Pisces; the more accurate name for the last sign of the Zodiac which is usually called al-Ḥūt, the fish. It consists of 38 stars of which 34 belong to the constellation and four lie outside of it (*ḥāṣṣat al-jawāz*). The two fishes are, according to the usual view, connected by a band twisted between their tails, *ḥabṣat al-ḥayāt*. This is called *al-Raḥāʾ* or is described as a thread, *ḥabṣ*, which connects the two fishes in its windings (*alā taʾrīf*).

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SĀMĀNIDS, a Persian dynasty, descended from a certain Sāmānkhudāt. The genealogy down to Ismāʿīl, the first really independent prince, is as follows:



Sāmānkhudāt, who traced his family back to the celebrated Bahrām Čubin, that is to a noble

family of Ray (Ibn al-Athir, ed. Tornberg, vii. 192). was, as his name shows, lord of the village of Sāmān (in the district of Balkh; cf. Hamza al-Isfahānī, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 237; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. géog. . . . de la Perse*, p. 297). When Sāmānkhudāt had to flee from Balkh, he sought refuge with Asad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kāsi, governor of Khurāsān (cf. the art. ASAD, i. 475). The latter helped him against his enemies; Sāmānkhudāt then adopted Islām. He called his son after his protector, Asad (Narshakhi in Schefer, *Descr. . . . de Boukhara*, p. 57 sq.). The further stories of Sāmānkhudāt given in the *Ta'rikh-i Guzida* (apud Schefer, *o.c.*, p. 99 sq.) are obviously legendary. The story that his ambition was aroused at the recital of a certain verse was only later transferred to him from another connection (Gibb Mem. Ser., xi. 26, 123 sq.). The *Ta'rikh-i Guzida* also says that Sāmānkhudāt gained possession of Aghnā.

Asad b. Sāmānkhudāt had four sons, who seem to have played a part in the political history of the eastern Caliphate even in the time of al-Rashid. The future Caliph al-Ma'mūn is said to have ordered the sons of Asad to assist the commander-in-chief Harthama against the rebel Rāfi' b. Laith and the Sāmānids were able to arrange an agreement between Harthama and Rāfi' (Narshakhi, p. 74). In any case, when al-Ma'mūn succeeded his father, he commanded Ghassān b. 'Abād, whom he appointed governor of Khurāsān, to give the sons of Asad posts in the administration (Narshakhi, p. 75; cf. Ibn al-Athir, vii. 192; Hamza al-Isfahānī, p. 237). In 204 (819) Ghassān appointed Nūh b. Asad to Samarkand, Ahmad to Farghāna, Yahyā to al-Shāh and Ughrāsana and Ilyās to Herāt. When later, Tāhir b. al-Husain became governor of Khurāsān, he confirmed these appointments. The Sāmānids were thus a kind of sub-governors of the Tāhirids. An older source, Hamza al-Isfahānī, only briefly states that Nūh spent some years at the court of al-Ma'mūn and that the latter then appointed him over Mā warā' al-Nahr *min jibāl al-Tāhiriya* (237). The first of the brothers to die was Ilyās; his death took place in the reign of 'Abd Allāh b. Tāhir. The latter allowed Ilyās's son Muhammad to succeed his father in Herāt (Ibn al-Athir, vii. 193).

But this branch of the family is of less importance than the line of Ahmad from which the Sāmānid dynasty was descended. When Nūh, who seems to have been a loyal servant of the Tāhirids — he had aided 'Abd Allāh b. Tāhir at the instigation of the Caliph al-Ma'tasim to entrap in infamous fashion al-Hasan b. al-Afshin, son of the famous general of the Turks who had fallen from favour (al-Tabari, iii. 1307 sq.) — had died without heirs, Tāhir b. 'Abd Allāh gave his governorship in Transoxania to the brothers Yahyā and Ahmad. Ahmad is praised in later sources for his unselfishness and other fine qualities (Ibn al-Athir, vii. 192) in the fashion usual among eastern historians, when dealing with the founder of a dynasty. Ahmad was succeeded in the governorship of Transoxania by the eldest of his seven sons, Naṣr (we hear no more of Yahyā; perhaps he died before Ahmad; Hamza al-Isfahānī only knows of Ahmad as successor to Nūh). From 261 (874/75) onwards Naṣr can be regarded as an independent prince; in that year he was granted Transoxania as a fief direct from the Caliph (al-Tabari, iii. 1889; cf. Ibn al-Athir, vii. 193); the star of the Tāhirids was on

the wane and danger threatened from the Saffarids. But just as it appears from the words of Ibn al-Athir that he regards Naṣr after the grant of 261 as a *de facto* autonomous ruler dependent only on the 'Abbāsid government, so Hamza (p. 237) seems to consider Ismā'il the first actual prince (*fakānat wilāyat man taqaddama Ismā'il min jibāl al-Tāhir*). In the same year, 261, Naṣr appointed his brother Ismā'il Wālī of Bukhārā. In this region anarchy reigned; an army sent by Naṣr against the Saffarid Ya'qūb b. al-Laith had murdered its leader and gone to Bukhārā, where the soldiery, after Naṣr's *nā'ib* Ahmad b. 'Umar had retired before them, appointed and deposed rulers as they pleased (so Ibn al-Athir). Narshakhi (p. 76) speaks of an invasion of the Khwārizm (Rāfi' II, 260 = 874) when great devastation was wrought in Bukhārā. The leader of the Khwārizm, Husain b. Tāhir al-Tā'i, was soon forced to take to flight, but the disturbances went on as before. Then the Faḡhī Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Abi Haḡḡ appealed to Naṣr to send a governor to restore order. He sent Ismā'il; according to Narshakhi, by the first Friday of the month of Ramaḡān, 260 (June 26, 874), the name of Ya'qūb b. Laith was replaced in the *ḡaḡḡ* in Bukhārā by that of Naṣr. The Sāmānid soon rendered harmless, although by perfidious means, the Khāridjī Husain b. Muḡammad, whom Ismā'il encountered in Bukhārā. Ismā'il cleared the robbers out of Bukhārā, defeated Husain b. Tāhir of Khwārizm and forced the turbulent Bukhārā aristocracy to obedience. He further sought to strengthen his position by an alliance with Rāfi' b. Harthama, lord of Khurāsān. The latter also handed over to him the administration of Khurāsān (Ibn al-Athir vii. 193). This must have been shortly before the outbreak of war between Ismā'il and Naṣr (272 = 885/886) for it was only in 271 that Muḡammad b. Tāhir was appointed governor of Khurāsān by the Caliph al-Mu'tamid in place of 'Amr b. al-Laith, whereupon Muḡammad installed Rāfi' b. Harthama as his deputy there (Ibn al-Athir, vii. 290). The power of the Sāmānids was by then so well established that these events in Khurāsān did not affect their position in the least. Ismā'il's treaty with Rāfi' b. Harthama was an offensive alliance against Naṣr. In the first war, which broke out in 272 (Narshakhi gives as the cause that Ismā'il had not paid the annual tribute promptly; Ibn al-Athir speaks in general terms of intrigues), Rāfi' did not distinguish himself as an ally. Hamwaih b. 'Alī, a general of Ismā'il's, seems to have induced him to work for a rapprochement between Naṣr and Ismā'il rather than for a vigorous campaign (Ibn al-Athir, vii. 194). Peace was soon concluded between the two brothers. The war was renewed in 275 (888) and ended in favour of Ismā'il. The latter captured Naṣr, but was politic enough to send him back to Samarkand with the honours befitting his suzerain. There Naṣr reigned till his death in 279 (892) (al-Tabari, iii. 2133) while Ismā'il remained as his brother's *nā'ib* in Bukhārā, until he succeeded him on the throne. Ismā'il is regarded the first proper ruler (*amir*) of the dynasty. The list is as follows:

Ismā'il b. Ahmad	279—295 (892—907)
Ahmad b. Ismā'il	295—301 (907—913)
Naṣr b. Ahmad	301—331 (913—943)
Nūh I b. Naṣr	331—343 (943—954)
'Abd al-Malik I b. Nūh	343—350 (954—961)
Manṣūr I b. Nūh	350—365 (961—976)

Nūh II b. Maṣṣūr . . . 365—387 (976—997)
 Maṣṣūr II b. Nūh . . . 387—389 (997—999)
 'Abd al-Malik II b. Nūh . . . 389 (999)

By the time Ismā'il (cf. above, ii. 545 *sq.*) died, he had considerably extended his kingdom, in addition to Transoxiana and Khurāsān, which had come to him after the overthrow of the Saffarid 'Amr (see the above article). He was, so far as we can judge, one of the ablest rulers of his dynasty, energetic but unscrupulous. His loyalty to the 'Abbāsids is, however, commemorated (Narshakhi, p. 90) and, indeed, the Sāmānids always professed, outwardly at least, this sentiment, if 'Uthbī is right when he says that only the princes of this dynasty bore the title *waṣī amirī 'l-mu'minin* (in Schefer, *Description*, p. 160). Anecdotes of Ismā'il's piety and philanthropy are given in Ibn al-Athīr, vii. 194 *sq.*, viii. 4 *sq.*

Under the second prince, Aḥmad, there already appears a factor, which contributed not a little to the decline of the dynasty, namely the mutinous and ambitious spirit of the notables. Even at his accession Aḥmad was forced to put his uncle Ishāk in prison; another noble, Hārī al-Kabrī, who had considerable sums in his keeping, fled to Baghdad. The new Amīr seems in other respects to have been of a resolute character. Ibn al-Athīr (viii. 89) attributes to him a sound judgment and the knowledge of men indispensable in a king. Narshakhi emphasises his justice; it is only in a later compilation that we find him unfavourably criticised (in Schefer, *Description*, p. 98). In 298 (910/911) Aḥmad's general, al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī, conquered Sīstān; among the leaders of this expedition was Simjūr al-Dawānī, the ancestor of the powerful family that held the governorship of Khurāsān under the Sāmānids. Sīstān was at that time in the hands of a Saffarid, al-Mu'addal b. 'Alī b. Laith. The latter was defeated and sent to Baghdad along with a former *ghulām* of 'Amr b. al-Laith, who was taken prisoner in Fārs. But the conquest of the country was not final. In 300 (912/13) a rebellion broke out, stirred up by the Khāridjī Muḥammad b. Hurmuz in favour of a Saffarid pretender, 'Amr b. Ya'qūb b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. al-Laith. Al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī again conquered Sīstān for the Sāmānids, but further troubles broke out after Aḥmad's death. In 301 (913/914) the governor of Tabaristān was driven out by an 'Alid; shortly after the receipt of this news Aḥmad was murdered by some of his *ghulām*'s (Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 46, 52, 58).

In this we may see the hand of those notables who, for one reason or another, were tired of the strong hand of the Amīr. Significant also are the words which are put in the mouth of Aḥmad's son Naṣr (Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 58). That Aḥmad, as later compilations report, showed so much favour to learned men that the *ghulām*'s became jealous is probably an invention (Schefer, *Description*, p. 92, cf. 101).

The detailed histories of the succeeding rulers will be found in the articles on them ('ABD AL-MALIK, MAṢṢŪR, NAṢR, NŪH). The following is a general account of the dynasty, the capital of which was Bukhārā from the time of Ismā'il. The kingdom of the Sāmānids, which grew out of a subordinate governorship in Transoxania, comprised in the period of its greatest extent Sīstān, Kirman, Djurdjān, Ray and Tabaristān, in addition to

Transoxania and Khurāsān. The reign of Naṣr b. Aḥmad, the patron of Rūdākī, marks the zenith of the dynasty (301—331), not so much on account of the imposing personality of the ruler (in this respect he was far inferior to Ismā'il) as on account of the fact that after his death the decline of the kingdom begins to make itself apparent. The same factors, as had proved fatal to older Iranian dynasties, the turbulence of the notables (in this case the military aristocracy) and the danger from the northern nomads, the Turkish tribes, increased in strength when powerful figures like Ismā'il and Aḥmad no longer sat on the throne and finally brought about the catastrophe. No sooner was Aḥmad dead than his uncle Ishāk contested the throne with his son Naṣr; Nūh I had to defend his throne against his relative Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad. From the reign of the last-named prince dates the rise of Alptegin, who later seized Ghazna, when he had been removed by Maṣṣūr I from the governorship of Khurāsān and replaced by Abu 'l-Ḥusain Simjūr, and became the founder of the Ghaznawid dynasty (cf. the article ALPTEGIN). The war, waged with little success against the Buyids and ended in the reign of Maṣṣūr I, contributed as little to increase the prestige of the dynasty at home or abroad. Things did not improve under Nūh II. He tried in vain to put down the rebellious governor of Sīstān, Khalaf b. Aḥmad. Abu 'l-Ḥusain Simjūr, whom he had relieved from the governorship of Khurāsān and sent against Khalaf, made common cause with the latter. This was the beginning of a series of troubles which did not cease with the death of Abu 'l-Ḥusain; his son, Abu 'Alī Simjūr, was an equally faithless subject, who finally incited the Turkish prince Boghrā Khān [q. v.] against the Sāmānid kingdom. The Turks, who had not only been defeated by Ismā'il but had had the war carried into their own territory (al-Jahiz, iii. 2138, 2249), now came to the front again. The days of Ismā'il were past, however. Nūh's armies were defeated — one of his generals played the traitor — and he himself had to flee. Only the premature death of the Turkish leader enabled the Sāmānid to return to his capital in a short time again. Fa'ik, the general, who was said to have allowed himself deliberately to be beaten by the Turks, made an alliance with Abū 'Alī Simjūr, with the object of driving Nūh from the throne. The Amīr, who could not trust the nobles, appealed for assistance to the Ghaznawids, who agreed to help him. Nūh's two opponents were forced to seek refuge with the Buyid Fakhr al-Dawla. The governorship of Khurāsān was given by Nūh to the Ghaznawid Subuktegin; the latter and his son Maḥmūd received in addition the titles Naṣr al-Dīn and Saif al-Dawla (384=994). The war with the rebels continued till Abū 'Alī met his death and Fa'ik escaped to the Turkish ruler Naṣr b. 'Alī Ilek Khān (cf. above, ii. 465 *sq.*). War with the Turks did not result on this occasion; it was agreed that Fa'ik should receive the governorship of Samarkand. The brief reign of Maṣṣūr II was similar in its course. Ilek Khān, with whom some members of the military aristocracy had made an arrangement, conquered Bukhārā and drove out Maṣṣūr. With the help of Fa'ik, Maṣṣūr was soon able to return. A quarrel broke out between Abu 'l-Kāsim Simjūr and Bektūzīn over the governorship of Khurāsān; Maḥmūd of Ghazna also intervened, but the definite conquest of Khurāsān by

the Gharnawids did not yet take place. Manṣūr was deposed by Fāṭik and Bektūzin and blinded. His brother, 'Abd al-Malik, was put upon the throne. Maḥmūd now intervened. He drove 'Abd al-Malik out of Khurāsān and conquered it. On these events and occupation of Transoxania in the same year 389 (999) by Illek Khān, when 'Abd al-Malik was taken prisoner, cf. above, i. 50^a. Here the dynasty ends; on the fate of one member of the family, who was carried off by the Turks, Ismā'il b. Nūḥ al-Muntaṣir, see above, ii. 546^a.

More important than the political history of the Sāmānids, which is very similar to that of other Oriental dynasties, is another aspect of their rule which can only be briefly touched on here. Not only did learning flourish under the aegis of this house (one thinks, for example, of Ḥafāmī, the translator of al-Ṭabarī's chronicle; cf. above, i. 613 *sq.*) but it is from this epoch that modern Persian literature takes its rise. It is sufficient to recall a name like Rūdaki; Firdawsī also began writing in the Sāmānid period. It may be mentioned as a curiosity that one of these rulers himself, Manṣūr II, has left poetical fragments (cf. 'Awfi, *Zuhāb*, ed. Browne, i. 23).

Bibliography: Hamza al-Isfahānī, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 236 *sqq.* (down to 'Abd al-Malik I); al-Ṭabarī, Index under proper names, down to 301 A.H.; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ed. Tornberg, Index of proper names; al-Gardīzī, *Zain al-Aḥbār* (cf. ii. 137; extracts in Barthold, *Turkestan*, not available to me); *Description topographique et historique de Boukhara par Moh. Nersisakhy*, ed. by C. Schefer, Paris 1892 (contains Narsakhī's *Ta'riḥ-i Buḡārā* in an abbreviated Persian version with a continuation and the history of the Sāmānids from al-Kāẓimī's *Ta'riḥ-i Gushā*, a Persian translation of the sections relating to the Sāmānids in 'Uthbī's *Ta'riḥ-i Yamīnī*, which found its way into a later compilation, etc.); Deffrémery, *Histoire des Samanides par Mirkhond*, Paris 1845. (V. F. BÜCHNER)

SAMARITANS. The Samaritans were in all probability the very first nation to come under the sway of the Arabic conquest and under the domination of Islām, a domination which lasted uninterrupted for centuries. Slender as the contact had been between the dwellers in Nāblus and the Western World throughout the period of Roman and Byzantine rule, they were now entirely cut off from any further intercourse and became practically an isolated island in the sea of Arabic civilisation. It is of symptomatic interest to follow up the now all-embracing influence and to draw some conclusions pertinent to the problem of the character and depth of the influence which one culture is alleged to have exercised upon the other. We have on the one hand the rise of a new culture from the desert and on the other an apparently stagnant literary life which is now stirred, and we have therefore every reason, as it seems, to anticipate some traces of such an influence. This is a point of no mean importance as it has almost become a dogma to assume that whatever parallel is found in two literatures of which one is Arabic, the priority and originality belong to the Arabic whilst the other does nothing but borrow. It is forgotten, however, that the Arabs were the last of the eastern nations to appear on the horizon of civilisation and culture; they were the last and did not originate much at the beginning. On

the contrary, they were simply the heirs of hoary civilisations; true they were eager to enter upon that rich inheritance and quickly added to it. But the way in which they succeeded in adopting and assimilating the older civilisations is a proof of similar adaptability in any earlier period, however scanty the literary data may be. Still the desire of ascribing to the Arabs all initiative and originality has greatly obscured or impeded such investigations; the syncretistic character of the Kor'an alone should suffice to prove this adaptability. No one doubts the multiple origin of Muḥammad's sources of information and Jewish and Christian influences have been freely recognised. The greater familiarity with these literatures favoured such conclusions, whilst one might say that complete ignorance of matters Samaritan favoured the prejudice on behalf of the Arabs. Insufficient knowledge of Samaritan traditions and literature prevented the suggestion of any possible influence from that quarter. Added to this was the aforementioned assumption that if anything were found in the Samaritan similar or akin to Islāmic tradition and practice, the Samaritan must have borrowed from the former. Recent investigations of the remnants of Samaritan literature, however, have shown that this literature represents a tradition which is at least a thousand years older than Muḥammad and which contains writings going back to the first centuries before and after the Christian Era. The Samaritans are characterised by complete fossilisation and a fixed determination not to change or alter anything. No difference of importance can be discovered between the teaching and practice of the first centuries and those of relatively modern times; their whole strength rested in this immutability and in their imperviousness to outer influences. Continuity of life in one spot and continuity of worship warrant the assumption of reliability of tradition, and if, as will be seen, a strong similarity will be detected between Arabs and Samaritans in some important points, the presumption is justified that the Samaritan tradition is the older and the Muḥammadan the later, these having borrowed it from the Samaritans.

The numbers of the Samaritans in olden times and the position which they occupied have been greatly underrated. They were the representatives of the Northern Tribes and were scattered in large numbers throughout the Babylonian and Persian Empires and moreover were always found side by side with the Jews. By their doctrinal opposition to the Jews they formed as it were a bridge between the latter and other heterodox movements. Sufficiently Jewish by their strict adherence to the Law of Moses, they yet rejected the Prophets and withheld their allegiance from the house of David. They were the first to accuse the Jews of tampering with the Holy Scriptures, an accusation which was afterwards taken up by Christian, Muḥammadan and Gnostic sects. For the Samaritans to have changed a single jot or tittle of their dogma, to have modified their form of prayer, or to have introduced new angelological views and tenets was a sheer impossibility; only a new sect separating itself from the older stem could have ventured upon such changes thereby justifying the separation.

There were indeed sects among the Samaritans but as far as can be ascertained from the information which can be gleaned from Samaritan Chronicles they belong to a period centuries older

than the date of Islam and have nothing in common with it. One cannot, therefore, insist too strongly, that generally speaking and for the older period, the Samaritans owe nothing to Islam and that the indebtedness lies rather with the latter.

The conquest of Palestine by the Arabs must have been hailed with joy by the Samaritans; it freed them from the vindictive and tyrannical persecution of the Byzantine rulers and the Church. The darkest period for the Samaritans was from the time of Hadrian, who, as stated by them, destroyed their literature, down to the period when the Arabs put an end to the Christian domination. The relation between the new rulers and the Samaritans seems to have been one of friendly intercourse; freedom of faith and liberty of action were granted to them on the strength of documents purporting to have emanated from Muhammad himself and corroborated by 'Ali b. Abi Talib.

The very words of these documents are given by Abu 'l-Fath in his Arabic-Samaritan chronicle, the genuineness of which has never been disputed. In any case they seem to have been a source of protection to the Samaritans for many centuries. It was only the fanatical intervention of some of the local governors which caused some temporary loss and trouble. On the whole the relations remained friendly, for besides the documents the Samaritans also belonged to the "tolerated" religions. There is a story related by Abu 'l-Fath in connection with the granting of these documents. According to him, three wise men, astrologers, had seen that Muhammad would arise and would succeed. One was a Jew, one was a Christian and one was a Samaritan. All three went to Muhammad to foretell his future greatness. He was much impressed, accepted their prognostications gratefully and was able to induce the Jew and the Christian to embrace his faith. The Jew was the famous Ka'b al-Ahbar and the Christian Ab Samiya. The Samaritan, however, refused to embrace the new faith and was able to impress Muhammad more than the others by telling him that he had a blemish between the shoulders, like that of a leprous man. Out of gratitude for the prophecy, Muhammad granted liberty of life and freedom of conscience to the Samaritans. This document, written by Muhammad, was corroborated by 'Ali b. Abi Talib. The name of the Samaritan was Sasata (?), who afterwards assumed the name of Qabasa, being the ancestor of the family of Qabasi on whom more later on. These three persons typically represent the three faiths which contributed to the shaping of Islam.

How much did the Samaritans contribute? The claim now put forward on behalf of the Samaritans is a novel one and only a few points will be selected where a proof of Samaritan origin can be advanced. This proof consists of showing that the Samaritan dogmas or principles rest directly on a sentence found in the Pentateuch. Their contribution may sound exaggerated but it will not be found so when carefully investigated.

I start with the well-known Muhammadan proclamation of faith: *"La ilaha illa 'llah"*: "There is no God but Allah". This corresponds as closely as religious doctrines will allow to the Samaritan formula repeated over and over again by Markah and his contemporaries, 'Auram Dara and Nana: *"Lil elah illa elah"* (or, according to their pronunciation, *add*) "There is no God but one." To

the Samaritan as well as to the Jew, the Unity of God was the fundamental principle as was also the case with Muhammad who proclaimed Allah as the real God in contradistinction to the heathen gods. The name of Allah was the chief element and decisive factor of the new faith and had therefore to be chosen instead of Ehad. The above mentioned Samaritan writers belong to the third or fourth centuries, two or three centuries before Islam. There cannot be any question of interpolation, as the formula appears so frequently and is so interwoven with the contents that it forms an integral part of the poems. It is also found in the "Prayer of Joshua", which is unquestionably one of the oldest Samaritan hymns and which stands in close connection with that ancient Samaritan Book of Joshua of which so little is known and to which reference will be made later on. The Samaritans assume the origin to be known and the occasion when these prayers were uttered. But whatever the date may be which can be assigned to it, there cannot be any doubt that the Prayer of Joshua must be older than Markah and probably only a little less old than the *Enqira* or Opening Prayer.

We also have in the *Enqira* the proclamation: "there is no God but one", and the reference to the Biblical passage upon which it principally rests (Deut. iv. 39), where the Samaritan adds at the end *milebade* meaning "none else beside him", i.e. there is no God but that one.

Further the very first word of the Kor'an is *Bismillah*, "in the name of God". A special value has been attached to this formula and it has been used by Muhammadans for all and every religious function. In fact every religious action begins with it. It is not an invocation of God direct but a call on His most powerful and efficacious Name. This is part of Jewish and Samaritan mysticism and lies at the root of most of the magical speculations and conjurations of the ancient world. Only through Jewish or Christian, but more especially Samaritan influences could Muhammad have obtained that knowledge, and then used this formula as he did, placing it at the very beginning of the Kor'an. The Samaritans derive it from Deut. xxxii. 3, where they read: *Ki behem Adomai elah*, "For I call on the name of the Lord". — The Samaritan reading *behem* instead of *elam*, as the Jews read, approximates this form to the Arabic *bismillah* — and this phrase occurs over and over again during prayer and in fact proceeds every other portion, even the *Enqira*. Markah has devoted a special portion of his Commentary to it and Qabasi has written a special treatise (see below).

Now as it stands in the Arabic, it is quite abrupt; it has no end and no connection with the form of invocation. What does it mean? "In the name of God the All-merciful." There is no verb to complete the sentence and it is not sufficient to appeal merely to the imagination.

It becomes intelligible, however, if compared with the parallel Samaritan invocation "In the name of God we begin and finish", or, according to the variant: "In the name of God we begin and prosper". This form is the one constantly in use among the Samaritans; it stands at the head of the *Azarta* which contains the collection of the most ancient prayers and hymns, it stands at the head of the ancient phylactery and is at every beginning. In time this formula in its entirety

became abbreviated through its constant use and reached Muhammad in this form, in which the second part was so well known and understood that it was omitted. But it is really the beginning of a formula without the completion of which it has no real meaning. And even so, it rests upon a theory new to the Muhammadan world, i.e. the mystic nature of the Name of God.

I do not wish to discuss here the other words, the attribute "All-merciful", which corresponds to the Samaritan duplication of the same word in order to express the superlative: *Rahum Rahumim*, just like the Arabic. Let us rather turn to the *Fātiha* itself, also a kind of succinct Confession of Faith. We do not find any such confession standing at the head of prayers or of any religious liturgical books among Jews or Christians; a comparison with the Christian Paternoster misses the point. It has nothing in common with it, either in form or in contents. But if we turn to the Samaritan we find precisely the same practice. Reference has already been made to that Opening Prayer called by the Samaritans *Enqira*. It is a more elaborate Confession of Faith, a prayer for Divine Protection which is said silently. It contains the principal doctrines of the Samaritans and begins with the words: *Amadi kamekha al fatah rahamkha*, "I stand before Thee at the gate of Thy mercy". *Fatah* = *Fātiha*, Opening or Gate, and thus the very word "*fatah*" stares us in the face. Standing by itself it might be looked upon as a mere coincidence, but taking it together with the other declarations in the *Enqira* and the fact that it occupies the same prominent position as has been assigned to the *Fātiha*, this must be something more than mere coincidence.

In the *Enqira* there is also the *qibla* or turning in prayer to the Sacred Mountain. True the direction towards the Sanctuary was also known among the Jews. Daniel (iv. 16) turns three times towards Jerusalem when bending his knees in prayer. With the Samaritans, however, it is a fundamental dogma forming part of their religious practice, in as much as the worship on Mt. Garizim was the principal difference between them and the Jews. Muhammad may have borrowed this practice from the Samaritans; like them he invested it with a special religious character more stringent than the Jews. He also changed the direction when he broke with the Jews showing thereby the importance he attached to the *qibla*.

If *sajjada*, hence *masjid*, are words borrowed by the Arabs to designate worship, i.e. divine worship, then, though this word is Aramaic, still none the less curiously, the Jews have refrained from making any technical use of it for any liturgical purpose, nor does it seem to have obtained the same general acceptance in Syriac. In the Samaritan, on the contrary, it is in the *Enqira* and is the standing technical expression for "Divine worship", and occurs over and over again in almost every hymn and prayer.

Of a far greater importance is the parallelism between Muhammad and Moses in the conception of the Samaritans. He is the Only Prophet and is venerated in a manner approaching apotheosis. The most important attribute assigned to Moses is that of the Only Prophet, Faithful Prophet, the Messenger chosen by God to perform the miracles and wonders; moreover, there is none like him, nor will there be until the End of Days.

Such a designation is unknown in Jewish literature, where Moses is always known as Moshe Rabbenu, i.e. Moses our Teacher or Master. *Ha-nabi kam-naman* or *ka-hallah* is the standing phrase among the Samaritans and rests among others on the statements often found in the Bible where the words "prophet", "sent" and "sending" occur in connection with Moses. The close parallelism between this title given to Moses and the corresponding *Kasul Allah* attributed to Muhammad can be followed down to minute details, but this is not the place for such an investigation.

Special attention must still be drawn to one point of extreme value. It is the declaration found in the *Fātiha* in the belief in a Day of Requital and Punishment. The Samaritans derived it from the words in the song of Moses (Deut. xxxii. 35) where they read "On the day of Vengeance and Reward" (*ayem*) instead of the Massoretic reading "To me belongs vengeance and reward" (*ti*). The Samaritans ascribe great eschatological importance to this song. This reading is moreover corroborated by the Septuagint and is thus of very high antiquity. The "Day of Judgment", no doubt, plays a very great role in Jewish and Christian Eschatology, but, as far as the Jews are concerned, it has never been introduced in any formal principle of faith nor is it found in the liturgy, whilst with the Samaritans it has assumed a capital importance, so much that it forms part of the *Enqira*. Mention may also be made of the curious parallel that both Muhammad and the Samaritan recognise practically four angels only who form the celestial hierarchy; the names are somewhat different (Gabriel occurring in both) but there is the coincidence that they are limited to four. Jewish and Christian angelology was ever so much richer at the time of Muhammad.

In view of what has been said before I am giving here a slightly abbreviated translation of the *Enqira*, particularly of the portion affected by this investigation:

"I stand before Thee at the gate of Thy mercy, O Lord my God and God of my fathers, to recite Thy praises and Thy numerous greatnesses according to this my strength. I, the poor and weak one, I know this day and I have taken it to my heart that Thou art the Lord God in the heavens above and in the earth beneath and there is none else beside Him. . . . Blessed be Thy holy name for ever. There is no God but One. O Lord, we will not worship any one but Thee for ever, and we will believe only in Thee for ever and in Moses, Thy Prophet, and in Thy Writing of Truth and in the place of Thy worship, Mount Garizim, Bethel, the mountain of rest and inheritance and of the *shékina* (sanctuary), and in the Day of Punishment and Reward. *Ehye asher Ehye*. The Lord is our God, the Lord is One alone. How great is His goodness and mercy. I stand in Thy hands. I pray for Thy mercy and loving kindness, and I speak: "O my Lord!" with my heart and with my soul."

If we now compare the first part of the *Fātiha* we shall find that it runs as follows: "Praise be to God, the Lord of all creatures, the most Merciful, the King of the day of judgment. Thee do we worship and of Thee do we beg assistance." The parallelism between these two forms of prayer is so striking that one must be dependent upon the other. In both the same fundamental dogmas

are proclaimed and in language they are similar to one another. There cannot be any question which of these two is the more ancient and therefore the original. The Samaritans did not wait one thousand years and more in order to formulate their prayer and Confession of Faith; moreover, it rests in every detail upon the words of Scripture to which distinct reference is made. Again almost every one of these principles is found repeated over and over again in Markah and in the most ancient prayers and hymns in the Samaritan liturgy. Not so with Muhammad, who had to have recourse to other older forms which he used as patterns and so worded that neither Jew, Christian nor Samaritan could take umbrage at them; at the same time these new principles enunciated by Muhammad marked a definite break with the pagan beliefs of his contemporaries.

No less important is the parallelism between the Arabic Mahdi and the Samaritan Taheb. According to Ibn Khaldūn, "the whole body of Muslims throughout the centuries have held that at the end of the age a man of the family of the Prophet must appear who will strengthen religion and make justice manifest. The Muslims will follow him and he will gain possession of the Muslim kingdoms and be called al-Mahdi" (Guillaume, *Traditions of Islam*, Oxford 1924, p. 89 sq.). So far Ibn Khaldūn; the rest, which is evidently borrowed from Jewish and Christian legends about the Messiah and the Antichrist, belongs to a later period of tradition. As it stands, the agreement between the Mahdi and the Taheb is absolute: in both cases he is either the Prophet Redivivus or the descendant of Muhammad or of Moses or the tribe of Levi. He is the Restorer who will bring the people back to the old faith and old glory and who will cause the faith to triumph. It is a different type from that of the Jewish Messiah or the Christian Jesus and he does not descend from heaven. He is human born and probably in both cases will live only for a short time.

Another point, the significance of which cannot be overestimated, is the fact that Muhammad seems to know the Pentateuch and the Psalms only; he does not know any of the prophetic or historical writings. If he had obtained his information from the Jews, this ignorance would be very surprising indeed, but if he had it from the Samaritans, it would be quite natural. A knowledge of the Psalms may have come to him from Jews or Christians, although it must not be forgotten that the Samaritans also have hymns and psalms of their own. Again among the Biblical personages Adam, Noah and Abraham are counted as prophets. No such position is assigned to them, at any rate, nor to the first two, by the Jews, whilst to the Samaritans Adam and Noah are High Priests and in more than one old treatise Adam is considered as a Prophet who foretells the future Deluge and to whom is entrusted the secret of the calendar.

Among the ceremonies the peculiar forms of washing and ablutions which are obligatory before prayer are common to Muhammadans and Samaritans and in the practice of prayer, in the prostrations and in peculiar attitudes etc., Samaritans and Muhammadans again show so much similarity that a close connection between them cannot be denied. We must realise that an Arab who wished to become a Muslim had to change entirely his

mode of life and faith; he had to give up all his heathen practices and adopt not only new principles but also new ceremonies and forms of prayer. To him everything was new. With the Samaritan, however, all his ceremonies were the heritage of a long past; to them the slightest change meant giving up his faith and forfeiting the claim to which his people have clung with so much tenacity as being the true keepers of the faith. Any deviation from tradition meant annihilation, nor was there any reason why they should have done so considering they have never been forced to abandon their ancient faith; on the contrary, they were treated with every possible tolerance and even the virulent persecution of the Church had not been able to affect their adherence to the old faith and practice. The Jews offer an example in point; they have lived for a far larger number of centuries in Christian environment; however, every attempt has been made to induce them to forsake the religion of their fathers and when blandishments had no effect they were subjected to cruel persecution. They mixed freely to with the world around them and yet not a single trace of Christian influence can be detected in Jewish religious practices and in their ceremonies and principles. How much less could this, therefore, be the case with the Samaritans who were left to themselves and who show, indeed, no perceptible change in their principles and ceremonies as far as can be ascertained in their literary tradition.

Reference may be made to one more point, I mean the mysterious words or complex of letters at the beginning of many a Sūra. I venture to believe that the parallel practice of the Samaritans will offer a satisfactory solution. The Samaritans denote the single sections of the Law (*ḥiṭṭa*) by taking out from the contents a single word which is sufficiently characteristic to denote the whole section. Thus these words become catch-words and are used as headings in the Arabic translation and especially in the extremely ancient phylacteries and amulets. There are also special lists drawn up of these single words (so in my code). In the phylactery this process of abbreviation has been carried one step further; there the catch-words have been reduced to single letters, not necessarily the initial letter, but very often a medial or final letter which has been chosen for the purpose. This discovery of mine has enabled me to recognise the same practice in the Greek Magical Papyri and the Latin conjurations, thus solving a problem which has baffled scholars for many a century. But besides the magical application, its principal value was to serve as a mnemotechnic sign to assist the reader in remembering the section in question. This therefore is probably the meaning of those words and letters which are found at the heads of the Sūras; they are either catch-words picked out of the context or are a combination of letters taken from such catch-words and placed at the head, as in the case of the Samaritan *ḥiṭṭa*.

More space has been devoted here to the consideration of these points than might perhaps be warranted for a brief survey of the Samaritan literature and the relation in which the Samaritans stood to the new religion rising as late as the seventh century. No one can gainsay the importance henceforth to be attached to the value of the comparative study of Samaritan traditions and Muslim

principles of faith. The subject has hitherto not yet been touched upon by anyone, and I venture to think that a new field of research has been opened up; I submit that the further study of the Samaritan material as soon as it is made more accessible will strengthen the results here tentatively offered for the first time. But I do not hesitate to say that a comparison of Samaritan and Muhammadan religious principles will show that the Samaritans have exercised a deep influence upon the moulding of Muhammad's religious system and upon the shaping of Islam. Far from being influenced by Muhammad, the Samaritans were those who exercised the influence upon Muhammad.

The situation, however, changed with the final victory of Islam. I do not wish it to be understood that even after that period the Arabic literature had any decisive influence upon Samaritan faith and practice. True the Arabic conquest was not only a political domination, but was a religious conquest as well. A new form of faith was forcibly imposed upon the conquered peoples with the grudging exception of the few so-called "tolerated" religions. A new Holy Book was substituted for the others cherished and venerated by the other nations. Arabic thus became the language of the Sacred Script, and, of course, not only were Sūras of the Korān, the Liturgical lessons, recited in Arabic, but prayers and hymns were now composed in that language exclusively and the people forced to learn it. It became the new language common to all the peoples under the Arab sway and the only means of intercourse, with the result that it gradually superseded all the other vernaculars among the nations being also the Jews and Samaritans.

In a way Islam proved a greater danger to the latter than Christianity or Mazdaism. There was much similarity in dogma and practice and above all there was the pure monotheism common to them. It was natural that they should feel attracted to it, and through being treated with great tolerance and forbearance would not hesitate to exchange their old vernacular, Aramaic, for Arabic. Thus the Samaritans gradually gave up the Aramaic dialect which they spoke and learned to speak Arabic and later on used it for their writing. It must be mentioned that the vernacular spoken by the Samaritans was invariably Aramaic and not Greek; there is no trace of Greek in old Samaritan traditions. Jews and Samaritans had long before discarded any use of that language. All the ancient literary monuments of the Samaritans were written in that peculiar Aramaic which is characteristically their own. The only exception was the Biblical Lessons which they read on Sabbath and Festivals and also recited on special occasions; to these were also added the Florilegia or anthologies called *Ḥaṭṭ* which consisted of Biblical verses strung together according to a special system for liturgical purposes. On the contrary all the prayers, poems and hymns were written in that popular Aramaic dialect. They also translated the Pentateuch into this same popular language and the *Targum* therefore takes its place as one of the oldest writings.

The question arises: when was this language displaced by the Arabic? Here the parallelism with the Jews and especially Jewish sects who developed under almost similar conditions will prove helpful. As far as can be ascertained, it

must have taken at least two or more centuries before the people had so far forgotten the old Aramaic as to use Arabic freely and to introduce it into the literature of the Divine Service. Very little, if anything, can be traced back before the ninth century. It seems that dissenting sects, just like the Karaites among the Jews, were among the first to break with the old language and practice, although 'Anan still uses Aramaic for his writings. With the Samaritans it was a natural sequence of events which forced them to abandon Samaritan Aramaic for the Arabic language. The knowledge of the former was fast dying out. As its use was primarily for liturgical purposes, it seems most likely that the first things to be translated were the prayers and hymns. They were all in Samaritan, as mentioned before, and it is obvious that the first duty would be to make the people understand their own prayers; the translation of the Bible must have come much later as there was no pressing necessity for this; Hebrew was and is the sacred language and to this very day the Biblical Lessons are read in Hebrew; the *Targum* sufficed to interpret it to the worshippers. According to information obtained by me from the Samaritans, its use was continued in the *Kināḡa* down to the end of the seventeenth century. The man appointed to that post was called the *Ḥaṭṭawī* and the last one died about that time. Since then the recital of the *Targum* has ceased. It must be noted, however, that its place has not been taken by an Arabic translation. A careful examination of the *Targum* enables us to realise the growing influence of Arabic. As remarked before, the knowledge of the Samaritan language was fast disappearing; it was limited to the small circle of the learned and this has remained so down to this very day. There are still a number of priests who are conversant with the old Samaritan, but the rest know Arabic only. In time the *Targum* became merely a religious tradition to which they adhered with their usual tenacity, for it had lost its meaning for the people. Slowly some of the expressions became obsolete even to the better instructed, and so we see a gradual change until it is entirely discarded. Arabic glosses were introduced to explain archaic words, and later on these glosses became part of the text. Through being in constant use, they were so much changed and altered that after the publication of the *Targum* they were classed as ancient so-called Kuthan words, remnants of the pre-exilic period. It was the merit of S. Kohn to have exploded that fallacy and to have recognised in them corrupt Arabic words. Later on a complete translation into Arabic was made. There is a serious difficulty in determining the date of the translation and the name of the author, nay whether there were not two translations which have been ascribed to two men of the same name Abū Sa'īd, but too little is so far known about the different recensions to allow of a definite conclusion.

But before trying to answer this question it is necessary to ascertain the dates of the translation of the prayers in the *Kināḡa* or *Ḍaṭṭur*, as the "collection" of the oldest hymns and prayers is called. It contains unquestionably the old stock which has been handed down from ancient times and is used in the prayers all the year round. A comparison of the text found in the old manuscript Cod. Br. Mus. Or. 5034 of the middle of the thirteenth century and the latest copies from the middle

and end of the last century written by the late High Priest Jacob son of Aaron shows no appreciable difference. Without exception, the Arabic is written in Samaritan script in all the books used for divine worship. They use the Arabic alphabet for profane writings alone and it is only in quite modern times that they have begun to write the translation of the Bible in Arabic characters to face the Hebrew text. In these translations we do not find classical Arabic but mostly the Palestinian dialect; moreover, they very seldom use diacritical points to differentiate between similar letters of the Arabic alphabet. For a detailed survey of the literature of the Samaritans the reader is referred to the separate article on this subject accompanying this fasciculus.

It must be emphatically stated that practically none of these books have hitherto been published with the exception of the Arabic translation of the Pentateuch (Gen.-Lev.) (Kuenen, *Specimen*, Leiden 1851—1854), the chronicle of Abu 'l-Fath by Wilmer (Gotha 1865), the Book of Joshua by Jaynboll (Leiden 1848), and a few grammatical fragments by Nöldeke in the *G.G.N.*, Nos. 17, 20. Continuing to publish them in Arabic would reduce to a large extent the number of those who are specially interested in the traditions of the Samaritans, whilst publishing them, as anticipated by me, in their Hebrew-Samaritan version, would at once make them accessible to a far larger circle of scholars interested in these studies. Besides this I have also obtained through my correspondence lists of books extant and as far as possible such information as they could give of a biographical character. The latter, however, is extremely confused and contradictory. Under these circumstances my reference to bibliography can only be very brief inasmuch as copies of most of these writings still extant and accessible are in my possession (they are now being acquired by the British Museum). Mr. D. S. Sassoon also has acquired from the Samaritans a considerable number of valuable manuscripts, modern copies of the same books, and at the same time also the old copies of works of the afore mentioned Menadja, Shams al-Din and al-Askari, which were up to quite recently in the possession of the Samaritans. Steinschneider has given full references to all the other Samaritan manuscripts in the European libraries. Further reference should be made now to the articles of A. Cowley in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, x. 676 sq., who gives most ample references and also to his *Samaritan Liturgy* (Oxford 1909), especially the Introduction, in vol. II. 17 sq.; W. G. Moulton in *Hasting's Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, xi. 161 sq.; Montgomery in *The Samaritans* (Philadelphia 1907), gives a brief sketch. Articles on the Samaritans and their literature in other encyclopaedias which have since appeared are more or less out of date and add nothing more to our knowledge.

(M. GASTER)

SAMARKAND, with Bukhārā (q.v.), the principal town of Transoxiana (Sogdiana, Soghd (q.v.), *Mā warā' al-Nahr*), in modern times capital of the province of the same name in Russian Turkestan, on the south bank of the river Soghd (Wādī 'l-Soghd, Zarafshān) in a situation described by Oriental as well as Russian and European travellers as a veritable Paradise. The town — the second part of the name of which contains the Eastern Iranian word for "town", *kand*, frequent

in Eastern Iranian place-names (cf. Buddh.-Soghdian *knd-*, Christ-Soghd. *kath*, *kantā*), while the first part has not yet been satisfactorily explained (cf. the attempts by Tomaschek, *Centralasiatische Studien*, I. 133 sqq.) — is first found in the accounts of Alexander's campaigns in the east as Maracanda, *Μαρακανδα*. Arrian (iii. 30) calls it *Βακτριανή*; *Ερζιμανών* *χώρας*. Alexander occupied it several times during the fighting with Spitamenes and, according to Strabo (xi. 11, 4), razed it to the ground (while Arab legend makes him founder of the city). Under the Diadochi — after the partition of 323 —, as the capital of Sogdiana, it belonged to the satrapy of Bactria and was lost to the Seleucids with Bactria when Diodotus declared himself independent and the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom was founded during the reign of Antiochus II Theos; henceforth it was exposed to the attacks of the northern barbarians. From this time down to the Muslim conquest it remained historically and economically separated from Irān, although cultural intercourse with Western lands continued. (On the settlement of Manichaeans in Samarkand cf. J. Marquart, *W. Z. A. M.*, xii. 163 sq.; the attempts made by E. West to refer Ctn and Chistān in the *Bundahishn* and *Bahmanyast* to Samarkand are very unsatisfactory.) The only positive information is given by Chinese Imperial historians and travellers (of which the former are unfortunately for the most part only available in obsolete translations). From the Han period the kingdom of K'ang-Ku is mentioned, whose chief territory, K'ang, is definitely identified in the Tang Annals with Sa-mo-kian = Samarkand (cf. the passages in C. Ritter, *Erdbunde*, vii. 2 657 sqq.). According to the Annals of the Wei, compiled in 437 A.D. (cf. F. Hirth in J. Marquart, *Die Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften*, p. 65 sq.), the Cao-wu dynasty related to the Yü-ei (Küshān) had been reigning here since before the Christian era. Hsüan-tsung visited Sa-mo-kian in 630 A.D. and briefly describes it (St. Julien, *Mémoires sur les contrées Occidentales*, i. [1857], p. 18 sq.; S. Deal, *Sa-yu-ki, Buddhist Records*, i. [1884], p. 32 sq., with valuable bibliographical note on p. 101).

The Arabs, who did not begin to penetrate systematically into Transoxiana till the appointment of Kutāiba b. Muslim as governor of Khurāsān, found Samarkand ruled by the Tarkhān (Chin. To-ho-en). With regard to the statement in al-Birūnī, *Āthār*, ed. Sachau, p. 101, = (cf. Ibn Khordādhbih, *B. A. G.*, vi. 40, 3), that the native rulers of Samarkand bore the well-known (Turkish) title *tarkhān* (*targan* in the Orkhon inscriptions), we are forced to see in this appellation a title and not a name as might appear from the Arabic sources. The reference is to a representative of one of the local Turkish dynasties, which in the last centuries before Islām had disposed of Ephthalite rule in Transoxiana.

In 91 (709) the Tarkhān made peace with Kutāiba on paying tribute and handing over hostages (al-Tabarī, ii. 1204), but was soon deposed by his subjects who were angered thereby. His place was taken by the Khshēdh Ghurak, Chin. U-le-kia (al-Tabarī, ii. 1229), who was forced by Kutāiba to capitulate in 93 (712) after a long siege of the town (*op. cit.*, p. 1247). He was left on the throne but an Arab governor was put in the town with a strong garrison; along with Bukhārā the town became a base for the further conquest and

Islamisation of the land, which was frequently shaken by the risings which, provoked by the chicaneries of the governors, disturbed Transoxiana in the last decades of the Umayyads. (On the Arab legend which connects Samarkand with the legendary Hunyar kings and makes it destroyed by Shīmar on his campaign against China — Shīmar-kand = Shīmar destroyed [it] — and rebuilt by Iskandar cf. J. Marquart, *Erānshahr*, 1901, p. 26¹, where to the references in Yāqūt should be added al-Tabarī, i. 890 *agg.*, al-Kazwīnī, *Ajhar*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 360 etc. The legend ought to be systematically investigated).

The 'Abbāsīd Ma'mūn in 204 (819) gave the governorship of Transoxiana, especially Samarkand, to the sons of Asad b. Sāmān and henceforth it remains — unaffected by the risings of the Tahirids and Saffarids — in the hands of the house of Sāmān till Ismā'il b. Ahmad destroyed the power of the Saffarids in 287 (900) and founded the Sāmānīd kingdom, which meant a century of greatest prosperity for Transoxiana, such as it was only to see once again 500 years later with Timūr and his immediate successors. The capital was, it is true, moved to Bukhārā but Samarkand retained first place as a centre of commerce and culture, especially in the popular estimation of the Muslim world.

It is to this period that the descriptions by al-Isfahārī, Ibn Hawkal and al-Maqdisī refer. They show that Samarkand had the typical tripartite formation of Irānīan towns (cf. Barthold, i. 810^b): citadel (*kūhandīz*, arabicized *kūhandīz* or translated *kal'a*), the town proper (*shahrīstān*, *shāhristān*, *madīna*) and suburbs (*radd*). The three parts are here given in their order from south to north. The citadel lies south of the town on an elevated site; it contains the administrative offices (*Dār al-Imāra*) and the prison (*habs*). The town itself, of which the houses are built of clay and wood (cf. E. Herzfeld, *Islam*, xl. 162, and E. Diez, *Persien*, i. [Kultur in der Erde, vol. xx., Hagen-Darmstadt 1923], p. 20), is also on a hill. A deep ditch (*kān-dāz*) has been dug around it to obtain the material for the surrounding earthen wall. The whole town is supplied with running water which is brought from the south to the central square of the town called *Ka'at al-Tāz* by an aqueduct, a lead-covered artificial channel (or system of lead pipes?), running underground. It seems to date from the pre-Muhammadan period as its supervision, as is expressly stated, was in the hands of Zoroastrians, who were exempted from the poll-tax for this duty. This aqueduct makes possible the irrigation of the extensive and luxurious gardens in the town. The town has four main gates; to the east the *Bāb al-Say* — a memorial of the ancient connection with China due to the silk trade —, to the north the *Bāb Bukhārā*, to the west the *Bāb al-Naw-bakht* — which name, as in Bukhārā and Balkh, points to a (Buddhist?) monastery — and to the south the *Bāb al-Kabir* or *Bāb Kīshīk* (*Bāb* stands for the Persian *Darvāza*). The lower lying suburbs adjoin the town, stretching towards the river Soghd and surrounded by a wall with 8 gates. In them lay the majority of the bazaars, caravanserais and warehouses, which were rare in the city itself. The government offices of the Sāmānīds and the Friday mosque were in the city itself. The great period of building in Samarkand only begins with Timūr.

Among native products — as Bābur tells us — the paper of Samarkand, the manufacture of which had been introduced from China, was specially famous. The most celebrated sanctuary of the town, also specially mentioned by Bābur and still held in high honour, is the tomb-mosque of Kāsim b. 'Alī who is said to have converted the city to Islām in the time of 'Uthmān (cf. I. Goldziher, *Verlesungen über den Islam*, p. 218). Among the famous men of Samarkand of the period one at least must be mentioned, the theologian Abū Maṣ'ūr al-Māturīdī (d. in Samarkand in 333 = 944; Māturīdī or Maturīdī is a quarter of Samarkand; cf. al-Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, fol. 498a) who exerted a decisive influence on the dogmatic development of Eastern Sunnī Islām.

After the fall of the Sāmānīds, Samarkand was ruled by the Karakhanīds (Ilek-Khāns; q. v., ii. 465 *yy.*). In 495 (1102) the Karakhanīd Arslān Khān Maḥammad owned the suzerainty of the Seljūq Sandjar (q. v.). His descendants remained in power when forty years later, after the great victory of the Karakhanīds over Sandjar at Kaṭwān in 536 (1141) the Gūrkhāns became masters of Transoxiana. About 1170 Benjamin of Tudela visited the town and found 50,000 Jews in it (M. N. Adler, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, London 1907, p. 59). The Gūrkhāns were overthrown in 606 (1209) by the Khwārizmshāh Maḥammad b. Takash. The latter's terrible opponent, Čingiz Khān (q. v.), laid siege to Samarkand only a few months after he had crossed the Jaxartes, on his way from Bukhārā which he had completely destroyed. Fortunately for the city it surrendered in Rabi' I, 617 (May, 1220). Although the city was plundered and many of its inhabitants were deported, a number of its citizens were allowed to remain under a Mongol governor. For the next 150 years it was but a shadow of its former self. Ibn Battūta (iii. 52 *agg.*) about 1350 found a few inhabited houses among the ruins.

The revival of the town's prosperity began when Timūr after about 771 (1369) became supreme in Transoxiana and chose Samarkand as the capital of his continually increasing kingdom, and began to adorn it with all splendour. In 808 (1405) the Spanish envoy Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo visited it in its new glory (cf. the Spanish-Russian edition of his itinerary by I. Srennevskiy in the *Sbornik sd. Russk. Jaz.*, 1881, xxviii. 325 *agg.*, etc., with a valuable French Index). He gives Cimesquiente as the native name of the town, which he explains as *aldeia gruesa* 'large (lit. thick) village'; in this we have an echo of a Turkish corruption of the name of the town based on a popular etymology which connects it with *sāmīk* 'thick'. Timūr's grandson Ulugh Beg (d. 853 = 1449) embellished the city with his palace Čihil Sutān and built his famous astrological observatory there; on him cf. W. Barthold, *Ulugh Beg i ego vremya* (Russ. Abad. Nauk., 1918). A very full description of the city in Timūr's day, which may be justly described as classical, is given by the memoirs of Bābur (*Bābur-nāma*, ed. Iminski, p. 55 *agg.*; ed. Beveridge, p. 54^b *agg.*; transl. Pavet de Courteille, i. 96 *agg.*; transl. Beveridge, p. 74–86), who captured Samarkand for the first time in 903 (1497) and held it for some months. In 906 (1500) it was occupied by his rival, the Özbek Khān Shāibānī. After his death, Bābur in alliance with the Šāfawīd Ismā'il Shāh succeeded

in 916 (1510) in once more victoriously invading Transoxiana and occupying Samarkand, but by the next year he found himself forced to withdraw completely to his Indian kingdom and leave the field to the Ōzbegs. Under the latter, Samarkand was only the nominal capital and fell completely behind Bukhārā.

A new era began with the Russian advance across the Sīr-Darya. On Nov. 14, 1868, General Kauffmann entered the old Tīmūrid capital which was now finally lost to the Amir of Bukhārā, Muṣaffar al-Dīn (1860—1885). Since 1871 a new Russian town has arisen in the west of the city, which has been linked up to the Transcaspian railway. In 1882 the citadel was restored. In 1900 the population was about 58,000. We have no reliable information regarding changes since 1917. Unfortunately there is also a complete lack of historically accurate and complete descriptions of the architectural monuments (cf. W. Barthold, *Die geogr. u. hist. Erforschung d. Orients*, p. 173, 179) so that we cannot give any list of them here.

Bibliography: W. Tomaschek, *Centralasiatische Studien*, vol. I, *Sogdiana*, in the *S.B. Ak. Wien*, 1887, lxxxvii, 79 sq., 120 sq., 125—143; J. Marquart, *Die Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften*, 1898, p. 7 sq., 33 sqq., 56 sqq.; J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, 1902, p. 268 sqq., 284 sqq.; G. van Vloten, *Recherches sur la domination arabe* (*Verh. Ak. Amsterdam*, 1894, I, No. 3); *B. G. A.*, vol. I, al-Isḥāqī, p. 316 sqq.; II, Ibn Ḥawkal, p. 365 sqq.; III, al-Makdī, p. 278 sqq.; Yāqūt, *Muḥallam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, III, 133 sqq.; al-Kāwint, *Aḥḥār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 395 sqq.; Ibn Baṭṭūta, ed. Defrémery-Sanguinetti, III, 52 sqq.; Guy Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 1905, p. 460, 463 sqq. See also the historical literature. For the later period — in addition to the important article BUKHĀRĀ — we shall only mention: Sir Henry Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, I, 191 sqq.; Val. Langmuntel, *Hans Schildebergers Reisebuch* (*Bild. der literar. Versinnl. in Stuttgart*, 1885, vol. clxxii, p. 61; H. Vámbéry, *Geschichte Bocharas oder Transoxaniens*, I/II, (1872); the criticism by A. von Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften*, III; W. Radloff, *Das mittlere Serefschantal*, Z. G. Erdk. Berl., 1871, VI, 401 sqq., 497 sqq.; Henry Lansdell, *Russisch-Central-Asien*, German by v. Wobeser, 1885, p. 455 sqq.; Article Samarkand of the Russian Brockhaus, *Encyklopedičeskij slovar'*, xxviii, 181 sqq., by W. Masal'ski; Zl. von Schubert-Soldern, *Die Baudenkmäler von Samarkand*, Vienna 1898/1899; *Les Monuments de Samarcande*, St. Petersburg 1905 sqq. Further, especially modern Russian literature in W. Barthold, *Die geogr. u. histor. Erforschung des Orients*, 1913, p. 217, 220 sqq.

(H. H. SCHAEFER)

AL-SAMARKANDĪ. [See ABU 'L-LATĪL.]

AL-SAMARKANDĪ. [See DĪHM.]

AL-SAMARKANDĪ. [See NĪẖĀDĪ ARṢUL.]

SĀMARRĀ. I. Historical Topography.

Sāmarrā, which is now a mere village, lies on the east bank of the Tigris half way between Takrit and Baghdād.

The original form of the name is probably Irānīan. The following etymologies have been proposed: Sām-rāh, Sā'i-Amorra, and Sā-morra, the last two meaning the place of payment of

tribute. On the coins of the Caliph Sāmarrā is written *Surra man ra'ā*, i. e. "delighted is he who sees (it)".

Sāmarrā was founded in 221 (836) in the reign of al-Mu'tasim by one of his Turkish generals, Ashnās, two parasangs south of the village of Karḥ-Fairūz. The Caliph, perpetually threatened in Baghdād by the mulattoes of his Turkish and Berber mercenaries, sought to settle in a less threatened capital.

Between 221 (836) and 276 (889) seven 'Abbasid Caliphs lived in Sāmarrā. The references in the historians of the Caliphate and in the Arab geographers, Ya'qūt and Vāḡūt, enable us to reconstitute with sufficient exactitude the development of this ephemeral capital during the fifty years of its existence. Built on the eastern bank of the Tigris at a corner where it turns to the south-east, Sāmarrā lay between the villages of Karḥ-Fairūz (or Karḥ Bādjaddā) to the north and Maṣra to the south-east. Two canals — one, the Qanāt Kīrawī, leaving the Tigris above Karḥ-Fairūz, near Dūr, ran to the south-east to rejoin a second canal, the Yaḥūdī, which, leaving the Tigris below Maṣra, ran E. N. E. — thus isolated Sāmarrā and its eastern suburb into a kind of island. On the west bank of the Tigris opposite Sāmarrā lay several castles cut off by a canal parallel to the Tigris, the Ishāqī Canal, entering the Tigris below Maṣra, a little above Balkuwārā.

The town of Sāmarrā proper lay on the east bank; its principal streets were the Sarīḡa Street which ran past the police office and the prison leading to the quarter which bore the name of the vizier Ḥasan b. Sahl; then came the street of Abū Aḥmad b. Raḡīd leading towards the village of Irāḡhiya built on the Kīrawī Canal; this village, which at first bore the name of a Turkish chief, was later called Muḥammadiya. Five other principal streets (*ḡharī*; this term applied to a main street is the same as has been revived in modern times for the streets of Cairo) are recorded: al-Ḥair, Barghamush Turkī (Turkish quarter), Sāliḥ (leading to the military camps or *askar*), al-Ḥair al-Djaddī and al-Khalidj. The historians give us numerous details regarding the important buildings in the vicinity of Sāmarrā, beginning with certain buildings in existence before the capital of the Caliphs was moved thither: the eight Christian monasteries, of which the principal were the Dair Tawāwīs or "monastery of the peacocks", the Dair Mār Mārī and the Dair Abī 'l-Sufra. But the most famous buildings were the palaces. Al-Mu'tasim, who lived at first in Sāmarrā itself, had built there the palace called al-Djawsaḡ; the Caliph Wāṭṭik built there the castle called Ḥārūnī after him. The Caliph al-Mutawakkil, who lived at first in the Ḥārūnī, built or enlarged twenty-four other palaces of which the best known are the Balkuwārā, 'Arūs, Mukḥar and Waḥid. Nine months before his death he was planning a new town to the north half way between Karḥ-Fairūz and Dūr; this town was called Dīḡfariya after his praenomen. The historians, who record many details of the luxury of the palaces of al-Mutawakkil, say that he brought from Persia to use as timber the sacred cypress venerated by the Mazdaeans at Kishmar. Other historians, noting that nothing remains of the splendid buildings of al-Mutawakkil, see in this so swift destruction a punishment from heaven, as retribution for his having ordered the destruction

of the tomb of Husain at Kербелā in 236 A. H. After the death of al-Mutawakkil, Muntasir brought the court to Sāmarrā itself again and took up his abode in the palace of Djawāq. Mu'tamid, the last Caliph to live at Sāmarrā, built the palace of Ma'shūk on the east bank (255 A. H.).

Since the tenth century A. H. the majority of these buildings have fallen into ruins. The great mosque of Sāmarrā alone survived, which stood near the military camps, whence the name 'Askar Sāmarrā' frequently given to this part of the town. The piety of the Shī'a very early located beside the great mosque the site of two tombs of their Imāms — the tomb of their eleventh Imām, Abū Muḥammad Ḥasan called al-'Askarī because he died in Sāmarrā in 260, and the "cave" (*jiḍāb*) in which his youthful successor, Abū 'l-Kāsim Muḥammad al-Mahdī, disappeared in 264 (878). We know that for a thousand years past, the Shī'a pilgrims have been visiting this cave of Sāmarrā, believing that al-Mahdī will re-appear there at the end of time. Al-Sam'āni gives a list of individuals who bore the *nisba* Sāmarrī or Sammurī. Another *nisba* also refers to Sāmarrā, namely Karkhī, applied to men born in Karkh-Fairūz.

Bibliography: M. Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien*, Leiden 1901, iii. 182—219; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 53—56; al-Sam'āni, *Ansāb*, ed. Margoliouth, Gibb Mem. Series, f. 286b.

SĀMARRĀ. II. Architecture

Sāmarrā is at the present day a vast area of ruins lying on the left bank of the Tigris about sixty miles north of Baghdad. These ruins cover the site of one of the richest and most prosperous cities of the 'Abbāsid period, the building of which cost vast sums.

It was begun in 838 in the reign of the Caliph al-Mu'tasim, son of Ḥārūn al-Rashīd, reached its zenith under Dīfār al-Mutawakkil (847—861) and died with him.

Sāmarrā's brilliant but ephemeral existence gives these ruins a special interest for the student of the origins of Muslim art. Unfortunately, for centuries past, the Arabs have been using the ruins as a quarry for building material, and have hastened the work of time, and in the end nothing has been left standing. Nevertheless, excavations recently undertaken have recovered sufficient information regarding the main lines of construction and decoration to give a very clear idea of the beauty of the Muslim civilization which was then shedding its lustre over the world, and was given expression in this 'Abbāsid city of the 10th century.

The most remarkable remains still standing are:

To the south of the old town on the bank of the Tigris, the great mosque built by al-Mutawakkil with the magnificent palace of the Caliph (*Balkuwāra*) near it on the north. Opposite on the right bank of the Tigris, and built a little later, is a strong castle (*Kayr al-'Ashīk*) the imposing ruins of which are still visible. About half a mile south of this castle is a sepulchral monument (*Jubbāt al-'ulabīgiya*).

Near the ruins of the caliph's city survives a modern Sāmarrā with a golden dome, which commands the desert. It contains some venerated Shī'a sanctuaries.

The great mosque of al-Mutawakkil was built between 846 and 852. It is an immense rectangle with high walls of baked bricks, fortified with round towers. Within it on the south is the principal chamber (*ḥaram*) with twenty-five naves orientated towards the Kibla and three other smaller chambers on the other sides. All these naves, which were over thirty feet high, were supported by marble columns. The *mihrāb* was also flanked by two pairs of marble columns and the prayer-niche was probably covered with valuable carved wood. The four chambers opened on to a large court, the centre of which was occupied by a fine fountain. Outside, against the north wall of the mosque, rose the minaret (*maṭariya*), a kind of huge tower of Babel on a base 100 feet square. Around it outside wound a spiral stairway. This tower was visible more than a day's journey away.

The ruins of Balkuwāra, the Caliph's palace, cover a vast rectangle over a thousand yards each way. On the west front there still stand three arches built of brick (*al-ḥamaf*), the only remains which are now to be found. This palace was built by al-Mutawakkil for the prince al-Mahdī bishāh.

These three arches, facing the river, audience chamber and guest chambers (*ḥuṣn*), open widely out on the valley. Terraces and fountains descend like cascades from them. Behind them are three inner courts which are succeeded by rooms in the form of a cross: throne rooms, numerous smaller rooms and private apartments with luxurious baths. On the east was a large rectangular garden with water-falls surrounded by walls with pilasters on to which open richly adorned little pavilions. To the north was a large creek with stairways of access, with caves and docks cut out in it. Finally behind all this was an agglomeration of houses sheltering the harem, others for the courtiers, a little mosque, and large barracks etc. for the caliph's guard and his cavalry.

The various and diverse elements which constituted the whole of this immense palace were harmoniously arranged. They formed a beautiful composition conceived on a vast scale in the form of \perp of which the long axis perpendicular on the river terminated in the three vaulted rooms of the façade, richly ornamented with sculpture and mosaic.

The general composition of this palace is, however, of a type well known in the tradition of Iranian architecture. Around the Caliph's palace were sumptuous and richly decorated residences. The richest as well as the most modest homes of the city are almost all built on the same plan. Built on the ground floor only they consist of a series of inner courts with fountains into which open the *ḥuṣn* and the living rooms. This type has been perpetuated in certain parts of the east down to our day. The decoration of the interior is an important feature. High carved panels and very probably a decorative frieze always ornamented the public rooms and sometimes all the rooms in the house. The courtyards also were sometimes ornamented but the outer walls were never decorated.

The ornamental carving of the palaces and houses of Sāmarrā is of the same technical skill and gives a high idea of the development of the art at this period. Elaborate panels run

all round the rooms at a height of three feet. Above them are ornamental alcoves (Pers. *takia*). The frames of the doors and the embrasures of the windows are ornamented. The ceilings are adorned with cornices and friezes. The majority of these decorations are in plaster finely designed and executed, sometimes set off with paintings.

The designs are of very different types; some simple, with large veins somewhat coarse in workmanship. Others are more finely chiselled in the flat without relief, others again, accentuating the relief, treat the principal motif in round bosses.

Some of these decorations were carved out of the mass *in situ*, others were cast in a mould on a bed of matting (especially motives continually repeated), and then fixed to the wall. The forms of the designs are very varied. Some are very simple and severe, in straight lines without arabesques. These are the ones found most frequently at Sāmarrā and which are, so to speak, the prototype. Others, on the contrary, often inspired by the fauna or flora, are more elaborate and richer; conventionalised flowers occupy the centre of geometrical figures repeated again and again and connected by ribands, beadings which come to a stop or intertwine, taking the shape of a vase, a lyre or a cornucopiae. Others again more filled with movement unfold in arabesques around bunches of grapes and vine branches.

It has been proposed to make a rigorous classification of the ornamental designs at Sāmarrā into three distinct categories: Style I: Coptic character; Style II: Iranian character; Style III: Mesopotamian character. A classification as methodical as this with labels of origin seems to us dangerous, premature and a source of error. One impression that can be retained from a study of the ruins of Sāmarrā, the discovery of which is valuable for the history of Oriental art, is that several artistic influences met together in this part of Asia without conflicting or seeking predominance. It was a centre that attracted numerous artists from all parts of the globe, drawn thither by the wealth of the court of the 'Abbasid Caliphs and the protection they afforded. Sāmarrā was to be the crucible into which Hellenic, Syro-Coptic and Indo-Persian art were fused together and a new art, Muslim art, was produced.

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AL-SAMAW'AL b. 'ĀDIYĀ, more accurately AL-SAMAW'AL b. GHARĪB b. 'ĀDIYĀ, a Jewish-Arab poet, whose residence was in the strong castle of al-Ablak [q.v.] near Taimā. Being a contemporary of Imru' al-Kais [q.v.] he must have flourished about the middle of the sixth century A.D. One of his grandsons is said to have adopted

Isām and to have lived into the Caliphate of Mu'awiya when he was then very old. Except his name there is hardly a trace in tradition of his being a Jew; it is not even certain that he was of Jewish descent.

All the poems ascribed to al-Samaw'al have been collected by Cheikho in his edition of the *Diwān*. Of the few pieces said to have been composed by him a considerable part cannot be considered genuine, including those which most readily suggest that they were written by a Jew. The few remaining *kasida's*, the genuineness of which there is no reason to doubt, contain no indication of the fact, which is not, however, to be doubted, that al-Samaw'al professed the Jewish religion. They much rather breathe the spirit of the old Arab poetry and show in form and matter clearly that he, like his co-religionists, had become in external matters assimilated to the surrounding Arabs and in poetry followed Arabic forms. Poems have also been handed down that are attributed to a son and a grandson of al-Samaw'al.

Al-Samaw'al owes his fame less to his poetry than to his devotion in fulfilling his pledges to his guest Imru' al-Kais, which has become proverbial ('more faithful than al-Samaw'al'). After Imru' al-Kais b. Hudjr — the story seems quite reliable in its main facts — had been leading an unsettled life of adventure in his fight to avenge his father and had lost most of his followers while fleeing before al-Mundhir, king of al-Hira, he sought refuge in al-Samaw'al's castle and was hospitably received with his few followers. When, some time later, he went to the court of Byzantium he left his daughter and his cousin with al-Samaw'al along with his valuable armour and the remains of his paternal inheritance, and asked him to guard them. During the absence of Imru' al-Kais, al-Samaw'al was besieged in his castle by an army, which had presumably been sent by al-Mundhir, because he would not obey the demand to hand over the property of his guest. By chance it happened that the leader of the hostile army captured a son of al-Samaw'al and threatened to kill him if Imru' al-Kais's property was not handed over. As al-Samaw'al steadily refused to betray his trust he had to see his son die before his eyes. The besiegers then withdrew without achieving their purpose.

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SAMBAS, a Malay kingdom on the island of Borneo in the N. W. of the Dutch residency of "Westerafdeeling van Borneo". In the west and north-west from Cape Dato to the mouth of the river Duri it is washed by the China Sea, in the S. and S. E. it is bounded by the districts of Mampawa, Landak and Sanggan (the Duri river forms the boundary for part of the way), in the E. and N. E. by Sarawak (British North Borneo); some of the islands off the coast also belong to it. The country is mountainous, especially on the eastern frontier; the ground slopes gradually to the W. and N.; the coastlands are almost everywhere low, flat and swampy, but not infertile. Of the rivers the largest is the Great Sambas; Sambas, the Sultan's capital, lies on the Little Sambas. At the end of 1913 the number of inhabitants had risen to 123,600 of whom 26,000 were Dyaks, 67,000 Malays and 30,000 Chinese; the two first classes are under the Sultan (at present Muhammad 'Alī Saif al-Dīn) who, very much dependent on the Dutch officials, rules the land with his four ministers (*wazir*). The Chinese are direct subjects of the Dutch government. It should be noted that the term Malays does not signify a single ethnic group; the deciding factor here is the Muslim religion: as soon as the heathen Dyaks become converts to Islam, they are counted as Malays and the fairly numerous Javanese and Buginese are also usually counted as Malays. The steady advance of Islam is no more to be ascribed here than elsewhere in the Malay Archipelago to definite missionary activity but primarily to the many marriages of Malays with Dyak women and further to the fact that the social position of the Muhammadans is better than that of the still unconverted natives. The Dyaks are no longer nomads and live on good terms with the rest of the population; they are engaged in the collection of jungle products and carry on a primitive agriculture, mainly on dry fields. The agriculture of the Malays on the coast is also of little importance. The Chinese form the most industrious part of the population; their methods are on a much higher level in every way: they grow rice on well tilled, wet fields and grow other produce also for export. Their position in W. Borneo was for long a very peculiar one. The first immigrants into Sambas (about 1760) were gold-diggers and their number increased so rapidly that they soon formed an important element in the population. They organised themselves into numerous societies and even managed to attain a certain political autonomy; it was only in the latter half of the sixteenth century that the Dutch government succeeded in breaking up these societies. Gold-washing no longer pays and the majority of the Chinese now live by trade and agriculture.

We have no reliable data regarding the early history of the land and the beginnings of the spread of Islam; the kingdom was probably founded by Malays from Djohore; about the middle of the sixteenth century it was subject to the Javanese kingdom of Matjapahit. In the early years of the sixteenth century, about the time when the Dutch East India Company concluded its first commercial treaty with Sambas (1609), the kingdom was under a Malay chief, Ratu Sapodak (Pangéran Ratu), who recognised the suzerainty of Djohore. Ratu Sapodak had only two daughters and after his death he was

succeeded by his son-in-law and nephew Ratu Anom Kusuma Yuda. The latter had only a brief reign; he was soon driven from the throne by his brother-in-law, Radin Sulaimān, a son of a chief of Brunei (Radja Tengah) and of a sister of the Sultan of Sukadana. After his accession Radin Sulaimān took the name of Sultan Muhammad Saif al-Dīn. He was the founder of the present reigning house.

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(W. H. RASMEY)

AL-SAMHŪDĪ, NŪR AL-DĪN ABU 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ B. 'AND ALLĀH B. AHMAD, a descendant of al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, according to the genealogy traced by Ibn Fahd, was born in Samhūd in Upper Egypt (al-Sa'id) in the month of Šafar, 844 A. H., where his father was a noted lawyer. The latter took him for the first time to Cairo in the year 853, but he visited the city later on several occasions both alone and in the company of his father, to enable him to pursue his studies under the most renowned men of his time, and the Šafī saint al-'Irāqī invested him with the Šafī mantle. In the year 860 he made the pilgrimage for the first time and settled in al-Madīna. He had first a cell near the mosque of the Prophet, but through intrigues he was compelled to leave it and he then hired a house near the Bāb al-Rahma, known as the house of Tamīm al-Dārī. He had noticed at the time of his arrival that the mosque of the Prophet had not been put into proper repair since it had been burnt in the year 654, and in the long interval of over 200 years it had been patched in a very unsatisfactory manner. He wrote a treatise in which he urged the proper reconstruction, based upon researches which he had made with reference to the original state of the building. In the year 886 he went to Mekka to perform the pilgrimage again and during his absence his valuable library, which appears to have been stored in the cell near the mosque, was involved in the fire which destroyed the mosque. Discouraged he now went back to Egypt and paid a visit to his aged mother who died ten days after his arrival in Samhūd.

After her funeral he went to Cairo and was admitted to the circle of the Sultan al-Ashraf Ḥā'ib-bey [q.v.] from whom he received a salary and a nucleus of valuable books to replenish the libraries in al-Madīna, he being entrusted with the charge of them. After visiting Jerusalem he returned to al-Madīna towards the end of the year 890. He found that the house of Tamīm al-Dārī was for sale and bought it and put it into proper repair. Here he married several wives, but later gave them up and contented himself with concubines to have more time to devote to the welfare of the people

and their instruction. He died on Thursday the 18th of Dhu 'l-Ḥiǧda, 911 A.H., and was buried in the Baǧī' (cf. the art. BAǦĪ' AL-ḤARAKAD) cemetery between the grave of Saiyid Ibrāhīm and the Imām Mālik.

Among his numerous works composed during his residence in al-Madīna the principal one is his History of the City. He had originally composed it upon a large scale under the title *al-Itisāf bi-Abkhār Dār al-Muǧfa*. At the request of a patron he had made an abbreviation of this book to which he gave the title: *Wafā' al-Wafā'*. This abbreviation he had completed on the 24th of Djumādā II, 886, and had it with him in Mecca when his library in al-Madīna was destroyed by the fire. This fortunately saved the chief contents of the work. Later he made a further edition condensed from the abbreviation, which he finished, according to some manuscripts and the printed editions (Bulāḡ 1285 and Mecca 1316), in the year 893 and called *Ḳulūǧat al-Wafā'*. This work has become our principal source of information for the history and the topography of the city and the rituals for the visit of the grave of the Prophet. In addition he composed a number of other works of which nine are enumerated by Brockelmann in his *G.A.L.*, to which Arab biographers add several more which may have been lost. They comprise books on grammar, tradition, theology, law and the rituals of pilgrimage. Special mention is made of his collection of *Fatwa's* in one volume collected by himself on all branches of legal knowledge. They appear to contain the arid discussions which form the favourite theme of Arabic authors of his time.

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(F. KRENKOW)

SĀMĪ, SHAMS AL-DIN, SĀMĪ BEY FRĀSHĒRĪ, a Turkish author and lexicographer, born at Frāshēr in Albania on June 1, 1850, of an old Muslim Albanian family whose ancestors are said to have been granted this place as a fief by Sultān Mehmed II. He was educated in the Greek lycée at Janina, at the same time receiving instruction from private tutors in Turkish, Persian and Arabic. He then came to Constantinople, where he devoted himself to journalism and founded the daily paper *Sabāḥ* about 1875. He began his literary career about the same time and attached himself to the new school founded by Kemal and Shīnāsī. From this period dates his novel *Tu'arḥuḥ al-Tu'at wa-Fitnat*, which contains an indictment of the Turkish marriage system (1872), and the dramas *Beḥ* (the scene is laid in Albania, produced in 1874), *Sidī Yahyā* (1875) and *Kāwē*. The production of this last piece, which describes the Persian revolution against the tyrant Dāhḥāk, resulted in his being banished for two years to Tripoli in North Africa.

After his return he devoted himself almost entirely to his famous lexicographical works. These are the *Ḳāmūs-i Frānḡusī* (French-Turkish, 1882, and Turkish-French, 1885), the six-volume encyclopaedia *Ḳāmūs al-'Alīm* (1889—1898) and the *Ḳāmūs-i Turkī* in two parts (1899 and 1900).

Although in his latter years he suffered a good

deal in body and in spirit, his great industry never left him till his death. He died in Constantinople on June 18, 1904. He had spent the greater part of his life in his study. In the last years of his life he looked 75, although only 54.

In the literary field Sāmi could not claim a place beside his contemporaries 'Abd al-Ḥakḡ Ḥimīd, Ekrem Bey, etc. Besides the newspapers themselves, we have as evidence of his journalistic work a series of pamphlets which appeared in the *Djib Kütübkhānest* and are in part taken from his newspaper articles (*Medeniyet-i İslūmiye*, *Kadınlar*, *Emḡal*, etc.). He also made several translations from the French (*Sifiller*, *Shāfirān Yādkārleri*, etc.). He also published select poems of Bāḡī and an edition with commentary of the poems ascribed to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb. But his greatest merit lies in his great work in lexicography and philology. This includes several school-books on Turkish and Arabic grammar, and an unfinished Arabic dictionary of which he speaks in the preface to his *Ḳāmūs-i Turkī*.

This last work is important in several respects. In the first place the order is strictly alphabetical and the arrangement of the different meanings clear and lucid; it is a great advance on previous lexicographical work by Turks, even on Ahmed Wefīḡ Pasha's *Lehte-i 'Oḡmānī*. Secondly the choice of the words included is of importance in so far as it represents a compromise between the different views prevailing in his time on the development of Turkish. Sāmi himself urged a far-reaching Turkish purism (as is evident from his contribution in the introduction to Mehmed Emin's *Türkī Şāfirler* of 1898) and he would have liked to replace most Arabic and Persian words by Turkish words that had fallen into disuse. He adopted of the latter those whose revival seemed indispensable, but by the adoption of a great mass of Arabic and Persian material he made great concessions to the literary language. His dictionary is therefore a true picture of the educated Turkish of his time. Sāmi, however, does not seem to have had any traceable influence on the development of Turkish.

Among his unpublished material, of which the unfinished Arabic dictionary has already been mentioned, there are also comprehensive studies on the *Ḳudatḡa Hittī* and on the Orḡhūn inscriptions, as well as works on Persian and Eastern Turki.

He also worked at Albanian. He produced an Albanian alphabet and a grammar. He left poems in this language and a book on the future of Albania. His drama *Beḥ*, already mentioned, also shows his love for the land of his birth.

On Sāmi Bey's brother Na'īm Frāshērī (1846—1900) who was a great Albanian poet cf. Babinger in *Isl.*, 1921, xi. 99.

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AL-SĀMĪRA. [See SAMARITANS].

AL-SĀMĪRĪ, 'the Samaritan', is the name in *Qur'an*, xx. 87, 90, 96, of the man who tempted

the Israelites to the sin of the golden calf. This sin is twice mentioned in the Qur'ān. The first narrative, Sūra vii. 146—153, tells of the sin of Israel and Aaron as in Exodus, xxxiii., but with the elaboration that the calf cast out of metal laved. The second version, Sūra xx. 35—97, which is shown to be later by its additions and was considered by Muslim tradition also to belong to the Medina period (Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qur'ān*, p. 124, 125), makes al-Sāmīri the tempter of Israel. At al-Sāmīri's bidding they cast their ornaments into the fire and he made out of them the lowing calf, which was worshipped by the people although Aaron advised them not to. When challenged by Moses, al-Sāmīri justified himself by saying that he saw what the others did not see, the footsteps of the messenger (according to Muslim tradition: the tracks of the hoof of Gabriel's horse). Moses then announced his punishment to him: "so long as thou livest, thou shalt call out to those that meet thee *la mīlāsā* 'touch me not'".

Abraham Geiger thought that Muḥammad had perhaps confused al-Sāmīri with Sammael, the prince of the demons. Geiger quoted *Firḥi Rabbi Eliezer*, xlv., where, according to one view, Sammael lured concealed in the calf to lead the Israelites astray. In reality this feature in the *Firḥi Rabbi Eliezer* is imitated from the Muslim legend and the otherwise unknown proper name al-Sāmīri replaced by the name Sammael of somewhat similar sound. S. Fraenkel (*Z. D. M. G.*, lvi. 72) derives the story of al-Sāmīri in the Qur'ān from a lost Jewish *midrash* which aimed at diverting the grave sin of making the golden calf from Aaron to a Samaritan.

The figure of al-Sāmīri was first put into its true light by Goldziher (see below). Goldziher explains him as the representative of Samaritanism through the story of the Samaritan secession. We have already evidence of this secession in Sirach, l. 25, and the Gospels Luke, ix. 52; John, iv. 9. Goldziher collects Jewish, Christian and Muslim references, which show that the Samaritans considered contact with those not of their stock as impurity. What Muḥammad or rather his presumed Jewish source knew as a ritual principle of the Samaritans is put back into earlier times and explained as a punishment of al-Sāmīri for having incited the Israelites to make and worship the calf.

Goldziher's convincing arguments can be reinforced by the early Muslim interpretation of the Qur'ān. Al-Tabarī himself following an earlier tradition sees in al-Sāmīri a prominent Israelite of the Samaritan tribe; as a punishment for his sin Moses forbade the Israelites to have social or commercial relations with him and "this has remained the case". Similarly al-Zamakḥshārī: al-Sāmīri belonged to a Jewish tribe called Sāmīra whose religion differed somewhat from the Jewish. Al-Sāmīri was forbidden to have social and commercial intercourse with men; it is said that his people still observe the prohibition. Al-Tha'labī similarly concludes his very full story of the golden calf.

Al-Sāmīri thus is the representative of Samaritanism, which keeps apart from non-Samaritans. In a segregation of this kind — as in the Jewish laws regarding eating (Qur'ān, iv. 158) — Muḥammad sees a divine punishment. What has al-Sāmīri (= the Samaritans) to atone for? For the sin of the golden calf.

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SAMMĀ, the name of a Rājput clan in Sind. As the hold of the Ghaznavid kings on Sind relaxed, the Sammās, a Rājput tribe converted to Islām, established their rule in that country in 1053, and made Tūr their capital. They persecuted the Sammās, a rival Rājput tribe which adhered to Hinduism, and drove many of them to take refuge in Kāṭh, where, in 1320, they ousted the Cāvada prince who had protected them and seized his throne. This branch of the Sammās, known as Djādeja or the children of Djāda, is still represented by the Rāo of Kāṭh and the Djam of Navanagar. The Sammās who remained in Sind accepted Islām, and after the Sammās had been overthrown by the troops of 'Ala' al-Dīn Khiljī of Dihli founded, in 1333, a dynasty which ruled Sind for nearly two centuries, with its capital at Thatha. The ruler, like the head of the branch which acquired the state of Navanagar, assumed the title of Djam, a word of doubtful signification which Abu 'l-Faḍl, Firḥi and other Muslim historians derive, on insufficient grounds, from the name of the semi-mythical Persian king Djamshīd.

Unar, the Hindu name of the first Djam, suggests recent conversion to Islām. His brother and successor, Djūnā, took Bakhar in Upper Sind, which had hitherto been included in the imperial dominions, and harboured a rebel who was fleeing from Gujjarāt before Muḥammad b. Taghlaḥ of Dihli. Muḥammad invaded Sind but died on the banks of the Indus in March, 1351, before he had had time to punish Djūnā. His cousin, Firūz Shāh, succeeded to the command of an army disorganised by its leader's death, and with difficulty extricated it from Sind, from which it retreated, menaced and harassed both by the Sindis and by their allies, the Mughals. Firūz attempted, eight years later, to avenge his discomfiture but again failed and saved a portion of his army only by a disastrous retreat into Gujjarāt. Returning in the following year he defeated the Sammās and carried the Djam, Djūnā, and his nephew, Bābaniya, prisoners to Dihli, but permitted Djūnā's son and another nephew, Tamāṣī, to govern the province as his tributaries. Later in the reign Tamāṣī rebelled and Djūnā was sent from Dihli to reduce him to obedience, and sent him to Dihli. After the accession of Taghlaḥ II in 1388 Bābaniya was permitted to return to Sind, but died on the way thither. He was succeeded by his brother, Tamāṣī, and after his reign the succession appears to have been as follows: — (1) Ṣāḥib al-Dīn, (2) Nizām al-Dīn, (3) 'Alī Shīr, (4) Karan, (5) Faṭh Khan, (6) Taghlaḥ, (7) Kāidan, (8) Sandjar, (9) Nizām al-Dīn II, known as Djam Nanda, (10) Firūz.

"The history of the Sammās after their accession to power is of interest by reason of the ability with which they held their own in several campaigns against the forces of the imperial government, and by reason also of the conversion

of large numbers of the people from Hinduism to Islam". The disintegration of the empire of Dhill after Timur's invasion restored independence to Sind, and the Sammāns reigned thenceforward untrammelled by allegiance to any higher power. The greatest of them was Nūṣr al-Dīn II, known as Dīn Nanda, who died in 1509 after a reign of forty-seven years. The line ended with his son and successor, Firūz, who in 1520 was defeated by Shāh Beg Arghūn, ruler of Kandahār, who founded the Arghūn dynasty in Sind.

The Sammān tribe now numbers over 800,000 in Sind.

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AL-SĀMIT. [See AL-NĀṬIQ.]

AL-SAMN (A.), butter made from cows', goats' and ewes' milk, more especially cooked or melted butter, cleansed from impurities and preserved by the addition of salt, for example. Fresh butter and cream are called *ṣahā*. These are used not only in the kitchen but also in medicine, externally and internally; — externally for wounds, abscesses and boils, internally as an antidote against snake-bite and poisons, against retention of the urine, etc.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Baīḍār, transl. Leclerc, ii. 290. (J. ROSKA)

SAMOS, an island in the Aegean Sea; the Turkish name is Samsān-adası, "the Island of Sesame", for which Samsān-adası was written at an earlier period (Bihishtī, *Inshā* [MS. No. 260 of the Berlin Library], f. 193; Kātib Celebi, *Tuhfat al-Kihār*; Samsān in Tavernier, *Les six Voyages*, i. 359), while the Arab geographers give the Greek name in the forms Sāmū, Sām (al-Idrīsī, *Geographie*, ed. Jaubert, ii. 127, 303), Sāmis (Yā-kūt, *Muḍīḥ*, i. 21) or Shāmis (Abu 'l-Fida', ed. Reinaud, p. 192, 193). In the middle ages Samos was repeatedly raided by the Arabs in their incursions into the Aegean Sea, notably in the years 889 and 911. It was only with the expulsion of the Arabs from Crete about the middle of the tenth century that Byzantine rule was restored over Samos and the other islands of the archipelago. Later the island was exposed to the raids of the Seldjūqs and their vassals. Trachas, lord of Smyrna, captured the island about the year 1090 and kept it for some time (Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, ix. Ch. 1); in the sixteenth century it was ravaged by the Aidin-oghlu Umur Beg (Ducas, Ch. vii). From the end of the sixteenth century it belonged to the Genoese Maons of Chios (cf. the art. SAKIZ). Friendly relations were maintained with the people of the adjoining mainland. It is, for example, related that at Timur's invasion numerous Turks fled thither (Buondelmonte, ed. Sinner, Ch. 54) and the fanatic Būrkhānī Murtāzā, who provoked a communistic rising on the Erythraean peninsula about 1420, maintained communication with the monks of Chios and Samos. After the fall of the Byzantine empire, Mehmed the Conqueror granted Samos to the Genoese of Chios, but they were not able to hold it and therefore induced the greater part of the population to migrate to Chios in 1476. Probably as a result of this, Mehmed II in 884 (1479) had Samos

occupied by the Beg of Bighā; to repopulate the deserted island the new colonists were promised freedom from the state imposts (*azāḥīr-i ḥudūdīyye*) (Bihishtī, *Tārīkh*, f. 209^b of the Brit. Mus. MS.; cf. Sa'd al-Din, f. 567 *sqq.*). Later, probably after the peace with Venice in the reign of Bāyazīd II in 1502, the Genoese seem to have regained control of the island; at least, Belon, who travelled in the Archipelago soon after 1547, expressly states that it belonged to the "seigneurie de Chio" (*Les observations de plusieurs singularitez etc.*, Paris 1555, p. 84^a); but a few years later they evacuated it for a second time and left it to its fate (Boschini, *L'Archipelago*, Venetia 1558, p. 72). The islanders used to retire into the impenetrable mountains of the interior before the corsair raids, where they led the lives of savages. The Kapudan Pasha Kılıdī 'Alī Pasha, on one of his voyages in the Archipelago, was then attracted by the abandoned island and had it given to him by the Sultan in 1562. He endowed the great mosque built by him in Top-Khāne on the Bosporus with the revenues from the taxation of the island. — A Turkish voivod usually called Aghā governed the island; a kādī or nāib exercised judicial authority; they lived in Chora, the principal place on the island, where also the titular of the then newly founded (Greek orthodox) bishopric of Samos took up his residence. Except for these two officials and their subordinates there were no Turks on the island. But even under Turkish rule the Samiotes continued for long to suffer from the raids of pirates of all nations, Maltese, Frank, Algerian and Tripolitan, who, like their contemporaries, the filibusterers and buccanniers in the West Indies, and the Pamphylian pirates conquered by Pompey, made this part of the Mediterranean unsafe for a century. Samos, which had neither fortresses nor a permanent garrison, was invaded and repeatedly occupied for some time by the Venetians in the wars between the Sublime Porte and Venice in the sixteenth century. The occupation by the Russian fleet lasted for several years, 1771—1774. The Samiotes played a prominent part in the Greek war of liberation; at the end of the war they passed again under Turkish rule, but through the intervention of the Western powers they obtained complete autonomy under a Christian governor appointed by the Sultan (Bey, Greek *kyevan*, which was usually translated Fürst, prince), and were placed under the protectorate of France, Great Britain and Russia. They were also allowed a flag of their own. Like the other vassal states of the Sublime Porte, Samos paid an annual tribute, which was at first 400,000 piastres but was later reduced to 300,000. 101,000 of this went to pay the dues to the waḳf endowment of Kılıdī 'Alī. The first Bey of Samos, Stefan Vogorides, was appointed in the beginning of Djumādā I, 1249 (middle of September, 1833), and filled this post till the beginning of September, 1851. After him down till 1913 no less than 18 "princes", who with few exceptions belonged to Fanariot families, ruled the island of Polykrates. In 1913 Samos was united with Greece by the Treaty of London, which ended the Balkan war.

In modern times Vathy has replaced Chora as the seat of the Government; the number of the settled population was in 1912 about 50,000.

Bibliography: The chief work is Egeinonday J. Stamatiades, *Epianay*, 5 vols.,

Samos 1881—1887 (history and description of the island from the earliest times to 1885); also the same author's monographs *Ερωταγωγία διατριβή επί τῆς ἱστορίας τῆς ἀρχαίας Σάμου 1666—1671* (ibid. 1892) and *Βίος Ἰακώβου Παριλιανῆ διατριβή ἐπὶ Σάμου* (ibid. 1894). Of older travellers, not already mentioned, the following are worthy of note [Des Hayes de Courmesine], *Voyage de Levant*, Paris 1632, p. 348 *sqq.*; Stochove, *Voyage fait en années 1630 1631 1632 1633*, Brussels 1643, p. 234—236; Tournefort, *Voyage du Levant*, Amsterdam 1718, l. 155—158; Pococke, *Description of the East*, London 1745, ii. 2, 24 *sqq.*; Dallaway, *Constantinople ancient and modern*, London 1797, p. 251—260; Choiseul Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque dans l'Emp. Ott.*, Paris 1842, l. 157—161, with the plates 52—54 of the accompanying atlas, vol. I. On conditions in modern times: A. Ritter zur Helle von Samo, *Das Vilejet der Inseln der Weissen Meeres*, Vienna 1878, p. 13 *sqq.*; Caillet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i. 498—523; Ahmad Tawhîd, *Türkân 'Osmânî Enjûmânı Medfûn'atı*, first series, part 13, p. 837 *sqq.* (J. H. MORDTMANN).

ŠAMŠAM al-DAWLA, AND KĀLĪJĀR al-MARWĀN, a Bāylā. After the death of the Bāylā ruler 'Aḍad al-Dawla in Shawwāl, 372 (March, 983), his son Abū Kālījār was recognised as Amir al-Umarā' under the name Šamšam al-Dawla. The latter then gave his two brothers Abū 'I-Husain Ahmad and Abū Tāhir Firzā Shāh the province of Fārs as a fief and ordered them to go there at once. But when they arrived in Arrāḡjān the fourth brother, Šaraf al-Dawla, had anticipated them and already taken possession of Fārs so that they had to retire to al-Ahwāz. As Šaraf al-Dawla would not recognise the suzerainty of Šamšam al-Dawla, the latter sent an army against him under Abū 'I-Husain b. Dānqas, who met the enemy at Karkūb, between Wāsiṭ and al-Baḡra, led by Abū 'I-A'azz Dubāis b. 'Affī al-Asādī. Abū 'I-Husain was taken prisoner and his army put to flight (Rabī' I, 373 = Aug./Sept., 983) whereupon Šaraf al-Dawla granted his brother Abū 'I-Husain rule over al-Ahwāz. At the same time Šamšam al-Dawla had to fight with the Kurdish chief Bādū, the ancestor of the Marwānids. The latter had invaded Diyār Bakr, where he had seized several towns like Mayyāfīrīkīn and Nasībīn after the death of 'Aḍad al-Dawla. Šamšam al-Dawla's troops were defeated, and al-Mawwīl also passed into Bādū's hands; but when in Šafar, 374 (July, 984), he endeavoured to take Baghdād also he was defeated and had to give up al-Mawwīl. He was, however, allowed to retain Diyār Bakr and the half of Tūr 'Abdīn. In 375 (985/986) the Dailamī general Asfar b. Kurdawān rebelled against Šamšam al-Dawla in Baghdād and at first declared for Šaraf al-Dawla; but he next decided — by arrangement with the troops who were devoted to him — to make Abū Naṣr b. 'Aḍad al-Dawla, then only fifteen years old and later appointed Amir al-Umarā' with the name Bahā' al-Dawla [q. v.], governor of al-'Irāq in place of his brother Šaraf al-Dawla. But Asfar was defeated and Bahā' al-Dawla taken prisoner. Šaraf al-Dawla then left Fārs to go to al-Ahwāz and there told his brother Abū 'I-Husain that he wanted to liberate Bahā' al-Dawla; but Abū 'I-Husain did not trust him and began to collect troops. The latter, however, went over to Šaraf al-Dawla and there was no-

thing left for Abū 'I-Husain to do but join his uncle Fakhr al-Dawla [q. v.]; but as the latter did not find him absolutely reliable, he was imprisoned and afterwards put to death. To preserve peace, Šamšam al-Dawla wrote to Šaraf al-Dawla and, as he was satisfied with the governorship of Baghdād and ready to release Bahā' al-Dawla and to have Šaraf al-Dawla mentioned first in the *ḡhazis* in the 'Irāq, the latter agreed to his proposal. When in 376 (986/7) Šamšam al-Dawla came to Šaraf al-Dawla, he was at first very kindly welcomed, but then seized and imprisoned in a citadel near Šīrās. According to the usual statement, Šaraf al-Dawla afterwards had him blinded. In the meanwhile disturbances broke out in Baghdād between the Dailamīs who supported Šamšam al-Dawla and the followers of Šaraf al-Dawla, the Turks, and only after quiet was restored did the Caliph al-Tā'ī recognise the latter as Amir al-Umarā'. On the latter's death at the beginning of Djumādā II, 379 (Sept., 989), Bahā' al-Dawla succeeded to this office. Šamšam al-Dawla was then liberated but had first to fight with his nephew, Abū 'Alī b. Šaraf al-Dawla, and after his assassination with Bahā' al-Dawla [q. v.]. In 383 (993/994) — or, according to another statement, probably due to a corrupt text, as early as 380 (990/991) — Bakhtiyār's [q. v.] sons, who had been interned in a castle in Fārs after Šaraf al-Dawla's death, succeeded with the help of the Dailamī garrison in gaining their liberty and gathering a large following. When Šamšam al-Dawla heard of this he sent an army under Abū 'Alī b. Ustāḡh Hormuz against them. The latter besieged them in the fortress in which they had taken refuge; they had to surrender and were brought to Šamšam al-Dawla, who had two of them executed and the other four imprisoned. In the same year hostilities again broke out between Šamšam al-Dawla and Bahā' al-Dawla and after several years' fighting victory was inclining more and more to the side of the former, when he was assassinated in Dhu 'l-Hiǧǧa, 388 (end of 998), at the age of thirty-five years and seven months. Cf. also the article AND KĀLĪJĀR.

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ŠAMŠAM al-DAWLA, SHĀHNAWĀR KHĀN SHAMID KH*AFI AWRANGĀBĀD, an Indian statesman and historian. His early name was 'Abd al-Razzāq Husaini and he belonged to a Saiyid family which had migrated to India from Kh*af in Khurāsān in the time of Akbar and attained high honour there. He was born in Lahore on Ramaḍān 28, 1111 (March 20, 1700) and while still young moved to Awrangābād [q. v.] where he was appointed *Dewan* of Berār by the first independent Nizām of the Deccan, Asaf Dīsh [q. v.; see also the article BĀIDĀRĀBĀD]. In 1155 (1742) he was involved in the rising attempted by Naṣir Dīsh, son of Asaf Dīsh, against his father and dismissed from office after its failure. The next five years he devoted to retirement to his great historical work, the *Ma'athir al-Umarā'*. Shortly before the end of his reign, Asaf Dīsh

pardoned him in 1160 (1747) and restored him to his former office, which he continued to hold under the next two rulers, Nāṣir Dījān and Šahāṭ Dījān. After the accession of Bāskat Dījān in 1170 (1756) the French party which had been opposed by Šamšām al-Dawla succeeded in bringing about his fall; he was killed on Ramaḍān 3, 1171 (May 12, 1758) by soldiers of the French General Bussy. According to another, unreliable, story, the General shot him with his own hand.

The *Maʿāthir al-Umaraʾ*, a biographical dictionary arranged alphabetically, according to the initial letters of the names discussed, of all the more important statesmen under the Indian Moghuls from Akbar to the author's day — Elliot calls it "the Peerage of the Moghal Empire" — exists in two recensions of both of which many copies exist. The original, which was unfinished and even in the completed part not quite ready for publication, disappeared at the murder of the author and the destruction of his house, and was only found after twelve months' search by the friend and for several years secretary of the author, Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Balgrāmī (famous as the author of two *taẓkhiras* of poets, *Khaṣṣana-i 'Amira* and *Sawā-i Āzād*; cf. H. Ethé in the *Grundriss der Iran. Philol.*, II, 215), although not complete. He gave it a preface, wrote a biography of Šamšām al-Dawla (see the *Bibl.*) and added several articles. This recension contains 261 biographies.

It was much extended and republished by the author's son, 'Abd al-Hayy Khān († 1196 = 1781; for his numerous titles see Morley, *op. cit.*, p. 104; cf. the *Bibl.*), who in twelve years' labour continued the work of his father to the year 1194 (1790) when he concluded his labours; he took the first recension as a foundation, added other parts of the original which had since been found and additions which he compiled from the 30 historical works mentioned in his preface. His own first draft is preserved in the India Office MS. N^o. 2424 (Ethé's *Catalogue*, N^o. 627). This second edition contains an editor's preface, the preface by Šamšām al-Dawla and Ghulām 'Alī, the latter's biography of Šamšām al-Dawla, an index of the articles and the latter themselves, as well as a short biography of the editor. It contains 731 biographies and is one of the most valuable sources for the history of the Moghul rule in India.

Šamšām al-Dawla also composed a collection of biographies of poets entitled *Bahār-i Šāh-i Subhān*.

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(H. H. SCHAEDEK)

ŠAMŠĀM AL-SALTĀNA, NAJAF KULI KHĀN, a Bakhtiārī chief born about 1846. He belonged to the great division of Haft-Lang which he governed in 1903—1905 as Il-begī and later as Il-Khān. He was the son of the Husain Kuli Khān, killed by order of prince Zill al-Saltān — the famous governor-general of Iṣfahān — and grandson of Dījār Kuli Khān. Šamšām owes his fame to the part he played in the nationalist revolutionary movement in Persia.

Rebelling against the incapable administration of the governor Iḥbāl al-Dawla, Šamšām al-Saltān at the head of 1,000 Bakhtiārīs occupied Iṣfahān on Jan. 5, 1909, and convoked the provincial committee (*sandjuman*). Jointly with his brother Sardār-i As'ad, who had come back from Europe, Šamšām telegraphed to the government (May 3) that he intended to advance on the capital. He carried out his plan but allowed the protagonists of the revolution, Sardār-i As'ad and Sipahdār-i A'zam, leader of the forces collected at Rasht, to have all the credit.

When in the summer of 1911 the news of the return of Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh reached Tihān, Šamšām entered the Sipahdār's cabinet as minister of war and military governor of the capital (July 5). On July 26 he himself formed a new cabinet; three days later the Majlis put a price on the head of Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh. In August the Bakhtiārīs with the active help of the Armenian revolutionary Yefrem Khān inflicted a defeat on Sardār-i As'ad, the principal supporter of the fallen Shāh. In September they disposed of the rebellion led by the turbulent prince Sālār al-Dawla. Šamšām at first gave wholehearted assistance to Mr. Morgan Shuster, the American adviser who, entrusted with the reform of the Persian finances, had warmly supported the nationalist movement but very soon a quarrel broke out between them as a result of energetic action taken by Mr. Shuster (the episode of 'Alā' al-Dawla). On October 29 Russia demanded satisfaction for the intervention of Mr. Shuster's gendarmes in the affairs of Prince Shu'ā' al-Saltān who claimed to be a protégé of Russia. As a result on Nov. 11 Wuthūk al-Dawla, minister of foreign affairs, expressed to the Russian legation the government's apologies but on Nov. 16 Russia presented an ultimatum demanding the dismissal of Mr. Shuster. The cabinet, which after a quarrel with Yefrem Khān had again made its peace with him, showed conciliatory tendencies. On Dec. 9 Wuthūk al-Dawla formed a new cabinet which two days later accepted the ultimatum. Mr. Shuster was replaced by a Belgian (M. Mornard) and left Persia.

In the summer of 1918 Šamšām was again called upon to take the reins of government. As a repercussion of events in Russia the new cabinet, which had a nationalist character, at its meeting of July 27 abrogated all the treaties with Russia and all concessions granted to Russians. This measure, which affected the interests of foreigners in general, accelerated the fall of the cabinet and its replacement by that of Wuthūk al-Dawla, which signed the Anglo-Persian convention of Aug. 9, 1919.

Šamšām is noted for his impulsive character but Mr. Morgan Shuster in his book reproaches this chiefdom with a lack of constancy.

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Zinoviev, *Rossiya, Angliya i Persiya*, St. Petersburg 1912, p. 135; *Englische Dokumente zur Erdreisung Persiens in Der Neue Orient*, Berlin 1917, p. 22; J. M. Balfour, *Recent Happenings in Persia* (1922), p. 108. (V. MINORSKIY)

AL-ŞAMSAMA, the sword of the Arab warrior-poet 'Amr b. Ma'dikarib al-Zuhaidi (cf. above, i. 336^a) celebrated for the temper and cutting power of its blade. Like a number of the best Arab swords, its origin was traced back to Southern Arabia and a fabulous antiquity was ascribed to it. 'Amr himself in a verse often quoted (Ibn Duraid, p. 311; *Ihd* [ed. 1293], i. 46, li. 70; Ibn Badrūn, p. 84; *Taḍj al-Arūs*, vi. 229) says that it had once belonged to Ibn Dhi Kaifan "of the people of 'Ad" (this member of an actual Himyar clan [cf. Hartmann, *Die arabische Frage*, p. 331, 613] is identified with one of the last Himyar kings of the family of Dhū Ḍjadan; but very probably the poet only means to allude to the great age of his weapon).

The history and fortunes of al-Şamsama are rather involved; even in the poet's lifetime it came into the hands of a member of the Umayyad family, Khalid b. Sa'id b. al-'Asī, the companion of the Prophet. The way in which he got possession of it is recorded with several variants by Ibn al-Kalbi (in al-Balādhuri), Abū 'Ubayda (in the *Aghāni*), al-Zuhri (in Ibn Hishām; see *Bibl.*), Saif b. 'Umar (in al-Tabari). According to the last-named, Khalid won it in battle after routing 'Amr b. Ma'dikarib who was taking part in the revolt against Islām raised by the false prophet al-Aswad al-'Aml (cf. above, i. 502^b); according to the three first, 'Amr himself gave it to Khalid as a ransom for his sister (or wife) Raihana, who was a prisoner of the Muslims. 'Amr composed a poem on the occasion, of which several verses are frequently quoted in the Arab sources (Ibn Duraid, p. 49; *Lisān*, xv. 240, etc.). The tradition (al-Tibrizī in *Hamāsa*, ed. Freytag, p. 397, 12-13) which says that 'Amr gave it to the Caliph 'Umar is quite denied by authority.

After the death of Khalid b. Sa'id at the battle of Mardī al-Suffar during the conquest of Syria (14 A. H.) al-Şamsama passed to his nephew Sa'id b. al-'Asī b. Sa'id b. al-'Asī, who lost it while defending the Caliph 'Uthmān when the latter was besieged in his house at Medina (35 A. H.). It was found by a Bedouin of the tribe of Ḍjuhaina with whom it was discovered in the reign of Mu'āwiyā. Restored to its former owner, it passed from one member to another of the family of the Banu 'I-'Asī, until one of them, Aiyūb b. Abī Aiyūb, great-grandson of the son of Sa'id, sold it to the Caliph al-Mahdi (158-169 A. H.) for about 80,000 dirhams. Henceforth al-Şamsama was kept as a precious relic in the treasury of the 'Abbāsids and its fame continued to increase; poets like Abū 'I-Hawā al-Himyari (*Dijāzī, Ḥayawān*, v. 30) and Salm al-Khāfir sang its praises.

From different sources we learn of its existence in the caliphates of al-Hādī (169-170 A. H.), Harūn al-Rashīd (170-193), al-Wāṭṭik (227-232), and al-Mutawakkil (232-247), after which there is no longer any mention of it. The anecdotes recorded regarding the excellence of the famous sword during the period when it was in the hands of these Caliphs have little chance of being authentic; a description which has a certain appearance of reality is the one given in al-Tabari,

iii. 1348, 4-5, in connection with the story of al-Wāṭṭik's using it to execute with his own hand in 231 A. H. Ahmad b. Nāṣir al-Kharrāṭī, who was accused of having conspired against the Caliph and of having maintained that the Qur'ān was not created, contrary to the view laid down by al-Ma'mūn: "It was a blade with a hilt at its end; three nails driven into it attached the blade to the hilt". It is apparent then that the famous al-Şamsama had nothing of value about it except its great age.

As to the name al-Şamsama, it is simply an epithet referring to the fine quality of the blade (the "cleaver") like *muṣammim*, which has the same significance. Al-Şamsama is often used as a common noun, e.g. by al-Farazdaq (*Nahṣ*, p. 385, 4) and by 'Amr b. Ma'dikarib himself (*Hamāsa* of al-Buḥārī, p. 83, ed. Cheikh, N° 237); *Amāl* of al-Ḳālī, iii. 154, 10), as well as by Muslim b. al-Walīd (ed. de Goeje, vi. 18) in a verse which Schwarzlose (see the *Bibl.*) wrongly thought to refer to 'Amr's sword, while the weapon given by Harūn al-Rashīd to his general Yazīd b. Maryād referred to in the verse is the sword of the Prophet, Dhū 'I-Fakr (cf. above, i. 959), as is evident from verse 25 of the same poem and the note by Ibn Khallikān, iii. 299 (ed. 1299) = ii. 284 (ed. 1319) = N° 830 Wüstenfeld.

Bibliography: al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, p. 119-120; al-Tabari, ed. de Goeje, i. 1984, 1997; *Aghāni* (1st ed.), xiv. 26-27, 2nd ed., p. 27; Ibn Badrūn, ed. Dozy, p. 84; *Ihd*, i. 66 (ed. 1293); Ibn Ḥudhail al-Andalusī, *La parure des cavaliers et l'enseignement des preux*, ed. L. Mercier, Paris 1922, p. 61-62; *al-Muḥabbat*, vi. 19, 28; *Lisān*, xv. 240; *Taḍj al-Arūs*, viii. 370; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii. 783, 787 (12 A. H., §§ 65, 69; the latter gives the translation of an unpublished passage from the *Kitāb al-Ghazawāt* of Ibn Hishām, iii. 322 (14 A. H., § 104 note), iv. 632 (21 A. H., § 282); Schwarzlose, *Die Waffen der alten Araber*, Leipzig 1886, p. 36, 93-96, 129, 192-194. (G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

ŞAMSUN, a harbour on the north coast of Asia Minor, the ancient Amisus, also called Amisos by the Byzantines and later, after the conquest by the Saldjūks, Sampson (Akropolites, Bonn ed., p. 14; also Schiltberger, ed. Langmantel, p. 14 [transl. Hakluyt Society, p. 12], who says it was founded by the Samson of the Bible), the Simliss of western seafarers and the Şamsūn of the Arabs, was taken from the Byzantines by KILĠĠ Arslan II (1156-1192) (Niketas Choniates, Bonn edition, p. 689, 699); three centuries before (860) it had been laid waste by the Arabs on one of their raids into Byzantine territory (Theophanes contin., Bonn ed., p. 179). Under the Saldjūks and their successors, Şamsun with Sinope conducted the trade with the Crimea and from the time of Mas'ūd II (631-646 A. H.) was a mint of the Saldjūks and later of the Ilkhāns (Ahmad Tawhīd, *Makūbāt-i kadime-i islāmiyya Katātūghī*, iv., N° 704, 705; Mehemmed Mubārak, *ibid.*, vol. iii. under the coins of Ghāzān Mahmūd, Khudābende Mehemmed and Abū Sa'id Bahādur), which suggests a considerable commercial activity. About this time also we find Şamsun first mentioned by the eastern geographers as a "famous harbour" (Abū 'I-Fida', *Taḍwīn al-Bulḍān*, ed. Reinaud, i. 32 sq., 215, 392; al-Dimashqī, ed. Mehren, p. 146; Ḥamd Allāh

Mustawfi, *Nuṣṣat al-Kuṭub*, ed. Le Strange, p. 96). Alongside of the Muslim Şamsün there was at the beginning of the thirteenth century an independent Greek enclave (Fallmerayer, *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt*, p. 56 sqq.), the so-called "Christian Şamsün" (*K'āṣir Şamsūni*), and formed, as in Smyrna (see the art. 12312, ii. 267), with the Muslim settlement a double town. Both parts were enclosed by walls and only a stone's throw (Ibn 'Arabshāh, *Adrā'id al-maṣṣūr fī Ahḥākir Timūr*, Cairo 1285, p. 141) or "half a bowshot" (Schiltberger, p. 16, Hekl. Soc. ed. p. 13) apart. In the early years of the sixteenth century the Genoese established themselves in Christian Şamsün and held it for over a century (Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, i. 553 sqq., ii. 359 sq., 373); about the year 1425 the last Frankish inhabitants set the town on fire and sailed off in their ships, whereupon the Ottomans entered it (Neshri in Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm.*, col. 475; wrongly in Heyd, *op. cit.*, ii. 359).

After the withdrawal of the İkhāns Muslim Şamsün was in possession of the İsfandiār-oghlu of Kaşamlıni (q. v.) and was taken from them in 795 or 797 A. H. by Bāyazid I (Schiltberger, p. 14 sqq.; Neshri, in the *Z. D. M. G.*, xv. 343 = Leunclavius, *op. cit.*, col. 336; Sa'd al-Din, i. 135 sq.; cf. *Tawārīkh-i Alī 'Oṭmān*, ed. Giese, p. 34); in 1404 the town still belonged to Mir Sulaimān Çelebi, the son of Bāyazid I (Clavijo, p. 82); it was then again occupied by the İsfandiār-oghlu (the date 822 A. H. is given) (Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm.*, col. 474; Sa'd al-Din, i. 287 sqq.; cf. Ibn 'Arabshāh, *op. cit.*) but shortly afterwards ceded without a fight to Sültān Mehmed II (*Tawārīkh-i Alī 'Oṭmān*, ed. Giese, p. 53 = Leunclavius, *op. cit.*, col. 464; 'Ashik Paşa Zāde, p. 89 sq.; Neshri, Sa'd al-Din, *op. cit.*). Şamsün since then has been under the Turks and became the capital of the sanjak of Djanik, which formerly belonged to the eyalet of Siwās but in modern times has been incorporated in the wilāyet of Trebizond. The harbour still retained with Sinope and Trebizond some importance for trade with the Crimea, had a shipyard of its own, and in the sixteenth century was again fortified as a defence against the attacks of the Don Cossacks. Local trade was limited to the manufacture and export of hemp ropes etc. and of the popular *nārānk* (pomegranate syrup). After the cessation of the Crimea to Russia in the eighteenth century the town began to decline and in 1806 it suffered considerable damage during the fighting between the rival Derbents, the Çapan-oghlu and the family of Djanikli 'Ali Paşa. It was only with the opening of steam navigation in the Black Sea and the development of tobacco-growing in the adjoining district of Rafra that the town received an unexpected revival of prosperity. Many Greeks and Armenians came to it from the interior, especially from Kaşāriye and Karamān, and Europeans also including many Hellenes settled here, to engage in the export of local products (tobacco, corn and hides). The old parts of the town which were avoided on account of endemic malaria were burned in 1286 (1869) and replaced by modern buildings. New quarters and suburbs also arose on a more healthy site, for example the suburb of Qādi-Köy inhabited exclusively by Hellenes. The town which at the beginning of the sixteenth century had only 400 houses with a purely Turkish population of

2,000 had a century later over 20,000 inhabitants (10,000 Turks, 8,000 Greeks and Hellenes, 2,000 Armenians) and was the most important commercial town next to Trebizond on the north coast of Asia Minor. We have no more recent information.

Bibliography: Ewliya, *Siyāhatnāma*, ii. 77 sq., Constantinople 1314–1318 = *Travels*, ii. 39 sq.; Hādījī Khalifa *Ḍihānuṣṣā*, p. 624; Ritter, *Kleinasien*, i. 796–806 (collection of the earlier travellers' notices; to be added: Peyssonel, *Traité sur le Commerce de la Mer Noire*, Paris 1787, ii. 92 sq.; Rottiers, *Itinéraire de Tiflis à Constantinople*, Brussels 1829, p. 247–251; Moltke, *Briefe aus der Türkei*, p. 196 sqq.; A. D. Mordtmann, *Anatolien*, Hannover 1925, p. 80 sqq.; van Lennep, *Travels in little known parts of Asia Minor*, London 1870, i. 38–60; Şakir Shewket, *Tarāḫiṣ-i Türki*, Stambul 1294, p. 89 sqq.; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i. 92–105; v. Flottwell, *Petermann's Mitt.*, Supplement 114, p. 17, 48; Konstantinos N. Papamichalopoulos, *Παράγωγος διὰ τὴν Πόρον*, Athens 1903, p. 311–329 (views and pictures of costumes); *Studia Pontica*, Brussels 1906–1910, ii. 111 sqq., iii. 1 sqq.; *Salmāne* of the wilāyet Trebizond of 1322 A. H., p. 150–160 (views of Trebizond). Plan of the town in the *Planatlas von Kleinasien* of v. Vincke, [F. L.] Fischer and v. Moltke, Berlin 1846–1854, Pl. No. 3. (J. H. MORITSMANN)

AL-SAMT, direction, point of the compass, a term in frequent use in Arab astronomy applied to the length of the arc (angular distance) made by any straight line drawn in the horizon through the position of the observer with respect to the line from east to west. As a circle of altitude of the heavens cuts the horizon along a straight line, such sections in their deviation from the east-west line give the direction by which the altitude is characterised. On vertical walls on which the so-called inclined sundials (*munḥarīfāt*) are marked as well as in turning the face towards Mekka (*qibla*) the definition of *al-samt* is of importance. This is one of the problems of spherical astronomy, which the Arabs were able to solve in quite a number of ways.

The plural of *al-samt* is *al-sumūt*. For this we can quote references from the language of one of the greatest Muslim astronomers, namely Ibn Yūnus († 1009 in Cairo). The title of Chap. xxiv. of his famous Hākimī Tables, for example, is: *Fī ḥḥrāḥ al-ḥaṣṣat Niṣf al-Naḥār li 'l-ḥirāḥ al-ḥaṣṣat min al-ḥirāḥ al-ḥaṣṣat* (Oxford, MS. Hunt. 331, fol. 43'). As will be noticed the adjective *ma'lūma* is in the feminine singular, in keeping with the rules of Arabic grammar. An inexperienced translator of Arabic astronomical texts might very well take a plural like this (*sumūt*) for a singular and translate *al-sumūt* by "direction" instead of "directions". According to Nallino in *R.S.O.*, viii., p. 390 sqq. *sumūt* is a dialectical form of *simūt*. By contraction in Spanish and French *al-simūt* became *azimut* and in this form and with singular meaning the word has passed into western languages so that we now speak of the azimuth of an altitude of the sun or of a wall etc.

The expression *sumūt* (or *sumt*) *al-ra's* means the direction of the head. Later in Europe the qualification *al-ra's* was dropped so that in the French and Spanish spelling only the word *sumt* remained.

Through errors in copying this became *amit*, just as Latin translators of the *astronomy* of al-Farghānī (Alfragani) made *Hemis* and then *Hemis* out of *Him*, *Hem* = Emesa.

Since, as already mentioned, the Arabs measured the azimuth from the east-west line, the meridian (*ḥaṣṣ al-nahār*) came with them to be an azimuth of 90°. Its definition is a necessity for finding one's position so that it is never omitted in any Arabic *siḥf* and even has *ṣawāḥ* specially devoted to it (the writings on this subject by Ibn al-Haitham, *Mémoire sur l'azimut* and *Mémoire sur la détermination de la méridienne avec la dernière exactitude*; cf. F. Woepcke, *L'algèbre d'Omar Alkhaṣṣānī*, Paris 1851, p. 74 and 75, are probably no longer extant).

The arithmetical relation between altitude of the sun and azimuth (when the geographical latitude of the place and the declination of the sun are known) is given in the azimuth-tables (*Djāmil al-azimūt*) which were calculated by various Arab astronomers for the latitude of their homes; cf. e.g. Ibn Yūnus, *Kitāb al-Samt wa 'l-Zill li 'bn Yūnus maḥṣūl dāḥiqatan dāḥiqatan*, MS. Escor., 924.

Bibliography: G. W. S. Beigel, *Bemerkungen über die Gnomik der Araber (Fundgruben des Orients)*, 1809, I. 429; C. A. Nallino, *Etimologia araba e significato di "arab" e di "azimut" con una postilla su "almucantarāt"* in R. S. O., 1919, viii, 389; C. Schoy, *Das 20. Kapitel der grossen Hākimischen Tafeln des Ibn Fāris: Über die Berechnung des Azimuts aus der Höhe und der Höhe aus dem Azimut (Annalen der Hydrographie und maritimen Meteorologie, Hamburg 1920, p. 97—112); do., *Über die Ziehung der Mittagelinie, dem Buche über das Analemma entnommen, zum Beweis dass von Abū 'l-Sūd ad-Dūrī (Ann. d. Hydrogr. u. maritim. Meteorol., 1922, p. 265—272).**

(C. SCHÖY)

SAMUEL. [See *ṢAMŪ'IL*.]

SAMŪM, the name of a hot wind in several Arabic speaking countries. The word occurs in three passages of the *Qur'an*, where it is, however, not especially applied to the wind. *Sūra* 25, 27 it is said that the *Djānn* were created from the fire of *Samūm*. *Sūra* 52, 22 the punishment of the *Samūm* is mentioned; and according to *Sūra* 50, 21 the "people of the left" were dwelling in *Samūm wa-Hamīm*. Apparently Muḥammad applies the term to infernal heat.

The *Hadīth* uses the word in the same sense; yet the meaning "hot wind" is here coming to the front. It is said that Hell takes breath two times a year: "its taking breath in summer is *Samūm*". (Tirmidhī, *Djāhannam*, bāb 9; cf. Ibn Maḥjā, *Zuhd*, bāb 38). In *Pokhārī* we find reference to the opinion that the hot air during the day is called *ḥarūr*, whereas it is called *samūm* at night (*Ḥaṣṣ al-ḥaṣṣ*, bāb 4).

In nearly every traveller's book the *samūm* (*simām*) is mentioned in the sense of the suffocating wind which is also often called *sirocco*. From the innumerable references a few may be picked out. C. M. Doughty mentions it in the neighbourhood of Madā'in Ṣāliḥ as "a droughty southern wind" against which the Beduins "covered their faces, to the eyes, with a lap of the kerchief". He again mentions it between Madā'in and Makkah and tells us that according to the Beduins weak camels may be suffocated by it

(*Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge, 1888, I. 100, 188).

In Mekka the north, north-east and eastwind are called *samūm*. When it blows it makes the impression as if it came from a huge fire through the intermediary of gigantic bellows (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekkanische Sprichwörter und Redensarten*, No. 76). The season in which the sun enters the constellation of the Virgin (August) has an extremely bad reputation in Mekka, because in this time *ḥām*, *wamūd*, *samūm* and *ayyās* blow alternately (*loc. cit.*).

Concerning Egypt, Lane says (*Manners and Customs*, Introduction): "Egypt is also subject particularly during spring and summer, to the hot wind called the "Samoom", which is still more oppressive than the khamseen winds, but of much shorter duration, seldom lasting longer than a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes. It generally proceeds from the south-east, and carries with it clouds of dust and sand".

Concerning Kaṣr-i Shitrīn [q. v.] Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (*Nuḥat al-Kulūb*, transl. Le Strange, Gibb Memorial Fund, vol. xxxii., p. 50) says: "Its climate is unwholesome for in the hot season at most times the (hot) Simum blows".

Maṣ'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, ed. Paris, III. 320 sq. has a legendary report concerning the *Djānn* which according to the verse from the *Qur'an* mentioned above, were created from the fire of the *simūm* (translated by R. Basset, *Mille et un contes, récits & légendes arabes*, Paris 1924, I. 57).

See also A. Muḥil, *Reisen in Arabia Petraea* (Vienna 1907—1908), III. 19.

(A. J. WESSING)

ŠAN, now ŠAN AL-HAḤJĀR, a little village in lower Egypt, in the province of Sharḥiyya in the district of al-'Arīṣ to the south of Lake Manzala on the Baḥr al-Mu'īz (or Muwis), the ancient Tanitic arm. The Arabic name corresponds to the Hebrew Šo'an, the Greek Τάσις and the Coptic Djani.

This town, which was the capital of the dynasty of the Shepherd Kings, had been long in ruins by the time of the Arab conquest. The ancient town, notably the temples, had fallen to pieces and no Arab author mentions them; their remains nevertheless still form the most considerable group of ruins in the Delta. A single text recalls its fame in quoting Šan among the Towns of the Magicians.

A passage in the Chronicle of John of Nikiu (transl. Zotenberg, p. 340) shows that in the seventh century it was a little town, since the same governor administered Kharbata (Farbat = modern Harbat), Šan, Bastā, Balā (= Tārābiya = Copt. *Ṭarabīya*) and Sanḥār. This district really comprised five contiguous pagarchies, *Φαράβου*, *Τάσις*, *Βαστάρου*, *Ἀραβίας* and *Ἰψαυετ*.

The Arab *ḥara*, founded on the pagarchy of *Tāsi*, was called after two places, Šan and Iblīl; the latter, which is found in Coptic in the form

ⲉⲃⲗⲓⲁ, cannot, however, be exactly located. The *ḥara* of Šan and Iblīl contained 46 villages (40 in al-Dimashq) stretching to the north-east up to the Syrian frontier, and included besides Sanḥār (Hephaisos) the towns of al-Faramā (Peluse) and al-'Arīṣ (Rhincolura). The southern boundary ran north of a line Harbat — Fakūs, although

the latter formed part of the *būra* of Tūrahīya. The *būra* of Tūmahī (Tūmahī al-Amīd) bordered it on the west and on the north the *būra* of Şan and Ihlil ended on the banks of the Buhairat Tinnis (Lake Manzala).

We have almost no historical information regarding the town, which had been the see of a Coptic bishop (there is no mention later than the fifth century A.D.). We only know that bodies of the tribes of Khushain, Lakhm and Djudhām settled in this region. The geographer Yāqūt gives no details and one is surprised not to find it mentioned in the censuses of Ibn Mammūn, Ibn Duqmāq and Ibn al-Dīnā, although in quoting the old lists of *būra*'s, al-Kalkashandī says it is unknown. The notice by 'Alī Pāshā Mubārak is simply a translation of an article by Quatremère. It is not known at what period Şan received the surname of al-*Ḥadjār* (Şan 'of the stones'), which is found in Egypt attached to several places near which there are important ruins, e.g. Bahbāṭ al-Ḥadjār (Tæum), Sa' al-Ḥadjār (Salo).

Bibliography: Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, ed. Torrey, p. 142—143; *Synax. éthiop.*, in the *Patrol. or.*, vii. [212], 228; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 99, iii. 364; al-Kalkashandī, *Subḥ al-Aḥḍā*, iii. 386; al-Makrīzī, *Khitaṭ*, ed. Wiet, iii. 194; *Guide Joanne*, p. 372; Baedeker, *Egypt*, p. 172; J. Maspero, *l'Organ. milit. de l'Ég. byzantine*, p. 135—136; J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géogr. de l'Égypte*, p. 2—3, 107, 116, 119, 137, 174—177, 179—180, 183, 184, 186, where the remainder of the literature is given.

(G. Wiet)

SAN STEFANO, in Turkish Aya Stefanos, a little town on the sea of Marmora, twelve miles west of Constantinople. It probably takes its name from an old church (according to von Hammer) but it is not certain whether San Stefano is the ancient Hagios Stephanos, which was one of the places which Mehmed the Conqueror occupied before the investment of Constantinople (Ducas, ed. Bekker, Bonn 1834, p. 258, speaks of the *πύργος τῶν ἁγίων Στεφάνου ἐν πολλῶν*). The Crusaders landed in its neighbourhood on June 23, 1203, before the Latin conquest of Constantinople. San Stefano lay off the great road from Constantinople to Adrianople, which passed through Küçük Çekmedje (Ponte Picolo) 2½ miles to the east of it and has never been of any strategic or economic importance. Ewiyā Çelebi does not mention it. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century wealthy inhabitants of the capital have been building country-houses here so that it has now become a pleasure resort for the citizens of Constantinople, easily reached by railway. The population itself is entirely Greek and numbers about 2000 souls.

The town acquired a place in history by the preliminary peace of San Stefano which was signed there on March 3, 1878, between Turkey (represented by Şafvet Pasha and Sa'd-ullāh Pasha) and Russia (represented by Count Ignatieff and Nelidoff), a truce having previously been agreed upon at Adrianople on the previous January 31.

The Russian headquarters were in San Stefano on this occasion; the house where the treaty was signed has been destroyed by an earthquake. The conditions of peace (text in *Nouvelles Recueil Général de Traité*, 2nd Series, iii. 246—256) were

very harsh for Turkey on account of the great area of territory which was given to the newly formed principality of Bulgaria and the huge indemnity demanded by Russia. The Berlin Congress, summoned on the initiative of England, considerably ameliorated the conditions of the preliminary peace and annulled the latter. Peace with Russia was finally concluded in Constantinople on Feb. 8, 1879.

In 1909 San Stefano was again in the public eye after the Turkish counter-revolution of March, which ultimately led to the deposition of 'Abd-Ḥamīd. On April 19 of this year the first constitutionalist troops hurriedly appeared here from Salonica. Immediately the deputies of the committee '*Ittihad-ı Terakki*' went to San Stefano and constituted the national assembly in the Yacht Club under the presidency of Abu 'l-Diyā Tewfīk Bey, who was succeeded as president by Ahmed Rīfā on April 21. Next day the whole senate joined the assembly which placed all power in the hands of the army. Mahmūd Şewket Pasha became commander-in-chief and on April 24 Constantinople was entirely in the hands of the constitutionalists. During these events the whole Turkish fleet appeared before San Stefano to submit to the army.

Bibliography: von Hammer, *Constantinopoli und der Bosporus*, Pesth 1822, ii. 9 sq.; Sīnī, *Qāmūs al-Aḥḍā*, i. 505; F. Schrader, *Constantinopel*, Tübingen 1917, p. 115; de la Jonquière, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1914, ii. 242 sqq. (J. H. KRAMERS)

ŞAN'A, the capital of Yaman, lies on the eastern Sarāt in a mountain valley which is open to the west as far as the chain which belongs to the Djabal 'Aihān, while immediately to the east the town is overshadowed by the Djabal Nuḥum which rises 1600 feet above it. Its situation is 15° 23' N. Lat. and 44° 12' E. Long. As the town is 7200 feet above sea-level the climate is temperate, particularly as in summer regular winds blow through the day. In winter the temperature falls to zero at night which brings ice, which, however, disappears again with day. In spring and in mid-summer, especially July, it rains a great deal. Very dry summers are a rare but disastrous exception. Two streams run under cover through Şan'a to the Wādī 'l-Kharīd. They are only full after rain. A regular supply of good water is provided by an aqueduct from the Nuḥum. The soil of the plateau is of volcanic origin but earthquakes are very rare (e.g. one in 657 = 1259) and those insignificant. Lava forms the building material of the better houses while the humbler, and even the city wall, are built of mud. The scanty wood supply of the plateau, little *tamarisks* (*talpa*), *dawm*-trees is only of importance as a supply of fuel for the market in Şan'a. Thin transparent sheets of marble are still used, as they once were on the citadel of Ghumdān, as windows in the upper-class houses. The industries for which the town was noted in the middle ages, like the smelting of silver and the manufacture of the once famous Yaman cloths have declined considerably. The short curved Yaman swords generally worn, with hose hilts adorned with silver, are still made there. Large well kept gardens are also found within the formerly more thickly populated town. All the fruits of the temperate zone are cultivated: apricots, peaches, apples, quinces, wine-grapes and fragrant herbs. The

Turks have also acclimated all kinds of vegetables including the potato. The date-palm is only ornamental at this high level. Coffee is grown, notably on the slopes of the Nuḡum.

The present town, the population of which is estimated at 18,000, has three quarters. The Arab quarter stretches from the citadel at the foot of the Nuḡum westwards until it joins up with the once separate suburb Bir al-Aḡḡab with fine gardens and the official buildings and public offices. About 5,000 Jews live away to the west in the crowded Ka' al-Yahūd. Outside the south wall lie the barracks and close to the north wall the tiny town of Shu'ub. Of the dozen gates only four are usually opened. The chief mosque with two minarets, the so-called 'little Ka'ba', probably the old 'Ka'ba' (see below), is almost in the centre of the Arab town, which still contains many palaces built by various ruling families that have succeeded one another here. The most important of these is the residence of the Imāma, Bustān al-Mutawakkil, in the north-west of the Arab town. Among public buildings San'a' has a large hospital, a dispensary, about 12 baths, 3 schools, including a technical school and a printing-press.

The routes for traffic are very difficult through the mountainous country. The descent towards the Red Sea is made towards Hudaida. With a view to safety the roads generally lead round the tops of the valleys, for example the Wādī Ṣunfur with its gentle descent. The road, for example, at Kaḥn Wa'l (Deer-Horn) south of the Djabal Ḥaḡḡir Naḡi Shu'ub rises to about 9,000 feet and then descends to about 5,000, climbing through the passes of the coffee-growing range of Ḥarāz at Manāḡḡa to a height of 7,200 feet again and drops down to the Tihāma just outside of Bāḡil. It takes the regular Turkish post, carried by riding camels in the Sarāt, 21½ to 3 days to cover the distance from San'a' to Hudaida, which is about 100 miles as the crow flies. This route has also a telegraph line which links up with the Syrian-Arabian system. The road to the site of the ancient Ma'rib [q.v.], which is 75 miles E. N. E. in a straight line, and from the region of which salt is still brought to San'a', begins by going round either north or south the outer spurs lying east of the town and then descends to the Djawf through the Wādī Dhāna with its plentiful water-supply. For the road from north to south via Yarim, the ruins of Zafar, Djanad and al-Hūḡa to 'Adan and via Ṣa'da, Bisha and Turaba to Mekka see above, i. 368 *sq.* But the pilgrim and commercial traffic to Mekka instead of following this route through the mountain along, begins by striking straight across in the direction of the Wādī Surūd, and from al-Mahḡam, about 25 miles N. of Hudaida, onwards and then uses the Tihāma road running northwards from 'Adan via Zabid.

Although San'a' is a very ancient town, no mention of it has as yet been found in the Minaean and Sabaean inscriptions so far studied, and there is just a possibility that it is mentioned in the Hīmyar period if the *Ṣa'u* mentioned in the inscription Glaser 424, line 13, is our San'a'; this inscription would date from the middle of the first century A.D. If the king of Saba' and Dhū Raldān in line 3, Ilḡharḡ Yaḡḡib, who wins a victory at or over *Ṣa'u*, can be identified with the Elīzar of the *Periplus maris Erythraei*, § 26 (see E. Glaser, *Die Abessinier in Arabien und Afrika*, 1895,

p. 117 *sqq.*; M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient*, 1909, ii. 150 *sqq.*). Legend and poetry have more to tell us, inspired by the vast ruins of the castle of Ghumḡān [q.v.]. Shem was the builder of the town and castle and Azāl their ancient name. As this latter was possibly only taken at a later date by Jews and Muslims from Genesis, x. 27, the suggestion that in San'a' we have the Uzal of the Bible is as uncertain as Sprenger's explanation (*Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, 1875, § 294) of San'a' as the *Menambis basilium* of Ptolemy, *Geogr.* book vi., chap. vii., § 38, or Glaser's assertion (*op. cit.*, p. 122, and *Skizze d. Gesch. u. Geogr. Arabiens*, ii. [1890], p. 310, 427) that the old name was Tufīḡ and that the present name has been brought from the region of Ma'rib.

It was only when with the Abyssinian invasion Yaman became involved in the struggle for world supremacy between Rome and Persia that San'a' is definitely known to have assumed the prominent part which it henceforth played down to the present day in Upper Yaman and with occasional interruptions in the whole of Yaman. Only a few of the events of these fourteen centuries, in which the history of Yaman is reflected in the story of this single town, can be briefly given. About 530 A.D. after the overthrow of the Jewish king Dhū Nuwās, who is said to have persecuted the Christians in San'a' also, Abrahā arose and after disposing of his Abyssinian rival Arḡāḡ made the town the seat of the Abyssinian viceroy. He enriched the town with the Christian cathedral, the Ka'la or Kulala (*ekklesia*). The materials are said to have been brought from the ruins of Ma'rib and the workmen and the mosaics to have been sent by the Byzantine emperor. Summoned by the old Yamanī ruling family of Dhū Yazan, Wahraz, Khusrāw I Anūsharwan's general, about 570 drove the son and second successor of Abrahā, Masrūḡ, from the town and established there at first a system of joint administration with the Dhū Yazan, then Persian rule alone, which was, it is recorded, in the hands of his son, grandson and great-grandson after him. In the year 10 (631), according to some stories two years earlier, the fifth governor, Bāḡḡān, adopted Islām. In the same year 10, Muḡāḡḡir b. Abī Umāya b. al-Mughīra was sent to San'a' to collect the taxes for the Yaman. In the following year the town was for three months in the hands of the anti-prophet 'Abhala b. Ka'b al-Aswad, who entrenched himself in Ghumḡān. On the death of Muḡammad, his rising became merged in the general struggle for the independence of the Yaman, the principal champion of which was again one of the Dhū Yazan, 'Amr b. Ma'dī Karīb. The Medina government found most support with the arabicised Persian nobles, the Abnā' [q.v.]. In 11 (632), Fairūḡ the Dailamī, with the help of al-Muḡāḡḡir, was able to restore Muslim supremacy in San'a' and Upper Yaman. It was probably in this fierce fighting that the fortress of Ghumḡān was destroyed, which, according to the legend, must have been rebuilt once before in the Hīmyar period by 'Amr b. Abī Sharrḡ b. Yaḡḡab, who is known from inscriptions. After the conquest comparative quiet prevailed, particularly as the leaders in Medina dealt gently and tactfully with the notables in and near San'a'. Ya'īḡ b. Munya whom 'Umar I appointed successor to al-Muḡāḡḡir was still in this office on the accession of 'Alī. The latter dismissed him and appointed

'Ubad Allah b. 'Abbas as, at least so al-Ya'kūbī, ii. 208 *sq.*, tells us, Ṭalḥa refused to be moved to the provincial office to San'a', but with al-Zuhair seized all the taxes of the Yaman, which Ya'fā had taken with him from San'a' to Mekka. But 'Ubad Allah or his successor was driven from San'a' by Hus b. Ayyāṣ by order of Mu'awiya I, according to some versions as early as 40 (660), that is even before the assassination of 'Alī.

There are proverbial sayings such as 'father than San'a'' or 'everyone, even the shepherd on the hills of San'a'' (al-Tabarī, i. 2752; iii. 2472). When the centre of Islām was removed to Syria and then to the 'Irāq, Upper Yaman appeared even more remote, and its history was in keeping with this. Three forces were resisting the Caliphate, fighting one another, or in certain cases supporting one another: native princes, ambitious governors and leaders of sects, who taught their views far from the capital and endeavoured to put them into practice by founding states; even the arch-heretic 'Abd Allāh b. Sabā [q.v.] is described as 'one of the men of San'a''. Although lack of notice is no proof of quiet in this remote town, the Umayyads seem to have had a firm grip of San'a'. Even when the Umayyad Caliphate was breaking up, the general Ibn 'Aṭīya was able in 130 (747-748) to send to Marwān II from San'a' the head of 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza, who had set himself up there as Khāridjī caliph. The situation soon became more difficult under the 'Abbāsids. Homage was not paid to al-Hādī at all. Under Ḥārūn al-Raḥīd, his fifth governor, Ḥammīd al-Barbātī, only succeeded after a nine years' struggle in bringing the rebel Ḥamdānīd al-Haiṣam b. 'Abd al-Maḥdīd a prisoner from al-Sarāt to San'a'. At this time, about 188 (803), the town was almost in ruins. Things became no better at the beginning of the third century when the 'Alid Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. Dja'far al-Djazzār (the 'butcher') ruled from San'a' to Mekka, half as an adventurer for his own hand and half as an official governor. The attitude of his opponent, the Wālī Ḥamdawāh b. Māhān, was no less ambiguous. In the end the government had to resort to Turkish praetorian generals. Not later than 256 (869) the Ya'furids of the tribe of the Hīwālī became masters of San'a' by a compromise, it is true, by the terms of which Muḥammad b. Ya'fur gave the caliph al-Mu'tamid mention in the *ḥuṣṣa* and paid tribute to the Ziyādis at Zabīd. Even their rule was often interrupted in the town itself. On the accession of Muḥammad's son, Ibrāhīm, in 279 (892) his palace was set on fire by citizens of the rival tribe of Shihāb and the Abnā', who were usually at enmity with the latter. Two bodies of Shī'īs then attacked San'a'; from the north, from Sa'da, the Zaidī Yahyā b. al-Ḥusain who occupied the town for the first time for four or five months in 288 (901); from the south, with the fortress of al-Mudhakkhira (see above, i. 369a) as his base, the Ḳarmāṭian 'Alī b. al-Faḍl controlled the town at the beginning of 293 (905) at first for two or three months from its castle. In the never-ending struggle between Ya'furids, Zaidīs, Ḳarmāṭians, mutinous clients of the Ya'furids of the family of Ṭarīf, 'Abbāsīd governors and generals, San'a' was taken no less than twenty times in the twelve years from the first entry of Yahyā to the end of the century (913 A.D.); it three times surrendered after negotiations, and was besieged unsuccessfully some

five more times. According to al-Mas'ūdī, ii. 55, San'a' had a quieter and brilliant period after the death of the Ḳarmāṭian, under the Ya'furid As'ad b. Ibrāhīm, from 303-332 (915-943). On his death family dissensions brought back the old turmoil. The Zaidī Mukhtār, grandson of Yahyā, took the town in 345 (956) but was murdered in the same year. The streets and quarters of the town became a battlefield for the feuds of the two tribal groups of Khawāṭin and Ḥamdān. Behind the chief of the latter, al-Dahhāk, was the now restored power of the Ziyādis of Zabīd. But in 377 (987) or 379 (989) the last important Ya'furid of San'a', 'Abd Allāh b. Kaḥṭān, was once more able to exact retribution and destroy Zabīd. 'Abd Allāh had been able to secure the support of the still numerous Ḳarmāṭians and officially recognised the caliphate of the Fāṭimids. The Sulāṭīds followed the same policy; the first of them, 'Alī b. Muḥammad, as Fāṭimid *adā'* made San'a' his headquarters about 453 (1061) and after half a century put an end to the unrest which had been increased by the fact that the Zaidī Imāms, who penetrated among the hostile tribes from Sa'da from time to time, quarrelled among themselves. When Queen Saliyda Ḥurra moved the seat of government to Djabla in Lower Yaman, her relations, the Yāmid, held the town for her for another decade or so, until in 492 (1098) Ḥatīm b. al-Ghāshīm made himself independent there. His dynasty, the Ḥamdānīds, reigned till the invasion of the Yaman by Salāḍīn's brother Turānshāh in 569 (1174), interrupted in the usual way by family quarrels, by another Yāmid interregnum, and especially by the Zaidī Imām of Sa'da and Naḡrān, Aḥmad b. Sulaimān al-Mutawakkil.

But even the fifty-five years of Ayyūbīd rule showed that San'a' could not be held firmly by a distant power. The Ḥamdānīd 'Alī al-Waḥīd b. Ḥatīm, who had established himself in the mountain fortress of Bīrīsh about two hours to the east of San'a', in 583 (1187) destroyed the city walls, the castle and the greater part of the town of San'a'. In 595 (1199) and again in 611 (1214) we find the Imām 'Abd Allāh al-Manṣūr holding the town for a brief period. The suzerainty of the Rastīlids [q.v.] of Ṭa'izz over San'a' began in 626 (1229) at first with vigour. The governors, usually princes or Kurd officers, visited the town and the sultāns themselves often came also. It was at first rarely and only for brief periods captured by the Imāms e.g. in 648 (1250) or 671 (1271). It was not till a century later that Zaidī power was again restored. The Imām Salāḥ b. 'Alī was not only able to make himself secure in San'a' but repeatedly to attack Zabīd, 'Adan and Ṭa'izz from it in the years 777-793 (1375-1391). His successors were able to ward off successfully the new Ṭāhirīd kings of lower Yaman; the first of these, 'Amr b. Ṭāhir b. Mu'awwada was only able to enter the town temporarily in 861 (1456). In 913 (1507) the Kurd al-Ḥusain, admiral of the second-last Mamlūk Sultān Kānsūh [q.v.] al-Ghūrī, took the town to which the latter sent the Mekkan Sharīf Barakāt II b. Muḥammad b. Barakāt I as Wālī in 922 (1516); but in the very next year it was regained by the Imām Yahyā Sharaf al-Dīn. When the Ottomans put an end to the Mamlūk dynasty they had to fight to gain the Mamlūk possessions. In 953 (1546) Özdemir Pāshā entered San'a'; in 1038 (1628) Ḥaidar Pāshā capitulated to the Imām Muḥammad

of the Ḥāsimi line which held the town till 1087 (1676). Then followed a period of fighting among rival Imāms; the native notables, the Bedouin tribes and the never completely exterminated Karīmians thereby gained considerable freedom of action and foreign powers also seized opportunities for intervention. Devastating Bedouin invasions in 1233 (1818) were repeated in 1251 (1835), which induced the Imām al-Nāṣir in 1253 (1836–1837) to negotiate for the sale of the town to the Egyptian Pāshā Meḥmed 'Alī. The Turkish general Kibrīslī Tawfīk Pāshā was admitted to the town by the Imām in 1265 (1849). His troops were massacred within two days and next year the Imām was deposed by the Mekkan Sharif Muḥammad b. 'Awn who intervened. He appointed a rival Imām who was, however, not able to protect the town; in 1267 (1851) and 1269 (1853) the town was again invaded. During the Ottoman reconquest by Muḥtār Pāshā, Šan'ā' was taken by storm in 1288 (1871) and made the capital of the wilāyet of Yaman and headquarters of the viiith Ottoman Army Corps. But the Zaidīs were not disposed of. In the spring of 1905 the Ottomans had to vacate the town and the country round before the Imām Maḥmūd Yahyā b. Ḥamīd al-Dīn. Although they regained it in the autumn, it took fully five years to secure a rather parlous restoration of the Turkish position. After the Great War Maḥmūd Yahyā was recognised as Lord of Šan'ā' and Yaman by the Treaty of Sèvres on Aug. 10, 1920.

In spite of its remoteness and its turbulent history, Šan'ā' has been able to make its contributions to Muslim learning. It was here that 'Abd b. Šarīya, by his historical tales, laid the foundation for the fame which induced Mu'āwiyā I to summon him to his court. His younger colleague Waḥb b. Munabbih, who died in Šan'ā', was also celebrated by his fellow-citizens as their first authority on the Qur'ān. In the second century Šan'ā' was visited by many collectors of traditions, including Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and Yahyā b. Ma'in, who studied with 'Abd al-Razzāk b. Hammām b. Nāfi', who died in Šan'ā' in 211 (827). Šan'ā' is also noted as the place of birth and death of the poet, grammarian and historian, but above all genealogist and geographer, al-Ḥamdānī [q.v.]. Of the Imāms of Šan'ā' very many of them have done something to increase the bulk at least of literature; this very fact provoked the other factions to a similar activity. Christians survived for a long time among the various groups of Muslims and the Jews, or they may have settled again there at the time of the greatest expansion of the Nestorian Church; thus, for example, about 225 (840) Thomas of Margā (*The Book of Governors*, ed. Budge, i. 238) mentions Mār Petrus as contemporary bishop of Yaman and Šan'ā'.

The first European to reach Šan'ā' was the Italian Barthema as a prisoner in 1508. The first explorer whose goal was either Šan'ā' or to reach the country of Ma'rib from it, was Carsten Niebuhr in 1763. While the yield of inscriptions from Šan'ā' and vicinity has been slight, valuable collections of manuscripts were obtained there by Glaser, Landberg, Caprotti and Borchardt.

Bibliography: Šan'ā' is often dealt with by Arab geographers and travellers. In addition to Yāqūt we may mention as valuable for economic details also al-Muḥaddasī (*B. G. A.*, iii.),

Ibn Khordādhbih (*Ibid.*, iv.), Ibn Ḥawqal (*Ibid.*, ii.), Naṣīr-i Khusrāw (ed. Schefer, 1881); Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ed. Defermery and Sanguinetti, 1853–1858; especially al-Ḥamdānī's *Sifat Ḥawāṣir al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller, 1884; D. H. Müller, *Die Burgen und Schlösser Sudarabians* (S. H. A. Wien, vol. xciv. and xcvi.). — In addition to the Arabic universal histories cf. Noldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber v. Zt. der Sasaniden*, Leiden 1879; Kay, *Yaman, its early medieval history*, London 1892; al-Khatrādī, *The pearl-string*, introd. and transl. by Redhouse; ed. Muḥammad 'Asāl in the Gibb Memorial Series, vol. iii.; C. van Ardenonck, *De ophomst van het Zaiditische Imamaat in Yemen*, Leiden 1919; Aḥmad Raḥīd, *Tārīkh-i Yemen wa-Šan'ā'*, Istanbul 1921; M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient*, ii., Leipzig 1909; historical survey in Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mu'ayyad al-Yamanī, *Aḥkām al-Zamān*, MS. Berlin N^o. 9745; al-Kibāl, *Al-Laṣaf al-saniya*, *Ibid.*, N^o. 9746. — C. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien*, Copenhagen 1774, i. 410 sqq.; U. L. Seetzen in F. von Zach, *Monatliche Correspondenz*, 1813, xvii. 180 sqq., xviii. 353 sqq.; Ch. J. Crutten-ton in the *Journal of the London Royal Geogr. Soc.*, 1838, viii.; Jacob Sahr, *Eben Saḥr*, i., Lyck 1866 (Hebrew). See also the narratives of the journeys through Šan'ā' by Arnaud and Halévy in the *J. A.*, 1843 and 1872; Zehmē, *Arabien und die Araber seit hundert Jahren*, Halle 1875, p. 56 sqq.; Manzoni, *El Yemen*, Rome 1884, p. 100 sqq.; Glaser in *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, 1886, xxxiii. 1 sqq.; Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia*, London 1905; H. Burchardt in the *Z. G. Erdk. Berl.*, 1902, p. 593 sqq.; A. J. B. Wavell, *A modern Pilgrim in Mecca and a siege in Sanna*, London 1912, p. 228 sqq. (R. STROTHMANN)

SANAD. [See 188Xb].

SANĀ'Ī, ABU 'L-MARJID MAḤMŪD b. ĀDAM, of Ḡharāf, was one of the most famous poets at the court of the later Ḥamāvid kings, where his contemporaries were Saiyid Ḥasan, 'Uṭmān Muḥtārī, 'Alī Faḥr and Maḥmūd Warrāk. He gained his livelihood as a court poet by writing verses in praise of the king and of the leading men in the state, but one day, overhearing a well-known eccentric of Ḡharāf drink confusion to "the wretched Sanā'ī, who spent his time in composing mendacious verses in praise of the great and would be obliged to remain silent when asked, at the Day of Judgement, what he had done for God", he was overcome with remorse and left Ḡharāf for Marw, where he led the religious life as a disciple of the Shaikh Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf. This occurred in the reign of Ibrāhīm (1059–1099), the eleventh king of the Ḥamāvid dynasty.

Besides a *Diwān*, containing 30,000 verses, Sanā'ī wrote the *Ḥadīqat al-Ḥakīqa*, a didactic poem on morals and religion, of which the doctors of the law at Ḡharāf disapproved so strongly that they sent it to Baghdad, with a view to its condemnation by the leading jurists and theologians of Islām, but were disappointed by a decision which pronounced the book to be orthodox. After this Sanā'ī returned to Ḡharāf, but continued to lead the religious life. [Besides the *Ḥadīqat* Sanā'ī has left six more *Mathnawī's*, viz. *Tarīḥ al-Tahīq*, *Ḡharībūna*, *Sair al-Ḥād ilā 'l-Ma'ād*, *Karūna*, *Ṭibḥūna* and *Aḥlūna*. The *Ḥadīqat*

was commented upon by 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. 'Abd Allāh al-Abbāsī, who wrote in the time of the Mughal Emperor Shāh Jihān].

It is said that Bahrām (1118—1152), the fifteenth king of the Gharnawid dynasty, offered his sister in marriage to Sanā'i, who begged that he might be excused, as he sought neither wealth nor worldly rank. As the year of his death 526 (1131) as well as 576 (1181) is given; the latter is, however, very improbable.

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Editions: *Divān*, Tihārān 1274; *Hadīqat*, Bombay 1275, Lucknow 1304; *The First Book of the Hadīqat 'I-Haqqat... of the Ḥakīm Abū 'I-Majd Majdūd Sanā'i of Ghazna*, ed. and translated by J. Stephenson (Bibl. Indica, New Series, No. 1272), Calcutta 1911.

(T. W. HART)

SANĀM (A., plur. *anām*) is explained in the dictionaries and the commentaries of the Qur'ān as meaning "an object which is worshipped besides God", and it is as a rule distinguished from the word *waṭhan* (plur. *awṭhān*) as being a thing having shape and made of stone, wood or metal, while the latter is almost synonymous with "picture or painting". This is also the explanation given by Ibn al-Kalbi in his *Kiṭāb al-Aṣṇām*. The Arabic dictionaries state further that it is a word of foreign origin, derived from the word *ghanam*, but do not know the language from which it is borrowed. According to the European philologists, it is etymologically identical with Hebrew *selem* "image". A deity named S-l-m occurs in the Aramaic inscription of Tadmūr. Cf. further J. Hehn in *Festschrift-Sachau*, Berlin 1915, p. 36 sqq. The word occurs five times in the Qur'ān (vi. 74; vii. 134; xiv. 38; xxi. 58 and xxvi. 71) and is frequently mentioned in traditions, though not as often as the word *Waṭhan*. From the description of the idols worshipped by the pre-Islamic Arabs, enumerated by Ibn al-Kalbi, the word *Sanām* appears to apply to objects of very varying character. Some were actual sculptures like Hubal, Isāf and Nā'ila; so were the other idols set up round the Ka'ba. Muḥammad when he entered Mekka as victor is stated to have struck them in the eyes with the end of his bow before he had them dragged down and destroyed by fire. Others were trees like al-'Uzā and many were mere stones like al-Lāt. Stones are well-known as objects of worship by the Semites in general and the traditionist al-Dīrīmī states early in the first chapter of his *Muṭamad* that in the time of paganism

the Arabs, whenever they found a stone remarkable for its shape, colour or size, set it up as an object of worship. These stones called *Nuṣub* (plur. *Anṣab*) had libations poured over them and were circumambulated as a special act of worship. There can be no doubt that the Black Stone in the Ka'ba is but a survival of this stone-worship. Ibn al-Kalbi states that the Arabs were not content with setting up stones for idols, but even took such stones with them on their journeys. The word *Sanām*, however, does not mean a "god"; it always appears to have a derogatory meaning. For this reason it is found only very rarely in verses ascribed to poets of the time of paganism. The passages are so few which I have found that I can enumerate them; the verses are by Zaid b. 'Amr b. Nufail (Ibn al-Kalbi, *Kiṭāb al-Aṣṇām*, p. 22, 2 = Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, p. 145, 10), Raḥīd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sulamī (*Aṣṇām*, p. 31, 10 = *Khiṣṣna*, iii. 245, 22), and most instructive of all is the verse of 'Abd b. al-'Ahrā (*Divān*, ed. Lyall, II, verse 6 = *Aṣṇām*, p. 63, 4): "And they took in exchange for their god Yaḥyā an idol". In the poetry after Islām the word is used by al-Kuṭābī (*Divān*, ed. Barth, 23, verse 25) and Ibn Kays al-Rakayyāt (ed. Rhodokanakis, 61, verse 27) in the ordinary meaning of "idol, Götze". The numerous names of Arabic idols with all that can be traced about them in ancient Arabic literature are found in the works named in the bibliography. In the Qur'ān are named as idols of the post Wadd, Suwā', Yaghūth, Ya'ūq and Naṣr. The chief idols still worshipped in the Hijāz at the time of the Prophet were al-'Uzā, al-Lāt, Manāt, which were female godheads, and Hubal, who seems to have been the chief male idol; his statue was of red granite.

The enumeration of the names of the idols does not really belong to this article as the proper name for them is probably covered by the word *Nuṣub*. As deities the various idols had special attendants (*Sādān*, plur. *Sadāna*), whose office was in most cases hereditary and who accepted sacrifices brought by the worshippers, performed the sacrifice and smeared the idol with the blood of the victim. The worship was not continuous, but appears to have been once or twice a year at the beginning of autumn and spring. Then the worshippers in their circumambulation would touch or kiss the idol, the object being to derive from the godhead some of its latent powers. These festivals of worship were the cause of the peculiar Semitic custom of pilgrimages to venerated deities. Though the gods had their special places and were particular to certain tribes, other tribes would come to them from great distances during the so-called Holy Months when warfare was suspended. In this way long before Islām the various Arab tribes maintained continual communications. Growing Islām was from the very beginning intent upon the destruction of all traces of pagan idolatry and was so successful that the antiquarians of the second and third century of the Hijra could glean only very scanty details. Some of the idols were made use of for other purposes, as for example, the idol Dhū 'l-Khalaga, a white piece of marble on which a kind of crown was carved and which was worshipped at Tabāla, a place on the road from Mekka to Yaman, was in the time of Ibn al-Kalbi (about 200 A. H.) used as a stepping-stone under the door of the mosque at Tabāla. Other stones which had been worshipped as idols were actually used as

corner-stones of the Ka'ba and as such we must consider also the Maḥām Ibrāhīm.

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(F. KERNOW)

SANĀR (P., a corruption of *sad anār*), the name given in the reign of Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh of Persia (1212—1250 = 1797—1834) to a silver coin, the half 'abbās or mahmūdī; it weighed 36 grains (2.34 grammes). With its multiples it was abolished at Faṭḥ 'Alī's reform of the currency in the thirtieth year of his reign.

(J. ALLAN)

SANDĀBIL, said to be the capital of China. The name and description of the town in Yāqūt (*Mu'jam*, iii. 451, 5) and Zakariyā al-Ḳazwīnī (*'Adīb al-Maḥallāt*, ii. 30 sq.) are taken from the undoubtedly fraudulent story of his travels by Abū Dulaf Miṣ'ar b. Muḥalbil (see the art. *MIṢ'AR*), who claims to have accompanied an embassy of the Chinese king Kāin b. al-Shāhī to the Sāmānīd Naṣr b. Aḥmad († 331 = 943) from Kharāsān back to China. J. Marquart (*Ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, p. 84 sq., esp. p. 89) endeavours to show that Sandābil and Kan-tou (cf. the art. *KAN-SU*) are identical and that we have to see in the sender of the embassy "not a prince of one of the short-lived dynasties after the fall of the T'ang dynasty but the Khagan of the Uigurs of Kan-tou". This Khagan is said "to have felt threatened by the steadily increasing power of the Kitān", and "to have sought support and an alliance from the powerful Sāmānīd". On the question of the origin of the name Sandābil for Kan-tou, Marquart only gives the suggestion made to him by de Goeje that Abū Dulaf confused Kan-tou with Čing-taṣu (in Marco Polo *Sindufu*), well known as the capital of the province of Szechwan, where a separate dynasty actually did rule at that time. According to Marquart, "the latter town must be considered to have been the starting point of the return journey", which is obviously impossible as the return journey is described as being made by sea. So long as Abū Dulaf's story is not confirmed from any other source, the question will remain unsettled what relation his story of his journey and the alleged reason for it bears to historical facts. Nowhere is there the slightest mention of embassies from China to Kharāsān or vice versa nor of the matrimonial alliance said to have been arranged (Yāqūt, iii. 45, 2).

(W. BARTHOLO)

SANDAL, Sandalwood. According to al-Nawairī, numerous varieties are distinguished. The majority, especially the white, yellow and red kinds, are used for the manufacture of fragrant powders on account of their pleasant smell; they are also used in medicine, while other varieties again are used by turners and furniture-makers or for the manufacture of chessmen, etc. At the present day the *pterocarpus* imported from Southern Asia, the

islands of the Malay Archipelago and Africa is used for fine furniture and the waste as dye-woods.

Bibliography: O. Warburg, *Die Pflanzenwelt*, ii. 220; Abu Manṣūr Muwaffaq, ed. Seligmann, p. 164; transl. by 'Abd al-Ḥalīq Achundow, p. 227; al-Ḳazwīnī, *'Adīb al-Maḥallāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 258; Ibn al-Balīṭī, transl. Leclerc, ii. 383; E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, xlix., *S.B.P.M.S. Erl.*, 1916, p. 38 (al-Nuwairī). (J. ROSKA)

SANDJAK (r., 1) flag, standard, banner (Arabic *ḥudūd*), especially of a large size (more important than the *Ayraf*, Ar. *āya* or 'alam) and suitable for fixing in the ground or hoisted permanently on a monument or a ship; 2) (nautical term) ensign; pennant (*ihindjī sandjak*), starboard; 3) formerly a military *ḥef* or *ḥāḥ* of a certain extent in the Ottoman empire; 4) a Turkish administrative and territorial division; 5) (in the expression *sandjak tiken-i* or *diken-i*, from the Turkish translation of *türkân-i ḥāḥ*, p. 88, 23) a synonym of *sinjan tiken-i* (on this plant see Barbier de Meynard [ii. 101], who gives it as a Persian word).

As al-Kalkashandī pointed out in the xvth century (*Sabḥ al-aḥḍā*, v. 458), *sandjak* comes from the verb *sandj-maḥ* (not *sandjī-maḥ*, as in the author already quoted) which means "to sting, prick, plant, stick a weapon or pointed object in the body of an enemy or in the ground (cf. Sāmī-Bey, *Kamūs-i Türkî*). The form *sandjak* found in Čaghatai (Boudagov) and even in an old Serbian loanword (Miklosich, *Die türkischen Elemente in den südost-europäischen Sprachen*, Vienna 1884, ii. 50) corresponds to the verb *sant* of the Orkhon inscriptions (v. Thomsen, p. 42; Radloff, p. 132). Cf. also F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica*, ii. 78, 30 and 86, 48. In Kirghiz the form used is *ṣandj* (Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, iv. 949) and in Uriankhay *ṣandj* and *ṣandj* (Katanov, *Opis islovedenja*, p. 429 and 779, with the meaning "to prick, stab, erect, fix"). Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī (xiith cent.), *Divān Luḡat al-Turk*, ii. 171, 180, 182 and iii. 310, also gives (iii. 108) *sandj ḡhan* equivalent to *sandjan* (*sinjan*) already quoted, which is a Turkish participle used as the name of a prickly plant.

The word *sandjak* belongs to a family of derivatives which all contain the idea of "point" and mean (the word itself sometimes): *harpoon*, *fork*, *piercing pain*, *colic*. Such are *ṣandj*, *sandjīk*, *sandjī*, *ṣandj* (Tobolsk), *ṣandjī* (Kirghiz), *sandjīk*, *sandj* (whence *sandj-maḥ* in Othmanli). We may add on the authority of Abū 'l-Fidā' and the Turk-Arab glossary published by Houtama, Leiden 1894, p. 80 and p. 29 of the Arabic text, the proper name *Sandjar*, glossed *ṣafan*, in preference to the usually accepted etymology from *Sindjar*, the name of his place of birth (cf. *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, i. 1872; cf. Index under *Sindjar*).

Sandjīk has passed into a certain number of other languages; more recently into the Balkan languages (cf. the work by Miklosich quoted above and Saineanu, *Infuenta Orientalia*) and earlier into Arabic (cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*; cf. also W. Marçais, *Le dialecte arabe de Tlemcen*, Paris 1902, p. 270, 99) and into Persian where, according to the *Burhān-i ḥāḥ*, it means or meant a "flag, a large metal pin intended to keep on the head a kind of hood worn by women"; "a kind of girdle". In Modern Persian *sandjak* (sic) simply means "pin" (in opposition to "needle") (cf. Nicolas,

Dictionnaire français-persan, under the word "pin"). Freytag took *sandjak* for a Persian word and the Turks still keep the orthography which it has in Persian (*s-n-dj-k*) while they write the verb *sandj* with a *şad*. We may note that in Persian *dirafz* "flag" also means "point" (cf. Vulliamy), whence the Ottoman word *dirawîş* (cf. Hind-oghlu s.v. "pointe" and "poignon"). The *Buchārā-i šāfi* gives us a variant of *sandjak* in the form *sandjāq*. If it is not a corruption due to the Persian, we have here another example of a Turkish word preserved through its use in Persian. The word *sandj-ak* is very well explained with the help of the Turkish suffix *-ak* (*-ik*) which makes a passive participle from transitive verbs. *Sandjāq* then would mean "sharpened, fixed". The suffix *ak*, with its tendency to designate place-names (which very well fits a flag "fixed" or able to be fixed) seems to have been in use very early.

The etymological details which are given above without excluding the explanation of *sandjak* by "lance with a pennon" (it is that of al-Kāshgharī who uses the word *ramş*) make very probable the explanation as "flag with a staff sharpened at the foot". Independently of this peculiarity it is difficult to say what was the exact form of the primitive Turkish *sandjak*; did they have a horse's tail (or the tail of a yak of which von Hammer speaks in his definition, *Hist. de l'Empire Ottoman*, xvii. 257) or were they always flags? Were they like the *şalşak* (or *şalşak* mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn (for the references see Dozy, *Supplément*, under the word *şalşak*; it has become *şalşak* by an error in Djewdet Paşa and Ahmed Râim, quoted below in the *Bibliography*)! The meaning of these terms may be more indefinite than we think and varied a great deal with time and place. The word *şalşak* [q.v.] which it was allowed to take in the meaning "horse's tail", meant, according to al-Kāshgharī, not only a "flag of silk or orange brocade" but also "drum", another symbol of sovereignty (i. 169; iii. 92). Ibn Khaldūn confuses the flag with the "parasol" of the prince or *şīr*, better *šār* (Persian pronounced *šār* (al-Kāshgharī, i. 340), then *šār* "tent", by the Turks who have preferred these words to their old *šāra* "silk parasol of the Turkish Khaghans" (al-Kāshgharī, ii. 149, 15 and iii. 45, 15; cf. the Ottoman *şāra* "a place in the sun" and a passage in Rabghuzi in Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, iv. 59 under *şāra*!).

Whatever its primitive form was, the *sandjak* appears among the Seldjūks as an insignium of royalty. In the Turkish text of Ibn Bihl (ed. Houtsma, *Recueil*, vol. iii.) the word *sandjak* is always found in connection with the title Sultān (*Sultān-ih sandjak*). This standard is mentioned (p. 135—136, 144, 169, 170, 289 and 357) à propos of different sieges of strong places on the walls of which it was placed after capitulation. Sometimes (p. 135—136) it is the besieged themselves who, ready to surrender and no doubt seeing in this banner a guarantee of protection against pillaging, asked for a *sandjak* to be sent. It is not, however, necessary that the Sultān himself should be present and the historian (p. 357) shows us the *beylerbeyi* setting out on an expedition with the standard of the sovereign.

For a long time the neighbouring princes and vassals of the Seldjūks respected their privilege but the Atabeg of Moḡul, Saif al-Dīn al-Ghāzi, son

of 'Imād al-Dīn al-Zangī (d. Nov., 1149), was the first of the *aṭab al-aṭraf* to have a *sandjak* carried unfurled over his head (Ibn al-Aṭir, *Hist. des Atabek de Mossoul, Recueil des hist. or. des Croisades*, vol. ii., part 2, p. 167).

The Aiyūbids followed the example of their predecessors.

In 1198 the Sultān of Egypt, al-Malik al-'Aṣir, conferred on his nephew al-Malik al-Mu'izzam 'Isā when he became prince of Damascus "the *sandjak* and the *limā* to display throughout the world" (*Kitāb al-Kawāṭin, Rec. des Hist. des Croisades*, v. 117). In 1250 Albak the Turkoman, married to an Aiyūbid princess and proclaimed Sultān of Egypt, took part in a procession in which the royal banners were unfurled for him (*al-sandjak al-sultāniyya*; cf. Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annales*, ed. Reiske, iv. 516 of the Arabic text and 515 of the Latin translation). Among the Mamlūks, a distinction was made between the *sandjakdār* "royal standard-bearer" and the ordinary *alamdār* (Gandefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, p. xvii); afterwards, in Turkish Algeria this distinction disappeared; cf. *Mélanges René Basset*, ii. 35 (under the press).

At the end of the Seldjūk empire in Asia Minor the *sandjak* became one of the insignia of investiture of new sovereigns, notably of the first Ottoman Sultān. In 1280 after the capture of Karadja Hissār by 'Othmān, Sultān 'Alā' al-Dīn II to celebrate this conquest sent him by the hands of Ak Timur, 'Othmān's nephew, a *sandjak* "with its accessories" (*sandjak yaraghi*), as 'Ashk Paşa Zade tells us (ed. Constantinople 1332, p. 8 iv.); Negiri prefers another version (cf. Noldeke, *Z. D. M. G.*, 1859, xiii. 207—209). 'Ashk Paşa Zade mentions in this connection that 'Othmān thus became *sandjak-beyi* and we know that it was from this time that the *ḥanṣa* was read in his name (for the first time at Karadja Hissār by Dursun Fakih). According to the same authority, the *sandjak* was made of cloth of Philadelphia or Ala Shehir (p. 56).

When they became independent in their turn, the Ottoman princes appointed *sandjak-beyi* in larger and larger numbers and the *sandjak*, somewhat diminished in splendour, became identified with the territory over which it floated; it appears henceforth as the name of a political division partaking both of the nature of the military fief and of the administrative representative of the central authority. The *sandjak* generally carried with it a *dirlik* (for *dirlik*, "life, livelihood, fief") or, more accurately, a *ḥāṣṣ* (a name given to a *dirlik* of an annual revenue of over 100,000 aspers). Above were the larger *ḥāṣṣ*'s of the *beylerbeyi* or governors-general of the provinces; below the smaller fiefs, the *siyāmet*, *amār* and *ḥāṣṣ*, to give them in their order of importance. Sometimes the Sultān granted a *sandjak* to their children (d'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.*, p. 755; this is what was called a *sandjak-ā ḥāṣṣ*, Selānikī, p. 286) or to a *beylerbeyi* or retired vizier (for examples see Na'ima, ii. 23, iii. 336 and passim). The *sandjak-bey* or *amir-limā* who had a right to a horse's tail were not in principal the owners of their districts; they had the "possession" or *teqarruf* of them, and were their *mütearrif*. This term used from the xviith century (Na'ima, ii. 23, 9, 179, 11 and passim) was destined to become a rank in the administrative service (cf. below).

Sometimes the *sandjak-beyi* was only an official

appointed and given an annual salary (*uḥṣa*), which meant that his *sandjak* was awarded by *ṣāliḥiyya*. This was the case with all the *sandjak*'s of the remoter *eyālet*'s of Asia, like Baghdad, Bagra, Yemen, Habesh, Lahsa and Egypt, and for three *sandjak*'s (maritime) in each of the *eyālet*'s of the archipelago and of Cyprus (Hādidi Khalifa, *Tahsil il-Kibār*, f. 67). At the beginning of the sixteenth century there were 290 *sandjak*'s divided among 25 *eyālet*'s.

In case of mobilisation, the *sandjak-bey*s became military officer (*mir āḥṣā*) and presented themselves at the appointed place of assembly (e.g. the plain of Iaakli in Rumelia) with the troops collected by their vassals or subjects. The maritime *sandjak*'s were bound to equip a ship and make war by sea (*deryā-ya eḥṣā*), sometimes at the same time as by land (*ḥarā-ya eḥṣā*). The word *sandjak* passed into the sea-faring language of the Turks and Arabs with considerable variations of meaning which can be found in the various dictionaries, notably that of 'Alī Selyidi, *Reṣmīl-i kizām-i 'Oṭmāni*, Constantinople 1325, p. 55 I (cf. for Arabic Ben Cheneb, *Mots turcs*, p. 48; Brunot, *Notes sur le vocab. mar. de Kabat*, Paris 1920, p. 80; see also J.A., Jan.-March, 1922, p. 109). By an archaism which has survived in administrative language the word *sandjak* has continued to be used in the sense of "symbol of investiture" for a *ḥayriyya* for example (Wāṣif, *Tārīkh*, ed. of 1219, l. 81, copy of a firmān of 1175 A.H.) without taking account of the general meaning of "flag".

According to Mouradji d'Ohsson, who does not give his authority, it was Murād III (1574-1595) who ordered the division of the empire into *eyālet*'s and *ḥiṣṣa*'s (*Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, vii. (1824) p. 276-277; cf. von Hammer, *Hist. de l'Emp. Ott.*, vii. 288-289, 46). Neither Pözewi nor Selānikī mention these reforms.

Sulṭān Mahmūd II, having just after the destruction of the Janissaries (1826) suppressed the feudal military organisation, which died a natural death in 1837, the *sandjak* or *ḥiṣṣa* or *müctarriḥlik* definitely acquired the meaning of an administrative subdivision pure and simple. The *müctarriḥ*, governor of the *sandjak*, was henceforth a civil official, distinct from the *mir āḥṣā* who now became the modern "general of brigade".

The division into *sandjak*'s or *ḥiṣṣa*'s was maintained by the law of the *vilāyet*'s (the former *eyālet*'s) of Nov. 8, 1864 (the administration of the *sandjak*'s is dealt with in Chapters iv. and v., articles 29-37) and by that of Jan. 21, 1871 (Administration of the *sandjak*'s, articles 35-42 and 90).

The government of the Grand National Assembly abolished the *sandjak* or *ḥiṣṣa* by the fundamental law of Jan. 20, 1921, called *teşkilat-ı idāriyye*, of which article 10 runs: "Turkey is divided, in accordance with geographical necessities or economic relations, into *vilāyet*'s and the *vilāyet*'s into *ḥāḍḍa*'s. The latter are divided into *nāhiya*'s". In practice this arrangement was carried out by turning the old *sandjak*'s into *vilāyet*'s.

Bibliography: Besides the works quoted above see: *Tārīkh-i Dīwānet*, Constantinople 1309, i. 30-33 (quoting Wāṣif Efendi, but none of the printed editions of this historian gives this chapter); Ahmed Rāsim, *Oṭmānīl-i Bāḥi*, Constantinople 1326-1328, p. 7; J. von Hammer, *Der osm. Reiches Staatsverfassung*, Vienna 1815, ii. 244-280; Muhammad al-Sarakhsī, *Sharḥ al-Sair al-Kabir* by Muhammad

al-Shalbānī, Turkish transl. by Mehmet Manih Aintābi, Constantinople 1241 (1825), l. 43-44; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḥadditha*, ed. Quatremère, 1866, i/ii. 46 *seq.*; transl. de Slane, Paris 1865, p. 48 *seq.*; Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie*, Paris 1853-1854, l. 44 *seq.*; Belin, *Des régimes des fiefs militaires en Turquie*, Paris 1870 (Cl. 7. A. of the same year); George Young, *Corps de droit ottoman*, Oxford 1905, i. 36, 40, 41, 47, 36, 65 (for the modern laws). (J. DENV)

SANDJAK SHARIF (r. "illustrious banner"), the standard of the Prophet preserved in Constantinople. It is 12 feet long, surmounted by a silver cube containing a copy of the Kur'an said to have been written by the Caliph 'Uthmān himself. It is covered with another flag attributed to the Caliph 'Umar and with 40 covers of taffeta, the whole being in a case of green cloth; in the centre of all these covers is a little copy of the Kur'an attributed to 'Umar and a silver key of the Ka'ba presented by the Sharif of Mekka to Selīm I.

This standard brought from Egypt by this Sulṭān in 923 (1517) was at first deposited in Damascus to accompany the caravan to Mekka; then, in the reign of Sulṭān Murād III, in 1003 (1594) the Grand Vizier Kodja Sinān Paḥa to settle the continual mutinies in the army had it brought via Gallipoli escorted by 1,000 Janissaries of the Syrian garrisons to the camp in Hungary where it made a great sensation among the troops. Taken to the capital it left again next year. Finally in 1005 (1597) Sulṭān Muḥammad III going to war had this banner carried in front of him, under the care of 300 amīrs at the head of whom marched the Naḥḥ al-Aḥrāf and the Molla of Calata.

Since then the banner has never left the Serail except when the Sulṭān or Grand Vizier commanded an army in person. A tent was reserved for it; it was mounted on a staff of ebony wood ornamented with circles and with silver rings to which the standard was attached. At the end of the campaign it was taken from its fastenings and enclosed in a richly decorated box with many ceremonies, prayers and the burning of incense of aloes and ambergris. It was kept in the palace in a kind of chapel containing other relics of the Prophet such as the *Kāfirka* Sharif [q.v.]. Since the xviiith century 40 officers from the corps of the *Harām-ḥāḍḍi* have been on guard over it with the title of *Sandjak-dār*.

On Dhū 'l-Kāda 18, 1182 (March 29, 1769), the Sulṭān Muṣṭafā III having sent the standard to the Grand Vizier Muḥammad Paḥa with great pomp, the ceremony provoked massacres in which there were Christian victims and even Europeans of high rank. The Austrian internuncio, M. de Brognard, only escaped with difficulty from the fury of the fanatics. On Dhū 'l-Kāda 9, 1241 (June 15, 1826), the Janissaries having mutinied, Sulṭān Mahmūd II took the *sandjak sharif* in person and gave it to his defenders who planted it on the pulpit of the mosque of Sulṭān Ahmad III. This move contributed remarkably to the success of the reformer Sulṭān's enterprise.

Bibliography: Eḥād Efendi, *Usul-i Zafar*, transl. Cassin de Perceval, Paris 1833, p. 135 *seq.*; d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'emp. ottoman*, Paris 1788, ii. 379 *seq.*; von Hammer, *Hist. de l'emp. ottoman*, vii. 277, 303, xvi. 203 *seq.* (CL. HUARY)

SANDJĀN RĀY (or **SUNJĀN RĀY**; cf. Rieu, I. 230; iii. 908), author of a general history of India up to the early part of the reign of Aurangzeb [q. v.], entitled *Kābulāt al-Tawārīkh*. Nothing is known of his life except the few facts that he mentions himself and the remarks added by transcribers of his book. In his preface (lith. ed., p. 6, 12) he tells us that from his youth upwards he had followed "the profession of drafting letters i. e. of a *Munshi*" under administrative and revenue officials; he was born at Butāla in the Pandjāb (p. 71, 20); he had visited Kābul (p. 86), possibly Thatta (p. 60, 6), and the Pindjāw Gardens at the foot of the Himalayas (p. 35, 16). He based his *Kābulāt* on a number of Persian historical works, which he enumerates, and having revised it two or three times completed it, after two years' labour, in the 40th year of Aurangzeb's reign, 1107 (1695). But the narrative ends with the events of 1068 (1658). His copyists tell us that he was a *Khatrī* (Bhandārī or Dhīr), and one states that he was proficient in Hindi, Persian and Sanskrit (Rieu, i. 230, where the passage cited is obviously corrupt); there is, however, no other evidence of the author's knowledge of Sanskrit. The work claims to be only an "abridgement of histories", but is of special interest as being written by a Hindu; it contains a valuable section on geography, the author being particularly well-informed about the Pandjāb.

Much of the *Kābulāt* was incorporated in their own works by the authors of the *Siyar al-Muta'akhkhirin* (Elliot, viii. 194) and the *Akhbar-i Mahabbat* (id., viii. 376). The *Arā'ih-i Mahall* by Afāqs [q. v.] is an adaptation of it in Urdu.

Bibliography: *Kābulāt al-Tawārīkh*, ed. M. Zafar Hasan (lithographed, Delhi 1918, with an introduction, notes and index); H. Beveridge, *The Khaldāt al-Tawārīkh*, *J. R. A. S.*, 1894, p. 733—768; 1895, p. 211; Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, viii. 5—12; Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, i. 230; G. Sarkar, *India of Aurangzeb*, p. xi. 177, 1—122, Calcutta 1901.

(MUHAMMAD SHAY')
(MUHAMMAD SHAY')

SANDJĀR b. MALIK SHĀH NAṢIR AL-DĪN (afterwards MU'IZZ AL-DĪN) ABU 'L-HĀTITH, a Saljūq Sulṭān. According to the usual statement, he was born on Raddjāb 25, 479 (Nov. 5, 1086), according to some, however, two years earlier, on Raddjāb 25, 477 (Nov. 27, 1084). His muhammalian name was Ahmad; on the name Sandjār, see p. 148b. After the assassination of his uncle Arslān Arghūn [q. v.] in 490 (Dec. 1096), the young Sandjār was appointed governor of Khurāsān by his brother Barkiyārūk [q. v.]. Some time afterwards, however, the third brother, Muhammad, rebelled against Barkiyārūk; in Raddjāb, 493 (May—June, 1100), the latter was defeated and had to retire to Khurāsān. In the meanwhile Sandjār had taken the side of Muhammad, who was his brother on his mother's side also and when Barkiyārūk made an alliance with the Amir Dādū, who ruled Tabaristān, Djurdjān and a part of Khurāsān, Sandjār took the field against the combination and inflicted a severe defeat on them. In the events that followed, Sandjār stood loyally by his brother Muhammad. During the war between Barkiyārūk and Muhammad, Badr Khān, lord of Samarkand, tried to take advantage of the absence of Sandjār to extend his rule over Khurāsān, having come to an understanding with one of Sandjār's amirs named Kundoqdī, but was captured and put to death in 495 (1101/1102), whereupon Sandjār appointed his sister's son Muhammad Arslān Khān b. Sulaimān b. Boghrā Khān as prince of Samarkand and the provinces on the Djalīn. Sandjār also came into conflict with the Ghaznawid Arslān Shāh b. Mas'ūd [q. v.]. The latter captured Ghazna (510 = 1117) and installed Bahram-shāh (see the art. GHAZNAWIDS) as Sulṭān under Saljūq suzerainty. After the death of Sulṭān Muhammad on Dhu 'l-Hijja 24, 511 (April 18, 1118), the sulṭānate was to go to his son Mahmūd, in accordance with his testamentary instructions; but neither Mahmūd's brother Mas'ūd, lord of al-Mawwīl and Aghar-baidjān, nor Sandjār were satisfied with this arrangement. Mahmūd was able without much difficulty to come to an arrangement with Mas'ūd but it was more difficult to satisfy Sandjār. The latter left Khurāsān with a large army and on Djumādā I 2, 513 (Aug. 11, 1119), a battle was fought near Sāwa. Victory at first inclined to the side of Mahmūd, but as his troops were thrown into confusion by Sandjār's elephants, the battle ended in the complete rout of the former. After long negotiations an agreement was reached by which Mahmūd was recognised as governor of the 'Irāk with the exception of al-Raiy, but Sandjār's name was to be mentioned first in the *khutba*. When Muhammad Arslān Khān of Samarkand became crippled he handed over the government to his son Naṣr Khān. The latter was soon afterwards murdered, whereupon his father appealed for assistance to Sandjār. Before the Sulṭān arrived in Samarkand a brother of Naṣr Khān's had succeeded in putting down the rebellion, whereupon Arslān Khān sent to Sandjār and endeavoured to persuade him to go back. But this aroused the anger of Sandjār, who at the same time suspected Arslān Khān of having designs on his life so that he laid siege to Arslān Khān in the fortress in which he had taken refuge. When Arslān Khān was forced to surrender in Rabi' I, 524 (Febr./March, 1130), Sandjār gave him his life but appointed the Amir Husain (or Hasan) Tegin and on his death soon after Mahmūd b. Muhammad Khān b. Sulaimān prince of Samarkand. In Shawwāl, 525 (Sept., 1131), Sulṭān Mahmūd died. According to his last will, his son Dā'ūd was to succeed him, but his two uncles, Saljūq and Mas'ūd, also set up as claimants.

In Djumādā I, 526 (March/April, 1132), the contesting parties agreed that Mas'ūd should be recognised as Sulṭān and Saljūq as heir apparent, while the administration of the 'Irāk was to be left to the Caliph al-Mustashīd. But Sandjār was not at all satisfied with this arrangement. On the contrary he proclaimed Taghril b. Muhammad, who was with him in Khurāsān, as Mahmūd's successor and made an alliance with 'Imād al-Dīn Zankī, whom he appointed governor of Baghdad, and Dubais b. Sadāka [q. v.], who received the principality of al-Hilla. War was now inevitable. On Raddjāb 8, 526 (May 25, 1132), Mas'ūd was defeated by Sandjār at Dinawar, whereupon the latter retreated to Khurāsān. In Dhu 'l-Kāda, 529 (Aug./Sept., 1135), he set out against Ghazna because Bahram-shāh was endeavouring to make himself independent. But this affair was settled without bloodshed. Bahram-shāh submitted and

was pardoned. Sandjar also became involved in a long struggle with Atis b. Muhammad [q. v.], lord of Kh̄arizm. The Kara-Khitai also endeavoured to take the town of Samarkand whereupon Sandjar crossed the Djaḥān at the head of a large army. On Safar 5, 536 (Sept. 9, 1141), however, he was defeated and had to take to flight, thus losing the whole of Transoxania. On Sandjar's struggle with the Gh̄birid Husain see the art. *ḤASHANBŌZ* and *GHŌRĪK*. In 548 (1153) the Gh̄uz [q. v.] also rose. Sandjar took the field against them but was defeated and taken prisoner and only obtained his release in Ramaḍān, 551 (Oct./Nov., 1156). He died on Rabi' I 26, 552 (May 8, 1157). After the death of this clear-sighted and vigorous ruler the Saljūq empire began rapidly to approach its dissolution.

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SANHĀDJA (Ibn Khaldūn tells us that the pronunciation of the word approaches *Zanūga*; both forms are still known. On the other hand we know that the *Sanhādja* have given their name to the Senegal which bordered on their territory). The *Sanhādja* are one of the branches or one of the great confederations of the Berber people. According to the theories of the western Muhammadan genealogists, they are descended by *Sanhādja* from Bernes b. Berr like the Ketāma of Little Kabylia and the Maḥmūda of the extreme Maghrib. No criterion, linguistic or other, has so far been able to justify this grouping. We do not know what was the kind of life led by the *Sanhādja* in ancient times and where they lived. In the course of the middle ages their name frequently appears; they were very numerous; their territory extended all over both Maghrib and the Sahara. Among them were great nomads (some still are to this day, notably the Tuḥfeg of Hoggar) and settled tribes, of whom it is not possible to assert that they previously led a nomadic life; such are the Telkātā. The *Sanhādja* are contrasted with the other great group, that of *Zenāta* [q. v.] who in the latter part of the middle ages succeeded in supplanting them. The *Sanhādja* reached their zenith in the first half of the middle ages or more exactly in the xth—xvth centuries (ivth—vith A. H.). This is the period when those whom Ibn Khaldūn considers *Sanhādja* of the first and second race appear in the light of history. We must, of course, use the term race with very great reservations. In any case it should be observed that several times the *Sanhādja* of one of the groups, wishing to secure the help of the *Sanhādja* of another group, appealed to the sense of solidarity due to common origin.

The first race, that of the Telkātā, in the tenth century occupied that part of the Central Maghrib which now corresponds to the department of Constantine without the Kabylia. The settled tribes and especially the descendants of the Banū Ziri

founded or ruled over centres of which the chief was Ashir [q. v.] in the south of Algeria. Supporting the policy of the Fātimids of Kairawān they fought during the whole of the tenth century against their neighbours in the west, the *Zenāta*, clients of the Umayyads of Cordova. They moved their action to the east as a result of the departure of the Fātimids to Egypt. The family of Zirids ruled in the name of the Fātimids at Kairawān. A split led to the foundation of the kingdom of the Hammūlids of al-Kal'a [q. v.]. Much weakened from the second half of the eleventh century onwards these two kingdoms disappeared in the middle of the twelfth, when the Almohad thrust into eastern Barbary was made. A little group of *Sanhādja* bearing the name survived into our times in the south-east of Algeria.

The second race of *Sanhādja* is represented by the great nomads who occupied in the xth—xvth centuries the desert between the meridian of Tripoli and the ocean. The more important tribes were the "carriers of *ghāna*", Lamāna and Masāla, who played a considerable part in the religious and political history of Barbary and Spain under the name of Almoravids [q. v.]. Al-Bakri gives us curious details regarding their style of life in the desert, their food and their tactics. The Tuḥfeg form part of this group.

Certain less powerful groups located in the Sā and the adjoining valleys of the Moroccan Atlas belonged to the same *Sanhādja* stock. These are the Lamā and Gazāla nomads and the settled Haḥkūra. The latter joined the Almohad movement.

Finally a third stock of *Sanhādja* is said to have lived scattered in the extreme Maghrib around El-Kear, in the plains of the Shāwīya in the region of Tizi and in the Rif. The *Sanhādja* Boṭṭulja and Uryāghol have remained in the last named place to the present day. The name *Sanhādja* is still borne by one of the two *leff* into which the tribes of Northern Morocco are divided.

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SANTA MARIA DE ALGARVE, or St. Mary of the West, in Arabic *Shantamariyat al-Gharb* (to distinguish it from Santa Maria of the East, in Arabic *Shantamariyat al-Sharq* or *Shantamariyat Ibn Ruḥin*, the modern Albarracín, a town in the province of Teruel in Spain; cf. above, i. 250 sq.), formerly a Muslim town in the south-western part of al-Andalus of which the Portuguese have preserved the Arabic name *Algarve* = *al-Gharb* (cf. above, i. 256b). *Shantamariyat al-Gharb* is usually identified with Faro, a little Portuguese sea-port to the north-west of Cape St. Marie, on the railway from Lisbon to the frontier station of Villareal de São Antonio, 35 miles from the latter. The Arabic ethnic from the name of the town is *Shantamar* (cf. under this name the article on al-'Ajam al-Shantamar).

In the Muslim period, Santa Maria de Algarve belonged to the province of which Silves (Ar. *Shilb*) was the capital. It was a little town of slight importance till the Umayyad Sulaimān al-Musta'īn Billāh entrusted the government to a

man of obscure birth, Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd b. Hārūn, a native of Mérida, about 407 (1016). The latter in his new residence set up as an independent prince and reigned till his death in 434 or 435 (1042–1043). His son Muhammad succeeded him and took the honorific title of al-Mu'tasim, but in 444 (1052) he was deposed by the 'Abdīd Abū 'Amr al-Mu'tasim who annexed the little principality of Santa Maria to the kingdom of Seville. But during the brief period of its independence the two princes who reigned there embellished the town and gave it numerous fine buildings, if we may believe the descriptions by al-Idrīsī, Yaḥyā and al-Kazwī; it had a cathedral-mosque and other places of worship and a church containing very beautiful columns.

Santa Maria de Algarve from the xiith century shared the lot of Seville and with the conquest of Algarve by Sancho II in 1249–1253 it passed finally to the Portuguese.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL.)

SANTAREM, in Arabic Shantarim (ethnic: Shantarim), a town in Portugal in the region of the Estremadura, 41 miles N. N. E. of Lisbon, 350 feet above sea-level on the slope of a hill on the right bank of the Tagus. This town, the ancient Scalabis or Praesidium Iulium of the Romans, takes its name from St. Irene (Santa Irene) who was martyred in 653 and thrown into the river at Thomar 30 miles further up the river; her body stopped before Santarem and the name of the saint became that of the place. All the geographers of Muslim Spain give Santarem as the chief place in the district. According to al-Idrīsī, its citadel on the heights was impregnable; the rest of the town stretched along the Tagus.

Conquered at the same time as the south-west of the Peninsula, it occasionally rebelled against the authority of the Umayyad Caliphs and it was for this reason that it was taken by the Kā'id al-Mu'ad b. al-Yās by order of al-Nāṣir in 316 (928). A few years later, in 327 (938), the town was the scene of the rising by Umayya b. Ishāq against the Caliph 'Abd al-Rahmān III who had just dismissed Umayya's brother al-Mu'ad from the office of vizier which he held. The rebel made an alliance with the king of Leon, Ramiro II, but Santarem was taken from him by the Caliph's men. At the end of the following century the town and its territory became part of the independent kingdom founded by the Afāsids (cf. above, i. 178 sq.) of Badajoz at the same time as Évora and Lisbon. On the fall of this dynasty in 485 (1092/93), Santarem was taken by Alfonso V of Castile, but

recaptured by the Almoravid general Str. b. Abī Bakr b. Tāshīn in 504 (1111), along with Badajoz and the district of Algarve. Its capture was announced to the Almoravid sovereign 'Alī b. Yūsuf in a letter from the celebrated secretary to the court, Ibn 'Abdūn (cf. above, ii. 354 sq.) the text of which has been preserved for us by the historian al-Marrākushī. Santarem remained in the hands of the Muslims till the fall of the Almoravids and was definitely taken by the first king of Portugal, Afonso Henriques in 542 (1147) with other Portuguese cities: Lisbon, Cintra, Alcaet do Sal and Évora.

In 580 (1184) after a raid made by the Christian garrison of Santarem into Ajarufe and the defeat of a Muslim army sent from Seville to retake the lost territory, the Almoḥad Sulṭān Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Mu'min decided to lead a force in person against Portugal and made great preparations with this end in view. Leaving Marrākush at the beginning of the year, he went over to Gibraltar, Algeciras and Seville; thence he marched on Santarem, then very strongly fortified and defended by a numerous garrison. The siege of the town dragged on and as the Almoḥad Sulṭān was wounded, probably from a bolt from a crossbow, and died from his wound on Rabi' II 18, 580 (July 28, 1184), the siege was raised. After that date no further Muslim attempts to retake the town are noted by the historians. Among celebrated Muslims born in Santarem may be mentioned the famous historian Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Bassām born in 542 (1147/48), author of a work entitled *al-Dhakhira* (on him see F. Pons Boigues, *Essays bibliographiques sobre los historiadores y geógrafos arábigo-españoles*, Madrid 1898, p. 208 sq., No. 171) and the poet Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Šāra al-Bakrī al-Shantarīnī, d. at Almeria in 517 (1123–24) (cf. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Cairo, p. 331–332).

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL.)

AL-SANUSI, ABU 'ABD ALLAH MUHAMMAD (for Muhammad) b. YUSUF b. 'UMAR b. SHU'AIN, a learned Ash'ari theologian of Tlemcen, where he was born and died at the age of about 63 on Sunday, Jumādā II 18, 895 (May 9, 1490); his epitaph, however, gives neither day of the week nor day of the month.

He studied Muslim lore as well as mathematics and astronomy in his native town with such teachers as his father Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf, his full brother 'Alī al-Tallūn, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Habbāk, Abū 'I-Hasan al-Kalāsīdī, the famous Ibn Marīk, Kāsim al-Ukhānī, etc. He is said to have gone to Algiers where he studied under 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Thālibī. The scholars of the Maghrib, in whose eyes he was the reviver of Islām at the beginning of the 15th century A.H., all agree in praising his merit, his learning, especially theological, his fear of God and his zeal.

Among his disciples may be mentioned Ibn al-Hādīd al-Yabdarī, Ibn al-'Albās al-Saghīr, Ibn Sa'īd, Abū 'I-Kāsim al-Zawāwī. His works, some of which have acquired great authority in North Africa, are:

1°. *ʿAḥdāt ahl al-tawḥīd al-mukhrījāt min ṭulūmat al-ḥaḥl wa-rīḡāt al-taḥlīd* or *al-ʿAḥdāt al-kubrā*; 2°. *ʿUmdat ahl al-tawḥīd wa 'l-taḥlīd*, commentary on the preceding, publ. with it at Cairo in 1317; 3°. *ʿAḥdāt ahl al-tawḥīd al-qushrā* or *Umm al-barāhīn* and, more briefly, *al-Sanūsiya*, published several times in Cairo and Fās, transl. into German by Ph. Wolff, *El Senusi's Begriffs-entwicklung d. mohammedanischen Glaubensbekenntnisse*, *ar. u. deutsch mit Anm.*, Leipzig 1848; into French by Luciani, *Petit traité de théologie musulmane*, Algiers 1896; Delphin, *La philosophie du Cheikh Senousi d'après son opus de la trad. de la Senousia*, in the *Revue Afr.*, 1898, xlii, No. 231; 4°. Commentary on the *Umm al-barāhīn*, Algiers, Bibl. Nat., No. 653-662, etc.; 5°. *al-ʿAḥdāt al-musāwī* or *al-Sanūsiya al-musāwī*, and 6°. his commentary, Algiers, Bibl. Nat., No. 632 (7°), Tunis 1387-1393; 7°. *al-Minhāj al-ḥadīd fī sharḥ kīfāyat al-murīd*, commentary on the didactic poem *al-Kāfī fī 'ilm al-tawḥīd* (the text of which was published in Tunis in 1311) of Abū 'I-Abbās Ahmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Djazzārī, Brit. Mus., No. 628, 901, 1617 (3°), Paris, No. 1268, Bibl. Khéd., li. 35, Bodl., i. 66, 67, Fās, No. 1571, 1575, 1579, my MS.; 8°. *Sughra 'l-qushrā* and 9°. his commentary publ. in Cairo in 1304, 1322; 10°. *al-Muḥaḍimāt*, publ. on the margin of the preceding with the commentary of al-Bannānī; Luciani, *Les Prolegomènes théologiques de Senousi*, Algiers 1908; 11°. Commentary of the *Muḥaḍimāt*, Algiers, No. 632 (8°), 638 etc.; 12°. *al-Muḥarrik al-mutawḥḥ fī sharḥ farā'id al-hawf*, Algiers, No. 1450 (2°), *J. A.*, 1854, i. 175; 13°. *Muḥḥṭaṭ fī 'ilm al-manāḥik*, and 14°. his commentary, published with glosses by Ibrāhīm al-Badīrī, Cairo 1321; 15°. *Sharḥ muḥmil ḥamūl al-ḥamūl*, commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, Cairo, on the margin of the commentary of al-Ubbī; 16°. *Nuṣrat al-faḥr*, Bibl. Khéd., ii. 172, Tlemcen (madrasa), No. 81, Algiers (Great Mosque), No. 88 (27°); 17°. *Sharḥ aḥmūd Allāh al-ḥamūd*, Tunis, No. 1434(5); 18°. *Kitāb al-ḥaḥḥ*, Bibl. Khéd., vii. 620; 19°. *al-Muḥjarrahāt*, publ. on the margin of *Muḥjarrahāt al-Dīrī*, Dīrī, 1279, Cairo 1316; 20°. *al-Tibb al-Nabawī*, Brit. Mus., 460, 461, Leiden, 1375, Bibl. Khéd., vii. 145; 21°. *Ḥaṣṣa*, Brit. Mus., 119 (2); 22°. *ʿUmdat al-hawī*

ʿalāh *sharḥ* *ḥaḥḥ* *al-ḥamūd* *fī 'ilm al-ḥaḥḥ* by al-Habbāk, Algiers, 1458 (2); 23°. *Sharḥ wāḥīd al-ḥamūd* by al-Hawḍī, Fās, No. 1583, 1585; 24°. *Salawāt*, Bibl. Khéd., vii. 168; 25°. *Sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ* (recession of al-Bīkātī), Algiers, 1307(3), 1382(1); 26°. *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bīkātī*, unfinished (my MS.).

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AL-SANUSI, SIDI MUHAMMAD b. 'ALĪ AL-SANUSI AL-MUḤAḤHĪ AL-HABANĪ AL-IDRĪSĪ, born in 1206 (1791) at Turūh near Mostaganem (Algeria) in a clan of the Khattābīya (Ulad Sīdī Yūsuf) of Zayyānī Herber stock, and died in 1276 (1859) at Dīghabūb (Cyrenaica), the founder of the celebrated modern military brotherhood of the Sanūsiya (the "Senousi").

Taught at first by Abū Rās (d. 1823) and Belgandaz (d. 1829) in his native country he went to live at Fes from 1821 to 1828 where he studied Qur'anic exegesis, tradition, the principles of law and jurisprudence. He then performed the pilgrimage, going via Southern Tunisia and Cairo to Mekka where he lived from 1830 to 1843 (except for a sojourn in Sahia); there in 1837 he founded the first ḥawīya of his order on the Abū Ḥabās.

Returning to the west he could not stay in Cairo but settled in Cyrenaica, where he founded first the ḥawīya of Rafā'a, then of al-Hādī near Derna (Dj. Akhdar), then Temessa, lastly Dīghabūb (1855), which he peopled with liberated slaves. There he died and was buried.

He had two sons: S. Muhammad al-Mahdī (born 1844, d. 1901 at Guro), his successor, and S. Muhammad al-Sharīf (b. 1846, d. 1896). The elder left two sons: S. Muhammad Hīrī (b. 1883, given an estate in the west in 1909; Amir under Italian protection from 1916 to 1923) and S. al-Rīdī. The younger had six sons, S. Ahmad Sharīf (b. 1880; head of the brotherhood from 1901 to 1925; he took the side of Germany, went to Turkey and since 1921 has been conducting a pan-Islamic campaign from Angora), S. Muhammad al-'Abīd (given an estate in the south, in Fezzan, since 1909, he directed the Saharan rising against France in 1916-1918), S. 'Alī al-Khattābī, S. Saīd al-Dīn (president of the Italian Parliament of Cyrenaica in 1921), S. al-Hādī and S. al-Rīdī.

The headquarters of the order after having been at Dīghabūb (1855-1895) were transferred to Kufra (1895), Guro (1899), then back to Kufra

(1902), while the number of *ṣūfiyā's* rose from 22 in 1859 to 100 (1884).

Sidi Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Sanūsī left, in addition to instructions regarding initiation into his order (types of *ṣūf*; *ṣūf*: *ṣūf* *Laff*, repeated a thousand times), four works; one on the *ṣūf*, one on a harmony between the Qur'an and the Ḥadīth (established without taking account of the *ṣūf* of any of the four rites; although the author calls himself a Mālikī, he postulates *ṣūf* and two on mysticism, *Fahrasa*, the enumeration of his "chains of support" (canonical; 150, of whom 64 were mystics) guaranteeing the orthodoxy of his order, and *Saḥāb al-ma'īn fī 'l-ṣūf al-arḥān* containing the *ḥikr* formulae of the "forty" previous orders (see *TARĪḤA*) of which his order was to give the quintessence. This last work is the most curious. Although the statements in it are represented as received by oral initiatory transmission, they are, he confesses, taken from the *Riḥla* of Ḥasan 'Uḍḍaimī, 1113 (1702), imitated by S. Murṭaḍā Zabīdī, in his *Ḥikr al-djāmūn*; the chapter on the *ḥikr* of the Ḥallāḍiyya is found verbatim for word in the *Adḥ al-ḥikr* of Abū Sa'īd Kādīrī, written in India in 1097 (1686) (MS. Calcutta 1280, cf. the Catalogue by Ivanov) which betrays a common source, probably the *ṣūf* of the Ḥamadī Shīnāwī (d. 1028 = 1619).

His claims to the juridical *ṣūf* were dismissed at Cairo in 1843 by the learned Mālikī Muḥammad 'Alī ḥā (ṭakfir); the followers of al-Sanūsī do not observe the Mālikī *ṭakfir*.

Initiated into mysticism at Mostaganem (Kādirīya) and at Fes (Tidjānīya, Taibīya), al-Sanūsī's ideas took definite shape at Mekka, under the influence of his teacher Ḥamad b. Idrīs al-Fāṣī (d. 1837 at Sahla), founder of the Kādirīya-Idrīsīya, the ancestor of the present ruling dynasty of 'Asr and teacher of two other founders of modern brotherhoods (Rashīdīya and Amrighaniya).

Bibliography: For the order see the standard works of H. Duveyrier (1884), Rinn, *Marabouts et Kérouans*, 1884, p. 481—515. On the founder and his family: Muḥammad ben-Osmane el Hachnāchī, *Voyages au pays des Sennoussis*, Paris 1912; A. Le Chatelier, *Les confréries musulmanes du Hedjaz*, Paris 1887, p. 257—258; E. Insabato, *Rassegna contemporanea*, vii, Rome 1913; E. Gracie in *Der Isl.*, Berlin, iii, 141—150, 312—313; D. B. Macdonald in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, s. v. SANUSI, p. 194—196.

SAR (v.) "head, extremity of anything", figuratively "idea". From the meaning "head" comes that of "chief" (Lat. *caput*), especially in derivatives. *Sar-i 'asker* (vulg. *ser-asker*) is among the Ottomans "commander-in-chief", "minister of war", transformed by the Arabs of Tunisia into *Sārī-asker*. *Sar-dār* (q. v.; English transl. *Sirdar*), "general"; *sardār* is the plaited frock coat worn by Persians of the upper classes and by most of the officials (*R. M. M.*, 1914, xxviii, 225, note 2; Brietoux, *Au pays du Lion et du Sélel*, p. 360). *Sar-dās*, "he who risks his head", a name given to the Persian soldiers since the reforms of Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh (Polak, *Persien*, Leipzig 1865, i, 40). *Sarkār*, "superintendent, surveyor", more frequently used simply as a polite form of address = "Sir", "Monsieur", a title given to the official tax collector in the Euphrates region (*R. M. M.*,

1911, xiv, 256). *Sar-kātib*, "chief secretary". *Sar-dān goldī* (Turkish), "he who has renounced his head", a franc-tireur, forlorn hope, marching in the vanguard (Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire turc*, II, 77). *Sar-lamḥa*, illuminated frontispiece of a Persian manuscript. *Sar-andās*, a little rug of felt which is placed on the woollen carpet at one end of the room (Chodzko, *Popular Poetry of Persia*, London 1862, p. 99 note).

(CL. HUARY)

SĀRĀ. [See ISLĀHIM].

SARĀ. [See SERĀY].

SARACENS. The earliest certain mention of this name is found in the work composed by Dioscorides of Anazarbos about the middle of the first century A. D. entitled *περὶ ὕλης ἰατρικῆς*, i. ch. 67 (l. 60 of Wellmann's edition, Leipzig 1909—1914) who describes the resin of bdellium (*mukl*) as a product of a "Saracenic tree" (*ἰσάριον ἀπὸ δάσους Σαρακενῶν*) and adds that it is imported through Petra and is of a quality inferior to Indian bdellium (on this cf. Bretz, *Botanische Forschungen des Alexandererzes*, p. 282 1904). The most recent editor has, against the evidence of all the manuscripts, not only altered the native name *madlakon* given by Dioscorides, which is vouched for by the Hebrew *madlak*, into *madlakon* but also *Σαρακενῶν* into *Ἀραβίων*. In the contemporary *Hist. Nat.* of Pliny the Elder, vi. § 157, ed. Dellefien, the Araceni are mentioned among the Arab tribes of the interior whose lands bordered on the Nabataeans, along with better known names like Taveni (Tayy) and Tamudaei (Thamūd); it is natural to find the Saraceni in these. Ptolemy (middle of the second century A. D.), v. ch. 17, § 3, mentions the district of Sarakeni in Arabia Petraea and locates it west of the "Black Mountains" (*ὄρη τὰ καλοῦμεθα μέλαινα*) which, according to him, stretched from the Gulf of Fasan to Judaea "besides Egypt" (*παρὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον*). On the other hand in vi. ch. 7, § 21 he mentions the Saraceni as a people in the interior of Arabia Felix; according to him, the Skenites and the *Ὀσάιροι* (= 'Ad; var. *Ὀσάιροι*) inhabit the heights towards the north and south of them the Saraceni and the Thamudaei (Thamūd). According to Stephanus Byzantinus, s. v., Saraka is "a district (*χώρα*) beyond the Nabataeans; its inhabitants are called *Σαρακενῶν*"; under *Ταυνοί* i. e. Tayy the same author says that they live south of the Saraceni, giving as authority the Arabian histories of Clippianus and Uranios. If Uranios, Stephen's authority, to whom the statement regarding Saraka must also go back, belongs to the period of the last Diadochi, as von Darnowski (*A. R.*, xi, 239 1904) endeavours to prove, this would be the oldest reference to the Saraceni. In any case, relying on the passages quoted we must seek the original home of the Saraceni on the Sinai Peninsula towards the Egyptian frontier and in the vicinity of the Nabataeans, and B. Moritz has recognised their descendants in the little Beduin tribe of Sawārke, who live at the present day along the coast between Pelusium and Ghazza. These Saraceni in the narrower sense may still be referred to in the letter preserved in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, vi. 42, of the contemporary Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, regarding the Christian persecutions in Egypt in the first year of Trajan Decius (240/250): many Christians took refuge in the "Arabian Mountains", where they were sold

by the Saracen barbarians as slaves. In the different versions of the Christian *Δακτυλογράφη* 245, which is based on the Mosiac genealogies and dates from the third century, in the *Liber Generationis Mundi* and in the *Barbarus Scaliger* (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, vol. ix. of the *Auctores antiquissimi*, p. 107), in the *Chronicon Paschale* (p. 45, ed. Dindorf), in the *Anchoratus* of Epiphanius (p. 113, ed. Holl), the Saraceni and Taiceni are mentioned as people of some importance. In the tractate of Bardasanes *K'pāh d' Nāmāl d' Agēn-wāh* (ed. Cureton, p. 16 of the Syriac text = p. 24 of the translation), which is placed in the beginning of the third century, the Tayōye and Sarākōye, for which the translation of Eusebius gives *Tacel* and *Sapacevel*, are the representatives of the independent nomadic Arab tribes; it seems that about the middle of the third century A. D. the tribe of the Saraceni, hitherto little known, came to the front among the smaller tribes, incorporated them and disturbed the Roman frontier. In the ecclesiastical historians of the fourth century, Eusebius and Hieronymus, the Saraceni are identified with the Ishmaelites of the Bible: they live outside of the province of Arabia in the desert, at Kadesh, in the district of Faran or Midian where Mount Horeb lies, to the east of the Red Sea; they were first of all called Ishmaelites and later Hagarenes and finally Saraceni (Eusebius in the *Onomasticon* composed before 336 under Γαβριλ, Κυδάρ, Μαλδία and Φαζά; Hieronymus in *Eus., Chron.*, ed. Schoene, li. 13: Ismahel, a quā Ismahelitarum gentes, qui postea Hagareni et ad postremum Saraceni dicti = *Chron. Pasch.*, 94, 15; do., on *Jes.*, xlii. 11, ix. 7, Ec., xxvii.; Epiphanius, *Panarion Haer.*, iv. 1, § 7: Ismahel founds Faran in the desert; from him are descended the tribes of the Hagarenes, also called Ishmaelites, who are now called Saraceni). Henceforth the name Saraceni is extended to the other Arab tribes also; the profane historians of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries (Zosimos, Rufius Festus, the Panegyrici, Julianus, Ammianus Marcellinus, the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, who, according to modern research, wrote at the beginning of the fifth century, the *Notitia Dignitatum*, Priscus, Malchus, Nonnosus, Eunapius, Menander Protiktor, Procopius) and Socrates and Sozomenos among ecclesiastical historians avoid the Biblical names and prefer to use the term Saraceni and only occasionally "Arabes", Evagrius exclusively *Σαρακηνά* (cf. Ammianus Marcellinus, xlii. 15, 2: *Scenitae Arabes quos Saracenos nunc appellamus*, and xxiii. 6, 13: *Scenitae Arabes quos Saracenos posteritas appellavit*, word for word also in Malchus, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.*, iv. 112). The names Saraceni *Assanitae* (i. e. Qhassānids) should be noted in Ammianus and Saraceni *Thamudem* in the *Not. Dign. Or.*, Ch. 28. Finally, the Arabs in the north, in Mesopotamia and on the Persian frontier became known as Saraceni (Marcianus Heracl., *Periplus*, Ch. i. § 17: *Espositio totius mundi et gentium*, ch. 20; frequent in Julianus, Ammianus, Procopius, Menander Protiktor etc.).

After the foundation of the Arabian Empire by the successors of the Prophet, the Byzantines call Saraceni all the Muslim peoples subject to the Caliphs, and this name survived into the late Middle Ages even after the decline of the Caliphate of Baghdad, as is shown by the anecdote given by Ibn Battuta (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti,

li. 441), who was greeted in Constantinople by the Emperor as "Sarakeni", that is Muslim. The Saldjūqs and Turks, on the other hand, are called Persians or Hagarenes. The name Saraceni was transmitted by the Byzantines to Western lands through the Crusades and has survived to the present day as the name of the Arab peoples and the products of Eastern lands, as the dictionaries of the Romance amply show.

In striking contrast to the wide distribution of the name Saraceni in the west is the fact that the Arabs themselves do not know the name, either for a small tribe or as a collective name for the North-Arabian tribes. The derivation from *sarafa* "to rob" (as early as Joseph Scaliger) or *sharāf* "east" (Relandus) or even from *sharīk*, as Sprenger suggested, are all to be rejected; besides, the spelling *sarīk* in the Palestinian Talmud and in the Targum Yerushalmi as well as among the Syrians points to *sarāf* as the root, provided that this form is not based on *Sapacevel*, Saracenus. H. Winckler (*Altorient. Forschungen*, li. 1, Ser. I. 74-76) thought he had discovered the word *sharāka* in the meaning "desert-dwellers" in two passages in Sargon's Annals and derived the name Saraceni from this. Hieronymus says in his commentary on Ezekiel: *Agateni qui nunc Saraceni appellantur falso sibi assumpserunt nomen Sarac ut de ingenua et domina videantur generati*; Sozomenos (*Hist. Eccl.*, vi. Ch. 38), Synkellos (ed. Bonn, i. 187) and others have repeated this interpretation of the name; it is once more dish up to the credulous reader as late as the xviiith century in a modern version in the *Travels* of Macarius of Antioch (ed. Balfour, li. 169).

The descriptions given in various late classical authors of the manners and customs of the pre-Islamic Saraceni, e. g. in Ammianus, Sozomenos, Hieronymus (*Vita Malchi*), Procopius, Gazarius, Priscianus and Procopius of Caesarea ought to be collected and annotated.

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(J. H. MORDTMANS)

SARAGOSSA, a town in Spain, capital of the modern province of this name and formerly capital of the kingdom of Aragon, on the right bank of the Ebro 600 feet above sea-level in the centre of a well watered and flourishing region (la Huerta). The modern Spanish name *Zaragoza* corresponds to the Latin *Caesara Augusta*, a name given in 728 A. D. C. to the military colony founded by Augustus on the site of the ancient Salduba of the Iberians. The name of the town passed into Arabic in the form *Sarakusta* (*nishā*: *Sarakust*) probably through the Gothic form *Cesara-gosta*. From the time it was taken by the Muslims until it was regained by the Christians, Saragossa was one of the great cities of the Muslim empire of al-Andalus; its geographical situation gained it the title of "Upper March" (*al-thagh al-ʿala*) of Arab Spain. In the time of al-Idrisi (middle of the twelfth century) it was densely populated; it was known as the "white city" (*al-madīnat al-bayḍā*) from the colour of its ramparts built of blocks of tufa. The fruits of its gardens were

reckoned among the best in al-Andalus. The capes of beaver skin made there were famous throughout the Muhammadan world.

Saragossa fell into the hands of the conquering Arabs in 94=712/3 soon after Toledo. Mūsā b. Nu'ayr, having been rejoined by Ṭāriq, left this last town and advanced on Saragossa which he took at the same time as the villages and *castillos* which surrounded it. According to Isidore of Beja, it was sacked and its inhabitants treated with the utmost cruelty. It was already a Muslim metropolis when, under the emirate of Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Fihri, al-Ṣamāl b. Hātim [q.v.] was appointed governor in 132 (749). He was soon besieged there by Arab rebels and had to abandon the place to one of them. Throughout the second half of the second century A.H., Saragossa saw successive revolts within its walls, which the historians have recorded for us. This is how it came to be in the hands of the local chief al-Husain b. Yahyā al-Kharrādī when the army of Charlemagne besieged it in 778. The Emperor was suddenly summoned away to the banks of the Rhine; he raised the siege and soon afterwards in the pass of Roncevaux, where the Basques had prepared an ambush for him, suffered the fearful disaster the memory of which is immortalised in the *Chanson de Roland*. Two years later, in 164 (780), the Umayyad 'Abd al-Rahmān I marched on Saragossa and captured it. But it was not long before it slipped from the power of the Caliphs and in 175 (791) Hishām had again to besiege it and take it again through his general 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Uthmān. Again in 181 (797) a rebel declared himself independent there and successive Caliphs had regularly to send expeditions to the Upper March of their empire to suppress rebellions — with more or less success.

At the same time (end of the eighth century) a Saragossa family, the Banū Kasi, attained great power in Aragon. They had adopted Islām; one of its members, Mūsā son of Fortunio, son-in-law of the first king of Pampeluna, Iñigo Arista, declared for the Caliph Hishām and surrendered Saragossa to him. Later, in the middle of the ninth century, the head of the family, Mūsā II, was governor of Tudela and commanded the armies of 'Abd al-Rahmān II which raided the frontiers of France. He helped this ruler to drive off the Normans who had landed in Portugal and in 852, the year of accession of the Caliph Muḥammad, he had in his power all the Upper March, with Saragossa, Tudela and Huesca. He lived like a monarch, exchanged presents with Christian kings, for example Charles the Bald of France. But he was defeated in 860 by the King of Leon, Ordoño I, and killed two years later by his son-in-law, the governor of Guadalajara. On his death the Banū Kasi cast off the authority of the Caliph of Cordova and the latter, Muḥammad, to counteract them allied himself with the Tudjibids.

This Arab family, settled in Aragon since the conquest, had its tribal rights recognised and its chief, 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Tudjibī, was officially appointed its head. In 888 on the accession of Sulṭān 'Abd Allāh, the latter learning that a plot was being hatched against him in Saragossa commissioned the son of the Tudjibid chief, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, surnamed al-Anḡar (the "one-eyed") to put the governor of the town to death. The latter did so in 890 and became a by no means too dutiful vassal of the Caliph. He

finally destroyed the last Banū Kasi, whose chief, Muḥammad b. Lope, was killed in 898 below Saragossa. Al-Anḡar died in 924. His son Hishām who succeeded him gave his name to all the family and died in 930. His sons, the Banū Hishām, were well treated by the Caliph 'Abd al-Rahmān III but one of them, Muḥammad, rebelled against him in 934, joined the king of Leon, Ramiro II, and after a pretended submission to the Caliph leagued against him the whole of the north of Spain, including the kingdom of Navarre. 'Abd al-Rahmān set out to overthrow him; he seized Calatayud and then besieged him in Saragossa; Muḥammad b. Hishām capitulated, the Caliph pardoned him and kept him in his governorship. His son Yahyā was general of 'Abd al-Rahmān III and of al-Hakam II in Spain and in Africa and governor of Saragossa from 975.

Later, in the reign of the ḥājjīb al-Mansūr b. Abī 'Āmir, a Tudjibid governor of Saragossa, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muṭarrif b. Muḥammad b. Hishām, hatched a plot against him which was discovered and the conspirator executed in 989.

On the fall of the Umayyads a grandson of the preceding, Yahyā, became governor of the Upper March and had a son al-Mundhir, who after fighting with the Slavs against the Berbers of Spain proclaimed himself king and made an alliance with the Counts of Barcelona and Castile. Under his reign peace reigned in Saragossa. The town became flourishing and populous. The glories of his court were celebrated by poets like Ibn Darrīdj al-Kastālī. Al-Mundhir reigned till 1025.

His son Yahyā who succeeded with the title of al-Muza'far died soon after his accession and was succeeded by his son al-Mundhir II, Mu'izz al-Dawla (420/1029). The latter was killed ten years later by one of his relatives, the general 'Abd Allāh b. al-Hakam, because he refused to recognise the Caliph Hishām II. This 'Abd Allāh tried to seize the authority but rebellion broke out among the people of Saragossa; and the independent governor of Larida, Abū Ayyūb Sulaimān b. Muḥammad b. Hūd arrived quickly to restore order in the city and seized the throne of the principality.

He took the title of al-Musta'in and was the founder of the kingdom of the Banū Hūd (cf. the article Hūd) with Saragossa as capital and ruling the districts of Larida, Tudela and Calatayud. He died in 438 (1046—1047). Son succeeded father as follows: Aḥmad al-Mukṭadir Saif al-Dawla till 474 (1081); Yūsuf al-Mu'tamin till 478 (1085); Aḥmad al-Musta'in II killed in 503 (1110) at the battle of Valtierra won by the Christians. His son 'Abd al-Malik 'Imād al-Dawla reigned in his turn till the final capture of Saragossa by the Christians of Sobrarbe on Ramaḍān 4, 512 (Dec. 19, 1118); he took refuge in Ruada. Unfortunately we have very little detailed information regarding the reigns of these princes and the dates given for them by the historians are not always in agreement. Nine years before it fell into the hands of the Christians, Saragossa had been taken by the Almoravids for Sulṭān 'Alī b. Yūsuf on Dhū l-Ka'da 1, 503 (May 31, 1110).

At the present day very little survives of the Muslim period in Saragossa, which must undoubtedly have been several times rebuilt in the course of these centuries as a result of the strenuous and heroic sieges it had to endure. The "Sec" or

cathedral is built on the site of the former Great Mosque and there can still be seen on the north-eastern façade an ornamentation of bricks and squares of enamelled faience (*azulejos*) which probably dates from the Arab epoch. According to a tradition recorded by certain chroniclers and geographers, this mosque-cathedral was founded by the *ṭābi* [q. v.] Ḥanash b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣan'ānī who died in 100 (718/719); he was buried with one of his companions opposite the *mihrāb*. The mosque was enlarged in 242 (856), in the reign of the Umayyad Caliph Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥakam.

At the present day the most important Arab monument in Saragossa is the palace which bears the name of Aljaferia (no doubt the Arabic al-Djāfariya, from a Djāfar or Ibn Djāfar, whose memory does not seem to have been preserved outside of popular tradition). This palace which has undergone many and far-reaching alterations and was partly destroyed in 1809 is now used as a barracks; it lies as the western end of the town. Of the part dating from the Muslim period there only remains a little oratory 25 yards square with a very pretty dome 45 feet high. It was supported by marble pillars with remarkable capitals, to judge from those that still exist. The *mihrāb* is adorned with a decoration in carved stucco, on a blue ground. Close to the oratory a little tower 80 feet high (called the "troubador's cell") is most probably of the same date. It is probable that the Muhammadan ruins of Aljaferia date from the dynasty of the Banū Ḥūd whose palaces were numerous in Saragossa (we only know the name of one of them, *Dār al-Surūr* ["house of joy"], built by al-Muḥtadī b. Ḥūd). The Aljaferia deserves to be subject of a monograph, for it is a memorial of a period of transition from the beautiful age of the Caliphate of Cordova to the century of the Alhambra.

Among famous Muslims born in Saragossa may be mentioned the great traditionist Abū 'Alī Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Fierro b. Ḥayyūn al-Sadaṭī, known as Ibn Suḥkura, born in 452 (1060) and died "a martyr" at the battle of Cutanda in 514 (1120). It was to his pupils that Ibn al-Abbār in the following century devoted an encyclopaedia (*mu'jam*) published by F. Codera in vol. iv. of his *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispanica* (cf. the references in the *J.A.*, 1923, col. 223 and note 1).

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SARĀI, capital of the Golden Horde; cf. the articles *ḡiḡāḡ* and *MOGOLIA*. The name is in Persian *sarāi* = palace; nevertheless it is frequently written *ṣarāi* in Arabic works. On its foundation by Batu and the name Sarāi Berke see above, i. 653^a and 709^a. The geographers and historians speak only of one town of this name but on the coins we find a New-Sarāi (*Sarāi al-Djādīd*) mentioned: the earliest coin struck in New-Sarāi is dated 710 A.H. The only historical reference to New-Sarāi so far known is the mention of the death of the Khān Özbeg (the date given is 742 A.H.) in New-Sarāi in Shams al-Dīn al-Shudjā'ī al-Misrī and quoting him in Ibn Kāṣī Shuhbā (text in Tiesenhausen, *Shemānīk matnīyeh, otvoryashchaya k istorii volstov Ordū*, p. 254 and 445). Two ruined sites on the Akhtuba, which branches off from the Volga, are regarded as the ruins of Sarāi, now called Tazew and Selitrennoye or Selitrenny Gorodok. Which of the two was the capital of the Golden Horde and when, whether there were one or two Sarāi's (that is whether New-Sarāi was a new part of the town or a town built on another site) are questions often disputed since the xviiith century by scholars and not yet decided even now. The sources are obscure and contradictory on many points; thus the distance given by Abū 'l-Fidā' (and many others) between the mouth of the Volga and Sarāi (2 days' journey) suits Selitrennoye; on the other hand Abū 'l-Fidā' says in the same passage (ed. Reimund, p. 217) that the town is built in a plain (*fi mustaw min al-arḍ*) which is only true of Tazew (Selitrennoye is built on hills). The same information is found in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ed. Desferrery and Sanguinetti, iv. 477: *fi bastin min al-arḍ*); the description by Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Umārī, according to which there was a pond in the middle of the town, also fits Tazew (text by Tiesenhausen, p. 220). The excavations conducted for a series of years (1843-1851) by A. Tereshchenko in and around Tazew show there are certainly the remains of a large town there. It is on the results of these excavations that the view first expressed by Grigoryev as long ago as 1845 is based that the ruins of Sarāi can only be

at Tzarew; and at most at Selitrennoye we have the town built by Išān and later supplanted by the Sarāi of Berke. Under the influence of Grigoryev's pamphlet Solow'yev in his *History of Russia* (edition of the Society "Obšč. Pol'ta", i. 841) located Sarāi at Tzarew and not at Selitrennoye, as Karamzin (vol. iv., note 74; German edition, Riga 1823, iv., note 53, p. 263) had done. The ruins at Selitrennoye have so far been only superficially examined; they occupy almost as large an area as the ruins of Tzarew (both sites are 8 miles long, the ruins of Tzarew $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles broad and at Selitrennoye 2 miles broad) but the finds made there are much less important. The view expressed by G. Sablukov in 1844 (*Očerki selitrennoyego isstoyaniya Kiplakikago tairtwa*, repr. by N. Katanov, Kazan 1895, p. 28) that Selitrennoye is Old-Sarāi and Tzarew New-Sarāi was revived by D. Kobeko (*Zap.*, iv. 267—277) and more recently by T. Balloz (*Starši i Novši Sarāi, stolitāi Zolotoi Ordī*, Kazan 1923); on the other hand A. Spitsin (*Zap.*, xi. 287—290) locates Old-Sarāi at Tzarew and New-Sarāi at Selitrennoye. According to the narrative of a merchant given in Abu 'l-Fida', p. 36, there was a village called Eskei-Yurt ("Old Settlement") on the Akhtaba below Sarāi; this may very well refer to Selitrennoye. The finds of coins show that Selitrennoye was perhaps inhabited before Tzarew and certainly continued to be inhabited much later.

Sarāi was destroyed in 1395 by Tīmūr; the skeletons found by Tereshchenko without heads, hands or feet etc. must be regarded as dating from this destruction. Perhaps the settlement at Selitrennoye again became of more importance as a result. In 1472, Sarāi was ravaged by Russian freebooters from Niarka and is said to have been destroyed in 1480 by a Russian force in combination with a Tatar force from the Crimea. About 1554 at the time of the conquest of Astrakhan by the Russians (cf. above, i. 494b) the towns at Tzarew and Selitrennoye were both already in ruins.

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SARAJEVO. [See SERAJEVO].

SARAKHS, an old town between Mawhād and Marw, where the frontier between modern Persia and Russia turns from E. to S., on the lower course of the Harirūd, which is at this part filled with water for part of the year only and then disappears in the oasis of Tadjān north of Sarakhs. Between the town and Marw lies a part of the desert of Karakūm [q. v.] which belongs to the area of the Teke-Turkomans. The Arab-Persian geographers ascribe the foundation of the town to Kai-Kāwūs, Afrāsiyāb or Dhu 'l-Karnain. The soil is considered good but, as a result of the drought, is devoted to pasture only and there are few settlements in the neighbourhood. Camel-rearing was the principal industry of the inhabitants and the weaving of veils, ribbons etc. was for

a long time prosperous. The town consists of houses of mud or brick without any important public buildings. It was the birth-place of al-Faḍl b. Saḥl, the famous vizier of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn, who is said not to have adopted Islam until 805/806 A.D. and was one of the most influential representatives of the Persian genius. He was murdered in his bath in Sarakhs in 818/819 A.D.; his brother al-Ḥasan died there in 850/851. The physician and mathematician Aḥmad b. al-Taiyib, a pupil of al-Kindī, later the confidant of the Caliph al-Mu'tadid, was also born in Sarakhs.

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AL-SARAKHSI, SHAMS AL-A'IMMA ABU BAKR MUHAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. ABĪ SAḤL, the most important Hanafī lawyer of the fifth century in Mā warā' al-Nahr. Little is known of his life. Probably born in Sarakhs, he studied under 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ḥalwānī († 448 = 1056) in Bukhārā. He then came to the court of the Karakhanids in Uzdjand. There he was thrown into prison by the Khakān Ḥasan, probably because he alone of all the 'Ulamā' stigmatised as illegal the conduct of the ruler when he married his manumitted *umm walad's* without observing the 'idda. Here he languished for over ten years and dictated to his pupils, who sat before his prison, his most important works, the *Mabṣūṭ* (14 vols.), the *Uṣūl al-Fiqh* (2 vols.) and the *Sharḥ al-Siyar al-Kabīr* (in 4 vols., printed at Haidarābād in 1335—1336), entirely from memory without using a book. Parts of the *Mabṣūṭ* are dated from the prison in the years 466 (1073) and 477 (1084). When he had reached the fourth part of the *Siyar* he was released. He completed this work at the court of the Amīr Ḥasan in Marghānān in Djumādā I of the year 480 (Aug. 1087) and died in 483 (1090). His pupils were: Durhān al-A'imma 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Umar b. Māza, the father of al-Sadr al-Shahīd († 536 = 1141), Maḥmūd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Uzdjandī, the grandfather of Kaḥḥān († 592 = 1196), 'Uṭmān b. 'Alī al-Baikandī († 552 = 1157) etc. His *Kitaḥ al-Mabṣūṭ* (vols. 1—30, Cairo 1324—1331) is one of the most comprehensive of the earlier Fiqh-books. It is remarkable for the way in which the author works out general legal principles. Besides the works already mentioned he wrote commentaries on the *Muḥṣaṣṣar* of al-Ṭahāwī († 521 = 933), the *Kitaḥ al-Hiyāl* of al-Khawāṣṣī († 261 = 875; printed in the *Mabṣūṭ*, vol. 30), the *Kitaḥ al-Kash* of al-Shaibānī (printed in the *Mabṣūṭ*, vol. 30) and on numerous other works of al-Shaibānī. His books are still very common in the east; his *Siyar*, for example, is in almost every library.

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SARANDIB. [See CEYLON].

SARĀT, the mountains which run along the western side of the Arabian plateau. Al-Hamdānī, the greatest authority on the Arabian peninsula among the Arab geographers, says that the terminus of the range, which divides the highlands (Nadīd) from the plain (Ghawr, Tihāma) and was therefore also called Hūdīd by the Arabs, are the extreme south of the Yaman and Syria; al-Aṣma'ī makes it stretch to the Armenian mountains. This mountain chain, which al-Hamdānī already knew not to be a single range, but a succession of hills immediately adjoining one another, is, according to the old records, four days' journey in breadth on an average, varying by a day or part of a day here and there. In his description, al-Hamdānī distinguishes the main ridge (ṣāḥr), then the lofty part, not belonging to the main ridge itself (aṣḥā 'l-Sarāt) and the western spurs (awṣaf, ghawr, aṣḥā 'l-Sarāt). The average height of this great range, which the Arabs regarded as created by God to be a backbone for the earth, according to a story recorded by Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib, is 8,500 feet. In the north-west the greatest elevation is the Djabal Dībāgh (7,200 feet), in the south-west there is a series of peaks which reach 10,000 feet, and, as in the case of the Djabal Nabī Shu'ayb, occasionally snow-covered in winter (10,800 feet), the highest peak in the Sarāt forming part of the huge Maṣīna'a massif, even surpasses it. The whole range consists of sedimentary rocks with a substratum of granite and gneiss and numerous volcanic cones between which often stretch wide plains strewn with black lava, which are called *ḥarra* in the northern part of the Arabian peninsula and *ṣaḥr* in South Arabia. To the west the range falls sharply down to the Tihāma, which is a plain sloping from a height of 2,300 feet to sea-level, out of which rise recent volcanic upheavals in the form of peaks. On the east the hills slope gently down to the Persian Gulf. The Sarāt as a whole does not show any marked uniformity of direction but is cut up into large and smaller ranges which intersect in all directions. It is in general treeless and uninviting in appearance with black rocky ravines, ridges, peaks and pinnacles, round and sharp or jagged, showing all possible forms but always bare. There are mountain villages away high up on almost inaccessible heights which consist of stone houses of two to five stories, sometimes square and sometimes round, and form self-contained often quaint citadels, surrounded by yawning gulfs on all sides. Breakneck paths and bridle paths often hardly traceable on the rock lead up to the narrow gates which open into the villages; there are well cultivated fields on the slopes and in the valleys, laboriously erected terraces along the slope sink like steps down the valley. The valuable soil is kept in place by a wall built of large stones, rarely bound with mud and always without lime, and protected from being swept away. The rain-water is fully utilised for these plots and runs from the upper terraces to the lower ones. On these fields, which are protected from the great heat of the sun by shade-giving trees, the best coffee in the world is grown, and grapes and sugar-cane also flourish here. The long chain of the Sarāt is interrupted occasionally by broad plains. For example, the plain of Saḥr runs 15 miles to the south and about 7 miles to the north; the southern tongue of this plain runs after a short interruption through the Naḥīl al-Yaṣalāh into the broad plain

of Ḥamāz, the most fertile part of the Yaman and the richest in water.

The Sarāt owes its origin to those great volcanic convulsions which caused the young tertiary Erythraean subsidences, and created the great fault on which the Arabian desert sank with its hitherto undisturbed horizontal deposits. Weathering, wind-erosion, and erosion by running water then tried their strength on the steep western slope of the tableland which was transformed into a mountain system of erosion or highlands, which can be divided into an inner and an outer system of valleys and is furrowed with numerous valleys which on the western slopes run from east and north-east to west, on the south side run consistently from north to south and south-east and cut the highlands into separate tongue-like peninsulas which are again cut up by smaller valleys, the origin of which probably is also as old as the pluvial period. These side valleys have transformed the Sarāt peninsulas into hills of erosion or chains of hills, which has contributed to the very varied forms of the hills, which in part owe their existence to volcanic forces also, like the necks which often occur.

In summer the western slope of the Sarāt shows very slight variations of temperature; the heat is tropical and rises from 88° F. in June to 99° F. in August; in the winter it reaches a more endurable maximum of 77° F. At night, however, the temperature sinks to 36°—27° F., and in the high mountains in the winter to 23° F. so that the mountain tops are frequently covered with snow. From the middle of June to the end of September is the rainy period. The spring rains fall in April; thunderstorms are not uncommon in the main rainy season and in the winter months water freezes on the higher slopes, especially with a strong east wind, even when the thermometer is several degrees above freezing-point. A further peculiarity of the climate of the Sarāt are the Tihāma fogs which come in summer down to the bottom of the valleys, which the Arabs call *umma* or *subḥānīnī*, and only disappear after the temperature has reached its maximum so that they bring their own mitigation with them, which is exceedingly beneficial to vegetation. The climate of the eastern slopes of the Sarāt is extremely dry in contrast to the very moist climate of the western Sarāt. In Saḥr the relative humidity sinks to 20%. Here also the rainy season falls into two parts (March, and July—September). Throughout the whole year it is possible to sow and reap, which is true not only of cereals but also of vegetables and fruit, which are ready at every season in some one of the numerous sorts. The vine, for example, flourishes all over the mountains of Arabia, although only in the river-valleys. The eastern slope of the Sarāt has an almost European character with respect to agriculture although the good soil is limited to the artificial terraces, which are also artificially irrigated. The valleys which have a perennial water-supply show that incredible wealth in fruit and cereals which was described so enthusiastically by al-Hamdānī. The occurrence of tamarisks, acacias and mimosa is characteristic of the desert-like eastern slopes of the Sarāt, but in addition to the *yāḥ*-tree we also find date-palms, numerous varieties of fruit-trees and the cotton plant as well as a great variety of medicinal and garden plants, among which the aromatic are especially important on the classic soil of Arabia Felix. The celebrated frankincense

tree now only yields resin in a few parts of the Yaman; on the other hand cactus-like euphorbias, balsam trees, 'Aden shrub, Dōm palma, tamarinds, rāk and a variety of resin- and gum-yielding trees, acanthaceae and sweet scented plants and shrubs are widely disseminated. Besides the most valuable cultivated shrub in Arabia, the coffee-plant already mentioned, the vine, the date-palm and countless varieties of fruit, there also grow in the Sarfī region rye, wheat, oats, barley, maize, sugar-cane, tobacco, *ḥūt* [q. v.], potatoes, cabbage, beans and figs. But these fruits of the earth do not drop into the countryman's lap; on the contrary, they are often won from the soil only after a hard fight. Only thousands of years of labour have made this remarkable district, which has landscapes rivaling the Alps in splendour, what it is to-day economically.

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(ADOLF GROHMANN)

AL-SARĀTĀN (the crab), Cancer, in astronomy the name for the northernmost constellation in the ecliptic which the sun enters at the beginning of summer. The *ḡarāt al-sarātān* (Greek: *Kapnikos*, Latin: Cancer) with the Arabs (exactly according to the *Almagest* of Ptolemy) consists of nine stars with an additional four outside the actual figure of the crab. Even the brightest stars in the constellation are only of the fourth magnitude: four of them form a smooth upright curve, the two outer being on the pincers (*al-sabūn al-ḡanābīl* and *al-sabūn al-ḡimālī*) while the two central ones, forming the eyes of the crab, are called the little asses (*al-himārūn*, *aitūl*, *aitūl*); between them is a group of stars, the Beehive (*al-ma'laf*, *trapezoid*), looking like a little cloud to the naked eye but showing about 40 stars when seen through a telescope. In the centre of an opposite curve on the hind-legs of the crab is the celebrated and much studied multiple star ϵ Canceri.

With the entry of the sun into the head of Cancer it reaches its greatest (northern) declination which is equal to the obliquity of the ecliptic E (Arabic: *al-ma' al-aḡam*). But this figure (now = $23^{\circ} 27'$) is not a constant magnitude; it alters with time within moderate limits. Astronomical

calculation has shown that it can be found from the formula

$$E = 23^{\circ} 27' 8''.26 - 46''.845 T - 0''.0059 T^2 + 0''.00181 T^3$$

where T is reckoned in units of 100 tropic years and from the initial year 1900.0. Thus, for example, for the year 1000 A.D. $E = 23^{\circ} 34' 8''.07$ (cf. S. Newcomb, *Elements of the four Inner Planets and the fundamental Constants of Astronomy*, Washington 1895, p. 196). This variation in E , which from a present diminution will again pass into an increase, was well known to the Arab astronomers. The Fātimid astronomer Ibn Yūnus († Cairo 1009) has given us in his *al-Zīj al-kabīr al-ḥakīmī* (MS. Leiden 1057, Chap. xi, f. 222) a historical account of the measurements of the obliquity of the ecliptic by the Arabs, from which the following is taken. According to Ptolemy, Eratosthenes and Hipparchus had estimated the obliquity of the ecliptic at $\frac{1}{2}$ of the circumference = $23^{\circ} 51' 20''$, "and I do not know of any observation for the greatest declination between Ptolemy and the authors of the tested tables (*al-ḡibāb al-mumtāḥan*) except this one which was made in the year 16. of the Hījra (i.e. after 776 A.D.) and its observer mentions that the greatest declination is $23^{\circ} 31'$." Al-Ma'mūn's astronomers from their observations at al-Shammāsiya (a quarter and gate in Baghdad) found that $E = 23^{\circ} 33'$ and the same figure is given by Muḥ. b. Mūsā al-Kh̄wārizmī in his *Zīj* and Muḥ. b. Kaṭīr al-Faḡhānī in his book "On the Use of the Astrolabe". The astronomers Kh̄alīd b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Marwarrūdhī, Abū 'l-Sanād b. Tayyib 'Alī and 'Alī b. 'Isā al-Aḡṣṣalābī etc. of Damascus who took observations after the death of Yahyā b. Abī Manṣūr with the instrument that al-Ma'mūn ordered them to use when he took the field against the Byzantines, mention that they had found $E = 23^{\circ} 33' 52''$. Their measurement was made in the year 201 of the era of Yazdadjird (832/33 A.D.). The sons of Mūsā b. Shākir say that they had ascertained E to be $23^{\circ} 35'$ in the year 237 of the same era (868/69) at the gate of the round wall of Baghdad. In the tables of *al-Taḡwīm* (restoration) Ahmad b. 'Abd Allāh Habash gives the following two values for the obliquity of the ecliptic: $23^{\circ} 35'$ and $23^{\circ} 33'$, "but there must only be one". In 243 A.H. (226 Yazdadjird = 857/58 A.D.) al-Mihānī fixed E at $23^{\circ} 35' 30''$. "And Abū 'l-Ḥasan Thābit b. Qurra said: I have found old methods of observation before Ptolemy, which show that the greatest declination is $23^{\circ} 35'$, and Muḥ. b. Djabr b. Sinān al-Battānī says that from his own measurements he has found it to be $23^{\circ} 35'$ ". The Shāfi' al-Fāḡīl Abū 'l-Kāsim 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn Muḥ. b. Abī 'Isā, who is known as Ibn al-'Alam and Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Sūfī 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Umar, found the value of E to be $23^{\circ} 34' 2''$ and $23^{\circ} 34' 45''$. Ibn Yūnus then gives his own calculation of the obliquity of the ecliptic to which he had devoted great care and found $E = 23^{\circ} 35'$. It may be further noted that al-Bīrūnī also took $E = 23^{\circ} 35'$ (*al-Kānūn al-Ma'ādī*, Berl. MS. Or. 8° 275, fol. 85r), Ibn al-Shāḡir about 765 (1363/64) $E = 23^{\circ} 31'$ and Ulugh Beg in 1437 A.D. at Samarkand $E = 23^{\circ} 30' 17''$.

As the extreme daily orbit that the sun can describe in the heavens (in northern latitudes the longest day), the day of entry into Cancer (*al-*

Saratān al-awwal) as well as into the Arims and Capricorn is an auspicious one. Therefore the representation of these three regions and their division into hours (*sā'a*) on the face of a sundial is of special importance. The symbol of Cancer (and of Arims) is a conic section, the exact shape of which depends on the latitude of the place and the position of the dial.

The name Cancer (*Kapriokos*) no doubt dates from Greek times. According to L. Ideler (see below), the name Lernaean is also found, because he (the crab), according to the fable, crawled out of the swamp of Lerna to injure Hercules in the foot when he was fighting with the Lernaean Hydra. The name "Crab" is found on the famous circle of the Zodiac at Dendera (Egypt) which, however, dates from the late Egyptian period and must certainly have been made under Greek influence. In Babylonian the constellation (without β Cancri) was called (Mull) AL-LUL = Kakkab Littu, which probably is the name of an animal, but hardly crab. In the later texts of the Seleucid period instead of AL = LUL we always find the ideogram for carpenter (cf. F. Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sternbilder in Babel*, Münster 1913, p. 6, 54, 209, 210).

Bibliography: L. Ideler, *Über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, Berlin 1809, p. 158 sqq.; F. W. V. Lach, *Anleitung zur Kenntniss der Sternnamen*, Leipzig 1796, p. 75, where Persian, Turkish and Syrian names for "Cancer" are also given. The passage in Yünus on the definition of the obliquity of the ecliptic is translated in C. Schuy, *Die Bestimmung der geographischen Breite eines Ortes durch Beobachtung der Meridianhöhe der Sonne oder mittels der Kenntnis zweier anderen Sonnenhöhen und den zugehörigen Azimuten nach dem arabischen Text der Hukimilischen Tafeln des Ibn Yünus (Annalen der Hydrographie und maritimen Meteorologie, Hamburg 1922, p. 10 sqq.)*. A table of the observations on E made in earlier centuries is given in C. A. Nallino, *Al-Battānī wa al-Battānī Ōpasi Astronomicum*, Milan 1903, i, 160; for the gnomonic representation of Cancer, Arims and Sagittarius, cf. C. Schuy, *Gnomonik der Araber*, Berlin 1923, p. 26 and du., *Sonnenwahrheiten der spätarabischen Astronomie*, in *Isis*, N^o. 18 (1924), p. 354.

(C. Schuy)

AL-SARATĀN (A.), the crab; the name is applied to the fresh water crab as well as to the sea-crabs, *saratān nabri* and *bāhri*. Al-Damiri describes the crab as follows: "It can run very quickly, has two jaws, claws and several teeth and a back as hard as stone; one might think that it had neither head nor tail. Its two eyes are placed on its shoulders, its mouth is in its chest and its jaws are sideways. It has eight legs and walks on one side. It breathes both air and water. It casts off its skin six times a year. It builds itself a hole with two doors, one opening into water and the other on to dry land. When it casts off its skin, it closes the door which is on the water side from fear of fishes of prey and opens the land door so that the wind may reach it and dry the new skin". Al-Kazwini gives a similar account of the animal among beasts of the sea. The uses in magic and medicine are innumerable.

Cancer is also called *al-saratān* (after the

Greek). According to the *Kālmū*, it is a tumor of black gall, at first no bigger than an almond; as it grows, red and green veins appear on it like crabs' feet. The disease is incurable and at best its course can only be prolonged; it attacks both men and animals.

Bibliography: al-Damiri, *Hayāt al-Hayawān*, Cairo 1319, ii. 16; transl. Jayakar, ii. 43; al-Kazwini, *ʿAḡḡāʾ al-Maḥallāt*, ed. Wustenfeld, i. 135; transl. H. Ethé, p. 277; Ibn al-Baitār, transl. Leclerc, ii. 244. (J. Ruska)

SARĀY. [See SARĀY].

SARDĀR is a Persian word (see SAR), the etymological meaning of which is "holding", or "possessing the head", i.e. the first place, its current meaning being a chief or leader and hence a military commander. It has been borrowed in this sense by the Turks, who, however, sometimes derive it in error from *sir-dār* ("the keeper of a secret"). Through Turkish it has reached Arabic, and in a letter written in 1581 by "one of the princes of the Arabs (of Yaman)" occurs the phrase "*wa-ʿayyana sardār*" "*ala l-ʿarḍi*" ("and he appointed a commander over the troops") on which Rutgers comments "Vocabulum *sardār*, quod Persice originis est, *duxem exercitus* significat". The abstract substantive *sardāriyyat* in the sense of the post or office of commander of an army also occurs; and it was doubtless owing to the familiarity of the Arabic-speaking people of Egypt with the borrowed word that it was selected as the official title of the British commander-in-chief of the Egyptian and Sudanese armies. In Persia the word was until recently much used as a component part of honorific titles, such as *Sardār-i Zafar* and *Sardār-i Džang*. In India it is used generally of the (Indian) commissioned officers of the army as a class. *Sardār log* means "the (Indian) officers of a corps or regiment". It was formerly applied to the head of a set of palanquin-bearers, and it is still applied to the valet or body-servant of a European in northern India, as the chief of his household servants. *Sardār Bahādur* is a title of honour attached to the first class of the Order of British India, an order confined to Indian commissioned officers of the army.

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SARDINIA (in Arabic sources SARDĀNIYA, SARDĀNIYA), an island in the Mediterranean Sea, lies $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles South of Corsica and 138 miles South West of the Italian Civita Vecchia, and has an area of 9,187 square miles. It is mountainous, and has a peak as high as 6,016 feet. Throughout the 160 miles of its length and the 68 of its breadth it consists chiefly of ranges of granitic rock or high plateaux. These ranges of dark hills convey an appearance of wildness to the island and make it anything but attractive, which probably accounts for its comparatively uneventful history.

The Nuraghi or circular towers, of which 6,000 have been traced on the island, bear unmistakable evidence that the island was well inhabited in the Bronze Age, but it is only when we come to the Phoenician period that we have definite information regarding the island. These invaders certainly did

conquer the island at about 500—480 B.C., and they were the first of a succession of overlords, who made the island contribute to their granaries. The Roman occupation bore more heavily on the Sardinians; as they had no free city on the island, they were compelled to supply much of the corn for Rome, and they were obliged to contribute a money tax. Little wonder that there was an insurrection of 80,000 slaves in 181 B.C. The island was useful to the Romans, moreover, as a place of exile. We read that in 355 A.D. Constantius banished 3 bishops to Sardinia, one of whom was Lucifer of Calaria. In 440 the Vandals prepared to attack the place, seeing, as they did, that it gave food supplies to the Empire, and in 476 the island had to be ceded to them. A governor of German nationality was installed to discharge all relevant duties both military and civil. Justinian finally recovered the prize for Byzantium, until the 10th century.

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam in his *Futūḥ Miṣr wa 'l-Maghrib wa 'l-Andalus* seems to put it beyond question that Sardinia was invaded at the same time as Spain, c. 92 A.H. He says that the Sardinians used their harbour to trick the Arabs out of plundering their valuables, and this seems not at all unlikely. That the Arabs made one of their usual raids on the island is certain, but they did not prolong their stay there. They paid another visit in A.H. 98 and 118 and carried through the same programme, but they never even attempted to maintain themselves in the place, nor is it hard to understand that such a place would little appeal to those who were born to the desert and the heat. In 130 A.H., however, they went a step further, and imposed a tribute on the island, which they succeeded in extracting from the enfeebled people. Meantime in 725 A.D. Luitprand, fearing these repeated raids, obtained the body of Saint Augustine, and succeeded in removing it out of danger to Pavia. This great treasure of the Church had lain at Cagliari since the 6th century. Once again before the 8th century was ended Sardinia suffered another plunder at the hands of the Arabs (143 A.H.). The Saracens never used the island for purposes of grain-producing, as had the previous conquerors, but in 227 A.H., when they made their daring attack on Rome, they used Sardinia as their rendezvous, before making the final onslaught on the capital. Not even in the 10th century A.D. did Sardinia cease to be the quarry of the Arabs, for we read that, when 'Ubad Allāh the Mahdi was plundering Genoa, in 332/3 A.H., he did not forget to take what plunder he could from Sardinia. The last mention of Arab influence in the island is when Muḥammad of Denia, in Spain, subjugated it in 393 A.H. Never again were the formidable raiders of the Mediterranean Sea to strike terror into the inhabitants of Sardinia, and it seems strange that in exchange for all their plunder the Arabs gave neither culture nor trade, religion nor art, as a recompense and a memorial of their presence.

Pisan supremacy followed that of the Arabs, and this again was succeeded by that of Aragon. In modern times the island has changed hands several times, having been Spanish and French and Austrian. Its ties, however, are all with the present possessors, and Italy seems to be inaugurating a new regime.

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(T. CROUTHER GORDON)

SARĀKAT ISLAM (*sarākat*, Javanese pronunciation of the Arabic *ṣārīka*, a brotherhood or guild), a political combination of Muhammadan Indonesians formed in Sarakata (Java), which has played an important part in the history of the development of the native population of the Dutch East Indies and in Dutch colonial policy in the last fifteen years. Its object was to secure for the native element a more prominent position socially, politically and economically, at the same time retaining Islam, which is the natural bond that links together the very diverse elements of a great part of the native population of the Dutch Indies. The leaders of the Sarākat Islam would not, however, themselves subscribe to this, but would give other definitions and estimates of its objects according to local conditions, if indeed they give any reply at all when asked about the objects of their organisation.

Early History. While the position of the masses of the Javanese natives as regards their own rulers had from the earliest times been characterised by extreme subservience, during the nineteenth century the independence of both the people and their lords became more and more limited by the gradually increasing influence of the Dutch. The national pride with which they looked back on a past in which the whole Indian Archipelago was under a Javanese hegemony was more and more supplanted by a feeling of dependence and inferiority to foreigners (Dutch, Arab or Chinese), of whom the Dutch in particular and later on the Chinese only rarely concealed the slight estimation in which they held the natives. When about the end of last century a few progressives among the *priyayi*'s (aristocracy) of Java for the first time wished to give their sons a European education, they did, it is true, receive support from a few Dutchmen, but a considerable majority of the officials offered marked resistance to this innovation, and the few who made the experiment found it made very difficult for them to find a place in society in keeping with their newly acquired qualifications. Nevertheless, a small body of educated Javanese was gradually formed, and naturally it was they who least appreciated foreign tutelage. Then came the events in the Far East and their reaction on the situation in the Dutch Indies. Even before the Russo-Japanese war (1904—1905) the Japanese had been granted equality with the Europeans in the Dutch East Indies. After the foundation of the Chinese Republic in 1911, Chinese warships visited Java and Chinese officials came to enquire into the position of their compatriots; the Chinese in the Dutch Indies were granted (from 1908) the Dutch-Chinese schools which they had desired for some years, the restrictions on their freedom of movement were abolished (1910) and more satisfactory arrangements were made for the administration of justice (1912). The Arabs also

shared the advantage of the new legal position of the Oriental foreigners, but the position of the Javanese remained the same.

In 1908 the League of Young Javanese *Budi Utama* ("noble endeavour") was founded by students of the Dokter-djawa (native medical) school in Batavia, the first modest attempt to obtain from the authorities the fulfilment of some of their desires by organisation, particularly more and better education. The father of the movement, which was regarded with suspicion not only by the Dutch but also by many conservative Javanese, was the "Dokter-djawa" Wahidin — Sudira-Usada. Such adherents as this first Javanese organisation found belonged to the higher classes of Javanese society; the masses did not join it, but they also began gradually to desire a reorganisation of social conditions and for a number of reasons.

a. Their social position was thoroughly unsatisfactory. In contrast to the foreign Orientals the Indonesians had to pay marks of homage to their European or native masters (*hormat*, Ar. *ḥurmat*). It is true that the central government repeatedly ameliorated these *hormat* but the practice for the most part continued. The administration of the law very much favoured Europeans; detention for examination, applied not only to accused persons but for convenience often to witnesses also, was an evil which had not yet been entirely abolished; trial and punishment by the police were not always just and were imposed only on natives; the security of private property was often very slight; cases occurred in which a man preferred to say nothing about a robbery of his possessions rather than bring down upon his head the unpleasant efforts of the authorities. The few rights were not equal to the hardships of forced labour and the frequent ill-treatment of the native workers in European businesses. Education was very insufficient. In addition, as a result of the progressive development in China, the attitude of many Chinese, especially newcomers, to the Javanese became so presumptuous that the latter felt deeply hurt; excesses against the Chinese showed how deeply.

b. Their economic position had gone from bad to worse. The free development of native industry was much restricted when about 1830 the plantation system (Dutch "Cultuurstelsel") especially for coffee, was introduced, which became a misfortune for the native population; when in 1877 the system was abolished, it had brought the Dutch government 832 million gulden — 21% of the State expenses (the so-called Indian Surplus). In the period that followed, the middle classes and the peasants were more and more deprived of their economic independence by the keen competition of European industries and plantations, while the retail trade had long been mainly in the hands of Chinese and Arabs. With however much tenacity they endeavoured to resist foreign competition, the decline was considerable, especially after the mainly native batik industry (turnover about 10 million gulden yearly; a short account of the native industry in *Koloniale Verslag van 1920*, col. 7) was forced to use imported aniline dyes and textiles in place of the indigenous raw material (full details of this economic decay in *Onderzoek naar de mindere welvaart der inlanders*

walking of Java en Madoera, Report of the Commission, Batavia 1905—1914, 32 vols. folio).

c. In the third place may be mentioned the fear of conversion to Christianity, although this factor had only been in operation a very short time and the movement among the Muslim population aroused by the activity of the Christian missionaries was quite different both in time and place. But the fact that Christian propaganda was more active, and found open approval with some members of the Dutch parliament, and that a warning had been issued from Mecca against it, was used by the leaders of the SarĀkat Islam to arouse the masses in a way which would result in their joining the SarĀkat Islam.

A comparatively unimportant incident is said to have brought about the foundation of the SarĀkat Islam in 1910 (there are no reliable accounts of the first years). A case of dishonest practice on the part of a Chinese *hongai* (company) in Lawéyan (Nglawéyan), a village near Surakarta, where very well-to-do Javanese merchants lived and where competition between them and the Chinese was unusually keen, is said to have aroused such bitterness among the cheated Javanese that the latter combined to bring about a boycott of Chinese goods. Out of this grew the SarĀkat Islam, the organisation of which was perhaps modelled on the SarĀkat Dagang Islam of Buitenzorg, which had been founded some years earlier by a Javanese and some Arab merchants. The name SarĀkat Dagang Islam was at any rate also used in Surakarta. The Surakarta S. I., however, developed quite independently.

The S. I. did not long adhere strictly to its original aims. The movement spread with astonishing rapidity after the boycott of Chinese goods had been successful. The huge increase in membership cannot be explained simply from the hatred of the Chinese, natural at the time, but is rather due to the fact that the Javanese who longed for greater freedom and less tutelage thought that, after the successes won over the Chinese, the new union might assist them to a higher position as regards other foreigners also, i.e. this combination under a Muslim banner — in orthodox Lawéyan the union of the Muslims as such was natural — after it had once given proof that a victory for the Javanese was not an absolute impossibility, filled a gap generally felt in the circumstances described above in a, b, c, and could also bring within its ranks many people who had nothing to do with the boycott of the Chinese. Much more important than the details of its earliest history is the fact that this combination was able to rise and spread so rapidly, just as in the years following it was not single incidents and activities but the development of its aims that attracted attention to it. There is now a great difference between the origin and development of the S. I., which is due to the fact that it was born from the higher needs of the Javanese people, but developed under the deciding influence of external circumstance; — viz. the outbreak of the Great War in 1914, the Russian Revolution of 1917, the world economic crisis after the war, and collapse that necessarily followed in Europe. Ideas were brought into the SarĀkat Islam from outside which were foreign to the Javanese people, who only demanded the fulfilment of modest requests and the satisfaction of local requirements.

The result was a great internal weakness which ended in the Sarekat Islam losing the great influence it had as quickly as it had gained it.

The history of the Sarekat Islam may be divided into three periods:

a. Up to the first national congress.

b. The zenith of the national congresses.

c. The decline of the Sarekat Islam before the rise of the radical Sarekat Rayat.

a. In the first period one can hardly talk of one homogenous Sarekat Islam. Under the leadership of the vigorous and able Radèn Usman Saiyid Tjakra Aminata, an inspiring orator, who soon, however, became dazzled by his own unbounded ambition, the movement spread beyond its home, especially in Eastern Java; in Surabaya the Sarekat Islam newspaper *Utusan Hindia* (Indian Messenger) was founded in December, 1912, which was edited by Tjakra and long continued to be the most important organ of the S.I. Branches were later founded in Semarang, Tjiribon, Bandung and Batavia. Admission was made very easy; the curiosity of the masses, the suggestive effect of the ceremonial secret oath, and the rapidly increasing popularity of the Sarekat Islam brought it more and more new members. In the period of first enthusiasm the statutes adopted at the official foundation on Nov. 9, 1911 (the members were to promote a brotherly feeling for one another, to give assistance to Muslims, to work for the social elevation and economic advancement of the people by all legitimate means), were fairly generally observed. Soon, however, each local S. I. began to work only for its own local ends, and according to the views of local leaders. There were some which served the material interests of the people, e.g. by forming co-operative associations to strengthen the Javanese power of competition, others endeavoured by their intervention to dispose of the abuses to which the Javanese were exposed from officials and European employers, others again (e.g. the S. I. Batavia, which soon had 12,000 members) preached more accurate fulfilment of the duties of Islam. Expression was given to the desire for an improvement in the position of native women; an S. I. for children (*Sutaria Mulya*) was even founded.

The successes of the S. I. in the economic field were but short-lived. The co-operative societies disappeared as soon as the first ardour of the members had cooled off; all economic activities suffered for the lack of financial training among the Javanese; S. I. funds were not seldom selfishly spent by the leaders of the movement. In the field of social progress the S. I. could certainly be credited with a general improvement of the relations between foreigners and Javanese to the benefit of the latter, although many gains were lost afterwards in the general decline of the movement. Interest in their religion was kept active by the leaders probably because they feared apathy. The bond of religion was to avert this evil. Before the National Congresses the S. I. took very little part in politics.

The first contact of the S. I. with the Dutch government seems to have been the temporary suppression of the Surakarta S. I. as a result of excesses against the Chinese (Aug., 1912). On Sept. 14, 1912, Tjakra presented a petition which asked the central government to recognise the

Sarekat Islam. He received its decision on June 30, 1913. The government had long hesitated over its reply. Recognition of the, in themselves quite innocent, statutes involved to some extent a possible change in administration and in the colonial policy hitherto followed, which was based on the principle of the dependence of the native subjects. The leaders of the S. I. had shown themselves too weak to prevent the outrages against the Chinese; practice might very soon be in great contrast to their fine promises. An official recognition of the statutes which would give the S. I. a legal standing would be regarded by the simple populace as complete approval of all the activities of the S. I. or at least would be interpreted to mean that by its leaders. In a discussion between the Governor-General and a deputation of the S. I. on March 29, 1912, the former emphasised his personal sympathy with the S. I. but pointed out dangerous weaknesses which stood in the way of approval of the petition presented, such as, for example, the bad management of financial business (which has always been a weak point). Finally the edict of June 30 refused the S. I. the desired recognition on practical grounds, but called the attention of the petitioner to the fact that requests for recognition and legitimisation by local S. I.'s would perhaps not be refused; these local associations would also be able to combine to form a legitimate central committee of representatives of the local sections. The local S. I.'s were to be responsible, to standardise their formulae of oaths and to draw these up in such a way that they would be regarded as harmless by the government. The S. I. was therefore organised in accordance with these instructions.

The attitude of the officials in the provinces proved in general much more hostile to the Sarekat Islam than that of the Government in Batavia. This difference between the Government and some of its officials may have sown the seeds or been one of the most important causes of the native population's distrust of the Government, which was soon to appear. The frequent complaints of counter-measures by local officials, some of whom at first, in spite of the official recognition, even went so far as to suppress local S. I.'s, found sharper and sharper expression at the later congresses. The European population at this time was almost wholly against the Sarekat Islam. A certain nervousness overcame them at times, especially when hostilities with the Chinese had taken place. The tone of the European press was at first in general contemptuous, later hostile; this brought about an increasingly vigorous reaction in the native press, which was growing very rapidly. The Chinese, of course, were hostile to the S. I.; the Arabs at first were on good terms with it and even had a considerable share in its early development; but when in the beginning of 1913 it was decided that only exceptionally could non-Indonesians be admitted to membership of the S. I., and particularly after the development of the S. I. on progressive lines began to hurt their conservatism, they withdrew. The relations between S. I. and *Budi Utama* were good although infrequent; representatives were sent from both to their congresses, etc.

b. In the period that followed, the political element became very prominent in the Sarekat Islam and relations with the other political parties and movements became closer. The influence

of the growing European radicalism made itself more and more felt; European parties like the I. S. D. V. (Dutch Indies Social Democratic party) endeavoured to gain the S. I. to their side. The official trend of the S. I. became more radical year by year, but within the movement arose strong counter-currents. Tjakra was the representative of the legal, national-democratic movement; Sema'un became the leader of the growing left minority. This young man, an ardent follower of the I. S. D. V., made his first public appearance at the first national congress where he advocated "pêrsèi" (Dutch *verzet*, "resistance") to the government but was hardly able to attract the attention of his audience; yet his speech was notable enough, for he was the only one who had the courage to point to the weak points in the national movement, e.g. the lack of energy. In contrast to the aristocratic Tjakra, he was a simple man of the people, whose work was distinguished by an unselfishness and an honesty unusual among Javanese. By the second congress we find him acting as president of the S. I.-Samarang, where European radicalism had the greatest following, while at the third congress he had become a member of the C. S. I. (Central Sarekat Islam). Tjakra had only very reluctantly admitted him to it but he was afraid that this man, who promised more to the people than he did and had more understanding of their needs, would try to gain control of the business and he thought that he would more easily be able to keep him in check as a member of the C. S. I. In order not to lose his popularity, however, he moved more and more from his original attitude with the result that the opposition of the conservative wing increased. The struggle between Tjakra and Sema'un governed the development of the S. I. for the next few years. With great skill Tjakra was repeatedly able to avert a split within the Sarekat Islam but finally circumstances became too strong for him, and when, at the sixth congress, the S. I. was forced to a choice and in Tjakra's absence drove Sema'un out of the party, it was too late for the S. I.

A few details regarding the national congresses, where the different opinions and tendencies were able to find clear expression, may now be given.

The first national congress was held in Bandung on June 17-24, 1916. Shortly before (March, 18), the C. S. I. had received official recognition and an attempt to make the west Javanese and Sumatran S. I. branches independent of the C. S. I. had failed. An idea of the extent of the S. I. may be gleaned from the following figures: There were representatives of 52 Javanese branches (representing 273,377 members), 15 Sumatran (c. 76,000), 7 Borneo (5,574), while Celebes and Bali each had one branch. In an enthralling speech in which he dealt with the most important questions of the day, Tjakra emphasised the value of the name "national congress"; the S. I. was to set itself a new goal: the laud was to raise itself to be a nation, the S. I. was to co-operate in obtaining self-government for the Dutch Indies soon, or the native elements would be granted greater influence in questions of administration; but he gave praise to the central government which had now really abandoned the old policy and was going to take the first step on the path of "policy and association" (cf. Soenck-Hergroenje, *Verf. Geschr.*, iv/ji, 291-306) with the promise that a council composed of European,

native and foreign Oriental members would be given to the Governor-General. — There was a great deal talked of here and in subsequent congresses which the great majority of the delegates did not understand. Statements such as that the "Qur'an is a work of the greatest importance for socialism", that the Prophet (according to a contributor to the *Hindustan Review*) is "the father of socialism, the precursor of democracy", show on what lines propagandists of European parties endeavoured to gain adherents for their teaching. Perhaps the most important work of the congress was the discussion of the 86 proposals made by the local S. I.'s, which usually referred to local complaints and were published with Tjakra's opinion in the *Utusan Hindia* of June 15-16, 1916. From these motions we see what expectations the simple country people hoped to realise through the S. I.; the desire for greater personal freedom and independence was continually expressed at this and following conferences; it was not the confused political ideas of a few leaders that attracted the masses to the S. I. but the hope of achieving their desires through this powerful organization; this explains why they later left the S. I.'s so readily, when Sema'un's party promised to further native interests more than the S. I. had done.

The second national congress (Batavia, Oct. 20-27, 1917; 281 motions from local branches) dealt with the question what attitude the S. I. should adopt to the coming "Volksraad" (on the organization etc. of the Volksraad see *Kebudayaan Studien*, Vol. I, Oct. 1917, *Extra Politiek Nummer*, p. 169 *seq.*); the share that was to be given in it to Indonesians did not satisfy them, still less did the continued postponement of its opening. The congress laid down a declaration of principles which explains the political goal of the C. S. I.: testimony is given to the superiority of Islam but absolute neutrality is demanded from the authorities; in view of the consideration that the majority of the native population lives under a state of wretchedness, the C. S. I. will always combat any supremacy of "sinful capitalism" (cf. *Kel. Studien*, *op. cit.*, p. 35 *seq.*; in this volume is also given the programme of work of the S. I. with notes and an elucidation of the political situation at this time, details of the programmes of the political parties of the day given by their own leaders).

The results of the unrest in Europe were clearly seen at the third national congress (Surabaya, Sept. 20-Oct. 6, 1918). The new situation created by the opening of the Volksraad on May 18, 1918 (Tjakra and one other leader were the representatives of the S. I.), and the ameliorations still desired were rigorously discussed. But the unrest which had taken possession of the native society was particularly discussed. Economic difficulties and the results of very successful preaching of the coming war against "sinful capitalism" increased the bitterness; disastrous results were soon to be seen. The great strike at the end of 1917 and the outbreaks of the mob in Kudus and Demak at the end of 1918 formed the beginning of a social struggle, which went on with intervals to the end of 1924, whose result for the present could hardly be in doubt in view of the weak economic position of the native population and the lack of that energy which alone could remove this fundamental evil. The organization of the Javanese into *Plevisitasien Ka'm Tani* (agricultural unions) and *P. K. Surab* (industrial unions) had been in existence for some

years and expanded very much in the next few years. Their activities, which in recent years seem to have been supported by the Bolsheviks, cannot be further discussed here, nor all their relations with the S. I. and the later S. Ra'ayat (see below). At Christmas 1919 they were centralised by Sasrakardana in the R. S. V. (revolutionary socialist committee of the trade unions), which split at the end of 1920 into a moderate committee in Djokyakarta and a communistic under Sēma'un in Sēmarang; these combined again after Sēma'un's adventurous journey to Russia to the Trades Union Congress at Madiun in Sept., 1922. Their activity has been by no means confined to questions relating to the working classes but has extended to the whole field of politics.

The period between the third and the fourth congress was a time of great unrest. Soon after the third congress the revolution in Europe caused the formation of the so-called "radical concentration" (Nov. 16, 1918) of different parties in the Volksraad including the S. I. Here their leaders explained the new development of the S. I. and defended the necessity of going farther than was laid down in the statutes (Nov. 14, Dec. 5; cf. *Handelingen van den Volksraad, 1918-1919*, p. 175-185, 518-525); the government, which continued to regard the course of affairs as a healthy development of native society (*Koloniaal Verslag van 1919*, p. 4-13), nevertheless sharply criticised the attitude of the C. S. I. to extremist movements (Dec. 2; cf. *Handelingen etc.*, p. 432-434) especially the assertion of the C. S. I. that they could not assume responsibility for disturbances by local S. I.'s if the government did not meet their repeatedly expressed wishes more quickly; the C. S. I. was to settle the conduct of the movement, not the branches; the government, however, again declared once more their readiness to co-operate with the C. S. I. on the lines of their statutes. — An incident which proved fatal for the S. I. was the discovery of a secret revolutionary organisation (the so-called section B of the S. I.) in the Preanger (S. W. Java), as a result of investigations into a case of armed resistance to the authorities in the *dés* of Tjimurrah near Garut (July 4-7, 1919; cf. the synopsis of the report of the government commissioner G. A. J. Hazen in the *Handelingen van den Volksraad, Tweede gewone Zitting, 1919, Bijlagen, Onderwerp 10*, p. 2-21). The relation of this section B to the C. S. I. and S. I. is by no means clear (cf. *Handelingen der Staten-Generaal, 1919-1920, Tweede Kamer, Dec. 22*, p. 1158^b; Blumberger in the *Encyclopaedie van Ned-Indië, Suppl.*, p. 15^b; *Kolon. Verslag van 1922*, p. 6). Tjakra denied that either the C. S. I. or the local S. I.'s had anything to do with the section B (cf. also *Handelingen der St.-G. etc.*, p. 1153^b; *Hand. v. d. Volksraad, 1919-1920*, p. 90-92, 94, 96, 106-110, 114, 211). In any case the government decided to grant no further legal recognitions unless the oaths were taken out of the statutes, etc.; as they thought (probably rightly) that within the S. I. an anti-Dutch movement had become predominant (*Kol. Versl. van 1920*, chap. B, p. 5), they withdrew from the S. I. the moral support which they had afforded it in recent years against the local authorities. — In other respects also the Sarekat Islam soon met with many great difficulties which crippled its external

activities and forced it to work to strengthen itself internally.

The fourth national congress (Surabaya, Oct. 26-Nov. 2, 1919) was mainly devoted to the discussion of the coming R. S. V. (see above) and the relation of the S. I. to it and can be passed over here.

The difficulties increased. The fifth national congress was postponed on account of a sharp criticism of the financial and political management of the C. S. I. (by the communist Darsana in the *Sinar Hindia* of Oct. 6-9, 1920; cf. *Kol. Verslag van 1921*, col. 6; *Kol. Verslag van 1922*, col. 9). The branches demanded an account of the money entrusted by them to the C. S. I. The first secretary of the C. S. I. was arrested in Nov., 1920, and sentenced on account of the branch B affair. The situation became more and more confused owing to the increasing activity of the other unions.

The fifth congress which was finally held at Djokyakarta from March 2-6, 1921, was Tjakra's last attempt to keep the control of the whole Javanese popular movement in the hands of the C. S. I. by a compromise between the very diverse movements and the postponement of the most difficult questions for which no solution could be found. The compromise was embodied in a new programme of principles in which (a) the fatal influence of European capital, which had, it was said, made slaves of the native population, was exposed, (b) Islam — which, by the way, demands a popular government, workmen's councils, a division of the soil and the means of production, makes work compulsory and prohibits anyone becoming rich through the work of another — was adopted as a basis and (c) the readiness of the S. I. to international co-operation within the limits placed by Islam and with maintenance of its independence was emphasised. The difficult questions of "party discipline" was postponed (whether a member of the S. I. could be also a member of another political party), which question the C. S. I. wished to answer in the negative and the left wing closely allied with the communist party in the affirmative. Since a and c were wanted by the communists, and they were no doubt willing to take b along with the rest, their claim that communism was now victorious in the S. I. was intelligible. It is also easy to understand that the struggle within the S. I. was soon renewed, because the C. S. I. would not allow this interpretation of the compromise (cf. *Uraan Hindia* of March 26, 1921). The breach followed at the sixth national congress (Surabaya, Oct. 6-10, 1921). Tjakra was not present; he had been arrested in August, 1921 (because he was thought to have committed perjury in the section B affair; but he was released in April, 1922, and pronounced not guilty in Aug., 1922). The deputy-chairman was not able to avert the decision; the principle of party discipline was approved by a majority of the congress and Sēma'un and his followers left the S. I. (Oct. 8, 1921); soon afterwards (Christmas, 1921) they formed themselves into a *Persatuan S. I.* or *S. I. Merah* (Red S. I.) with headquarters at Sēmarang.

c. After this decision the S. I. lost ground rapidly. The fidelity of its members disappeared before the attractions of the radical party. After

the release of Tjakra he resumed his propaganda for the S. I. but with scant success. He had lost much of his earlier influence and he no longer represented the S. I. in the new Volksraad. He now followed a moderately progressive policy. The seventh national congress was held in the conservative centre of Madiun (Febr. 17-20, 1923). Tjakra again took up cultural and religious questions; in recent years Muslim affairs had been left to special unions, e.g. to the Muhammadiyah. Tjakra now became president of the first pan-Islamic congress (Tjerebon, Nov. 1, 1922) which had been organized on the model of the "All India Muslim League". A lively interest in questions of international Islam was displayed; a telegram of homage was sent to Mustafa Kemal Pasha; the Javanese attitude to the caliphate question was discussed. In the Volksraad the S. I. attached itself to the second radical bloc, which was formed on account of the legislative proposals for the revision of the Dutch Indies Constitution. But its activity remained very limited.

In contrast to the decline of the S. I. was the rise of the radical S. I. Its leader, Sams'un, entered into relations with the Russian Soviet government in Moscow. His activity in the trade unions has already been mentioned above. His arrest was the cause of the great railway strike of May 8, 1923. Deported from the Dutch Indies he went to Holland, where he was made a member of the committee of the communist party as "representative of the Indonesian popular movement". At the end of 1924 he was in China, with which country his party maintained active communication, especially after Sun Yat Sen's adoption of Bolshevism. On May 4, 1923, the radical S. I. and the P. K. I. (Indian communist party) held a joint congress in Bandung. The red S. I. was on this occasion given the name of Sarĕkat Ra'yat (Union of the People). Propaganda was conducted in close co-operation with the P. K. I. The S. R. was to be a preparatory school for the P. K. I. and only trained pupils were to be admitted to the P. K. I. Courses for S. R. leaders seem to produce brilliant propagandists in spite of the astounding ignorance which the newspapers talk of (p. with truth). The S. R. takes no account of religion; it is "netraal kepada Allah" (neutral to Allah). The leaders in the towns are often hostile to religion, but in the country they are Muslims; there seems to be group of religious communists. The S. R. was continually fought by the authorities. Meetings were forbidden, breaches of the law relating to the free and public speaking were punished, communistic books etc. confiscated, inconvenient members of the party rendered harmless by detention for examination. Since Aug. 31, 1924, the campaign against them has been intensified. One result has been a milder attitude towards the moderate unions (S. I. etc.). Nothing definite can yet be stated about the results of this campaign.

The branches of the S. I. outside Java are far from being as important as the Javanese. The conditions were different, the soil much less suitable for the seed sown by the S. I. Since 1914 branches of the S. I. have been formed in the most important centres which in general have produced a more active interest in the religious life. Locally there were occasional excesses. But the enthusiasm soon cooled down. Representatives were sent to the national congresses in Java, who made

known to the congress the local complaints of the district they represented. Later there was sometimes the same conflict between S. I. and S. R. but to a far less degree than in Java. — The first S. I. outside Java seems to have been the S. I. Palembang, founded Nov. 14, 1913, by Javanese. The influence of the S. I. varied greatly according to local conditions. In Atjeh the situation was difficult about 1921 because the S. I. (often secretly organised) seems to have pursued anti-Dutch propaganda. In Djambi the S. I. played a part in the disturbances of the years 1916 and later; in Minangkabau the pan-Sumatran tendency was stronger than the Javanese influence of the S. I. The action of the S. I. in the islands of Ternate and Ambon was important; radical tendencies were strongly represented on the latter island. Finally we must not omit to mention that the development of the youthful S. I. was watched with the greatest interest from Mekka. In the years 1910 and onwards there was a certain amount of anxiety here because the Dutch government was credited with the intention of making the *hajj* impossible for their Indonesian subjects, and, of course, on the pilgrimage of the "Hajawa" the Mekkan depend a great deal for their livelihood (Sunnuck Hurgonje, *Mekka*, II, ch. 4). There seems to have been a correspondence between the Mekkan "Ulama" and the Muslim authorities in Indonesia regarding the activity of Christian Missions; special prayers are even said to have been offered in the Holy Mosque for the Muslims of Indonesia. There was therefore much interest in the S. I. At the end of 1913 a pamphlet on the S. I. appeared in Mekka in Arabic and was afterwards translated into Malay. A Mekka branch of the S. I. was founded (probably for the Indonesians living there) of the activities of which nothing further is known to the writer. This is probably the only branch of the S. I. outside of the Dutch East Indies.

To sum up we may say that the S. I. has played an important part in the development of the relations between Holland and the Dutch Indies, and that its history is important for the history of the revival of Islam and of the awakening of Eastern Asia. The S. I. is the first great independent expression of a want that had been felt among the Indonesians for several decades, their desire for greater freedom and more independence. Their leaders guided it into a radical, perhaps also national, direction, but the masses never understood their theories and gave most support to the movement which best met local requirements. In the fifteen years of the existence of the S. I. there has been externally a tremendous change in Javanese society, the causes of which are also to be sought in events during and after the World War; development internally began especially through the influence of the S. I. but naturally will progress much more slowly. The further development of the popular movement among the Javanese, which is in itself important as a sign of the times, will also depend on many external factors; the degree of capability among the European authorities to adapt their policy to the slowly changing situation may be particularly decisive for the future character of the popular movement.

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van de Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, Bijlage C; id. 1919 *agg.*, Ch. B. (*Stroomingen onder de inlandische Bevolking*); after 1923: *Verslag van Bestuur en Staat van Nederlandsch-Indië van 1922* (because the status of the Dutch Indies had been altered by a change in the Dutch Constitution, the name "Koloniaal" Verslag had also to be altered), Ch. C *passim*; Bijlage A (official sources).

Shorter articles on the S. I. etc. are found in Schalker-Müller's *Repertorium op de literatuur betreffende de Nederlandsche Koloniën* etc., Vierde Vervolg (1911—1915), the Hague 1917, p. 89, 133—142, 146, 299, 302, 309; Vijfde Vervolg (1916—1920), the Hague 1923, p. 128, 164—172, 183, 193, 202, 222—225, 257.

Here we may also mention: A. Cabaton, *La "Sarikat Islam"* in the *R. M. M.*, 1912, xxi, 348—365 (preceded [p. 330—348] by an article by the same writer on the native press of the day in the Dutch Indies); *Der "Sarikat Dugang Islam" und der Aufruhr auf Djambi*, in the *Deutsche Wochenzeitung für die Niederlande*, Sept. 17, 1916; *Bemerkenswerte Strömungen in den Batavischen Landen. Der S. I.*, in the *Rhein. Miss. Ber.*, 1917, p. 25; G. Simon, *Der "Sarikat Islam" auf Sumatra*, in the *Allg. Missionarische Zeitschrift*, 1917, xlv, 123—125; Fr. von Mackay, *Der Mohammedaner Bund "Sarikat Islam"*, in *Die Islamische Welt*, Febr., 1918; cf. *Der S. I.* in *"Kriegsbildung"* by J. Th. P. Blumberger in the *Koloniale Weekblad*, June 20, 1918; O. J. A. Collet, *L'évolution de l'esprit indigène aux Indes Orientales Néerlandaises* in the *Bull. Soc. Belge d'Et.*, vol. 1920, xxvii, 461—524; 1921, xxviii, 1—75 [sep. ed., Brussels 1921] and thereon *Kolon. Weekblad*, of May 12, 1921, and *Kolon. Tijdschrift*, 1921, p. 538; P. H. Fromberg, *De inlandische Bevolging op Java*, in *de Gids*, 1914, N^o. 10 and 11; B. Alkema, *De Sarikat Islam*, Utrecht, nd.; J. Th. P. Blumberger, *De Sarikat Islam, in hare betekenissen voor den Bestuursambtenaar*, in the *Kol. Tijdschr.*, 1919, viii, N^o. 2, 3, 4; do., *Stroomingen en Strömungen in de Sarikat Islam*, the Hague 1920; do., Artikel S. I. in the *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, iii, the Hague-Leiden 1919, p. 694—703, and *Aanvullingen*, p. 15—21^b (1922), 196—203^b (1924); C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschiedenissen*, Bonn-Leipzig 1924, iv/ii, 395—402, 405—406, 409—410; the following work by the same author is very valuable for judging the situation at the time of the rise of the S. I., although written rather earlier: *Politique Musulmane de la Hollande*, Paris 1911, and *Verspr. Geschr.*, iv/ii, 227—316. (C. C. BENO)

SARF is defined by the jurists as a contract of sale (*ba'f*) in which the goods to be exchanged are of precious metal (*thaman*). *Sarf* is primarily money-changing, but also includes any exchange of gold and silver. As the name shows — *sarf* is *majdar* of a verbum denominativum from *sarf* or *sarfā* — the business of money-changing is of Aramaic origin (cf. Fraenkel, *Die aram. Fremdwörter im Arab.*, p. 182 *agg.*; Lambert in the *R. E. J.*, 1906, ii, 29). The expression *sarf* seems to have been first naturalised in Islam about the end of the first century A. H. With this is connected the fact that Mālik b. Anas in the *Muwatta'* and with him the Mālikites make a sharp

distinction between money-changing (*sarf*) and the exchange of gold for gold or silver for silver (*murāṭala* by weight, *mukāṭala* by measure or number), which the other law-schools do not do; only in al-Shāfi' (*Kitāb al-Umm*, iii, 30) is a similar term, *murāṭala*, once found. The legal principles relating to *sarf*, which are closely connected with the laws relating to usury, are based on the Ḥadīth, while the Qur'an has nothing on the subject. They are the following:

1) With the same kind of material (*djins*), the exchange can only be made with an equal quantity (*amūṭan*) even if the articles are different in quality and workmanship. With unlike materials (gold for silver) this rule does not hold. Coins debased more than half are treated as merchandise (as in the Talmudic law; cf. Lambert, *op. cit.*, p. 32 *sq.*) and can be exchanged with a surplus (*mutafāṣṣim*). A recompense for the making up of bullion into ornaments etc. is therefore prohibited as usury, while modern authorities recognise the value of the labour and do not consider the sale as *sarf* (Benali Fekar, p. 80).

2) Ownership in the goods must pass on either side before the contracting parties separate (*al-taḥāwuf ḥabl al-tafarruf*). A cash payment is therefore necessary (*naḥḍ*), to the exclusion of all credit (which has passed into Turkish legislation; see below). Among the Ḥanafis, for example, a silver vessel, only part of the purchase price of which is paid, is common property, while among the Mālikis and Shāfi'is such a sale is quite invalid (*bāṭil*). There are also differences of opinion regarding the settlement of a debt. In general the rule is that the combination of a *sarf* with another legal matter in one agreement is not permitted.

3) The object to be exchanged cannot be disposed of before the ownership is acquired.

4) No option can be reserved (*khayār al-ikharf*); on the other hand *khayār al-'aib* is allowed in case of defects and *khayār al-'uṣṣ* in purchase of bullion (e.g. ornaments).

The jurists have also evolved subterfuges which make a profit possible in money-changing (al-Kudūri and al-Ḥalabi at the end of the *Ḥab*; *Mudawwana*, viii, 126 *sq.*; Sachau, *Mus. Ruht*, p. 281). The money-changers condemned by the 'Ulamā — usually Jews — have been organised into gilds since the middle ages (Mez, *Renaissance des Islāms*, p. 449; Young, *Corps de droit ottoman*, title 67, art. 6 *sqq.*). In modern Muslim states there are special laws relating to money-changing (for Turkey cf. Young, *op. cit.*; of the year 1281 = 1861). Cf. the art. *AMM*.

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SĀRĪ (formerly SĀRĪ; J. Marquart, *Erānlahr*, p. 135; Arab. SĀRĪYA), a town in Persia, the

former capital of Tabaristān (Māzandaran), 8 miles from the Caspian Sea, 20 from Amul. Its foundation is attributed to Tās, son of Nādhār, general of the mythical king Kāshkuraw, because there is a place there called Tāsā. Farlūr is said to have taken refuge there; the castle which he built could be seen at a place called Lūman Dān. The town itself was built in the time of Farrukhān the Great, *Isfahānī* of Tabaristān (end of the seventh century) by Ilav, one of his nobles, on the site of the village of Awhar. Sarī has several times been the capital of Tabaristān, — under the Tahirids (820–872) and the 'Alid Husayn b. Zaid (254/868) and Muhammad b. Zaid (270/884). The great mosque begun by the Amir Yahya b. Yahya in the reign of the 'Abbasid Caliph Harun al-Rashid was finished by Muzār b. Šarīn (d. 224 = 839). A building is pointed out called Segunbadhān "the three cupolas", said to be the tomb of the three sons of Farīdūn, Imdj, Salim and Tur.

The district is not fertile and the climate unhealthy. Silk is the principal product. Under the Tahirids, the canton of Sarī (which extended as far as Tammūshā) had a revenue of 1,300,000 dirhams.

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SARĪ, the "swift metre", so named because of its swiftness of execution and swiftness of appeal to taste (Freytag, *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst*, p. 137), is the ninth in the prosody of the Arabs. It is the first of the six metres of the fourth circle, which is called "the intricate" (*al-āṣrat al-muḥṭabih*) on account of its metrical intricacy (Palmer, *Arabic Grammar*, London 1874, p. 346–349). The paradigm is: *mustaf'ilun, mustaf'ilun, mustaf'ilun* (b), which is rarely, if ever, found. According to the native system, the *arṣ* is of four kinds and has seven varieties (De Sacy, *Traité de la Prosodie des Arabes*, Paris 1831, p. 25).

But the normal form is: *mustaf'ilun, mustaf'ilun, fā'ilun*.

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Maḥ or *fa'lan* (—) is often used in the *qarā'*; and, more rarely, *maḥ* or *fa'lan* (—) in both *arṣ* and *qarā'*, although not so commonly in the latter. A further variety employed by later poets is the introduction of an extra syllable to the *qarā'*, thus *fā'ilāna* (— — —).

Bibliography: Refer to the works under article 'ARṢ.

AL-SARĪ b. AL-HAKAM b. YUSUF AL-BALĪGH, held the office of governor and financial controller of Egypt from Ramaḥān 1, 200 (April 3, 816). On Rabi' 1, 201 (Sept. 27, 816) the troops openly mutinied against him and al-Ma'mūn was forced to remove al-Sarī from his post and replace

him by Sulaymān b. Ghālib; al-Sarī was put in prison and Sulaymān entered upon his office on Tuesday, Rabi' 1, 201 (Sept. 30, 816), but was removed from office as early as Sha'bān 1 (Feb. 22, 817) as the result of a repeated revolt of the troops, and al-Sarī again appointed by al-Ma'mūn. The news of his appointment reached Egypt on Sha'bān 12 (March 4, 817); al-Sarī was released from prison and entered al-Fustāt on the same day. He held office till his death on Jumādī 1 30, 202 (Nov. 11, 818). That al-Sarī played a prominent part in Egypt even before his appointment as governor is evident also from his mention in the *poes* of a *ḥirz* intended for the Ka'ba of the year 197 (812/13). His name is also found on gold and copper coins of Egypt; see W. Tuschhausen, *Münzen des Kalifates Orientales*, p. 188, N^o. 2700 (Mitt. 200 A. H.), p. 193, N^o. 2737 (200 and 202 A. H.), H. Nussel, *Katalog d. orient. Münzen in den Kgl. Museen zu Berlin*, i. 357, N^o. 2247; *Lehrb. d. Münzk. d. Islamit. Länder u. Länder Katalog*, p. 188, N^o. 363 (Mitt. 200 A. H.), p. 387, N^o. 928 (Mitt. 201 A. H.), N^o. 929 (Mitt. 204 A. H.).

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(ABDOL GHOSSEMEH)

AL-SARĪ b. MAHĀN, better known as AḤD 'L-SARĪTĀ, a kind of *zān* who became a brigand as a result of a murder, and then entered the service of Vazīd b. Maryād al-Shāhīn in Armenia who used him and his thirty horsemen to fight the Kharranīs (cf. the art. KHARRANĪYA). He commanded the advance-guard of Harthama's army in the civil war between al-Amin and al-Ma'mūn; remaining in the service of this general he was given the title of *amīr*. Permitted to go on pilgrimage to Mecca he distributed to his soldiers the 20,000 dirhams that Harthama had given him and got money for himself by holding to ransom the governors he met on his way, defeated the troops sent against him and entered the desert. Reaching Rakka, he there met the 'Alid Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Ibn Tabāṭabā' whose side he took, went down the Euphrates by boat while his chief went by land; they reached Kūfa on Jumādī II 10, 199 (Jan. 26, 815). To get rid of Ibn Tabāṭabā' whose authority was greater than his and who had prevented him from taking the treasure of Zuhair b. al-Musayyib, he poisoned him (Radjab 1 (= Febr. 15) and replaced him by another 'Alid, Maḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Zaid, while retaining effective control in his own hands. He struck dirhams at Kūfa (Z.D.M.G., xiii. 707) and sent troops to seize Hama and Wāsi. He appointed governors at Mecca and Medina.

Harthama, who was on his way to Khuzistan, sent troops to al-Ma'mūn who defeated Abu 'l-Sarī's army (Shawwāl = May/June). Besieged in Kūfa and feeling that his men were losing heart, he fled at the head of 300 horsemen (Maḥarram 16, 200 = Aug. 26, 815), made for Sūsa, fought

al-Hasan b. 'Alī al-Ma'mūn's troops, was defeated and wounded, whereupon his force melted away. He tried to reach his home at Ra's al-Ain but was overtaken at Djalūla by Hammūd al-Kundaghīsh who made him prisoner and brought him to al-Hasan b. Sahl, al-Ma'mūn's vizier, then to Nahrāwān, who had him beheaded (Rahf. I, 10 = Oct. 18, 815); his body was hung on a gibbet on the bridge of Baghdad. His rebellion had lasted ten months.

Bibliography: al-Tabarī, ed. de Goeje, iii. 976 sqq.; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vi. 212 sqq., 217 sqq.; Ibn Tiktaka, *Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, Paris 1895, 303 = transl. Amur, Paris 1910, p. 381; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, Būlak 1284, iii. 242 sqq. (CL. HUART)

SARİ AL-SAKĀTĪ, ABU 'L-HASAN SARİ B. MUḤALLIS, a Sūfī mystic, died at Baghdad on Ramaḍān 28, 257 (870) or 253 (867) aged 78 (or 98). He was the uncle of Djunaid (q.v.), teacher of Nūrī, Kharrā and Khair Nāsūfī, and figures at a later period in the classic *imāla* of the *shirka* of the Sūfīs between Ma'rūf Karḡhī (q.v.) and Djunaid. The latter was actually his pupil and had himself buried in Sarī's tomb which still exists at Shūnīz (cf. L. Maassignon, *Mission en Mésopotamie*, Cairo 1912, ii. 105). But Ma'rūf can hardly have been the direct teacher of Sarī.

Sarī is said to be equivalent to *'Isā* either as synonymous with *Reff* or by an accommodating interpretation of Kurān xix. 24; *Saḥḥī* means a dealer in old iron and old clothes.

As regards doctrine, Sarī was the pupil of al-Mulḥasibī (q.v.); he insists on the reality of a reciprocal love uniting God to man (*ḥubb*); he maintains that a true lover ought no longer to suffer any physical pain and says that at the last judgement the *mushabbih* will have a place of honour above the three communities (of Moses, Jesus and Muḥammad). Sarī was attacked by Ibn Hanbal for having admitted that the letters of the text of the Kurān were created and for having neglected asceticism in the matter of food.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Djawī, *Talīb al-Itis*, Cairo 1340, p. 180, 197; Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār, *Tadhkirat*, ed. Nicholson, I. 274-284; al-Djāmī, *Nafahāt al-Uns*, ed. Lees, p. 59-60; Ma'mūn 'Alī Shāh, *Tarīq al-Haḥīq*, lith. ed. Thirān, ii. 166-173. (L. MASSIGNON)

SARİ ABD ALLĀH EFENDİ, Ottoman poet and man of letters, was the son of Saliyid Muḥammad, a prince of the Maghrib who had fled to Constantinople in the reign of Sultān Ahmad I, and had married the daughter of Muḥammad Paṣha, brother of the Grand Vizier Khallī Paṣha. He was brought up by the latter, who had entrusted his education to Shaikh Mahmūd of Sencarī, accompanied him as *tadhkirat* ("editor") when during his second viceroyalty he was given the command of the troops in the Persian campaign, was appointed *ra'is al-kutub* in 1037 (1627/28) in place of Muḥammad Efendi who had just died and was dismissed at the same time as his patron. On the latter's death he was appointed *ra'is* of the imperial *maktab* in 1047 (1637/38), accompanied Murād IV to Baghdad and then became *ra'is al-kutub* for the second time. He filled other offices till 1065 (1655) when he retired from public life; he died in 1071 (1660/61). He wrote a commentary in Turkish on the first volume of the *Mathnawī* of Djalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī, and composed

several original works, some moral like the *Nafahāt al-Mulūk* and the *Thamara al-Kulub* and others mystical like the *Durra*, the *Djauhara* and the *Marīb al-'Ushshāq*, and a collection of 141 official documents entitled *Dustur al-Ḥukmā*, as well as verses and songs under the *tashtak* of 'Abdī. His tomb is in the cemetery of Mīl-tepe outside the Top-Kapu (Gate of St. Romanus) at Constantinople (Gib., *Ottoman Poetry*, iv. 79).

Bibliography: Sāmi Bey Ferīdī, *Kāmus al-'Alām*, iv. 2916; J. von Hammer, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, iii. 482.

(CL. HUART)

SARİ KÜRZ, also SARİ KERİZ, an Ottoman jurist and military judge. His proper name was Nūr al-Dīn and he was born in the district of Karanī, his father's name being Yūsuf. After studying under famous teachers, including Kodja Sīnūn Paṣha, he entered upon a legal career, becoming professor (*muderris*), later "guardian" (*şahin*) and finally in 917 (1511/1512) *kādi* of Sтамбуl. Sultān Bāyazīd II employed him on various affairs of state, for example on a mission to Prince Selim (cf. J. von Hammer, *Gesch. des osmanischen Reiches*, ii. 353, and *Die osm. Chronik des Rustem Pascha*, ed. by L. Forrer, Leipzig 1923, p. 28 sq.; also G.O.R., ii. 371). In 919 (1513/1514) in the reign of Selim I he was appointed military judge (*kādi-asker*) of Anatolia and in 921 (1515/1516) of Rumelia. Next year he was dismissed and became again "guardian", about 926 (1619/1620) he became *kādi* of Sтамбуl for a second time (cf. Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm.*, p. 613, 30, and F. Giese, *An. Chr.*, p. 130, 23). In 928 (1521/1522; according to other sources 929 = 1522/1523) he died in Sтамбуl where he was buried in a mosque which he had built. He lived not far from the *medjid* which bears his name (cf. *Hadīqat al-Djauāmi*, i. 133 sq.; G.O.R., ix. 72, N° 280); one quarter of Sтамбуl is still called *Sarı gazel* after him (a *ghalaf-i mezhār*, which has arisen from Sarī Kür which came in time to be misunderstood, on the name see Sirrī Paṣha, *Ghalafat-i mezhār*, Sтамбуl, second ed., s.v. *Sarı gazel*, and J. H. Mühlmann in *Der Islam*, xiv. 155). On his son Mehmed cf. 'Aṭṭār, suppl. to the *Shāḥī*, p. 265; on his son-in-law Sīnūn al-Dīn Yūsuf of Soma, famous as a commentator, cf. Hādīdī Khālīf, *Fahāḥī*, i. 309; *Hadīqat al-Djauāmi*, i. 134; *Safīllī 'Oṭmānī*, iii. 108.

Sarī Kürz wrote on Fikḥ and left a number of works, a list of which is given in Hādīdī Khālīf, *Kashf al-Zuhūr*, ed. Flügel, under N° 7119.

Bibliography: Taḥkīmīyāde, *Shāḥī* *al-Nu'māniya*, Turk. transl. by al-Medīdī, p. 314 sq., Sтамбуl 1269; *Safīllī 'Oṭmānī*, ix. 581; Sāmi, *Kāmus al-'Alām*, p. 2816 sq. (on the forms of the name). (FRANZ RANISER)

SARİ ŞALTİK DEDE, a Turkish dervish and Bektāshī saint. He was a contemporary of Hādīdī Bektāshī (q.v.) in whose legendary biography (cf. his widely spread *Ṣūḥayḥ-nāma*) he plays an important rôle and of whom he is said to have been a disciple, and came, like many dervishes of Anatolia at that time, from Buhārā. His real name is said to have been Mehmed (Mehmed Buhārī in Ewliyā Celālī, *Siyāset-nāma*, ii. 134, 2-3). Practically nothing is known of his life and career. According to the *Oṭmānī* in the extract in Seyyid Loḡmān, in 662 (1263/64) he led a

large body of people (10,000—12,000), said to have been Anatolian Turkomans, who settled on the western coast of the Black Sea in Dobruja-Tartary, especially around Baba Dağı. The reason for this migration is unknown; it is perhaps connected with the advance of Hülügü (cf. *Der Islam*, xi. 24). Apart from the *Oghuznâme* (cf. J. W. Lagus, *Seld Lecmani az ileri Turcice qui Oghuznâme inscribitur excerpta*, Helsingfors 1854, and G. Flügel, *Die arab., pers. und türk. Handschriften Wiener Hofbibl.*, ii. 225) there are no contemporary reports and the possible Byzantine sources are also silent (e.g. Pachymetres, Nicephoros Greg., Georg. Akropolita; cf., however, J. J. W. Lagus, *op. cit.*, p. 30 sqq.). It seems, however, that older accounts once existed but have now been lost. For example, according to Ewliya Çelebi (q.v.), Vazîrî-oghlu Mahmud Çelebi (d. 854 = 1450) wrote a *risâla* on Şarî Şaltık and Ken'an Paşa, some time governor of Oczakow, composed a *Şaltıkname* of 40 *kur'ân* (cf. Ewliya, *op. cit.*, iii. 366, and thereon Vas. Dumiř, Smirnov, *Očerki istorii tureckoj literatury* in Korsh, *Vostochnaja istorija literatury*, St. Petersburg 1891, where extracts are given from a *Şaltıkname*). Ewliya, who seems to have had access to one of these sources now lost, says that Şarî Şaltık lived in Arpa Çukuru, Siwâ and Tokat before he migrated to Bessarabia. There he is described as *indian*, which would be in accordance with Ewliya's statement elsewhere (i. 659): "purifier (*şâkir*) from the *İzîk*". The earliest notice of Şarî Şaltık is given by Ibn Battûta (ii. 416) who visited about a generation after his death his sanctuary at "Baba Şaltık" (the site of which, however, cannot even approximately be defined) and very briefly tells of the saint's miracles (*manâşih*). The fact that Ibn Battûta is obviously not able to give anything reliable about Şarî Şaltık who died barely 50 years before raises legitimate doubts regarding either the Arab traveller's statements or the historicalness of the saint. The fact is that traits and miracles are ascribed to him which are reported of Byzantine saints, and that Şarî Şaltık is confused with Byzantine saints. The legend given by Ewliya of Şarî Şaltık is remarkable and probably isolated. According to it, the wonder-worker gave his disciples the order to bury his body after his death in 6 or 7 coffins in remote towns of infidel lands, "so that ignorance where the body really is will produce everywhere a pilgrimage of Muslims and from the pilgrimage will result the incorporation of these lands into the kingdom of Islâm" (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, viii. 354 sq., following Ewliya Çelebi, *op. cit.*, iii. 133 sq.). According to Ewliya, coffins were therefore taken to Baba Eskiin, Baba Dağı, Kaliakra, Boreu (Rumania) and even to Danzig. The conversion of the Lipka Tatars to Islâm is ascribed to Şarî Şaltık. Christian saints are repeatedly identified with the Turkish saint and still more numerous are the places in the Balkans associated with the latter. In Kaliakra (Kilghra) Şarî Şaltık appears as a dragon-slayer, who liberates an imprisoned Christian princess (cf. Ewliya, ii. 137 sq.; C. J. Jireček, *Das Fürstentum Bulgarien*, Vienna 1890, p. 556; J. v. Hammer, *Kumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, p. 27; *Archäol.-epigraphische Mitteilungen*, 1886, x. 188 sq.; *Z. D. M. G.*, 1922, lxxvi. 155), and Ewliya himself brings Şarî Şaltık into connection with St. Nicolas (Sveti Nikola; cf. *op. cit.*, ii. 137). There are other

sanctuaries or tombs of Şarî Şaltık in Kroja (cf. *Wissenschaftl. Mitteilungen aus Bosnien*, vii. 60; Ippen, *Statur*, p. 71 sqq.; A. Degrand, *Souvenirs de la Haute-Albanie*, Paris 1901, p. 223 sqq., 236 sqq.), in Adrianople (Ewliya, iii. 481 sq.), Corfu, where he is associated with St. Spyridon (Spiridion) (cf. *Saint Bey Frangheri* [an Albanian], *Kamias al-A'lam*, p. 2916), in Hagay at Montar (cf. *Şâkir Sikiñe, Derouhlosterek is eunt srok Bosniadon* in the *Terdan*, Budapest 1918, p. 605 sqq.; lacking in Ewliya (vi. 474, so probably a legend of later invention)), in Chass, a place between Kroja and Djakova, where his alleged tomb is shown (cf. F. W. Hasluck, in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xxi. 122, note 3), in the Greek monastery of St. Naum (Sveti Naum) on the south shore of Lake Ohrida (cf. *Saint Bey Frangheri, op. cit.*). Şarî Şaltık once becomes St. George, also Elias, then St. Simeon and finally "Kara Koojolar" (i. cf. Ewliya, *Trevel*, ed. J. von Hammer, i. 161), not in the Stambul printed text and he thus becomes one of the most remarkable features in the mingling of Muslim and Christian beliefs. The principal sanctuary of Şarî Şaltık is, however, at Baba Dağı (cf. Ibn Battûta, *op. cit.*; Ewliya, iii. 368 sq.). It was built by Salîm Bâysâd II, the *Walt*, as a place of pilgrimage to which Salîm Sulaimân afterwards made a pilgrimage (cf. *Histoire de la campagne de Mohács par Kemal Pakza Zâhî*, ed. M. Pavet de Courteille, Paris 1859, p. 80 sqq., 177; J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii. 202). Şarî Şaltık finally appears as *Pir* at the gird of *Bağdâdîler*, the makers of *hwa* (millet-spirit) (cf. Ewliya, i. 659, where Şarî Şaltık is described as disciple (*şâkife*) of Ahmed Yenewi). Whether Şarî Şaltık is AL Jala, *Reuill de notices et récits bouddes*, St. Petersburg 1860, p. 94 sqq., is identical with our Şarî Şaltık need not be discussed here. In later Ottoman literature, Şarî Şaltık occasionally plays a part, for example in the *Kamias "fiver"* of Newâzide 'Atî (d. 1044 = 1634; cf. J. von Hammer, *Gesch. der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, iii. 281). The half historical, half legendary figure of Şarî Şaltık Dede demands a thorough investigation. One thing is certain, that it is closely connected with the Bektâşî movement, in the region of expansion of which in the Balkans Şarî Şaltık enjoys the greatest esteem. So long as the history of the 'Alid sectarians ('*Alawî*) in south-eastern Europe is as obscure as at present, only vague statements can be made regarding Şarî Şaltık Dede.

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SAR-I PUL, "the head of the bridge", called by Arab geographers Ra's al-Kantara, is a town of Alghân Turkistân situated in 36° 20' N. Lat. and 65°

40° E. Long. on the Ab-i Safid from the bridge over which it takes its name. It is not to be confused with a village near Samarqand or a quarter of Nishāpur, both of the same name, each of which is historically as important as the Afghan town. Between the northern spurs of the Paropamisus and the sands to the south of the Oxus, is a fertile tract well watered by streams from the mountains, but proverbially unhealthy, lay four Uzbek Khānates or petty principalities, Akka, Shīrbaghān, Maimana and Sar-i pul with Andkhud (Andkhud), the independence of which has been destroyed by the Durāni and Bārakal Amirs of Afghanistan. Of these principalities Sar-i pul was the last to succumb to the ruler of Kābul. In 1865 the troops stationed there revolted against the Amir Shīr 'Alī, but the mutiny was suppressed by 'Abd al-Rahmān Khān, who eventually succeeded as Amir, not long afterwards Sar-i pul lost the last vestiges of its independence, but the former geographical and political divisions of the principalities are preserved and their Uzbek inhabitants are exempt from liability to military service.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld; Sharaf al-Din 'Alī Yazdī, *Zafar-Nāma*, Bibliotheca Indica Series of A. S. B., Calcutta 1883; H. Keane, *Asia*, ed. Temple, London 1882. (F. W. HAIN)

SĀRIK (A.) "thief". Muslim legal theory distinguishes between *al-sirka al-qasghā* (theft) and *al-sirka al-kubra* (highway robbery or brigandage).

1) Theft (*sirka*) is punished by cutting off the hand, according to Sūra v. 42. This was an innovation of the Prophet's; but, according to the *Amal* literature, this had already been introduced in the days of paganism by Walid b. Mughira (Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. d. Qorān*, I. 230). This method of punishment may be of Persian origin (cf. *Lettre de Tancor*, ed. Darmesteter in the *J. A.*, 1894, Series 9, iii. 220 sq., 525 sq.; *Sad Dar* 64.5 = *Sacred books of the East*, xxiv. 327). In pre-Muhammadan Arabia theft from a fellow-tribesman or from a guest was alone considered despicable, but no punishment was prescribed for it; the person had himself to see how he could regain his property (Jacob, *Bedaienten* 2, p. 217 sq.; cf. Burckhardt, *Bemerkungen über die Bedaienten*, Weimar 1831, p. 127 sqq., 261 sqq.). In the beginning of the first century A. H. the right or left hand was cut off; there was no fixed rule. The Qur'ān leaves the point obscure and one tradition says that Abū Bakr ordered the left hand to be cut off (*Muwatta'*, *Sirka*, bāb 4; al-Shāfi', *Kitāb al-Umm*, vi. 117). Cf. the variant of Sūra v. 42: *amimnahum*, transmitted by Ibn Mas'ūd.

According to the teaching of the Fuḳahā, the thief's right hand is cut off (for a second crime the left foot, then the left hand, then the right foot) and at the wrist, the stump is held to hot oil or fire to stop the bleeding. The Hanafis and Zaidis, however, put the culprit into prison at his third crime, which the Shāfi'is and Mālikis only do after his fifth. The Shī'is inflict imprisonment for the third offence and death for the fourth. The punishment was inflicted in public; the thief was frequently led round the town seated backwards on an ass with the limb cut off hung round his neck (cf. Ibn Mādja, *Hudūd*, bāb 22; Reucher, *Stellen über den Inhalt von 1001 Nacht*, in *Jel.*, 1919, ix. 68 sqq.). Punishment could not be inflicted in cases of pregnancy, severe illness or

when the weather was very cold or very hot. It is a *ḥadd* punishment, as a right of God (*ḥaqq Allāh*) is violated by theft. But at the beginning of the second century A. H. mutilation is still contrasted with the *ḥadd* punishment (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, vi. 28). But as the rights of the owner are also injured (*ḥaqq ṣalam*) the thief is bound to make reparation. If the article stolen has disappeared, he is kept under arrest (not so according to Abū Hanīfa). The Caliph 'Umar is said always to have condemned the thief to return double the value (cf. Roman law: Justinian, *Instit.*, 4, i. 5).

The jurists define theft for which the *ḥadd* punishment is prescribed as the clandestine removal of legally recognised property (*mal*) in the safe keeping (*ḥira*) of another of a definite minimum value (*niṣāb*; among the Hanafis and Zaidis ten dirhams, among the Mālikis, Shāfi'is and Shī'is 1/2 dinār or 3 dirhams) to which the thief has no right of ownership; it is so distinguished from usurpation (*ghaṣb*) and confiscation (*ḥāyāna*). By *ḥira* is meant guarding by a watchman or by the nature of the place (e.g. a private home). Thus theft from a building accessible to the public (e.g. shops by day, baths) is not liable to the *ḥadd* punishment. This is further only applied to one who 1) has attained his majority (*baligh*, q.v.), 2) is *compus mentis* (*ʿāqil*) and 3) has the intention (*niya*) of stealing (*anims furandi*), i.e. is not acting under compulsion (*mukhtār*). No distinction is made between free-man or slave, male or female. The punishment is not applied in case of theft between husband and wife and near relatives nor in the case of a slave robbing his master or a guest his host. Views are divided on the question of the punishment of the *dhimmi* and the alien (*mushrik*) with the *ḥadd*; and on the punishment of accomplices and accessories; in any case the total divided among them must reach the *niṣāb* for each of the thieves. It is not theft to take articles of trifling value (wood, water, wild game) and things which quickly go to waste (fresh fruit, meat and milk), or articles in which the *ḥarf* does not recognise private ownership or things which are not legitimate articles of commerce (*mal*), like freeborn children, wine, pigs, dogs, chess-sets, musical instruments, golden crosses — the theft of a full grown slave is considered *ghaṣb* — or articles in which the thief already has a share (booty, state treasure, *wohlf*, common good to the value of the share), also copies of the Qur'ān and books (except account-books) as it is assumed the thief only desires to obtain the contents. The conception of literary theft is unknown to the Fiqh.

The charge can be made by the owner and legitimate possessor (or depository) but not by a second thief. The legal inquiry has to be conducted in the presence of the person robbed. For proof two male witnesses are necessary or a confession (*iḥrār*, q.v.) which can, however, be withdrawn. It is recommended to plead not guilty if at all possible (cf. the art. *ADHĀN*). If the thief, however, has given back the article stolen before the charge is made, he is immune from punishment. (cf. Sūra v. 43).

2) Highway robbery or robbery with violence (*mugharaba*, *ḥa' al-fariḥ*) occurs when anyone who can be dangerous to travellers falls upon them and robs them when distant from any possible help.

or when someone enters a house, armed, with the intention of robbing (cf. Roman Law: Justinian, *Novellae*, 134, Ch. 13). The Šārī's consider any armed attack even in inhabited places as highway robbery. The same regulations hold regarding the person and the object as above, especially the *niṣāb*. On the authority of *Sūra* v. 37 sq., the culprit is liable to the following *ḥadd* punishments. If a man has committed a robbery which is practically a theft to be punished with *ḥadd* his right hand and left foot are cut off (the next time, the left hand and the right foot). If, however, he has robbed and killed, he is put to death in keeping with right of reprisal (*ḥiṣṣ*) and his body publicly exposed for three days on a cross or in some other way. The punishment of death is here considered a *ḥukm Allāh*; the payment of blood-money (*diya*) is therefore out of the question. If the criminal repents, however, before he is taken, the *ḥadd* punishment is omitted; but the claim of the person robbed of the article for compensation and the tallo remain. All accomplices are punished in the same way; if one of them cannot be held responsible for his actions, the *ḥadd* punishment cannot be inflicted on any.

All these laws hold only for the *ḥadd* punishment which the judge can only inflict when all conditions are fulfilled. In all other cases the thief is punished with *ta'zir* [q.v.] and condemned to restore the article or to make reparation. It is the same with the thief who comes secretly but goes away openly (*mukhtalif*) or the robber who falls upon someone and robs him at a place where help is available (*munṭahib*). Special laws were therefore frequently passed in Muslim states to supplement the *ḥarā'a*, in Turkey, for example, by Mehmed II (*Mitteilungen zur Osm. Gesch.*, i. [1921], p. 21, 35), Sulaimān II (v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i. 147 sq.), Mehmed IV and 'Abd al-Majid. These laws endeavour more and more to replace the *ḥadd* punishment by fines and corporal punishment. The Turkish criminal code of 1858 still only recognises fines and imprisonment for theft although the *ḥarā'a* was not officially abolished thereby (cf. the art. *MURKILĀ*). The code of punishment laid down in the *ḥarā'a* still at the present day holds only in Persia and Afghanistan and the Yemen.

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SARIRA. [See ZĀRAG.]

SĀRLIYA, the name of a sect in Northern Mesopotamia to the south of Moṣul. This sect is also a kind of tribe called Soris and lives in six villages, four of which lie on the right bank and two on the left of the Great Zab, not far from its junction with the Tigris. The principal village, where the chief lives, is called Warnak, and lies on the right bank; the largest village on the left bank is Sefiye.

The Sarlis, like the other sects found in Mesopotamia (*Yazdis*, *Shalaks*, *Bāḡjāns*), are very uncommunicative with regard to their belief and religious practices, so that the other inhabitants of the country attribute abominable rites to them and allege that they have a kind of secret language of their own. In *al-Mashriq*, 1902, v. 577 sqq., Père Anastase gives some notes on the Soris (and also on the sects of Bāḡjāns and the Shalaks) which he obtained from an individual in Moṣul. According to him, their language is a mixture of Kurdish, Persian and Turkish. As to religion, they are monotheists, believing in certain prophets, in paradise and hell. They neither fast nor pray. They believe that their chief has the power to sell territory in paradise. For this purpose he visits all the villages at harvest time, and every Sarli is allowed to purchase as much *ḥiṣṣ* as he can pay for; the price of a *ḥiṣṣ* is never less than a quarter of a medijiyi. Credit is not granted. The chief gives a receipt which shows how much *ḥiṣṣ* an individual has acquired. This receipt is put in the pocket of the dead man so that he can present it to Ridwān, the guardian of Paradise. The Sarlis have also a feast-day once in every lunar year which consists in the consumption of a repast at which the chief presides, and to which every one contributes a cock boiled with rice or wheat. After this meal, called *ahlat al-mohabbah*, the lights are said to be extinguished and orgies of promiscuity take place. The head of the community is succeeded at his death by his unmarried son; he is forbidden to shave his beard or his monache. The Sarlis are polygamous. They are said to have a sacred book written in Persian.

These statements should be taken with considerable reserve. The Sarlis themselves say that they are simply Kurds and belonged originally to the Kāke Kurds who have some villages near Kirkuk. But the Kāke Kurds also have a mysterious reputation. A characteristic feature noticed in one of the Sarli villages (Sefiye) is an ornament with triangular holes in the walls of the principal buildings of the village.

The Sarlis have the reputation of being good farmers. Their anthropological type is the same as that of the Kurds, as Père Anastase points out. It is only their religious beliefs that have been influenced by ultra-Šarī'a and ancient Persian ideas. Like the Yazdis they have Muslim names; their present chief is called Tāha Koča or Mulla Tāha.

Bibliography: W. R. Hay, *Two Years in Kurdistan*, London 1921, p. 93, 94; Père Anastase's article is entitled *Tafsihat al-adhḥān fī ta'rif thāliṭhi adyān*; Calvet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1894. (J. H. KRAMERS)

SARPUL-I ZOHĀB ("bridgehead of Zohāb"), a place on the way to Zagros on the great Baghdad-Kirmānshāh road, taking its name from the stone bridge of two arches over the river Alwand, a tributary on the left bank of the

who had retained their Iranian language, cf. in the *Tarikh-i Sādrakhi*, ed. Pautusov (Kazan 1885), p. 193; *Sartiya wa Tajikiya*, p. 209; *Karpatiya Sartiya wa Tajikiya*, p. 279; *Utiya wa Subgiya wa Sartiya wa Tajikiya*. The same usage has been adopted by European scholars, although it was difficult to define the difference between Sart and Özbek. According to Radloff (*Kasab-nām-i Pavar*, loc. cit.) Sart now means, "the Turkish-speaking town dwellers of Central Asia in contrast to the villagers the Özbek". In some regions especially around Samarkand, the villagers still pride themselves on being Özbek and have retained the division into families, but this distinction between town and country does not apply to the whole of Turkistan. No attempt has yet been made to establish a dialectic difference between Sart and Özbek. The settled peoples of Central Asia are in the first place Muslims and think of themselves only secondarily as living in a particular town or district, to them the idea of belonging to a particular stock is of no significance. It is only in modern times under the influence of European culture (through the intermediary of Russia) that a striving for national unity has arisen. The word "Sart", applied by the nomads with unconcealed contempt to the settled population and popularly explained as *sart* it ("yellow dog"), has now been banished from use; now only an Özbek nationality is recognized in contrast to the nationalities of the Kazak, Turkomans and Tajiks.

Bibliography: N. Ostroumov, *Sart*, Tashkent 1908, with a survey of the literature on the Sart and of the several attempts to explain the etymology of the word; R. Junge, *Das Problem der Europäisierung orientalischer Wirtschaft* etc., Weimar 1915, p. 85—96.

(W. BARTHOLO)

SART, small village in Lydia in Asia Minor, the ancient Sardes (*at Sardis* of the classical authors, which makes Sāmi write Sārd), capital of the Lydian Kingdom, situated on the eastern bank of the Sart Çai (Pactolus) a little southward to the spot where this river joins the Gediz Çai (Hermus). Although in the later Byzantine period Sardes had lost much of its former importance (as a metropolitan see) and been outflanked by Magnesia (Turkish Maghnia) and Philadelphia (Ala Shehr, q. v.), it still was one of the larger towns, when the Seljuk Turks, in the 11th century, made incursions into the Hermus valley. At the time they were expelled by the Byzantine general Philocalus (1118). At the end of the 13th century Sardes had been for some time under a combined Greek and Turkish domination, until the Greeks were able to drive away the Turks a second time (Pachymeres, ed. Niebühr, Bonn 1835, II. 403). In the beginning of the 14th century the citadel was surrendered to one of the Seljuk amirs, and the town probably belonged during the remainder of that century to the territory of the Sarukhān [q. v.] dynasty, whose capital was Magnesia. So when in 792/1390 the Ottoman Sultan Bayazid I, after the conquest of the then Greek town Philadelphia, took possession of the Sarukhān country, Sardes was equally incorporated in his empire (Anonymus, Giese, Breslau 1922, p. 28; *Akhiş Paşa Zāde*, Constantinople 1335, p. 65). After the battle of Angora, when Timur marched against Smyrna (805/1402), Sardes and

its citadel were probably destroyed and never recovered again.

At present Sart consists only of a few miserable huts inhabited by Yürüks, between the Sart Çai and the citadel hill. This hill is a long narrow counterfort, 200 metres in height, belonging to Mount Tmolus (now Mahmud Dağı) in the South (a topographical sketch of the site in Curtius, *Reise zur Geschichte und Topographie Kleinasiens*, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.* 1872, Plate V3). East of the ridge is a small millbrook called Tabaş Çai; north of the town it joins the Pactolus, which is united with the Hermus about six km. to the North of the acropolis hill. At the other side of the Hermus is situated the big necropolis of Sardes, a large plain of mounds called *İm Bir Teps*. North of this plain is the Mermere Lake, the ancient Lake of Gyges. The railway from Smyrna to Ala-Shehr runs along the southern Hermus bank and has a station at Sart. In the Turkish administration Sart belongs to the *İzmir* vilâyet of the *Sarıbaş* *Sarukhān* of the *vilâyet* Aydın. The necropolis belongs to the *Kağı Kışaba*.

The site of Sardes has gained much importance from an archaeological point of view. The most complete information is to be found in the *Publications of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis* (Leiden 1916). See also Pauly-Wissowa's *Encyclopaedia der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 2nd Series (Stuttgart 1922), col. 2475 sq.

Bibliography: Hādītī Khānīz, *Dikān-namā*, Constantinople 1145, p. 636; *Stam. A3-mūs al-A'īn*, IV. 2477; Banse, *Die Türkei*, Braunschweig 1919, p. 119, 132—4; von Hammer, *Gesch. Osman. R.*, I. 70; V. Cheneb, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1894, III. 532, 533, 565.

(J. H. KRAMER)

SARUDJ, a town in Diyār Muḥar [q. v.] on the most southerly of the three roads from Bīrdjīk [q. v.] to Urfa [q. v.] in 36° 58' N. Lat. and 38° 27' E. Long. As the name of the town is also that of the district, its relation to the ancient names Anthemusia and Batnae is disputed; cf. *Bibliography*. On account of the fertility of the district in which the town is situated and its central position between the Euphrates on the one side and Urfa and Hama [q. v.], from each of which it is about a day's journey distant, on the other, the traffic through it brought it a certain degree of prosperity, especially as it was also important as a post-station between al-Rakka and Sumailā. According to Ibn Khondūdbeh [q. v.], it was 20 farsakh from the former town and 13 from the latter. The principal occupation was settled by the natural suitability of the soil for growing fruit and the vine, as all the geographers tell us. Within the town itself Ibn Djabāl [q. v.] found orchards and running water.

The town was captured with the rest of al-Djazīra in 18 (639) by 'Iyāḍ b. Ghanm. There are a number of references to its later history scattered through the geographers and historians; but the history of the town can only be intelligently handled in connection with the history of the Djazīra. — By the time of Abn 'l-Fidā' [q. v.], Sarudj was already in ruins. Modern travellers describe it much as do the mediæval geographers, except that it appears smaller to them. Suchan (see *Bibl.*) actually speaks of the village of Sarudj; it is now the residence of a *kā'im-makām*.

Saruji has attained great fame in literature because the hero of the *Maḡāzī* of al-Harrī, Abū Zakī, belonged to it. In this work there are also details regarding the town itself.

Bibliography: Fraenkel, *Articles ANTIHEMUSIA and RATNAT in Pāṇini-Viswasa; Aśvamedha*, *J. Ind. Studies*, 1903, p. 108; al-Iskandarī, *Maḡāzī*, *B. G. A.*, i, 78; Ibn Hawkal, *Maḡāzī*, *B. G. A.*, ii, 157; Ibn Dja'bir, *Riḡla*, ed. Wright-de Goeje, *Gibb Memorial Ser.*, v, 248; Yāqūt, *Maḡāzī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, *Index s.v.*; Abū l-Fida', *Taḡrīḡ al-Bulḡān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 232, 276; transl. ii, 12 sq., 32 (1848); Ibn Khordādhbeh, *Maḡāzī*, *B. G. A.*, vi, 73, 97, 216; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *Maḡāzī*, ed. Tornberg, *Index s.v.*; Richard Pococke, *Description of the East*, Book ii, chap. xviii; German transl. Ernst v. Windheim, *Erlangen* 1754, ii, 238; W. F. Alasworth, *Trevelyan and Researches*, ii, (1842), p. 102 sq.; Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, 1883, p. 180 sq.; M. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Pers. Golf*, ii, (1900), p. 3, and the map, western sheet; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, iv, (1911), p. 32-48; E. Honigsmann, *Studien zur Notitia Anepheche in the By. Zeitschrift*, 1925, xxv, 73, 77 sq.

SARUKHĀN, the name of a Turkoman dynasty, which made itself independent in Anatolia on the collapse of the kingdom of the Saljuqs of Rūm and had its capital in Magnissa, the ancient Magnessa on the Sipynus; whether the name was originally that of a tribe (cf. *Sārūkān* in Houtsma, *Kiṣṣat*, iv, 188) and later survived as that of the dynasty is uncertain. At the beginning of the sixth century *Sārūkān* (written *Sayzawar* by the Greeks) is mentioned as lord of Magnissa which he had occupied in 1313 and had made his capital. He seems to have been engaged in heavy fighting with the Catalan mercenaries of the Byzantine Emperor (about 1304 cf. *Chronik des Sultan En Ramon Muntaner*, transl. by F. F. W. Lang, ii, 116 [Leipzig 1842]; *Macaricia* = Magnissa), but in the end to have succeeded in asserting his independence. Indeed the Genoese settlement of Foca (Phocaea) owed him allegiance and had to pay a yearly tribute to him (*Ducas*, p. 162; Ibn Battuta, ii, 314). While *Sārūkān* resided in Magnissa (*Ducas*, p. 15; Pachymeres, ii, 451-452; Nicéphore, *Gregor.*, ii, 314; Shihāb al-Dīn al-Umārī in E. Quatremère in *N. E.*, xii, 339, 368; Ibn Battuta, ii, 313), his brother 'Alī was established as an independent prince in Nīl (the ancient Nymphaeum, south of Smyrna) cf. Shihāb al-Dīn al-Umārī, p. 367 and Delileux in the *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, ii, 19 (Paris 1851). *Sārūkān* gradually gained a territory which roughly coincided with the ancient Lydis and included the following towns and villages: Güzel Hisār, Mememen, Ak Hisār, Mermere, Gündük, Górdon, Kaindük, Adala, Demirdü, Nīl, Hüdje, Torghudlu, Foca, Kara Hisār, Kaşaba. His rule even seems to have extended, partially at least, to the Aegean Sea the islands of which he repeatedly ravaged with this fleet (from Pachymeres f. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii, 70). In the course of his apparently stirring reign, *Sārūkān* made an alliance with

Andronicus III, the younger, Emperor of Byzantium about 1329 against the Genoese (cf. *G. O. R.*, i, 126 sq. and against Urkhān and about 1345 allowed Umar Beg lord of Aidin-eli a free passage through this land in return for a disputed strip of land when the latter was marching along the Asiatic coast to the Hellespont to assist John VI Kantakuzenos. *Sārūkān*'s son Sulaimān accompanied the army but died suddenly at Apuntea of a malignant fever (cf. Kantakuzenos, ii, 29-30, 450-484; iv, 86, 391-396, where details of these events are given). *Sārūkān* must have had another son who died earlier, in addition to Sulaimān (cf. Ibn Battuta, ii, 313). Soon afterwards, the Empress Anna, mother of John Palaeologos, sought the assistance of *Sārūkān*, which, although granted at once, was of no avail (cf. Kantakuzenos, *op. cit.* and *G. O. R.*, i, 136). *Sārūkān* must have died very soon afterwards. The throne passed to his son Fakhr al-Dīn Ilyās about whose activities almost nothing is known. He died in 776 (1374/1375) and left the kingdom to his son MUẒAFFAR AL-DIN IŞHAK of whom also little is known. He was an ardent member of the Mewliye and founded a Mewlewī monastery in Magnissa as well as the chief mosque (*Ulu Dīwān*) the splendid minbar of which of carved wood contains an Arabic inscription of 778 (1376/1377) with his name and titles. He was — probably the first — Mewlewī-Celebi of Magnissa and was buried with his wife and sons in the sarcophagi adorned with the Mewlewī head-dress in the mosque built by him in Magnissa. On his death in 788 (1386/1387) he was succeeded by his son KHIDR SHAH Beg who lost his kingdom in 792 (1390) or 793 (1391) when Sultan Bayazid I conquered it and gave it with Aidin-eli and Monteshe-eli to his son Sulaimān (so İdris Bilihi, but Sa'd al-Dīn to Artoghral cf. *G. O. R.*, i, 606). Khidr Shah Beg himself fled to Kütürüm Bayazid lord of Sinop and Kaşamünal to seek protection from his oppressor. After the battle of Angora (1402) he was restored to power by Timur like the other petty dynasts of Anatolia (*trav. of al-Mulub*). A few years later he made an alliance with İsa Celebi brother of Sultan Mehmed I and supported him in his war against his Sultan brother. Mehmed I was victorious, took Khidr Shah prisoner and had him put to death after promising him burial in the mosque of his ancestors and guaranteeing the maintenance of his foundations (mosques, schools and hospitals): cf. Sa'd al-Dīn, *Taḡrīḡ al-Tawārīkh*, ii, 287 sqq., also *G. O. R.*, i, 343. With him the family of the family of the *Sārūkān*-oghlu became extinct, and their lands henceforth formed an Ottoman province. As the province of *Sārūkān* was that nearest the capital Constantinople and its governorship formed a regular steppingstone to influence and power, the position was usually given to eldest sons of the house of 'Othmān (cf. also *G. O. R.*, iii, 267). The sandjak of *Sārūkān* existed down to quite recent times and retained its ancient boundaries (on it cf. V. Cuiant, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii, 523-575). The following is the dynastic list based on the available data (see particularly Mümmidīn bāshī, iv, 33). *Sārūkān* (c. 700-746 = 1300-1345) Fakhr al-Dīn Ilyās (746-776 = 1345-1374) MuẒaffar al-Dīn Işhāk (776-790 = 1373-1388) Khidr Shah Beg (790-792/93 = 1388-1390/91 and 805-813 = 1402-1410).

Like the lords of Aidin and Monteshe, the

Šārūkhānoghlu struck *gigliati* modelled on the coins struck in Naples and Sicily by the house of Anjou to have a medium of exchange suitable for trading with Italian merchants (cf. J. Friedländer, *Beiträge zur älteren Münzkunde*, p. 52; A. de Longpérier, *Revue numismatique franc.*, 1860, p. 59; Sp. Lampros, *ibid.*, 1869, xiv, 355 *sqq.* (erroneous attribution); J. Karabek, in the *Wiener Numism. Z.*, 1870, ii, 525 *sqq.*, 1877, ix, 200 *sq.*; briefly dealt with in G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin*, Paris 1878, p. 479—481). The coins of the Šārūkhānoghlu are comparatively rare: only a few pieces in silver and copper are known of the last two rulers, Ishāq Celebi and Khidr Shāh Beg; details in St. Lane-Poole, *Catalogues of the Oriental Coins in the Brit. Mus.*, vii, 12, London 1894; do., *Catal. of the Bodleian Library, Muhammad. Coins*, Oxford 1888, p. 31 *sq.*, but especially Ahmed Tewhid in vol. iv. of the *Catalogue des Monnaies des Khakans Turcs*, Istanbul 1321, 1903 Turkish, p. 382—386.

Bibliography (in addition to works quoted in the text): Ahmed Tewhid, in the *Revue Historique publiée par l'Institut d'Histoire Ottomane*, i, (1910/11), 615—619; W. Heyd, *La colonie commerciale degli Italiani in Oriente*, i, 437, ii, 91; do., *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, Leipzig 1885, i, 488, 636, 546, ii, 353. Of the Byzantine historians we may also mention Chalkokondyles, p. 15, 65 *sq.*; Pachymeres, p. 589; Phrantzes, p. 77. (FRANK BABINGER)

SASAK. [See LOMBOR.]

SĀSĀN, the patron saint of all wanderers and vagrants such as jugglers, beggars, conjurers, and those who go up and down the country accompanied by animals (goats, asses or apes), who show real or feigned diseases and mutilations, gipsies etc. These people are often classed together as the Banū Sāsān and have a bad reputation, as is evident from the literary references, as almost all classes of swindlers are included under this name. Their arts and tricks are called *ʿilm Sāsān*.

Various traditions seem to exist regarding the father of this trade of begging. According to one story, he was no less a person than the ancestor of the Sāsānian dynasty, Sāsān b. Isfandiyār or b. Bahman, who was excluded from the throne by his father at his death in favour of his sister Humān and then became a shepherd and beggar. This tradition apparently owes its origin to anti-Sāsānian circles in Persia (Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser u. Araber*, Leiden 1879, p. 432) and is said to be alluded to as early as Imru al-Qais (*Muḥit al-Muḥit*, ii, 1026). In modern Persian Sāsān has actually come to mean "beggar".

The gild literature also deals with Sāsān. Although the mention of a *Tarīḡh Sāsān* has perhaps never been taken seriously, in certain manuscripts discussed by Thorning (*Beiträge zur Kenntnis der islamischen Vereinigungen*, Berlin 1913) the *Shāikh Sāsān* is considered as not belonging to the *forīḡh*, although there are also traditions according to which Shākh Sāsān with his brothers Khāmdān and Raḡbān, all sons of Kāḡān, are in a way the fathers of all handicrafts (Thorning, *op. cit.*, p. 39 *sqq.*). The author of a manuscript on the gilds in Egypt (Gotha, *Persisch* No. 903) makes a vigorous onslaught on Sāsān whom he describes as *ʿlīḡh* and the cause of the decline of the gild system in Egypt, as he parodied all the old respected customs of the gilds.

Bibliography: The Banū Sāsān and their tricks are discussed by al-Djāwharī, in his *Atāsh al-Maḡhār fī Kashf al-Aḡwār wa-Hakk al-Aḡwār*, discussed by de Goeje in the *Z.D.M.G.*, x, 485, 493, 500; cf. also Justi, *Iranische Namenbuch*, Marburg 1885, p. 291; Dory, *Supplément*, s.v. SĀSĀN, (J. H. KRAMERS)

SĀSĀNIANS, a Persian dynasty. The names of the kings in modern Persian form are as follows:

Ardashīr I, 226—241	Bahrām V, 420—438.
A. D.	Yasdigird II, 438—
Shāpūr I, 241—272.	457.
Hurmīd I, 272—273.	Hurmīd III, 457—459.
Bahrām I, 273—276.	Frīz, 459—484.
Bahrām II, 276—293.	Balāsh, 484—488.
Bahrām III, 293.	Kawādīh I, 488—531.
Narmā, 293—303.	Khusrāw I, 531—579.
Hurmīd II, 303—310.	Hurmīd IV, 579—
Adharnarsai, 310.	590.
Shāpūr II, 310—379.	Khusrāw II, 590—628.
Ardashīr II, 379—383.	Kawādīh II, 628.
Shāpūr III, 383—388	Ardashīr III, 628—
(or 387? cf.	630.
Paully-Wissowa, <i>Real-</i>	Several ephemeral
<i>encycl.</i> , 2nd Series,	rulers; cf. Justi in
i, col. 2355).	the <i>Gr. d. Iran</i> .
Bahrām IV, 388—399.	<i>Philol.</i> , ii, 545.
Yasdigird I, 399—	Yasdigird III, 632—
420.	651.

The dates are not absolutely certain; this is especially true of the reigns between Hurmīd I and Shāpūr II (see Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser und Araber*, p. 400 *sqq.*). The dynasty is said to be descended from a certain Sāsān, of whom little that is really historical is known; the genealogy is then traced farther back through Dūrā to the mythical royal family of Irān. In the beginning of the third century A. D., several petty kings were reigning in Persia under the suzerainty of the Arsakids. The epoch of these dynasts is called the period of the *Mulūk al-Tawāʾif* by the Arabic and Persian historians, and the term includes the Arsakids (and Seleucids) as well as the minor rulers. Ibn Kṭāibā (*Kṭāib al-Maʿārif*, p. 321), for example, includes Ardashīr I himself among the *Mulūk al-Tawāʾif*, as ruler of Iṣṭakhr.

Bābak, Ardashīr's father, who, according to al-Tabarī, was originally king of Khir (east of Shirāz) and whose father Sāsān is said to have held some priestly office in Iṣṭakhr, began to extend his territory at the expense of the other petty kings of Persia. After the brief reign of his son Shāpūr came Ardashīr, who continued what his father had begun until he defeated the Arsakid Artabanus V (Ardawān) in battle and killed him (224). It was probably in 226 that the Sāsānian king conquered the capital Ctesiphon; 226 is usually given as the initial year of the dynasty. But Iṣṭakhr was held in honour throughout the whole period of the dynasty as the ancestral home of the family. The Sāsānians succeeded to the inheritance of the Parthian kings, which included the struggle with Rome and later with the Byzantines. As our most reliable sources for their history are Greek and Roman authors, the relations of the Sāsānians with the empires of the west are best and most fully known to us. Ardashīr I conducted an offensive against Rome. Apart from relatively short periods of peace, this

war went on almost to the end of the dynasty. The earlier Sāsānians endeavoured to expand their empire and Rome in this first period was called upon to defend her eastern possessions.

An important bone of contention was Armenia, where a branch of the Arsakid house ruled which had very early adopted Christianity and directed its policy on Roman lines. A treaty of partition regarding Armenia was made about 387. When Christianity became the official religion in the eastern Roman empire also, a new element entered the political relations with Persia. The persecutions of the church by some kings (like Shāpūr II, Bahrām V, Yazdigird II) contributed to intensify the differences. The history of these wars, the details of which do not belong to this article, has often been written in modern works on Roman and Byzantine history, from Gibbon down to Seck and Hury (cf. also the biographical articles that have so far appeared in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-encyclopädie der class. Altertumswissenschaft*² on the kings Artaxerxes [Ardashir] I—III, Sapor I—III, Yazdigird I and II). The best known of these wars were fought between Ardashir I and Severus Alexander, between Shāpūr II and Julian, in which the Roman offensive was at first successful, by Kawādh I against Anastasius I and by Khusrāw I against Justinian. This last war ended in 562 with a treaty which established a fifty years' truce.

The Christians in the Persian empire then attained religious freedom, but the Persian government soon resumed its repressive measures against the Armenian Christians. When the Emperor Justin II soon afterwards began to be dissatisfied with the boundaries of the respective kingdoms and made demands on Khusrāw, hostilities began again. This begins the last stage of this period of wars. Khusrāw I was unsuccessful in the fighting that followed and under Hormizd IV also the Roman armies were victorious. The Persian general Bahrām Čubin, who had been insulted by the king, seized the occasion to rebel against Hormizd; he even aimed at the throne itself. During these tumults Hormizd was murdered by two of his relatives; but his son Khusrāw succeeded in escaping to Byzantine territory, where he appealed for help to the Emperor Maurice. With Byzantine assistance he disposed of the usurper, but in the reign of Khusrāw II there was no more prospect of lasting peace with Byzantium, as the Sāsānian, on the deposition and murder of Maurice by Phocas in 602, assumed the role of avenger of the murdered Emperor. In this, the last great war with Byzantium, the Persians at first won considerable successes. Khusrāw's armies conquered Jerusalem and even Egypt. The reaction followed in the reign of Heraclius. Kawādh II, who had deprived his father, Khusrāw, of life and throne, was forced to beg peace from the Emperor. With Khusrāw II died the last important ruler of the dynasty. Kawādh II begins a series of ephemeral rulers (including a usurper, Shahrwārā, and two queens, Būrān and Azarmidukht) who were raised to the throne in succession by the nobles, only to disappear soon afterwards, until in 632 a grandson of Khusrāw II, Yazdigird III, came to the throne. Although it looked at first as if more settled conditions were to return, Yazdigird III was the last Sāsānian to rule over Irān.

It was not only wars with Rome and Byzantium that endangered the Persian empire. Less civilised peoples, like the Chionites and Gīlānis (against

whom Shāpūr II had to take the field) and the Hephthalites (Haitāl, defeated by Bahrām V) continually threatened its existence. King Firūz lost his life in an unsuccessful struggle with the latter. It even seems that for some time after this event Persia was tributary to the Haitāl. About the middle of the sixth century A. D., the threat from the Haitāl was replaced by the danger from the Turks. It was not, however, the northern nomads that put an end to the Sāsānian empire, but the Arabs. Even before the beginning of the dynasty, Arab tribes had settled in the Euphrates and Tigris region; in the wars between Byzantium and Persia both parties used Arab assistance. The first king who came into conflict with the Arabs seems to have been Shāpūr I, of whom a war against Hatra is recorded. It must have been an Aramaic king who reigned there, but a story of an expedition by Shāpūr against the Kūdā'a has been amalgamated with this story, which was itself already overgrown with legendary matter. How confused all this is shown by the fact that Ibn Kutāiba (*Kitāb al-Ma'arif*, p. 322; cf. Eutychius, ed. Cheikh, I, 106) puts this war with Hatra in the reign of Ardashir, contrary to the usual Persian-Arabic tradition. It is, however, a historical fact that Ardashir besieged Hatra (unsuccessfully) (Dio Cassius, 80, 3). Finally Firdawsī gives a different version of the whole episode and puts it in the reign of Shāpūr II (Macan, p. 1432 etc.). That Hormizd II inflicted a defeat on the Arabs is very doubtful (Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 51, note 2). According to the oriental sources, Shāpūr II was a bitter enemy of the Arabs; that he penetrated to Yamāma, however, and the vicinity of Medina and received the name Dhū 'l-Akṭāf from the way in which he ill-treated his prisoners of war is an invention of legend. The Arab kings of al-Hira, the Lakhmids, were vassals of the Sāsānians; their antagonism to the Ghassanids, who were in Roman service, was an important factor, for example in the wars of Khusrāw I with Byzantium, and earlier they had played a part in the dynastic affairs of Persia. It is probable, indeed, that Bahrām V, whose rule was not at first recognised by several nobles, overcame a rival with the help of Nu'mān of al-Hira, amongst others. Khusrāw I even interfered in the domestic quarrels of Arabia, when about 570 he assisted the Yamani pretender Saif b. Dhī Yaran [q. v.] with a Persian army against the Abyssinians. According to Arab tradition, the last king of al-Hira assisted Khusrāw II when fleeing before Bahrām Čubin, but when the king was firmly established on his throne, he had the Lakhmid seized and executed. Tradition gives no valid reason for this impolitic act. This king Nu'mān of al-Hira is said to have refused his horse to Khusrāw on his flight, or, according to another story, the intrigues of an enemy of his brought about his fall. Governors were appointed to al-Hira by the Persian king. The — not very serious — defeat which the Bakr tribes inflicted on an army of Khusrāw's consisting of Persians and Arabs at Dhū Kār soon showed how impolitic it had been to put an end to the dynasty of al-Hira, the bulwark against the Arabs of the desert. It is, of course, a question whether the Lakhmids would have been of much use against the great Arab tide of conquest which soon afterwards swamped the Sāsānian empire. As early as 633 Abū Bakr sent armies to the Irāk; this began a

series of attacks on the Persian monarchy (battle of the chains, battles of Walsaj and Ullais, subjection of al-Hira, etc.) which culminated in the battle of Kādisiyya (probably still in 636; cf. the art. *ḡāḡsiyā*) where the imperial Persian forces were completely routed. The complete subjection of Irān, however, only dates from the defeat of the Persians at Nihāwand (642). Yazdgerd III escaped; but in spite of all his endeavours he did not succeed in obtaining effective assistance from the neighbouring peoples. One of the nobles had him assassinated near Marw in 651.

The Sāsānian empire was a feudal monarchy. The powerful families which already had very great influence in the Arsakid period, like the Surēn, Karēn etc., formed an influential nobility. The influence of the higher priesthood was also considerable. There was a revival of Mazdaism with the rise of the dynasty; this creed became the state religion in the strictest sense, although the Jews and Nestorians, for example, were usually unmolested in Persia. The punishment for abandoning Mazdaism for another religion was death. The political influence of the higher priesthood was seen at the accession of Bahrām V. His claims to the throne seem to have been supported by the clergy to an important extent. The works of Chr. Bartholomae (*Über ein sasanidisches Rechtsbuch*, in the *S.B.A. Heftelberg*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1910; *Zum sasanidischen Recht*, I.—IV., ibid. 1918—1922) give us a survey of civil law in the Sāsānian period.

The Persian-Arabic tradition of Sāsānian history goes back to Pahlavi sources now lost, the most important of which must have been a work entitled *Xrōdaynāmāh* (mod. Pers. *Kādaynāmāh*). Taking up a rigidly legitimist attitude, it comprised the period of the mythical kings as well as the history of the reigning dynasty. Good historical material was preserved in this work, e.g. on the early deeds of Ardashīr; on the other side the "historical anecdotic" plays a great part in it. The records of the doings of the kings are often interwoven with the stock motives of romance. Besides the *Xrōdaynāmāh* there were also smaller historical works, among them the *K'ārdnāmāh* i *Artaxšatr* i *Pāpakān* still extant (transl. by Nöldeke, Göttingen 1878; text several times published, e.g. Bombay 1896, 1899, 1900); a fairly long historical romance about Bahrām Gūr can be partly reconstructed from the echoes of it in modern Persian and Arabic literature (Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 474 etc.; A. Christensen, *Romanen om Bahrām Trakān*, 1907). Such Pahlavi works were early translated into Arabic; for example, the *Xrōdaynāmāh* by Ibn al-Muqaffā'; on the other hand, there were modern Persian versions to which traditions preserved in Firdawsi and al-Tha'alibi go back, although they are not in complete agreement (Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. xiv. sqq.; do., *Das iranische Nationalepos*, p. 5 sqq.; al-Tha'alibi, ed. Zotenberg, p. xxiii. sqq., xliii.; I have been unable to consult V. Rosen, *K' wopran ab arabichsk. gerowdach Chudajname = Zur Frage betrefft der arabischen Übersetzungen des Ch.* [quoted in Zotenberg, *op. cit.*, p. xliii., note 3]. On the relation of the traditions preserved in al-Tha'alibi to those in Firdawsi see al-Tha'alibi, ed. Zotenberg, p. xxv. sqq.). The old Arabic translation of Ibn al-Muqaffā' has also been lost, but it is reflected in those sections of the Arabic historians, like al-Tabari, al-Mas'ūdi, al-Dinawari, etc., which deal with the Sāsānian period.

It is uncertain how far these authors have used the al-Muqaffā' actual work. The tradition of the history of the dynasty in Ibn Kūṭayba (in his *Atiṣā al-Ma'arifi*) and Eutychius is more closely connected than in the other writers and shows a special character; indeed, these two historians often agree word for word. According to Nöldeke, it is probable that these two used the original Ibn al-Muqaffā' (*Geogr. d. Perser*, p. xxi.); the other historians must have used later versions of the original work (cf. al-Tha'alibi, ed. Zotenberg, p. xliii.). Several of the later historians of the Persians have also a section on the Sāsānians, e.g. Raḡhib al-Iṣṣā (*Ḥikmat al-Tamīz*) and his copyist al-Karwini (*Tarīkh al-Ghazā*). These as a rule have no independent value, although it seems to be not impossible that details might still be found in them which are not given elsewhere, as is the case with Ibn Balḡh's *Fārināmā* (*Gibt Memorial Series*, New Ser., vol. I; cf. p. xliii. sqq.).

It is from this semi-historical tradition that the anecdotes and witty sayings which are found in the *Adab*-literature relating to these kings and their court for the most part come. They are not uncommon, for example, in the excursus in al-Mas'ūdi's *Murūj*. The *Marzbānāmāh*, which belongs to narrative literature proper, contains several stories of Khurraw I Anūshirwān and his vizier Buzarjmihr. In poetic literature we may mention Nišāwī, who, on several occasions, took the material for his romantic works from the Sāsānian period, although he occasionally deviates from the accepted tradition, for example, when he gives, in the *Haft Paykar*, the story of Bahrām Gūr (Bahrām V.) master-shot in an essentially different form from Firdawsi and al-Tha'alibi, who give a less polished and therefore probably older version. That tradition became much altered in course of time is undoubted. It must also have incorporated Arabic elements, which were foreign to the old Book of Kings, alongside of original Irānian matter. It is no longer possible to discriminate between these strata with any approximation to accuracy. The omission of one or other story in Firdawsi or al-Tha'alibi is, of course, no criterion; besides, these two no longer used Pahlavi originals, but later versions. Among stories that are certainly old and original are the history of the founder of the dynasty, the story of the killing of Yazdgerd I by a demoniacal horse, most of the stories of Bahrām Gūr relating to hunting or women, the death of Fīrūs in the Hephthalite war, most stories of Anūshirwān, the cycle containing stories of the fall of Hormizd IV, the rebellion of Bahrām Gūr and his fall and the further history of Khurraw II Farwiz to his murder at the instigation of his son Kawādī (Shīrīyā); on the other hand, originally historical events of the Sāsānian period may also have given rise to similar stories, which were put back into the mythical period, as Nöldeke suggests, for example, in the case of the records of the events that followed the death of Fīrūs (*Iran. Nationalepos*, § 9). We also find episodes which are related of Sāsānian kings in some histories attributed to mythical kings by others; for example, the story of Bahrām Gūr's prohibition of wine in Firdawsi (Masan, p. 1497 sqq.) is placed by al-Tha'alibi (p. 149; cf. p. xxix) in the reign of Kai Kābad. The stories based on the very common motif of the king who goes unrecognised into the enemy's country (Shāpūr II, Bahrām Gūr) belong to the older

tradition. Other subjects are perhaps later — occasionally due to an Arab intermediary —, like the story of the siege of Hatra and the story connecting Saif b. Dhī Yazan with Khuraw I; it is possible also that the part of the stories relating to Bahram Gūr and Khuraw II, in which the kings of al-Hira play an important part (accession of Bahram Gūr, flight of Khuraw II before Bahram Gūr), is not entirely free from Arabic elements, which are perhaps also found among the apophthegms of the kings. This is certainly the case with a saying of King Narsai reported by al-Tha'alibi (p. 510: *wa-kāna lā yarkabu illā buṭat al-nirān, fa'idhū hila lahu fi dhūlka, kafa: had shaghālan khidmatu illāhi an khidmat al-nūr*).

The rulers the accounts of whom are fullest are as a rule the most important historically: Ardashir I, Shāpūr I and II, Khuraw I and II; Bahram V, however, is really not one of the great kings. When there was nothing known to record of a monarch, the old Book of Kings seems to have confined itself to giving speeches which the king was said to have delivered at his accession, etc. The speeches and apophthegms of the kings were regarded as models of elegant style (Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser*, p. xviii; al-Tha'alibi, ed. Zotenberg, p. xv. In the latter, p. 481, we find that even Ardashir I possessed oratorical talents). Arabic rhetoric seems to have made its influence felt here; at least Hurmizd IV's speech from the throne in al-Dinawari (*Kitāb al-Akhbār al-Tiwāl*, p. 77 sqq.) gives the impression of coming from an Arabic rather than a Persian original. (Cf. also Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser*, p. 326 sqq.).

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SATALIA. [See ADALIA.]

SATAN. [See SHAYṬĀN.]

SATĪH R. RAH'Ā, a fabulous diviner (*kāhin*) of pre-Islamic Arabia, whose tradition connects with the beginnings of Islām; in reality we have here to deal with a quite mythical personage like the other *kāhins* in whose company he appears in most stories, *Shikḥ al-Sa'bi*, who is simply the humanisation of a demoniacal monster in appearance like a man cut in two (*shikḥ al-insān*: cf. van Vloten, *W.Z.K.M.*, 1893, vii. 180—181). Satīh, whose name means "flattened on the ground and unable to rise on account of the weakness of his limbs" (*Lisān al-Arab*, iii. 312), is described as a monster without bones or muscles; he had no head but a human face in the centre of his chest; he lay on the ground, on a bed of leaves and palm-branches, and when he had to change his position "they rolled him up like a carpet"; only when he was irritated or inspired did he inflate himself and stand up. His close resemblance to *Shikḥ* is accentuated by legend which makes them both be born without the intervention of a father in the night before the death of the *kāhina* Turaifa (the wife of 'Amr Mumalhiya, ancestor of the tribe of this name, who is said to have foretold the catastrophe of the breaking of the dam of Ma'rib in the Yaman). She is said before dying to have made the two newborn monsters come to her and after spitting in their mouths (the classic method of transmitting magic power) declared them her successors in the art of *kāhina*.

In spite of these characteristically mythical features Arab genealogical tradition has not refused to give Satīh a place in its system, but gives him a name and a paternity (Rabī' b. Rahī'a b. Ma'ād b. Māsin b. Dhī'b) which connect him with the Ghassanid branch of the tribe of Azd (just as it connects *Shikḥ* with the Banū Sa'b, a branch of the Banū Badīlla) and more precisely with the Banū Dhī'b (Ibn Duraid, *Ishā'iq*, p. 286, v—v); Wustenfeld, *Genealog. Tabellen*, 11, 16; according to others, the Banū Dhī'b belonged to the 'Abd al-Kais, a tribe belonging to the Rabī'a group; there even seems to have been in historic times an Azd clan claiming descent from Satīh (Abū Ḥatim al-Sijistāni, *Kitāb al-Mu'ammarn*, p. 3, in Goldziher, *Abhandl. zur arab. Philologie*, ii.).

Among the legends associated with the name of Sath some are connected with the pre-history of the Arabs and represent Sath as acting as a diviner and judge (*hakam*) without any regard for history or chronology, even fictitious; sometimes we find him dividing among the sons of Nu'ar (Nu'ar Rabi'a, Iyad and Anmar) their father's estate (*Iqd*, 1st and 2nd ed., ii. 46 = 3rd ed., ii. 46-47 = 4th ed., ii. 39); sometimes we find him consulted with *Shik* by al-Zarib al-Adwani (Wüstenfeld, *Gen. Tabellen*, D, 13) regarding the real position of Kasi, the ancestor of the Thakif, to whom al-Zarib had been forced to promise his daughter in marriage (*Aghani*, 1st and 2nd ed., ii. 75). In al-Ya'kubi (ed. Houtsma, i. 288-290) it is he who decides the difference that has arisen between 'Abd al-Muttalib, the Prophet's grandfather, and the two Kasi tribes, al-Kilab and al-Rihab, regarding the ownership of the well of Dhu 'l-Harm discovered by the former in the vicinity of al-Thakif; but the parallel versions of the same story either do not mention the name of the arbitrator or give him that of another kahn, Salama b. Abi Haliya al-Kud'i (al-Maidani, *Amthal*, ed. 1284, i. 36 = ed. 1310, i. 30; Yäqut, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 629; *Lisän*, xiii. 283).

Two other legends, on the other hand, have a completely Islamic stamp; according to the first, given by Ibn Ishak, who does not give his sources, Sath consulted — as always with *Shik* — by the Lakhmid chief Rabi'a b. Nafar regarding a dream which had frightened him, reveals to him that South Arabia will be invaded by the Abyssinians and that after the expulsion of the latter and the brief dominion of the Persians it will be conquered by a Prophet (Muhammad); as a result of the oracle Rabi'a b. Nafar sends his son 'Amr at the head of the tribe to the king of Persia who settles them at al-Hira; this is the "South Arabian" version of the foundation of the Lakhmid dynasty (cf. G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lakhmiden in al-Hira*, Berlin 1899, p. 39).

The second and most widely disseminated legend goes back to a certain Han' al-Mahrumi, who is said to have lived to 150 and about whom Muslim historiographical tradition knows nothing (cf. Ibn Hajar, *Ishba*, Cairo, vi. 279, No. 3,929). It forms part of the cycle of the *alim al-nubuwat*, that is of the miraculous signs which confirm the truth of the prophetic mission of Muhammad. In the night when the latter was born remarkable phenomena occurred throughout the kingdom of Persia. The king (Kisr Anushirvan) not being able to get an explanation from his magicians asked the king of al-Hira, al-Nu'min b. al-Mundhir (an anachronism!), to send him someone who could explain it. Al-Nu'min sent 'Abd al-Masih b. Bakila al-Jassani (on him see the *Kutub al-Mu'annarin*, p. 38; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, ii. 935, 12 A. H., § 165; 12 A. H., § 328), who not being able to explain these marvels himself went to Sath, his maternal uncle, who lived in the desert. He found him at the point of death and his appeal was unanswered; only after his nephew had addressed him in verse, did the kahn predict to him the coming fall of the Persian Empire and its conquest by the Arabs, etc. Having delivered this oracle, his uncle Sath died.

Sath claimed to receive his knowledge of the future from a familiar spirit (*ras*, cf. above, ii. 625) who had overheard the conversation of God with

Moses on Mount Sinai and had revealed part of it to him. Here we see the influence of the Koranic passage (xxii. 1) about the djinn who overhear God's utterances.

The calculations of the Arab historians on the age reached by Sath are naturally quite fanciful; those of them who place his birth at the time of the bursting of the dam at Ma'rib and his death at Muhammad's birth, give him a life of 600 years. It should be observed that Abū Hātim al-Sidisi [q. v.], whose version is markedly different from the others (he does not speak of his monstrosity, puts his home in al-Bahrain, etc.), makes him die in the reign of the Himyar king Dhu Nuwas and therefore does not know of his prophecy to Kisr Anushirvan.

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(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

SAUL. [See TALUT].

SĀWA (older SĪWĀN), a town and district in Central Persia. It lies on the direct road from Kāzin to Kūm (Kāzin-Sāwa: 22 farsakh; Sāwa-Kūm: 9 farsakh). This road practically corresponds with the royal road (Shāhrāh) described by Masta'wi (Sāmghān [I]-Sāghān-Sāwa-Ishān) which was very important when, under the Mongols Arghūn and Uljaitū, Soltāniya became the capital of Persia. The Kāzin-Sāwa road may yet again resume its old importance for traffic between North Persia and the southern provinces. For the present it is eclipsed by a longer combination of paved roads leading through the capital: Kāzin-Teherān (22 farsakh) and Teherān-Kūm (22 farsakh). On the other hand Sāwa has definitely lost its position as a stage on the route from Hamadhān to Ray (Teherān) (61 farsakh) on which the Arab geographers place it. Traffic between Hamadhān and the capital now goes via Nāwbarīn-Zarand or, with a detour, by the paved roads Teherān-Kāzin-Hamadhān (about 54 farsakh). Geographical considerations explain the decline of the town. The desert is gradually invading the district of Sāwa as a result of a breakdown in the control of the irrigation system.

Sāwa is situated in the north-west corner of a plain (c. 30 × 25 miles) open towards the east the lower part of which is being gradually engulfed by salt marshes. The district is watered: 1. by the Kārn-Sū (the Gāwānāh or Gāwānāh of Masta'wi) which is formed by three streams: the

southern and most important (Do-āb) comes from the north face of the Bakhtiyārī mountains (Djapelaḥ); the western descends from the Alwand (Orontes) of Hamadhān and the northern has its source in the mountains of Kharrakān. Having crossed the plain of Sāwa, the Kara-āi pours its brackish waters into the central desert and disappears; 2. by the Mazdakān (*vulgo*: Maslaghātū) which rises near Dargasfa (east of Hamadhān) and runs parallel to the Kara-āi and before re-joining it on the left bank (north) disappears into several irrigation canals in the north-west part of the plain of Sāwa.

Sāwa is not known before the Muslim period. Tomaschek connects its name with the Avestan word *sava*, Pahlavi *saraka*, "advantage, utility" (?). The Persian dictionaries give "pieces of gold" for *sāwa*. According to Tomaschek, Sāwa corresponds to the Seravicina or Sevakina of the Tabulae Peutingerianae.

Ibn Hawkal says that Sāwa was noted for its camels and camel-drivers. Al-Muqaddasi mentions its fortifications, its baths and a Friday mosque near the great road at some distance from the market. The people of Sāwa (as of Ulūdžird) were Shī'ī Sunnīs who were at permanent feud with their neighbours in Āwa who were fervent 'twelver' Shī'īs. The Mongols sacked the town in 617 (1220) and burned its fine library (Yāqūt) which also contained astronomical instruments (al-Kazwīnī). Hamd Allāh Mustawfī (ed. Le Strange, p. 62) gives the four *nāhiya*'s of Sāwa: Sāwa, Āwa, Djahūd and Bīshā(?) with 46, 17, 25 and 42 villages respectively, 130 in all. Khwādja Zahr al-Dīn Sāwādī about the time of Mustawfī (viiith—xivth cent.) rebuilt its walls which were 6200 dhar' (7,000 yards) in circumference and his son Khwādja Shams al-Dīn incorporated into the town the suburban village of Rūdābān.

Mustawfī extols the fruits of Sāwa but quotes the Persian proverb about its cereals: "the straw of Kūm is better than the grain of Sāwa". The pomegranates of Sāwa are renowned throughout Persia to this day.

Among the European travellers Marco Polo mentions Sāwa ("Saba") as the town from which the three Magi kings set out for Bethlehem and where they are buried in a square sepulchre. This Persian-Christian legend must be based on a local popular interpretation of texts like "Reges Arabum et Saba dona adducent" (Psalm lxxii. 10). According to another story given by Marco Polo, the three kings are buried respectively at Sāwa, Āwa and Kal'ā-i Ātashparastān, which Yule locates between Sāwa and Abhar, while Tomaschek identifies it with Diz-i Gabrān (one stage beyond Kūm on the road from Kāhān).

Sāwa is mentioned by Giosafā Barbaro (1474), Figueroa (1618) etc. Chardin laments its sterile soil and heat. In 1849 the English consul K. E. Abbot counted 300—400 houses in Sāwa with 1000 inhabitants; he says that the soil is excellent everywhere that it is not mixed with the *ḥamr* but that the salt desert is met with at only 9 miles from the town.

At a distance of only 4 farsakh to the south of Sāwa is the old Shī'a centre: the little town of Āwa watered by a stream coming from the heights of Tafrīsh which separate the plain of Sāwa from that of Fārsān (Persian 'Irāk'). According to Tomaschek, Āwa corresponds to the *Āpaxawa*

of Ptolemy. Al-Muqaddasi calls it Āwā, Yāqūt Āh. Kūh-i Namak lies between Āwa and Kūm. It is composed of salt and its friable soil — Hans-knecht calls it *Gidān-Gelman* — makes it impossible to climb it. In Mustawfī's time Āwa was 5000 paces in circumference. Houtum-Schindler says that the ruins of the old town are beside the modern village (100 houses) and that the tomb of Shām'ūn (Simeon?) is shown there. Mustawfī talks of the tomb "attributed" to the Prophet Samuel but puts it 4 farsakh north of Sāwa.

At the present day the population of the district of Sāwa is wholly Shī'a. It consists of Persians and Turks. The latter belong to the local confederation of Shāh-Sewen which includes the remnants of the tribe of Khālādī. The district of Sāwa is frequently called Khālādīstān. There are Shāh-sewen to the north-east and to the south of Sāwa. The Khālādī live more especially to the north of the Kūm-Sultānābād road (Rāhgird, Tadj-Khātūn, Djahūd, Tafrīsh). In several of their villages (Kandurūd, Mawdžān, Sift, Fowdžird, Kardedjan) a very peculiar Turkish dialect is spoken: *warorom kaghā*, "I am going to the garden"; *kūz-yi*, "it is warm"; *hāw-āi*, "in the home"; *yol hawāl dagh-arti*, "the road was not good", etc. The dialect is worth the attention of students of Turkish (cf. the art. SHĀH-SEWEN).

In the tenth century A.H. (Ibn Faḥl) Sāwa formed part of the province of Kūm. In modern times it has formed part of various administrative combinations. Sometimes it was governed along with the districts to the south (Mahallāt, Kāzās), sometimes with Zaranḍ (N.E. of Sāwa) and Kharrakān (*vulgo*: Karaghān). This last mountainous district formed an enclave between the provinces of Kāzwin and Hamadhān. It consists of three *kūlūb*: Afshār-i Bakishlu, Afshār-i Kutulu and Karagor; the chief town of Kharrakān is situated in the latter at the foot of the pass. It is called Āwa and must not be confused with the place of the same name in Sāwa. About 1890 Sāwa was governed by an Austrian officer in the Persian service, von Taufenstein. At the beginning of the twentieth century it formed a kind of fief of the brigade of Persian Cossacks at Teherān. One of the higher officers of this military force acted as governor of Sāwa and controlled the Turkish natives who supplied the principal contingent to the brigade.

The antiquities of Sāwa are: 1. the barrage on the Kara-āi (about 12 miles S. S. W. of the town) said to owe its origin to Shams al-Dīn al-Djuwāinī [q. v.], vizier of several rulers of the viith (xiiith) century (cf. *Nushat al-Kutub*, ed. Le Strange, p. 221). The barrage is said to have been restored under the Safawids; it is known as *kand-i Shāh Abbās*. It occupies the passage between two hills and is about 65 feet high, 100 long and 45 thick. Beside it on the left bank, the road rises in a kind of spiral: caravans were thus able to ascend the dam which was used as a bridge and descend on the west side by a gradual slope on the right bank. The attempts to repair this important work by closing the path which the river has made through it have so far failed with resultant ruin for the district. 2. The fortress of Kiz-kāfa on a rock in the centre of an amphitheatre of hills not far from the dam. 3. Two mosques at Sāwa, one in the town, built, according to Houtum-Schindler, in 1518 A. D.; the other, very beautiful,

situated outside the town among the old ruins on the south side. This *maḡḡid al-jum'a* seems to occupy the site of the mosque mentioned by al-Mukaddasī. According to Houtum-Schindler, the present building dates from 1516 A.D. but J. Dieulafoy attributes its "restoration" to Shāh Tahmasp (930—984 = 1524—1576). 4. Near this Friday mosque is a much older minaret 36 feet high, built of bricks arranged in rows with geometrical designs superimposed. Dieulafoy dates it to the Gharnawid period but a comparison with a similar minaret at Khuzargird (Khurāsān) which is dated 505 (1111) suggests that it is of the same period (cf. Sarre, *Denkm. pers. Baukunst*, Berlin 1910, II, 112—113, and E. Herzfeld, *Kherādin*, in *ist.*, XI, 170). 5. The reservoir (*ab-anbār*) with the great gateway which may date from the XIIIth century of the Christian era (Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 171).

Among famous men born in Sāwa, Yāqūt mentions Abū Tāhir 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ahmad, one of the principal Shāfi'ī Imāms (d. 484). Mustawfi mentions the tomb of Shāikh 'Uthmān Sāwājī near the town. On the poet Salmān-i Sāwājī (700—778 = 1300—1376) see E. G. Browne, *A Hist. of Pers. Litt. under Tartar Dominion*, Cambridge 1920, p. 260—271 etc., and the article SALMĀN.

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Maps: Houtum-Schindler, *loc. cit.*; A. F. Stahl, *Peterm. Mitt.*, suppl. fasc. N° 118, Pl. 1; Th. Strass, *Peterm. Mitt.*, 1905, Pl. 21; H. Kiepert, *Verbericht über Prof. C. Haussknachts orientalische Reisen*, Berlin 1882, Pl. IV.

(V. MINORSKY)
[Sāwa plays an important part in the legends of Muḥammad. According to a frequently quoted tradition (for details see A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Muḥammad*, I, 134 *sqq.*, and Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, p. 253 *sqq.*), a lake (*buhaira*) in the neighbourhood of Sāwa sank into the ground in the night in which the Prophet was born. The site was still pointed out to al-Kāswīnī in the XIIIth century. As the tradition quoted shows a rather accurate knowledge of Iranian matters, we may safely seek an allusion to a definite Iranian conception in this single feature of the story. Now in Zoroastrian eschatology the lake Kamāva (*Kaosaeva*) plays an important part; in the later Avesta it is located in Eastern Irān and is said to correspond to Lake Hāmān in Sijdištān. In it is preserved the seed of Zarathustra from which in the end will arise the saviour Saoshyant. When we find the legend of the drying up of a lake in Irān connected with

the birth of Muḥammad, we may interpret it as an allusion to this mythical lake. The legend symbolises the destruction of the hope of a Zoroastrian saviour, just as the earthquake in the royal palace at Ktesiphon recorded in the same tradition symbolises the end of the Iranian empire and the extinction of the sacred fire the end of Zoroastrian culture. (H. H. SCHANDER)]

SAWĀD, a name of the 'Irāk (q.v.). While the name 'Irāk has been proved to be a Pahlavi loanword (from *Ērag*, "low land, south land", occurring in the Turfan fragments, with assimilation to the semantically connected stem 'rē; cf. A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klass. Arab.*, p. 69; H. H. Schander, *ib.*, XIV, 8—9; J. J. Hess, *Zeitschr. f. Semitistik*, II, 1900), "black land" is the oldest Arabic name for the alluvial land on the Euphrates and Tigris given on account of the contrast to the dry between it and the Arabian desert (Yāqūt, *Ma'ājam*, III, 174, *sqq.*). The name has undergone a threefold development of application. 1) It is identified with the political division of 'Irāk and thus corresponds to the Sāsānian province of *Saristān* (*Dīl-i Erānshahr*). With this meaning the historians of the Arab conquests use the name Sawād for the 'Irāk (cf. for example, al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, p. 241, *sqq.*) and especially the compilers of monographs on taxation or political handbooks (cf. Abū Yūsuf, *Yabys* b. Adam, *Knāma al-Mawārid*; also Ibn Khaldūn). The reason for this is that in the cadastral and revenue regulations of 'Umar I the name Sawād was used officially. 2) It is used as the name of the cultivated area within a district, e.g. *Sawād al-'Irāk*, *Sawād al-Khūstān*, *Sawād al-Urdunn*. 3) Before the name of a town it means the systematically irrigated and intensively cultivated fields in its vicinity, e.g. *Sawād al-al-Baḡra*, *Kūfa*, *Wasīḥ*, *Baghdād*, *Tustar*, *Bukhārā*, etc.

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(H. H. SCHANDER)

SAWĀKIN (SUAKIN or SUAKIN) a seaport on the west coast of the Red Sea in 19° 5' N. Lat. The town is built on a picturesque little oval-shaped island about a mile in circumference and 300 yards long, which lies off the mainland in the centre of a deep bay. The harbour is reached through a narrow channel 4 or 5 miles long hemmed in by coral reefs; Sawākin is connected with the African continent, by a causeway about 60 yards long, commanded by a fort. At the entrance to this road is a pretty gateway which can be closed by a door, through which one reaches the suburb of al-Kaif, which lies on the mainland. The Customs House and the Government buildings are the most important buildings on the island town. The best houses are fine white buildings of three stories, recalling in style those of Djidda. Among modern erections Kitchen's Gate, a handsome half Moorish edifice, is worthy of note. The pri-

primitive shapeless huts of the natives are in lurid contrast to these buildings. The bazaar consists of drinking-bars kept by Greeks and a little street with coffee-shops and booths. The half-dozen Europeans settled in Sawākin live among the primitive reed-huts of the natives in houses which are not always particularly habitable. The town possesses a single school which, however, is one of the best in the whole Sūdān. The suburb of al-Kaif on the mainland is surrounded by a wall which was at one time flanked by half a dozen forts and protected by an outer line of trenches. It has a much larger population than the island town, possesses a large bazaar in which the business life of the town is carried on and irregular streets in which live smiths and leather workers — the former make spearheads and knives and the latter do a busy trade in amulets — and barbers much visited by the male population. A few silversmiths provide the ornaments required by the women and make bracelets and anklets, ear- and nose-rings. Outside the suburb, which is a long narrow oasis surrounded by salt-lakes and prairie-like desert, are wells surrounded by gardens and date-palms, providing the town's drinking-water. The climate of Sawākin is not particularly healthy for Europeans. The heat never falls below 86° F even in winter; in June and August changeable winds predominate which often rise to dangerous sandstorms.

Sawākin is an old settlement, although the harbour is not important — it can only be entered by day owing to the narrow channel and the coral-banks. It has been suggested — probably rightly — that Pliny's *Oppidum Succae* was here. In the middle ages the district belonged to the Bedjā (Bemnyers) to whom belong the modern Hadendwa, Abubde and Bisharin. The old connections of the Mekkans with the West African coast of the Red Sea brought about the settlement of Arab merchants here who intermarried with the Bedjā. The matrilineal institutions of the Bedjā enabled the half-breeds to attain important positions and Ibn Battuta in 1330 A. D. found in Sawākin a son of the Amir of Mekka ruling the Bedjā. The upper strata of the populace professed Islām. al-Maḡribī calls them *Ḥadārib*. In those days Sawākin had a serious rival in the harbour of 'Aidhāḥ farther north, which Th. Bent has identified in the modern Sawākin Kadim, 12 miles north of Halab. The harbour, now in ruins, was very important between 450 and 760 A. H. as a landing-place for goods from India and Arabia and was a meeting-place for merchants from the Yaman and a rendez-vous for Egyptian and African pilgrims who sailed from here for Djidda. As Sawākin, which lay seven days' march to south, was also a landing-place for ships from Djidda, there must have been a good deal of competition between the two towns, from which Sawākin in the end emerged victorious. Al-Hamḍani († 945 A. D.) still reckons it in Central Abyssinia (*al-Hobash al-Wusṭā*). Under Sulṭān Selīm I the Turks occupied the harbour. It was under the Pasha of Djidda who governed it through an Agha until in 1865 Egypt acquired it from Turkey by cession or purchase. The Mahḍī period (1883—1898) was a heavy blow to Sawākin, as trade died away completely owing to the closing of the important Sawākin-Berber caravan road. By the treaty of July 16, 1899, between England and Egypt, Sawākin was placed under the Anglo-

Egyptian condominium along with the Sūdān and now belongs to the Red Sea Province, the largest cotton-growing area in the Sūdān.

Sawākin now has about 10,000 inhabitants. The town has a rather neglected look and almost half the buildings are in ruins, as the inhabitants in many cases are no longer able to afford the expense necessary to maintain them. The newly founded harbour of Port Sūdān is also a serious rival to Sawākin and has attracted a great deal of the trade and traffic in which Sawākin was once supreme. In spite of this competition Sawākin has been able to keep an important position as regards trade and the wholesale migration of business to Port Sūdān expected by many has not materialised. Although the numerous wholesale and retail firms are no longer as busy as they were before the foundation of Port Sūdān, they are still doing very well and very few native firms are suffering under trade depression. Sawākin will maintain its position if only because the trade of the natives stubbornly sticks to it and regards it as the main centre of the commerce of the Red Sea Province. Sawākin still is, as before, the starting place of pilgrims to Djidda. Fifty years ago the slave trade was still flourishing on the same route and some 3000 slaves annually were shipped from here to the market in Djidda, a trade which the English government was only able to suppress with great difficulty. Sawākin is now connected by a branch line from Athbara Junction with Port Sūdān; the railway was made in 1905. If the stretch from Sawākin to Tokar (56 miles) is made, and it is planned for the near future —, the two towns are at present connected by a caravan road — the harbour of Sawākin will receive a new stimulus. At the present time the excellent cotton-wool from Tokar, 56 miles S. E. of Sawākin, is brought on camel-back to the harbour of Trinitat and then shipped the 1½ to 2 days voyage to Sawākin. With the building of the railway the Kassala-Sawākin (via Tokar, 297 miles) and Berber-Sawākin (241 miles) caravan routes, on which most of the trade with the interior is done at present, would lose their importance but the amount of the trade would considerably increase. Beside the railway line there is also an irregular steamer service connecting with Port Sūdān. There is also a steamer connection with Djidda with a fortnightly service. The main article of commerce and export are cotton, sesame oil, butter, hides, wax, resin, anna and ivory.

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SAWDA BINT ZAM'A b. KAIS, Muhammad's second wife, was one of the first women who embraced Islam. She accompanied her first husband al-Sakrān b. 'Amr and her brother Malik to Abyssinia, with the second party of Muslims who repaired thither. The pair returned to Mecca before the *Hijra*, and al-Sakrān, who had become a Christian in Abyssinia, died there. By this union Sawda had a son, 'Abd al-Rahmān, who was killed in the battle of Djalila.

Sawda's marriage to Muhammad was arranged by Khawla bint Hakim, who wished to console him for the loss of Khadija, and took place about a month after the latter's death, in the tenth year of Muhammad's mission, in Ramadan, before his journey to al-Ta'if.

In the first year of the *Hijra* Sawda, together with Muhammad's daughters, joined him in Medina; her dwelling and 'A'isha's were the first to be built in the Mosque.

Sawda was no longer young at the time of her second marriage, and, as she grew older, became fat and ungainly to such a point that Muhammad, during a pilgrimage, allowed her the privilege of reaching Minā for the morning prayer before the crowd's arrival, to avoid being jostled. As she grew older Muhammad wearied of her and neglected her, while he spent a great deal of his time with the youthful 'A'isha; in 8 A. H. he divorced her, but Sawda stopped him in the street and begged him to take her back, offering to yield her day to 'A'isha, as "she was old, and cared not for men; her only desire was to rise on the Day of Judgement as his wife". The Prophet consented; on this occasion *Sūra* iv. 127 was revealed.

Sawda was charitable and good-natured; in one of his prophetic utterances Muhammad seems to have alluded to her as the "longest-handed", i.e. the most charitable of his wives, who would be the first to join him in Heaven, and 'A'isha used to say: "There is no woman in whose skin I had rather be than Sawda's, except that she is somewhat envious".

Together with Zainab bint Jahlsh, Sawda did not take part in the last pilgrimage. Of her life after Muhammad's death there is no record, except that she received a gift of money from 'Umar; this, together with the fact that no mention is made of her dowry, may mean that she was in straitened circumstances, though she had received her share of the spoils of Khaibar. She died in Medina, in Shawwāl 54 A. H., during the caliphate of Mu'awiya, who bought her house in the Mosque, together with that of Safiya, for 180,000 dirham.

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AL-SAWDĀ or **AL-KHARĪT AL-SAWDĀ**, a ruined city in al-Djāwī in South Arabia, in what was once the ancient Minaean kingdom. J. Halévy, who visited the ruins, calls it *al-Sūd* and describes it as an extensive system of ruins one hour's journey N. E. of the also important al-Balāḥ. Al-Sawdā is built on an eminence. The ancient town was apparently destroyed by a conflagration and was presumably an important industrial centre, especially for metal work; even at the present day the vitrified soil is covered with slag-heaps. Insignificant remains of the sur-

rounding wall and a few stelae are all that remain of its former splendour. D. H. Müller suggests that these ruins mark the site of the Minaean town of Karna. F. Hommel identifies it with the Naḥḥān of the Minaean inscriptions. Al-Hamdānī describes al-Sawdā as one of the strongholds of the tribe of Naḥḥ. The old Minaean town thus survived into the later period as the stronghold of a prominent family. The name "Black Fort" should probably be explained as referring to the building material, black lava or basalt.

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SAWDA, **MIRĀ** MUHAMMAD RĀY, Urdu poet and satirist, was born in Dehli in 1125 (1713). His father Mirā Shāfī (from Kābul) was a merchant and had established himself in India. Sawda was educated in Dehli and his teachers in the art of poetry were Sulaimān Khān Khān Wifāḥ and Shāh Zuhār al-Dīn Ḥatīm. Like his contemporaries, Mirā Maḥar Dīn-i Dīnān, Mir Taqī Mir and Khwājā Mir Dard, he had derived much literary benefit from the eminent Persian scholar and poet Sirāj al-Dīn 'Alī Khān Arāḍ; and it was he who persuaded Sawda to write in his own mother tongue in preference to Persian. Sawda's Urdu poetry very soon attained a high standard of excellence and he was recognised as one of the masters of Urdu poetry. At the age of about sixty he left Dehli, and after a short sojourn at Farrukhabād went to Lakhnāw where he settled for the rest of his life. Āṣaf al-Dawla, the king of Lakhnāw, raised him to the high position of *Malik al-Shu'arā'*. Sawda died at Lakhnāw in 1195 (1781). His works were collected by Ḥakīm Aḥlā al-Dīn Khān and were first published at Calcutta early in the sixteenth century followed by numerous lithogr. editions.

Sawda is rightly considered to be one of the greatest Urdu poets. He excelled in *ghazals* and *ghazals* and his satires are witty and sharp. He was well versed in music also. Dr. Fallon's adverse remarks about his poetry are not justifiable.

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SĀWĎJ-BULĀK, a Persian corruption of the Turkish *sāw-j-bulak* "cold spring"; the form *sāwċ* (pronunciation *sāwċ*) is found as early as the

Nuzhat al-Kulūb (740 = 1340). There are two places of this name:

1. The fertile district beginning at Teherān and stretching to the west of the river Karāj along both sides of the great Teherān-Kāswīn road. To the north a range of hills separates it from Tālākān. On the southern slopes of these hills are the pits of Feshand which supply the capital with coal. The district is watered by the Kordān which rises in the same heights. Among its villages Hamad Allāk Mustawfī mentions Sunkurābād and Nadjābād which still exist at the present day. The centre of the district is marked by Yangī-mīm (an artificial mound with a tomb). At the south-western extremity of the district is the little town of Ishtihād whose inhabitants speak the Iranian dialect called *tārī*; other villages of the same language (towards Kāswīn) are Sagrābād, Shādmān, Isfāwārīn, Čāl and Sāhdahān. Many of the people of Ishtihād profess Bahā'ism. See the map in A. F. Stahl, *Petterm. Mitt.*, suppl. fasc., No. 118, 1896, sheet 1, and his map *Umgebung von Teheran*, Gotha 1892.

2. The southern section of the province of Ādharbīdžān, the capital of which is Sāwdj-Bulāk (in Kurdish Sā-bāgh). The governors of Sāwdj-Bulāk are appointed from Tabriz, but ethnographically Sāwdj-Bulāk forms part of Persian Kurdistan, which consists of three parts: a) Kurdistan of Mukri in the north, corresponding to the *shūmāt* of Sāwdj-Bulāk; b) to the south Kurdistan of Sinna (cf. the art. SENNA) and c) to the south of it Kurdistan of Kirmānshāh.

The province of Sāwdj-Bulāk is bounded on the north by Lake Urmīya; in the north-west by the districts of Sulūsi and Ushnū watered by the Gādīr-čai; on the west by the heights of the Kāndil forming the Turco-Persian frontier; in the south by the Sūr-kēw range separating Hāna from the district of Shīlār; on the east by the watershed between the Tatawū and the Džaghātū (only the district of Sakki borders on the basin of the latter river); on the north-east by the course of the Tatawū on the right bank of which lies the isolated district of Mijān-du-āb ("between the two waters"). The Tatawū at the same time forms the boundary between the Turks of this latter district and the Mukri-Kurds of Sāwdj-Bulāk. Sāwdj-Bulāk measures 80 by 60 miles and has an area of about 4,800 to 5,000 square miles.

Hydrography. The Mukri country lies across two watersheds, that of the Lake of Urmīya and that of the Little Zab (a tributary of the Tigris). To the first belong three separate rivers: 1. the Džaghātū, which rises in Mount Čihil-Qashma at the eastern extremity of the Turkish enclave of Shīlār which runs far into Persian territory between Hāna in the north and Marwān in the south; 2. the Tatawū (Mustawfī: Taghatū) rising in the extreme south-east of Kurtak; 3. the Sāwdj-Bulāk rising in the eastern face of the Maidān pass (between Paswa and the town of Sāwdj-Bulāk). The river-system of the Little Zab (*al-Zāb al-ʿaṣfā*) belongs to the basin of the Persian Gulf. Its upper course is formed on the high plateaux of Lahidjān Mukri; the north-western branch (Lāwān) rises on the eastern face of the Kāndil just south of the pass of Keli Shīn; the north branch (Bārd-i Māshe) comes from Džaldjān via Ushnū; the north-east branch (Āwa-turū) from the west face of the Maidān pass.

Taking in on its right bank the swift waters of Badīnāwā, Āwa-Prdānān, Khidrāwā, Tālestān and Kāzān and on the left the large streams that rush down the gorges of the Kurtak, the Little Zab under the name of Zei or Kālū rolls southwards, but below Sardāht it turns sharply westwards to force a passage through the ravine of Alān to the Tigris. Just at this bend, close to the pretty village of Alūt, the Kālū receives on the left bank the important tributary which drains the whole basin of Hāna (except the district of Namashīr, the waters of which enter the Kālū above Alūt). The river of Hāna (Āwa-Kīwerū) forms an almost straight line with the ravine of Alān. The left bank below Dunēs belonged to Turkey (Alān-i Gīrgashā). The frontier here follows the course of the Kīwerū and then of the Kālū, finally ascending the Kāndil leaving Bētūgh to Persia and Kāndöl to Turkey.

There is only one little stream that escapes the gigantic funnel of the Alān; the rivulet of Wasna rising on the verdant heights of this name to the south-east of the great cone of the Kāndil describes a semi-circle to the west of the Kālū and enters the Mesopotamian plain (Pīzdar) by a deep defile where it finally rejoins the Little Zab on its right bank.

Orography. The lofty chain of the Kāndil rises like a wall between the territory of Sāwdj-Bulāk and the districts of the former Turkish Kurdistan: Rawāndūz and Kū-i Sandjāk. Among the Arabs the Kāndil was called *Shā'ran*, in Persian Takht-i Shīrūye (Yāqūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, III. 298), by the Armenians Zarap (Hoffmann, *Austriger*, p. 249, 266). The famous pass of Keli Shīn (about 9,000 feet high) between Ushnū and Sīdākan (belonging to Rawāndūz) lies to the north and outside the boundaries of Sāwdj-Bulāk. Communication between Sāwdj-Bulāk and Mesopotamia is maintained by the less elevated (6,000 feet) and more convenient pass of Garū-Shīnka, between Lahidjān and Bulāk (Rāyāt), as well as by the defiles of Wasna and Alān. All traffic is, however, considerably hampered by the presence of turbulent tribes on both sides of the frontier.

The great perpendicular arête which is detached from the southern extremity of the Kāndil and forms the northern wall of the ravine of Alān is noteworthy. It is called Dārū and its pass the Hawmīl.

The heights running between Lahidjān and the valley of the Gādīr are of little importance except a few peaks (Bīcārā and Čoghantū). They extend to the Tatawū, where they cut the town of Sāwdj-Bulāk off from the northern district of Shā-i Wēran; they allow a passage, however, to the Sāwdj-Bulāk river.

The central longitudinal massif of Kurtak (up to 7,000 feet) separates the waters of the Kālū from the basin of Lake Urmīya; to the north it joins the summit of Čoghantū.

The eastern part of Mukri Kurdistan is in the form of a square, the sides of which are in the north the latitudinal heights; in the west the Kurtak; in the south the watershed of the Tatawū on one hand and of Namashīr and Sakki on the other; these heights coalesce in the extreme south of the Kurtak and their principal summit is Bārd-i Sūr ("red stone"); lastly on the east the heights of the watershed between the Tatawū and the Džaghātū. The interior of the square formed by the system of the Sāwdj-Bulāk-čai and of the Tatawū is extremely irregular: it contains mountain peaks (*Tarāks*), gentle slopes and fertile valleys.

To the south and outside the square are the districts of Sakki [q.v.] and Bāna. The first inclines from south-west to north-east. It is watered by the northern sources of the Djaghān and fills the angle between the square of Sawdī-Bulāk and the lands of Bāna. The latter district, on the other hand, forms a valley sloping from east to west towards the basin of the Kālā. To the south Sūr-kēw ("Red mountain") forms the boundary; to the east the heights of Shwē-g'wān separate it from the southern sources of the Djaghān (River Sāhī); to the north-east the heights of the Kulī Khān pass rise as a barrier between the wooded slopes of Bāna and the bare hills of Sakki. To the north the rocky group of Balū (the "oak") bounds the principal valley of Bāna. To the north of Balū runs the river of Namashī which runs directly into the Kālā on its left bank. Balū thus forms an isolated group corresponding to Bān on the right bank of the Kālā. The true northern boundary of Bāna is therefore formed by the mountain of Isardī Sūr to the north of the districts of Daghī-i Tal and Namashī.

From the administrative (and ethnographical) point of view the province of Sawdī-Bulāk is divided into the following parts:

I. Mukri Kurdistan properly so-called, inhabited by settled Kurds belonging to the Mukri and Debokri tribes. The capital is the town of Sawdī-Bulāk founded, according to Rawlinson, at the beginning of the xviiith century. A century later it comprised 1200 houses of which 100 belonged to Jews and 30 to Syrians. The town retained this size till the outbreak of the Great War. According to H. Schindler, the town lies in 36° 45' 48" N. Lat. and 45° 47' E. Long. at a height of 4,272 feet above sea-level. The following districts (*maḥall*) form this part of Mukri Kurdistan: 1. The environs of the capital, 36 villages; 2. Shūr-i Wazīn "the deserted town"; this very rich district is situated to the south of the capital and has 65 villages belonging to the Debokri tribe; 3. Akhtāzī "grooves", on the Sawdī-Bulāk-Miyan-dān road, in the valley of the Tātawū, 90 villages, of which the principal is Būrhān; 4. Balū on the Tātawū at the crossing of the Sawdī-Bulāk-Sakki and Marāgha-Sakki roads, 65 villages of which the principal is Bōkha with a fine residence of the hereditary "sarār" of the Mukri; 5. Turdān south of Balū, 38 villages; 6. Gowruk-i Mukri near the sources of the Tātawū southeast of Kurtak, 24 villages.

II. The territory of the Kurd tribe Bībāz, related to the Mukri and speaking the same dialect. Formerly nomads, the Bībāz now spend the winter in their villages and in summer go to the heights (*zarāw*) near their dwellings. The following are always on Persian territory:

a. The Mangar, a brave and courageous tribe, mostly settled, on the Sawdī-Bulāk-Tal and in the districts of Rī-Tamūr (below Gowruk) and Nāl-lāl-i Mangar (the "horse-shoe", i.e. an amphitheatre formed by the mountains on the western face of Kurtak). But the headquarters of the Mangar where their *qāhā* live is at Mērgān (Tirkāsh) on the right bank of the Kālā between Lāhidjān and Sardāsh. The total number of the villages of the Mangar amounts to 148.

b. The Pirān to the north of Mērgān in old Lāhidjān on the Lāwā, 30 villages, including the little fort of Mutawā-tāp just opposite the pass of Garā-shimā.

c. The Mamash live in New Lāhidjān, the centre of which is the ancient stronghold of Paawa, now in ruins, but mentioned as early as Yāqūt. The Mamash occupy the valley of Bārd-i Māsh (Djaldān) and all the upper part of Lāwān above the part where it enters the plain of Old Lāhidjān. There are Mamash at Sardāsh and at Ushū, in all over a hundred villages.

d. The clan Odjāsh-kā-Khīrī in summer occupies the rich pastures of Wāna and in winter descends to the warm plains of Rū-i Sandjāq, but it also has an inclination to settle in Persia.

III. The territory of Sardāsh consists of the following divisions:

a. The wretched little town of Sardāsh, the residence of a vice-governor, and the district of the same name on the right bank of the Kālā.

A. The tribe of Gowruk (Gawrik) which besides the villages already mentioned occupies the wooded spurs of the Kurtak on the left bank of the Kālā and has over a hundred villages.

α. The Sūzān live in the villages (68) between Wāna, Sardāsh, the bend of the Kālā and the Kandī. Their clans (Baryādjī; Mīlkārī, Darma, Harz-Alān and Alān) live separately without common chiefs. Bāhū, the chief place of the Alān, has 70 houses surrounded with beautiful gardens. It ought to become quite important, being situated on the Marāgha-Sawdī-Bulāk-Sardāsh road and the districts of Sulaimāniya and Kīrkūk. At Teyet below Bāhū there are to be seen on the Kālā the ruins of an old bridge having seven piers of brick.

IV. The two other districts of Mukri Kurdistan are Sakki and Bāna. They were both at one time under the wills of Sinna, but geographical, ethnical and political conditions (especially since the Turkish occupation in 1906) explain their being attached to Sawdī-Bulāk.

Bāna is a very important district with 8 subdivisions (Dūla-Khānawā, Balaw-Bashwā, Shwā, Namashī, Daghī-i Tal, Kīwerā, Tāzān, Pāsh-Arbēhā) with 145 villages and about 3500 households. The town of Bāna at the foot of Mount Arbēhā has 800 homes, of which 80 belong to Jews, and a very busy market. In Pāsh-Arbēhā ("behind A."), on the road from Pēndjwā, we may mention the village of Campāra, which although situated to the south of the Sūr-kēw range belongs to Bāna.

Rawlinson estimated the number of Mukri families at 12,000 which would give about 100,000 souls. This figure does not seem to include Bībāz, Bāna, Sakki, etc. The actual number of inhabitants of the *submūt* of Sawdī-Bulāk cannot be below 200,000. The foreigners are a few Persian officials, several hundred Jewish families at Sawdī-Bulāk, Bāna and Sardāsh, and even in the villages; a dozen Armenian families (with a church) at the town of Sawdī-Bulāk, whence, on the other hand, Syrians have entirely disappeared.

Language. O. Mann concludes that the same Kurdish language (Kurmāndjī) is spoken on the territory bounded on the east by the valley of the Tātawū and the left bank of the Djaghān; to the south, in Sakki and Bāna, Kurmāndjī is spoken, but at Marwān(?) and among the Tīkū tribe (in the district of Hōbārī) the dialect of Sinna [q.v.] is said to be spoken. Kurmāndjī extends beyond the bounds of Persia as far as Sulaimāniya and even south of it. The favourite poets of the people of Sawdī-Bulāk are natives of Kīrkūk.

Darband and the villages of Sulaimāniya. To the north-west the dialect passes a little beyond the plain of Ughni, but in the Urmia region begins the area of the dialects which are connected with those of Hakkāri. Thanks to the labours of O. Mann we have a fine collection of heroic ballads and Mukri folk-lore. There is a translation into the Mukri dialect of the Gospel of St. Mark (Awatariyan press at Philippopolis, 1909) and of Protestant hymns (L. O. Fossam) etc. Before the war American missionaries had begun to publish at Urmia a little magazine for the Mukri (*Kurdistan*, No. 1, April, 1914).

Religion. The Mukri Kurds are Shī'ite Sunnis. They are very lukewarm in religious matters, but the Shaikhs belonging to the religious orders (Nakshbandi and Qādiri) exercise a very great personal influence among them. The disciples of Shaikh Sa'īd of Kāwelbād (killed in 1915 during the Turkish occupation) practised a very violent *ghāz* in his *tabiya*.

Costume. The Mukri costume consists of a shirt with very long sleeves coming down to the feet and tied behind the back when fighting. Above it is put a kind of robe which comes down to the knees and the tails of which cross; a huge girdle of cotton material, sometimes 20 feet long, is then rolled round the body. In summer the tails of the coat fall down over the huge white drawers tightened at the ankles. In winter or when on horseback the tails are thrust into cloth trousers of ample dimensions. Above all a very short sleeveless coat of hard felt is worn. On the head is worn a peaked headress surmounted by a tassel. This is surrounded by a turban of Mosul silk, the felings of which fall over the eyes. The old armour, coat-of-mail, helmet, buckler, lance and sword (cf. de Morgan, II, Pl. ix. and x.), has completely disappeared. The Mukri is content with a dagger and a rifle, and is specially fond of making a show of the number of his handlovers and belts arranged to hold cartridges. There is not much variety in the equestrian sports; the favourite is the *talpala* which consists in throwing a heavy stick to the ground and catching it while going at full speed.

The women wear dark cotton trousers, a long undergarment, and a piece of blue cotton with which they cover their shoulders; a black or red turban skilfully arranged forms their headress. The relations between the sexes have not the strictness usual among the Muslims. The women do not veil themselves. Among the Mukris there are a number of dances (*lāpā, rōmā, zāstak, lāpāl, bārdā, kār-parrā*) in which the men and women form circles holding one another's hands.

Occupations. To the north-east, especially in the rich valley of the Tātaw, we have agriculture with a view to export; everywhere else the tribes cultivate the soil for their own requirements only. The vine and tobacco are grown at Alān, Sardasht and Bānā. Sheep are reared throughout the mountainous region; cheese is made flavoured with sweet smelling herbs and felt is manufactured. In the wooded districts the people burn charcoal, gather acorns, gal-nuts and mums (*gāz*); these districts are: on the right bank of the Klān the region between Prānān and Sardasht; on the left bank the western slopes of the Kurtak; in Bānā the eastern parts of the district. In the river at Wānā (near Aghāim) auriferous sand is found in small quantities.

History. Down to about 1890 there was at Taghtapa on the lower course of the Tātaw a cuneiform inscription in the Khaldaiic (Vannic) language, which has since been carried off by some vandal. According to Belck (*Das Reich der Mannen*, in the *Verhandl. Berl. Ges. f. Anthropologie*, 1894, p. 479-487), it was put up by Manna, son of Ishpūnī, a Vannic (Khaldai, Urmian) king who reigned between 812 and 778 B.C. (C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, 1910, I. 632). This monument, the most eastern known in the cuneiform character, must have marked the site of the town of Manā in the land of the Mannēans (Minnā) conquered by Manna. Traces of Khaldaiic influence can also be seen in the waterworks, subterranean corridors and stairways hewn out of the rock, which Rawlinson (*J.R.G.S.*, vol. x.) discovered at Shūnān-ābād and at Sawkand on the left bank of the Sāwdj-Bulāk river. The Assyrian king Sargon, in the account of his famous campaign in 714 B.C., mentions to the south of Lake Urmia — apart from Mannaeu territories — the districts of Allahria, Parsuash, Zikirta, etc. (Thureau-Dangin, *Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon*, Paris 1912). But the identification of Parsuash with the land of the Persians (Pārsā) and its localisation on the lower course of the Klān are still only hypotheses.

Another very remarkable monument is the rock tomb of Fakrānā near the village of Indirāsh north of Sāwdj-Bulāk; it resembles the Achaemenid type of tomb (de Morgan), E. Herzfeld connects it with the group of monuments which he regards as Median (Sarre-Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 1910, p. 184; Herzfeld, *Cherubim*, in *DMZ*, 1921, xl. 131). Among the towns of Media enumerated by Ptolemy (vi. 2) there are two in the same latitude (38° 30'): *Sagabara* (long. 87° 30') and *Saxat* (long. 88°). Rawlinson identifies the latter with Singa in the district of Ughni and he connected the former (*Dumyavanda*) with the Daryā mentioned in the Kurdish chronicle (ed. Velliamouf-Zernof, I. 268). But he did not know the site of Daryā; it is the name of a village (2 miles N.W. of Indirāsh) quite close to which are the ruins of the "deserted town" which has given its name to the whole district of Shār-i Wānā, which is still recognised as the ancient capital of the district.

De Morgan (iv. 283) has remarked on the great number of artificial *tell's* (mounds) on the upper Klān; there are 24 in Lāhijān. The ruins of the "old town" of this district are to the south-east of the pass of Garū-Shinkā. Farther down the *tell's* disappear but in the centre of the Mukri country, at Ghoghā-tapa there is a large mound 150 paces in circumference. Quite near, at Khaldāh, de Morgan found tombs of the iron age (*Mus. orient.*, vol. iv., *Richesses archéol.*, I. 9). In the Bānā district Harris mentions "mounds" (*tell's*) near Sīwānā, the inhabitants of which sold him ancient seals, cylinders, etc. All this shows that the region of Mukri Kurdistan has been inhabited from a remote period.

The Emperor Heraclius crossed this region in 624 in pursuit of Khusrāw Parwēz; in the caves of Kerefān (Sān-Kāl'a, q.v.) Ker Porter found a Greek inscription (Kabel, *Epigr. Graeca*, Berlin 1878, p. 512).

The history of Mār Yabālāhā, patriarch of the Nestorians (1281-1317 A.D.), shows the im-

portance of the traffic through the territory of Säwdj-Buläk in the Mongol period. The present toponymy of the region shows the clash of Turkish influences from the north-east and Kurd influences infiltrating from the west. In the eastern cantons (Akhtaci, Bâhi, Turdjân, Saklâ) there are Kurdish villages with Turkish names. We also find a certain number of Mongol names: Tarağa, Tatawû (in Mustawfî: Taghatû), Džaghataû, which, according to the *History of Mîr Yabalâhâ* (transl. Chabot, 1895, p. 151), was called in Persian Wakya(?)—rûd or, according to Rashid al-Din (ed. Quatremère, *ad fol.* 297^b), Zarîna Rûd. On the other hand, the Turkish districts between the Tatawû and Marâgha formerly subject to the Mukri have been lost to them. To the west of the Kurtak we only find Kurdish names with a few sporadic Semitic ones (Aramaic): Dribka, Kôka, Nalosa and Šimôla.

We have to distinguish several historical layers among the Kurds of Säwdj-Buläk. In general the large tribes are divided into two classes: warrior ('*ashiraf*') and peasant ('*ra'ayat*') and it is very probable that before the formation of a tribe organised in this way the peasants had to be subjugated and sometimes even "Kurdicised" by the invaders who are their present masters. According to O. Mann, the peasants are usually proud of belonging to the (now called?) Debolak tribe who would represent an older element than the Mukri. The same hypothesis is probable for the Süesni (between the valley of Aîlân, Sardasht and Wazna) in view of their settled character and their ability as gardeners and vine-growers.

As regards the tribal aristocracy it always claims to have come from the west. For the principal tribe of the Mukri we have the references in the *Šaraf-nûma*. The Mukri chiefs claim to have belonged to the Mukriya tribe which lives in Šahrîstân and to have been of the family of governors of the Bâbân tribe. During the period of Turkoman dynasties (ixth cent. A. H.) a certain Saif al-Din took Daryâ from the Çabuklû (a Turkish tribe?) and enlarged the territory by the addition of the districts of Döl-i Bîrik (Döl is a little district to the S.-W. of Lake Urmiya and Bîrik a tribe at present scattered round the mouth of the Tatawû), Akhtaci, El-Tamir and Suldûz. The tribes united under his sway received the name of Mukri. His son and successor Šârim challenged Šâh Imâd'î Šafawî and in 912 inflicted a defeat on the Persian troops. Then (in 918?) he sought support and investiture from Sulţân Selâm. On the death of Šârim his estates were divided among the three sons of his nephew Rustam, who recognised the suzerainty of Šâh Tahmasp. At the revolt of Alâş Mîrzâ (948) Sulţân Sulaimân sent against them his vassals of the 'Amûdiya, Hakkârî and Brâdest tribes who fought and killed them. The young son of Šârim, Amîra-bêg I, succeeded them having received investiture from Sulţân Sulaimân and ruled his tribe and the fief of Daryâ for 30 years. Another Amîra, grandson of Rustam, succeeded him, with the help of the Šafawîs. During the troubles in the reign of Šâh Muḥammad Khudâ-banda, Amîra-bêg II in 991 visited Sulţân Murâd III who added to his hereditary fief the willâyet of Bâbân (Šahr-i Zûr) and the sandjak of Moḡul; Erbil and certain dependencies of Marâgha were given to his sons. With the help of the Mîr-i Mîrân of Wan, he defied the Persian governor of Marâgha and plundered the

district, of which the Sulţân appointed him beyler-beyi with the title of pâšâ. The hereditary fief of Daryâ was, however, awarded to his nephew Ḥasan who had given his adherence to the Porte before him. A war broke out between Amîra Pâšâ and Ḥasan. The latter was killed and Sulţân Muḥammad III (1003—1012 A. H.) granted his brother Uluḡ-beg the district of Dîb-i Khwârkân (D. Harrakân to the north of Marâgha) in fief. In the meanwhile the Turks had captured Tabriz and Džafar Pâšâ, appointed Governor-General of the province, wished to have Amîra-Pâšâ recognise his authority. The latter complied with a bad grace. Džafar Pâšâ lodged complaints against him in Constantinople and the sandjaks of Bâbân, Moḡul and Erbil were taken from Amîra. Marâgha was subordinated to Tabriz with an obligation on Amîra to pay an annual contribution of 15 khar-wîr of gold. Finally his lands were reduced to Daryâ alone. His son Šaikh Haidâr, however, was able to hold out in the old fortress of Sârû-Kurghân rebuilt by him. The people of Marâgha complained of him as a troublesome neighbour and Khidîr Pâšâ, governor-general of Tabriz, issued an edict allotting Sârû-Kurghân to the Mahmûdi tribe. Fighting began around the fortress and Amîra-Pâšâ had to intervene to put a stop to the hostilities. About 1005 the father and son still had the following districts: Daryâ, (Miyân)-du-âb, Adjari and Leîlân (the two last named on the right bank of the Džaghataû), as well as the fortress of Tarağa and Sârû-Kurghân with the districts attached to them.

Information on the later period is still little accessible. Iskandar Manḡhî, author of the *Turîkh-i Alam A'ra*, was an eye-witness of Šâh 'Abbâs's expedition against the Mukri and Brâdest Kurds; the episode of the siege (in 1017 = 1609) of Dîmdîm-ka'â (south of Urmiya on the river Kâsimlû) is the favourite subject of Mukri heroic ballads. Mîrzâ Mahdî-Khân's history of Nâdir Šâh also contains information about the Mukri (O. Mann, *op. cit.*, I, Preface).

The more recent history of Mukri territory is as follows: In 1810 the governor of Marâgha, Ahmad-Khân (of the Turkish tribe of Muḡaddam), invited the Mamagh Aghâ's to a feast and had 300 of them massacred there, which put a stop to this tribe's depredations for a long time. In 1850 the rebel Bâpir Aghâ (Bîlbâs) threatened Marâgha. In October, 1880, the Mukri territory was invaded by Šaikh 'Ubad Allâh of Šamandînân, whose ambition was to found a Kurdish principality of the same character as that of Rumelia. On this occasion the religious chief of the Sunnis of Säwdj-Buläk proclaimed the holy war against the Šu'î'a which resulted in horrible massacres especially around Marâgha. In 1905, the Turks contesting the Turko-Persian frontier occupied Lâhidjân. Muḥammad Faḡîl Pâšâ's headquarters were at first established at Paawa; in the end the occupation gradually opened all over Mukri territory. In 1914 the delimitation took place with the assistance of British and Russian representatives; it re-established the old frontier along the Kandîl. The World War began in these regions with a new Turkish-Kurd movement. Colonel Iyâs, Russian consul at Säwdj-Buläk, was assassinated at Miyân-du-âb on Dec. 16, 1914. The region then became the scene of Russian-Turkish fighting which left a trail of devastation behind it.

Five great families constitute the Mukri nobility: they are all called Bāhā-Amīra (Bāhā-mīr) and trace their descent from Amīra Pāhā. Their more certain ancestor is Budākh-Sultān who is buried in Sāwdj-Bulāk; his connection with Amīra II is, however, not at all clear. According to Rich (i. 309), his brother Bāhā Sulaimān flourished about 1700. There are curious legends about the life of Budākh-Sultān: he is said to have been the son of a certain Fakih Ahmad who had married a young Frank girl called Kēghān (Rich, i. 291, 299, 389). One of the peaks of the Kāndil is called Khān Budākh Kēghān (metonymic names are common among the Mukri). The descendant of Budākh in the eighth generation was 'Aziz Khān Sardār, governor-general of Ādharbāidjān, who died in 1868. De Morgan (ii. 40—41) extols the ability of his son Saif al-Dīn, governor of Sāwdj-Bulāk and owner of the fine estate of Bōkān (he died in 1891). His son and successor, Husain-Khān Sardār-i Mukri, several times governor of Sāwdj-Bulāk, was killed in 1914 during the Turkish invasion. Other Bāhā-mīr families have estates at Akhtāti, Tundjān and Yād-āhād (Yālawā).

Rawlinson (p. 35) describes the fiscal organisation of Sāwdj-Bulāk. The Bāhā-mīr families receive $\frac{1}{10}$ of the produce of the land; $\frac{1}{10}$ is received by the farmers (*agāh*) and $\frac{1}{10}$ goes to the 'zarfet-chān' who superintend the cultivation. These quotas evidently represented the rest while the rest of the produce defrayed the expenses of tillage and labour. According to O. Mann, this system still flourishes; but feudal customs generally tend to disappear.

The tribe of Debokri has only played a subordinate part. Their very centre, Daryā, has long been regarded by the Mukri as their hereditary fief. It is only very recently that the Debokri seem to have again organised themselves with some degree of independence under their present chiefs of whom the great-grandfather, Ibrahim Aghā, is said to have come from Diyār-bakr (?). Near Sāwdj-Bulāk there is a little village of Debokri from which Debokri must be derived. The connection between Debokri (Dih-i Bokri?) and Diyār-bakr is uncertain. In any case the name *Debokri*, which does not occur in the *Sharaf-nāma*, cannot be old but, as it is applied especially to a family of chiefs, this fact does not prejudice the antiquity of the people owning their rule. The district of Lāhidjān, like its homonym in Gilān, used to be called Lāridjān. Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 244, 263, identifies it with the Salāk al-Awāl of the Arabs, while not denying that the name *salāk* may be a reminiscence of the ancient *Siliak*. According to the *Sharaf-nāma* (i. 279), Sulaimān-bēg Sohrān (before 994?) pillaged the land of the Zarā. A corrupt passage (i. 280) then seems to show that Lāridjān formed part of this territory and that it was taken from the Zarā by Pir Budāk Babān. The Zarā now occupy the district of Ushnā immediately to the north of Lāhidjān. The date of arrival of the present occupants, the Bilbās, in Lāhidjān is unknown. The Bilbās with the Kāwālā are occasionally referred to in the *Sharaf-nāma* to the west of the Kāndil where some of their branches are still to be found (Mamash-i Bōe, Khidir-mamashen). In Rawlinson's time the Bilbās still paid to the Mukri a tribute of 1000 toman a year.

As to Bāna, the *Sharaf-nāma* says that this district lies between the Ardilān, Bāhān and Mukri, and that it consists of two parts, one of which is

the *nāhiya* of Bāna properly so-called with the fort of Birtā; the other consists of the fort of Shlwa (in Kurdish "slope") which must correspond to the village of Shwē in the district of this name lying to the south-west of Bāna. The former capital, the official Persian name of which is Bihritā, is a short distance from the modern town but its name survives in the popular name given by the Kurds to the present town of Bā-rūza ("exposed to the sun"). The Amīra of Bāna (*Sharaf-nāma*, i. 320) were called Ikhtiyār al-Dīn because "of their own accord (*ba-ikhtiyār-i khud*) they had adopted Islām". The first chief mentioned by the author is Mirzā-bēg of Bāna, who married the daughter of Biga-bēg, governor of Ardilān, which brought him trouble with a rival and the resultant temporary loss of his fief. His son Budāk-bēg, driven out by his brothers, sought the support of Shāh Tahmasp but died at Kāzin. The Shāh ordered the governor of Marāgha to install in Bāna Budāk's brother Sulaimān-bēg who ruled the district for twenty years and finally handed over his position to his son-in-law and nephew Badr-bēg. The Ikhtiyār al-Dīn family, which also claimed descent from the 'Abbāsids, then became vassals of the wālīs of Ardilān. In the time of Rich (i. 217, 248) Nūr Allāh Khān was hereditary governor of Bāna. The last scion of the Ikhtiyār al-Dīn family, Karīm Khān, was killed (about 1890) by his old servant Wenis (= Yunus) Khān, who seized the power in Bāna. His son Hanna (Muhammad) Khān was governor in the district before the Great War. Since 1912 by order from Teherān Bāna has been detached from Sinna and incorporated in the province of Sāwdj-Bulāk.

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(V. MINORSKY)

SAWDJĪ, the name of three Ottoman princes. Its origin like that of most old Ottoman names (cf. Baki, Salik etc.) has not been satisfactorily explained: cf., however, W. Radloff, *Wörterb. der Türkisch.*, IV, 431, and Kien, *Gal. of Turk. Mo.*, p. 2729, according to whom it means "Prophet".

1) Sawdjī lived, in the old Ottoman chronicles also called ŞARİ YAVI or ŞARİ BALI, was one of the younger brothers of 'Osman, the founder of the Ottoman dynasty, and a son of Ertoghrul. He supported his brother on his campaigns and fell (684 = 1285/86 in the date given) in battle against the governor of Angelokome (Aine Gol) at Egridje south of Koladja behind Olympus at the foot of a pine tree. The tree was still called *Kundin tan* "pine tree of the lamps" in later times presumably from the lights lit there, the glimmer of which was afterwards given a mystic significance. (According to Neshri, Idris Bidlisi and Sa'd al-Din, *Tuğl al-Tawridh*, I, 18, a 199, a heavenly light, *nur ul nur*, illuminated the tree by night). Sawdjī Beg was buried beside his father in his tomb (*turbe*) at Sogud destroyed by the Greeks in 1922.

Bibliography: J. von Hammer, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, I, 54, and following him J. Zinkeisen, *G.O.R.*, I, 70, (from Sa'd al-Din who follows Idris Bidlisi, *Heft Bidhi*, and Neshri, *Qikamran*).

2) A son of 'Osman was also called Sawdjī. We

only know of him that he fell in battle (*Siddiqi-Othman*, I, 37).

3) The eldest son of Murad I who, when governor of Kuselia, made terms with a son of John V Palaeologus of Byzantium named Antheimos, and rebelled against his father. The Ottoman chronicles give very scanty information about this conspiracy while the Byzantine historians Chalcocondyles, Phrantzes and Ducas give very full accounts, differing only in details; cf. Chalcocondyles, ed. Imb. Bekker, I, 40 199. (Zawjic); Phrantzes, ed. Bekker, I, 50, where the rebel is wrongly called *Mare Tzawrec* i.e. Müsl Celebi through confusion with Bayazid I's son; Ducas, ed. Bekker, p. 22 (Zawjic); where Sawdjī is mentioned but the rebel is called *Kavroç* i.e. Qandir. Murad I acted jointly with John V and took the field against the two princes. After an unsuccessful battle at a place which the Byzantine writers call *Λαυαβίον* (Chalc., p. 43 a) Sawdjī fled to Didymoteichon, where he was surrounded and forced to surrender to his father. He was blinded and then beheaded. The execution took place in 787 (1385/86) and the body was brought to Brusa and buried there. Murad I had apparently made up his mind to get rid of Sawdjī as he had appointed his son Bayazid to watch his movements, cf. Murad I's letter to Bayazid in *Peridika*, *Münasibat Selam*, II, 107 (of the beginning of Rabi' I, 787 = 1385-1386), with Bayazid's answer, *op. cit.*, esp. p. 108 supra, according to which the Kadi of Brusa must have passed a death sentence on Sawdjī. The execution of Sawdjī was the first of a long series of similar cases, in which princes dangerous to the Ottoman heir-apparent were put out of the way.

Bibliography: J. von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, I, 190, 399; Zinkeisen in *G.O.R.*, I, 237 199; Hüdudî Khallîf, *Tuğl al-Tawridh*, under the year 787; Sa'd al-Din, *Tuğl al-Tawridh*, I, 100 199. (following Idris Bidlisi).

(FRANZ BARNHART)

SAWIK (A.) is in the first place barley flour, then also wheat flour and flour made of dried fruits, then a soup made from flour with water or a paste to which honey, oil or pomegranate syrup etc. is added. The effects of such flour dishes are discussed by al-Razi in his work on diet. — To revenge the battle of Badr, Ali Sufyan in 129 H-1144/45, 2 A.H., rode with a body of huns towards Medina. Near the town there was some trilling skirmishing and Ali Sufyan fled as soon as Muhammad and his followers approached. The Mekhams in their flight threw away their provisions, mainly *sawik*, which were picked up by the Muslims. The incident has been perpetuated in the *Sira* under the name *Qaswat al-Sawik* (cf. Castani, *Annals dell' Islam*, year 2, § 99).

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(J. RUSSA)

SAWM (A.), with *SYEM*, *majdar* from the root *š-w-m*; the two *majdar* are used indiscriminately. The original meaning of the word in Arabic is "to be at rest" (Th. Noldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur sem. Sprachw.*, Strasbourg 1910, p. 36, note 3; cf. previously S. Frinkel, *De vocib. in Corani periculis*, Leiden 1880, p. 20: "quiescere"). The meaning "fasting" may have been taken from Judaeo-Aramaic usage, when Muhammad became better acquainted with the institution of fasting in Medina. The word has this meaning in the Muslim *siras*; in the Mekka *siras*

it only occurs once, in Sūra alx. 27, where the commentators explain it by *ṣawm* "silence" (this is therefore given as one of the translations of the word in the dictionaries); but perhaps *ṣawm* has simply to be translated "fasting" here (see below). The verb is followed by the accusative of the time spent in fasting.

Origin of the rite of Fasting. That fasting was an unknown practice in Mecca before Muhammad's time cannot be *a priori* assumed. Why should not the *Ḥunafā* in whose manner of life there were so many Judaeo-Christian features apparent — at least according to tradition — have also used this spiritual discipline? In favour of the occurrence of fasting as a voluntary practice of mortification among the first Muslims in Mecca is the probability that Muhammad on his many and varied journeys had observed the rite among Jews and Christians. But we can say nothing definite on this point; anything told us on this subject in the *Sūra* and Muslim tradition may be biased. In the Mekka *sūras*, as above mentioned, there is a reference to *ṣawm* in xix. 27: a voice commands Mary to say "I have made a vow of *ṣawm* to the Merciful, therefore I speak to no one this day." There is some possibility that *ṣawm* here simply means "fasting", because observing silence as a Christian fasting practice (cf. Afschütz, ed. Parinot, in *Patrol. Syriaca*, i. p. 97) may have been known to Muhammad. Muhammad was in any case not acquainted with the details, because it was only after the Hijra that he ordered the *ʿAshūrā*-day to be spent in fasting, when he saw the Jews doing it in Medina. In the year 2 A. H., according to unanimous reliable Muslim tradition (cf. A. J. Wensinck, *Muhammad in de Joden te Medina*, Diss. Leiden 1908, p. 136—137, in contradiction of e. g. A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Muhammad*, iii. 53—59), the revelation of Sūra ii. 179—181 again abolished the *ʿAshūrā*-fast as an obligation by the institution of the fast of Ramaḍān. On the question why Muhammad chose this particular month and whence he took the arrangement of the Muslim fast, various opinions have been expressed. Islām teaches that it is the fast imposed by God on Jews and Christians, but corrupted by them and restored by Muhammad to its true form; Sprenger, *op. cit.*, iii. 55 *seq.*, thinks that it was an imitation of the Christian quadragesima; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qurʾān*, I, Leipzig 1909, p. 179—180, note 1, points to the similarity with the mode of fasting among the Manichaeans. More recently, however, A. J. Wensinck has called attention to the particularly sacred character of the month of Ramaḍān even in pre-Muhammadan times (on account of the — also old-Arabic — *Lailat al-Kaʿb* [q. v.], which happens in Ramaḍān) in his essay *Arabic New-Year and the Feast of Tabris*, *under the Verb. Ak. W. Amst.*, New Series, 1925, vol. xxvii, 1—13; cf. also M. Th. Houtsma, *Over de Israëlitische Fastendagen*, in *Verh. en Med. Ak. Wetensch.*, Afd. Letterk., Series 4, vol. ii. 3 *seq.* (Amsterdam 1898) and with this has opened up the possibility that the solution of the problem of Ramaḍān is to be sought in this direction (for further information see the article *RAMAḌĀN*).

The first regulations concerning the manner of the Muslim fasting are given in Sūra ii. 179—181, which probably belong together (Nöldeke-Schwally, p. 178; in opposition to Th. W. Juynboll,

Handbuch des islamischen Rechts, Leiden-Leipzig 1910, p. 114, who considers 181 a later revelation; al-Buhārī also assumes that it was revealed in separate parts): one ought to fast during a definite number of days, to be precise, in the month of Ramaḍān, "in which the Qurʾān was sent down"; special dispensations were granted to invalids and travellers on condition that they made restitution for it. In obedience to these divine commands the Muslims fasted in Ramaḍān and the devout among them followed the Jewish custom of fasting from one sunset to the next until a new revelation (ii. 183) limited the period of fasting to the day (cf. al-Buhārī, *Sawm*, bñh 15, etc.). The fast is also mentioned elsewhere in the Qurʾān: in Sūra ii. 192, where it is prescribed as a substitute for the *ḥajj* in certain circumstances; in iv. 94, where fasting during two successive months is ordered as an atonement when someone has killed a believer of an allied nation by accident (cf. the article *ḤATĪ*); v. 91: one should fast three days (as a substitute) if one has broken an oath; v. 96: one should fast (as a substitute) if one has killed game on the pilgrimage; viii. 5: one should fast (as a substitute) for two successive months if one wants to make the *ḥajj* [q. v.] invalid (cf. the regulations of the *ḥajj*, below). *Ṣawm* is further used in xxiii. 35 to describe the devout Muslim, along with other epithets, while in Sūra ii. 42 and 148 *ṣawm* [q. v.] is explained as *ṣawm*.

The ordinances in Sūra ii. 179—181, 183, form the basis of the detailed regulation by the *fuḥūḥ* of the law regarding fasting; many minutiae were taken from tradition. What follows here is a résumé of the law on fasting according to the Shāfiʿ school, as contained in the treatise by Abū Shujʿāʾ al-Iṣḥāqī (vth century A. H.) *Muḥṭasab ʾl-Fikḥ*, annotated by Ibn Kāsim al-Ḥarāzī (d. 918 = 1522) and glossed by Iḥṣān al-Bāḍūrī (d. 1278 = 1861) (Cairo edition).

How the fast should be observed and who is bound to fast. Fasting in the legal sense is abstinence (*imāḍ*) from things which break the fast (*muḥṭabāt*), with a special *niyya* (intention) for each of the statutory fasts, and for the whole day; the *ṣāʾim* must be a Muslim in full possession of his senses (*ʿāqil*) and, if a woman, free from menstruation and the bleeding of childhood. The fast may be valid (*ṣāʾim*) under these conditions; there is an obligation to fast on every one who is full-grown (*baligh*) if he is physically fit (*ḥāḍir*). It is to be noted that the actual profession of Islām at the time is necessary for the *ṣāʾim*, while for the *muḥṭabāt* the Islām of a *muḥṭab* is also valid, who is thus after his conversion obliged to make up for the fast days he has omitted (*ḥuḍūr*); one who was born a *ḥāḍir*, who is pledged to Islām, and ought, therefore, to obey its laws also, need not, however, make up for his omissions; the law calls his obligation *muḥṭab ʿalāh*, whereas that of the *muḥṭab* is called *muḥṭab muḥṭab ʿalāh*. The fasting of a non-*ḥāḍir*, who is *munayyis* (has power of discrimination), is valid (one ought to compel a child to fast from the tenth year), as is that of a non-*ḥāḍir*. *ʿAḍl* is to be interpreted as meaning that for an unconscious, insane or intoxicated person *adl* (fulfilment of the obligation at the right time) is not *muḥṭab*. One may spend the day sleeping if the *niyya* has been previously formulated; or in a state of drunkenness or unconsciousness, if one

can pull oneself together even for a moment only during the day.

The *arāḥ* (pillars) of the fast are, besides the *ḥajj*, the *niya* and abstinence from the *muḥarrāt*. One ought to formulate the *niya* before dawn on each day of fasting (*ṭahīr*); by *ṭahīr* [q. v.], however, the *Shāfi* can follow the *Mālikī* *muḥabbab*, which allows one to formulate the *niya* for the whole of the month of *Ramādān* in the night before the first of *Ramādān*; if one fasts voluntarily, the *niya* may still be formed before noon, if one has actually fasted during the preceding part of the day. The *niya* should be deliberately formulated; it is desirable but not necessary to utter the words aloud (the law-books give formulae); indeed, preparations which are made directly in view of the coming fast day may be regarded as *niya*.

The *Muḥarrāt* are:

1. The entering into the body of any material substances in so far as it is done conscientiously and is preventable, i. e. the swallowing of food and beverages, the inhaling of tobacco smoke, the swallowing of spittle which can be ejected; if one sprays or drops liquids or inserts instruments into the various orifices of the body; if one retains what the body in the course of nature would reject. On account of the limitations in a, b, c (see below) it is not *muḥarr* if insects, dust of the road, fragments of food from the teeth, anything that the skin may absorb, water from rinsing the mouth or rinsing the nose, provided too much is not used, even in the not-compulsory *ḥajj* [q. v.], and ritually pure scents find a way into the body. If thirst troubles one exceedingly one may hold water for a moment in his mouth, if it can be done without danger.

2. Deliberate vomiting, which is only permitted by doctor's orders and even then only with liability to *ḥajj*.

3. Sexual intercourse.

4. Deliberate seminal emission, which is a consequence of sexual contact; in other cases a distinction is made as to whether it is caused by passion or not, whether the person causing it is a stranger or a *ḥajj muḥarram*, a boy, a woman or a *ḥajj*. Nocturnal or similar emissions (*istihā*) are not *muḥarr*.

5. Menstruation; this even makes the fast *ḥarām* (this rule is not clear to al-Rāḍī, because the fast does not demand ritual purity otherwise).

6. The bleeding of a woman in child-bed.

7. Unsound mind and

8. Intoxication (7 and 8 make any *ḥajj* impossible), to which a ninth may be added, childbirth, but only in the view of some *ḥajj*.

The *ifṭār* occurs, *causa quæ*, only in case of deliberateness (*al-ḥamūd*), knowledge (*ʿilm*) and free will (*ikhtiyār*), i. e. not by neglect, in ignorance of the obligations if this is to be excused, or under compulsion. "If one eats by an oversight", says the tradition, "he may continue the fast because God himself has caused him to eat" (Ba. Saḥm, bāb 26; *Aḥmād*, bāb 15; *Muḥamm*, *Siyūm*, tr. 171).

It is to be commended if the *ḥajj* (1) takes the *ḥajj* [q. v.] as soon as possible after he is certain the sun has set; he ought preferably to use ripe dates for this, or *ḥajj*-water or otherwise something tasty; the *ifṭār* is *ḥajj*, because the continuous fasting (*ḥajj al-ḥajj*) is *ḥajj*;

2) eats the *ḥajj* (what is eaten after midnight) as late as possible and uses for it the same as is recommended for the *ḥajj*; 3) refrains from indecent talk, slander, calumnies, lies and insults, because, according to the tradition, "the result of fasting is only hunger and thirst, if one does not keep his hands and feet from evil deeds"; 4) avoids such actions as, although not actually forbidden, might arouse passion in oneself or in others; 5) refrains from being copped or blasphemous; 6) tastes no food; 7) chews nothing edible; 8) thanks God after the day of fasting; 9) recites the *ḥajj* for oneself or others, and 10) observes the *ḥajj* in the month of *Ramādān* [q. v.] (in accordance with *Saḥm* II, 183). Al-Ghazālī adds to these charity in the month of *Ramādān*.

Arranged according to the five legal categories, the fast may be:

1. Obligatory (*ḥajj*, *ḥajj*) (a) in the month of *Ramādān*; (b) if one has to make up for days omitted in *Ramādān* (*ḥajj*); (c) on account of a vow; (d) in definite circumstances to atone for a transgression (*ḥajj*), and (e) when the *ḥajj* prescribes the *ḥajj*-ceremonies [q. v.] in season of drought. In the case of inexcusable *ifṭār* one is bound, according to al-Ghazālī, to fast during the remainder of the day, *ḥajj* al-*ḥajj*.

(a) Fasting in the month of *Ramādān* is the fourth pillar of Islam; whoever denies the obligation to fast is a *ḥajj*, unless he has only recently come in contact with Islam, or has grown up remote from the *Ulamā*. Whoever denies to fast without good cause, without, however, denying the compulsion to fast, is to be locked up and brought to formulate the *niya* by forced abstinence. The general obligation to fast (*ḥajj al-ḥajj*) begins on the first of *Ramādān*, after the 30th *Shabān*, or after the 29th if the *ḥajj* (*ḥajj*) has then accepted the evidence of one *ḥajj* that he has seen the new moon; the personal obligation (*ḥajj al-ḥajj*), in the case of an unaccepted *ḥajj* of one's own or that of another person whom one believes in this respect, even if he should not be *ḥajj*, after the 29th *Shabān*; if only one *ḥajj* has seen the new moon on the 29th *Shabān*, fasting etc. only becomes due on the 2nd *Ramādān*. The beginning of *Ramādān* has to be announced to the people in a way settled by the local custom (gun-shot, the hanging of lamps on the *ḥajj*, in Java by beating the *ḥajj*). Special regulations hold regarding *niya* and *ḥajj* if it is impossible for one to hear of the announcement or if he is wrongly informed. The observations of an astronomer, the calculations of a mathematician, or the dream of one who has received in his sleep information regarding the beginning of *Ramādān* from the Prophet, etc., can only allow *Ramādān* to begin for the astronomer, mathematician or dreamer themselves and those who firmly believe in them.

b) Days omitted in *Ramādān* have to be made good (*ḥajj*) as soon as possible, i. e. on the next day if this permits fasting, i. e. is not one of the forbidden days (see below) or is itself a compulsory fast day. If a man dies without having done his *ḥajj*, the obligation is thereby removed if there was a valid excuse for his being in arrears; otherwise his *wali* (in this case any relative can be a *wali*) must pay from his estate, or, with the consent of the *wali*, any stranger can

pay, a small *kaffāra* or *ḥajya* (see below), or the *walt* (or stranger) — and this is the older Shāfi' view, which later authorities do not approve of except, however, al-Bāḥūrī who even calls it *ḥajya* — can perform the *ḥajya* himself, in which case the merit acquired by the fast is credited to the deceased.

(c.) According to the opinion which has predominated in the Shāfi' school, a vow which would impose the obligation to the — reprehensible — *ḥajm al-dahr* (see below) is regarded as not done (cf. al-Bāḥūrī, *Kitāb Aḥkām al-Aimān wa'l-Naḥḥ*).

(d.) A distinction is made between the major and minor *kaffāra*. The first is imposed on anyone who (a) breaks the fast in Ramaḍān by sexual intercourse if this is sinful (*ifḥām*), under the above mentioned conditions, he is further obliged to perform *ḥajya* and be liable to *ḥajm* [q. v.]; because every fast day is an independent *ḥajm*, a *kaffāra* ought to be performed for every fast day broken in this way. Al-Bāḥūrī gives this subterfuge (*ḥajm*) to escape the *kaffāra*, that one should previously break the fast with another of the *ḥajm*; then the *kaffāra* drops out but the sin remains. The female participator in the transgression is only liable to *ḥajya* and *ḥajm*; (β) is guilty of illegal killing (cf. the article *ḥajm*); (γ) has pronounced the *ḥajm*-formula [q. v.] but not the *ḥajm* immediately after it (because he does not observe the vow contained in the *ḥajm*); (δ) has broken a valid oath (*ḥajm*; see the article *ḥajm*). This *kaffāra* consists of

	1	2	3	4
(a)				
and, 'iḥ	(resp.) ḥajm	(resp.) ifḥām	—	—
(γ)				
(β)	'iḥ (resp.) ḥajm	—	—	—
(δ)	'iḥ or ifḥām or ḥajm (resp.) ḥajm	—	—	—

i. e. in the cases (a), (β) and (γ) fasting (*ḥajm*) will do as a *kaffāra* if one is not able to do the first mentioned; if one receives the means to do so after having begun to fast, 'iḥ should be performed and the fasting that has been done is counted as a voluntary work of merit; similarly in case (δ) fasting takes fourth place with the idea that the first three are interchangeable, but fasting always comes fourth. In (a), (β) and (γ) two months' successive fasting is prescribed; the omission of one day makes it necessary to begin the fast from the first again, even if the omission was excusable; in case (δ) the fast is limited to three days and need not be successive. — If a man is not able to do any of the things mentioned, the obligation is put off until he has an opportunity to do one of them.

The minor *kaffāra* or *ḥajya* has to be paid when one takes advantage of one of the dispensations which are detailed below; the question of fasting does not arise. For a dead man (cf. above) it consists in his *walt* giving a *ḥajm* from the corn that grows on his land to the poor for each day omitted. The same aims have to be given by anyone who has not yet performed his *ḥajya* for days omitted in Ramaḍān by the beginning of the following Ramaḍān, and multiplied according to the number of years in arrears. — Anyone who has omitted, while performing the *ḥajm* or the *ḥajm*,

one of the obligatory rites which is not one of the four *arḥām* or performs anything forbidden during the period of *ḥajm* or takes advantage of a dispensation allowed by the law (e. g. *ḥajm* or *ḥajm*), should atone it with a *ḥajya* consisting in the first place of a definite sacrifice which is prescribed for each case separately; if the person liable to it is not able to perform the sacrifice he should fast, in some cases for to days — 3 during the *ḥajm* and 7 after returning home — and in other cases as many days as the quantity of *ḥajm* which would otherwise have been given to the poor. These regulations originate in Sūra n. 192 and v. 90; cf. al-Bāḥūrī, *Kitāb al-Ḥajj*, faḥ. II. and III.; Juyaboll, *Handbuch* etc., p. 145 and esp. p. 157; the art. *Ḥajm*.

(e.) In the case of great drought, the *ḥajm* may, according to the *ḥajm*, prescribe extraordinary ceremonies which include fasting; the three days before the *ḥajm* al-*ḥajm* [q. v.], cf. al-Bāḥūrī, *Kitāb Aḥkām al-Ḥajm*, Faḥ. I. *Ḥajm* al-*ḥajm* are spent in fasting. One notable feature here is that the formulation of the *ḥajm* by night (*ḥajm*) is *ḥajm* for everyone, even when the fast is not obligatory for him, i. e. also for a boy or one who enjoys a dispensation. (This is the only case where *ḥajm* is necessary for a fast which is not obligatory). — Cf. also C. Snouck Hargronje, *Verspreide Geschieden*, I. Bonn-Leipzig 1923, p. 137, note 2.

The law permits relaxations in the following circumstances:

A. Such as have reached a certain age (men 40; not exactly defined for women) and sick people for whom there is no hope of recovery, if they are unable to fast, may omit the fast without being bound to the *ḥajm* should their strength or health be restored. In compensation they should give alms at the rate of one *ḥajm* for each day omitted; a slave does not need to perform *ḥajm* but his owner may do it for him, or a relative; the latter is also permitted to fast in compensation.

B. If pregnant or nursing women fear it would be dangerous for them if they should fast, *ḥajm* is *ḥajm* for them and *ḥajm* is obligatory. If their fear is for the unborn child or the one they are nursing (not necessarily their own), *ḥajm* is *ḥajm* in this case also but a *ḥajya* is imposed on them as well as *ḥajm*, which, however, like the *ḥajm* al-*ḥajm* [q. v.], need only be paid out of the amount which is left over from the expenses of maintaining oneself and dependent family or from the expenses of housing and service; this *ḥajya* is to be given only to the poor and to *ḥajm*. — The same regulations hold generally for cases where one breaks the fast for fear of danger to oneself, respectively to another person.

C. Sick persons who are likely to recover and those who are overcome by hunger and thirst may break the fast on condition that the *ḥajm* is performed. If a man is in danger of death or danger of losing a limb, *ḥajm* is *ḥajm*. Chronic invalids need not formulate the *ḥajm* in the night; nor persons sick of a fever if they are actually feverish at the time.

D. Travellers who set out before sunrise may, if necessary, break the fast, but not if they begin their journey during the day. In case of mortal danger, *ḥajm* is *ḥajm*. Two days' journey is the minimum. *ḥajm* is obligatory on them, *ḥajm* *ḥajm*. The same relaxation is allowed to

divorced women. — If the persons mentioned under C and D break the fast by sexual intercourse, they are not liable to *kaffāra* because in this case it is not a sin but is permitted to them *bi-niyati 'l-tarakkhūṣ*.

E. Those who have to perform heavy manual labour should formulate the *niya* in the night but may break the fast if need be.

When the justification for relaxing the rules disappears during the day of fast, it is *sunna* to pass the rest of the day fasting.

II. Voluntary fasting is meritorious (*saum al-taṭawwūṣ*); for a married woman only with the consent of her husband; it may be broken without any penalty; the *niya*, which can be formulated any time up till noon, need not be definitely specified, although some *fuḡḡah* consider it desirable for the *sunan rawātīḥ*. The *sunan rawātīḥ* in the *saum* are fasting (a) on the 'Āshūrā'-day (q. v.); (b) on the 'Arafa'-day, the 9th Dhu 'l-Hijja; (c) on six days of Shawwāl. Fasting on the day of 'Arafa applies specially to those who do not spend this day in 'Arafa. Whether Muḥammad fasted on this day is disputed in Tradition. Wensinck, *Muḥammad in de Joden te Medina*, p. 126—130, points to the fact that the whole of the first ten days of Dhu 'l-Hijja had a special character and is recommended in the law for voluntary fasting; the 9th Dhu 'l-Hijja, however, is regarded as the most auspicious day, just as in the Jewish month of Ab the 9th is a great feast, for which preparations are made from the beginning of the month. Because Ab and Dhu 'l-Hijja probably coincided in the year 1 A.H., Wensinck thinks that the celebration of the 9th Dhu 'l-Hijja may have been taken from Judaism. Another view is put forward by Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geogr. d. Qorān*, i. 159, who considers Sūra vii. 29 as probably Mekkan and see in it an attack on the ancient custom of 'making the circuit of the Ka'ba naked and fasting at the time of pilgrimage' (cf. p. 179, note 1). According to this view, this fast should be traced back to old Arab customs (cf. al-Baiḡdī's commentary on Sūra vii. 29: 'It is said that the Banū 'Amir in the days of their ḥajj only ate what was necessary to nourish them but took no fat (= tasty) food and thus observed their ḥajj; then the Muslims were disturbed; then this (verse 29) was revealed'). It is considered meritorious if one who has to fast (as a substitute) three days during the ḥajj and seven days afterwards (cf. above) chooses as the 3 days the 7th, 8th and 9th Dhu 'l-Hijja, because the 10th and the *ṭaḡrīḥ* days are not possible (cf. below). If the 9th Dhu 'l-Hijja is a doubtful day (i.e. whether 9th or 10th, on account of uncertainty as to the beginning of the month) fasting is only permitted for *ḥajj*, on account of a vow or a regular custom. Al-Baiḡdī calls fasting from the 1st to the 9th Dhu 'l-Hijja *mandūḥ*.

Six separate days can be taken for the fast on the six days of Shawwāl; but it is best to take six successive days immediately after the festival, i.e. from the 2nd to the 7th Shawwāl. These days can also be taken for a *ḥajj* or a *nadh* fast. Women who have had their menstruation in Ramaḡān often use these days for the *ḥajj* (Juynboll, *Handbuch* etc., p. 132).

The following days are further recommended for voluntary fasting: the day before and

after the 'Āshūrā'-day; the Yaum al-Mi'rāj (27th Rajab); Monday and Thursday (*sunna mu'akkada*, according to al-Baiḡdī), because on these days, says Tradition, the works of men are offered to God. Muḥammad is reported to have said: 'I should like my works to be offered while I fast'. Wensinck, *Muḥammad* etc., p. 125—126, points out that the Jews also fasted on these two days; Wednesday, 'out of gratitude', says al-Baiḡdī, 'that God on this day did not lead this *umma* to destruction, like the other *umam*'; the days of the white nights, i.e. the 13th, 14th, 15th and best of all also the 12th of each month. As Wensinck, p. 125, says, Muḥammad fasted, according to tradition, three days of every month and the later Muslims, who no longer knew which, chose those days. Perhaps these three days were an obligatory fast in the year 1 A.H. Nothing certain can be said regarding the origin of these fast days; Prof. Wensinck in conversation called my attention to the sacred character of the Jewish 14th and 15th Nisān, and to the sacredness of the middle of the month, e.g. in Shābān, in ancient Arabia; as a counterpart, presumably after the example of the white nights, the days of the black nights, i.e. the 28th, 29th, 30th (or 1st) and best of all also the 27th of each month; every day on which one has nothing to eat; all other days if they are proper for fasting. — On a three days' fasting as an atonement and a preparation to a better life see C. Snouck Hargronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, i., Bonn-Leipzig 1921, p. 137, note 2.

Al-Baiḡdī only briefly mentions the voluntary fast days and refers his readers for further information to more detailed treatises. To supplement what we have said we give the following from the third fast of the *ḥajj* of al-Ghazālī (see below).

He gives as additional days recommended for fasting the first, the middle and the last day of every month, speaks of the superiority of fasting in the sacred months (*al-ayḡhur al-ḥuram*: Muḥarram, Rajab, Dhu 'l-Hijja and Dhu 'l-Ḥa'da), but more important is what he says regarding life-long fasting (*saum al-dahr*) which, as he tells us, was practised by the mystics (*al-sālikīn*) of his time in various ways (as had already been done by ascetics in the earliest days of Islām). In general he considers it blameworthy, as the *iffā* is not only *wājib* some days of the year, but desired generally; only exceptionally may one have follow the example given, according to tradition, by the *Ṣaḡiba* and the *Tābi'ūn* (traditions regarding the *saum al-dahr*: al-Bukhārī, *Saum*, bāb 59; Muslim, *Sayam*, trad. 18 19; cf., however, Ahmad b. Hanbal, iv. 414; cf. also Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii. 263, 435 etc.; ii. 164, 190 etc.). It is highly recommended, however, to fast on alternate days (*nif al-dahr*), which achievement al-Ghazālī considers even more difficult; Muḥammad said: 'The most excellent fasting is that of my brother Dā'ūd, who fasteth one day and not the next' (cf. al-Bukhārī, *Saum*, bāb 50, 56; cf. 58, 59; *Abīyā*, bāb 37, 38, etc.; Muslim, *Sayam*, trad. 181, 182, 186, 187, 189—193, 196 etc.). To fast every third day is also very meritorious. To fast voluntarily for more than four days in succession is considered wrong by the 'Ulamā' and (as a general rule) also by al-Ghazālī. — If one has properly understood the correct significance of fasting, says al-Ghazālī for this see

below), one need observe no rules in voluntary fasting; it is, indeed, said of the Prophet (al-Tirmidhī, *Sawm*, hāb 56) that he sometimes fasted so long that the people thought he would never stop and sometimes went for so long without fasting that the people thought he would never fast again, just as the *nūr al-nuhūrīna* inspired him.

III. Fasting is forbidden (*ḥarām*) on the days of the two great festivals, on the *ṭaḥrīḥ*-days and for a woman during menstruation; in definite cases when danger threatens, as already mentioned above.

IV. It is wrong to fast on Friday, because it distracts the attention from the Friday service (but according to al-Ghazālī it is meritorious); on Sunday or Saturday, at least if one has no particular reason for fasting, because the Christians and Jews observe these as holy days. One also should not fast if one fears he will suffer in any way on account of the fast. It is very wrong to fast without special reason on the "doubtful day" (*yawm al-shakk*) and in the second half of the month of Sha'bān. The "doubtful day" is the day following the 29th Sha'bān if one does not know, with a clear sky, whether an *adl* has seen the new moon of Ramaḍān. If one has a particular reason for fasting, then one may use the doubtful day and the second half of Sha'bān for any kind of fasting: *ḥajl*, *naḥr*, *kaffāra*, etc. Fasting in Sha'bān is otherwise commendable, for the Prophet fasted, as Tradition tells us, so long in this month that he began to think he was in Ramaḍān (many traditions; cf. also A. J. Wensinck, *Arabic New-Year*).

The three other madhabs differ in details from the Shāfi' school; the differences are collected in the *ṭaḥṭīf*-books. The following is taken from the *Kitāb al-Mīnān* of 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Shar'ānī (ii. 20—30; Cairo 1279); the author appends to his list of divergencies a short explanation of the points of view (*maḥjāz*); sometimes he associates himself with one of them. In the following the order of the subject matter is the same as in the earlier part of this article.

1. Abū Ḥanīfa teaches that the fasting of a young boy or girl is not valid, but valid is that of a *murāḥib*, and that a *mustadd* is not bound to a *ḥajl* after his conversion. The four Imāms teach the validity of fasting by a *djinn* [q. v.]; some other *fuḥahā* are of a different opinion in points of detail.

2. Abū Ḥanīfa teaches that the fast need not be definitely specified in the *niya*, that even the intention of doing a good work is sufficient; that the *niya* can also be formulated in case of an obligatory fast up to noon (others only permit this for a *naḥr* fast). But Mālik teaches that even with voluntary fasts the *niya* cannot be formulated after dawn; his opinion that one *niya* is sufficient for the whole of Ramaḍān has already been mentioned above. Abū Ḥanīfa and the majority of Shāfi' and Mālikī *fuḥahā* teach that the mere intention of breaking the fast does no harm; but Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal holds the contrary view.

3. Abū Ḥanīfa does not consider deliberate swallowing of fragments of food one of the *muḥṣirāt*, any more than one of the opinions said to have been held by Mālik regards the application of a poultice as one.

4. Vomiting does no harm, according to Abū Ḥanīfa and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, up to a certain point, which they calculate differently.

5. Mālik teaches that seminal emission spoils

the fast if it is a result of sensual images, even without preceding sexual contact.

6. In spite of the above-mentioned tradition, Mālik teaches that anyone who deliberately eats, drinks, or has sexual intercourse breaks the fast and is liable to *ḥajl*; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, only in the last case, *kaffāra* then being also necessary. Forced breaking of the fast holds good also in al-Nawawī; in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal only in the particular case of a woman being forced to have intercourse.

7. Mālik says that kissing is always *ḥarām*; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal that the cupper and his patient both break the fast; both Imāms say that the taking of *ḥajl* is to be deprecated and, if the fragrance enters the throat, is actually *muḥṣir*. The Shāfi' view that the cleaning of the teeth after noon is wrong is not shared by the other Imāms and not even by the later Shāfi's (but is shared by al-Ghazālī; even now it is still condemned in the Dutch Indies). There is *ijmā'* on the point that for a *djinn* a *ḥajl* is recommended before dawn.

8. Mālik demands for the settlement of the beginning of Ramaḍān the evidence of two *adl*, Abū Ḥanīfa only the testimony of one, but of a large number when the sky is unclouded. Some other *fuḥahā* recognise only the general obligation (see above) to fast in Ramaḍān, not the personal obligation of the one who has seen the new moon, but whose evidence has not been accepted.

9. Like al-Shāfi', Abū Ḥanīfa also teaches that the weak-minded is not bound to perform *ḥajl* in the event of his recovery; Mālik teaches the contrary; both views are credited to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.

10. The four Imāms impose the major *kaffāra* only on one who breaks the fast in Ramaḍān; some *fuḥahā* also on those who break the *ḥajl* fast of Ramaḍān. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal imposes a *kaffāra* for every breach of the regulations in question, even if several are committed on the same day; in the second transgression the obligation is imposed on the guilty woman also, Abū Ḥanīfa, however, is less severe and does not even multiply the *kaffāra*'s by the number of fast days broken if the *muḥṣir* is in arrears with the payment of the first *kaffāra*; Abū Ḥanīfa and Mālik say that in case of sexual intercourse both man and woman are liable to the *kaffāra* and they impose it also on everyone who breaks the fast of Ramaḍān by eating or drinking, if he is not ill or on a journey, without affecting the liability to *ḥajl*. Mālik leaves the *muḥṣir* free choice as to in which of the three ways he will fulfil his obligation, although he himself prefers *ifām*.

Abū Ḥanīfa does not impose the minor *kaffāra* (the donation of a *muḍ*) if one has not yet fulfilled his obligation to *ḥajl* for the Ramaḍān fast by the beginning of next Ramaḍān.

11. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal imposes, in addition, the (minor) *kaffāra* on pregnant and nursing women, if they have broken the fast out of fear of injuring themselves; Abū Ḥanīfa, however, only *ḥajl*, others only *kaffāra* and no *ḥajl*.

12. Sick people for whom there is no hope and old people are, according to Abū Ḥanīfa and a section of the Shāfi's, liable to *fiḍya* only; Mālik denies this also.

13. Travellers may, as Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal teaches, break the fast, even if they have set out after the beginning of the fast, but this relaxation does not

include, according to him, permission for sexual intercourse; the *haffara* regulations hold, therefore, also with him. Some *Zahiri*s teach that fasting of a traveller is not valid at all. — Malik and al-Shafi'i teach that one is bound to fast for the remainder of the day if the reason for the dispensation disappears; Abū Ḥanifa and Ahmad b. Ḥanbal hold the contrary. — The *ḥaḍra*, according to the two last-named, is a half *ṣā'* [q. v.] for every day omitted.

14. Malik teaches that fasting on six Shawwāl-days is not recommendable; he and Abū Ḥanifa say that one is bound to complete (*itmām*) a voluntary fast day also.

15. One ought to fast on the doubtful day, according to Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, when the sky is clouded; otherwise it is wrong. — Abū Ḥanifa and Malik teach that occasional fasting (*ifrād*) on Friday is not wrong.

16. Lastly it is to be mentioned that, according to the Ḥanafi and Maliki view, fasting during the *Ṣūf* [q. v.] is obligatory; cf. e. g. Abū Dā'ūd, *Sawm*, *hāḥ* 80 (as A. J. Wensinck says, in his treatise *Arabic New-Year*).

The Shī'a law regarding fasting differs in the following details from the *Sunna* (according to A. Querry's edition of the *Shārḥ al-Isām fī Maṣā'il al-Ḥalāl wa'l-Ḥarām* of Naḍīm al-Dīn al-Mubakkī, entitled *Recueil de Lois concern. les Musulmans Schyites*, Paris 1871-72, i. 182-209, ii. 75-77, 197-199, 203-205):

1. The *niya* is not regarded as a pillar; it need not even be specified for Ramaḍān, although it does in other cases; it ought to be formulated before noon.

2. Smoking is not one of the *muffirāt* but unconsciousness is and if one deliberately remains in a condition of great *ḥadath* after dawn.

3. It is forbidden, nay *muffir*, to scorn God's word or that of the Prophet or that of the (Shī'i) Imām; it is forbidden, although not *muffir*, to bathe completely in water. It is forbidden to keep deliberate silence during the fast.

4. If a man deliberately breaks the fast of Ramaḍān, he is to be chastised (25 lashes with a whip for a man or a woman in a case of sexual intercourse) and for the third offence the penalty is death. — The testimony of two *ādil* is necessary for the beginning of Ramaḍān.

5. One is bound to perform *ḥaḍra*, for example, if one awakes after dawn in a state of great *ḥadath* even if the *niya* for purification has already been formulated. In the *ḥaḍra* fast one may eat before noon; if one eats later he has to pay a *ḥaḍra* (to *mudd* or three days' complete fast); in deliberate neglect of purification in great *ḥadath* makes the *ḥaḍra* fast not invalid. If an invalid remains ill till the following Ramaḍān, his obligation to *ḥaḍra* expires but the *ḥaḍra* (1 *mudd*) remains.

6. *Kaffara* is compulsory if one, during the fast day, eats, drinks etc., has sexual intercourse, practises onanism, voluntarily remains in a state of great *ḥadath* after dawn or falls asleep in this condition without having previously formed the *niya* for purification, and then does not awake till after dawn, viz.: on a day of Ramaḍān; during *ḥaḍra* for an omitted fast in Ramaḍān if the *ḥaḍra* takes place after noon; in fasting on account of a particular vow and for *ṣūf*. — If a man forces his wife or slave to marital intercourse in Ramaḍān, his *ḥaḍra* and *kaffara* are doubled but the

wife is exempt. Other causes of *kaffara* are: manslaughter, forbidden expressions of grief at a death, hair-cutting when in a state of *ḥaḍra*, intercourse with a slave woman who is in a state of *ḥaḍra* if one has given her permission for the *ḥaḍra*.

In performing the *kaffara*, fasting comes second, as with the *Sunnīs*; deliberate murder, however, and, according to some *ḥanbalīs*, also the breaking of the fast of Ramaḍān with forbidden foods, entails threefold *kaffara*: *ṣūf* + *ṣawm* + *ṣūf*. The choice is free if one breaks the fast in Ramaḍān in another way than by sexual intercourse, breaks a vow or *ṣūf*, cuts one's hair when in a state of *ḥaḍra*, or has intercourse with a slave woman who is in a state of *ḥaḍra*.

In general the *kaffara* fast should be uninterrupted. In the case of a two months' fast inexcusable interruption in the first month makes a repetition necessary; in the second it only entails obligation to the *ḥaḍra*. Interruption by a pregnant or nursing woman is here excusable, but not an unnecessary journey (see below). If the duration of this fast is only one month, as e. g. the *kaffara* fast of a slave, the hard period lasts 14 days. Interruption on the 10th *Ḍhu'l-Hijja* does no harm in the three days' compensatory fast (see above), if one has already fasted two days. — The choice of the days is, however, open in the case of *kaffara* for breach of an oath, for breaking the prohibition of hunting during the *ḥaḍra*, and in the seven days' compensatory fast (see above) (as also in case of *ḥaḍra*). If one is not fit to fast for two successive months, he should fast 28 days and seek God's mercy with contrite heart. — Another kind of *kaffara* (not fasting) may be voluntarily taken over on behalf of another person.

7. The relaxations. Only if a physician permits an invalid to fast, is it legitimate. Pregnant women are only given a dispensation in their last months and nursing women only when their milk supply is defective. The fasting of travellers is in general not valid; but if a man travels for the best part of a year in the course of his business he does not get the benefit of relaxation. A fast neglected on account of a journey must always be observed later; in case of death by the *waḥl* of the deceased.

8. Voluntary fasting may begin before noon. The Shī'a *Fiqh*-books recommend fasting on the following days also: on every first and last Thursday of the month; on the first Wednesday of the second ten days of the month (on should even pay compensation, 1 *mudd* or 1 *dirham*, if this is omitted); on the day of the *Id al-Ghadir*, 18 *Ḍhu'l-Hijja*, on which day Muhammad is said to have appointed 'Alī his immediate successor at the side of a pond (*ghadir*) (Querry, *op. cit.*, p. 37, note 2); on Muhammad's birthday (17 Rabi' I) and on the first day of his mission (27 Rabi' I); on the day when the Ka'ba was liberated from chaos, the first place to be created on earth (25 *Ḍhu'l-Ka'da*); on the *Muḥalla*-day, because on this day Muhammad and Abū Ḍjaḥl are said to have hurled a curse against the one of them who preached a false doctrine. (Querry, *op. cit.*, p. 37, note 3) (24 *Ḍhu'l-Hijja*); on the 10th of Muḥarram, the anniversary of the murder of Husain; on Friday; during the month of Rajab and Sha'ban. Fasting on the doubtful day is also meritorious. — The law recommends moderation for the days on which an obstacle to fasting is removed: one should first eat a little and then fast.

9. It is wrong to fast: on the 9th Dhū l-Hijja in 'Arafa, if one fears harm from it; on a pious journey except 3 days in Medina during the Hajj; if a guest fasts without permission from his host, and a child without its father's permission, etc.

10. Fasting is forbidden: on the *taḥrīḥ*-days for those who are in Miṣr; for travellers.

Al-Ghazālī gives at the beginning of his *Kiṣāb al-Ṣiyya* in the *ḥajj* some considerations on the value of fasting. He points out, referring to some well-known traditions, the high esteem in which fasting stands with God; he gives as a reason for this that fasting is a passive act and no one sees men fast except God; secondly it is a means of defeating the enemy of God, because human passions, which are the Shayṭān's means of attaining his ends, are stimulated by eating and drinking. The passions "are the places where the Shayṭān live in abundance and where they feed; so long as they are fruitful, they continue to visit them often, and so long as they visit them frequently, the majesty of God is concealed from the slave and he is shut off from meeting with Him. The Prophet of God even says: 'If the Shayṭān did not fly around the hearts of men they would readily think of heaven.' Fasting is therefore 'the gateway to divine service'."

In the first *faṣl* al-Ghazālī details the legal obligations and recommended actions of the fast, according to Shāfi'i doctrine, and in the third the recommended fast days, just as a faḥṣh would do. But he says in the second *faṣl* that the most punctilious observation of the external law of the fast is not the essential of the fast. He distinguishes three steps in the fast. The first step is that of the *fiḥ*, the third that of the Prophets, the *ṣā-dīqūn* and those who have been brought into the proximity (of God) (*al-muṣṭarrabūn*), whose fast consists in refraining from all mean desires and worldly thoughts. The second step suffices for the pious, however; it consists in keeping one's organs of sense and members free from sin and from all things that detract from God. Everything should be avoided which might affect the result of the fast; for example, at the *ḥajj* one should not eat more or fare better than usual (this is contrary to the *fiḥ* regulation) and one should not sleep during the day to avoid feeling hunger or thirst, for they are the *ṣūb* and *ṣirr* of fasting because they fight the power of the passions. Subjection of the passions, whereby the soul is brought nearer to God, is the real object of fasting, not mere abstinence; and he deduces the worthlessness of the fast of those whose conduct at the *ḥajj* destroys the results of the fast day, of whom the tradition says: "How many fasters there are for whom only hunger and thirst are the results of their fast."

The ethical conception of the fast which al-Ghazālī gives in this second *faṣl* supplements, he says, the barren law of the *ṣaḥāb*, but to us it appears often to contradict it. In the *ḥajj* we find already various traditions with ethical tendencies and al-Ghazālī does not fail to quote them in support of his view. Besides we find in the works on *ḥajj* a mass of traditions relating to the fast, which will be found classified under the separate subjects in Prof. Wensinck's work (now about to appear) *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, under the word *FASTING*. Here we can only quote a few traditions which refer to the estimation in which fasting was held

in the early Muslim world. As it is to this day a widespread view that fasting, especially the fast of Ramaḍān, is the most fitting atonement for sins committed in the course of the year — which is why the fast is fairly generally observed, although not always so strictly as the *ṣaḥāb* desire; cf. the article *RAMAḌĀN* —, so it was with the early Muslims (cf. al-Bukhārī, *Imān*, bāb 28; *Ṣawm*, bāb 6; al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣawm*, bāb 1, etc.). Various traditions compare the value of fasting at one time with its value at another, as, for example, "fasting on one day in the holy months (see above) is better than 30 days at another time, and fasting on one day in Ramaḍān is better than 30 days in the holy months". "If anyone fasts three days in a holy month, Thursday, Friday and Saturday, God considers one day equal to 900 years for him". Similar traditions refer to fasting on the 'Ashūrā'-day, the ten days in Dhū l-Hijja and especially in Ramaḍān (q. v.). Other traditions tell how dear to God is the person of the faster or his characteristics; even is "the scent of the breath of a fasting man pleasanter to God than the scent of musk" (Aḥmad b. Hanbal, ii. 232, etc.). God compares one, who denies his passions for His sake, with His angels and says to him: "Thou art with Me like one of My angels", and He urges His angels to regard those who fast. The joys of the faster in Paradise are described and how he is honoured there; he will enter by a special gate (*al-Raiyān*) and meet God (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣawm*, bāb 4; Muslim, *Ṣiyya*, tr. 166, etc.). This is his heavenly joy; his joy on earth is the *ḥajj* (al-Bukhārī, *Tawāḥid*, bāb 35; Aḥmad b. Hanbal, i. 446, etc.). One should, therefore, not deny this joy, because one has a right to it. To continue fasting after twilight is, moreover, not necessary, for "the sleep of the faster is (already) 'ḥajj'".

Bibliography: A comprehensive work on fasting among the Muslims has not yet appeared. An outline of the law on the subject according to the Shāfi'i school is given by Th. W. Juynboll, *Handboek des islamischen Geestes*, Leiden-Leipzig 1910, p. 113-144. (Dutch: Leiden 1903 and 1925; in the edition of 1925 the most recent bibliography is given). The main sources are the pertinent sections in the books of *ḥadīth*, *Fiḥ* and *ḥajj*. For Tradition cf. the work just about to be published, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, alphabetically arranged by A. J. Wensinck. Al-Ghazālī, *ḥajj* 'Uḥm al-Dīn, Cairo n. d., i. 207-214. For details of the observance and various customs of Ramaḍān in Muslim lands see the articles *ORUḌ*, *FUWASA*, *RAMAḌĀN*, *RŪḤA*.

(C. C. BERG)

SA'Y. When the pilgrim who is making the *ṣumra* or the *ḥajj* has performed the circumambulation (*ṭawāf*) of the Ka'ba, kissed the Black Stone for the last time and drunk of the well of Zamzam, he goes out, taking care to put his left foot first, of the sacred mosque by the Bab al-Sa'ā, pronouncing the formula of salutation to the mosque, then a second formula indicating his intention (*niyya*) to accomplish the ceremony of *sa'y*. He ascends the steps of al-Sa'ā about 50 yards from the gate and standing there he makes an invocation, looking towards the Ka'ba, with his hands raised to the level of his shoulders and the palms turned towards the sky. Between al-Sa'ā and another little hill, al-Marwa, lies a broad street with houses

and shops on either side; this is the *Maṣ'ā* where the pilgrims have to accomplish the ritual course. Walking at a normal rate he descends towards the former bottom of the valley (*Masīl*), marked by four pillars, two along the mosque on the left and two others opposite it; to cross it, he assumes a more rapid pace, called *ḥarwal* or *ḥadab*, like the *ramal* of the *ṭawāf*, and runs. Then walking slowly he reaches al-Marwa which is marked by an arch of stone like al-Saffa and he again prays there. He has now completed one of the seven elements of the ceremony for, except for one isolated opinion, the authorities agree that the *sa'y* consists of seven simple courses. It is usually followed by a desanctification by shaving or cutting the hair, which explains the large number of barbers' shops on the *Maṣ'ā*.

The *sa'y* has not the value of an independent rite like the circumambulation of the Ka'ba, the accomplishment of which, without the *'umra* and the *ḥajj*, is reckoned to the spiritual credit of the believer. The *sa'y* is an appendage to the circumambulation (*ṭawāf*) of the *'umra* or of the arrival (*ḥudum*) or of the desanctification (*ifāda*), and the authorities are not agreed as to its importance, whether essential, obligatory or traditional. The law does not impose on the faithful who accomplish it the strict necessity of ritual purity that it demands for the *ṭawāf*.

The *sa'y* is an ambulatory rite with a brief period of running, analogous to the *ṭawāf*, to the *ifāda* of 'Arafa and Mudalifa etc.; undoubtedly it was actually a separate ancient rite, which became combined with those of the Ka'ba, as the *ifāda* did to the ceremonies of 'Arafa and Mudalifa. Tradition has retained the memory of the cult of two divinities, Isf and Nā'ila, but only in the story that they were a man and a woman who were turned into stone for fornicating in the sanctuary and later came to be worshipped. Later Muslim tradition turned them into Adam and Eve, who sat on either of the hills to take a rest. But tradition has made special efforts, not without hesitation, to connect the rite with the story of Abraham: Hājar, cast off by Abraham and seeing lamā'il perishing of thirst, ran in despair seven times from one hill to the other; or it is said that Abraham instituted the *sa'y* for the worship of Allah and quickened his pace (the *ḥarwal*) to escape Satan who was lying in wait for him at the bottom of the ravine.

Bibliography: See the art. *ḤAJJ* and *KA'BA*, and add: Gaudfroy-Demombynes, *Le Pèlerinage de la Mekka*, p. 225—234, with references especially to al-Azraqi, Kuth al-Din, Ibn Djubair, Nāṣir Khusrāw, Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq, al-Batānī, Burkhart, etc.

(GAUDFROY-DEMOMBYNES)

SAYĀBIGA, سِيَابِجَة, read SAYĀBIGA, name

of a people. The Arabic form سِيَابِجَة is to be read with ج used as a guttural sonant, as the etymology of the name indicates.

De Goeje has devoted a short article to the Sayābiga in his *Mémoires d'histoire et de géographie orientale* (N^o 3, Leiden 1903, *Mémoire sur les migrations des Tringues à travers l'Asie*, p. 18 and p. 86—91) which has been used here; see also his *Contribution* (*Kon. Ak. v. Wet.*, Amst. 1875, ed. in English by D. MacRitchie, *Accounts of the Gipsies of India*, London 1886).

According to al-Balādhuri (ed. de Goeje, p. 373, s. infra), they were already settled before Islām on the coasts of the Persian Gulf (*wa-kānū ḥabī al-islām bi-l-baḥr al-ʿarabī*). In the reign of the Caliph Abū Bakr (632—634), there was at al-Khatt in al-Bahrain a garrison of Sayābiga and Zoṭī — these two peoples are frequently mentioned together although they have nothing in common (cf. the art. Zoṭī) — (cf. al-Tabari, ed. Zotenberg, p. 823—923; ed. de Goeje, i. 1961, 4; Abū 'l-Faraj al-Iṣṭahārī, *Kitaḥ al-Aghānī*, xiv. 46). In 17 (638) the Oswāri, horsemen of foreign origin in the service of the king of Persia, concluded a treaty with the Muslim commander, which the Caliph 'Umar ratified, by the terms of which they pledged themselves to adopt Islām and to enter the service of the Arabs on condition that they received a scale of pay equal to that of the best paid soldiers, that they should be free to attach themselves to the Arab tribe which they preferred and that they should only have to fight against non-Arabs (al-Tabari, i. 2562 199). Their example was followed by the Sayābiga and the Zoṭī and they all attached themselves to the Arab tribe of Tamim (al-Balādhuri, p. 373—375). In 36 (656), the Sayābiga were entrusted with the guarding of the Treasury of al-Basra; the army of the people of Kūfa which came to the help of 'Alī included a body of Zoṭī and Sayābiga (cf. al-Balādhuri, p. 376; al-Mas'ūdī, *Les premières d'or*, ed. and transl. Barbier de Meynard, iv. 307, where السكك is wrongly written for السيابكة; al-Tabari, i. 3125, 3134 and 3181). In

a poem by Yazīd b. al-Mufarragh al-Himyari edited about 59 (677—678) there is a reference to "savage Sayābig barbarians who put irons on me in the morning" (Ibn Kūṭāba, *Kitaḥ al-Shu'ara'*, p. 212), which seems to imply that the Sayābiga acted as gofers. In 160 (775/776) they took part in a naval expedition against the town of al-Narbadh, that is the modern Branch on the west coast of India (cf. al-Tabari, iii. 460 199).

The Sayābiga came from Sind. "The Sayābiga, the Zoṭī and the Andaghār", says al-Balādhuri, "formed part of the army of the Persians; they were people of Sind whom the Persians had taken prisoners and made to perform this service" (p. 375, s. 7). Al-Jawāziri (*al-Mu'arrakh*, ed. E. Sachau, Leipzig 1867, p. 82) similarly says: "al-Laith says: ... These are people of Sind who accompanied the *ḥajj* (سَيَابِجَة plur. سَيَابِجَة).

In al-Mukaddasi, ed. de Goeje, p. 10, 17; the origin of this word is unknown; it means the leader of the marines in the warships"; then, according to another source, "the Sayābiga are people of Sind who in al-Basra were police officers and prison warders". Ibn al-Sikkī (d. 857) quoted in the *Lisān al-Arab* (iii. 118—119) gives identical information: "The Sayābiga are a people of Sind who were hired to fight as mercenaries and they formed the guard". Similar explanations are given in the *Taḥf al-Arab* (ii. 56).

From all these sources which are in perfect agreement it is evident that the Sayābiga were naturally soldiers, disciplined, used to the sea, faithful servants, which qualities rendered them most suitable to serve in the army by land or sea, to act as guards and to act as soldiers, police officers, gaoles and warders of the treasury.

All the readings of the manuscripts of the Arab texts quoted above bring us to *Sayābiga* which is the correct form (cf. likewise Muharrad, *Kāmil*, ed. W. Wright, Leipzig 1864, p. 41, 5, and 82, 17). It is the form which Sibawaih gives (ed. H. Derenbourg, ii. 209, 5-6), and he adds "they say *Sayābiga* because this word combines the two peculiarities of being a foreign word and plural of an

ethnic in *سَي*, being practically equal to a plural *sayābiyyūn*". According to al-Djawālīqī (*loc. cit.*), the singular is *sayābi*. Now de Goeje points out (*loc. cit.*, p. 88) that the people of the 'Irāq pronounce the vowel *ā* as *ā* and this phenomenon is not isolated in Arabic dialects; my friend William Marçais calls my attention to its occurrence in Tunisian. This enables us to state the following equation: *سَيَابِغَة* *Sayābiga* < singular *سَيَابِغِي*

Sayābi = *سَيَابِغِي* *Sābiḡi* < *سَيَابِغ* *Sābiḡ*. The *Lisān al-'Arab* (*loc. cit.*), on the other hand, notes that "sometimes they say *Sābiḡ*".

The original form of *Sābiḡ* was pointed out to de Goeje by Hendrik Kern. It is now easy to reconstruct its phonetic history from documents which were not available to the latter. The change *Sābiḡ* < *Djāvaka* = Sumatra, the *زَابِغ* *Zābiḡ* (inaccurately transcribed *Zābiḡ*) of the Arab geographers, is thus proved: the earliest mention of the island of Sumatra by this name is found in the third century A.D. in the *Nan tou yi wen* of Wang Chen and the *Fu-nan tu su lun* of K'uei

Tai in the form *社薄* *Sā-pu*, old pronunciation **Dja-lak* = *Djāvaka* > Arabic *Zābiḡ*. Much later we find in the *Mahāvamsa* (lxxxiii. 36-48, and lxxxviii. 62-75) the original form *Jāvaka* (pronounce *Djāvaka*; for these texts cf. my memoir *L'empire sumatranais de Grivijaya*, in the *J. A.*, Series 9, vol. xx. 170-173). In the thirteenth century a Tamil inscription of 1264 has *Sāḍavaka* (*ibid.*, 1922, p. 48), which is the Dravidian form of the above readings. The initial is rendered in Tamil by a character which is transliterated indifferently *ṣ*, *ṣ*, *ṣ*, and even *ṣ*, i. e. the sonant and mute palatals and the palatal and dental sibilants; it is the palatal that is generally used to transliterate it; whence *ṣ* > *ṣ*. The change of Indian *ṣ* to *ṣ* — palatal to dental sibilant, in the present case of *Sāḍavaka* to the Arabic *Sābiḡ* — is quite regular. We have a parallel example in the Sanskrit *शक्र* *śakra* "teak" (*Tectona grandis*) which becomes in Arabic *سَاج* *sāj*, more frequently inaccurately transcribed *siḡ*.

The *Sayābiga* then are the descendants of ancient Sumatran emigrants to India, then to the 'Irāq and the Persian Gulf where there is evidence of their existence before Islam. This is not surprising for we know from other sources also that the Sumatrans colonised Madagascar at a very early date (see the art. *खण्डो*); the eastern route was familiar to them. (GABRIEL FERRARD)

SKUTARI. [See SKUDĀR.]

SEBASTIYA. 1) The Arabic name for the ancient Samaria, which Herod had changed to *Σεβαστή* in honour of Augustus. The form *Σεβαστή* — as in the case of other towns of this name — was presumably also used, as the

Arabic name (which is sometimes also written *Sebastiya*) suggests. By the end of the classical period, the town, overshadowed by the neighbouring Neapolis (Sichem; Arab: Nābulus), had sunk to be a small town (*πρωτεύουσα*) and played only an unimportant part in the Arab period. It was conquered by 'Amr b. al-'Ās while Abū Bakr was still Caliph; the inhabitants were guaranteed their lives and property on condition that they paid poll-tax and land-duties (al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 138; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ii. 388). Al-Battāni is the first of the Arab geographers to mention it, but gives already much less accurate figures for its position than Ptolemy had done. In the later Arab geographers *Sebastiya* appears on a place in the Djund Filastin. According to a tradition found as early as Jerome, for example, the tomb of John the Baptist was there (Ibn al-Athīr, *loc. cit.*: Vahyā b. Zakariyā; xi. 333 wrongly only Zakariyā); on its site there was in late antiquity a basilica built and in the crusading period (in the second half of the thirteenth century) a church of St. John; remains of the latter still survive. According to western sources, *Sebastiya* was again a bishopric at this time (Lequien, *Oriens Christ.*, iii. 650-664). 'Uṣāma b. Munqidh, about 1140, visited the town and its sanctuary. Šāliḥ al-Dīn advanced on *Sebastiya* in 1184 but its bishop by handing over 80 Muslim prisoners saved the town from the terrible fate of Nābulus (Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, xi. 333; Abu 'l-Fida', *Annales*, in the *Recueil des hist. orient. des croisades*, i. 53; Ibn Shaddād, *ibid.*, iii. 82; *Epistola Balduini*, in Röhricht, *Regesta regni Hierosol.*, N° 638). In the year 1187 it was finally taken from the Crusaders by Ḥusām al-Dīn 'Umar b. Lādīn; the church of St. John was turned into a mosque and the bishop brought to 'Akkā (Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, xi. 357).

Bibliography: al-Battāni, *Kitāb Zīj al-Šāliḥ*, ed. Nallino, in the *Pubblicazioni d. Reale Osservat. di Brera in Milano*, N° xl/ii. 39, N° 114; *B. G. A.*, v. 103, vi. 79, vii. 329; Vāḡūṭ, *Muḡjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 33; Derenbourg, *Vie d'Ousama*, p. 188-194, 486; Arabic text, p. 528, 617; Cuinet, *La Syrie*, p. 192; Thomsen, *Loca Sancta*, i. 102; Schürer, *Geogr. d. jud. Volkes im Zeitalter Christi*, ii. 195-198; R. Hartmann, *Palästina unter den Arabern (Das Land der Bibel, I/iv)*, p. 14; Baudouin, *Palästina u. Syrien*, 1904, p. 195. On the results of the American excavations, which, however, only affect the pre-Arab period, see: G. A. Reisner, C. S. Fisher, D. G. Lyon, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria 1908-1910*, i. (text), ii. (plans and plates), Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard Semitic Series 1924. 2) A place in the *Thughūr al-Šāmīya*, according to Ibn Khurṣādībīh (*B. G. A.*, vi. 117), on the Cilician coast, 4 *mil* from an otherwise unknown Iskandariya, which again was 12 *mil* from Kūrsiyya (*Kopron*). It is the ancient *Ἐλεάνθη* or *Σεβαστή*, the modern Ayasb.

Bibliography: Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl.*, v. 2228, s. v. *Elainissa*; il A. 952, s. v. *Sebastie* N° 5; Tomaschek, *S. B. Ak. Wien*, 1891, Abh. viii. 65; E. Herzfeld, *Peterm. geogr. Mitt.*, 1909, iv. 29, col. 2.

3) A town in Asia Minor, which was taken by al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd in 93 (711/712) along with al-Mazubānain and Tūs (? should we not read *Tarūs*?) whose situation is unknown. In some manuscripts

of al-Jabart and Abu 'l-Mahāsīn the name is wrongly written *Samastiya* (or something like that) which can hardly, as Brooke suggests, stand for the Byzantine *Mastua* in Phrygia. The reference is rather to the Phrygian *Σαβάρρ* (Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl.*, ii A. 951, N° 1).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, iv. 457; al-Jaluri, ed. de Goeje, ii. 1236, with note b.; Abu 'l-Mahāsīn, i. 251; Brooks, *Journ. of Hellenic Studies*, 1898, xviii. 193.

4) A town of this name said to be not far from Samasāy on the Upper Frāt is mentioned by Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, iii. 33. It might be Juliopolis in Cappadocia (Ptol., v. 6. 25, p. 893, ed. Müller) which was presumably called after Augustus and perhaps may have also been called *Sebasteia*; but perhaps we should rather assume there has been some confusion with Siwās on the Upper Nahr Alia (Halys).

(HONIGMANN)

SEBKHA, a salt lagoon. The *sebkha* is one of the characteristic features of the hydrography of North Africa and the Sahara, very common in the high plains, without communication with the sea. It is the terminus of a network of streams either above ground or subterranean, which have spread out and disappear in the ground; it is a shallow basin with well marked contours sometimes delineated by steep sides. After rain it is more or less completely filled with water impregnated with mineral substances which accumulate at the bottom of the basin. In periods of drought, the waters evaporate completely or partly and the floor is uncovered. The floor of the *sebkha* is covered with saline incrustations, sometimes traversed by crevasses in which the crystals gather. The salt deposit sometimes covers mud, quicksands and dangerous quagmires.

This definition and description of the features of the *sebkha* apply equally to the *shott*. An attempt has been made to establish a distinction between the two, the former term being applied to hollows which always remain more or less moist, the second to those whose evaporation is greater than the access of subterranean water or to those the floor of which looks like a plain losing itself in the horizon. There is no real foundation for this distinction. The two terms are employed indifferently in the same district. For example we have in Orania the *sebkha* of Oran and the *shott* Ghartū and Shurkī, in the Sahara the *sebkha* of Timimūn (Gurara), the *shott* of Southern Tunisia, the *sebkha* of Wargla, of Siwa, etc.

Bibliography: see the *Bibliography* of the article SAHARA.

(G. VYER)

SEBZEWĀR, near Herāt, is the present name of the town of Asfīzār or Asfuzār (Ahmad Rāzi, *Haft Ilām*: Sebzar) attached to Sijistān. It lies to the south of Herāt, three days' journey north of Fara. In the itineraries it has the name of Khastān or Dīshān. In the 14th (15th) century there were in this region four towns of importance besides Asfuzār, which was the chief place of this district; a town of medium size, surrounded by orchards and vineyards; its inhabitants were Sunnis of the school of al-Shāfi'ī [q. v.]. There used to be a stone fortress called Muṣaffar Kūh on the summit of a mountain; the soil inside and around the town was so soft that it was sufficient to dig down a few inches to get water. According to al-Isṭakhri, *B. G. A.*, i. 264, it was the name of the district and not of the town.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 248 = Barbier de Meynard, *Diet. de la Perse*, p. 35; *B. G. A.*, i. 249, 264, 268; ii. 305, 318, 319; iii. 298, 308; Hamd Allah Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, ed. Le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser., text, p. 152, 178; transl., p. 151, 171; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 340, 351, 412, 431. (CL. HUART)

SEBZEWĀR is a city of Khurāsān, situated sixty-four miles due west of Nishāpūr, and should not be confounded with the town of the same name in Western Afghanistan, south of Herāt; see the preceding article. Many legends of the heroic age of Persia are associated with Sebzewār, and the square in the centre of the town was long pointed out as the scene of the combat between Rustam and Suhrāb and was known as *Maidān-i Div-i Safid*, "the plain of the White Demon". Sebzewār was a town of some importance in the district of Baihaḡ [q. v.] and eventually took the place of Baihaḡ as the principal town of the district. Sultān Shāh, after having been expelled from Khwārizm by his elder brother Takaish, took Khartak as his share of his father's kingdom, and in 1186 besieged and captured Sebzewār, and was with difficulty restrained from ordering a massacre of its inhabitants, who had defied him with abusive language to take their town. The town was destroyed by the invading hordes of the Mongols, but recovered its prosperity, and in 1337 'Abd al-Razzāk, a native of the village of Baghtū who had been in the service of the Il Khān Abū Sa'īd (1316—1335) of Persia, headed a rebellion against the tyranny of the local governor, gained possession of Sebzewār and the neighbouring district and founded the dynasty of the Serbadars, [q. v.] who reigned there for nearly half a century, until they were overthrown, in 1381, by Timūr Mahmund, the heir male of the house, was enabled by the favour of Timūr's grandson, Bāysunqar, to retain some part of the heritage of his ancestors. The town, which fell into decay, was restored by the early Safawid kings and became the capital of a district containing forty townships. It has ever since remained an important town of Khurāsān. The inhabitants have been noted for centuries for their attachment to the Shī'a, and Husain Wā'iz, author of the *Amwāl-i Sahābi*, whose zeal for that sect was suspected, narrowly escaped death at the hands of the fanatics of the town.

Bibliography: C. Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire Géographique, Historique, et Littéraire de la Perse*, Paris 1861; al-Djuwainī, *Tarīkh-i Dīwān Ghāzī*, ed. Mirzā Muḥammad, Gibb Memorial Series, 1916; Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, Westminster 1894. (T. W. HAIG)

SEDJESTĀN. [See SĪSTĀN.]

SE'ERD, SĪ'ERD or SĀ'ERD, a little town in the frontier region between Armenia and Turkish Kurdistan, situated in a valley formed by the Bohtān Sū and the river of Bidlis about 30 miles S.W. of Bidlis and about 18 north of the Tigris. The little river Kezer runs near Se'erd; but it is the Bohtān Sū which is sometimes called Se'erd Sū (So'örd Sū in von Moltke). This name is also found in al-Mas'ūdī, the earliest Arab geographer to mention Se'erd; he calls the Bohtān Sū سُرْدِسْتَان

(ed. Paris 1840, i. 227); likewise al-Iḍrāt (transl. Jaubert, ii. 172). The orthography varies much:

سعر (al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn al-Aṭhīr, Sharaf al-Dīn), سعار (Abu 'l-Fidā', Yāqūt), ساعر (al-Mustawfī), ساعر (Hādījī Khālifa). The last form is the official Turkish orthography (cf. *Kamūs al-A'lām*). The Syriac form is Se'erd (*Z. D. M. G.*, viii. 357, note) and the Kurd form is Sērt (al-Khālidi, *al-Hadīya al-Hamidiya fī 'l-Lughat al-Kurdiya*, Constantinople 1310, p. 144). The origin of the town is unknown; the suggestion put forward by the travellers Shiel and Kinneir that it is the ancient Tigranocerta has already been disposed of by Ainsworth and Ritter, who rely particularly on the complete absence of traces of ancient buildings and on the description of Lucullus's campaign against Tigranes given by Plutarch. Moreover, C. F. Lehmann-Haupt in 1899 has identified the site of Tigranocerta with the modern Maīyāfārīk.

Se'erd, a town with only slight fortifications (al-Iṣṭakhrī; the *Sharaf-nāme* alone calls it *ḥal'a*), has generally shared the political history of Diyār Bakr and Hīn Kaifa. Thus in the xth century it was in the hands of the Marwānids (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ix. 56); in the century following it passed to the Uruḡids of Hīn Kaifa and was taken by 'Imād al-Dīn al-Zangī in 538 (1143/44; cf. Ibn al-Aṭhīr, x. 62). The Mongols sacked it after the defeat of Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārizm-Shāh (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, xii. 326) but it seems to have quickly recovered, for al-Mustawfī calls it a large town with rich revenues. After experiencing the rule of the Il-Khāns [q.v.] and the Ak-Koyunlu [q.v.] Se'erd about 1500 passed to the Ṣafawids. During the xivth and xvth centuries the town had belonged to the little Kurd dynasty of the Malikān of Hīn Kaifa (descendants of the Aiyūbids). After the battle of Cālāfrān (1513) their prince, Malik Khālīf, who had been thrown into prison by Shāh Ismā'īl, escaped and again took possession of Se'erd and then of his old residence (*Sharaf-nāme*, i. 157). This dynasty continued to exist for some time under the suzerainty of the Ottomans represented by the wali of Diyār Bakr. In the new administrative territorial division established by Idrīs Bidlīst, Se'erd became the capital of a sandjak. The town continued to belong to the eyālet, then to the wilāyet of Diyār Bakr down to 1301 (1884). The sandjak of Se'erd was then attached to the wilāyet of Bidlīs.

The number of inhabitants is given by Cuinet (1892) as 15,000 of whom the majority are Muslim Kurds (5 mosques). In the Christian element (c. 4,000) the Catholic, Syrians (Chaldeans) are the most numerous (two churches), along with Gregorian Armenians (one church), Protestants and Jacobites (one church). The number of Christian inhabitants, however, must have considerably diminished by the deportations during and after the war of 1914–1918.

Se'erd has been built in the Arab style (Lehmann-Haupt); the houses are of clay and the town is noted for its lack of cleanliness. Water is scarce there and comes from several springs. On the hills around, the principal crop is grapes; the other products of Se'erd are cereals, rice and vegetables. Its trade is with Diyār Bakr. The town has been famous since the xivth century for its manufactures of weapons and copper utensils. Other

industries are cabinet-making and the manufacture of cotton stuffs, dyed red. On the only inscription known at Se'erd see van Berchem in the *Adh. G. W. Gott.*, Ph.-hist. Kl., N.S., ix. 157.

The sandjak of Se'erd has 5 kaza of which that of Erub (Arwah) is in Bohlān [q.v.].

Bibliography: *Sharaf-nāme* par *Sharaf prince de Bidlīs*, ed. Véliamov-Zerof, St. Petersburg 1860, i. 152, 157; Hādījī Khālifa, *Djāhān-namā*, Constantinople 1740, p. 439; Sāmī, *Kamūs al-A'lām*, v. 2573; C. Ritter, *Fürstentum*, Berlin 1844, x. 87, xi. 99–100; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii., Paris 1892, p. 525–100, 600–100; the travellers who have written about Se'erd are Josafa Barbaro (1471), Kinneir (1814), Shiel (1836), von Mülke (1838), Ainsworth (1840), *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia and Armenia*, London 1842, ii. 357–100; Müller-Simonis, *Die Caucasus au Gelfe Persique*, Paris 1892, p. 336–100; C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, Berlin 1910, p. 332–100, 381–100, 537. (J. H. KRAMER)

SEFID KOH (SAFID KŪH, 'the White Mountain'), is the name given to the most prominent mountain range of Northern Afghanistan, extending from a point situated in 34° N. Lat. and 69° 30' E. Long., near which rises its highest point, Sikkāram, 15,620 feet above the sea, to the neighbourhood of Atak on the Indus (33° 15' N. Lat. and 72° 10' E. Long. approximately), and separating the valley of the Kābul river from the Kurram Valley and Afridi Tīrāh between these two points; but the range is continued in a mass of uplands running in a south-westerly direction and known as the Pāis Dāg and Toba as far as a point situated, approximately, in 31° 15' N. Lat. and 67° E. Long. This latter range forms the watershed of Southern Afghanistan and a natural barrier between that country and India. In the northern and eastern spurs of the Sefid Koh proper are the Khaibar Pass [q.v.] between Peshawār and Djalālābād, and the formidable passes between Djalālābād and Kābul in which British and Indian troops suffered so severely in the campaign of 1841–1842. Through the passes of these ranges have streamed from the dawn of history the numerous hosts by which India has from time to time been invaded, and some of the invaders in historical times have left brief descriptions of those parts of the ranges which they traversed. The northern spurs are barren, but the upper slopes are wooded with pines, *deodars*, and other trees, and many of the southern spurs with pines and wild olives. Its valleys are a combination of orchard, field and garden, abounding in fruit-trees, and the banks of their streams are edged with turf and wild flowers and fringed with willows.

Bibliography: Shaikh Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Ab-i Akbari*, text and translation by Blochmann and Jarrett, Calcutta 1877, p. 1873–1894; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908.

(T. W. HAIG)

SEFID RŪD. (See *ḠIZIL TARKH*).

SEGBÂN (P., 'dog-keeper, whipper-in'), popularly *SEMEN*, the third division of the corps of Janissaries forming 34 companies (*orta*); the 33rd was in garrison in Constantinople. It was created in the reign of Bāyazīd I at the same time as the *saghārājī* (keepers of blood-hounds), the *qamjūnājī* (keepers of bull-dogs) etc. who later formed the 64th and 71st *orta* of the *djīmā'āt*. Some of

these companies had special names of their own: the 18th was called *kūlibi-segbānū*, the 20th *kūlibi-segbānū*, the 33rd *ḥunfī*, "huntmen" (chasseurs), the captain of whom was called *ḥunfī-ḥunfī*, "chief huntman". Their barracks, like those of the other Janissaries, were destroyed in the conflagration of Muḥarram 4, 1105 (Sept. 5, 1693), in the reign of Sulṭān Aḥmed II; rebuilt five years later, they were again destroyed in the reign of Maḥmūd I.

Segbān-lāghī was at first the title of the general commanding this division; when it was placed under the authority of the *agha* of the Janissaries, his position became a sinecure. In case of mobilisation, however, he acted as *ḥīm-maḥīm* (lieutenant) to the *agha*, lived in the capital and commanded the Janissaries of the garrison there.

Segbān-nuḥūrī "Cavalry of the Seimen" was the name given to the 65th *orta* of the *ḥimāḥāt*.

Bibliography: Aḥmed Djewād, *Tārīkh-i Asker-i 'Oḥmānī*, Constantinople 1897, i. 6, 14; d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1824, vii. 314; von Hammer, *Hist. de l'Empire Ottoman*, transl. Hellert, xii. 347.

(CL. HUARY)

SEGESTAN. [See SĪSTĀN.]

SEGOVIA, in Arabic *Shakūbiya*, an important and ancient town in Spain, now the capital of the province of the same name, situated in Old Castile, 60 miles N.W. of Madrid, 3,300 feet above sea-level, on an isolated rock near one of the last spurs of the Sierra de Guadarrama. This town is famous for its Roman (aqueduct) and Christian (alcázar) remains and was only under Muslim rule for a short time. It was recaptured in 140 (757/758) by Alfonso I of Castile or his son Fruela I at the same time as Zamora, Salamanca and Avila. It was, like those towns, recaptured but only for a very brief period by al-Ḥajjib al-Manṣūr b. Abī 'Amir in the second half of the tenth century.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Aṭṭar, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, v. 382; transl. Fagnan, *Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*, p. 104; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, ed. Būllāq, iv. 122; al-Maḥḥarī, *Analictis*, i. 213; E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Algiers 1924, p. 120.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

SĒGU, now capital of a district in the French Sūdān. Sēgu is a little town with 6,500 inhabitants lying on the right bank of the Niger about 150 miles below Bamako and consisting of four groups of buildings, of which Sikoro is the principal.

This place was the capital of a Bambara state founded by a chief of the Kulubāli family, who was at first more or less a vassal of the Mandingo empire or empire of Mali. Towards 1670 king Biton Kulubāli liberated Sēgu from Mandingo suzerainty and made it very powerful with the help of a kind of standing army of regular soldiers which he had formed of slaves belonging to the state called in Bambara *tan-dyon*. In his reign the Bambara of Sēgu, although pagans, subjected the Fulba kingdom of Māsina, in which the majority of the inhabitants were Muslims, and the completely Muhammadan town of Timbuctu, which was nominally governed by a paṣhā who claimed to be Moroccan. It is even said that Biton having offered an asylum to a holy man of Sūs, an enemy of the Haasanid Sulṭān al-Rashid, sent troops against the

ruler of Fās who had come to seek the fugitive and that al-Rashid having encountered the Bambara army south of Timbuctu took his way back to Morocco without daring to risk a battle.

On the death of Biton in 1710, however, the *tan-dyon* took advantage of their power to make and unmake kings and ended by overthrowing the Kulubāli dynasty and seizing the power. But the period of their domination was one of anarchy which was ended towards 1750 by a popular rising. A certain Ngolo or Molo belonging to the Bambara family of Dyāra had himself proclaimed king and founded a new dynasty, which reigned from 1754 to 1861 and was noted mainly for its wars with the other Bambara kingdom, that of Kaarta, located farther to the west.

In 1860 the conquering Tuculor al-Ḥajjib Umar, a native of Fās in Senegal who had been lord of Nyōro, capital of Kaarta, since 1854, marched against Ali Dyāra, king of Sēgu. The Bambara were supported in their resistance by their neighbours, the Fulba of Māsina, who had, however, been freed from Sēgu suzerainty in 1810 by the Emir Sēku (Shukku) Aḥmadu; this alliance of a wholly pagan state with a kingdom which had become Muslim against a conqueror himself a Muslim, who justified his expedition against Sēgu by calling it a holy war, is one of the most curious features in the religious history of the Sūdān; Aḥmadu Aḥmadu, then Emir of Māsina, explained the motives of his conduct in a series of letters addressed to al-Ḥajjib Umar which have been preserved. However, after a stubborn resistance by the defenders, al-Ḥajjib Umar took Sēgu in 1861 and Hamdallāhi, capital of Māsina, in 1862, captured the two kings Ali Dyāra and Aḥmadu Aḥmadu and put them to death. The Bambara and the defeated Fulba kept up the resistance for a long time in a guerrilla war, in the course of which al-Ḥajjib Umar died (1864). He left several sons, nephews, and favourites who divided the lands he had conquered amongst themselves, not without quarrelling. His eldest son, Aḥmadu Tal, whom he had installed in Sēgu as his lieutenant, lived there from 1862 to 1884 exercising a tyrannical sway over the people without successfully enforcing Islām on the Bambara or preventing the survivors of the Dyāra dynasty, aided by their Fulba allies, from harassing his troops continually, and even threatening him up to the walls of his capital. The naval Lieutenant Mage, sent with Dr. Quintin on a mission to Aḥmadu Tal by the French authorities in Senegal, was kept for two years at Sēgu by this despot (1864—1866) and was able to take exact stock of the situation. In 1884 no longer feeling his life safe in Sēgu where he was detested even by the Tuculors, Aḥmadu Tal handed the government over to his son Madani and established himself in Nyōro.

In 1888, the French government resolved to put an end to a state of affairs which was paralyzing the development of the country and found expression in continual massacres and the reduction to slavery of a great part of the population. An expedition was organised under the command of Colonel Archinard who took Sēgu on April 6, 1890, and Nyōro on Jan. 1, 1891. Madani had fled to Mopti and Aḥmadu Tal to Bandyagara, in Māsina. General Archinard took Mopti and Bandyagara in April, 1893. Aḥmadu Tal once more escaped; accompanied by a few followers he fled

along the bend of the Niger and sought refuge with his compatriot, the Sultan of Sokoto and died in his country in 1898.

After an attempt to restore the ancient Bambara kingdoms of Segu, at first under the government of Māri Dykra, then of a certain Bodayn Kululali, an attempt which was not successful, the French in March, 1893, decided simply to annex the town of Segu and its lands to the new colony of French Soudān.

A few Tukulors who came with al-Hādjdj 'Umar or in the time of his son Ahmada have remained in Segu; they all profess Islām and follow the Tijāniya order, of which al-Hādjdj 'Umar was *Mukaddim*. The bulk of the population which consists of Bambara has remained attached to animism.

Bibliography: E. Mage, *Voyage dans le Soudan Occidental*, Paris 1868; M. Delafosse, *Haut-Sénégal-Niger (Soudan Français): le pays, les peuples, les langues, les civilisations*, Paris 1912, vol. II; Ch. Monteil, *Les Bambara du Segou et du Kaarta*, Paris 1924.

(M. DELAFOSSE)

SEHİ ÇELEBİ, an Ottoman poet and biographer of poets. He belonged to Adrianople, in his youth received his education from and was on intimate terms with his fellow-townsmen and later father-in-law, the celebrated poet Nedjati Nuh Bey (d. March 17, 1509; q. v.), became *Kātib* (secretary) to Prince Mehmed, the youngest son of Soljān Bāyazid II, and accompanied the latter to Kaffa where he was governor (*sandjak-bey*) (Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulman.*, col. 659, 44). When the prince died in 910 (1504/1505) Sehī went to Stambul and obtained an appointment as secretary in the Diwān (*diwān-i kâtibî*) there. Later he returned to his native town of Adrianople, was for a time administrator (*mütevelli*) of a *wakf* of a school of tradition there (*Dār-ül-Hadīth*) and died there in 955 (1548/1549).

Sehī was the author of a collection of poems (*divān*) and of a collection of biographies of poets with an anthology (*tefekkür*) which contained notices of 261 metrists and poets and was entitled *Heşt Bihîşt* ('Eight Paradises'). The work is expressly planned on Persian models (*Djāmī*, Dewlet-shāh and Mir 'Alī Shīr Nawā'i) and classified under eight heads (*saba'at*).

Apart from the *Kemāl-Kubrā* of Sheikh-Oghlu (xvth century, very scarce, so far only known in one MS.), Sehī's biographical collection is the oldest work of this kind in Turkish. Of particular value are the notices of the Ottoman poets with whom Sehī was personally acquainted from his youth upwards or later, and of contemporary poets in general. The work was published in 1325 (1907) in Stambul (8vo, 144 pp.) by Mehmed Shāh and has an appendix by Fakr Rüşād. Sehī's *Divān*, of which specimens are given in the Turkish anthologies, is of little importance.

Bibliography: Latifi, *Tefekkür*, Stambul 1314, p. 196; Süfitt-i 'Othmānī, III. 115; Brüll, Mehmed Tahir, *'Othmānī Mütellifleri*, Stambul 1333, II. 225; Hādjdj Khalifa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, ed. G. Flügel, II. 261, N^o. 2813, and VI. 500, N^o. 14,407 (where we have Sehī for Sehī); J. v. Hammer, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, II. 255 seq.; do., *Geschichte der osmanischen Reichtümer*, II. 467, 756, N^o. 138 (according to 'Alī); E. J. W. Gibb, *History of*

Ottoman Poetry, II., *passim* (cf. Index), III. 7; G. Flügel, *Die arab., pers. und türk. Hist. der K.K. Hofbibl. zu Wien*, II. 377 sq., Vienna 1865. (FRANZ BARINGER)

SELÄNIK, the town of Salonika in Macedonia, situated at the foot of the Gulf of Salonika, to the east of the mouth of the Wardar and at the foot of a hill which commands it on the north-east. It is the ancient Greek town of *Thessalonike*, founded on the site of Therna by Cassander, who gave the new city the name of his wife, the sister of Alexander the Great (Strabo, VII. vii. 4). Towards the eleventh century, the popular form *Salavikion* appears (*Chronicle of the Morea*) on which is based the form *Salānik* or *Salānik* in al-Idrisi, the Bulgarian form Solun, the western form Salonika and finally the Turkish name Selānik.

Salonika, situated on the Via Egnatia (from Durazzo to Byzantium) and having a large and safe harbour, was from ancient times an important commercial city. It was still so under the Byzantine empire and in those days included considerable European colonies, especially Venetians. From the tenth century onwards, it received its share of commerce with Muslim lands; once, in 904, it was sacked by a Saracen fleet from Tripolis in Syria led by a Byzantine renegade; twenty-two thousand inhabitants are said to have been carried off into slavery (description by John Comeniana, *De Excidio Thessalonicensi*, Bonn ed., in *Script. post Theoph.*, p. 487 sq.). The town is, however, hardly mentioned by the Arab geographers; only al-Idrisi notes it. His patrons, the Norman princes of Sicily, had dealings with the Byzantine empire. In 1185 William II of Sicily undertook an expedition against the empire at the instigation of Latins and Greeks who had sought refuge with him after the troubles provoked by the usurper Andronicus. The Normans took Salonika on August 24, 1185. Under the Latin Empire the town was the capital of the kingdom of Salonika under the Marquises of Montferrat; during this period it had to undergo a siege by the Bulgarians, the allies of the pretender Kalo-Johannes (who was killed there, according to the legend, by the lance of St. Demetrius, the patron of the city). At the end of the thirteenth century, Salonika was finally restored to the empire of the Palaeologoi, then reduced to Macedonia, Thrace and the western coast of Asia Minor. The Serbian conquests still further diminished this territory, so that in the time of Cantacuzenus (1347—1355) Salonika with the western part of the peninsula of Chalcidice was only connected with Constantinople by sea. Soon the Ottoman Turks, under Murād I, began to take the place of the Serbs by their conquests in Europe. It seems that the environs of Salonika were ravaged for the first time by Lala Shāhūr in 787 (1385) after the conquest of Serres and Kareseriya. These lands were thereafter settled by nomads from the sandjak of Sarukhān (Anonymus, ed. Giese). The town was soon after taken by Khair al-Din Pasha, but restored again to the Emperor Manuel (Hādjdj Khalifa, *Ta'wīm*). Bāyazid I retook it in 796 (1394) after having defeated the allied Christian fleets (Sā'ī al-Dīn). The statements of the Turkish chroniclers and the Byzantine historians on these early conquests are by no means clear and often contradictory (cf. von Hammer, *Gesch. d. osm. Reiches*). Sulaimān, son of Bāyazid, concluded an alliance with

the Emperor by the terms of which Salonika and a number of other towns on the coast were given back to the latter (1403). After the death of Sulaiman, his brother Musa (1410—1413) laid siege to Salonika, without being able to take it. Muhammad I also, after setting out from Serres to attack the city, had to abandon his plan as a result of the rebellion of Shalikh Badr al-Din. Towards the end of his reign the pretender Dürme Mustafa, coming from Wallachia, was defeated near Salonika and found refuge within its walls. It was from here that Mustafa began his conquests after the death of Muhammad I (1421). Mustafa being beaten, Murad II turned his attention to the Greek empire and attacked Salonika in 1423, after a fruitless siege of Constantinople. But Andronikos Palaeologos, son of Manuel, governor of the town, thereupon invited the Venetians to take possession of it and sold it to them for fifty thousand ducats (Salonika at this time had forty thousand inhabitants). This act made the Turks withdraw for the time. Murad even recognised the sale in 1427, when a kind of capitulation was concluded between him and Venice by which the Turks were allowed to have a *kışla* in the town. Three years later Murad laid siege to Salonika for a second time; the Turkish sources say he did this because of acts of piracy committed by Venetian ships on Muslims. The town fell after a siege of forty or fifty days in March, 1430 (the 29th according to Anagnosta and the 13th according to Venetian sources; the Turks only give the year 833, or — wrongly — 832). The capture was accompanied by looting and a general massacre which Murad had promised his soldiers; it has been chronicled by Johannes Anagnosta: *De extrema Thessalonitenis exitio narratio* (Bonn 1838). A Turkish fleet from Gallipoli had shared in the attack on the town. Venice was quick to recognise Turkish rule over Salonika and obtained in return freedom of trade for Venetian merchants in the Sultan's lands.

A great part of the population had been in favour of the Turks in order to escape the terror of the Frank soldiery. The conqueror, moreover, after the looting showed himself conciliatory. For the moment only one church, that of the Virgin, was converted into a mosque (known as the Eski Djum'a). The Monastery of St. John Prodromos seems to have become a mosque during one of the earlier Turkish occupations. In the centuries that followed, the majority of the great churches were destined to be converted for Muslim usage. The conquerors also demolished a number of churches to get materials for other buildings. Murad, for example, in 1430 built a bath in the centre of the town. To give the town a Muslim population, colonists from Yenije Wardar were transplanted thither. Although the number of Turks increased, Salonika has never had a majority of Turks in its population.

The town was not long in again becoming an important commercial centre. The immigration in the reign of Bayazid II of a large number of Sefardim Jews and Maranos, expelled from Spain, Portugal and Italy, contributed largely to its commercial revival. There had previously been Jews in Salonika (Benjamin of Tudela reckoned five hundred in 1170), but after the immigration of the fifteenth century the Jewish element became the feature of the town. The Jews also brought thither their Spanish language, Ladino, which they

have kept down to modern times (Lamouche, *Quelques mots sur le dialecte espagnol parlé par les Israélites de Salonique*, in *Roman. Forschungen*, vol. xxiii.) and their religious and scholarly tradition (from 1515 they had their printing press). Under the benevolent rule of the Turks, Salonika became in the sixteenth century "the mother of Judaism". Their number was then put at twenty thousand; the cloth which they manufactured was sold throughout Turkey (Dernschwam, *Tagebuch*, ed. Babinger, 1923, p. 107). Towards the end of the seventeenth century, there was formed among them the sect of the followers of Shabbetai Zabi, the Crypto-Jews or Dönnies [q. v.], which had such a great cultural influence on the development of modern Turkey since the Young Turk revolution.

For the Ottoman empire, the possession of Salonika was a source of great revenue, especially from trade with the commercial nations of Europe, who by their capitulations obtained the right to have consulates there. The harbour has never been a naval port; it was only exceptionally visited by the Ottoman fleets (e.g. in 1715 in the war with Venice; cf. Rüşid, *Tarih*, iv. 51). Administratively Salonika has been since the Turkish conquest capital of an eyalet which has at times included Serres and Drama. In the judicial hierarchy the Selnik Mollas was one of the eight mollas of the sixth rank or *muhtaref mollalar* (d'Ohason, *Tabl. de l'emp. Ott.*, ii. 271). The Turks, however, never built great mosques there as the Greek churches were sufficient. The Mewlewî-Khâne to the north-west of the town is one of their best known religious buildings. A large part of the town consists of *wakf* properties founded by Ghâzi Ewrenos.

With the decline of the Turkish empire in the nineteenth century, Salonika became more exposed to enemy attacks and foreign influences. For example, in April, 1807, the English fleet attempted a landing there after the failure of the expedition against Constantinople (Zinkeisen, vii. 454). In the second half of the century the Macedonian troubles began and Salonika became the theatre of the nationalist intrigues of the Slav elements, while at the same time it was the centre of the Turkish opposition. The administrative reform of 1864 had created the wilâyet of Salonika, which, after extending as far as Elbasan and Üsküb, had been afterwards considerably reduced and in the end comprised only the sandjaks of Salonika, Drama and Serres with a population in which Bulgarians were in the majority. The assassination in 1876 of the French and German consuls brought about European intervention in favour of the Slave in Turkey (Conference of Constantinople). In 1902 Salonika became the residence of Hilmi Paşa, who had been appointed inspector of reforms in Macedonia, assisted from 1903 by a Russian civilian agent and an Austrian representative. The town, as the result of European control, became less subject to the direct influence of Constantinople and thus became a hotbed on Turkish soil of Young Turk propaganda, directed from Paris against 'Abd al-Hamid; from the beginning of the twentieth century the Committee of Union and Progress (*Ittihad u Terakki*) held its meetings here in the Italian Masonic Lodge; the constitutional movement among the garrisons of Macedonia had its centre here; besides Turks, the Committee had Jewish members. In the night of 22—23 July,

1908, the constitution was proclaimed in Salonika, followed by the first revolution in Constantinople. The central section of the Committee had remained in Salonika and organised in 1909 the suppression of the counter-revolutionary movement, which broke out in Constantinople on April 13. Mahmūd Şevket Paşa organised in Constantinople the constitutional troops, who entered the capital on April 24. 'Abd al-Hamid, deposed on April 27, was sent to Salonika, where he remained till the Balkan War. The beginnings of the constitutional régime bear the stamp of its origin in a milieu where the Turkish element was in a minority, in as much as the Young Turks began by proclaiming the equality of all races being under the Sultan's rule.

Turkey lost Salonika in the Balkan War. The Greek army, commanded by the Crown Prince, crossed the Wardar after the battle of Yantra and surrounded Salonika on November 8, 1912. On the same day General Hasan Taksin Paşa surrendered the town to the Greeks through the mediation of the neutral consuls. Besides the Greek troops, some Bulgarian battalions also entered it, but by the peace of Athens (November 14, 1913) Salonika, with the greater part of the wilayet of the same name, was incorporated in Greece. As a result of the Greek occupation not only the Turks but also a great many Jews migrated, especially to Constantinople. The occupation by the allies in November, 1915, with the object of making it a base of operations against Bulgaria, is only of importance for Turkish history in as much as it contributed indirectly to the defeat of the Turks three years later.

On the eve of the Greek conquest, Salonika had about 130,000 inhabitants, of whom 76,000 were Jews and about 30,000 Muslims, the remainder being mainly Greeks and Bulgarians. The commercial development had been greatly furthered in the nineteenth century by the railways connecting it with Nish, Üsküb, Monastir and Constantinople. The new harbour was opened in 1901; ships cannot approach the quay there. The export of the products of almost all Macedonia (especially tobacco) took place through Salonika as well as the import of European goods, which made it compete more and more with Constantinople. As an industrial town, Salonika has very old established manufactures of cloth and carpets (*selânîk kelim*), to which have been added silk-weaving, glass-bowing and the manufacture of soap and faience.

The town has many old monuments. Of classical buildings there remains practically nothing but the triumphal arch of Galerius. The Byzantine churches are numerous. Besides the Church of the Virgin, already mentioned, the principal are that of St. George, made a mosque in 999 (1590/1591), according to an inscription, and then called Ortadje Džami'i; that of St. Sophia, which became a mosque in 993 (1585) as Ayâ Sofya, and notably that of St. Demetrius, the patron of the city, in the central part of the town on the Rue Midhat Paşa (governor of Salonika in 1873); the date of its erection is uncertain. Under Bayazid II it was converted into a mosque and given the name of Şâsimiye Džami'i (St. Demetrius—Şâsim is a double saint; cf. the art. *AL-ŞÂSİM*). Of the Byzantine wall which formerly surrounded the town the southern part no longer exists and is replaced by the great

quay. The hill to the north-east of the town bears an acropolis called Yedi Kule by the Turks. A detailed description of the ancient monuments of Salonika is given in O. Trufali's book, *Topographie de Thessalonique*, Paris 1913.

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SELÂNİKİ, MUŞTAFÂ, Turkish historian. He was born at Salonika (Turkish Selânîk), and lost his father at Salonika in Dhu'l-Ka'da 972 (1565/1566), while he accompanied the Beylerbey of Rumili, Şamân Ahmed Paşa, as a reader of the *Kur'an* (*Târîh*, p. 11, line 6 *ab infra*). He held a number of offices which are accurately enumerated in his work. When in 1584 he had been for some time secretary and *divânîdar* of the Nishânîdî Mehmed Paşa, he became secretary of the *silâhdâr* (*silâhdâr alâhî*; cf. *Târîh*, p. 235; Dhu'l-Hijja 22, 995 = Nov. 23, 1586), then of the *sipâhî*; then he was appointed *rûnûmâllî* (diarist) president of the auditoffice of the two holy cities (*haramain muhâsebbîsî*) and quarter-master of the court (*mutteferriş*). In October 1588 he was *nishânîdâr* of the Persian prince Haidar who then resided at Constantinople (*Târîh*, p. 261). In Sha'bân, 1003 (1595/96), he was inspector of the soldiers' pay (cf. J. v. Hammer; *G. O. A.*, iv. 244). Finally he possibly held the function of *Anadolu muhâsebbîsî* (president of the treasury of Anatolia). The year of his death is not certain. Probably he died soon after 1008 (1599/1600) at Stambul.

His work on history, part of which was printed at Stambul in 1281 (*Târîh-i Selânîkî Muştafâ Efendi*, 14 folios, 351 pages octavo), begins with Şâfar 971 (1565/64), and ends in 1008 (1599/1600); it comprises the last years of Sulaimân the Great, the reign of Selim II, Murâd III and the first five

years of Mehmed III. Composed in the manner of a diary it is a mirror of the events at which the author was present as an eye-witness. His office in the treasury supplied him with statistic materials. Selanki's work is consequently a very valuable source for the years 1563-1599. It is to be regretted that the printed edition (cf. a note at the end, p. 351) is carried on to the year 1601 only (1591/93, because Na'ima [q. v.] begins his work with this year). Complete MSS. are preserved (apart from libraries in the East) at Upsala (cf. Tornberg, *Codices arab., pers. et turc. lib. reg. univ. upsali.*, Lund 1849, p. 196 sq., No. 284) and at Vienna (Flügel, *Die arab., pers. und türk. Hss. der K. K. Hofbibl.*, II. 246 sq., No. 1030 H. O. 57).

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SELJUQS, a Turkish princely family which ruled over wide territories in Central and Nearer Asia from the 10th to the 13th century. The following dynasties are distinguished: 1. The Great Seljuqs; 2. the Seljuqs of the Irak; 3. the Seljuqs of Kirmân; 4. the Seljuqs of Syria and 5. the Seljuqs of Asia Minor (al-Rûm).

Early History of the family. The ancestor of these rulers was Seljuq b. Dukâk (Tukâk) called *Timur-yigh*, i.e. "with the iron bow". This Dukâk was a member of the Ghuzz tribe of Kîlîk, which is mentioned in the first place in the list of these tribes in al-Kashgharî, *Divân Lughât al-Turk*, I. 56. The following is told of him by Ibn al-Athîr, *al-Kâmil*, ed. Tornberg, II. 322: "He was leader of the Ghuzz; they had implicit faith in him and they never contradicted him in a speech or neglected a command of his. Then it happened that one day the king of the Turks named Baighû collected his armies and wanted to march against the lands of Islâm. Dukâk spoke against it and after a long discussion the king of the Turks insulted him with coarse words. Dukâk then gave him a box on the ear and wounded him in the head. When the king's servants surrounded and tried to seize him, he defended himself and fought with them; his people gathered round him and they separated from him (i.e. the king). The dispute between them was afterwards settled and Dukâk remained with him." A similar story is then told of his son Seljuq but the end is different: Seljuq leaves the king with his people, enters the land of Islâm and takes up his abode in the vicinity of Djand at the mouth of the Sâihân. According to Marquart, *Ostürkische Dialektstudien*, p. 46, the Turkish title *yaghân* is concealed in Baighû and the reference here is to the supreme chief of the infidel Ghuzz, who in turn recognised the suzerainty of the Khâkân of the Uighurs. It seems to me, however, that the whole story is an invention to explain the settlement of the Kîlîk near Djand. Whether this tribe, or at least its chief Seljuq, already professed Islâm at this time is equally uncertain although the story presupposes it; the conversion perhaps only took place after relations had been formed with the Muslim population of Djand. Some Russian scholars have expressed the opinion that the Seljuqs came to

Islâm through Christianity and in support of this point to the Biblical names of their sons Mîsâ'îl, Mîsâ, Isrâ'îl, to a casual remark in al-Kashgharî (ed. Wüstenfeld, II. 394) and to the fact of the spread of Christianity among the Turks in Semir-jetse, but tradition makes no mention of it.

Political conditions in Transoxania, where the Sîmânids and the Turkish Kera-Khânids were fighting for the mastery, were favourable to the development of the power of Seljuq and his Ghuzz. They became involved in this feud and usually they took the side of the Sîmânids, but at the same time took the opportunity to further their own interests. In the meanwhile Seljuq died in Djand, aged, it is said, 107. His sons above mentioned (some records also mention a fourth, Yûnus) we now find not in Djand, but near Bakhârâ in Nûr Bakhârâ (now called Nûr Atâ, N. E. of Bakhârâ; cf. Barthold, *Turkistan* etc., p. 123), about the year 375 (985), as Hamîd Allîh al-Kashgharî, *Turkî Gulistân*, ed. Brown, p. 434, states. Isrâ'îl, whose proper name was Arslân, seems to have assumed the leadership among those sons. Sometimes the name is followed by Baighû, which is probably also to be interpreted here as the title *yaghân*; he is mentioned simply by this name in al-Gardîzî, ed. Barthold, p. 13, as the prince of the Ghuzz who in 1003 assisted the Sîmânîd general Mustajir to victory over the Kera-Khânids (cf. Barthold, *Turkistan* etc., p. 283). We next find him mentioned as ally of 'Alî Tegn who had captured the city of Bakhârâ. In 416 (1025) Mahmûd of Ghazna undertook a campaign into Transoxania to overthrow the latter and had a meeting with the Kera-Khânîd Kâdî-Khân, with whom he came to an agreement regarding a common attitude towards the affairs of the district. On this campaign he sought information regarding the strength of the Seljuqs. There is a well known anecdote which tells how Arslân, when he was asked about the question, showed him two arrows and said that 100,000 men would turn out if these two arrows were sent round his people, and if the bow were added, as many as one could wish. This caused Mahmûd some anxiety; he therefore consulted his Hâdîb, Arslân Djâhîb, as to what should be done regarding these people. The latter proposed that each man's thumb should be cut off so that he could not draw the bow any longer, or, as Ibn al-Athîr adds, that they should all be drowned in the Djâhîm. Mahmûd thought this too inhuman and perhaps also impracticable; he thought it better to let them come across the Djâhîm and wander over wide tracts in Khurâsân so that they would be easily kept in control. He took Arslân back with him to Ghazna and kept him a prisoner in the fortress of Kîlândâr in Multân as a hostage for the good behaviour of his people. These measures did not succeed in their aims, however; the Ghuzz proved turbulent in spite of the severe punishment which Tâh Farrâsh awarded to them (cf. al-Balhâkî, 73-163, ed. Morley, p. 544). Under the leadership of their chiefs Vaghmur, Kîlî, Beka, Koktâsh etc. they withdrew from the jurisdiction of their Ghaznavîd rulers and began raiding the lands of Islâm. Damaghân, Samnân, al-Râiy, Isfahân, Marâgha, Hamadân and many other towns in the Irak and Adharbâidjân suffered from their incursions. These Ghuzz are always called the 'Irâkî Ghuzz by al-Balhâkî, who says nothing about Arslân in the part of his history that

has survived to us, and distinguished from the Ghuz who had remained in Transoxania, to whom he refers as the people of Tughri-Beg (this is the correct form, according to al-Kashghari, *Divân* etc., p. 400), Dâ'id and the Niyâlyûn. Tughri-Beg, Muhammad and Cagri-Beg Dâ'id are the sons of Mikâ'il b. Seldjûk, who, according to some records, was early killed in the war with the infidel Turks; as to the Niyâlyûn, these are the people of Inâl or Yûlâ, a maternal uncle of Tughri-Beg, so that probably the reading should be Yûlâlyûn. It is true that this Inâl is mentioned nowhere else but his son Ibrahim b. Inâl is well known and at first faithfully supported his two nephews. We hear little of Mûsâ, Seldjûk's third son, but his sons also supported Tughri-Beg.

These Seldjûks lived in security in Nur Bukhârâ as long as 'Alî Tegin lived; as the pastures there were not sufficient for them, they received from Hürân b. Altîntâsh, the governor of Khwârizm, through the intermediary of the vizier Ahmad b. Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Samad Abû Naqr, later vizier to the Ghaznawid Mas'ûd, permission to dwell in Khwârizm territory in winter. But when 'Alî Tegin had died in 425 (1034) they came into conflict with his sons and successors, and, as Hürân b. Altîntâsh was murdered soon afterwards and the then ruler of Djand, Shah Malik, attacked Khwârizm by command of Mas'ûd and put to flight the sons of Altîntâsh who were in open rebellion and with whom they sided, they found themselves forced to seek other lands to live in. They therefore sent a written petition (cf. al-Baihaqî, *op. cit.*, p. 583) to the governor of Khurāsān, Abû 'l-Faḍl al-Shîrî (al-Sawâtî), notorious for his extortions, requesting him to ask Mas'ûd to allot them the districts of Nāsā and Farwā. In this remarkable document Tughri, Dâ'id and a third brother Paighû, already call themselves protégés of the Commander of the Faithful. These negotiations, which did not lead to the desired result, and the events that followed can be followed almost from day to day in al-Baihaqî's narrative, but here we must be brief and refer the reader to the full account by Kaziminski in the preface to his edition of the *Divân* of Minûchîrî. In brief, the result was an open war between the Seldjûks and the Ghaznawids. Mas'ûd's generals were repeatedly defeated and finally Mas'ûd himself was routed in the battle of Dandānāqān (Ramadân, 431 = May, 1040). By the end of 429 (Aug., 1038) the Seldjûks had taken Naimûr, the name of Tughri-Beg was mentioned in the *Ḥuḥḥa* there and an ambassador arrived from the Caliph to complain of the ravages of the 'Irâqî Ghuzs. The rule of the Great Seldjûks was established.

I. The Great Seldjûks, 1038—1157.
TUGHRIL-BEG — 1063, ALP ARSLAN — 1072,
MALIK-SHÂH — 1092, MAHMUD and BARKIYARUK —
1104, MALIK-SHÂH II and MUHAMMAD — 1117,
SANDJAR — 1157.

The history of the individual rulers, with the exception of Mahmud and Malik-Shah II, whose names were only mentioned for a brief period in the *Ḥuḥḥa*, is dealt with in separate articles; here a few general observations will suffice. As regards the expansion of the Seldjûk empire, the majority of the Muslim rulers of the eastern and central provinces of the lands once ruled by the Caliph submitted to Tughri-Beg, either voluntarily or under compulsion. The rulers of Djurdjân and Tabaristân

had done this by 433 (1041/42); in 434 (1042/43) Khwârizm was conquered and was followed by the other lands which form modern Persia. In 440 (1048) Liparites, chief of the Abkhaz, was taken prisoner and raids were made into Asia Minor. In Ramadân, 447 (Dec., 1055), Tughri's name was mentioned in the *Ḥuḥḥa* in Baghdad and at a ceremonial audience in 449 he was addressed by the Caliph, who had in the meanwhile married a daughter of his brother Cagri-Beg, as 'King of the East and of the West'. The suzerainty of the Seldjûk Sultân was recognised throughout the 'Irâq, in Mawâlî and in Diyar-bakr. Under Alp Arslân the Seldjûk conquests reached to the Jaxartes and after the defeat of the Armenians and Byzantines almost the whole of Asia Minor passed to the Turks. Finally Syria was added and in 485 (1092) even 'Adan and al-Yaman were conquered, although we can hardly talk of an effective rule of the Seldjûks in Arabia. Malik-Shah's death in the same year, the quarrels for the throne among his sons which followed, and the Crusades put a limit to their conquests.

As regards the conquered territories, in many cases the conquered rulers continued to rule and paid tribute; in Kirmân, and later also in Syria and Asia Minor, the princes who had conquered these lands set themselves up as independent rulers and did not trouble about the Great Seldjûks with whom they even waged war (see below). The same thing happened in other outlying parts of the empire, which the Sultân, e.g. Alp Arslân in 458 (1066), bestowed on their brothers and other relatives as fiefs, with this difference that the latter did not succeed in founding dynasties. According to the Turkish view, the right to rule belonged to the whole family and the oldest member had a certain right as *primus inter pares* to the obedience of his male relatives, but in a family with so many ramifications as that of the Seldjûks, harmony could not long be maintained. Even in the reign of Tughri-Beg his nephew Ibrahim b. Inâl rebelled and if his brothers Cagri-Beg and Paighû remained faithful to him this was probably because he had no sons. His successor had to fight with Kutalmûsh, son of Arslân and ancestor of the Seldjûks of Rûm. It was the same in the reign of Malik-Shah, and after his death the rather brief reign of Barkiyaruk was marked by continual fighting with his uncle Tutugh and his brother Muhammad. The empire of the Great Seldjûks therefore comprised strictly only the eastern provinces of the former territory of the Caliph, with the exception of Kirmân. They had their residences in Isfahân, Baghdad, and under Sandjar, who handed over to his brother Muhammad's sons the rule over 'Irâq, Fars, Khurāsân and the western provinces, in Marv. The latter, the last of the Great Seldjûks, was more than once forced to use the sword to exert his authority as head of the family to settle disputes among his nephews; for the rest he was content with sovereignty over Khurāsân and the eastern frontier provinces. On his wars with the Ghaznawids, the rulers of Transoxania, the Ghurids and the Ghuzs see the article SANDJAR, above. When he died childless in 552 (1157) the line of the Great Seldjûks came to an end.

For Islâm the rise of the Seldjûks meant the victory of the Sunnî creed, as far as their power stretched, over the Shî'a tendencies which had been gaining more and more ground under the

Buyids and Fātimids. The Buyids had, it is true, allowed the 'Abbāsid caliphate to continue a nominal existence in Baghdad, but in 450 (1058) al-Basā'iri [q.v.] had the name of the Fātimid caliph mentioned in the *ḥaṭṭa* in the 'Irāk also. The 'Abbāsid al-Kā'im b. Amr Allāh had to leave Baghdad, and his palace there was plundered for several days. Tughril-Beg, who at that time already was on intimate relations with the Caliph, was at this time engaged in his struggle with Ibrāhīm b. Ināl; as soon as the latter was taken prisoner and put to death, Tughril brought the Caliph back to Baghdad. In the following period, notably in the later years of Malik-Shāh, there was serious friction between the Caliph and the Sultān, but this did not have its roots in religious questions but was of a personal nature (cf. Houtsma, in the *Journal of Indian History*, iii. 147—160). The Seldjūks regarded the Caliph as such as the head of orthodox Islām whom they were called upon to defend with the sword. They took energetic steps against the dangerous activities of the Ismā'īlīs and furthered the interests of Sunni theologians, although in this respect it was not they themselves but their viziers, notably the great Nizām al-Mulk [q.v.], that are entitled to most credit. Personally they were anything but fanatical Muslims, as is evident from the release of Liparitēs above mentioned and later of the Byzantine emperor Romanus Diogenēs and from the treatment accorded their Christian subjects. It is practically the same with the credit given to some of the Sultāns, e.g. Malik-Shāh, for their patronage of learning; although untutored, they were able to esteem what they themselves did not possess. They therefore entrusted the administration of their empire to their viziers, who sometimes, like Nizām al-Mulk, governed with unlimited powers. In what spirit they did so, the latter himself has told us in his *Siyāsat-nāma*. As regards art, very little of the architecture of the Seldjūks has survived for posterity. Only in Marā are there still considerable remains from Sandjār's reign. Taken all in all, we must admit that the Seldjūk Sultāns were able to guide the rude Ghuzz people, whose chiefs they were, with great skill and with true insight: to turn to their use the advantages of Arabo-Persian civilisation.

II. The Seldjūks of the 'Irāk, 1118—1194. After the death of Muḥammad in 511 (1118) his eldest son MAHMUD, a thirteen year old boy, succeeded him as Sultān of the whole empire with the exception of Khurāsān and the north-eastern frontier provinces, where, as already mentioned, Muḥammad's brother Sandjār ruled. After him the title of Sultān was borne by his son NĀ'UD, 1131—1132, TUGHRIL I — 1134 (according to al-Basā'iri, *Kawā'id al-hakīm* etc., ii. 172, wrongly, beginning of 528 = 1133), MAS'UD — 1152, MALIK-SHĀH II — 1153, MUḤAMMAD II — 1159, SULAIMĀN-SHĀH — 1161, ARSLĀN-SHĀH — 1175 and TUGHRIL II — 1194. Almost all these Sultāns ascended the throne while still boys and met with a premature, often violent, death. Of the majority of them, therefore, it can hardly be said that they actually ruled; they were simply tools in the hands of their Atabegs and Emirs. In keeping with the old Turkish custom, the four sons of Muḥammad, Mahmūd, Tughril, Mas'ud and Sulaimān, were each brought up by a prominent Turkish Emir, who acted as their second father and was therefore called Atabeg. The natural result was that each of these Atabegs endeavoured to

gain the title of Sultān for the prince allotted to him in order thereby to increase his own prestige. The result was continual wars between these brothers, which were decided for a short time by the intervention of Sandjār in favour of one or other of the claimants. For the details of these wars the reader is referred to the separate articles; here we will only point out that the 'Abbāsid Caliphate also became involved and that two of them, al-Mustarshid [q.v.] and al-Rāshid [q.v.], perished in them. This happened in the reign of the valiant Sultān Mas'ud, but his successor Muḥammad II — Malik-Shāh II only bore the title of Sultān for three months — had to abandon the siege of Baghdad in 551 (1157). The power of the Caliphs began to rise again after this and the Seldjūk Sultān no longer lived in Baghdad but in Hamadshān. As a rule these Sultāns, from as early as Mahmūd, were only nominal rulers. The great Turkish Emirs held most of the provinces as military fiefs; the Sultāns lacked the money as well as the necessary troops to enforce their authority, if their Atabegs for the time did not assist them. To the latter also they entrusted war with foreign foes e.g. with the Crusaders in Syria, they themselves had continually to contend with enemies at home. Some of these Emirs succeeded in founding a hereditary dynasty and making themselves independent with the title Atabeg, Shāh or Malik. Among the latter we may reckon the Urtākiids in Mardin and Hira Kufa and the Armanshāhs in Khilat, who had already succeeded in doing so in the preceding period, and among the former the Zangids in al-Mawṣil and other places, the Selgharids in Fāra and the Atabegs of Adharbāidjān. The first of these Atabegs, Shams al-Dīn Ildegiz [q.v.], married the widow of Tughril I and when Sulaimān Shāh died in 1161 had his stepson Arslān b. Tughril proclaimed Sultān, but without affording him any authority. When he later threatened to become dangerous, Pahlawān, son of Ildegiz, had him disposed of by poisoning him and raised his minor son Tughril II to the throne (571 = 1175). When the latter had grown up and Pahlawān was dead, he endeavoured to enforce his authority but was not a match for Kīlā Arslān, the successor of Pahlawān, although he defeated the troops of the latter's ally, the Caliph, at Dīmarg in 584 (1188). He was taken prisoner by Kīlā Arslān after whose death he was restored to liberty, but fell shortly afterwards in a fight with the troops of the Khwarizm Shāh Takash (590 = 1194).

III. The Seldjūks of Kirmān, 1041—1186. The ancestor and founder of their line was KĀWUD KARA ARSLĀN-BEG, a son of Caghri-Beg who went to Kirmān with his Ghuzz about 433 (1041) and a few years later (440 = 1048/49) occupied the capital Bardān. He then waged further wars on his own account with the Shabānkārs, with the Kufs in the Garmīr (the hot coast region) and even became lord of 'Omān without troubling much about Tughril-Beg. When the latter's brother Alp Arslān succeeded to the throne Kāwud made an attempt (459 = 1067) to pose as an independent chief, but submitted when Alp Arslān hurried in person to Kirmān to force him to obedience. On Alp Arslān's death he thought, presumably as the oldest member of the family, that he had himself a claim to the Seldjūk throne, and led his army against Malik-Shāh but suffered a terrible defeat in the vicinity of Hamadshān where he was taken prisoner and

afterwards struggled (466 = 1074). The victor then in his turn marched on Bardasir where first Kirmān-shāh and later Saljān-shāh, the sons of Kāward, had assumed the reins of government *ad interim*, but withdrew when the latter showed himself submissive and left him in possession of his father's dominions. Saljān-shāh reigned till 477 (1084) and was followed by TURKĀN-SHĀH — 1097, ISKĀN-SHĀH — 1100 (1101), ARSLĀN-SHĀH — 1142, MUHAMMAD — 1156, TUGHRIL-SHĀH — 1169, BAKHRĀM-SHĀH and ARSLĀN-SHĀH II — 1176, TURKĀN-SHĀH II — 1183, MUHAMMAD-SHĀH — 1186. The end of the dynasty was brought about by the arrival of a body of Ghuzz; the Ghuzz after the defeat of Sandjar had fallen like a devastating deluge on the provinces of Persia and went wherever the weakness of authority seemed to offer them a chance of gaining rich booty. In Kirmān, where anarchy was practically complete under the last Seldjūks, they had an easy task, routed TURK-SHĀH who marched against them and went plundering up and down the country. When the latter was murdered his successor MUHAMMAD-SHĀH soon found himself forced to leave the country to seek help from neighbouring princes, which was, however, not granted him. A Ghuzz prince, known by the name of Malik Dīnār, then became lord of Kirmān.

IV. The Seldjūks of Syria, 1078—1117.

After the Marwanid Nag of Halab in 463 (1070/71) had submitted to Alp Arslān, a body of Turkomans under Atsız b. Abāk (or Awāk) invaded Palestine, captured Ramla and Jerusalem and the rest of Judaea with the exception of Ashkelon, where the Fāṭimids held out. He then turned his attention to Damascus which he was, however, not able to take till 468 (1076). An attempt made by him to conquer Egypt in the following year failed; he was routed by the Fāṭimid general Badr al-Dīnawālī [q.v.] and was next so hard pressed in Syria that he appealed for help to Tutuḡh b. Alp Arslān, who came to Syria in 470 and Damascus was handed over to him (471 = 1078). Tutuḡh then treacherously murdered Atsız and became lord of the town himself. An attempt to take Halab failed; the then lord of this city, the 'Ukalid Muslim b. Kuraish [q.v.], even attacked him in Damascus (475 = 1082), and when the latter had fallen in battle with the Seldjūk of Asia Minor, Sulaimān [q.v.] (478 = 1085), Malik-Shāh himself hastened to Halab and installed Aḡsunkor, the ancestor of the Zangids there, as governor, to the great vexation of Tutuḡh who had in the meanwhile disposed of his rival for the possession of the town, Sulaimān, in an encounter at 'Ain Salīm (Sallām), not far from Halab (479 = 1086), where the latter met his death. It was only the death of Malik-Shāh (485 = 1092) that enabled him to gratify his ambition, to make great conquests and to set up as a claimant to the sultanate against his nephew Burkiyūk [q.v.], till he finally was defeated in 488 (1095) and fell on the battlefield. For details see the article TUTUḢ. His son Ridwān [q.v.] then became lord of Halab and another son, Duḡāk (the statement in Abu 'l-Mahāsīn, ed. Popper, II, 344, that he was Duḡmāk is wrong), of Damascus. The latter died soon after in 497 (1104) but the real power lay in the hands of his Atabeg, Tughrigīn [q.v.], who was had the *khawāṣṣ* read for a short time in the name of an infant, then for a brother of Duḡāk, named Artāsh (in the al-Aḥlī called Begīsh), then made himself independent and founded the Burid [q.v.] dynasty.

Ridwān of Halab died in 507 (1114); he was followed by his son Alp Arslān who was soon afterwards murdered by his servant Lu'lu'. The latter then had his brother Saljān-shāh proclaimed Sultān but was himself murdered in 511 (1117). The inhabitants then handed over the town to Ighās [q.v.] and Seldjūk rule came to an end.

V. The Seldjūks of Asia Minor (al-Rūm), 1077—1302.

The ancestor and founder of this dynasty was SULAIMĀN b. KUTULMISH b. ARSLĀN (ARSLĀN) b. SELJUK. His father Kutulmish was one of the Seldjūk paladins under Tughril-Beg but later rebelled against Alp Arslān, and in the end fell on the battlefield near al-Rāy (456 = 1064). Sulaimān himself came to Asia Minor after the great battle of Malāḡkird (1071) (in which the Byzantines suffered a terrible defeat and their emperor was taken prisoner), like so many other Turkish emirs, with the intention of making new conquests there and founding a kingdom. Being a prince of the ruling family he was successful in his aim and we therefore find him prince of Nicaea about 1077 when the fighting for the Byzantine throne seemed to give him a fine opportunity to play a prominent part. When this hope was thwarted by the accession of Alexius Comnenus, he turned eastwards, took the town of Antākīya from the Armenian Philaretus (477 = 1085), was thereby brought into conflict with Muslim b. Kuraish [q.v.], and, after the conquest and death of the latter, with Tutuḡh, which brought about his death in the following year (1086). These events caused Malik-Shāh to make the journey to Halab to arrange matters there and elsewhere, e.g. in Antākīya and Edessa. Sulaimān's son, KILIJ ARSLĀN, was taken back by him on his return, and only returned in the reign of Burkiyūk after Malik-Shāh's death to Asia Minor. We have only scanty information in Arabic sources regarding events in the interval in Asia Minor, so that we have to rely on Byzantine, Syrian and Armenian originals. We cannot go into these here, nor is this the place to deal with the history of KILIJ ARSLĀN and his successors; the reader is referred to the separate articles. Here we give only their names and lengths of reign: KILIJ ARSLĀN I — 1107, MALIK-SHĀH and MAS'UD — 1155, KILIJ ARSLĀN II — 1192 (interregnum, see below), RUKN AL-DIN SULAIMĀN II — 1204; KILIJ ARSLĀN III and GHIVĀTH AL-DIN KAIKHUSRAW I — 1210, 'IZZ AL-DIN KAIKĀ'US I — 1219, 'ALĀ' AL-DIN KAIKĀ'US — 1237, 'IZZ AL-DIN KAIKHUSRAW II — 1245, 'IZZ AL-DIN KAIKĀ'US II (for several years [see the article] with his two brothers) — 1256, RUKN AL-DIN KILIJ ARSLĀN IV — 1266, GHIVĀTH AL-DIN KAIKHUSRAW III — 1284, GHIVĀTH AL-DIN MAS'UD II and 'ALĀ' AL-DIN KAIKHUSRAW III down to the year 702 (1302).

The kingdom of these Seldjūks underwent many vicissitudes of fortune. More than once its fall seemed imminent, but it revived again until finally it sunk into insignificance with the Mongol invasion and collapsed altogether. Sulaimān's capital, Nicaea, was lost in the First Crusade in 1097 and never belonged to the Seldjūks again and with this ended Turkish rule in the whole of western Asia Minor, as the Byzantines under the Comnenos again brought this region under their sway and were able to retain it throughout the period of the Seldjūks. In the south-east the Seldjūks were cut off from the rest of the Muslim world by the Christian

principalities of Antakya and Edessa, which had recently arisen, and by the rise of the kingdom of Little Armenia. Practically only the interior of Asia Minor was left to them and even there they were not the only rulers, as they had dangerous rivals in the Dānişmandids [q. v.]. Kılıç Arslān's thrust towards al-Mawşil came to an inglorious end with his premature death. It was his son Mas'ūd who first succeeded in founding a securely established dominion in Konya, after overcoming his brothers, and gradually extending his power. His successor Kılıç Arslān II continued his work and forced the Dānişmandids to submit to his rule, although the powerful Nūr al-Dīn took up their cause. He was also not unsuccessful in his wars with the Byzantines and succeeded in inflicting a severe reverse on the Emperor Manuel in the vicinity of Murioképhalon (the pass of Kantak) (572=1176). But when he grew old, he became a pawn in the hands of his numerous sons, each of whom ruled a territory of his own; in addition, the Crusaders invaded his lands and even captured the capital Konya (1190). He died soon after this in 1192 while with his youngest son Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaikhusraw and left his kingdom in a state of complete anarchy, as his sons were fighting among themselves. In the end one of them, Rukn al-Dīn Sulaimān, lord of Tokat, succeeded in overcoming his other brothers and taking Erzerum from the Soltukids. He then granted this town to his brother Tughril-Shāh, who ruled there till his death in 1225 as an independent ruler and had coins struck in his own name there. His son Djāhān-Shāh was, however, dethroned by Kaikobād I during the war with the Khwārm-shāh. Djāhān al-Dīn and his kingdom incorporated in the victor's. After an unsuccessful war with the Georgians Rukn al-Dīn died and his brother Ghiyāth al-Dīn, who after many wanderings had found a refuge with the Byzantines, ascended the throne. This happened about the time that the Latin kingdom was being founded in Byzantium and this gave him a fine opportunity to extend the power of the Seldjūks. In 1207 he seized the important harbour of Antakia and his successor 'Izz al-Dīn Kaik'us also took Sinope. The Turkish empire was thus opened to world trade; relations were established with the Italian merchant republics; the export of the valuable products of the district and the through-commerce with Little Armenia assumed great proportions and "Turkey" at that time became considered the richest land in the world. The Greek princes of Nicea and Trebizond and the kings of Little Armenia in Cilicia pledged themselves to pay tribute either voluntarily or under compulsion. The Ortukids and Aiyūbids in the border cities of the south-east frontier recognised the suzerainty of the Seldjūks on their coins and in the *ḥuṣṣa*. The Sultāns and their great emirs vied with one another in the erection of splendid buildings, mosques and madrasas, bridges and caravanserais. In brief, the Seldjūk kingdom passed through a period of glory such as had not been seen in Asia Minor for centuries; but the picture was not without its other side. The luxurious life of the rulers made them weak and effeminate and aroused the indignation of the lower classes and of the devout. Even Kaik'us I and Kaikobād I, although they were able rulers, had to rely in their military enterprises on foreign, Greek, Armenian and Arab, mercenaries; this became still more the case when

the worthless Kaikhusraw II ascended the throne (1237). In the meanwhile the Mongol deluge had reached the frontiers of Asia Minor. Erzerum, the frontier fortress, fell before their onslaught and soon afterwards the Turkish army suffered an ignominious defeat at Kösedağ (1243). The future of the kingdom was thereby decided. It is true that a peace was concluded and the Sultān granted an appearance of independence on payment of a huge tribute, but the wealth of the land continually stimulated the covetousness of the Mongols and incited them to new raids, pretexts for which were given by the struggles for the throne among the sons of Kaikhusraw. In the end, in the reign of Hülagü, a partition of the kingdom was drawn up whereby 'Izz al-Dīn was to rule on the one and Rukn al-Dīn on the other side of the Kiliç İrmak, but when the former entered into secret negotiations with the arch-enemies of the Mongols, the Egyptian Mamlūks, an end was soon put to his rule and he had to seek a refuge in Byzantium. Rukn al-Dīn henceforth ruled alone but the real power was exerted by Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaimān with the title of Parwāna, as agent for the Mongols, and when Rukn al-Dīn became inconvenient to him he had him put out of the way in 1266 so that he might rule all the more unchecked in the name of Rukn al-Dīn's infant son Ghiyāth al-Dīn. In the meanwhile the Turks began to rise against the Mongols in Laranda and elsewhere. A number of Turkish Begs therefore appealed to the Mamlūk Sultan Baibars [q. v.] and proposed that he should send an expedition into Asia Minor, where he would find the whole population on his side, if only the Mongol troops stationed in the country had once been defeated. Baibars agreed, defeated the Mongols in the bloody battle of Albastan and advanced as far as Kaisariya (1277). But the Parwāna and the Sultan held aloof and the people did not move so that Baibars was forced by lack of supplies to retire again and leave things as they had been before. Soon afterwards Aḥak appeared in Asia Minor and took fearful vengeance on the Turks, who, as he thought, had conspired with the Egyptians. The Parwāna also had to pay for his inactivity with his life. The Mongol regime now became stricter. Mongol financial officials settled the taxation which for the most part was used to maintain the troops stationed in the country. The Seldjūk Sultāns, whose names appeared on the coins down to 702 (1302), had no longer any authority worth mentioning. The turbulent Turkish emirs, among whom the Banī Karamita and the Banī Ashraf played the most prominent part, were more than once brought to periods of obedience by ruthless punitive expeditions led by the Mongol princes Kungkaratzi and Gaikhatā, only to come again from their retreats and found independent emirates when Mongol sovereignty finally diminished in power. In this way there arose on the ruins of the Seldjūk empire a dozen Turkman dynasties, on which see the separate articles. The last descendants of the Seldjūk family of whom we have historical notice are found in Sinope and perhaps in Alaya. The Kılıç Arslān b. Lutfibeg, who had to yield in 876 (1471-1472) to the Ottoman general Gedik Ahmed Paşa, was deported with his whole family to Stambul and had Gümüşhane allotted to him by the Sultān as *ḥuṣṣa* [q. v.] but afterwards fled to Egypt, presumably belonged to the old family of rulers.

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SELEBES. [See CELEBES.]

SELEPKÉ, the ancient Σελύχεια, Seleucia Tra-chena or Cilicia, a small town, capital of the sanjak of İc-İl in the province of Adana. It was built by Seleucus Nicator towards 300 B.C. The river Gök-Su (Calycadnus) runs past it, about 10 miles from its mouth. In it is a reservoir called *Tekfūr Anbūrī*, 'the Emperor's storehouse', hewn out of the rock and covered by a vaulted roof. It is a great cistern carved out of the rock, 30 cubits broad and deep and 60 long; the aqueduct which brought the water to it has been destroyed. There are numerous ancient ruins and a mosque dating from the Arab epoch; the town was actually conquered by al-Ma'mūn but soon afterwards evacuated. There is a Byzantine castle on the mountain (xth century). The town is mentioned by Yağuz, *Mu'āzam*, iii, 119, *Murāyid al-Ḥillā*, ii, 44, under the name Selaghū.

The district, for the most part mountainous, contains 3 *nāhiya*: Buldja, Yağda and Aysak; in the *Sel-nāma* of 1325, p. 816, Yağda is given as the capital of İc-İl and its district has now only two *nāhiya*; the number of its inhabitants is 24,860 of whom 1032 are Christians. The exports are the abundant agricultural produce; coarse carpets and sacks are manufactured there. The people in the hills rear cattle and those on the plains are farmers. The district at one time belonged to Cyprus and was administered like the islands of the archipelago by the Kapudan-vaṣṣa (Grand Admiral) [q. v.].

Bibliography: 'Alī Djawīd, *Djughrafiya Lughāli*, Constantinople 1314, p. 447; Ḥādīdī Khalīfa, *Djāhān-nūma*, p. 611; Sāim-bey Frāsheri, *Kāmiya al-Ḍīlām*, iv, 2604; Texier, *Asie Mineure*, reprinted 1882, p. 734. (Cf. HUART)

SELİM I, ninth sultan of the Ottoman Empire, known in history as *Yavuz Sultan Selim*, reigned 918–926 (= 1512–1520). He was one of the sons of Bāyazid II, born in 872 (= 1467/68) or 875 (= 1470/71) (*Sijill-i 'Osmānī*, i. 38). Towards the end of his father's reign, he was governor of the sandjak of Trebizond. Although his brother Ahmed, older than he but younger than prince Korkud, had been designated his successor by Bāyazid, Selim also cherished designs on the throne, knowing that he had the support of the greater part of the army. Civil war finally broke out between the two brothers as a result of the nomination of Selim's son Suleimān as governor of Boli. Ahmed protested and the sandjak of Kaffa in the Crimea was then given to Suleimān. Selim soon afterwards (1510) went to join his son in Kaffa and refusing to obey Bāyazid, who had ordered him to return to Trebizond, he went to Adrianople in March, 1511, with a body of Tatar troops. He then asked for a sandjak in Rūm-ili. Only after the Sultan had made up his mind to send troops against his son, did Selim consent to retire, after receiving the sandjak of Semendere as a result of negotiations conducted through the mediation of Mawlānā Nūr al-Dīn Sarfkūrā [q. v.]. But he soon took the field again, giving as a pretext the rebellion of Shāh Kālī or Shāhīn Kālī [q. v.] in Asia Minor. This time he was defeated on August 3 near Çorlu by his father's troops and again sought refuge in the Crimea with his father-in-law, Khān Mengli Girāy. But the Janissaries in the capital were in favour of Selim; they forced prince Ahmed, who had advanced against Constantinople, to retreat (August 21). The attempts of Ahmed and Korkud to profit by the absence of their brother only increased the latter's popularity. Selim therefore left the Crimea in January, 1512, and reached Constantinople in April, where the Janissaries had openly declared for him. Bāyazid in vain attempted to open negotiations. He was dethroned on Safar 8, 918 (April 25, 1512), by a great mob of Selim's partisans and died a month later on the way to Demotika (see the art. BĀYAZID II).

Selim employed the first year of his reign in exterminating his brothers and nephews. By July, 1512, he had set out against Ahmed and his son 'Alī al-Dīn, who had taken Brussa; he put them to flight, but did not capture them. Ahmed entrenched himself in Amasia. An attempt by Selim to take him by surprise there failed, probably through the treachery of the Grand Vizier, Mustafa Paşa [q. v.]. The latter in any case was executed and replaced by Hersek Ahmed Paşa. On November 27, five nephews of the sultan were executed at Brussa, sons of his deceased brothers Mahmūd, 'Alam-shāh and Shāhīn-shāh. In the end Korkud, who had fled to the sandjak of Teke, was captured and put to death. The same fate overtook Ahmed, who, after several successes, was finally defeated and captured on the plain of Yenī Şehir (April 24, 1513).

Peaceful relations with Venice, Hungary and Russia were maintained as a result of negotiations conducted by the embassies which these powers had sent to Constantinople and Adrianople. The warlike spirit of Selim found an outlet in the east, where Shāh Ismā'il [q. v.] had founded the powerful empire of the Shī'ī Safawids. Ismā'il had supported the cause of prince Ahmed and had

given asylum to the latter's son Mutād. Ismā'il, moreover, had many partisans in the Shī'ī element in Asia Minor. His own dynasty owed its success to the Kālī-bash of Anatolia, who had rebelled only recently under Shāh-Kālī against Sultan Bāyazid. Selim, urged either by hatred of Ismā'il or by his zeal for orthodoxy, began a systematic persecution of the Shī'īs in his empire. The total number killed or imprisoned was forty thousand, according to all the Turkish sources. War was inevitable after this. On March 20, 1514, the Sultan left Adrianople and a month after the whole army met on the plain of Yenī Şehir. During this time Selim had begun with a declaration of war his celebrated correspondence with Shāh Ismā'il in a series of letters written in an elegant style and insulting and provocative in their contents (see the *Munsha'āt* of Feridūn Bey, i. 374 *et seq.*), which often resulted in the immediate slaughter of their bearers. At the same time he had turned to 'Ulaid Khān, prince of the Uzbeks, to incite him to war against the Shāh. The Turkish army marched by Konya, Kaisariye (where 'Alī al-Dawla of the Dhu'l-Kadr dynasty showed little enthusiasm to assist the expedition) and Sirta, while the fleet went to Trebizond with the commissariat. After Erzurūm the Janissaries began to murmur at the length of the campaign, but Selim restored his authority with a few executions. The Shāh's army was not met till the plain of Çaldīran [q. v.] between Lake Urmīya and Tabriz. Here on Radjab 2, 920 (August 23, 1514), the Persian army was utterly routed by the Ottoman, mainly through the latter's superiority in artillery. Ismā'il fled, leaving the whole of his harem in the hands of the victor. On September 5, Selim entered Tabriz. He left it by the 13th, carrying off vast treasures and several hundred artisans, to spend the winter at Kara-Bagh, but the opposition of the Janissaries forced him to resume the road to Anatolia. He went via Kara and Baihurt, where Bilyālī Muhammad Pey had been left with a force. Selim himself went into winter quarters at Amasia; the Janissaries, who had begun to mutiny once more owing to the shortage of food, were sent to Constantinople. These disorders resulted in the dismissal of the Grand Vizier and the raising to the office of Khādim Sinān Paşa, Beylerbey of Anatolia (October, 1514). During the same year the Sandjak-Bey of Semendere had driven back a Hungarian invasion near Belgrade.

The year 1515 was marked by the conquest of eastern Anatolia and Kurdistan. Selim, who had assumed the title of Shāh after his victory (according to the coins), went in person to Kumākh or Kemākh [q. v.] which he took in May and then returned to Sirta. From here he sent the new Grand Vizier against the aged 'Alī al-Dawla, lord of the Dhu'l-Kadr [q. v.]. Selim had previously, in the autumn of 1514, invested 'Alī Beg, nephew of 'Alī al-Dawla, with the sandjak of Kaisariye and 'Alī had defeated and killed Salāmān, son of 'Alī al-Dawla. On June 12, 1515, Sinān Paşa defeated the Dhu'l-Kadr army in the plain of Göksum. 'Alī al-Dawla was killed and his four sons captured and executed. The conquest of the land of the Dhu'l-Kadr, including the fortresses of Albīnān and Marāsh, was one of the causes of the war with the Sultān of Egypt, who had been recognised as suzerain of this dynasty. Selim then returned to Constantinople, which he reached on

July 17; there he had executed several high officials accused of having incited the rebellion of the Janissaries, including the *Kağıt 'Asker* and the poet *İbrâhîm Çelebi* (q.v.). In August a great fire destroyed a part of the capital and was followed by more executions.

After the battle of Çaldıran, the Begs of Kurdistan (q.v.), the population of which was for the most part Sunni, declared for Selim; the inhabitants of Diyar Bakr and other towns had opened their gates to the Turks, but the citadels of several towns (e.g. Mardin) were still occupied by Persian garrisons. Dilykîlî Muḥammad, who had been appointed Beylerbey of Diyar Bakr, had been given military control of the country and the historian İdris Bitlisî, himself a Kurd, had been appointed to assist him as high commissioner for civil administration. In the beginning of 1515, however, the Persian general Kara Khân, brother of the former governor of Diyar Bakr, Ustâdjîlî Oghlî killed at Çaldıran, was sent to reconquer the country. He besieged Diyar Bakr, but was forced by Dilykîlî Muḥammad to raise the siege in October, 1515. At the beginning of 1516, Kara Khân was defeated a second time near Koç Hisâr between Urfa and Nisibin by Muḥammad and the Kurdish Begs, a battle in which Kara Khân himself was killed. In this way the towns of Kharput, Maiyufariqin, Bitlis, Hîm Kaifa, Diyar Bakr, Urfa, Mardin, Dîjâra and the lands farther south as far as Rakka and Mawşîl fell into Ottoman hands, the conquest being completed in the reign of Süleimân I.

In the capital, Selim had been busy with the construction of a new fleet and arsenal under the direction of Piri Paşa, while he had reorganised the corps of Janissaries so as to secure a more effective control over the higher ranks of this turbulent soldiery. These were the preparations for a new expedition against Persia. The Sultân left Constantinople on June 5, 1516, and went first to Konya; Sinân Paşa, who had been appointed commander-in-chief, was awaiting him in Albistan. In the meanwhile, the Sultân of Egypt, Kânsûh al-Ghûrî (q.v.), disturbed by Selim's annexation of the lands of the Dîr 'I-Kadr, had left his capital on May 18 with a large army with the object of supporting Shâh Ismâ'il and retaking Marâṭh. Selim, having learned of the arrival of Kânsûh at Aleppo (August, 1516), was the first to send ambassadors. The latter were not at first well received, but returned with an offer of mediation in the war with Ismâ'il. Selim did not accept the proposal; on the contrary, he sent back with contempt an envoy of the Sultân of Egypt after executing his companions. In the end Selim set off via Aintâb, capturing towns like Malatya on his line of march. He met the Egyptian army on the field of Dâbiq (q.v.), north of Aleppo. On August 24 (on the date see *İslâm*, vi. 389, note 4) the Egyptians were completely routed in a short battle; their defeat was due to dissensions among their troops and to the superiority of the Ottoman artillery. Kânsûh himself fell either in or after the battle. Yûnus Paşa had been sent by Selim against Khâ'ir Beg, governor (*malik al-umara'*) of Aleppo; the latter surrendered the town to the Ottomans without striking a blow. Selim encamped for eighteen days on the Kôk Maidân, near Aleppo, and then resumed his march via Hamâ and Hîm to Damascus, which the Mamlûk Begs had abandoned on September 22. Damascus was surrendered by negotiation with

the traitor Khâ'ir Beg and he occupied the town on the 26th. Selim stayed about two months here and ordered among other edifices a mosque to be built over the tomb of Muḥyî al-Dîn b. al-'Arâfî. On October 22, the Mamlûks in Cairo had chosen their new Sultân, Tûmân Bâi. Selim sent him two envoys to offer him peace on condition that the Sultân of Egypt recognised Ottoman suzerainty. The two ambassadors were put to death, much against the wish of Tûmân Bâi, which rendered inevitable the continuation of the war. The Egyptian army left Cairo towards the end of October, under the command of Dînberdî Ghazâlî. They met the Ottoman vanguard under Sinân Paşa near Ghazâlî and were defeated. Selim had left Damascus in December, before rejoining the army at Ghazâlî, he made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The decisive battle was fought on January 22, 1517, at Ridâniya near Cairo, after the Ottoman army had crossed the desert in thirteen days. The defeat which the Egyptians suffered there is attributed to the treachery of Dînberdî Ghazâlî, acting in arrangement with Khâ'ir Beg, who was in Selim's army; they are said by a ruse to have immobilised the Egyptian artillery, which was served by Europeans. The two Sultâns took part in the battle in person. Tûmân Bâi slew the Grand Vizier Sinân, believing he was Selim. Sinân's office was filled by the appointment of Yûnus Paşa. By the battle of Ridâniya, the fate of Cairo was decided; although Tûmân Bâi succeeded in regaining the city five days later he was driven from it on January 30, after desperate and bloody fighting in the streets followed by the execution of eight hundred Mamlûk Begs and a general massacre. After the definite occupation of Cairo, Selim, who had pitched his camp on the island of Bulâk, continued the war with Tûmân Bâi. The latter had retired to the Delta and endeavoured to resist with the help of the Beduins. But after another defeat at Dîjâra, his allies betrayed him and handed him over to the Turks. Selim at first treated him with consideration, but in the end yielded to the pressure of Khâ'ir Beg and Ghazâlî and ordered his execution on April 12 or 13 (cf. the article TÛMÂN BÂI).

Selim, being recognised as undisputed master of Egypt, remained a month in Cairo. Among the numerous embassies which came to pay him homage, one of the most important was that of the Sharif of Mekka, Barakâtî, who sent a deputation led by his own son, Abû Numayy Muḥammad, then aged twelve, which was received by the Sultân towards the end of May. The Sharif, who had not much reason to speak highly of the Mamlûk Sultâns, readily submitted to the Ottoman Sultân, who had already, during his stay in Damascus, showed his solicitude for the holy places. Barakâtî declared himself ready to insert the name of Selim in the *khutba*. Abû Numayy returned with rich gifts and in December following (Dîr 'I-Hidjâz, 923) the pilgrim caravan (*ṭurra-i ḥumâyûn*), sent by Selim from Damascus, carried for the first time a covering for the Ka'ba as a gift from the Ottoman Sultân. From this time onwards the Ottoman Sultâns bore the title of Khâdim al-Haramain al-Sharifain which has given them such a great prestige in the Muslim and Christian world. Selim, however, in spite of his solicitude for the sacred places, took care to take with him to Constantinople as hostages several Hidjâz notables resident in Cairo.

Another important delegation consisted of the two ambassadors from Venice, who came to negotiate regarding the payment of the tribute for the island of Cyprus hitherto paid to the Sultān of Egypt. They had, besides, to defend their city from the charge of having assisted the Egyptians against the Ottomans. Their ancient privileges were confirmed by a document of September 8, 1517. There is, however, in existence an Arabic document by which Selim confirmed as early as February 16, 1517, to the Venetian consul in Alexandria the privileges enjoyed by the Venetians (B. Moritz, *Ein Firman des Sultans Selim I für die Venetianer*, in the *Festschrift Sachau*, p. 422 sq.).

Among the monuments of Cairo, Selim paid most attention to the Nilometer, the *wiḡyār* on the island of Rawḡa (cf. the article CAIRO, § 4). He had a pavilion built there which was his favourite abode during his stay in Cairo. Towards the end of May, he undertook a journey to Alexandria to visit his fleet which had arrived there under Piri Pasha, and returned to Cairo on June 12 to remain another three months there. He left the city on September 10, leaving Khā'ir Beg as governor of Egypt (but he had sent his harem and children as hostages to Filibe) and arrived in Damascus on October 8. The main reason for his return was the discontent in the army. He left Egypt without having been able to do much reorganisation there during his stay. Although, according to the Ottoman historians, "true justice" was introduced there (Rustem Pasha), the numerous abuses had not been diminished; İdris Bitlisi, who had dared to call the Sultān's attention to them, was sent back with the fleet. Yūnus Pasha, the new Grand Vizier, was no more pleased with the expedition; the Sultān had already removed him from the governorship of Egypt; then Khā'ir Beg aroused the Sultān's suspicions of him, which led to his sudden execution on September 19 in the desert near Ghazāl. His successor was Piri Pasha. Selim spent the winter in Damascus and resumed his journey in February, 1518, having appointed Dīnberdi Ghazālī governor of Syria. He spent a further two months in Aleppo, from where Piri Pasha made an expedition against the Kīlī Bash, and returned to Constantinople on July 25 and went on to Adrianople on August 4. His son Suleimān, who had taken his place in his absence, was sent as governor to Sarakhān.

Among the notable personages whom Selim had sent as Egyptian hostages to the capital was al-Mutawakkil, the last of the "Abbāsid" Caliphs at the court of the Mamlūks in Cairo. He had accompanied Kāshūh to Aleppo along with three of the chief Kādīs of Egypt and was made prisoner after the battle of Dīlūk. Treated with great consideration by Selim, he accompanied the latter to Egypt, where during his absence his place had been taken by his father and predecessor at the investiture of Tūmān Bāi. Selim had endeavoured on several occasions to make use of the authority of the Caliph in his negotiations with Tūmān Bāi, but without success. In June, 1517, al-Mutawakkil had to leave Cairo and seems to have been sent by sea to Constantinople. Here his conduct is said to have decided the Sultān to imprison him in the castle of Yedi Kule, where he remained till the death of Selim, after which he returned to Cairo at some time not now exactly known. These details regarding the Caliph al-Mutawakkil

are only given by the Egyptian historian Ibn Iyās, who probably much exaggerates the part played by him in the Egyptian campaign, while the Ottoman chroniclers do not say a single word about him. It may be concluded from this that the importance of the "Abbāsid" caliphate and Caliph had become infinitesimal by the time of Selim I and existed practically only for theologians. These early and almost contemporary sources in no case guarantee the authenticity of the tradition which appeared two and a half centuries later, according to which al-Mutawakkil formally renounced the caliphate in favour of Selim. It seems that this story was first given in d'Osson's *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1788, I. 232 and 270. It is afterwards found in several Ottoman historians and thus became an article of general belief in Turkey. It is obvious that this story is intended to justify the claim of the Ottoman sultāns to the caliphate, but it is unnecessary to assume that d'Osson invented it, as Barthold thinks, for the tradition seems in every way worthy of the great conqueror and may have been originated by the Turks themselves. Selim in any case had been called caliph even before the conquest of Egypt; the historians say on several occasions that the *khutba* of the caliphate was pronounced in his name in different places. Cf. also the article KHALIFA.

Selim's successes made a deep impression on the Christian world. The Pope Leo X. endeavoured to enlist the Emperor and the kings of France and England in common action against the Turks. But Selim's relations with Europe remained peaceful during the next few years; the truce with Hungary was continued and a Spanish envoy obtained the confirmation of the privileges of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The Sultān also recognised the new Khān of the Crimea, his brother-in-law Muḥammad Girāy, son of Mengli Girāy. The Grand Vizier was sent to the eastern frontier to defend the empire against the Persians. During this time two new Shī'a risings had to be put down, that of Ibn Hanūsh in Syria in 1517, which was suppressed by the governor Ghazālī and the Begs of Tripolis and Hamā, and that of a certain Shīh Welī (according to Luṭfi Pasha) at Terkhal near Tokat. He and his followers are called Dīlālī, a name found in several Shī'a risings, e.g. that of Kara Yarıḡıl [q.v.]. Ferhād Pasha was sent against this Dīlālī, but it was 'Alī Sheḥawār-Oghlū, who had been appointed in 1516 governor of the country of Dhu l-Ḥadr, who finally defeated and slew him in 1518.

In 1519 Selim left Adrianople for Constantinople, where the equipment of a great fleet was begun, intended for the conquest of the island of Rhodes, but before the preparations were finished he died suddenly on Shawwāl 7, 926 (September 20, 1520). He was on the way from the capital to Adrianople when an illness, signs of which had shown themselves a few days before (an ulceration called *shir jundi*; according to others it was cancer) forced him to stop near Corlu; the father of the historian Sa'd al-Dīn, Ḥasan Dīn, was present at his death-bed. His death was kept secret by the viziers until the new Sultān Suleimān reached Constantinople. The body was buried on the hill on the north-west side of Stambul; Suleimān had the mosque of Selim I built there, to which the *türbe* was joined; it was completed in Muḥarram, 929. The *türbe* also covers the tombs of the mother

of Selim, of several of his daughters and of several princes (Hafiz Hussain al-Ahwani, *Usthat al-Djandari*, i. 14 sqq.).

The personality of Selim I dominates all the great events of his reign. His unrelenting severity and the numerous executions which he ordered earned him the name of Yawuz, expressing at once horror and admiration. It is the latter sentiment that has prevailed regarding him. A whole series of histories are devoted specially to him with the title of *Selim-nâme* (see *Gesch. d. osm. Reiches*, vol. II, p. vii). Selim I has been made a national hero (one of the two German warships which the Turks acquired in 1914 was baptised Yawuz Sultan Selim). Just as his vast conquests of Muslim lands have given rise to the tradition of the transfer of the caliphate, so there has been attributed to him the deliberate pan-Islamic idea of reuniting all the lands of Islam under his sceptre and in this way an attempt has been made to excuse his apparent cruelty (cf., for example, the pamphlet *Yawuz Sultan Selim ve İttihâd-ı İslâm Siyaseti* by Yusuf Ken'in, printed at Constantinople n. d., but since the revolution). In reality the conquered lands had at the beginning of the sixteenth century just entered on a period of decline and depopulation as a result of the change by the Portuguese of the trade route with the Indies. The conquests were nevertheless of enormous importance for the religious and political orientation of the Turkish empire, which henceforth became the great Sunni power in opposition to Shi' Persia (cf. e.g. the *fatwa* addressed to him by the poet Khwâdjâ Isfahani in Browne, *A Literary History of Persia in Modern Times*, Cambridge 1924, p. 78). It is also from this time that Persian Shi'a influence in Turkey definitely gives way to Arab Sunni influence (Babinger, *Z. D. M. G.*, lxxvi. 143). The Ottomans, besides, imposed several of their manners and customs on the conquered, such as the practice of shaving the beard (Selim is always represented beardless) and the style of dress and mode of dressing the hair, without, however, exerting a greater influence for the moment on the civilisation of Syria and Egypt.

Selim is equally celebrated as a poet. His *Divân* is entirely in Persian and was printed in Constantinople in 1306. It was again published in Berlin in 1904 by Paul Horn, by order of the Emperor Wilhelm II. Only a single one of the verses in Turkish attributed to him is regarded as authentic (*Tughkire-i Latif*, Constantinople 1314, p. 57 sqq.). From his early days in Trebizond, Selim was fond of the society of poets; among the better known of these are Dja'far Celebi, whom he made marry the wife of Shah Isma'il, taken prisoner in the battle of Çaldıran, and whom he had executed in 1515 (cf. above), Abi Rewânî, whose *Mahnavi* Was'il was dedicated to Selim; other influential men of his time were Kemal Pasha Zade [q.v.], and the Mufti 'Ali Dîemâli Efendi [q.v.] who legalised by a *fatwa* the war against the Sunni Sultan of Egypt and who was one of the few men powerful enough to oppose on several occasions the execution of the Selim's sanguinary orders.

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SELİM II, eleventh Sultan of Turkey, reigned from 974—982 (1566—1574). He was born probably in 930 (1524). He was the son of Suleimân I and the celebrated Khurrem Sultan (Roxelana) (*Sidjill-i 'Othmânî*, i. 39, gives three different dates) and was the eldest of the latter's four children: Selim, Bâyezîd, Djahângîr (d. 1553) and Mihrmâh (became wife of the Grand Vizier Rustem Pasha). Khurrem Sultan favoured Bâyezîd and to secure his succession to the throne she brought about by her intrigues and influence over Suleimân the execution of the heir presumptive Mustafa (October 6, 1553, at Ereğli). After the death of the Sultan in 965 (1557/58) a rivalry began between Selim and Bâyezîd which reached its height in 1559 on the occasion of the changing of the sandjaks of the two princes. Bâyezîd was moved from Konya to Amasia and Selim from Magnisia (where he had been since 1545) to Kutahya; the former refused to move and collected troops. According to the historian 'Ali, this quarrel was the result of the intrigues of Lala Mustafa Pasha, who had been appointed in 1556 to the post of Lala with Selim by the Grand Vizier Rustem Pasha, with the object of bringing about Mustafa's downfall, as he was an old enemy of his. Mustafa is said to have provoked insulting letters from Bâyezîd to Selim, which resulted in the orders for the change of sandjak; as 'Ali was himself secretary to Mustafa Pasha, his statements may be considered accurate. The modern historian Ahmed Refik, however, thinks that it was the Sultan himself who, with the help of Rustem, wished to get rid of Bâyezîd in favour of Selim. Bâyezîd was defeated on May 30, 1559, on the field of Konya, fled to Amasia and thence to Persia to the court of Shah Tahmasp. The latter, after a long correspondence with Suleimân and Selim, consented to

hand over the prince and his four sons to Selim (so as not to break the oath by which he had sworn to Bayazid not to deliver him up to his father). As a result, Bayazid was put to death on September 25, 1561. Selim remained in his sandjak until the day when a messenger from the Grand Vizier, Muḥammad Şokollı Paşa, informed him of the death of Suleimân (September 6, 1566) and the taking of Saigeth (September 8). Reaching the capital on September 24, where no one had expected him, the death of the Sultân being still kept secret, the new Sultân set out two days later for Belgrade. Here he awaited the return of Şokollı with the army and his father's body. When on October 24 the death of Suleimân was finally made public, Selim refused to receive the solemn *hafsâ* of the troops and had distributed among them accession presents which were thought insufficient. They then returned to the capital. Suleimân's body was sent in advance with a small escort and buried in Constantinople without any ceremony. By the time Selim reached the capital in the early days of December, the Janissaries began to mutiny near the Adrianople gate and would not allow the new Sultân to enter his serail until the increase in the accession presents they demanded had been promised them. The distribution took place on December 10. Besides the Janissaries, the *'ulemâ* and notably the Mufti Abu 'l-Su'ûd had handsome gifts given them; there was not even enough left in the treasury to pay the other troops.

Re-entering his palace, Selim abandoned himself to his taste for wine and dissipation, leaving the government in the hands of Muḥammad Şokollı [q. v.]. It was the latter who throughout the reign of Selim continued the traditions of the glorious reign of Suleimân. Here it is sufficient to give a brief résumé of the political and military events of the reign of Selim II. In April the Kapudan Paşa Piyâle returned with the fleet from the taking of Chios (Saklı) and the ravaging of Apulia and was given the rank of a vizier. At the same time negotiations were begun with Austria as a result of which plenipotentiaries arrived to discuss peace, which was arranged at Adrianople on February 17, 1568, between Maximilian and the Sultân; in addition to agreeing to the rectifications of the frontier, the Emperor promised to pay an annual present of 30,000 ducats. In the same month a Persian embassy arrived with great pomp in Adrianople to renew the truce. The peaceful relations existing with Poland, France and Venice were likewise confirmed. The French and Venetian capitulations were renewed. In 1569 took place the unsuccessful expedition against Astrakhan [q. v.], undertaken to make possible the project of making a canal from the Don to the Volga; this plan had been conceived by the governor of Kaffa, Çerkes Kârim, but the enterprise fell through, chiefly as a result of the secret opposition of the Khân of the Tatars; next year peace was concluded with the Russians. From 1568 to 1570 a Turkish army was engaged in the reconquest of the Yaman from the Zaidîs, who had driven out all the Turkish garrisons in 1567 except that of Zabul. At first Lala Mustafa Paşa — who, after a period of disgrace, had returned to the Sultân's favour, but never enjoyed that of Şokollı — had been appointed commander of the Yaman expedition, but was recalled as a result of intrigues by the governor

of Egypt, Kôdjâ Sinân Paşa, who replaced him as Ser-asker. After the successful commencement of the campaign by Özdemir Oğlu 'Othmân Paşa in 1568, Sinân arrived in 1569 and saw his conquests crowned by the taking of San'a' (July 26, 1569) and Kawkabân (May 18, 1570). Several Turkish poets celebrated this victorious campaign, e.g. Nihâlî, *Futûḥât al-Yaman*. The taking of the island of Cyprus in 1570—71 was more due to Selim's own initiative; it was his favourite, the Jew Joseph Nassey, appointed by him Duke of Naxos, who is said to have suggested the plan to him. The violation of the truce with Venice was justified in a famous *fatwâ* of the Mufti Abu 'l-Su'ûd. Lala Mustafa commanded the expedition; he took Nicosia on September 9, 1570, and forced Famagusta to capitulate on August 1, 1571. After this capitulation took place the horrible execution of the commander Bragadino. (The conquest of Cyprus is described in a *Târîḫi Akârik*; see Flügel's Catalogue, i. 236, No. 1015). In the same year an alliance was formed by Venice, Spain and the Pope. Their combined fleets almost completely destroyed the Turkish fleet in the Gulf of Lepanto (October 7, 1571), but this defeat was not enough to weaken Turkey; a new fleet was built during the winter and by the peace of March 7, 1573, Venice had to give up Cyprus and promise to pay a war indemnity. The war with Spain was continued. The Spaniards occupied Tunis in 1572, but were driven out again in September, 1574, by Kôdjâ Sinân Paşa. During the same period (1572—1574) there were troubles with Poland in Moldavia on account of the pretender Ivonia; the latter at first supported by the Turks was in the end defeated and killed by them in June, 1574. Peace was renewed with Austria in November, 1574, in spite of the troubles on the frontier and the intrigues of the claimants for the throne of Transylvania.

Selim died in the night of December 12/13, 1574 (Shah'sân 27/28, 982), as the result of an accident in the palace. He was the first Ottoman Sultân to spend his life in the Serail, where the Sultâna Nûr Bânî was all powerful. His fondness for wine gained him the name of *Meat Sultân Selim*. During his reign dissipated habits spread even among high *'ulemâ*. The system of bribery and corruption, which had begun under Rustem Paşa, penetrated to all ranks of society. But the traditions of the reign of Suleimân were still able to maintain the empire at the height of its glory under the direction of capable men like Şokollı and Abu 'l-Su'ûd. The *Kânûn-nâmî* of Suleimân I, legalised by *fatwâ*s of the Mufti, was put into force, especially in all that concerned the disposition of landed property and the fiefs (cf. *Millî Tercüme-i Medî-mî'at*, 1331, vol. i., Nos. 1 and 2).

Selim II's most famous building is the Selimiyya mosque in Adrianople, built from 1567 to 1574 by the architect Sinân (detailed description in vol. iii. of the *Siyâḥat-nâmî* of Evliya Çelebi). He also carried out various buildings and repairs in Adrianople, Navarino, Mekka (see C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i. 16) and Constantinople (Ayâ Sofya). According to Gibb, he is the best poet among the Ottoman Sultâns. He wrote his poems under the *makhloq* of Selim and surrounded himself with poets, such as Faḫrî [q. v.]; Bâkî also enjoyed his favour.

Bibliography: Selânikî Mustafa Efendi,

Tarih, Constantinople 1281, p. 52—125; Felew, *Tarih*, Constantinople 1283, i. 438—499, 385—499; the portion of Ali's *Annal al-Akhar* relating to Selim II has not been printed; *Selima* of Uşli, used by von Hammer, is in the Vienna Court Library (Flügel, ii. 234, No. 1013); Hüdudî Khalfa, *Tuhfat al-Kibar*, Constantinople 1141, fol. 40—49; 'Othmân Zâde, *Hadikat al-Wuzarâ*, Constantinople 1271, p. 32—49; Rashid, *Tarih*, *Yemen wa-Sanâ*, Constantinople 1291, i. 113—49; von Hammer, *Hist. del'emp. ott.*, Paris 1836, vol. i, vi; Ahmed Refik, *Kadınlar Salfânatı*, i, Constantinople 1332, p. 64—49; Ghâlib Edhem, *Tahwin-i Mevâkîf-i Othmânîye*, Constantinople 1307, p. 117—132; Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, London 1907, i, iii.; *Bucbequî omnia quas exstant*, Amsterdam 1660, p. 126—49. (on the war against Bâzarid).

(J. H. KRAMERS)

SELİM III, the twenty-eighth Sultân of the Ottoman Empire, reigned from 1203 (1789) to 1222 (1807). He was born on Djumâdî 126, 1175 (Dec. 24, 1761), a son of Sultân Mustafa III and the Valide Sultân Mihr-Shah (d. 1805; see *Sijillat-i 'Othmânî*, i. 83) and succeeded on Radjab 11, 1203 (Apr. 7, 1789), to his uncle 'Abd al-Hamid I [q. v.] who had died on that day. Selim's reign is characterised by disastrous wars against the European powers and revolts in the interior, showing the weakness of the Ottoman Empire, and at the same time by the continuous efforts of the Sultân and a party of enlightened men to reorganise the old decayed institutions of the state, which led finally to his deposition.

On his accession to the throne he energetically continued the war against Russia and Austria, but the Turks were beaten in Moldavia at Focani by the Austrians (Aug. 1, 1789) and especially at Martinesci on the river Bîza in Wallachia by the Austrians and Russians (Sept. 22). Here the Grand Vizier Djenâze Hasan Pasha (who had previously replaced Kocja Yûsuf Pasha) died and was succeeded by the famous Kapudan Pasha Djerâ'irî Hasan [q. v.]. On Nov. 10, the Austrians occupied Bucarest, while, on October 8, Belgrad had already fallen into their power. At the same time the Russians under Potemkin continued their conquests in Bessarabia (Khotin and Ochakow had fallen already) and took Bender (Nov. 15). The treaty with Sweden (July 11) to subsidise this country in the war with Russia was of little avail, and Selim, being prevented by tradition from joining the army himself, summoned in a *Khatt-i Sherif* all the Muslims to the holy war. Next year the Austrian danger lessened, especially after a treaty of alliance with Prussia (Jan. 31, 1790) and the death of Joseph II. In June the Turks even gained some success against them. After Prussia had concluded with Austria the Convention of Reichenbach on July 27, in which Austria promised to make peace with Turkey and both nations undertook to guarantee the integrity of that empire, an armistice was concluded at Djurdjow (Sept. 17), followed, after very long negotiations, by the peace of Zistowa (to the West of Rusluk on the Danube) of Aug. 4, 1791. This treaty, concluded by the mediation of Prussia, England and Holland, restored the Danube principalities to the Porte; only Old-Orsowa had to be ceded to Austria. The war with Russia had been disastrous in 1790. The new Grand Vizier

died in March and was succeeded by Hasan Pasha Sherif [q. v.], who was not able to stop the Russian advance in Bessarabia. The Russians took Kilia in Oct. and, after a desperate struggle, Isma'il [q. v.] on Dec. 22. They were also successful in the Black Sea and beyond the Kubân river, though they did not succeed in taking Anapa. Moreover, Sweden had concluded peace with Russia (Aug. 14). In the Aegean, however, the small Greek fleet commanded by Lambro Canziani and equipped at Trieste with Russian aid, was destroyed by the Turks. In February, 1791, the Grand Vizier was executed, by order of the Sultân, in his camp at Shumla and replaced by Kocja Yûsuf Pasha who made energetic preparations to continue the war. But the Russians under Repnin crossed the Danube at Galatz and beat the Turks completely at Matchin (April 9). As spirits in Constantinople had sunk very low, and there had been a big fire, the Porte ordered the Grand Vizier to propose an armistice, which was concluded at Galatz on August 11 and followed by the peace treaty of Jassy of January 9, 1792. In its 13 articles the treaty of Küçük Kainardji was renewed; in the West the Dniestr became the frontier between the two powers, whereas in the east the Porte undertook to bridle the Tatar tribes on the left bank of the Kubân; the Crimea was definitely lost to the Turkish Empire.

Immediately after the war the Sultân took up the question of the reforms which he considered inevitable to restore the strength of his Empire. In the beginning of his reign he had already made an attempt in this direction by insulating on the application of the sumptuary laws (on them see e.g. Mehmed Ghâlib, *Selim (hâlihi) bî'âi evâmîrî mühtemmel*, in *T.O.E.M.*, No. 8, p. 500—504). Soon afterwards he invited a number of prominent and enlightened personalities belonging to the army, the administration and the *ulama* to submit to him schemes of reform. All the projects were sent to the palace, and, as it seems, treated in a way which gave the anti-reform party the opportunity of turning them into ridicule and beginning its never ceasing propaganda against them (Djerdet, *Tarih*, vi. 7; here all the people who presented *Lewâ'ih* are mentioned). The Sultân, however, proceeded with energy. The *divân* was enlarged to a body of about 40 members under the chairmanship of the Grand Vizier or the Mufti, according to the matters treated. The new regulations which were elaborated successively were called *Kânûn-nâmâ's* or *nizâmât* and the total of Sultân Selim's reforms is known as *nizâm-i djedid*, which word, however, is also especially employed for the new regular troops. One of the first measures was the foundation of a new treasury (*trez-i djedid*) for the cost of the new institutions. It was formed by all available revenues and especially by confiscating a large amount of fiefs, the titularies of which had not fulfilled their military obligations (*mahtûl olam arâmet we-timarlar*); a special regulation for the investigating of these fiefs was made. By these and other revenues the financial base of the innovations increased steadily. The first corps of new regular troops was formed from the Bostandji's in 1792. They were destined for the protection of the big waterworks of the capital near the Black Sea at the village of Belgrad Köy, where at that time a Russian invasion was feared. Large barracks were built for them at Lewend Çiftlik,

where they were drilled, though it proved difficult to get volunteers. This first attempt was followed by a still larger establishment at Skutari, where around the enormous Selimiye barracks almost a new town with mosques and baths was created for the new troops. Other regulations concerned the provisioning of the army, the restoring of discipline among the Janissaries, the reorganisation of the Djebedji-corps and the artillery; to the reorganisation of this arm the French contributed considerably. Bonaparte is said to have had in 1794 the intention to put himself at the head of the Turkish artillery, and in 1796 the French ambassador Dubayet even brought with him to Constantinople a mounted artillery brigade. The reforming activity extended also to the improvement of the Bosphorus fortifications, the building of new warships under the energetic direction of the Kapudan Paşa Küçük Hüseini [q. v.], Selim's foster-brother, the manufacture of gun-powder and the instruction of the officers. The engineering-school at Sâdledje in the harbour of Constantinople, founded under 'Abd al-Hamid I, was also completely reorganised under French and English direction and a new navigation school was opened. Although the unfortunate experiences of the last wars made the people comply with all those innovations, there was, of course, a strong party opposed to them, consisting chiefly of the Janissaries and the *'alema*, the more enlightened of whom, however, supported the reforms. As a measure of precaution not too many new troops were stationed on the European side of the Bosphorus. It is a remarkable fact that, as the reforms proceeded, there was much less opposition to them in Asia than in Europe, where rebellious chiefs took them as a pretext for their taking arms against the government.

The peaceful period from 1792 to 1798 had made possible the taking of all these measures; even the two formidable rebels in Europe, Pazvân-Oghlu [q. v.], who in 1792 had entrenched himself in Widdin, and 'Ali Paşa Tepodilenli [q. v.], who had become Paşa of Yanina in 1788 and failed in 1792 in his first expedition against the Sulistes, were comparatively quiet; Servia enjoyed the generous administration of the Paşa's Ebu Bekir and Hâdîdîr Mustafâ. During this time the Porte paid much attention to her relations with foreign powers; new ambassadors were sent to the European courts and in Constantinople a great diplomatic activity was displayed by the Re's Efendi Râhid (d. 1798). The international situation became more and more influenced by the French Revolution. Although the execution of Louis XVI made a bad impression, especially on Selim, who had, even before his accession, been in correspondence with him, the emissaries of the revolutionary government (Descorches) succeeded in arousing sympathy, even in the *'alema*; they pointed, for instance, to the fact that, now that France had instituted the *'culte de la raison*", they were no more in religious opposition to the Muslims. They had influential helpers in Constantinople, e.g. the well-known Monradge d'Ollason, then Swedish dragoman and from 1796 to 1799 Swedish minister, and had nearly induced Turkey to declare war to Russia.

The situation was completely changed by the French expedition against Egypt. In vain the French representative in Constantinople, Ruffin, tried to tranquillise the Porte about the peaceful intentions of his government; on September 4,

1798, war was declared on France and Ruffin was imprisoned, as were also the French consuls and merchants. For the operations of the French in Egypt (they landed on July 1, 1798, after having taken Malta) see the article *KHITAW*; the action of Turkey was here much less important and much slower than that of England. On January 5, 1799, the Porte concluded an alliance with England and the first Turkish troops landed on July 25 in Abûkir, but they were compelled by Bonaparte to retreat to their fleet, after the French army had just returned from the siege of 'Akka, where Dja'zâr Paşa in defending the town had shown himself for the time a faithful vassal of the Sultan. In the last part of that year a Turkish army of 80,000 men commanded by Diyâ Yûsuf Paşa, Grand Vizier since 1798 (Kodja Yûsuf Paşa had been replaced already in June, 1792, by Melik Muhammad Paşa, to whom after 2½ years had succeeded 'Izzet Muhammad Paşa), and containing about 4000 men of new regular troops had reached Syria where it was joined by Dja'zâr's troops. The Turks took the little fort of al-'Atîsh on December 20 and at the same place the Grand Vizier concluded an armistice with General Kleber on January 28, 1800, in which the French promised to evacuate Egypt. But after the treaty had been broken by the English, Kleber attacked the Grand Vizier, who was advancing to Cairo, and defeated the Turkish army near the ruins of Heliopolis (March 20) after which the Turks retreated into the desert. Only a year afterwards, in March, 1801, the Turks participated again in the Egyptian campaign under the Kapudan Paşa Küçük Hüseini; this expedition resulted in the definitive evacuation of the country by the French and the occupation by British troops of Egypt. Turkey's other ally in this war was Russia. After a Russian fleet had already appeared in the Bosphorus in September, 1798, an alliance treaty was concluded on December 23. The combined Turkish and Russian fleets then went to the west coast of Greece and expelled, in March 1799, the French from the Ionian Isles, which former possession of Venice had been left to France by Austria in the peace of Campo Formio (October 17, 1797). The Ionian Isles then were constituted a republic under protection of Turkey and Russia. In the meantime 'Ali Paşa of Yanina succeeded in occupying temporarily some sea-ports in Albania. Notwithstanding the Russian alliance, the relations with Russia remained strained. By the mediation of Prussia a preliminary peace was concluded with France in Paris on October 9, 1801, in which the complete sovereignty of the Porte over Egypt was recognised, as well as the new republic of the seven Ionian Isles; for the ratification of these preliminaries the famous Sebastiani was sent for the first time to Constantinople on an extraordinary mission. To the peace treaty of Amiens, where the same stipulations were confirmed (March 27, 1802), the Porte was no party; she concluded in June a separate peace with France. In the meantime the Grand Vizier and the Kapudan Paşa tried to restore order in Egypt by exterminating the great Mamlûk Beys. As the latter were protected by the British, they did not succeed and in December returned to Constantinople leaving Khosrew Paşa as governor in Cairo; the evacuation by the English troops only followed in 1803, after on January 9 of that year an agreement had

been reached at Constantinople between the ambassador Lord Elgin and the Re'is Efendi, in which the Porte pledged itself to pardon the Mamluks.

The situation in the interior had been equally unsettled in these eventful years. Since the peace of Jassy bandit chiefs ('Othmân Pasha) had been terrorising Rumelia; they were patronised by influential people in Constantinople, enemies of the reforms, especially by Yûsuf Agha chief equester of the Walide Sulân. In 1797 Parwân-Oghlu had taken possession of a large part of Bulgaria and, when an expedition against him under the Kapudan Pasha Husein failed, the Porte had to comply with his claims and recognised him as Pasha with three *tuğ's*. But soon afterwards Parwân-Oghlu, who was protected by Austria, invaded Wallachia (1801). The Porte then tried to restore order by appointing 'Alî Pasha of Vanina Beylerbey of Rumelia (1803), but in vain. The latter was suspected of having an understanding with Parwân-Oghlu and was deposed again. In December, 1803, he then exterminated the little people of the Sultans. In combating the Rumelian rebels that year the Porte derived great advantage from the use of the new *nişân*-troops. Parwân-Oghlu's invasion of Wallachia gave Russia the opportunity of intervention in the Danube principalities. Under Russian pressure the Porte consented to a revision of the former settlements, which increased the autonomy of the principalities, and appointed Ypsilanti as *Aspödar* of Wallachia and Muruzi as *Aspödar* of Moldavia, both for seven years (1803).

In 1803 difficulties arose in Servia [q.v.] occasioned by invasions of Parwân-Oghlu and by the return of the Janissary chiefs or *dây's*, who had been expelled after the war with Austria. These troubles resulted in the rising of the Knezes under the famous Kara Georg in 1804. Neither Turkish troops nor the diplomacy of the Porte were able to subjugate the Servians in the next years; they had since 1805 their own constitution and were masters of the citadel of Belgrad since Dec. 12, 1806. In the same year 1803 Mekka fell into the power of the Wahhâbites (April 30), after nearly the whole of the Arabian peninsula had already recognised the authority of their chief 'Abd al-'Azîz (cf. R. Hartmann in the *Z.D.M.G.*, 1924, p. 195). In the same year also Muḥammad 'Alî [q.v.] came to the front for the first time who, after having broken the resistance of the Mamlûk Bey Bardîst, was appointed in 1804 governor of Egypt.

After, in May 1803, war had broken out again between France and England, the Porte had decided to maintain a strictly neutral attitude, but she was put in a difficult position by France's demand that she should recognise Napoleon as Emperor, from which, however, Russia's menaces withheld her. A personal letter of Napoleon to Selim was of no avail. Only in 1806, after in 1805 the alliance with Russia had been renewed, recognition followed. In 1805 General Sebastiani had come as Napoleon's ambassador to Constantinople and finally French influence prevailed. The Porte went so far as to depose the two russophile hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia; the Czar then ordered General Michelson to occupy the two principalities. Notwithstanding the resistance of Parwân-Oghlu and Mustafa Bairakdar, the Pasha of Ruscuk, this order was completely executed in Decem-

ber, 1806. Under the influence of anti-Russian manifestations in Constantinople and Sebastiani's pressure war was declared on Russia (Dec. 27). Next month England came with exaggerated claims, e.g. the departure of Sebastiani, enforced by the presence of the British fleet at Tenedos. When the Porte refused to accept, Admiral Duckworth entered the Dardanelles, scarcely meeting any resistance, and appeared on February 10, 1807, before the capital. After a moment of consternation, in which the Kapudan Pasha was executed, the defence of Constantinople was organised under the direction of Sebastiani and French officers (Juchereau de St. Denis). As the British shrank from the responsibility of bombarding the town, they retired again, after fruitless negotiations, on March 1, and reached Tenedos with considerable losses. Immediately afterwards Turkey declared war on England. The English were no more successful in Egypt. Though an English fleet occupied Alexandria on March 17, they were beaten everywhere by Muḥammad 'Alî and had to evacuate the country in September.

In the meantime the interior political situation had passed through a grave crisis. After 1802 the reforms had been taken up again and in March, 1805, a *Khattî Sherif* had ordered a general levy among the population for the *nişân*-troops. This occasioned at last an open revolt of the Janissaries, who concentrated themselves in Adrianople and Kırık Kilise. They completely defeated the *nişân*-troops which the government sent against them in August, 1806. The result was that the reforms had to be given up for the moment; it was due to the influence of the Muftî Sâlih-Zâde Es'ad Efendi [q.v.] that no worse things happened. The Grand Vizier Hâfîz İsmâ'il Pasha (succeeded in 1805 to Diylâ Yûsuf Pasha) was replaced by the Agha of the Janissaries, İbrâhîm Hilmi Pasha. The Porte did not even dare to send *nişân*-troops against the Russians in Rumania.

The successes against England had not restored the Sulân's authority. On the contrary, the opposition had been still more alarmed by the influence of the French during the fortification of Constantinople. Though the reform party continued its work unostentatiously, a plot was devised in order to depose Selim, the leaders of which were Mûsâ Pasha (so the name is given by Djewdet; Zinkeisen and others have Musta Pasha), the *Kâ'im-maklûm* of the Grand Vizier (who himself had marched against the Russians), and the new Muftî 'Atî-ullah Efendi. They incited the rude auxiliary troops (called *Vamak's*), that were encamped on the Bosphorus, to rebellion. The rebellion broke out on May 15, 1807, because they refused to put on *nişân*-uniforms; the leader of the rebels, Kâhakdji-Oghlu, pitched his headquarters at Büyük Dere. In the following days, while Mûsâ Pasha and the Muftî were calming the alarmed Sulân, the propaganda against him spread rapidly and a fortnight afterwards Kâhakdji went with his followers to Constantinople, provided with a list of all the notorious reform partisans. Nearly all these people were dragged to the At Meidân and killed. At this last moment the Sulân hoped to save his throne by a *Khattî Sherif* abolishing the *nişân-i dîvânî*. But his dethronement had already been decided. Next day, Rabi' 1 22, 1222 (May 29, 1807), the Muftî declared with feigned reluctance

to a deputation of the Yamağa that the deposition of Selim was lawful; after this comedy he himself went to inform Selim of the decision of the people. Selim, yielding immediately, retired and as he had no children, the elder of Sültân 'Abd al-Jamîd's two sons, Muṣṭafâ, was placed on the throne as Muṣṭafâ IV [q. v.].

Selim's tragic death happened a year afterwards, when Muṣṭafâ Bairakdâr [q. v.] marched against Constantinople with his own troops and those of the Grand Vizier Çelebi Muṣṭafâ Paşa to re-establish the reforms and to restore Selim to the throne. On Jumâda II 4, 1223 (July 28, 1808), Bairakdâr entered with his troops the first court of the Serây, demanding Sültân Selim. Muṣṭafâ IV then allowed the execution of Selim, which had been postponed until that time, and that of his own younger brother Mahmûd. Bairakdâr came just too late to save the unhappy Sültân, who had been already killed when the Serây gates had been broken open. Then Muṣṭafâ's brother Mahmûd was brought forth from his hiding place and put on the throne.

Selim III is described as a ruler of great gifts (cf. especially his necrology by Djewdet, viii, 262 *sqq.*). He wrote poems under the *takhalluṣ* İhlâsî and is said to have had musical talents. His zeal for reform proves his high intelligence, but was checked by his inclination to occupy himself with the minutest details. He also seems to have been unable to tolerate powerful characters in his immediate surroundings; during his 18 years' reign he had no less than ten Grand Viziers. Of the pious works he had carried out, are chiefly mentioned a silver gate for the *ṭhür* of Abû Ayyûb Anṣârî and the complete restoration of the mosque of Fâtih. The greater part of his constructions were the barracks and schools for the reform projects.

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(J. H. KRAMERS)

SEMÂ-KHÂNE, a Persian formation from the Arabic *semâ* [q. v.] and Persian *khâne*, the dancing hall or dancing room, i.e. the space in the monasteries devoted to those Sûfi dances always held in abhorrence by Muslim orthodoxy, to *muḥabbele* (*muḥabbele*) and to *dhikr*. Dancing and

music etc., as a rule, particularly associated with the Mevlevî. But the Bektaşî monasteries have also their *semâ-khâne*; the great old Bektaşî monastery of Seyid-i Çhârî, for example, has three *semâ-khâne* in one suite, in front of the *ṭhür* of Seyid Batîl. Cf. K. Wulfinger, *Drei Bektaşî-Klöster Phrygiens*, in the *Beiträge zur Islamwissenschaft*, part 21, Berlin 1913, p. 32 and plan. Cf. also the Arabic, Persian and Turkish dictionaries. (Th. MARIET)

SEM. [See *SEM*].

SEMENNÜD, a town in the Delta of Egypt, in the province of Ghartâys on the west bank of the Nile (Damietta arm), a railway station on the Tanja-Damietta line (11,550 inhabitants in 1884). The Arabic name is based on the Greek *Σεμηννύς* (which gave its name to the Sebennytic arm), in Coptic *Ḥemennūt*, and *Sebennyt* is ancient Egyptian. The ancient town was perhaps built on both sides of the river; in any case there is a little town opposite Semennüd on the east bank of the Damietta arm called Mîr (Minya). Semennüd (4372 inhabitants in 1884), capital of a district (*markaz*) of the province of Daḡahîya, known from at least the sixth century A. D.

Succeeding the pagarchy of Sebennytos, the *ḥara* of Semennüd included an area not easy to define on account of the difficulty of identifying certain adjoining *ḥara's*. It was bounded on the east by the Nile; to the south by the *ḥara* of Banî and Baṣr (places which exist to this day); on the west by the *ḥara* of al-Buḡjûm, which seems to correspond to the ancient *Bouabakia*, even if we do not admit the phonetic relationship of the two words; on the north by the *ḥara* of al-Awhâya, which al-Ya'qûbî identifies with al-Damîra about 15 miles from Semennüd. The Fâtîmids and the Ayyûbids had an independent province called Semennûdiyya, which was not much larger than the old *ḥara* (129 villages against 108).

Semennüd, which, according to a tradition preserved by Ibn Duḡnâk, was founded by an eponymous magician, a descendant of Lâz, the son of Shem, had a temple which was destroyed about 350 (961) after having been used for a short time under Arab rule as a storehouse for fodder. It seems from a passage in the Jaenbite Synaxarion that this temple had suffered abuse before the days of Islam. Arab legends credit this temple with possessing a *ḡinn* of a dark complexion, with long hair and a short beard, and Maspero thinks that the Arabs were describing a statue of Osiris or Ptah, whose face was painted blue or green.

Coptic tradition records the passage of the Holy Family through Semennüd during the flight into Egypt, and locates a certain number of martyrs here. This town was the see of a bishop still mentioned as late as the 12th century A. D. The town had a Coptic population which gave Egypt several Jacobite patriarchs. Al-Makrîsî, however, tells us that the principal church, dedicated to the Apostles, was in a private house.

Semennüd was not on the line of march of the Arab army of invasion, which went from al-Farṣa via Bîlûs, and the Arab writers do not mention it in connection with the conquest of Egypt. John of Nikiu mentions that the local soldiery refused to fight the Muslims. Semennüd is again mentioned in 132 (750) on the occasion of a local revolt directed by a certain John (Yuhannis), who was captured and put to death.

Savary found it a medium-sized town, populous and busy. 'Alī Pasha gives a list of the mosques of Semennūd, all modern or recently restored.

Bibliography: John of Nikiu, transl. Zosenberg, p. 245; 366, 560; *Hist. des Patriarches*, Patrolog. gr., v. [460] 206; x. [547] 433; *Synaxaire*, Patrolog. gr., l. [76—77] 290—291; xvi. [973; 1050] 331, 408; xvii. [1218] 676; Abū Shāma, ed. Cairo 1288, l. 269; al-Kalālah, *Subh al-Ashā*, Cairo 1331—1338, iii. 327; Ibn Dukūmā, ed. Cairo 1314, r. 77, 91; al-Makrūn, *Kāfiyat*, ed. Inst. franç., iii. 223—224, iv. 101; ed. Billāq, li. 519; Ibn al-Djān, ed. Cairo 1898, p. 60, 80; Carra de Vaux, *Avrès des Mercantiles*, p. 217; G. Maspero, in the *Journ. des Savants*, 1899, p. 79; 'Alī Pasha, *Kāfiyat Djā'idā*, xii. 46—50, xvi. 65—66; Raudeker, *Egypt*; Guide Joanne, *Egypte*, p. 361, 366; J. Maspero, *Organis. milit. de l'Égypte byzantine*, p. 131, 139; do., *Hist. des Patr. d'Alexandrie*, p. 371—373; Caetani, *Chronogr. islamica*, p. 1707; and the bibliography given in J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériaux p. servir à la géogr. de l'Égypte*, p. 29, 31—32, 106, 187—188. (G. Wiet)

SEMENNĀN, a town in Persia, on the main road from Media to Khurāsān, situated in the old province of Kūmis (Comisene; cf. Marquart, *Erdkunde*, p. 71), between Tīhrān (in the middle ages Ray) and Dāmghān, at the foot of the Alburz mountain and on the border of the great Kawir. The form Semennān is most frequently found (e.g. Yāqūt); the modern pronunciation is rather Semnān. The foundation of the town is ascribed to Tahmāsiyāth (al-Kāzwīnī), and it is probably of considerable antiquity, although it is not mentioned in the sources dealing with pre-Muhammadan history. Semnān is often mentioned by Arab and Persian historians à propos of the frequent passing of armies on the road to Khurāsān. In the time of al-Hudaydīdī the *isphahān* of Ray defeated there the Khāridīthī Kātari (Ibn Isfandiyyār, *History of Tabaristān*, transl. Browne, p. 104; cf. also the article KĀTARĪ in AL-FURJĀ'Ā).

In the beginning of the tenth century Semnān belonged to the lands of the Ziyārīdī, who lost it in 331 (943) (Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 140). In the time of the Būyids the towns of Kūmis were considered to belong to Dailām. In 427 (1036) Semnān suffered from the ravages of the Ghuzz tribes (Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 268). But when Nāqir-i Khuraw passed through it in June, 1046, it seems that the town had been rebuilt (*Sefer-nāme*, ed. Schefer, Paris 1884, p. 3—4). It was laid waste in 618 (1221) by the Mongols under Subutai (al-Djauwānī, *Djāhān-gushā*, Gibb Mem. Series, l. 115) and Yāqūt still found it for the most part in ruins (iii. 141). In the xvth century Semnān belonged to the little dynasty of the Celawīds of Tabaristān (Melgunof, *Das südliche Ufer des kaspischen Meeres*, Leipzig 1868, p. 52). In the present administrative division the province of Kūmis no longer exists and Semnān is now the most westerly town in the province of Khurāsān.

The distances from Semnān to Ray and to Dāmghān are given by al-Makdīsī as 3 days' journey each, but the town is nearer Ray. The water supply of Semnān and its vicinity comes from the little streams that run down from the Alburz. The surrounding plain is quite extensive and well watered. Tobacco is the principal crop. This plain is separated by a range of hills from that of Dāmghān.

The town has been famous since the time of Yāqūt for its manufacture of cotton goods. It is surrounded by a wall of clay and contains the ruins of several castles. There is also a xiith century bath (*hammām*) there and a fine minaret, of which the mosque is now a ruin in the centre of the bazaar. It is probably this mosque which is mentioned by al-Makdīsī (p. 356), although, according to Fraser, it cannot be older than the xvth century (Sarre in *Islam*, xi. 170). At the present day the town has a fine mosque built by Faty 'Alī Shāh. The population was estimated by Curzon in 1890 at under 16,000.

The dialect of Semnān, remarked upon even by Nāqir-i Khuraw, has the reputation in Persia of being particularly unintelligible. Geiger (*Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, l. 421) connects it with the group of Caspian dialects. Christensen, who was the last to study the Semnānī, reckons it among the numerous dialects of central and north-western Irān, the place of which in the general scheme cannot yet be definitely fixed.

Several traditionists and lawyers have the *sikhs* Semnānī (Yāqūt, *loc. cit.*, and Brockelmann, *G.A.*, l. 373).

Bibliography: B. G. A. (al-Istakhrī, Ibn Hawkal, al-Makdīsī, Ibn Khordādhbeh, Ibn Rustāh, al-Mas'ūdī, see Indices); al-Kāzwīnī, *Nahāt al-Kulūb*, ed. and transl. Le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser., p. 157; Hādīdī Khulīfā, *Djāhānnumā*, Constantinople 1140, p. 339; Motier, *Second Journey to Persia*, London 1818, p. 384; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii. Berlin 1838, p. 459; Prohlberg, *Persien, eine historische Landeskunde*, Leipzig 1891, p. 24; Curzon, *Persia*, London 1892, l. 221, 290; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 20, 366; A. Houtum-Schindler, *Beschreibung einiger wenig bekannten Reisen in Chorasān, in die Zeit der Gen. für Erdkunde*, vii. 115 sqq. On the dialect of Semnān: *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, l. 347 sqq., 380; Hasselt, *Grammatical Note on the Semnānī Dialect*, in the *J. R. A. S.*, xvi. 120; Arthur Christensen, *Le dialecte de Semnān*, Copenhagen 1915, in *Det Danske Vid. Selsk. Skr.*, Series 7, Hist. og Fil. Afd., vol. ii. 4).

(J. H. KRAMERS)

SENĀR. [See SANĀR].

SENEGAL. The origin of the word Senegal has not been definitely ascertained. The majority of modern writers have connected it with the name of the Berber tribe of the Sanhādja or Zanāga, representatives of which have occupied since a fairly remote period a district north of the lower course of the Senegal, and they have interpreted the "river of Senegal" to mean "river of the Sanhādja". This explanation seems to be based simply on a fortuitous resemblance of two names denoting distinct objects. From the information supplied by early geographers and travellers, Muslim as well as Christian, it seems evident that there was at one time in the lower valley of the river a black kingdom called Samanghāna or Sanghāna (al-Bakrī, xiith century) or Senegany (a "Pilot-book" of the Medici of 1351) or Sanaga (Denis Fernandez, 1446) or Senega (Ca de Mosta, Thevet, Marmol) or *S-n-g-i* [the vocalisation is uncertain] (Mahmūd Kōll, author of the *Ta'rīkh al-Fattāh*, xvith cent.). The same authors and documents give the Sanhādja, whom besides they place more to the north, names clearly different (Sanhādja, Assenages, Azanages, Zanhaga,

Sénégues, etc.). To this day the Moors descended from the *Šanḥādja* give the lower valley of the river the name of *Isongān*. It is probably from the name of the province that the word "Senegal" comes. Marmol further says that Lancelot du Lac, who visited the region in 1447, gave the river the name of a kingdom within which its mouth lay.

In any case in the form Senegal the name has been applied since the xviiith century to the river which flows into the Atlantic about 120 miles north of Cape Verd and to the colony founded by the French in this part of Africa. This colony, the capital of which is St. Louis on the Senegal river and near its mouth, and which includes the town of Dakar, the capital of French West Africa, measures approximately 75,000 square miles and had (in 1921) 1,225,523 inhabitants of whom 5,287 were European and 1,220,236 were natives; of the latter, 1,021,791 belong to the negro race, 191,351 to the hybrid branch of the Fulbe or Ful and 7,094 to the white race (Moors). It is bounded on the north by the course of the river Senegal from the region of St. Louis up to the confluence of the river Faleme; in the east by the latter river from its mouth up to about 12° 40' N. Lat.; in the south by a line running from the upper Faleme to the ocean at Cape Roxo, a little south of the estuary of the Casamance. Inland there is a foreign enclave formed by the British colony of Gambia which consists of the two banks of the river Gambia from *Varbutenda* to the sea. Geographically the two colonies are sometimes included under the composite name of "Senegambia".

Senegal was perhaps the first of all the negro countries of Africa to succumb to the attacks of Islam. It was in a hermitage built on an island of lower Senegal that the religious movement of the Almoravids began about 1040 A.D. and the Almoravids won over to the Muslim faith about 1050 the sovereign and principal notables of the negro kingdom of the *Takrūr* or *Tokorōr*, which lay in the present province of Senegalese Futa and the name of which slightly altered to the form *Tuculor* is still employed by the French to designate the negro inhabitants of this province. It was presumably soon afterwards, towards the end of the xiith century, that Islam was introduced among the *Sarakollé* or *Soninke* of the province of *Galam*, above *Futa*. Much later, towards 1770, the *Tuculor* clan of *Tōrōḍbe* preached the holy war against the pagan Fulbe, then in political control of *Futa*, a war which ended in 1776 with the defeat of the latter, the forced conversion to Islam of a great number of them, and the establishment at *Futa* in the hands of the *Tuculors* of a Muslim theocracy with an elected government which lasted till 1890, the time of the definite annexation of *Futa* to the French colony of Senegal. It is from this religious centre founded by the *Tōrōḍbe* of the Senegalese Futa that several great campaigns of conquest and islamisation covering a very wide field, have started, notably about 1800, that led by 'Uḥmān Fōḍye which ended in his conquest of the Hausa country and the foundation of the Muslim empire of *Šokoto*, and about 1845 that of 'Umar Tal, called al-Ḥādīdī 'Umar, which ended from 1854—1862 in the conquest by the *Tuculors* of the Cambara kingdoms of *Kaarta* and *Sēgu*, and the Fulbe kingdom of *Māsina*. Meanwhile Islam had spread among a considerable part of the *Mandingo* peoples of the upper Faleme, of

the upper Gambia and the upper Casamance. At a more recent period it won over almost all the *Wolof* of the lower Senegal river and of the lands to the south as far as Cape Verd. The other native populations of the colony (*Serer*, *Non*, *Banyun*, *Balant*, *Dyola*, *Basari* etc.) are still faithful to their ancestral animism and resist Islam.

The statistics divide the native population of Senegal into 719,000 Muslims, 469,500 animists and 4,700 Christians. (M. DELAFOSSE)

SENKERE, a village on the Lower Euphrates, situated 15 miles E. S. E. of Warka [q. v.] on the mound of Tell Sifr; it is built on the ruins of an ancient Chaldean city, *Larsam*, the town of the god *Šamash*; it is in the present *kaḏā* of *Samāwa*.

Bibliography: *Razūlī* *Tāl*, *Kitāb Djoḡhrāfiyāt al-ʿIrāq*, Baghdad 1340, p. 216; *Loftus*, *Travels and Researches in Chaldaea and Susiana*, London 1857, p. 244—245; *Trelawney Saunders*, *Surveys of Ancient Babylon*, London 1885, plate vi. (L. MASSIGNON)

SENNA is written *Sinna* or *Sinandidj* (*siḏj* = *sis* "castle, fort"). The form *Sihna* leading to confusion with *Šahna* [q. v.] is wrong.

1. Capital of the Persian province of *Kurdīstān*, the ancient seat of the walls of *Arđilān* [q. v.]. For the period before the building of the present town see the article *Šisak*.

Under the year 988 (1580) the *Šaraf-nāma* (i. 88) speaks of a *ḡef* of *Timūr-Khān*, *Arđilān*, including *Hasanābād*, *Sīna*, etc., but the historian of Senna attributes to *Sulaimān-Khān* the building of the modern town on the site of a ruin already there. According to Rich, i. 208, the ancient Senna (?) was built on a flat hill to the south of the present town. The Persian *tārīkh* for the building of the latter is *ghamhū* ("woes") which gives 1046 (1636).

The town lies between the right bank of the *Qishlak* and *Mount Awidar* which separates Senna from the old capital *Hasanābād*. The castle of the walls crowns the hill about 70 feet high which rises in the centre of the town. The principal decorations date from the walls *Khusrāw Khān* I and *Amān Allāh* I. Malcolm, Rich and Čirikov have given descriptions of the castle. The hall of honour of *Amān Allāh Khān* (*ālār*), covered with transparent marble with numerous figures and inscriptions (dated 1233 = 1818) formerly had a gallery of pictures representing the principal sovereigns of the world (Napoleon, Alexander I), celebrated battles, etc. Another was still in 1918 decorated with eleven portraits of walls and their visitors. A beautiful panorama is revealed from the now ruined *tālār* on the mountain separating the valley of the *Qishlak* ("winter grazing") from the plateau of *Lēlagh* (*yaylagh*, "summer grazing").

The population of Senna in 1820 (Rich) was 45,000 families of whom 2000 were Jews and 50 Chaldeans. In 1851 Čirikov counted 10,000 houses. The census of 1295 (1878) gave the figures of 5,484 houses and 24,744 inhabitants. In 1918 the number of inhabitants was about 30,000 with 500 households of Jews and 60 of Christians, Aramaic-Catholics (Chaldeans) and Armenians. There is a Turkish consulate-general at Senna. Senna is a busy centre of trade. The exports are gall-truits (*māzū*), tragacanth (*astira*), skins of the fox, marten and wolf, cattle and carpets of a special design.

2. The province of Senna (Persian Kurdistan in the strict sense) is bounded on the north by southern Adharbaidjan (cf. the art. *SÄWIG-NUTÄG*), in the N.E. by *Sä'in-Kälä* [q. v.], in the E. by Bidjār (Garrus), in the S.E. by Hamadān, in the S. by the province of Kirmānshāh and more especially by its divisions: Sunkur, Dainawar, Bālā-Darbānd, Māhlašt and Zohāb; in the E. Kurdistan of Senna is bounded by the former Turkish districts: Shahr-i Zūr (Halabca and Khurnal = Gul'ambar), Pendiwin and Shīr.

Within these boundaries the land of Senna with the exception of Sakkiā [q. v.] and Bāna, now attached to Adharbaidjan, has an area of about 75 square miles; except for the principal routes the province is insufficiently explored. In the N. E. and S. E. we have high plateaus devoid of trees; the centre cut up by numerous narrow valleys slopes down to the E. where we find forests (oaks, nut-trees, elms and beeches).

The main group of mountains is formed by the massif of Čihil-Čashma (about 12,000 feet); it begins in Persia at the eastern extremity of the enclave of Shīr which runs deeply into Persian territory. Towards the south the Čihil-Čashma sends out a prominent spur which forms the barrier of Kārān on the Senna-Mariwān road (see below). The continuation of the Čihil-Čashma to the east forms the southern boundary of the basin of the Djaghātū which turns northward towards Lake Urmīya. To the N. E. of the Čihil-Čashma is the frontier district of Haft-dāsh with its capital Sakkiā and watered by the main branch of the Djaghātū. In the S. E. of the Čihil-Čashma are the sources of the Khoikhora, the first important tributary of the Djaghātū on the right bank. A little below their junction the river of Tilakū flows into the Djaghātū; its valley is separated by the mountain Tandūrtū (?) from the next tributary which is called Sārūkh.

In this valley there are three districts of Senna: 1. Khoikhora with 8,000 inhabitants and 50 villages of which the chief are: Baat, with a mosque built in 929 (1523) and Mawlañshād; 2. Tilakū (with the canton of Kōciān), 4,240 inhabitants and 24 villages of which the best known is Bāshenak; 3. Karastū on the left bank of the Sārūkh; 4,600 inhabitants, 15 villages. The Afshārs of *Sä'in-Kälä* encroach upon Karastū.

To the south of Khoikhora and Tilakū are the northern sources of the Kizil-Uzan (in Kurdish Kizil-wāzan) which run into the Caspian Sea. The plateau through which these waters flow is covered with snow for four months of the year but in the summer is covered with rich pasturage. Three cantons administered together and including 82 villages are situated here. 4. Kara-tawara in the N. (village Bārharār); 5. Hübātū in the S. (villages of Kelekowā and Dīwāndara) and 6. Sārāl to the east of Hübātū. The southern bank of the Kizil-Uzan also has its sources in the territory of Senna but the fork between the two branches, north and south, is occupied by the basin of Kishlak, the waters of which run eastward.

The basin of the southern sources of the Kizil-Uzan is situated to the S. E. of Senna on the Senna-Hamadān road. It is a large plain sloping north-east, watered by numerous streams and having an altitude of 6,200—6,600 feet. The pass of Kargāhād-Sālawāñshād (8,300 feet) separates it from Senna (5,788 feet); to the south the pass of Mēl-i Muḥammad separates it from the plain of Hamadān;

to the east it is bounded by the low chain of Pandja-i 'Alī behind which lies the district of Sunkur (Songhor). This chain ("Alī's five fingers") corresponds to the *Kūb-i Pandj Angūst* mentioned in the *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, ed. L. Strange, p. 209. To the N. E. the mountain of Talvānū forms the frontier of Bidjār. The principal source of the south branch of the Kizil-Uzan is called Talwār (Tarwāl) or Arzand; its tributary from the south is called Hādjdjā (Aḡḡ-čai, "bjiter water"). The Talwār waters the district of 7. Ellāk (Kurd. Ellāgh), noted for the coolness of its climate and having 80 villages with 12,000 inhabitants. The Hādjdjā waters the district of 8. Isfandābād (*isfand* "lycopodium"), 94 villages with 14,000 inhabitants; the old capital of Isfandābād is Kaalān; its present centre is Korwā. Khanykov visited in these regions the tomb of Bāhā-Gürgār, near which is a sulphurous spring and quarries of translucent marble (*batghaul*). This saint, Djamāl al-Dīn, bears the same sobriquet (Turkish *gür-gür* "coming in torrents") as the well known Bāhā Gürgār of Kirkūk, on whom see W. Schweer, *Die türkisch-persischen Erdwerke*, Hamburg 1919, p. 10.

The central part of the province is much more undulating and less well known; it is bounded on the west by the mountains forming the Persian frontier (the Awrāmān chain). All the streams of this area are carried off by the river Sirwān (see the art. *DIRÄLX*) which makes its way westwards by the formidable defile separating the mountains of Awrāmān from those of Shāhō. Although Hausknecht mentions a village of Sirwān near the confluence of the Kishlak and Gāwarūd, the great river of Sirwān only has this name below the defile of Awrāmān.

Two main arms form the Sirwān: one coming from the east and the other from the north.

The eastern branch is called Gāwarūd (Gābarūd) and rises near the pass of Asadābād. It flows first through the lands of Saḡur (Songhor) and then waters the districts of Senna south of the capital. From the right the Gāwarūd receives its important tributary the Kishlak which rises in the fork between the two arms of the Kizil-Uzan. On the left it receives waters rising in the Murwāt, the Palangān (?) etc. The lower course of the Gāwarūd is given on the maps as hypothetical.

In this valley are the following districts: 9. Husainābād on the Kishlak above Senna, with 34 villages and 5,000 inhabitants; 10. Hasanābād with 32 villages and 5,500 inhabitants which form the immediate neighbourhood of Senna. The district takes its name from the ancient capital Hasanābād, a stronghold on a considerable height 6 miles S. E. of Senna. 11. Zāwarūd with 58 villages must lie near the confluence of the Kishlak and Gāwarūd. The canton of Sursūr with the village of Fakth-Sulaimān (on the Kirmānshāh road) seems to belong to the same district. The 12th district, Palangān, must be farther down along with 13. Amīrābād and Bilāwar which are said to have 35 villages with 3,000 inhabitants. Palangān has an ancient ruined stronghold in which had lived an independent clan of the tribe of Kalhur, the chiefs of whom are given in the *Sharaf-nāme* (l. 317—318). The new English map places Palangān on the Gāwarūd at the mouth of the river that comes from the villages of Shāhīn and Lahon (Lōn) on the northern slopes of the Shāhō.

The northern branch of the Sirwān is formed by a fan-shaped series of streams; the topography of several of them is still uncertain.

After these rivers join one another, they flow into the Gāwarūd near the village of 'Abbāsābād in the Awrāmān-i Takht.

Four districts lie in the northern basin of the Sirwān. 14. Kalāt-Arsān with 64 villages and 10,000 inhabitants immediately west of Senna. 15. Korrawaz, with 20 villages and 2,300 inhabitants, may be located on the south of the Senna-Gārān road. Lycklama praises the beauty of the landscape in this wooded district. 16. Mariwān (formerly Mihribān), an important district with 200 villages and 26,000 inhabitants which stretches east of the pass of Gārān up to the western frontier of Persia. The great Senna-Gārān-Pendjwin-Sulaimāniya road crosses it. Its centre is occupied by Lake Zarīhār; this depression in the frontier range has always been of great strategic importance. 17. Awrāmān-i Takht (the "A. plain") lies east of the chain of the same name and is immediately south of Mariwān. The northern arm of the Sirwān crosses it from north to south. It is an inaccessible district governed by its hereditary *sulṭān's* ("captains"). Their capital is Razāw. The district includes 33 villages with 4,000 inhabitants. The people of A. have preserved their own particular costume from early times (Rich, *op. cit.*, i. 202) and still use their own dialect. They are very brave but not hospitable. 18. Awrāmān-i Luhūn lies S. W. of the preceding. According to the natives, *luhūn* means "rocky" (cf. Vullers, *op. cit.*, ii. 1108, *lahana* "rock"). The district has 22 little villages buried among the spurs of the mountain to the north of the defile of the Sirwān. It occupies the western face of the chain and its frontier with Turkey is much complicated. A. Luhūn is also governed by its *sulṭān's*, who are related to those of A. Takht and live in Nafūd.

In 1049 (1639) the Turco-Persian treaty confirmed the rights of Persia to Awrāmān and Mariwān but Persian suzerainty was only nominal.

To the south of the Sirwān running N. W. to S. E., as usual with Persian mountains, lies the great massif of Shāhō (= Shāh-Kūh) from which descend the left bank tributaries of the Sirwān: Dāriyān, Sarāb-i Hawl watering Pāwa, Lāla and the oriental sources of the Zimkān. The important district to the north and south of the Shāhō (between the Sirwān and the district of Zohāb) is called 19. Djawānrūd and has about 100 villages with 15,000 inhabitants. It is governed by a collateral branch of the Anilān family. Djawānrūd is the principal centre of the great Djāf tribe and its name may be explained as Djāfān-rūd ("the river of the Djāf"). The little canton of Pāwa dependent on Djawānrūd lies opposite Awrāmān-i Luhūn. The *Staraf-nāme* (i. 319) mentions "Bāwa" among the possessions of the Kalhūr-i Dartang. Local tradition attributes the foundation of Pāwa to Bāw, eponymous ancestor of the Bāwandids (cf. above, RĀWAND); the Arabs, led by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, are said to have entered Kurdistan via Pāwa where there was a sacred fire.

To the south and outside of the basin of the Sirwān are two districts dependent on Senna: 20. Rawānsar and 21. Bilāwar, both lying on the northern sources of the Kara-su (cf. the art. KARKHĀ). Rawānsar stretches to the S. E. of the Djawānrūd on the south slope of the outer spurs of the Shāhō. It is ruled by relatives of the governors of Djawānrūd.

The canton of Shādābād (in Kurd. Shāliāwa) on the road from Kirmānshāh is governed from Rawānsar. Bilāwar is on the direct Senna-Kirmānshāh road, to the south of the Murwārī pass. Its waters flow into the Razāwar river which belongs to Kirmānshāh. Its principal village is Kām-i Yārm.

Such are the four principal river systems of the province of Senna; those of the Lake of Urmiya, of the Caspian, of the Tigris and of the Karkhā.

Population. The total settled population of the province, according to the census of 1208 (1881), was about 150,000 in about a thousand villages. With the exception of the district of Isfandābād, peopled by Persian and Turkish elements and the tribes of Awrāmān belonging to a particular Iranian stock, the population is Kurdish.

The nomads of Senna are following the general course of evolution towards a settled or semi-settled life: in the winter they remain in their villages and in summer after the harvest (April-May) they go up to the neighbouring heights; thus, for example, the Kōmāi tribe seems to have become definitely settled at Korrawaz.

The tribe of Djāf is the most important among those of Kurdistan of Senna. There are about 4,000 families of Djāf on the Djawānrūd which represents a total of at least 20,000 men (Khabādi, Enakht, Kalāghī, Ulād-begī sections etc.). In the xviii century a part of the Djāf migrated to the west and gradually occupied the left bank of the Diyālā, Shahr-i Zūr and Pendjwin. Towards 1914 these Turkish Djāf numbered 10,000 families; of this number about 2,000 are settled and 8,000 are semi-nomadic and go every year to the pastures of Persia. They go by the enclave of Shīlār by which they reach the Čihil-Čashma mountains where they pass the time from May to October. Another emigration from Djawānrūd took place about 1850 when some 150 families of the Djāf settled on the Zohāb under the protection of the Gārān.

The other important tribes of Senna are the Mandumī at Humānābād and their neighbours, the Galbāghī at Hōbātū, Sārāl and Kārā-tawara. The first-named numbered 2,000 families (in 1286 A.H.) and the latter about 3,000. The two tribes are very turbulent and the central government frequently sends expeditions to punish them. Less important are the Shaikh-i Ismā'īlīs (1600 families) and the Prishā (1000) at Isfandābād. At Lelāgh ("summer pasture") we have the Tamar-tōza (300), the Kōrkā (1500), the Lāla (600), the Mahmūd-Djibrā'ī (400), the Bālwand (1500) and the Durrādī (1200). A section of the two last-named tribes leads a nomadic life on the Kishlak and the Gāwarūd. At Zāwarūd and Kalāt-Arsān we have the Kōrk (1000) and at Bilāwar the Gashkī (1500), a very turbulent tribe. To the north-east along the Karāfīs the Bōrkā lead a nomadic life (450) and a number of tribes lead a scattered existence: the Sakūr (300), the Giwa-kash ("cobblers"), the Kharrāt ("turners") and the Lurr-i Kalāghar ("hatten"). These last tribes (1700), whose names give their professions, are rather associations of workmen, "travelling guilds", serving the needs of nomads and settled tribes.

In conclusion we may mention quite near Senna the village of Kishlak occupied by the Sazmānī whose men are musicians and women dancers of rather light morals (Lycklama, iv. 53).

Religion. The great majority of the population of Kurdistan of Senna belong to the Sunnī Shāfi

school. The Shaikhs of the Nakshbandi religious order have many devoted followers among the Kurds; the real hereditary centre of these Shaikhs is in the villages of Tawilla and Beyara which form an enclave in Awrāmān-i Lahūn. Even in Senna, Lycklama (iv. 51) says he saw a Shaikh who, holding a seance, cured sores which his dervishes inflicted upon themselves in the course of their ecstatic meeting (*dhikr*). Sha'is are only found in the non-Kurdish district of Isfandābād. It may, however, be noted that the family of wālīs of Ardilān professed the Shī'a, which perhaps is explained by the sojourn which their ancestors had made among the Gūrān who were fervent 'Alī-Ilāhīs. The great sanctuary of the latter sect, Perdiwar, is on the right bank of the Sīrwān at Awrāmān-i Lahūn (above the Pridi-karān bridge). The people of Hadjdj (in the same district) claim to be descended from the seven dervishes whom the "Kūsa" (*kuṣa* "beardless"), who is buried in this village, had brought with him. This saint is said to be no other than 'Ubaid Allāh, brother of the eighth Shī'i Imām. According to the people of Awrāmān, the people of Hadjdj were rather late in being converted to Islām by a certain Gushāsh; they still venerate the tomb of Pir Shāhriyār, their religious chief before they adopted Islām. A manuscript book (in the local dialect) of his moral precepts is said to be preserved at Nāfūd.

The very costume of these peaceable woodcutters seems to suggest ethnic peculiarities. Lycklama speaks of their "bonnet in the shape of a cornet bent back behind, quite like the headdress . . . of one of the personages on the bas-reliefs of Bisutūn."

The only Christians (60 families) are in the town of Senna. These are for the most part Aramaic Catholics (*Kalānī*) whose head is the patriarch of Mawālī. They have a church built about 1840 on the site of an older church. The Jews are more numerous: 500 families in Senna and little groups in the villages.

Language. The Mukri Kurd dialect (*Kur-māndjī*) stops at Bāna and Sakki. To the south of the Djaghātī in the Khorkhōra and Tilakū districts the *Kurdīstānī* dialect begins and continues to the southern frontier of the province. Its linguistic peculiarities still await systematic study. The language of Marīwān like that of the Djāz closely resembles Kur-māndjī.

A non-Kurdish Iranian dialect is spoken in the two Awrāmāns. It is called *Awrāmī*, or popularly *malā* (= "I say" in Awrāmī). To the same group belong the language of certain villages of Pāwa, (that of the great tribe of Gūrān (on the Zohāb), that of the village of Kandūla (between Dainawar and Kirmānshāh) etc. In the heart of Armenia in the district of Darfūn the "Zaza" dialect is related to the Awrāmī. According to O. Mann (*Die Türkisch-Mundarten der Provinz Fars*, Berlin 1909, p. xxiii.), all these dialects can be classed with the "central" dialects of Persia (Samnānī, Kohrūdī, Mahallātī, etc.). We have no original Kurdish texts from Senna, but the Awrāmī-gūrānī dialects have a whole literature of lyric and epic poetry. The wālīs of Ardilān particularly encouraged at their court the production of this dialect poetry which has certainly passed beyond the limits of the people speaking these dialects. It is curious that "to sing" in Senna Kurdish is *gūrānī larin* "to recite Gūrānī poetry". The Chaldeans and the Jews of Senna speak their Aramaic dialects in addition to Kurdish.

History. There are no monuments like those of Kirmānshāh or even of Kurdistan-Mukri (see the art. *sāwrij-bulāx*) in Senna.

For the oldest period we may mention the chamber cut out of the rock near Rawānār (Čirikov, p. 528); it seems to belong to the same category of monuments as the sepulchres (Median?) of Sabna (q.v.). Its entrance has the typical rectangular form but its ceiling is vaulted. At the other end of the territory of Senna (N. E.) are the caves of Karaftū, which seem (Ker Porter, ii. 538-552) to have been used for the Mithraic worship. The Greek inscription there is an invocation of Heracles. The caves lie off the usual route, but at the period when Gaznā (*al-Sā'ir* of the Arabs, the modern Takht-i Sulaimān) flourished they must have led to its sanctuary (the fire-altar *Ādhargushasp*).

As to the ancient toponymy, Streck, Billerbeck and Thureau-Dangin have collected the Assyrian references to Persian Kurdistan. Unfortunately no concordance of modern names has so far corroborated their hypotheses.

The leases in Greek and Pahlavi found about 1909 in a cave in Mount Kōsālān (Awrāmān-i Takht) and going back to the first century B. C., mention names which may refer to the locality where the find was made (the hyparchies: *Bakēpa* and *Bavīdapa*, the stations *erasthai*: *Bakēpasta* and *Avaxāde* and the village *soyus*: *Kaḡāwuz* or *Karāwuz*).

The ingenious identification of Median places mentioned in Ptolemy (vi. 2) proposed by F. C. Andreas refer to territories outside of the modern Senna. For the Arab period see the word *SISAK*.

Kurdīstān of Senna and Ardilān (q. v.) were for at least four centuries governed by hereditary wālīs. Their legendary history makes them originate in the Sāsānīan or early 'Abbāsid period. The *Sharaf-nāma* only says that Bābā Ardilān, a descendant of the Marwānids of Diyār-bakr, had settled among the Gūrān and towards the end of the Mongol period became governor of Shahr-i Zār. According to Rich (i. 214), the wālīs were of Gūrān origin (of the clan Mamū'ī). Their history became better known from the time of Ma'mūn b. Mundhīr to whom the historian 'Alī Akbar gives the date 862-900 A. H. The wālīs took an active part in the struggle between the Safawīs and the Ottoman Sultāns, sometimes on the Persian side and sometimes on the Turkish. The *Sharaf-nāma* stops at the reign of Halā-Khān (*halā* "eagle" in Kurd.) oscillating between the two rival empires (994-1014). Local historians continue the tradition to our day.

With only slight interruption the Ardilān family retained authority throughout the Safawid period when the four western frontier districts enjoyed a semi-independence: 'Arabistān (the Shī'i wālīs of Huwāza), Luristān, Kurdistan and Georgia. During the Afghan invasion Khāna Pasha Bābān of Sulaimāniya seized Senna in 1132. The coming of Nādir brought back to Senna Subhān Wardī Khān Ardilān (1143-1169 with interruptions). In 1164 Karīm Khān Zand laid waste the district of Senna. After a period of troubles Khusrav Khān Ardilān (surnamed "the Great") settled at Senna (1168-1204). Agha Muhammad Kādjār as a reward for his exploits assigned Sunkar (Kulā'ī) to him. His son Amān Allāh "the Great" (1214-1240) much improved the town. Malcolm and Rich were his guests. His son Khusrav Khān Na-kām ("not having enjoyed life" i.e. died young) succeeded him.

(1240—1250); he is celebrated for his literary abilities. Under his son Rikā-Kūlī quarrels broke out in the family. The walli (1250—1266) was imprisoned at Teherān whence he only escaped after the death of Muḥammad Shāh. His brother Amān Allāh (1265—1284) was the last hereditary walli of Kurdistan. In 1851 Čirikov was a witness of the intervention by the central government in the affairs of the province under the pretext of discontent among the subjects of the walli. In 1284 (1868) the energetic prince Tazhād Mirzā was appointed governor-general from Teherān. He ruled Senna till 1291 and restored order to the ancient fief of the Ardilān. Their descendants still exist in Senna but are now of no importance. On the other hand the old families who held office at the court of the wallis continue to play a prominent part in local life.

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(V. MINORSKY)

SENNÄR. Modern Sennär is a village situated on the Blue Nile about 170 miles south of Khartūm. It is the seat of a District Commissioner, and the headquarters of an administrative district of the Blue Nile Province. The district has a population of about 50,000, which is composed of a mixture of Süddn tribes and Fellata immigrants from West Africa. The Sennär dam, which irrigates a large cotton growing area, is situated at Makwar, about six miles to the south of Sennär village.

The older usage which extended the name of Sennär to the triangular territory between the Blue and the White Nile with undefined borders in the south is obsolete, and the country in question now forms the Blue Nile Province and the Fung Province of the Anglo-Egyptian Süddn.

The discovery of pre-historic remains at Gebel Moya and of Meroltic finds near Sennär itself shows that the district has been inhabited since a remote period, but historically Sennär has only been of note as the seat of the Fung [q. v.] Sultānate, which formed the most important political organisation in the Eastern Süddn from the sixteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the foundation of Sennär itself is connected by native chroniclers with the establishment of this kingdom in A. D. 1504. The semi-barbaric dynasty, known to natives of the Süddn as the

Blue Sultanate (*al-sultāna al-azraqa*), claimed sovereignty over the territory extending from the Red Sea to Kordofan and from the borders of Abyssinia to the third cataract, but its rule was never effective except in the immediate neighbourhood of Sennär itself; the rest of the country was split up amongst a number of petty kings and tribal chiefs, who were attached to the paramount power by means of a loosely-knit feudal organisation. The chronicle of the Sennär kings, a dreary record of internecine wars and barbaric diplomacy, may be read in MacMichael's *History of the Arabs in the Sudan*. The organisation and laws of the kingdom are of some interest as exhibiting a blend of pagan African and Arabo-Muslim elements. Even in the time of Bruce, the discoverer of the Blue Nile, there still survived the law that a king might be slain "if it were decreed that it is not for the advantage of the state that he be suffered to reign any longer", and a high functionary of state, styled *id el-göm* (*saiyid al-ḡom*), was charged with the duty of carrying out the decree. Parallels to this law are afforded by the custom of Meroë in the 3rd century A.C. and an analogous custom still observed by the Nilotic Shilluk and Dinka. The intercourse between the kings and the vassal chiefs was regulated by an elaborate ceremonial; the more important of the latter bore the title of *mungil* (a word of unexplained origin) and were distinguished by the rights of *kakar* and *tafiya*, i.e. the right to use a royal chair of state and a peculiar head-dress shaped like the horns of a bull.

Arab and Muslim influences, on the other hand, made themselves felt from an early period. The kings claimed descent from a remnant of the Banī Umayya, who were said to have entered the country from Abyssinia, where they had taken refuge after the rise of the 'Abbasid dynasty, and this tradition may well refer to the immigration of small parties of Arabs, who married into an aboriginal tribe and introduced Islam without materially affecting the ethnic characteristics of the tribe (cf. the marriage of Djuhaina Arabs with the daughters of Nubian kings in the account of Ibn Khuldūn, quoted by MacMichael, *op. cit.*, i. 138). In any case it is clear that the Fung were nominally Muslims at the time of the establishment of their kingdom and that the overthrow of the kingdom of Aloa and the disappearance of Christianity from Sennär were brought about by an alliance between the negroid Fung and a coalition of the Arab tribes, which had immigrated into the Sūdān during the period of decay which beset the Christian kingdoms of Nubia. The Islamisation of the country is intimately connected with the missionary activities of a number of scholars and saints who flourished under the Fung sultanate, and whose lives are related in the still unpublished *Tabaqāt* of Wad Daif Allāh. Yet owing to the isolation of the country Sennär has played no serious part in the cultural life of Islam, and the *riwāq* (or hostel) of Sennär students at al-Azhar is a foundation of the Egyptian government subsequent to Maḥammad 'Alī's conquest of the Sūdān.

After a period of rapid decay Sennär became a dependency of Egypt in consequence of Maḥammad 'Alī's expedition in 1821. Under Egyptian rule the town was a centre of trade and the headquarters of a *mudiriya*, the buildings of

which were destroyed by the Mahdists in 1885. The palace and mosque erected by the Fung kings was already in ruins at the time of Caillaud's visit.

Modern Sennär is about a mile and a half distant from the ruins of the old town. It is now of comparatively small importance, and its place as a centre of trade and administration has been taken by Wad Medani.

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(S. HILLELSON)

SEPOY is the English corruption of *sipāhī*, the adjective formed from the Persian word *sipāh*, "army". *Sipāhī* is used substantively for "member of an army, soldier", and occurs in literary Persian, though it is no longer current in the modern language. The Turks and the French have borrowed the word, the latter in the form *spahi*, and in these languages as well as in Persian it invariably means a horse-soldier, in which sense it is used by the English traveller Hedges (*Diary*, ed. Hakluyt Society, i. 55) in 1682. In India both the French and the British adopted the word, which seems to have reached them through the Portuguese, the former writing it *cipaye* or *cipai*, and the latter *sepo*, *sepoi*, *scapoy*, *scapy*, *ciphey*, *zipey*, etc., but these both nations have applied it since the beginning of the eighteenth century to natives of India trained, armed and clad after the European fashion as regular infantry soldiers. Regiments of sepoys were first raised and employed by the French. In 1748 Dupleix raised several battalions of Muslim infantry, armed in the European fashion, and in 1759 Lally wrote to the Governor of Pondicherry: "De quinze mille cipayes, dont l'armée est censée composée, j'en compte à peu près huit cents sur la route de Pondichéry". Stringer Lawrence soon imitated Dupleix in forming regular battalions of sepoys in Madras, and in 1757 a force of sepoys accompanied Lord Clive when he left Madras in order to recover Calcutta. The military establishment of Bengal had consisted of one company of artillery, four or five companies of European infantry, and a few hundred natives armed in their own fashion, but after the recovery of Calcutta from the Nawab Sirāj al-Dawla a force of Madras sepoys was used to form the nucleus of an army for Bengal, and 2,000 sepoys fought at the battle of Plassey in June, 1757. About the same time sepoys were raised and employed in Bombay, and European adventurers in native states raised and drilled battalions of sepoys for their masters.

In 1795 the infantry of the three Presidency armies was organised in regiments of two battalions each, each battalion consisting of eight battalion and two grenadier companies. Of such regiments Bengal possessed twelve, Madras eleven, and Bombay four, with an additional marine battalion. Henceforward the three armies grew on divergent principles and with different organisations. The

Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 shattered the old Bengal army and seriously affected that of Bombay, but both were reconstituted and remodelled. Early in the twentieth century Lord Kitchener, then commander-in-chief in India, formed the three Presidency armies into one Indian army.

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SER. [See **SAR**].

SERAIL. [See **SERĀY**].

SERĀY (P.). This word which is derived from an old Persian form **srāda* (from the root *srā* 'to protect') has in Persian the general meaning of dwelling, habitation. The Arabic word *serāḍīk* 'tent' has been borrowed from a diminutive in *s* formed from **srāda* (Horn, *Grundriss der neu-persischen Etymologie*, Strassburg 1895, p. 199).

We frequently find in Persian the word *serāy* compounded with another substantive to indicate a particular kind of building, like *Ārman-serāy* (cf. the art. **KĀRĀN**). In Persian mystic poetry *serāy* is an expression for the terrestrial world, the temporary abode of man (cf. *Sipendī*).

It is in Turkish lands that *serāy* has come to mean particularly the seat of government (like the Turkish word *hona*) and the residence of a prince, a palace. From this meaning come the names of towns in Tatar countries and in Turkey called simply *serāy* (cf. the articles **SARĀY** and **SERAYÉVO**) or compounded with *serāy* (*Ak-Serāy* etc.). In Turkey the *serāy* par excellence was the *serāy-i Humāyūn* of Top Kapı in Constantinople (q. v.).

In Arabia the form *serāyo* is used for palace in the 1001 Nigha. The Italian loanword *seraglio* and the French *serail* are sometimes found with the meaning harem but this limitation of meaning is not Oriental.

SERAYÉVO, Turk. **BOSNA SERAI** or simply **SERAI** (cf. the art. **BOSNA SARAI**), capital of Bosnia in the Southern Slav states, picturesquely situated on the Miljacka in a valley open to the west enclosed on other sides by high and rocky hills, 1730—2273 feet above sea-level, with 60,087 inhabitants (1921) (of whom one third are Muslims); they mainly live by local industries (copper-ware, silver-filigree, carpets and tobacco). In the xvth century we find in place of Serayévo the powerful fortress of Vrhbosna, part of which still survives in the modern citadel of Serayévo. Even in the xvth century Serayévo was still generally known as Vrhbosna. The place is first mentioned in the Christian period in 1379 as the residence of Ragusan merchants and again in 1415 as the burial-place of the vojvod Paul Radenović. The Turks saw the admirable situation of the place and chose it as the military centre of the conquered district when they captured Bosnia under Mehmed II in the spring of 867 (1463); tradition records as the name of the alleged leader, Giray Khān (= Hacı) Giray Khān, d. 871 = 1466?, who was also buried near Serayévo (cf. *Die früh-slawischen Jahrbücher des Urudsch*, ed. by F. Bahlinger, Hanover 1925, p. 126, 4-5, and F.

Giese, *Die altom. anonymen Chroniken*, I., Breslau 1922, p. 113, 22 sq.; II. [German transl.], Leipzig 1925, p. 150 [Abb. f. d. N. d. Morgenl., xvii/1]). We already find here as early as 1438 and 1439 a Turkish governor who had been appointed to control the tributary native dynasts. After the final conquest of Bosnia by the Ottomans the Turkish governor of Bosnia ruled at Vrhbosna which name was retained, as the journals of Petanius and Benedict Kuripesić (1530; cf. B. Kuripesić, *Itinerarium der Betschaftsreise*, ed. by El. Lamberg-Schwarzenberg, Innsbruck 1910, p. 33 sq.; Vrhbosna) and the Ragusan correspondence (cf. J. Gelcich and L. v. Thallóczy, *Ragusa et Magyarország*, Budapest 1887, p. 674 [1513]; Vrhbosaria) show; forms like Vrhbosna, Vrhbosania, Vrhbosanania etc. are also found. About the middle of the xvth century, however, the name Bosna Sarai ('Palace on the Bosna'), Slav. Serayévo, Ital. Seraglio, Seralo (cf. Giac. di Pietro Lucari, *Copione Ritratto degli Annali di Bana*, Venice 1605, p. 17: *il castello di Varch-Bosna, da cui crebbe la città di Sarajo*), appeared and gradually drove out the older name. Serayévo is found in 869 (1464) in a *waḡḡ-nāma* as *Medinet Serāy*. The name Bosna Sarai or simply Sarai comes from the palace which Mehmed II built after the capture of the town, on the site of the Khunkār Džamī (Imperial mosque, Careva Jamiya) (cf. Ewliya, v. 428; J. v. Hammer, *Rumel und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, p. 160). Under Ottoman rule Serayévo increased in importance, particularly because it was the residence of the governors of Bosnia (cf. C. v. Peez, *Die ottom. Statthalter in Bosnien*, in the *Wienschriftl. Mitteilungen aus Bosnien* etc., II. 344 sq., Vienna 1894), who did much to beautify the town and transformed it into a Muhammadan city between 900 and 1000 A.H. Numerous mosques, madrasas and baths arose, some very splendidly equipped, like the foundations of Ghāsi Khusrāw Pasha (1506/1512 and 1520/1542) which are still kept in existence to-day. Ghāsi Khusrāw (cf. and the document in *Cod. Turc.* 320 of the Saxon National Library in Dresden) is buried in Serayévo (cf. Ewliya, *Seyāhat-nāme*, v. 441, and *Wienschriftl. Mitteilungen aus Bosnien*, I. 503 sq.). Although after the definitive conquest of Bosnia the residence of the Turkish governor was moved from Serayévo to Banyaluka, the former retained its importance. Apart from a brief interruption by Prince Eugene's occupation of the town in October, 1697, which lasted a few hours only, Turkish rule lasted 415 years in Serayévo. On Aug. 18, 1878, the town was taken by the Austrian Artillery General, Josef Freiherr von Philippovich (1818—1889) after a sharp fight and incorporated in the Danube monarchy. On Oct. 6, 1908, the annexation with the consent of the Powers was proclaimed. On June 28, 1914, the Austrian heir, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, was assassinated here. After the collapse of the Danube monarchy in 1918 Serayévo with Bosnia and Herzegovina passed to the newly formed Southern Slav State.

Serayévo which is the residence of a Muslim *Ka'is al-Ulamā'* and has a Sherfat school, has a number of buildings from the Muslim period. Among the eight mosques, all of the xth century, of which Ewliya Čelebi (xvth century) mentions the mosque of Ferhād Pasha (built 969 = 1561), of Khusrāw Pasha (built 937 = 1530),

of Ghāzī 'Alī Paşa (built 960 = 1553) and of 'Isā Paşa (built 926 = 1520), the finest is that of Ghāzī Khānaw (Begova Jamiya). Of the monasteries (cf. Ewliya, v. 431 sq.) that of the howling dervishes, Sinān Tekkesi (Sinan-tekiya), founded by Hādīdī Sinān Agha (d. Ramadān, 1049 [began on Dec. 26, 1639]) in 1638 (cf. *Wissenschaft. Mitteil. aus Bosnien*, I. 506 sq., with a picture), still exists. The description which Ewliya gives of Serayēvo in the xviith century is surely much exaggerated (cf. Ewliya, v. 428—441); at least of the splendours of all kinds described there not very much has been saved for the present day. It is true that in course of time many edifices have been destroyed by numerous devastating fires (1480, 1644, 1656, 1687 and 1879). Serayēvo was an Ottoman mint; copper coins (*manḡir*) were struck here under Sultān Mehmed IV and Suleimān II in the years 1085, 1099 ("Bosna") and 1100 ("Serai") (illustrations in St. Lane-Poole, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Or. Coins*, vol. viii., *The Coins of the Turks*, London 1883, pl. vi., N^o. 401; cf. Ghālib Edhem, *Taḥwīn-i Mesḡūhāt-i 'Oṭmāniye*, Stambul 1307, p. 228 sq.); C. Trabelka, in the *Wissenschaft. Mitteil. aus Bosnien*, ii. 350 sq., iv. 396 sq. (copper coins struck in 1085 (1674/75) in the reign of Mehmed IV; for general information E. v. Zambaur, *Prägungen der Osmanen in Bosnien*, in the *Numism. Z.*, New Series, vol. i., Vienna 1908). Serayēvo is the birthplace of the important Ottoman poet Mehmed Nerkesi (cf. *Mitteil. aus dem Geschichte*, I., Vienna 1922, p. 152 sq., and *Yāsi Medfūn'a*, I., Stambul 1917, part 15—18), and intellectual life was always active in Serayēvo and neighbourhood in the Turkish period (cf. Safvet Beg Baṣagić, *Bosnija i Hercegovina u islamskoj književnosti*, Serayēvo 1912, a literary history of Muslim Bosnia Herzegovina).

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(FRANZ BABINGER)

SERBEDÄRS, the name of a line of robber chiefs who made themselves masters of a considerable part of Khurāsān; their subjects are also known as Serbedārs. This state, a regular republic of brigands, in which military considerations and the influence of Shī'ī dervishes predominated, was formed during the troubles that succeeded the death of the Ilkhān Abū Sa'īd; it collapsed before the great Timūr. The name Serbedār, which one might translate "gallows-bird" (or perhaps better "desperado"), goes back, according to the historian Khwānd-amīr, to a saying of the first chief, 'Abd al-Razzāk: *"Ba mardī zar-i khwānd bar dār dādan kharīr bar bihtar kih ba nāmardī ba kārī razidan"* ("courageously venturing to be hanged is a thousand times better than being killed as a coward"). Dawlat-shāh, *Tadhkirat*, ed. Browne, p. 278, gives, however, a different explanation of the origin of the name. According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the Serbedārs were called in the Irāk: *Shūffār* (robbers) and in the Maghrib: *Ṣafāra* (birds of prey, falcons). Their capital was Sabzewār in the district of Baiḥāk. The first Amīr Serbedār, 'Abd al-Razzāk, was the son of an 'Alid, Shihāb (or Tādī) al-Dīn Faḡl Allāh Bāshṭnī, a former official of the Shāh of Djuwain.

'Abd al-Razzāk was able to gain the favour of the Ilkhān Abū Sa'īd (d. 736/1335) who gave him a public appointment. Appointed to administer the taxes of Kirmān, 'Abd al-Razzāk spent all the tribute he received; but the death of the Mongol prince took place in time to get him out of his difficulty. He went to Bāshṭn (a village in the district of Baiḥāk), his former abode, where he collected a band of adventurers and malcontents, with the object of becoming independent sovereign of a part of Khurāsān. He had first of all to fight with the vizier 'Alī al-Dīn Muḥammad Faryumādī, then all-powerful in this country; the latter was defeated and killed in 737 (1336/1337). After the death of 'Alī al-Dīn, 'Abd al-Razzāk seized the town of Sabzewār (738) which became the headquarters for the Serbedār chief's brigandages. According to Dawlat-shāh, he also conquered Djuwain, Asfarā'in, Dīdārm, Biyār and Khudjand. In 738 (1337/1338) in the month of Ṣafar (according to others in Dhū l-Hijja) 'Abd al-Razzāk died, assassinated by his brother Waḡīth al-Dīn Mas'ūd, who succeeded to the throne. The Oriental authors, even those who, like Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, are not prejudiced against the Shī'ī Serbedārs, represent 'Abd al-Razzāk as a tyrannical and unjust ruler, the opposite of his brother Mas'ūd. The latter, according to them, only killed him in legitimate self-defence. The romantic details that are given of the death of the first Serbedār prince have a very apocryphal look; probably the historians have blackened the character of 'Abd al-Razzāk to excuse Mas'ūd's fratricide. The latter, the second Serbedār chief, took the title of Sultān (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iii. 65/66), and had warlike ambitions of further extending Serbedār rule. An ardent Shī'ī — Ibn Baṭṭūṭa tells us that the Serbedārs at that time intended to exterminate the Sunnis in Khurāsān — he attached the dervish Ḥasan Dīrī to his person, who for political reasons had been thrown into prison by the prince of Nishāpūr. The dervish was able to escape the wrath of the latter; the authorities are not agreed if Mas'ūd aided him to escape or not. Dawlat-shāh says that Mas'ūd himself became a *murīd* of Dīrī.

The first campaign of the new Serbedār chief was directed against the lord of Nishāpūr, Arghūn-Shāh Dīnī Kurbānī. It is probable that this expedition took place as early as 738. Arghūn's army was routed: Nishāpūr and Dīnī fell into the hands of Mas'ūd. The defeated ruler sought refuge with Togha Timur Khān of Djurdjān. It seems that Mas'ūd and Dīnī had considered the possibility of extending their power over the whole of Kharāsān. The Serbedār forces seem to have begun by attacking Togha Timur. It would seem then that the defeat of the Khān on the banks of the Atrak, an event mentioned by Dawlat-shāh as happening before Mas'ūd's campaign against Husain Kurt of Herāt, took place during this first war of the Serbedārs against Djurdjān. In any case, to realise their projects of conquest, Mas'ūd and Dīnī turned their attention to the king of Herāt already mentioned (743 = 1342–1343). On Šafar 13 of this year the two princes' armies met near Zāwa. In the battle Hasan Dīnī fell, either killed by the enemy or assassinated by order of the Serbedār chief. Indeed, it would not be surprising if Mas'ūd feared the ascendancy of the Šaikhī at this time when, according to the historian Zāhit al-Dīn (ed. Dorn, p. 338): "*simān-i ištīyār-i ān mīšyat dar atkhār-i umūr ba dast-i shaykhān hūd*"; in free translation: "In this country most things are performed in accordance with the wishes of the *shaykh*s". The battle of Zāwa was decided in favour of the ruler of Herāt, although it at first looked as if the Serbedār army had won. Mas'ūd had to withdraw and returned to Sabzewār. The historian Khwāzandamīr recounts after these events a campaign against Djurdjān as well as the defeat and death of a brother of Togha Timur; he says that as a result Mas'ūd was able to become master of Asarābād, while the Khān fled from his capital (end of 743). Another authority, however, puts these events in 741 (cf. B. Dorn, *Die Geschichte Turanians und der Serbedars nach Chondimīr*, p. 165, note 5). This would be before the war with Husain Kurt; if this is correct the victory won by Mas'ūd over the brother of Togha Timur would be identical with the battle on the Atrak. Once in possession of Djurdjān the Serbedār began to cast covetous eyes on Mazandāran. This was the end of his career. He was attacked by surprise in the land of Rastandār; he and almost all his army perished (Rabī' II, 745 = Aug–Sept., 1344).

Mas'ūd was the greatest Serbedār prince; his kingdom, according to Dawlat-shāh, stretched from Dīnī to Dāmghān and from Khabāshān to Tashk. He was the *shāh* *hīrān* of the dynasty. After him the power fell into the hands of those who had been subalterns of the family of 'Abd al-Razzāk; that is to say, the empire having reached its zenith, fell into the control of a coterie of soldiers (and in this case of dervishes also) until the glory of the Serbedārs had departed for ever. This is the normal course of the history of oriental dynasties. Mas'ūd left one son, a minor, named Latīf Allāh; one of his notables, Muhammad Alī-timur, who during the war with Djurdjān had been *amīr* at Sabzewār on behalf of the late prince, seized the actual power. He reigned two years and a few months; in 747 or 748 (1346/1347 or 1347/1348) he perished, the victim of a plot hatched by the dervish clique, *murīd*'s of Dīnī, the prime mover in which was the Khwāzandā *Abi* Shams al-Dīn. The latter becoming master of the

situation, proposed as ruler a certain Kalwā (or Kulā) Isfendiyār, who reigned for about a year; 'Alī Shams al-Dīn had him assassinated in 748 or 749. It was then proposed to make Mas'ūd's minor son successor to Isfendiyār; 'Alī Shams al-Dīn appointed a brother of Mas'ūd, who also was called Shams al-Dīn, to be regent. He only held the throne for some seven months; in Dhū'l-Hijja, 749, according to Dawlat-shāh, he resigned. 'Alī Shams al-Dīn himself then assumed the external attributes of royalty also. In general the historians approve his rule, although they admit that he was as bigoted as he was cruel. He is said on one occasion to have had 500 prostitutes buried alive; his officials and officers when they had to enter his presence used to make their wills first. Shams al-Dīn built or renovated the *maḥfil-i ḡāmī* at Sabzewār. He also built a great storehouse (*anbār*) in the same town. With Togha Timur he concluded a treaty which secured the Serbedār chief possession of all the territory formerly ruled by Mas'ūd. In return it is probable that the Serbedārs pledged themselves to pay tribute. Dawlat-shāh (p. 236) says that they obeyed Togha Timur (*va'ld wa munḥad shudand*), which can only be true of the period after the death of Mas'ūd.

'Alī Shams al-Dīn, already much detested for his avarice and cruelty, insulted in frightful fashion one of his treasury officials, Haidar Kaṣāb, from whom he wanted, in addition, to extort a large sum of money. Kaṣāb conspired with Yahyā Karrābī, a former officer of Mas'ūd, and killed 'Alī Shams al-Dīn with his own hand (towards the end of 753 or the beginning of 754: Karrābī was reigning in 754 because the assassination of Togha Timur by the latter's order took place on Dhū'l-Ka'da 16, 754 = Dec. 14, 1358, as is testified by the poem quoted in Dawlat-shāh, p. 237–238). Karrābī became chief of the Serbedārs while Kaṣāb became *ipsh-satār*. The new ruler was a devout man but a bloody tyrant in whom there were thought to be signs of madness. A quarrel soon broke out between the Serbedār and Togha Timur because Karrābī did not acknowledge the suzerainty of the Khān. On the occasion of a meeting at Sulṭān Duwīn, Karrābī had Togha Timur assassinated by an officer of his suite. One can hardly imagine that this attempt could have succeeded if the Serbedār had not had allies among the nobles of Timur's kingdom. With the latter's death the suzerainty of the descendants of Čingiz Khān in those regions came to an end. The Serbedārs, the Dīnī Kurbānī and the Kurts of Herāt divided the empire of the Khān. Karrābī took Tūs from the Dīnī Kurbānī. He paid a great deal of attention to the water-supply of this town and to that of Mashhad. Karrābī, like his predecessors, came to a violent end. 'Alī al-Dawla, his brother-in-law, assassinated him (759 = 1358). Kaṣāb then placed on the throne a brother (or cousin) of the dead ruler, the insignificant Zāhir al-Dīn. The *ipsh-satār* was, of course, the actual master of the kingdom and this was not altered when Zāhir al-Dīn renounced the throne (Rajab, 760 = May/June, 1359). Kaṣāb himself took the reins of government, but it was not for long. While he was besieging the rebel Naṣr Allāh Bābīnī (perhaps brother of Mas'ūd) in Asarān he met his end, the victim of a conspiracy instigated by his own *ipsh-satār*, Hasan Dāmghānī (Rabī' II, 761 = Feb.–March, 1360). Hasan concluded a treaty of peace with Naṣr Allāh;

the throne returned to the old dynasty. Luṭf Allāh b. Mas'ūd was proclaimed king while Dāmghānī and Naṣr Allāh appointed themselves his guardians (*atābeg*), i.e. the actual holders of power. The faintest Luṭf Allāh only retained the throne as long as he pleased the *Sipāh-sālār*. As soon as a difference arose — a propos of nothing at all — between Mas'ūd's son and the Atābeg the latter had him thrown into prison, and shortly afterwards ordered him to be put to death (Radjāb, 762 = May-June, 1361). Henceforth Ḥasan Dāmghānī reigned in his own name. Disorder was not long in breaking out. The dervish 'Aziz, a follower of Djūri, stirred up a rebellion which Dāmghānī was able to put down. 'Aziz had seized Tūs but the Serbedār king recaptured it and banished 'Aziz from his territory. The latter went to Isfahān. From the point of view of policy Dāmghānī had made a grave mistake in preserving the life of the dervish out of religious scruples. Besides, things were becoming worse in this part of the empire of Togha Timur which now obeyed Serbedār authority. Amir Wali, son of an officer of Togha Timur, drove the Serbedār governor from Astarābād and routed the army sent to assist the latter by Dāmghānī. The Serbedārs seem to have lost the town of Tūs about the same time. One of Mas'ūd's old officers, Naḍīm al-Dīn 'Alī Mu'ayyad, hastened to take advantage of the troubles. He seized the town of Dāmghānī and summoned the rebel 'Aziz from Isfahān. One part of the Serbedār army, which had been beaten by Amīr Wali, joined him. This took place while Dāmghānī was away from Sabzewār, because he was besieging the stronghold of Shakkān. Mu'ayyad and 'Aziz were able to enter Sabzewār where they put Dāmghānī's vizier, Yūnus Sammānī, to death and made a *ta'ziyat* for Luṭf Allāh b. Mas'ūd. The military officers were exhorted to desert Dāmghānī in letters full of threats and promises. When the army besieging Shakkān received a similar message the soldiers took the side of Mu'ayyad, and soon Dāmghānī's head was sent to Sabzewār (766 = 1364/1365). Mu'ayyad, who succeeded Dāmghānī on the throne, was the last Serbedār king. According to the historians, he was generous and pious, an ardent Shi'ī (this appears also from the inscriptions on the coins struck by him; see Frāhn, *Revue Numéraire Muhammedanorum*, p. 632—633). But his devoutness did not prevent him ridding himself of the dervish 'Aziz, who had been so bold as to disobey an order from his sovereign. Mu'ayyad, in any case, hated the dervishes of Djūri's sect. He desecrated the tomb of Khalfā, Djūri's *murshid*, and that of Ḥasan Djūri himself. The last Serbedār also had ambitions to extend his dominions: among his conquests Tarāhiz and Kūhistan are mentioned. In the war that he had to wage with Malik Ghiyāth al-Dīn of Herāt (on which see *J. A.*, 1861, Series 5, vol. xvii, 515—516) he lost Nishāpūr. The relations of the Serbedār with Amir Wali, ruler of the former kingdom of Togha Timur, were not in general very friendly. It appears that, in course of hostilities, Mu'ayyad held Astarābād for a time, as we know of a coin struck by him here in 755 (1373/1374; cf. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii, 737). On the other hand, Wali helped the Serbedār king to reconquer his kingdom when the latter had been driven from Sabzewār by the dervish Rukn al-Dīn, a rebel who had secured troops to help him from the ruler of Fārs (780 = 1378/1379).

Later, troubles broke out once more. At the siege of Sabzewār by Wali's forces, Mu'ayyad sought the help of the great Timur (783 or rather 781; cf. Dorn, *Gesch. Tabaristan*, p. 186, note 2). This meant that the Serbedār had to abandon all idea of independence and that his kingdom became a part of the great Mongol conqueror's empire. Mu'ayyad lived on for some time at the court of Timur. He was assassinated in 788 (1386/1387). His body was taken to Sabzewār and buried in the town.

Here ends the history of the Serbedārs, although in 807 (1404/1405) there was again a rising by a son of Mas'ūd, Sultān 'Alī, against Shāh Rukh, son of Timur, a rebellion which was duly suppressed. As a panegyrist of the Serbedār kings Dawlat-shāh mentions the poet Maḥmūd b. Yamin al-Dīn Faryamādī.

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SERDĀB (Pers. *serdāb*, "cold water"; the *Kāmūs* has wrongly *sirdāb*), in Baghlād, a kind of rather large vaulted cellar, more or less decorated sunk four or five feet into the ground where the heat does not rise above 77°—80° F. while that of the rooms is from 92°—95°. It is supplied with a ventilator, a kind of chimney turned to the north side which ends at the highest part of the house; the air is also kept fresh, morning and evening, with the help of several small windows; in the summer the people of the house spend the time from 11 a.m. till sunset there. This arrangement is also found in the southern parts of Persia where it is called *ār-samin* "subterranean"; the ventilator is called *ād-dār* "wind-catcher". The name is extended to cover any kind of subterranean room or *mad* (Ibn Battūta, Paris 1853, i, 264; Dory, *Suppl.*, i, 647).

Bibliography: Olivier, *Voyage dans l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1804, ii, 381; Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, Amsterdam 1780, ii, 239; Buckingham, *Travels*, London 1837, ii, 192, 210; Ker-Porter, *Travels*, ii, 261.

(CL. HUANT)

SERDESĪR (v), a cold place or a summer habitation in high grounds. The Persian *ferheng's* cite verses where the word occurs (e.g. *Ferheng-i Shu'arā'*). The opposite is *germešt* [q.v.].

At present both words are used for the northern and southern part of the province of Fārs, corresponding to the division in Serūl and Djūrum by the Arabic geographers (Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 249).

SERES. [See SERRES].

SERRES (*Seres*, Turk. *Sirös*), capital of the former sanjak of Sirös in the vilayet of Salonika, situated on the edge of a broad well-watered fertile plain, not far from the Struma, on the Salonika-Dede-Agha railway. Serres has a castle, called Dragota in the middle ages, built on a steep hill, numerous mosques and Greek churches. The number of inhabitants is nearly 30,000, the majority Bulgarians. In the country around much rice, fruit, wine, tobacco and vegetables are cultivated, and a big export trade is carried on in tobacco, cotton and cloth. — Serres is the ancient Siris or Serrhai, a settlement of the Siropaeon which existed even in the time of Xerxes.

The date of the Ottoman conquest, about which the Turkish chroniclers make inaccurate and contradictory statements (Sa'd al-Din, *Ta'rif al-Tamârik* [probably following Nesrî], i. 92, gives 770 = 1374/1375, whom J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, i. 180, apparently follows; Leandrinus, *Hist. Musulm.*, p. 243, 33 sqq.: 787 = 1385/1386 [codex Verantianus], = Giese, *Anon. Chron.*, p. 26, 11, 12; 'Ashik Pasha Zade, *Turikâ*, Stambul 1332, p. 61: between 783 [or, according to codex Mordtmann-Cayol, p. 45: 784] and 787; Hâdjî Khalifa, *Rumeli und Bosna*, ed. v. Hammer, Vienna 1812, p. 73 sqq.: 784 = 1382/1383), is known from several contemporary Greek sources, which unanimously give September 19, 1383 (cf. Miklosich-Müller, *Acta et Diplomata*, i. 77–79; Sp. P. Lampros, *Néss 'Ellinoparkeuon*, viii. 403, 407, Athens 1912; cf. P. N. Papageorgiou in *Byz. Zt.*, 1894, iii. 292). On this day the castle was taken by Deli Halaban and the Lala Shakin Pasha, who had hastened to his assistance. That the town was securely in Turkish hands a few years later is known from the contemporary evidence of two Athos chronicles (cf. L. Petit-W. Regel, *Actes d'Esphigméon*, p. 42, xxi., and L. Petit-Korablev, *Actes de Chilandar*, p. 335, N° 158).

Serres and the surrounding territory fell as a fief to the celebrated Ewrenos Beg [q. v.] and the neighbourhood was settled with Türks who were transplanted from Sarukhân (cf. Leandrinus, *Hist. Musulm.*, p. 244, 33 sq.; Giese, *Anon. Chron.*, 26, 10). Henceforth Serres was an important Ottoman mint: the first coins were struck there in 816 = 1413/1414. The dangerous rising, half religious and half political, stirred up by Shaikh Badr al-Din Mahmud and his follower Bürklâdjî Mustafa came to a tragic end in Serres, in the neighbourhood of which the rebels had assembled for their last stand, with the execution of the ringleader in the late autumn (cf. *Islâm*, 1921, xi. 63 sq.). In the xvth century at the beginning of which the French zoologist Pierre Belon passed through Serres, the inhabitants were mainly Greeks; he found German and Spanish-speaking Jews there but the country people spoke Greek and Bulgarian. Hâdjî Khalifa (*Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, p. 73 sqq.) following closely, almost literally, Mehmed 'Ashik, *Menzir ül-Evâlim* (Vienna MS., fol. 240^a sq.; Berlin MS. [inaccessible to me], fol. 246^a – 247^b), describes Serres in the xvth century as a town with 10 mosques, 7–8 bathes, fine khâns, a *karavân*, kitchens for the poor and pleasant gardens. Ewliya Çelebi also visited the town; his account is found in the eighth, still unprinted volume of his *Seyahat-nâme*. Serres never attained particular importance in the history of the Ottoman Empire; only in the xviiith and xixth

century it was the seat of a Derebey [q. v.] of whom Isma'il Bey was the most prominent (cf. E. M. Cousinier, *Voyage dans la Macédoine*, Paris 1831, i. 157, [130]–166). Since the treaty of London (1913) Serres has belonged to Greece. — A favourite excursion from the town is to the pleasantly situated Higârardi outside the gates of Serres (cf. *Rumeli und Bosna*, p. 74). Here is buried the author of the work, very important for the history of Adrianople, *Ensi ul-Mushâmirin* (cf. G. Flügel, *Orr. Hist. Wien*, ii. 259, where — wrongly — *Mushâmirin* is given), 'Abd al-Rahmân b. Hasan called Hibri (d. about 1550; cf. Brunsli Mehmed Tahir in *Türk Yurdu*, third year, vol. 6, part 27, S. 2225).

Bibliography (in addition to works mentioned in the text): J. von Hammer, *G.O.R.*, i. 180, 246, 600; N. Jorga, *G.O.R.*, i. 241, 249; P. N. Papageorgiou in *Byzant. Zeitschr.*, 1894, iii. (an excellent monograph in modern Greek with which compare the supplementary notes by Papadopoulos-Kerameus in *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, i., St. Petersburg 1894, p. 673–683, and by N. A. Bees, *ibid.*, 1913, xix. 302–326); G. di Pietro Luccari, *Giulio Luccari, Cefiso ristretto degli annali di Rausa*, Venice 1605, iii. 103–106; C. Jiveček, *Geschichte der Serben*, Gotha 1918, p. 107, 118; Th. Spandugino, *Cantacuzeno, Petit traité*, ed. Ch. Sebefer, p. 17, 18, 124, Paris 1896; ed. Florence, p. 17, 46, 47, 134; Tashköprüzâde, *Shakîk al-Nu'mâniya*, Stambul 1269, p. 73, continuation (*ahâl*) of 'Ashik, Stambul 1268, p. 35, 186, 673; Münedjîm-bashi, Stambul 1285, iii. 267: remarkable information regarding the *مارغريتا* (= Margarita?) monastery near Serres, probably taken from the *Turikâ* by Rûhi [q. v.]. (FRANZ BARINGER)

SERT. [See SERET].

SERVET. [See TÂHIR BEY].

SETH. [See SETH].

SEVILLE, in Spanish SEVILLA, Arabic *ISHBILIYA* (ethnic *Ishbili*), a large city in Spain with over 150,000 inhabitants at the present day and capital of the province of the same name, formerly capital of the kingdom of Seville situated at an average height of 45 feet above sea level in a vast plain, on the left bank of the Guadalquivir (Arabic al-Wâdi 'l-Kabir = Wâd al-Kabir = the "great river"), which separates it from the suburb of Triana (Arabic Taryâna; cf. Yâkût, *Mu'djam al-Buldân*, q. v.). Although 60 miles from the sea the town has all the advantages of a seaport on account of the very gradual fall of the river; the tide is perceptible up to above Seville (cf. the *aequoreus amnis* of the Latin poet Ausonius). The climate is dry and warm.

The province of Seville in the Muslim period comprised all the low valley of the Guadalquivir, and stretched to the east as far as the Sierra d'Arcos and Gadir, to the west as far as the valley of the Guadiana (Wâdi Anî) in a very wealthy region fertilised by the great river. The slopes of Aljarafe (or Axarafe, Arabic Djabal al-Sharaf) in the immediate vicinity of the capital are specially favoured, and their groves of fig and olive trees were famous for their fruit throughout Muslim Andalusia. The Arab geographers were never tired of marvelling at the natural wealth of the country. It was the only district in the peninsula to produce cotton, the exports of which were important. Other

characteristic products were saffron and sugar-cane. The population of the country was of great density; no less than 8,000 villages, according to al-Iḍrīṣī, were dependent on the capital.

The name Iḥbīliya is derived from the ancient *Hispalis*, a name of Iberian origin which the Romans retained for the town. It was of great importance under them after its capture in 45 B.C. by Julius Caesar, who made it "Colonia Julia Romula". Under the empire it was alternately with Baetis (Cordova) and Italica (Arabic Ṭālika) the capital of the province of Baetica. It then became that of a Vandal kingdom (411) and from 441 the residence of the Visigothic kings, until in 567 Athanagilde transferred to Toledo the seat of his government.

It was in the spring of 94 A.H. (712) that Seville after the fall of Medina Sidonia and Carmona fell in its turn into the hands of the Muslims after a month's siege, according to some historians, but probably longer if we may believe the more detailed account of the capture of the town given by the anonymous chronicle entitled *Alḥikār Maḍīni'a*. A section of the Christian population took refuge in Beja (Bāḍja) and the conqueror, Muṣā b. Nuṣair, installed a Jewish colony in the city, left a garrison there under the Medinese Ṭas b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ṭawīl as governor, and then laid siege to Mérida. An attempted rising by the Christians in Seville, aided by their co-religionists of Beja and Niebla (Labla) in July of the same year was promptly put down and the town definitely re-captured by the son of Muṣā b. Nuṣair, 'Abd al-'Azīz, who massacred the rebels. When his father left for the east, 'Abd al-'Azīz became governor of Muslim Andalusia, and chose Seville as his capital; he there married the widow (and not the daughter, as is often said) of the Visigoth Roderick, Egilona (the Aila of the Arab historians) and installed himself in the old church of St. Rufina, opposite which he built a mosque. It was there that he was killed by his soldiers in Rajab, 97 (March, 716), at the instigation of the Caliph of Damascus, Sulaimān.

After his death, the seat of the Arab administration was moved to Cordova; Seville nevertheless remained one of the richest cities of al-Andalus. Indeed, it escaped more than any other the influence of the conquerors and there is no doubt that its population only abandoned their old religion for Islām slowly, as much from policy as of necessity. It was in great part Roman or Gothic, and the names of notable citizens of Seville for long preserved the memory of this double origin. The spread of Islām in the Peninsula made commerce and agriculture still more active and the importance of its harbour augmented.

When residences and fiefs were allotted in al-Andalus to the *qunāt* of Syria and Egypt, Seville fell to that of Hīm (Emesa) which was established in 125 (742) by the governor Abu 'l-Ḥaṭṭār al-Ḥuṣām b. Dirār al-Kalbi, at the same time as the *qunāt* of Damascus was given Elvira, that of the Jordan Reyro (Malaga), that of Kinnasrin Jaen, that of Palestine Sidonia and that of Miṣr Tudmir (Murcia). The name of Hīm was even sometimes applied to Seville (cf. Yāḥyā, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s. v. Hīm at the end).

When the Umayyad Caliphate of Spain was established in the reign of 'Abd al-Rahmān I b. Mu'āwiya al-Dākhil and his successors, Seville was

entrusted to his governors (for example the energetic 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Umar) and, like the other large towns of the country, was often the scene of rebellions. In 149 (766) two risings, those of Sa'īd al-Yahṣubī al-Maṭarī of Niebla and Abu 'l-Sabbāḥ b. Yahyā al-Yahṣubī, were quelled in turn. In 156 (773) the Caliph had again to suppress an attempt at independence by the governor 'Abd al-Ḥaṭṭār (or 'Abd al-Ḥaṭṭār) al-Yamānī and Ḥayāt b. Muḥammīn (or Muḥābīs).

The town was surrounded by a fortified wall by 'Abd al-Rahmān II. He also had a great mosque built in it. It was in the reign of this sovereign that Norman pirates captured Seville for the first time in 230 (844). It was stormed after a short siege, and the Caliph had to mobilise his forces to regain it and put the invaders to flight at the decisive battle of Ṭalyāṭa. As a precaution against another attempt at landing by the *Madjūs* (Normans) he built an arsenal at Seville and constructed swift ships, which did not prevent his entering into friendly relations with the king of the Normans and even sending him an ambassador, Yahyā b. al-Ḥakam al-Ḥazālī. In the reign of his son Muḥammad, in 245 (859), Spain was again attacked by the Normans, but the latter, who landed at the mouth of the Guadalquivir, probably did not go up to Seville but went direct to seize the town of Algeciras. Ibn al-Khaldūn and al-Nuwairi nevertheless suggest there was a Norman landing in Seville at this time (cf. particularly R. Dozy, *Les Normands en Espagne*, in *Recherches*, p. 256-263 and 279-284).

In the reign of the Caliph 'Abd Allāh, Seville was for a long time perturbed by the ambitions and proceedings of the two great families of Yamānī origin, the Banū Khaldūn and the Banū Ḥaḍḍaj. These Arabs had large domains throughout the country and numerous clients, and hated the Islamised Spaniards of Seville as much as the Umayyad Caliphs of Cordova. The head of the first family, Kurāib b. Khaldūn, soon after the accession of 'Abd Allāh, raised the whole country of Aljarafé and rallied to his flag of rebellion the chief of the Banū Ḥaḍḍaj family and other Arab or Berber chiefs of the south of Spain. He ravaged all the territory of Seville with fire and sword and later on, sometimes assisted by the caliph himself, he ruined completely the renegades of Seville (278 = 891). In the town the Arabs became all-powerful and it was not till four years later that the sovereign decided to send an expedition against them.

In 286 (899) the heads of the two families, who had hitherto been at peace, quarrelled, and Ibrāhīm b. Ḥaḍḍaj was victorious and slew Kurāib. After an alliance with the famous rebel 'Umar b. Ḥafṣūn [q. v.] he finally submitted to the Caliph of Cordova while retaining practically unlimited power in Seville. There he set up as a regular sovereign and poets of talent and the famous singer *Kamar* were ornaments of his court. His return to loyalty to the Umayyad dynasty was the beginning of the return of order in al-Andalus. In the reign of the great caliph 'Abd al-Rahmān III, Seville, without, however, rivalling Cordova in importance, entered upon an era of peace and prosperity and remained loyal to the central power.

But its most brilliant epoch, and the most important from the political point of view also, was that which followed the fall of the Umayyad Caliphate, when it became the capital of the independent dynasty of the Banū 'Abbād or 'Abbēdids (cf.

above, i. 177) from 414 = 1023. The founder of the kingdom, the *Kādi* Abū l-*Kāsim* Muḥammad I, was the son of an illustrious Andalusian jurist of Lakhmid origin, Jamāl b. 'Abbād. He seized the power, at first recognising the suzerainty of the Hammūdīd sovereign Yahyā b. 'Alī, but was not long in repudiating this suzerainty which was quite nominal. At his death in 434 (1042) his son, Abū 'Amr 'Abbād, known by his honorific surname of al-Mu'tadīd, succeeded him and during a reign of 27 years his policy was marked by deeds of cruelty and treachery. He increased his kingdom at the expense of the neighbouring principalities of the west and south and only found a serious opponent in Bādis, the Zīrid king of Granada. He died in 461 (1068). His son, Abū l-*Kāsim* Muḥammad II al-Mu'tamid, is renowned for his poetic taste and talents. In his reign Seville became the rendezvous of the best scholars of the period. He took Cordova from the Banū Djawhar but soon came in conflict with the ambitions of the King of Castile, Alfonso VI, and then had to appeal for help to the new sultān of the western Maghrib, the Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tāshfin. The latter crossed over to Spain with his troops and on Raddjāh 12, 479 (October 23, 1086), won the great victory of Zallaka. When the Almoravids returned to Morocco the Christians resumed the offensive and al-Mu'tamid had to go in person to the Lantini sultān to ask his assistance once more. Yūsuf granted it, but was not long in depriving him of his kingdom to seize its wealth. Seville along with Cordova, Almeria, Murcia and Denia, was taken in 484 (1091) by Yūsuf's general, Sīr b. Abī Bakr b. Tāshfin. The Berber troops sacked the towns from attic to cellar, and pillaged the palaces of the 'Abbādids and the unfortunate al-Mu'tamid was taken prisoner and exiled to Morocco, where he died at Aghmāt in 488 (1095) after giving expression to his misfortunes in elegies which came to enjoy a well merited reputation among literary Muslims: he left the reputation of a generous, chivalrous and cultivated prince. — All the texts relating to Seville in the 'Abbādīd period have been collected by Dozy in his *Scriptorium Arabum Loet de Abbādids*, 3 vols., Leiden 1846–1863.

The Almoravid general, Sīr, governed Seville for his master and the town, like the rest of Muslim Spain, continued under the yoke of the Maghribi Sultāns. In Raddjāh, 526 (May, 1132), a Christian force from Toledo invaded the country round Seville. In the course of an engagement the governor of the city, 'Umar b. Makrūr, was killed.

It was with satisfaction that the people of Seville heard of the decline of the Almoravids in Africa and the rise of the Almohads. Barrāz b. Muḥammad al-Ma'nī, general of Sultān 'Abd al-Mu'min, after conquering the south-west of the peninsula, laid siege to Seville and took it in Shu'la'n, 541 (January, 1147), putting to flight the Almoravid garrison. Next year a deputation of notables of Seville went to the Almohad sultān to give him the homage (*harāz*) of their fellow-citizens, led by the *Kādi* Abī Bakr b. al-'Arabi, who died at Fās on the way back (cf. above, i. 362b). 'Abd al-Mu'min appointed governor of the town the Almohad Yūsuf b. Sulaimān and in 551 (1156), at the request of the inhabitants, his own son, Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf. The latter kept this post till he succeeded his father in 558 (1163).

Under his reign Seville became the headquarters of the Almohad forces in Spain. Abū Ya'qūb stayed

there from 568 (1172) to 571 (1175), and on his departure left as governor his brother, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm, with the general Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Wāṣūḍ and the admiral 'Abd Allāh b. Dīnār. It was also in Seville that Abū Ya'qūb made his preparations in 580 (1184) for the Santarem (Shantaria) expedition in which he met his death. His son, Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr (580–595 = 1184–1199), who succeeded him, brought back the Almohad army to Seville and returned to Morocco, leaving the Hafṣid chief Abū Yūsuf as governor of Seville. Summoned by the latter he returned to Seville in 586 (1190) to retake Shilb (Selves) from the Christians, who had taken it by force of arms. After the brilliant victory of Alarcos (Arabic al-Ark, cf. above, i. 205a) won on Sha'bān 8, 591 (July 19, 1195), over Alfonso VIII of Castile, the Sultān made a long stay in Seville, and it was during this period that he imprisoned the famous Cordovan philosopher, Ibn Rushd (Averroes). He did not return to Morocco till 594 (1198), a year before his death.

In the course of the reigns of these two Sultāns Seville rivalled the glories of the most flourishing periods of the 'Abbādīd dynasty. It had at this date more inhabitants than Cordova. The Almohad sovereigns and the great dignitaries of the court built palaces there, and the number of mosques, baths, caravanserais and markets increased considerably. It was in the reign of Abū Ya'qūb that the new great mosque was built on the site which the present cathedral was later to occupy in the xvth century. The *Rawḍ al-Kirfās* (ed. Tornberg, p. 138) gives 567 (1172) as the date of building this *ḡāmī*, the anonymous chronicle entitled *al-Hulal al-Manṣūriyya* (ed. Tunis, p. 120) 572 (1176/1177). According to Ibn Abī Zar', it only took eleven months to build, which seems improbable. The same author mentions the building at Seville in the same year of a bridge over the Guadalquivir, of two *ḡaḡha's*, of ramparts and moats, of quays along the river and an aqueduct. Nothing now survives of the great Almohad mosque of Seville but the *ḡaḡha* (now *Patio de los Naranjos* "court of the orange trees"), with the gate known as "Puerta del Perdon", and most notable of all the celebrated minaret, called Giralda (because a statue of Faith which surmounts it "turns" [Spanish *girar*] at the least wind). This tower, as a whole less successful than its twin sisters, the tower of Hassan in Riḡāt al-Fath (Rabat) and that of the Dīnārī al-Kutubiyyin at Marrākush, built at the same time, has a base 43 feet square. It is built of brick; its walls, about seven feet thick, are pierced by numerous windows with Arab and Visigothic capitals. The lantern-tower which rose from the platform of the tower has been replaced by a campanile; the total present height is over 300 feet.

In 609 (1212) al-Manṣūr's successor, the Almohad Muḥammad al-Nāṣir, collected under the walls of Seville the great army which was to reconquer the part of al-Andalus then in the hands of the Christians. It was defeated on Ṣafar 15 (July 16) of the same year at las Navas de Tolosa and the Sultān and his forces returned to Seville utterly routed.

It was a little later, in the reign of the Almohad Yūsuf II al-Mustansir, in 617 (1220), that the governor, Abū l-'Ulā had built on the bank of the Guadalquivir a tower intended to protect the

royal palace (now the Alcázar, rebuilt in the sixteenth century by Pedro the Cruel) and the river. It has retained in a Spanish translation its Arabic name Burdj al-Dhahab ("Tower of Gold"); the lower part, which is in twelve superimposed sections and is crowned with battlements, and the smallest tower at its top are still standing.

Some years later Seville again became the headquarters of the Almohad Sultān Idrīs al-Ma'mūn, and on his departure for Morocco in 626 (1228-1229) the town passed under the domination of the rebel Muhammad b. Yūsuf b. Hūd, who ended by driving the Almohads out of Spain. Strengthened by the alliance which he had made with the first Nasrid dynasty of Granada, Muhammad I b. al-Ahmar, Ferdinand III laid siege to Seville in 1247 and after blockading it for sixteen months took it on Sha'bān 1, 646 (November 19, 1248) (or four days later, according to some authors). The Muslim population was spared and allowed to emigrate to that part of Andalusia which still remained Muhammadan and to Africa. The attempts of the Marinid Sultāns of Morocco to recapture the town from the Christians in the years following met with no success. In 674 (1275) Sultān Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. 'Abd al-Haqq, after his victory over the troops of General Don Nuño de Lara, laid waste the country of Seville and Jerez (Sharfsh); but he had soon to abandon his siege of the capital. On his second campaign in Andalusia in 676 (1278) he again came up to the walls of Seville and pillaged the district of Aljarafe. He continued these raids, which are recorded in detail in the *Rawḍ al-Kirfās*, down to 684 (1285), and Don Sancho had to seek a truce which lasted till 690 (1290) in the reign of Abū Yūsuf's successor, his son Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf. In the end, after the defeat of the Sultān of the same dynasty, Abū 'I-Hasan 'Alī, under the walls of Tarifa, the Muslims abandoned all hope of retaking Seville.

It would take too long here to give the names of all the famous Muslims who were born or lived in Seville. It is sufficient to mention the poets Ibn Hamdis, Ibn Hānī, and Ibn Qasman, the traditionalist Ibn al-'Arabī, the biographer Abū Bakr b. Khair, and to refer the reader to the separate articles on them.

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(E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL)

SEZAY, a Turkish poet. Shaikh Hasan (Dede) Sezay Efendi was a Greek by birth, a native of Kordos (the old name for Corinth), who spent the greater part of his life in Adrianople. He belonged to the order of Gülshen there, first as a disciple of the Shaikh Mehmmed La'li and after his death as his successor. According to some sources, he was also head of a Gülshen monastery in Constantinople. Ramadān, 1151 (end of 1738 or beginning of 1739), is given as the date of his death, the only date known of his career. His tomb is in a *derkhā* which bears his name.

We still possess several of Sezay's works. His *Diwān* is of a mystical and allegorical nature and is remarkable for the beauty of its language, so that Ottoman critics sometimes actually describe him as the Hāfi of Turkish literature. There is a MS. of the *Diwān* in the Vienna Hofbibliothek and in the Gibb collection (see Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, ii. xxii below), and it has been printed at Constantinople. It begins with a series of *ḥafida's*, on the works of the different kinds of the mystic path, the *Waf-i Athār-i Afwār-i Turīfat*. Then come 333 *ghazal's*, a few *takhts*, *tasdis*, *rubā'is* and other shorter pieces including a chronogram on 'Ushshāki Sādiq Efendi (d. 1094 = 1683). Among other works by Sezay, his *Mekhtūbat* and his commentary on a *ghazal* of al-Miḡrī are mentioned. There are commentaries on some of Sezay's *ghazal's*, including some of quite modern date. Among Sezay's pupils are mentioned Mehmmed Hash Bey, the author of a poem called *Gülshen-i Ebrar*, which deals with the *silsile* of Gülshen, and the Turkish poet Mahwi Efendi and Mehmmed Fakrī Kīmī, who translated the *Menāzil al-Sā'irīn* of al-Anṣārī into Turkish. Sezay is also the name of a modern Turkish novelist; cf. Horn, *Geschichte der türkischen Moderne*, Leipzig 1902, p. 43 sq.

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SFAX (SFAXES or SFAXES), a town in Tunisia, on the eastern coast to the north of the Gulf of Gabes on the site of the ancient Taparura. Built on a flat piece of ground the native town, beside which the European quarter has grown up, is of an unusually regular plan. It is quite rectangular in shape (600 by 400 yards) and its streets are at right angles to one another. In the centre is the Great Mosque built about 275 (849), rebuilt at the end of the tenth century and several times since restored. The first wall built in the Aghlabid period was of clay and bricks. Parts that decayed were repaired in stone. Al-Bakri describes it as built of stone and bricks. It was frequently repaired either by princes or by the gifts of pious individuals. This wall was flanked by square towers and, according to al-Tidjani (beginning of the thirteenth century), it was a double one. Several *ribât* defended the adjoining coast.

During the anarchy that followed the Hilali invasion, Sfax was from 1095 to 1099 the capital of a little independent principality protected by the Arabs. In 1148 it was taken by Roger of Sicily. 'Abd al-Mu'min retook it in 1159. By then it had, however, lost much of its former splendour. The Arabs had almost entirely destroyed the plantations around the town. Before the invasion, Sfax had indeed been of a remarkable economic importance. It was one of the principal centres for the cultivation of the olive. Muslim and Christian ships exported the oil, particularly to Italy. In the tenth century the Pisans established a *funduq* here. Sfax was also noted for its manufacture of cloth, which was fuelled by the processes used in Alexandria but with more perfection. Fishing was also an important source of income.

Sfax in 1881 was one of the few centres of resistance to the French occupation. A squadron came to bombard it. Since then it has begun to enjoy a new prosperity. It is a town of 75,000 inhabitants which exports sponges collected in the Gulf of Gabes and is surrounded by a double girdle of gardens and olive groves. The latter, planted according to methods improved during the sixteenth century, cover a depth of about 30 miles.

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SHABAK, a religious community of Kurdish origin in the wilayat of Mawail. English statistics estimate the number of Shabaks at 10,000; the Muslims give them the nickname *awadî* ('turbulent', 'disloyal'). The Shabak live in the villages in the Sindjir district ('Al-rash, Yangidja, Kharna, Tallira etc.). They are related to their neighbours, the Yazidis, most of whose assemblies and places

of pilgrimage they attend. On the other hand, if we may rely on Father Anastase, they show a particular devotion to 'Ali whom they call 'Al-rash (rash in Kurdish = 'black'). Another statement connects them with the extremist Shi'a, the Ahl-i Haqq (cf. the art. 'ALI-ILKUNI). The Shabak never cut their moustaches 'which are proverbial in the country' (see Cuinet); in eating they hold them up with the left hand so that the food may not soil them. As is the case with all the secret sects, popular stories credit them with abominable practices; once a year they are said to assemble in a secret cave and spend the night in feasting and debauchery. This night is called among them, as among the Sârlî (cf. the art. 'SÂRLIYA'), *lailat al-kafsha*.

The Sârlî who claim to belong to the Kurdish tribe of Kaka' are also found in the wilayat of Mawail on the lower course of the Great Zâh (villages of Tell-Laban, Basâdiyya, Kabarlî, Kharab al-Sultana) and in the district of 'Ashâ-i-i Sah'a. Their present chief, Tîlha Koshak (Koçak?), lives in Wardak. There are Sârlî in Persia in the border districts. The sacred book of the Sârlî is said to be in Persian. Their name is explained as *sârat li* ('*l-jannata*') 'Paradise has been acquired by me' for the Shaikh of the Sârlî are said to sell them places in Paradise at 25 magdîsiyas the oil (*dhar*). The Sârlî permit divorce and polygamy. Their Shaikh also never cut their moustaches and grow enormous beards. The *lailat al-kafsha* among the Sârlî is accompanied by agapes (*aklat al-waḥshati*) for which every married man kills a cock. The Shaikh blesses these offerings which are dressed with wheat or rice and proclaims a blessing on every child conceived that night. The candles are then extinguished and an indescribable orgy ensues. The Sârlî of Father Anastase evidently correspond to the *Khurû-Kushân* ('cock-killers') and *Çirâğ-Kushân* ('candle-extinguishers') of other travellers.

Father Anastase mentions a third secret sect in the same region: the BAĞOKAN; they are Kurds and call themselves 'Allâhî' (Ali-allâhî?). They live in the villages of 'Omar-kân, Toprakli-eyrât, Tell-Va'ḥûb, Rashpita etc. There are also a few in Persia near the Turkish frontier. The Bağokan venerate particularly the prophet (*imâm*?) Ismâ'il. During the month of Muharram (*ashûra*) they lament the death of Husain and collect provisions which on the ninth day (of the month) are distributed under the name of *shahshâh*. When the chief visits a community of the faithful each man offers him seven fresh eggs; the Shaikh cuts each into seven pieces and places them in a jar. Those present drink wine. The Shaikh pronounces a prayer, offering the eggs to Ismâ'il as an expiatory sacrifice (*qurban*). No one can eat them without forthwith confessing his sins.

Attention may be called to the links connecting these Kurdish sects with one another and with Persia, their devotion to the Shi'a Imâms ('Ali, Husain, Ismâ'il), the rites resembling the communion, the syncretist tendencies. The Shabak seem to be a link between the Yazidis and the extremist Shi'a. Finally we may mention that a document coming from Ahl-i Haqq circles and found in Khurâstân by W. Ivanov mentions Malak-Tâ'ûs, the great saint of the Yazidis.

As to the 'night of *kafsha*', Father Anastase explains this word from the Arabic root meaning 'to seize' (?). Perhaps we have simply to deal with the Persian *kafsh* alluding to some part said to

be played by the shoe in the course of the ceremony. For *shushkâ* we may recall the name *lailat al-ma'âshûh* which al-Shabûshî gives to the alleged nocturnal feast and orgy of the Nestorian nuns; cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Mätyrre*, 1880, p. 127.

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(V. MINORSKY)

SHA'BÂN, name of the eighth month of the lunar year. In classical *hadith* it has already its place after Rajab Mudar. In British India it has the name of *Shab-i harât* (see beneath), the Atchinese call it *Kanduri bu* and among the Tigre tribes it is called *Muddagen*, i.e. who follows upon Rajab.

In early Arabia the month of Sha'bân (the name may mean "interval") seems to have corresponded, as to its significance, to Ramaḍân. According to the *hadith* Muhammad practised supererogatory fasting by preference in Sha'bân (Bukhârî, *Sawm*, b. 52; Muslim, *Sûm*, trad. 176; Tirmidhî, *Sawm*, b. 36). 'A'isha recovered in Sha'bân the fastdays which were left from the foregoing Ramaḍân (Tirmidhî, *Sawm*, b. 65).

In the early-Arabian solar year Sha'bân as well as Ramaḍân fell in summer. Probably the weeks preceding the summer-solstice and those following it, had a religious significance which gave rise to propitiatory rites such as fasting. This period had its centre in the middle of Sha'bân, a day which, up to the present time, has preserved features of a New-Year's day. According to popular belief, in the night preceding the 15th the tree of life on whose leaves are written the names of the living is shaken. The names written on the leaves which fall down, indicate those who are to die in the coming year. In *hadith* it is said that in this night Allâh descends to the lowest heaven; from there he calls the mortals in order to grant them forgiveness of sins (Tirmidhî, *Sawm*, b. 39).

Among a number of peoples the beginning or the end of the year is devoted to the commemoration of the dead. This connection can also be observed in the Muslim world. For this reason Sha'bân bears the epithet of *al-mu'azzam* "the venerated". In British India in the night of the 14th people say prayers for the dead, distribute food among the poor, eat *halwa* (sweetmeats) and indulge in illuminations and fireworks. This night is called *lailat al-harâ'a* which is explained by "night of quittance" i.e. forgiveness of sins.

In Atcheli this month is likewise devoted to the dead; the tombs are cleansed, religious meals (*bandhe*, q. v.) are given and it is the dead who profit from the merits of these good works. The night of the middle of Sha'bân bears a particularly sacred character as is testified by the *kanduris* and the *shabits* which are called *jalât al-badja* or, on account of certain eulogies, *jalât al-taqâlib*. During the last days of the month, a market is held in the capital.

At Makka Radjah, not Sha'bân, is devoted to the dead. Here, in the night of the 14th Sha'bân, religious exercises are held; in the mosque circles are formed which under the direction of an *imâm* recite the prayer peculiar to this night.

In Morocco on the last day of Sha'bân a festival is celebrated which resembles a carnival. A description of it is to be found in L. Brunot, *La mer dans les traditions et les industries indigènes à Rabat & Salé* (Paris 1921), p. 98 sq.

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SHA'BÂN AL-MALIK AL-ASHIRAF, a Mamlûk Sulṭân, was chosen Sulṭân on Sha'bân 15, 764 (May 30, 1363), through the influence of the all-powerful Atabeg Velboghâ al-'Umari when only ten years old. His father Husain was passed over because the ambitious Atabeg Velboghâ wished to rule himself and therefore preferred the ten-year-old son, the grandson of Muhammad al-Nâsir. His reign was marked by frequent attacks by Frankish fleets on Mamlûk seaports like Alexandria and Tripolis in Syria. For example at the beginning of 767 (1366) ships of Pierre de Lusignan, king of Cyprus, together with Venetian, Genoese and Rhodian ships appeared before Alexandria which they plundered, but withdrew on the approach of the Egyptian troops, carrying off, according to the sources, 5,000 prisoners. The Christians in Egypt and Syria had to pay the ransom for the captive Muslims, and also pay for the building of a fleet which was to invade Cyprus. The negotiations with Egypt were not successful, as Velboghâ was not really anxious for peace but was planning a landing on Cyprus with his fleet. But troubles at home prevented his plan from developing. The king of Cyprus, however, took the offensive and sent a fleet to Syria to take the harbour of Tripolis and the town of Aiyâs in the south of Asia Minor. His fleet was able to land raiding parties but had to withdraw before the superiority of the Muslim forces, as had another Frankish fleet which appeared before Alexandria. Peace was only concluded in the beginning of 772 (August, 1370). The Egyptians later exacted vengeance for these Frankish raids by falling upon the kingdom of Little Armenia, which was an ally of the king of Cyprus (776 = beginning of 1374), and conquering the towns of Aiyâs, Sis and the rest of the kingdom; the king was brought a prisoner to Cairo and his land became permanently a Muslim possession.

A conspiracy broke out in 768 (1367) against Velboghâ, whose Mamlûks could no longer stand his harshness and cruelty. The Mamlûks wanted to take him prisoner, but receiving timely warning he was able to escape to an island on the Nile, and to hold out there, and soon afterwards to return to Cairo and appoint Sha'bân's brother Onûk Sulṭân. Sha'bân, however, who was now sixteen, was forced by the Mamlûks to put himself at their head and Velboghâ was forced to retire again to his island on the Nile. Sha'bân then succeeded in seizing the fleet newly built by Velboghâ; the latter had to leave his place of refuge and fly to Cairo. There he was taken by the Mamlûks who had in the meanwhile returned to the citadel, and soon after-

wards killed by a Mamlūk while attempting to escape. Yelboghā's Mamlūks now terrified the people and did not obey their new leader, the emir Esendimir. Constant fighting was the result, which ended by a great number of Yelboghā's Mamlūks being banished to Syria and interned in Kerak. They later played an important part in the Mamlūk Kingdom. After several changes in the person of the regent the emir Aktemir al-Shāhī came to power, and held his position till the death of the Sultān. The Sultān had transitory success in the south of the kingdom, in Nubia. The king of Nubia recognised the suzerainty of the Sultān of Egypt. But as a result of Aktemir's cruel treatment of prisoners, the Nubians rebelled again and destroyed the frontier town of Aawān.

The Sultān's idea of making a pilgrimage to Mekka in these troubled times was quite a mad one. In order to be secure against conspiracies of his relatives he had his brothers and cousins brought to Kerak and sent his regent to Upper Egypt to protect the frontier against the Beduins; but he had too little authority over his own Mamlūks to be able to risk such an expedition. The avaricious Mamlūks mutinied at 'Aqaba and as the Sultān would not yield to their demands they threatened him with death so that he had to flee secretly to Cairo, but the Mamlūks had accomplices there who were hostile to the Sultān. He was able to remain concealed in Cairo for a short time in the home of a singing-girl but was soon recognised and strangled. He was lamented by the people as he had abolished burdensome taxes and in general treated his subjects with mildness. The main reason for the terrible state of the country was the insubordination and cruelty of the Mamlūks who ill-treated and oppressed the people.

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SHABÂN AL-MALIK AL-KĀMIL, a Mamlūk Sultān, son of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (q.v.), brother of al-Malik al-Sālih Ismā'īl (q.v.), ascended the throne on Rabi' II 4, 746 (Aug. 4, 1345), after having won over during the illness of his brother the emirs of influence, notably his step-father, the Emir Arghūn al-Alā'i. He is said to have used threats as to what he would do to them if not elected. He forced his brother's widow to marry him and soon after also married the daughter of another Emir and, indeed, women always played a great part in his life. His main occupations were all kinds of gladiatorial contests, racing and cock-fighting. His court was marked by great extravagance and the very slave-girls wore jewels on their dresses in his and his brother's reigns. Offices were sold quite openly and shamelessly; the Sultān invented a special tax on the appointment to fiefs and offices, as his biographer al-Safī (see below) tells us. An edict issued in his reign has been preserved in the citadel of Tripoli (Syria) and in a fragmentary state in Kal'at al-Hiṣn; by this certain overpayments to the Mamlūks resulting from the difference between the lunar and solar years, which in case of their death before the end of their period of service could be claimed by their heirs, were left to the latter (see *Bibliography*).

He had two of his brothers and two of his most important emirs murdered. Yelboghā al-Yahyawī, governor of Damascus, ran a similar risk. He therefore arranged with the other Syrian governors to send a letter to the Sultān in which he threatened him with deposition and reproached him vigorously with his wickedness. Sultān Shabān then sent an apologetic reply in which he promised to reform but made preparations against the rebels. When he wanted to put to death two more of his brothers he was prevented by their mother and his step-father. Other emirs who had once been friendly to him but who now saw armed threatening them collected their followers and other malcontents in the neighbourhood of Cairo until the Sultān in the end had only 400 horsemen at his disposal. He took refuge with his mother in the citadel where he was discovered and taken prisoner. He was murdered two days later on Djumādī II 3, 747 (Nov. 20, 1346). In his brief reign he had proved himself one of the most worthless rulers who ever sat on the throne of Egypt.

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(M. SOBERNHEIM)

SHABĀNKĀRA, name of a Kurdish tribe and their country. Ibn al-Athīr has Shawānkāra; Marco Polo: Soncāra. According to Hamīd Allāh Mustawfī, the realm of Shabānkāra is bounded by Fārs, Kirmān and the Persian Gulf. Nowadays it forms part of Fārsistān; modern maps show a village of the name of Shabānkāra on 30° N. Lat. and 51° E. Long. Mustawfī says that the capital was the stronghold of Ig; other localities of the province, which was divided into six districts, were: Zarkān (near Ig), Iṣṭahānā (or Iṣṭahānī), Bārk, Tāram, Khāira, Nāirā, Karm, Rūnā, Lār and Darābdjird. As for particulars and identifications it suffices to refer to the notes of G. le Strange on his translation of Mustawfī's *Nashat al-Kulūb* (O.M.S., XXIII/ii, 138/139); for Darābdjird cf. also the article (above, i, 960) and P. Schwarz, *Fran im Mittelalter*, ii, 92 etc.). As for the climate, Shabānkāra is reckoned among the warm countries (*garmīr*); but it encloses also regions of a moderate temperature (*hawā-i mu'tadil*). The products of Shabānkāra consist chiefly in corn, cotton, dates, (dry) grapes and other fruits; at Darābdjird mineral salt is found. Among the most fertile districts are those of Zarkān and of Bārk. The revenues (*ḥuṣūl-i diwānī*) during the Seljūq rule amounted to more than 2,000,000 dinārs, but at the time Mustawfī wrote (± 740=1340) they only came to 266,100 dinārs. The country abounded in strong places, e.g. Ig, Iṣṭahānā (destroyed by the Aṭabeg Cāwāl, rebuilt later on), Bārk. At the time of Mustawfī, the fortifications of Darābdjird were ruined, but the mountain-pass of Tagāi Ronba, to the east of the town, had a strong castle. In the chapter on the Muṣaffarid dynasty, interpolated in the manuscript of Mustawfī's *Tarīkh-i Gūstā*, facsimilized by Browne (O.M.S., XIV/5,

665/666), there is also mention of the fortifications of Shabankāra, the fertility of that country ("beautiful and cultivated like the garden of Iran"), its mills, bāzars, etc.

The Shabankāra tribe were Kurds; in Ibn al-Balkhī's time (early sixth [twelfth] century) there were five subdivisions of them, viz. the Ismā'īlī, the Rāmānī, the Karzuwī, the Mas'ūdī and the Shākānī. They were hardmen, but also intrepid warriors, who more than once, in the course of history, became a power to be reckoned with. Their chiefs boasted descent from Ardāshīr, the first Sāsānian, or even from the legendary king Mīnūshīr. Leaving aside the exploits of the Shabankāra in Sāsānian times (as e.g. the fact that Yazdegerd III is said to have taken refuge among them at the time of the Muslim invasion), the history of the Shabankāra begins at the epoch of the decline of Būyid power.

The Ismā'īlīs were regarded as the most noble in descent; their chiefs are said to descend from Mīnūshīr and to have held in Sāsānian times the function of Isphābād. The first time, so far as we know, this tribe came into collision with a great Muslim power was in the days of the Ghaznawid Mas'ūd (421/1030—431/1040), whose general Tāsh Farrāsh drove them from the environs of Isfahān; so they were compelled to remove southward. But now they came within the sphere of Būyid influence. The Būyids not suffering their presence, they had to migrate once more, until they settled in the Darābājird district. Ibn al-Balkhī gives the history of their ruling family at some length. It may be sufficient to state that in the course of the quarrels which arose among the kinamen one of them, Salk b. Muḥammad b. Yahyā, called to his aid the mighty Fadlūya of the Rāmānīs; at the time Ibn Balkhī wrote, Salk's son Ḥasūya was the ruler of the Ismā'īlīs, but his kinamen contested his supremacy.

The Karzuwī Shabankāra, taking advantage of the decline of the power of the Būyids, obtained Kāzerūn but were driven out of it by Āwulī when he made his expedition in Fārs. The Mas'ūdīs also came to some power in the days of Fadlūya; the Karzuwī chief Abū Sa'd had also served under that Rāmānī ruler. For some time the Mas'ūdīs possessed Fīrūzābād and part of Shāpūr Khūra, but they were no match for the Karzuwīs, whose chief, Abū Sa'd, defeated and put to death Amīrāya, the Mas'ūdī prince. When, later on, Āwulī ruled Fārs, he installed Amīrāya's son Vīghāf as ruler of Fīrūzābād. The Shākānīs, rapacious mountaineers of the coastland, present no historical interest. They also were subdued by Āwulī.

Historically the most important tribe is the Rāmānīs, to whom belonged Fadlūya (Ibn al-Athīr, x. 48, calls him Fadlūn), the mightiest Amīr of the Shabankāra. This man, the son of a certain 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Aiyūb, who was the chief of his tribe, rose to the rank of *Sipāhshār* in the service of the Shāhī 'Adīl, the waṣī of the Būyid ruler of Fārs. Even before this time the Būyids had been troubled by the Shabankāra. The *Tawārīkh-i Gūstāw* (ed. Browne, p. 432) mentions an insurrection of a certain Ismā'īl of Shabankāra against the king al-'Imād b. Dīn-Allāh Abū Kālīnjār (416/1025—440/1048). This prince was succeeded by his eldest son Abū Naṣr, who died in 447 (1055) and left the throne to his younger brother Abū Manjūr, the royal master of the Shāhī 'Adīl.

Abū Manjūr put to death this waṣī, whereupon Fadlūya rose in rebellion. He succeeded in capturing the king himself and his mother, the Saiyida Khurāsīya. Abū Manjūr was confined in a stronghold near Shirāz, where he was murdered in 448 (1056); the Saiyida was, by order of Fadlūya, suffocated in a bath. The Shabankāra chief, now ruler of Fārs, soon came into collision with the Seljuq power. After fighting without success against Kāwurd, the brother of Alp Arslān, he submitted to the latter, from whom he received the governorship of Fārs. Fadlūya afterwards revolted; the stronghold of Khurāsah, to which he had betaken himself, was besieged and taken by the great Nizām al-Mulk, and Fadlūya, after many vicissitudes, captured and executed (464/1071). Such is in substance the account of Ibn al-Balkhī, a younger contemporary. Ibn al-Athīr represents these events somewhat differently (x. 48/49; the Kurd Fadlūn, who, according to Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 289, held part of Adharbaijān and raided the Khazars in 421/1030, cannot, of course, be identified with the Shabankāra chief). With the Fadlūya-affair is connected without any doubt, the expedition of Alp Arslān to Shabankāra of the year 458/1066, mentioned by al-Rāwandī, *Kāfiyat al-Jadīd* (G. M. S., New Ser., vol. ii.), p. 118.

The Shabankāra were to be for many years a nuisance to the countries of Kirmān and Fārs. In 492 (1099), supported by the prince of Kirmān, Irān-Shāh b. Kāwurd, they defeated the Amīr Unar, who was waṣī of Fārs from the part of the Saltān Barkiyārūk. About these times the struggles of the Atābeg Āwulī with the Shabankāra begin. This prince, Fakhr al-Dīn Āwulī, who died in the year 510/1116 (the *Tawārīkh-i Gūstāw* wrongly places his death under the rule of Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad b. Malik-shāh), governed Fārs on behalf of the Seljuq ruler of Irāk, Muḥammad b. Malik-shāh. The Shabankāra Amīr al-Ḥasan b. al-Mubārīz Khusrāw refused to pay homage; thereupon Āwulī attacked him suddenly. Khusrāw had a narrow escape, being saved by the help of his brother Fadlū. Now Āwulī subdued Fāst and Dīshram in Fārs; thereupon he besieged for some time the stronghold where Khusrāw had taken refuge, but perceiving that the siege would be a long and hard one he came to terms with the Shabankāra chief. Later Khusrāw accompanied the Atābeg on his expedition to Kirmān, the king of which had sheltered the prince of Darābājird, Ismā'īl. In this connection Ibn al-Athīr mentions the fact that Āwulī requested the king of Kirmān to hand over some Shabankāra forces who had taken refuge to him.

After these events the Shabankāra seem to have kept quiet during the rule of Muḥammad b. Malik-shāh, but new troubles arose when under the following king, Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad (511/1117—525/1131), the waṣī Nāṣir b. 'Alī al-Darkaznī began to illtreat these tribes also. This caused an insurrection during which the Shabankāra wrought great damage. For the time up to the Kirmān affair there may be noted the following data: In the service of the Salghūri Atābeg Sunqur, the Kurd Muḥammad Abū Tāhir, who afterwards became the first independent sovereign of the Greater Lur dynasty (he died 555/1160), made himself meritorious by a victory on the chiefs (*zakkān*) of Shabankāra. In 564/1168 the Shabankāra sheltered Zangī b. Daklā, who was expelled from Fārs by the ruler of Khurāsān.

We now enter on the most glorious period of Shabānkāra history, which, however, lasted only a few years. The Shabānkāra chief Kūṭb al-Dīn Muḥarriz and his brother Nūṣr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, Amirs of Ig, availed themselves of the disturbances which arose in Kirmān after the extinction of the ruling Seljuq dynasty of that country. They responded to the call of the wazīr Naṣh al-Dīn, who solicited their aid against the Ghuzz. Contrary to the intention of the wazīr, but assisted by the citizens, they occupied before giving battle to the Ghuzz the capital Bardasir and so secured the dominion of Kirmān (597 = 1200/1201). The two Amirs now defeated the Ghuzz, but the strained relations between these rulers of Ig and the Atābeg of Fārs compelled them to return to their realm after having appointed as their *nā'ib* one of the nobles of Kirmān. Thereupon the Ghuzz appeared once more to repeat their ravages. One of the Kirmān Amirs, Ḥurmuz Tādī al-Dīn Shāhshāh, concluded a treaty with them. Nūṣr al-Dīn marched against him from Ig; in the battle which ensued Ḥurmuz fell and his Turkish allies were routed. Shortly after, Nūṣr al-Dīn entered Bardasir again. He made himself, however, by his debauchery and his expacity odious to such a degree that a plot was laid against him. In the night the conspirators took him prisoner with his sons (600 = 1203/1204). They intended thereby to compel the commanders of Muḥarriz's garrisons to surrender. These commanders, however, remained in their strongholds and the latter had to be besieged. In the meanwhile a new actor made his appearance on the political stage viz. 'Adjam Shāh b. Malik Dīnār, a protégé of the Khwārim-shāh [q.v.]. 'Adjam Shāh had concluded an alliance with the Ghuzz who assisted him in his attempts to secure the realm of Kirmān. In short, the course of events was as follows. The prisoner Nūṣr al-Dīn was sent to the Atābeg of Fārs, but if 'Adjam Shāh expected to remain in the quiet possession of Kirmān, he was disillusioned by a polite message from the Atābeg, Sa'd b. Zangī, to the effect that Sa'd was sending his general 'Iz al-Dīn Fadlān to accelerate the reduction of the garrisons mentioned above (600). The troops of Fārs duly arrived and delivered Kirmān definitively from the Shabānkāra. An expedition which Muḥarriz undertook in revenge had no results except bringing about once more more severe devastations.

In 658 (1260) Hūllāgī destroyed Ig and killed the Shabānkāra Amir Muḥarriz Muḥammad; afterwards, in the year 694/1295 we find Shabānkāra among the countries which, according to the treaty between Balid Khān and Ghāzīn Khān, fell to the lot of Ghāzīn. For the year 712/1312 mention is made of an insurrection of the Shabānkāra against the authority of Uljāitū Khān. It was repressed by Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥaffar, who later became the first historically important member of the Muḥaffarid dynasty. It was the princes of that house who definitely put an end to the power of the Shabānkāra. In the year 755 or 756 (1354 or 1355) the last Shabānkāra ruler, the Malik Ardāshīr, refused to obey the orders of the Muḥaffarid Muḥarriz al-Dīn. The latter sent his son Maḥmūd with an army to chastise the Kāndīsh prince. Maḥmūd subdued the country and obliged Ardāshīr to fly. From this time onwards Shabānkāra forms a part of the Muḥaffarid empire; incidentally, in the year 765 (1363/1364), we hear of a *ḥākim* of Shabān-

kāra on behalf of the Muḥaffarid kings (G. M. S., XIV/i. 698). After the time of this dynasty mention is found of Shabānkāra as one of the fiefs (*ḥif*) held by Bāghughur Behlūdūr (Dawlat-shāh, *Tadhkirā*, ed. Browne, p. 351).

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AL-SHĀ'BI, AND 'AMR b. SHARĀHIL b. 'AMR AL-SHĀ'BI, traditionist, was one of the many South-Arabians who gained prominence in the early days of Islām. He was descended from the clan Shā'b, which is a branch of the large tribe of Hamdān, and was born in al-Kufa, where his father Sharāhil was one of the foremost of the *ḥurrā* or Kur'an readers. There is a great divergence in the dates assigned as the year of his birth, but we may assume that the date which he himself gives is approximately correct. He stated that he was born in the year of the battle of Djalila', which took place in the year 19/640, but, according to another statement, his mother was one of the captives made after that battle, so that the year 20 given by other authorities may be more accurate. He himself tells us that when al-Ḥajjāj came as governor to al-Kufa in the year 75 he had him called to enquire from him about the conditions of the city and finding him well-informed he made him spokesman (*arif*) of the tribesmen of Hamdān and settled a salary upon him. He kept in favour with al-Ḥajjāj till the time of the rebellion of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ash'ath (in 81/700) when several of the chief *ḥurrā* of the city came to him telling him that he, as the foremost of their class in the city, ought to take part in the rising and finally persuaded him to join them. He actually went so far as to address the opposing armies and overwhelm al-Ḥajjāj with reproaches. The latter when informed about it said:

*Do not be surprised at this Sha'bi, the villain; if God grant me that I get hold of him, I shall make this world narrower for him than a camel's hide".

Soon after, the army of Ibn al-Ash'ath was defeated (in 83 A.H.) at Dair al-Djamidim and al-Sha'bi to preserve his life went into hiding. When he learned that al-Hadidj had granted an amnesty to all who joined the army of Kutaba b. Muslim, which was being raised to be sent to Kharrān, he obtained through a friend a donkey and provisions and went to Farghāna. Here he remained unknown but was able to get into favour with Kutaba who employed him as secretary. From one of his letters al-Hadidj guessed that it was al-Sha'bi who was the composer and commanded Kutaba to send him back to him without delay. Al-Sha'bi had been for a long time on friendly terms with Ibn Abi Muslim, the chamberlain of al-Hadidj, and the latter had probably spoken in his favour before al-Sha'bi arrived before the governor. Ibn Abi Muslim and other friends advised al-Sha'bi what excuses to make, but when he came before al-Hadidj he silently endured the many reproaches of ill-rewarded favours which he made and then admitted his guilt and stupidity. Al-Hadidj, who must have valued his learning perhaps more than his position among his tribesmen, readily forgave him.

His reputation must have reached the caliph 'Abd al-Malik for he sent to al-Hadidj to send al-Sha'bi to him and he spent the next few years at the court in Damascus. It is difficult to credit the account of the three years till the death of 'Abd al-Malik as, on the authority of al-Sha'bi himself, we are told that he was employed on two very important missions, one to the Greek emperor to Constantinople and the other to the caliph's brother 'Abd al-'Aziz who was governor of Egypt. The first mission related by al-Sha'bi himself was remarkable on account of the fact that the emperor tried to make the caliph suspicious against his ambassador, in which he was not successful on account of the straightforwardness of al-Sha'bi. The mission to Egypt was of the most honourable character, the caliph recommending the ambassador in flattering terms to his brother. The favour of the caliph did not confine itself to the person of al-Sha'bi, but we are told that thirty other members of his family were with him and all received salaries. After being present at the caliph's death-bed he appears to have gone after the decease of 'Abd al-Malik back to al-Kūfa and died there a short time before the death of al-Hasan al-Basri, who died in 110/728. Here again the dates given by various authors differ very much; every year from 103 to 110 is mentioned, the latter being probably the right one.

As regards his personal appearance, al-Sha'bi was a slim, little man and he himself attributed it to having been born a twin. His mental qualities must have been great, in contrast with other theologians he had a sense of humour. The celebrated traditionalist al-A'mash was asked why he did not go to hear traditions from al-Sha'bi; he replied: "Because as soon as he sees me coming he makes fun of me and says: Does this look like a man of learning? He looks just like a weaver!"

But Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'i received him with honour. Al-Sha'bi is said to have stated that he had heard traditions from more than 500 Companions and the general judgment of critics is very favour-

able as regards his trustworthiness. Among his many pupils was the great lawyer Abū Hanīfa whose oldest authority he was, and it is not surprising that his authority is cited no less than 37 times in the *Kitaḥ al-Kharāj* of Abū Yūsuf, the chief pupil of Abū Hanīfa. The passages in which he is cited in the canonical books of traditions are too numerous to be counted. Though he himself did not claim to be a lawyer it was the custom of lawyers in al-Kūfa to go to him for advice. He himself said: "I am not a *faqīh*, but I deliver those principles which have been handed down to me and they judge in accordance with them." He was a strong opponent of judging by analogy (*ra'y*) and examples are quoted by several of his biographers of his refutations of the principles of analogy. It is, however, not only in traditions that he handed down information; we owe to him a great amount of our knowledge of the history of the time of the Umayyads; a glance into the index of the annals of al-Ṭabarī will suffice to confirm this. He himself said that he could recite poetry for a month and not exhaust the store of his knowledge in this branch of learning. He did not compose any books — the time had not yet come — and he is stated to have said that he had never put a single line in black and white but related all from memory. This can only apply to the transmission of knowledge, as we have from him himself the admission that he acted as secretary to Kutaba.

Bibliography: His name is mentioned in nearly every book dealing with early Islam; the principal sources for his biography are: *Kitaḥ al-Aghani*, Index; al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, Index; Ibn al-Kaṣir, *Djām' bain 'l-Riḡāl*, Haidarābād 1323, p. 377; al-Sam'ānī, *Anṣab*, ed. Margoliouth in *G.M.S.*, 1912, fol. 334 recto; Ibn al-Kaṣir, *Homonyma*, ed. Leiden 1865, p. 261; Ibn Khallikān, *Cairo* 1310, l. 244; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahḍīb*, Haidarābād 1328, v. 65-69; al-Dhahabī, *Tahḍīb al-Huff*, Haidarābād, l. 69-77.

SHABIB b. YAZID b. NU'AIM AL-SHAIBANI, a Kharijite leader. He belonged to the region of al-Mawṣil, to which his family had migrated from the oasis of al-Lasaf in the Kūfa desert, and was born in Dhu 'l-Hijja 25 (Sept./Oct. 646) or 26 (Sept./Oct. 647). In the beginning of 76 (695) he joined Sa'īd b. Musarrāh, the leader of the Kharijites in Dār al-Naṣīb and Mārdīn and when the latter was slain on 17th Djumādī I (2 Sept. 695) in battle against the troops of al-Hadidj [q.v.] under al-Ḥarith b. 'Umayr al-Hamdānī at the village of al-Mudabbaj between al-Mawṣil and al-'Irāq, Shabīb assumed command and with the little body that survived fought his way through to the border country belonging to al-Mawṣil. During the whole of the war with the government troops he showed himself a master of guerrilla warfare. He never remained long on the same spot but continually changed his place of abode and was on good terms with the Christian inhabitants of the country. He was therefore easily able to find shelter for his force which was always very small, although the statements of the Arab historians regarding the smallness of the number of his followers in contrast to the strong bodies of government troops seem somewhat exaggerated, and he was always well informed regarding the enemy's movements. After his defeat

of the 'Anaza and the Banū Shalbān, he took his mother who lived on the slope of Mount Sā'idamānabi Mawṣil and went farther south. Sufyān b. Abī 'l-ʿAlīya al-Khath'amī was defeated at Shā-nikhān and Sawra b. Abdjār (al-Hurr) al-Tamīmī at al-Nahrawān, whereupon al-Hadīdīdī returned collected a new army and put al-Djāzī b. Sa'īd al-Kindī in command. The latter showed the greatest caution in following up his dangerous enemy, was always on his guard and ready for battle, and entrenched himself at night. An attack made by Shabīb failed. Al-Hadīdīdī who wanted a speedy end to the long struggle, then appointed Sa'īd b. al-Mudjalīd al-Hamdānī and ordered him to attack at once, but he was killed. His successor Suwaid b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sa'dī could do nothing and suddenly Shabīb appeared before Kūfa on the same day as al-Hadīdīdī returned from a journey to Baṣra. In the night Shabīb even entered the town and knocked at the gate of the citadel with a mighty blow from his mace, but on the following morning he had disappeared again. Al-Hadīdīdī then sent a body of cavalry under Zahr b. Kais al-Djā'fī against him; Zahr was however defeated at al-Sallāhīn and when Zayda b. Kudāma, who succeeded him had fallen at Rūdhbar, Shabīb threatened the town of al-Madīn. A new army was at once equipped and the command given to 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad b. al-Ash'ath al-Kindī [q. v.] who pursued the same cautious tactics as al-Djāzī. As he did not succeed in gaining a decision, al-Hadīdīdī became impatient and replaced him by 'Othmān b. Kaṭan al-Hārithī, who was defeated and killed in Dhu 'l-Hijja 76 (March 696) on the river Ḥawlayā. While Shabīb was spending the next three months in the mountains, al-Hadīdīdī again collected a strong army the command of which was given to 'Atūb b. Warḳā al-Riyāhī. In the meanwhile al-Madīn fell to Shabīb without a blow being struck. Soon afterwards he attacked the troops sent against him at Suk Ḥakama near Kūfa. 'Atūb was killed and Shabīb was once more victorious. He therefore again threatened Kūfa; al-Hadīdīdī, however, had already appealed to the caliph for help, 4,000 men under Sufyān b. al-Ahrad al-Kalbi soon arrived and there was again a battle at Kūfa, in which Shabīb had the worst of it and had to take to flight to save himself. After an indecisive fight at al-Anḥār he went to Dīkḥā, i.e. the region of al-Nahrawān, did not stay long there but went to Kirmān. When the Syrians pursuing him approached he went to meet them, crossed the Dūdīl into al-Ahwāz to attack Sufyān but was forced to retreat after a desperate struggle and was drowned while crossing the river (probably at the end of 77 = spring of 697). Shabīb's appearance was in keeping with his almost legendary exploits. He was very tall and is said to have possessed extraordinary physical strength.

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(K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

SHABWA, a town in South Arabia, 6 hours' journey from al-Sifil in the Wādī Djerdān and 2 days' journey (in Ibn al-Mudjāwī 9 parasangs) S.W. of al-'Alī, about 3850 feet above sea-level. The town is mentioned as early as the Ḥaḍramūt dedicatory inscription Oviander 29.6 (שְׁבוּרָה שִׁבְוָה), Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* vi. 28, 154; xii. 14, 52) knows it by the name of Sabota as the capital of Ḥaḍramūt. According to him it was built on a high hill and had 60 temples within its walls. According to the authorities from whom C. Landberg got his information about Shabwa, the old town is actually on a hill called Karn, the only elevation in the wide plain, close to the modern settlement. Ruins on a great scale still exist on the top of the hill, enclosed by a wall; large buildings with columns and statues are still standing. Glaser also describes Shabwa as the centre of many ruins between Baiḥān and Shibām.

Al-Bakrī alone among the Arab geographers describes Shabwa as the first town in Ḥaḍramūt; the others transfer it to the region between Baiḥān and Ḥaḍramūt so that they do not include it in the latter. A. Sprenger (p. 306) suggested that this limitation of the geographical conception of Ḥaḍramūt was a natural result of the Himyarite conquest. Shabwa indeed is actually described as a Himyar town. Al-Hamdānī says that the people of Shabwa left the town during the war between Madhijīdī and Himyar and settled in Ḥaḍramūt. The new settlement was called Shibām after them, originally Shibāh; a *min* was put in place of the *h*. According to L. Hirsch this town is 6 days' east of the ancient Shabwa. D. H. Müller in the critical notes to his edition of al-Hamdānī (p. 89) has however described the connection of Shibām and Shabwa as sheer imagination on the part of South Arabian scholars. In any case there is evidence for Shibwa as a second pronunciation alongside of Shabwa. That the latter is older may well be deduced from Pliny's Sabota.

In ancient times Shabwa was the centre of the frankincense trade and of the trade between Egypt and India, which brought to Rome via Gharra (Gaza) the rarest products of Arabia and China. Shabwa is still connected by three caravan routes with the north. One leads from Najrān via 'Elāib, al-Setima, Ruwaik, Šafir, 'Irq Musabbah to Shabwa, a second from Najrān via Khabbī, the Djawf Mārib, 'Irq Dakhaim to Shabwa and the third via Mārib, Wādī Ḥarīb, al-Ayādim, Djaww al-Kudāif to Shabwa. The town however no longer plays an important part in commerce and is only of importance for its salt trade. Even in al-Hamdānī's time Shabwa was famous for its salt deposits. The salt-hill called Haid al-Meleh, is two hours west of Shabwa and is still being worked; the diggings are open and still confined to the foot of the hill so that there is salt here for centuries still.

The ancient ruins of the city have given rise to many legends. Al-Maḥrizī says that there is the tomb of a giant in Shabwa, whose bone from knee to foot measured 13 ells. Yāqūt (iv. 184) mentions that the tomb of the prophet Šalīb [q. v.] — which others say is in Mekka — is here and that the footprints of the Prophet's she-camel were to be seen there. As, according to C. Landberg (*Arabica* v. 248) Shabwa has nothing to do with the Sahwa visited by von Wrede — the latter is identified with a Sahwa in a valley a considerable distance from Shabwa — this tomb cannot be identical with the Himyar tomb described by von Wrede (p. 245). Yāqūt (iii. 257)

besides knows a castle on mount Raima (now the Djebel Rēma) in Yemen also called Shabwa.

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SHADD (or **RAWT AL-MIḤZAM**), "ligature", "knot", "girt which is bound"; this is the most important rite in the initiation ceremony practised since at least the twelfth century A. D. in the guilds of artisans (*ḥirfa*, cf. *ṣina*) as well as in certain mystical congregations (cf. *ṭarīqa*). At his initiation before the body of initiates, the candidate (*maḥḥūd*) if he is a Muslim, takes part if required in the recitation of the *fātiḥa*, the 7 *salūm*'s, the *naḥḥūd* in honour of the Prophet, the latter preceded by his taking a preliminary oath. Then comes the *shadd*; the novice bends down and is "bound" by the initiator (*naḥḥūd*), either on the body, the head, or the shoulder (cf. the Turkish miniature in *Islam*, vi. 171), with a knot of material, a shawl of silk or wool (*miḥzam*), a cloth handkerchief (*fāṭa*, *mandil*, *ghaiba*, *sumnār*), or a simple piece of string (*maṣṭūl*). Several successive twists, knots or turns are made in the cord, usually 4 (sometimes 3, 7 or 8); prayers are recited at each twist invoking some patron saint; when there are four of them, the prayer is in honour of the *maḥḥūd*, Gabriel, Muhammad, 'Alī and Salmān; in this case, two supplementary knots are added (called *gharān*, *shakla*) in honour of Hasan and Husain.

The *shadd* is characteristic of the solemn initiation 'alā ḥisāq Allāh, fī ma'idūn 'All, bayn al-fityān; it binds the initiate, whether he be Muslim, Christian or Jew to the corporation as a body, as the 'ahd al-ḥirfa of the mystics binds one to the whole brotherhood; on the other hand, the *ṭaḥḥūm*, called "pact without a knot" is a private

pact of brotherhood binding to a single individual only by a kind of foster-brotherhood (cf. 'ahd al-yad wa 'biḥḥūd or *ṭalḥin*, for the novice mystic).

After the *shadd*, the initiate is sometimes partially shaved (forelock, moustache or beard); then he puts on a special dress (*libās*, *sarḥall*) in the old guilds; *ḥirka* on the shoulders and *ṭaḥḥūd* [*ḥalāh* or *ḥarmus*, according to Bakli as early as 570 (1174) or *ṭaḥḥūd*] on the head, in the congregations. The initiate's solemn pledge is then taken ('ahd, bay'a, *muḥḥūd*, *miḥḥūd* al-*ḥabā*), certain esoteric instruction on his new duties is given him with permission to make use of it (*idḥān*). He then takes his place with his brethren on the carpet of initiation (*ḥisāq*, *saḥḥūd*), for the traditional meal (*ṭamṭiḥ* *waṭṭima*).

During the last forty years this rite has begun to disappear with the gradual disappearance of the old guilds. Some congregations (*Rifā'iya* and *Bakṭā'iya*), however, have still preserved the solemn *shadd*.

Thorning was the first to study and classify methodically the esoteric manuscripts relating to the guilds, or *ḥirka* al-*futuwwa*, which describe this ritual (they are a kind of catechism of initiation, like the masonic handbooks, compiled in vulgar Arabic with some Persian terms: *darṭūr* "by your leave", *ḥir*, *ḥār*); the earliest manuscript is dated 844 (1440) but the text is of the thirteenth century; an inscription found by van Berchem in Egypt alludes to them as early as 771 (1369); the Caliph Nāḥir (d. 622/1225) is remembered for having based his attempt at an order of chivalry (*libās* al-*futuwwa*) on the rite of *shadd*, which is found even earlier in 578 (1182) among the *Nubūḥiya* of Damascus, and in 535 (1140) in a guild of thieves of Baghdad (cf. also Ibn al-Djāwzi, *Taḥḥūd*, ed. Cairo 1340, p. 42').

Its origins are still more remote, if we remember the significance from the fourth century A. D. among the mystics of the words already mentioned *ḥisāq*, *fāṭa*, and especially *futuwwa* [q. v.], this "knightly honour" which no threat nor prayer could turn from regarding their oaths (like Satan damned for his fidelity to the monotheistic pact, which he had taken, according to Hallāj, *Tawḥīd*, vi. 20—25; Abū Ṭālib al-Makki, *Kāṭ al-ḥalāh*, Cairo 1310, ii., p. 82, 1. 2—3; Ahmad Ghazālī quoted in Ibn al-Djāwzi, *ḥirka*, Leiden MS., cod. Wam. 998, f. 117^a sq.). The appropriation to the *shadd* of Kur'an, vii. 171 and xlviii. 10 seems to be more modern. But certain elements of the ritual itself are ancient, probably of extremist Shi'a origin. It is not by chance that the sect of the Nusairis who practice initiation as reformed by Khayṣi and Taharāni in the fourth century A. D., already credits Salmān with the same qualities as initiator as do the guild catechisms describing the *shadd*; besides the oath of secrecy and the right to initiate non-Muslim monotheists point to the Karmatians.

Bibliography: H. Thorning, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der islamischen Verbindungen auf Grund von 'Bast madad et taufiq* (Türkische Bibliothek, xvi.), Berlin 1913, p. 1—7, 123—164 and 197—199; this is the standard work; cf. also v. Krenet, *Culturgeschichte*, ii. 187; Elia Koudsi, in *VII Congrès des orientalistes*, Leiden 1884, ii., p. 134; Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, 1899, ii., p. lxxvii.—lxxxix; Köprülüzaḍe, *Türk Adabiyatında ilk Mutavvıf*, Stamboul 1919, p. 412.

(LOUIS MASSIGNON)

SHADDĀD, BANU. The Banū Shaddād, of whom there is little record, ruled over Arrān from 340—468—951/952—1075/1067 when most of the country was conquered and annexed by Malik-Shāh. Members of the family continued, however, to hold governorships in various districts, such as Gandja and Ānī, which they purchased from the Seldjūqs, at any rate down to the end of the 15th/16th century. They were probably Kurds. The principal towns included in Arrān were Nakhčevān, Gandja, Tiflis, Damiškapa and Karabagh. The inhabitants were called *شاد* or *Lesghians*.

In 337/948 the Musafirid ruler of Ādharbāidjān, the Salār Marzubān Muḥammad, was captured before the gates of Raiy, whereupon that country was thrown into confusion and any chief who had a following set himself up as independent governor of some town or district. Among these was a certain Muḥammad b. Shaddād b. Kaṭrā, who, having first made himself master of Dabul by 340/951, became practical ruler of Ādharbāidjān, which he apparently held intact until 344/955 when his power began to decline, and in 360/970 his son succeeded only to the province of Arrān. There was about this time a ruler of Gandja named Faḍlān who was possibly a brother of Muḥammad b. Shaddād. The son of Muḥammad b. Shaddād b. Kaṭrā was Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Dja'far Lashkari, who reigned for eight years and was succeeded by his brother Marzubān, who after a reign of seven years was killed by another brother named Faḍl b. Muḥammad while out hunting. Faḍl, by his good government, made himself loved of the people, and among his memorable acts was the building of a vast bridge across the river Araxes. He died in 423/1031 after a reign of 47 years and was succeeded by his son Abu 'l-Faḥ Mūsā, who, after a reign of three years, was succeeded by his son Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Mūsā Lashkari, who reigned down to his death in 440/1048. This Abu 'l-Ḥasan was one of the patrons of the poet Kaṭrān [q.v.] in Gandja. He was succeeded by his son Nūshirwān, who, dying three months later, was succeeded by Abu 'l-Aswār Shāwir b. al-Faḍl, of whom more is known than of the other members of this dynasty, for he is mentioned more than once by Kābūs in his *Kābūs-nāma*, and Ibn al-Athīr tells us that he swore allegiance to Tughril when the latter visited Gandja in 446/1054 after his conquest of Tabriz. Abu 'l-Aswār died in 459/1067 and was succeeded by his son al-Faḍl II Minūčīhr. Kābūs (*op. cit.*) writing in 468/1075 refers to Faḍlān b. Abu 'l-Aswār in the past tense, and it would appear that with the death of this Faḍlān and the annexation of Arrān by Malik Shāh the independence of the Banū Shaddād came to an end, and from this point it is very difficult to follow the history of the family. This Faḍlān was presumably the patron of this name so often addressed by Kaṭrān, and is also the subject of several anecdotes in the *Kābūs-nāma*. He apparently ruled over Gandja, Ānī and Tovin.

According to Khanikoff (*Bull. Acad. Petr.*, 1849, vi. 195), al-Faḍl II Minūčīhr had two sons, Faḍlān, who was Amir of Gandja when that city was captured by Malik-Shāh in 481/1088, and Abu 'l-Aswār II Shāwir, who was Amir of Ānī when that city was captured by King David the Restorer in 518/1124. This Abu 'l-Aswār II Shāwir had a

son Maḥmūd, who had a son Kai-Sultān, of whom we know from an inscription found in Ānī bearing the date 595 (1198), where he calls himself Kai-Sultān b. Maḥmūd b. Shāwir b. Minūčīhr al-Shaddādī.

RULERS OF THE HOUSE OF THE BANU SHADDĀD.

1. Muḥammad b. Shaddād, A. H. 340. In Gandja Faḍlān I;
2. Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Dja'far Lashkari, A. H. 360—368;
3. Marzubān, A. H. 368—375;
4. al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad, A. H. 375—422;
5. Abu 'l-Faḥ Mūsā, A. H. 422—425;
6. Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Mūsā Lashkari, A. H. 425—440;
7. Nūshirwān b. 'Alī b. Mūsā, A. H. 440;
8. Abu 'l-Aswār Shāwir b. al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad, A. H. 440—459;
9. al-Faḍl Minūčīhr b. Shāwir, Faḍlān II of Gandja;
10. Abu 'l-Muḥaffar, Faḍlān III of Gandja;
11. Abu 'l-Aswār Shāwir b. Minūčīhr of Ānī, d. A. H. 468;
12. Abu 'l-Faḥ Dja'far b. 'Alī b. Mūsā of Ālān, d. A. H. 470;
13. Maḥmūd b. Shāwir b. Minūčīhr b. Shāwir b. al-Faḍl of Ānī;
14. Kai-Sultān b. Maḥmūd b. Shāwir of Ānī, still alive in A. H. 595.

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(E. DENISON ROSS)

AL-SHĀDHILĪ, ABU 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ b. 'ABD ALLĀH b. 'ABD AL-DJABRĀK AL-SHARĪF AL-ZARWILĪ, a celebrated mystic, founder of the Muslim religious brotherhood or *ṭarīqa* [q.v.] known as the *Shādhiliya* [q.v.], which has itself given rise to some fifteen other brotherhoods like the *Wefā'iya*, the *'Arifiya*, the *Djāfiliya*, the *Hafnawiya* etc. etc.

He was born, according to some, at Ghemāra near Ceuta about 593 (1196/1197); others say he was born at Shādhilā, a place near the Djabal Zafrān in Tunisia from which he would take his *nishā* of al-Shādhilī. In any case the ethnic al-Zarwīlī would suggest a Moroccan origin. His disciples attributed a nobler origin to him and trace his descent back to the Prophet through the line of al-Ḥasan.

From his youth al-Shādhilī had devoted himself to study with such ardour that he contracted a serious disease of the eyes; perhaps he became blind. Henceforth he devoted himself completely

to the doctrines of the mystic Šafīs (cf. the art. TAŠAWWUF). In Fās he had attended the lectures of the adepts of the great eastern mystic Džunaid, particularly those of Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Hirzīm, himself a pupil of Abū Mīdyān Šu'āib of Tlemcen. But it was only under the influence of the Moroccan Šafī 'Abd al-Salām b. Mašūh that the subject of our article went to Ifrīkiya to the reign of Tunis to spread his doctrines. Persecuted for his teaching and especially for his influence on the people, he took refuge in Alexandria in Egypt where his popularity extended and increased. According to some of his biographers, he could not leave his house without being followed by crowds. He made many pilgrimages to Mekka, on the last of which he died at Hamašīrā while crossing a desert in Upper Egypt (656 = 1258). His tomb, which was an object of great veneration and pilgrimage, is surmounted by a dome, the gift of a Mamlūk Sultān of Egypt (Cf. al-Batānīnī, *Riḥla* p. 29). Silvestre de Sacy gives another tradition (*Chrestomathie*, ii. 233), according to which he is buried in the region of Mokha.

Al-Šādhilī led the life of a *Šāikh* [q. v.] *Ṣūfī* or religious man seeking through a wandering life of meditation constant union with the divinity, eternal ecstasy. He taught his disciples the entire devotion of life to the service of God. He recommended them to pray at all hours, in all places and in all circumstances and the practice of *tašawwuf*; his profession of faith was the *taḥḥid*. His immediate pupils had no *khawā* (a kind of hermitage), nor monastery, nor noisy practices nor juggleries. Among his many disciples the most famous were in Egypt Tādj al-Dīn b. 'Aṭā Allāh and Abū 'I-Abbās al-Mursī; in the North-west of Africa the most of the Muslim religious brotherhoods claim to follow his teaching.

Al-Šādhilī left a number of works of which the majority are *ḥisb* [q. v.], a kind of formula of prayer for recitation, either regularly or in case of need. They are entitled:

1. *al-Muḥadditha al-ghāfiya li 'I-djām'a al-ashkariya*; 2. *Kitāb al-Uḥwā*; 3. *Ḥisb al-barr*; 4. *Ḥisb al-baḥr*; 5. *Ḥisb al-kabr*; 6. *Ḥisb al-jam'* *alā 'ayn al-aidū*; 7. *Ḥisb al-naḥr*; 8. *Ḥisb al-luṭf*; 9. *Ḥisb al-faḥ*, also called *Ḥisb al-annūr*; 10. *Ṣalāt al-faḥ wa 'I-maḡrib*; 11. various prayers or litanies; 12. lastly a *Waḡiya*, a kind of religious charge to his disciples.

Bibliography: M. Ben Cheneb, *Étude sur les personnages mentionnés dans l'Iḡwā du Cheikh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Fary*, N° 339, and the Arabic sources cited, Paris 1907; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 449; Depont and Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897, p. 444; Douitté, *L'Islam algérien*, Algiers 1900, p. 78; Massignon, *al-Hallaj*, Paris 1922, i. 424 and passim; Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouans*, Algiers 1884, p. 220. (A. COUR)

ŠĀDHILĪYA, or **ŠĀDHILĪYA**, pronounced in Africa *Shāduliya*, *Sūfī* sect called after Abū 'I-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Šādhilī, whose title is variously given as Tādj al-Dīn and Taḡī al-Dīn (593-656 A.H.). For the life of this personage see the art. AL-ŠĀDHILĪ.

His system. Al-Šādhilī does not appear to have composed any large work, but many sayings, spells and an ode are ascribed to him, and since some of the first are recorded in the work of his

disciple's disciple, Tādj al-Dīn al-Iskandari, composed in 694, they may be to some extent genuine (see the art. AL-ŠĀDHILĪ). The best known of his productions is the *Ḥisb al-Baḥr* "Incantation of the Sea", which was reproduced by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (i. 41), whence the translation is copied by L. Rinn (*Marabouts et Khouans*, p. 229). Extraordinary powers are ascribed to it by Ḥājjī Khalīfa (iii. 58), and its author thought it might have prevented the fall of Baghdad; several commentaries on it are enumerated. Several other incantations and prayers are given in the *Laṭā'if* (ii. 47-66) and the *Mafāḥīr* (p. 135 *seq.*). The latter of these works also contains fairly lengthy discourses, in some of which the stages through which the *murīd* should pass are described in detail, though the language is, as usual in such cases, not intelligible to the ordinary reader. It would appear from these that al-Šādhilī's aim was in the main the inculcation of the higher morality, such as is found in the works which he approved, viz. the *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* and the *Kut al-Kulūb*; and indeed the five principles (*uṣūl*) of his system are given as (1) fear of Allāh in secret and open; (2) adherence to the Sunna in words and deeds; (3) contempt of mankind in prosperity and adversity; (4) resignation to the will of Allāh in things great and small; (5) having recourse to Allāh in joy and sorrow.

It would seem unlikely that it was his intention to found an order in the sense which afterwards became attached to the word *ṭarīqa*. He desired his adherents to pursue the trades and professions in which they were engaged, combining, if possible, their normal activities with acts of devotion. Anecdotes are recorded of men who offered to abandon their employments and follow the saint, who urged them to continue working at the same. Mendicancy was discouraged and even government subsidies for their meeting-houses were, it is asserted, refused. Indeed the erection of *ṭawāyif* and similar buildings does not seem to have been contemplated by al-Šādhilī or his successor Abū 'I-Abbās, who is praised by his biographer for never placing stone on stone. Even the holding of high office with ample emoluments and a luxurious mode of living was not discouraged; and this doctrine, as will be seen, survived till recent times among adherents of the system.

Doubtless the ultimate aim of al-Šādhilī was, as with other *Sūfīs*, *al-faḥ*, and the method pursued was the usual one of the religious exercises called *awrād* and *adhkār*. Formulae, as usual, were selected and their repetition a stated number of times enjoined. Lists of these with the ritual appertaining to them are given in the *Mafāḥīr* (p. 125, 126). The *ṣāikh*, indeed, is said to have adapted his recommendations to the needs of each *murīd* and to have given each permission to follow some other *ṣāikh*, if he found his methods more effective. The use of such formulae, however, is not easily separated from the supposed acquisition of miraculous powers, which are described in the *Mafāḥīr* (*loc. cit.*): "The least of their (the *Shādhilīs*) messengers are blindness, crippling and desolation", but there was some doubt whether they were justified in sending them on their enemies.

Apart from their mysterious knowledge the leaders of the system claimed to be strictly orthodox, and, indeed, when a revelation which one

of the adherents received conflicted with a *sunna* he was told to reject the former in favour of the latter. In spite of this some of al-Shādhilī's assertions incurred the censure of Ibn Taimiya, whose supporters in this matter in turn incurred the censure of the historian al-Yaḥṣī (iv. 142).

The three specialties which the members of the sect claimed were: (1) that they are all chosen from the "well-guarded Tablet", i. e. have been predestined from all eternity to belong to it; (2) that ecstasy with them is followed by sobriety, i. e. does not permanently incapacitate them from active life; (3) that the *ḥaṣṣ* will throughout the ages be one of them.

Spread of the system. The absence at the first of religious buildings renders it difficult to trace the progress of the community. It seems clear that the first group of adherents was formed in Tunis; al-Shādhilī's successor, however, Abu 'l-Abbās al-Murāṣ (d. 686) lived 36 years in Alexandria, "without once seeing the face of the governor or sending to him" (*Lafā'if*, i. 128), and, as has been seen, did not lay stone on stone; still 'Alī Pasha Muḥarrak (*Khiṣṣat Dīdida*, vii. 69) records the existence there of a mosque bearing his name (restored 1189 = 1775/1776), doubtless built by his disciples; also of one called after his disciple Yaḥyā al-'Arāḍī (d. 707) and a third called after their joint disciple Tādī al-Dīn b. 'Alī al-Iskandarī (d. 709; author of the *Lafā'if*). The first of these is called a *ḡāwī* and is richly endowed. There are *ḡawā'id* celebrated in honour of the first two of these persons. The Pasha states that the mosques are chiefly frequented by Maghrebines; he mentions a mosque belonging to the order in Cairo, which, however, is in ruins. It is probable that the adherents of al-Shādhilī were at all times to be found chiefly in the West of Egypt; but H. H. Jessup (*Fifty-three Years in Syria*, ii. 537) asserts that they were in his time numerous in Syria and advocated the reading of the Old and New Testaments and fraternisation with Christians. In 1892 a lady adherent, "from Korass in the Bukaa, North of Mt. Hermon", set out on a preaching tour in Syria; she advocated reform and an upright life and insisted that all, Muslims, Christians and Jews, are brothers. She preached in the mosques in Damascus, Hasbeia, Sidon, Tyre and other cities, rebuking the sins of the people. It would seem certain that religious toleration of this sort by no means coincided with the views of the founder of the order.

It was reported by C. Niebuhr (*Reisbeschreib. nach Arabien*, i. 439; French transl., i. 350) that in Mokha in S. Arabia Shaikh al-Shādhilī was regarded as the patron saint of the place and, indeed, the originator of coffee-drinking; and S. de Sacy afterwards (*Christi. Arabi*, ii. 274) produced from the *Dīḥān-munā* a passage relating how al-Shādhilī came to Arabia in 656, and the series of miracles which led to the production of coffee becoming the staple industry of Mokha. It is more probable that the patron of Mokha is a later member of the sect, 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Kurashī (whose verses are cited in the *Mafāḥīr*, p. 7), a disciple (and probably cousin) of Najār al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Dā'im b. al-Mallāk (d. 797), head of the order in his time (Ritter, *Erdenkunde*, *Arabien*, ii. 572). It is not clear from Niebuhr's account how far the people of Mokha in his time observed the Shādhilī ritual or be-

longed to the community. Since Niebuhr's time the place has seriously diminished in importance, being now "a dead-alive mouldering town whose trade as a port for coffee and hides has been killed" (G. Wyman Bury, *Arabia Infelix*, 1915, p. 24).

The main seat of the Shādhilī community appears then to have been Africa west of Egypt, and chiefly Algeria and Tunisia. Materials for the religious history of this region are at present scanty; from a MS. called *Tahkāt Wad Jaifulla*, written 1805 A. D., MacMichael produces the following excerpt relating to a shaikh who died A. H. 1155 (*A History of the Arabs of the Sudan*, ii. 250):

"It was characteristic of him (Ehoggali b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ibrāhīm) that he held to the Book and the Law [*sunna*] and followed [the precepts and example of] the Shādhaliya Sayyids as to word and deed. And he used to wear gorgeous raiments, such as a green robe of Bagra, and upon his head a red fez [*ṣarfūsā*], and round it as a turban rich muslim stuffs. For footwear he wore shoes [*ṣarṣiḡa*]; and he fumigated himself with India-wood [*al-'ūd al-hindī*], and perfumed himself, and put Abyssinian civet on his beard and on his clothes. All this he did in imitation of Sheikh Abu el Hasan el Shādhali And it was remarked to him that the Kādiria only wear cotton shirts and scanty clothes, and he replied 'My clothes proclaim to the world "We are in no need of you," but their clothes say "We are in need of you"'. "

The same notice contains the names of some important members of the order; the shaikh's conduct, as will be seen, agrees exactly with the anecdotes recorded in the *Lafā'if*, and the same is the case with what is told in the next paragraph:

"It was also characteristic of him that he never rose up to salute any of the great ones of the earth, neither the AWLĀN AGHĀ, the rulers of his country, nor the kings of GA'AL, nor any of the nobility, excepting only two men, the successor [*Khalīfa*] of Sheikh Idris and the successor of Sheikh Ṣaghayerūn".

In the nineteenth century the order received considerable extension through the efforts of one "Si Maïsum" Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, born about 1820 among the Ghārib, a tribe located halfway between Bogar and Miliana, whose biography is given in detail by A. Joly in the *Revue Africaine*, 1906, 1907. After studying under certain provincial teachers he went to Marouma, the centre of Muslim studies in Algeria. Having acquired what was to be learned there, he went back to the Ghārib among whom he founded two mosques, in one of which he taught the *Kur'ān* and *Fiqh*, in the other Grammar and Logic. Having associated with members of different orders, he hovered between the Madaniya and the Shādhiliya; in 1860 he visited the shrine of 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Tha'libi near Algiers, and this saint having been a Shādhilī, Si Maïsum became attracted to their doctrine; a member of the order advised him to join it and visit the Shaikh of the order, Adda, at Djahat al-Lah in Walad Lakrend. There he stayed for a time, after which he returned to the Ghārib. By special providence he had been spared the preliminary trials imposed on other aspirants, and instead of starting his career in the order as a *mukaddim*, he was elevated shortly

after joining to the dignity of *Shāikh*. About 1865 he founded a *sāwiya* at Bogari and divided his time between the *Gharib* and Bogari, to the latter of which he ultimately withdrew. In 1866 owing to the death of Adda he became *Shāikh* of the *Shādhiliya* in Central Algeria, though at first he had to contest it with Adda's son. He was offered the headship of a government madrasa at Algiers, but declined. This invitation, however, brought him the acquaintance of European officials, whose respect he enjoyed till his death in 1883. By this time his sphere of influence had extended over the greater part of the Tell Oranais and the whole of Western Algeria. Places where he had *khulafā'* were Mustaghanem, Mascara, Relizane, Nedroma, Oran, Tlemcen. After his death some of these *khulafā'* made themselves independent and the unity of control which he had established came to an end.

Statistics for the end of the last century are given by Depont and Coppolani (p. 454), whence it appears that the number of adherents in Algiers and Constantine did not reach 15,000, with 11 *sāwiya's*. The communities which split off from the *Shādhiliya* are there given as 13 in number, and among these the *Shāikhīya*, *Taibiya* and *Der-kāwiya* are said to be the most numerous.

Although when the community started there appears to have been little in the way of organisation contemplated and the connection between adherents was loose, it is evident that in course of time the normal organisation of a *ṭarīqa* was introduced.

Literature of the Order. It is noticed that neither *Shādhili* himself nor his successor Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Murṣī published any treatises, whereas his disciple Yāqūt al-'Arabi seems to have composed *Manāẓih*, and their joint disciple Tāḡi al-Dīn al-Iskandarī was the author of several works, of which two, *Lafẓif al-Minan*, dealing with the first two heads of the sect, and *Miftāḥ al-Falāḥ wa-Miḥdāḥ al-Arwāḥ*, are printed on the margin of the *Lafẓif al-Minan* of al-Sha'rānī (Cairo 1321). The former of these is the main source of our knowledge of al-*Shādhili's* career. A biography of al-*Shādhili* which cannot have been much later was the *Durrat al-Awṣar* of Muḥammad b. al-Kāsim al-Himyari b. al-Ṣalībāgh, which is excerpted in the *Mafāḥir*. Another biography called *al-Kawāḥib al-Zahira*, by Abu 'l-Faḍl 'Abd al-Qādir b. Mu'airil (d. 894), was excerpted by Haneberg (*Z. D. M. G.*, vii. 14 199.). The general account of the system called *al-Mafāḥir al-'Alīya* ḥ. 'l-Ma'āḥir al-*Shādhiliya* (printed Cairo 1314) by Iḥm lyāḡ is later than al-Suyūṭī. For doctrine this work refers to two *Risāla* called respectively *al-Uṣūl* and *al-Umūmahūt* by Sidi Zarrūk (Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Fīal, d. 896). Haneberg, *loc. cit.*, mentions the *Shādhili* poet 'Alī b. Wafā' (d. 807) and his father Muḥammad Wafā', author of certain mystical works, and a *diwan*, of which the odes breathe for the greater part the spirit of joyous devotion to Allah, without disturbing admixture. A poem called *Ḥal al-Sulūk* by the Nāṣir al-Dīn who has already been mentioned is noticed by Haneberg. A *Shādhili* writer, Dāwūd b. 'Umar b. Ibrāhīm of Alexandria (d. 733), is mentioned by al-Suyūṭī in *Bughyat al-Wa'at*, p. 246.

The chief European literature has been noticed above.

(D. S. MARGOLIOUTH)

SHADJAR AL-DURR is famous as the only woman to sit on the throne of Egypt in the Muslim period. She was the favourite slave of Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Aiyūb (q. v.) who had her sent to his cousin al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dā'ūd in 620 (1223) during his imprisonment. After she had born a son named Khalil, she became Sultāna with the title *Umm Khalil* (mother of Khalil). Khalil died when about 6 years old. When Aiyūb died in Mansūra in 647 (1249) during the war with Louis IX of France, she concealed his death and had his son al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Tūrān Shāh brought back from Mesopotamia. Sultān Aiyūb's death was not announced till his son's arrival. In place of being grateful to her for her help Tūrān Shāh treated her shamefully. Since he had come of age he had not lived for any considerable period at a time in Egypt and he could not come to terms with the Mamlūks, as he was incapable of serious work in those difficult times and led an extravagant life with his own Mamlūks whom he had brought from Mesopotamia. He particularly brought down the wrath of Shadjar al-Durr on himself by demanding from her an account of Aiyūb's wealth, which she said she had spent for the war against the Franks. The general discontent led to a conspiracy against Tūrān Shāh as a result of which he was killed at the beginning of 648 (1250). The followers of Shadjar al-Durr had such confidence in her wisdom and ability that they put the government in her hands. She accepted their choice and on coins and edicts called herself al-Mu'taṣimīya (vassal of the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim in Baghdad), al-Ṣāliḥīya (the slave of Ṣāliḥ Aiyūb), Umm Khalil (from her deceased son), 'Imat al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn (preservation of the world and of religion, i. e. with the sovereign title), Malikat al-Muslīmīn (queen of the Muslims). The Emir Aibak with whom she was already closely associated was appointed her Atābeg (commander-in-chief). While she was recognised in Egypt, the Syrian Emirs declined to do so and handed over Damascus to Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf II. The Caliph took the side of the Syrians and ordered the Egyptian emirs to choose a Sultān. The latter could not evade this command and in the same year chose the Atābeg 'Izz al-Dīn Aibak who thereupon married Shadjar al-Durr. Her period of sole rule had lasted 80 days. As the Aiyūbid princes in Syria were not yet pacified, a scion of their family, Mūsā, a great-grandson of Kāmil was elected Sultān along with him. He was a boy of six and had of course no influence at all, but his name appeared on coins and edicts. Four years later he was banished and went to Constantinople where he received a friendly welcome from the Emperor.

While Aibak was almost entirely occupied with campaigns against the Sultān of Aleppo or rebel Mamlūks and lived in the town of al-Ṣāliḥīya near the Syrian frontier, his queen reigned uncontrolled at home. She had only to deal with the shameless greedy Mamlūks of her first husband, even when it was against Aibak's interest. In her thirst for power, she prevented the latter from visiting his first wife and his son and when later she heard that he was thinking of ridding himself of her and seeking the hand of a Mesopotamian princess of the Zangid house, she decided to anticipate him and offered her hand to the Sultān of Aleppo. It was to some extent a race between

the two to see which would get rid of the other first. By a great display of affection she managed to dispel Aibak's suspicions and to entice him into her palace in the citadel of Cairo. There he was murdered in his bath (655 = 1257) by two Mamlūks devoted to her. When he was attacked and called to her for help, she is said to have struck him with a wooden shoe. Others say that she repented and vainly tried to prevent the murder. But she did not succeed in finding a Mamlūk officer who would share the responsibility with her; all turned in disgust from the murderess. She was seized by the other party and beaten to death with wooden shoes by the slave women of Aibak's first wife. Her body was thrown into the castle moat and lay unburied for days. Later it was placed in the little mausoleum which still stands in Cairo. She was the most vigorous woman that the Muslim period in Egypt had seen, but she did nothing good during her reign.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Fidk' in *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Hist. Orientaux*, vol. i., passim; al-Makrīzī, *Khitāt*, ii. 237–248; *Sulūk*, transl. by Quatremère, i. 72 sqq.; Weil, *Geschichte der Chulifen*, iii. 483–487; iv. 4–8. On her tomb see *M.I.F.A.O.*, xix. 111 sqq., 728 (with some important notes on the Sultāna by European writers in Ann. 3), 730.

(SOBERNHHEIM)

SHAFĀ'A (A.), intercession, mediation. He who makes the intercession is called *Shāfi'* and *Shafī'*. The word is also used in other than theological language, e.g. in laying a petition before a king (*Lisān*, s. v.), in interceding for a debtor (Bukhārī, *Islāḥ*, bāb 18). Very little is known of intercession in judicial procedure. In the Ḥadīth it is said: "He who by his intercession puts out of operation one of the *ḥudūd* Allāh is putting himself in opposition to Allāh" (Ibn Ḥanbal, *Muṣnad*, ii. 70, 82; cf. Bukhārī, *Anbiyā'*, bāb 54; *Ḥudūd*, bāb 12).

The word is usually found in the theological sense, particularly in eschatological descriptions; it already occurs in the *Qur'ān* in this use. Muḥammad became acquainted through Jewish and more particularly Christian influences with the idea of eschatological intercession. In Job xxxiii., 23 sqq. (the text is corrupt) the angels are mentioned who intercede for man to release him from death. In Job v. 1, there is reference to the saints (by whom here also angels are probably meant), to whom man turns in his need. Abraham is a mortal saint whom we find interceding in the Old Testament (in the story of Sodom and Gomorrah).

In the apocryphal and pseudopigraphical literature we again find the same classes of beings with the same function. The angels (*Test. Adam*, ix. 3), the saints (1. *Maccab.*, xv. 14; *Assumptio Moisi*, xii. 6). In the early Christian literature the same idea repeatedly occurs, but here we have two further classes of beings; the apostles and the martyrs (cf. Cyril of Jerusalem in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. xxxiii., 1115; patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs; cf. vol. alvi., 850; lxi. 581).

In the *Qur'ān* intercession occurs mainly in a negative context. The day of judgment is described as a day on which no *shafā'a* will be accepted (Sūra, ii. 45, 255). This is directed against Muḥammad's enemies as is evident from Sūra x. 19:

"they serve not Allāh but what brings them neither ill nor good and they say these are our intercessors with Allāh"; cf. also Sūra lxxiv. 49: "the intervention of those who make *shafā'a* will not avail them".

But the possibility of intercession is not absolutely excluded. Sūra xxxix. 45 says: Say: the intercession belongs to Allāh, etc. Passages are fairly numerous in which this statement is defined to mean that *shafā'a* is only possible with Allāh's permission: "Who should intervene with Him, even with His permission" (Sūra ii. 256, cf. x. 3). Those who receive Allāh's permission for *shafā'a* are explained as follows: The *shafā'a* is only for those who have an 'aḥd with the Merciful (Sūra xix. 90) and xliii. 86: "They whom they invoke besides Allāh shall not be able to intercede except those who bear witness to the truth". XXI, 28 is remarkable where the power of intercession is evidently credited to the angels: "they say the Merciful has begotten offspring. Nay they are but His honoured servants who and they offer not to intercede save on behalf of whom it pleaseth Him". It appears that the angels are meant by the honoured servants. Sūra xl. 7 (cf. xliii. 3) is more definite: "Those who bear the throne and surround it sing the praises of their Lord and believe in Him and implore forgiveness for those who believe (saying) 'Our Lord; who embrace all things in mercy and knowledge; bestow forgiveness on them that repent and follow Thy path and keep them from the pains of Hell'".

Such utterances paved the way for an unrestricted adoption by Islām of the principle of *shafā'a*. In the classical Ḥadīth which reflects the development of ideas to about 150 A. H. we already have ample material. *Shafā'a* is usually mentioned here in eschatological descriptions. But it should be noted that the Prophet even in his lifetime is said to have made intercession. 'A'isha relates that he often slipped quietly from her side at night to go to the cemetery of Bakī' al-Qharḳad to beseech forgiveness of Allāh for the dead (Muslim, *Ḍiyā'at*, trad. 102; cf. Tirmidhī, *Ḍiyā'at*, bāb 59). Similarly his *istighfār* is mentioned in the *ḥadīth al-ḍiyā'at* (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Muṣnad*, iv. p. 170) and its efficacy explained (*ibid.*, p. 388). The prayer for the forgiveness of sins then became or remained an integral part of this *ḥadīth* (e.g. Abū Ishāq al-Shirāzī, *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd*, ed. J. W. T. Joyntoll, p. 48) to which a high degree of importance was attributed. Cf. Muslim, *Ḍiyā'at*, trad. 58: "If a community of Muslims, a hundred strong, perform the *ḥadīth* over a Muslim and all pray for his sins to be forgiven him, this prayer will surely be granted"; and Ibn Ḥanbal, iv. 79, 100, where the number a hundred is reduced to three rows (*ḥadīth*).

Muḥammad's intercession at the day of judgment is described in a tradition which frequently occurs (e.g. Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, bāb 19; Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 322, 326–329; Tirmidhī, *Tafīr*, Sūra xvii., trad. 19; Ibn Ḥanbal, i. 4) the main features of which are as follows: On the day of judgment Allāh will assemble the believers; in their need they turn to Adam for his intercession. He reminds them, however, that through him sin entered the world and refers them to Nūḥ. But he also mentions his sins and refers them to Ibrāhīm. In this way they appeal in vain to the great apostles of God until 'Isā finally advises them to

appeal to Muhammad for assistance. The latter will gird himself and with Allāh's permission throw himself before Him. Then he will be told "arise and say, intercession is granted thee". Allāh will thereupon name him a definite number to be released and when he has led these into Paradise, he will again throw himself before his Lord and the same stages will again be repeated several times until finally Muhammad says: "O Lord now there are only left in hell those who, according to the Qur'ān, are to remain there eternally".

This tradition is in its different forms the locus classicus for the limitation of the power of intercession to Muhammad to the exclusion of the other apostles. In some traditions it is numbered among the charismata allotted to him (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb 56).

Muhammad's *shafā'a* then is recognised by the *ijmā'*; it is based on Sūra xvii. 5: "Perhaps the Lord shall call thee to an honourable place"; and on xciii. 5: "and thy Lord shall give a reward with which thou shalt be pleased" (al-Rāzī's commentary i. 351; cf. earlier, Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 320). Muhammad is said to have been offered the privilege of *shafā'a* by a message from his Lord as a choice; the alternative was the assurance that half of his community would enter paradise. Muhammad, however, preferred the right of intercession, doubtless because he thought he would get a considerable result from it (Tirmidhī, *Sīfat al-Kiyāma wa 'l-Kaḥṣ'ish wa 'l-warā'*, bāb 13; Ibn Hanbal, iv. 404).

The traditions describe very vividly how the "people of hell" (*ash-shamāniyūn*) are released from their fearful state. Some have had to suffer comparatively little from the flames; others on the other hand are already in part turned to cinders. They are sprinkled with water from the well of life and they are restored to a healthy condition (e.g. Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 320).

In another class of traditions it is said that every prophet has a "supplication" (*da'wā*) and that Muhammad keeps his secret in order to intercede with Allāh for his community on the day of judgment (cf. e.g. Ibn Hanbal, ii. 313; Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 334 sq.).

Quite in keeping with the Christian view already mentioned, Islām, however, was not content with Muhammad as the advocate. Along with him we find the angels, the apostles, the prophets, the martyrs and the saints. (Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, bāb 24; Ibn Hanbal, iii. 94 sq., 325 sq., v. 43; Abū Dā'ūd, *Ḍiḥād*, bāb 26; al-Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, iii. 6 on Sūra ii. 255; xvi. 85 on Sūra xix. 90; xxi. 91 on Sūra lxxiv. 49; Abū Ṭālib al-Makki, *Kaṭ al-Kaṭūb*, i. 139).

Finally after all these classes have said their word, there is still Allāh's *shafā'a* (Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, bāb 24; cf. Sūra, xxxix. 44). Muhammad's pre-eminence remains inasmuch as he is the first to intercede for his community (Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 330, 332; Abū Dā'ūd, *Kitaḥ al-Sunna*, bāb 13).

Finally the question for whom intercession is effective is discussed. While it is generally said 70,000 will enter paradise through the intercession of one man of Muhammad's community (e.g. Dārimī, *Riḥāḥ*, bāb 87; cf. Hanbal, iii. 63, 469 sq.), the answer is already given as early as classical tradition that *shafā'a* holds good for those who ascribe no associate to Allāh (Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, bāb 19;

Tirmidhī, *Sīfat al-Kiyāma*, bāb 13). To this group also belong those who have committed great sins (*Ahl al-Kaḥṣ'ir*). "The prophet of God said: My intercession is for the great sinners of my community" (Abū Dā'ūd, *Kitaḥ al-Sunna*, bāb 20; Tirmidhī, *Sīfat al-Kiyāma*, bāb 11). This view, however, is not shared by the Mu'tazila (cf. Zamakhsharī, *Kaḥṣ'ir* on ii. 45; no *shafā'a* for the *uqūṭ*). Al-Rāzī deals very fully with the Mu'tazili view in his commentary on the Qur'ān (i. 351 sq., vi. 404) according to which there is no such thing as *shafā'a*, as no one is released from hell who is once thrown into it. For the denial of *shafā'a* they appeal to some of the verses of the Qur'ān already quoted above.

Bibliography: Besides the works quoted in the text cf. Gharāib, *al-Durra al-fakhira*, ed. and transl. by Gautier (Geneva, Basle and Lyons 1878), text p. 66; transl. p. 56; M. Wolff, *Mohammedanische Eschatologie*, p. 100 sq.; R. Lessynski, *Mohammedanische Traditionen über das letzte Gericht*, Diss. Heidelberg, 1909, p. 50 sq.; cf. also Goldziher, *Mohammedanische Studien*, ii. 308 sq.; Ibn Hāzim, *Kitaḥ al-Faṣl fī 'l-Milal wa 'l-Aḥwā' wa 'l-Nikāl*, Cairo 1317—1321, iv. 63 sq.; *Dictionary of the technical Terms*, ed. Nassau Lees and Sprenger, Calcutta 1862, p. 762.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

AL-SHAFĀ'Ā (A.), also **AL-SUBH** and **AL-FADJR**, dawn and twilight, which are of special importance in the Muslim world and in Muslim astronomy because they settle two of the principal times for prayer. Al-Bīrūnī gives an excellent description of the phenomena in the *Ma'ādic Kānūn* (Maḥ. 8, bāb 13). In the morning a long thin column of light appears first, which is more or less inclined to the horizon according to the latitude of the place. This is called the false dawn *al-Subḥ al-Kāḍiḥ* or *al-Faḍr al-Kāḍiḥ* or from its shape *Dhanab al-Sirḥān* "wolf's tail" also "dog's" or gazelle's tail". This is followed by the true dawn *al-Subḥ al-Sādiq*, first as a faint white light which gradually extends in the form of a crescent along the horizon; it marks the time for the beginning of the fifth or morning prayer. Next comes the red dawn. The same phenomena occur in the evening but in the reverse order. That the *Dhanab al-Sirḥān* is not so frequently noticed in the evening as in the morning is, according to Muslim scholars, due to the fact that in the evening people are going to rest while in the morning they are beginning work; Redhouse has definitely shown that first false dawn corresponds to the zodiacal light; he also shows that it is mentioned as early as Kor'ān, ii. 183, i. e. about 630 A. D. and in al-Djawharī's dictionary and elsewhere. It was therefore noticed earlier in the east than in the west. Numerous Persian verses deal with the dawn and twilight (cf. Redhouse, *op. cit.*). He also gives the Persian and Turkish names.

Shāfi'is, Mālikis and Hanbalis all agree that the end of the third and beginning of the time of the fourth prayer occurs at the moment when the red shimmer *al-Shafā' al-Aḥmar* disappears, while Abū Hanīfa relies on the white one. His pupils Abū Yūsuf and Muhammad al-Shaibānī follow other schools.

Various Arab astronomers have pointed out how much the depression D of the sun in which

the above phenomena appear depend on the atmospheric conditions (fog, etc.), the presence of moonlight, or the sharpness of the eyesight. Different scholars give therefore varying values for D which lie between 16° and 20° . According to Šibt al-Murīdī (1423—1494/1495) the general opinion in his time was that for al-Shafā' $D = 17^\circ$, for al-Subh $D = 19^\circ$. Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan al-Marrākūshī (d. c. 1262) had taken 16° and 20° and said that dawn lasts longer than twilight. The time between sunrise and sunset i. e. between the two times at which the depression of the sun is e. g. 18° depends on the inclination of the sun's path to the horizon. The Muslims took a particular interest in calculating the day on which dawn and twilight coincided. For places in the latitude of 48° for example, this happens when the sun is at the beginning of Cancer. The "arguments" (*ḥisāb*) of Shafā' and Faḍl are the chords of the ecliptic between the Western or Eastern horizon and Shafā' or Faḍl.

Astronomical calculations for the beginning of the dawn from Ibn Yūnus (d. 1009) and Abū 'Alī al-Marrākūshī are given by C. Schoy in the *Naturwissenschaftliche Wochenschrift*.

To explain the varying phenomena in the dawn it is assumed by Kutb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī and similarly by others that the earth is surrounded by a ball of vapour which contains earthy and watery parts. These are thicker in the lower strata than in the upper. Around the veil of vapour is a ball of pure air. The sun's rays throw a shadow into these balls from the earth. The parts lying outside the shadow reflect the light and seem to shine; the observations result from this more or less accurately.

On the planes of the astrolabe and on certain forms of quadrant and clepsidra lines are drawn which are used to fix the time of morning and evening prayer; on the other hand such lines are not found on the universal plane nor on the Zarqālī plane.

That we so frequently find among composers of astronomical works the *Muwāḍḍi'* of mosques, time-keepers and summoners to prayer such as Djamāl al-Dīn al-Murīdī, Šibt al-Murīdī b. al-Shāfi' (1375/1376) etc. is explained by the fact that it was the duty of these officials to calculate the hours of prayer exactly and make the necessary observations.

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(E. WIEDEMANN)

AL-SHĀFI', AL-IMĀM ABU 'ABD ALLĀH MUHAMMAD B. IBRAHĪM, the founder of the Shāfi' school of law. A great mass of legend has grown up around his life and it is difficult to sift out the really historical matter. The chronology in particular offers great difficulties. The early sources are very scanty. Al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345) is the first historian to mention him. The only authentic documents are the Waḳf grant of his two houses in Mecca of Šafar 203 (Aug. 818; *Umm*, vi, 179 = Kern in *M.S.O.S.*, 1904, p. 55), his will of Šafar 203 (Feb. 819; *Umm*, iv, 48 = Kern in *M.S.O.S.*, 1904, p. 59) and the Waḳf grant of his house in Fuṣṭāṭ (*Umm*, iii, 281) which although the names and the dates are omitted is undoubtedly by al-Shāfi' himself. His later biographies are, it is true, based on old *Manāẓih* such as that of Da'ūd al-Zāhiri (d. 270), al-Sadī (d. 307), Ibn Abī Ḥatīm (d. 327) and others but here already there is much that is legendary. For example al-Khaṭīb al-Baghḍādī (d. 403) already gives on the authority of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam (d. 257) the legend of his birth which connects it with the planet Jupiter rising over Egypt (cf. Ibn Khallikān).

Al-Shāfi' belonged to the tribe of Quraysh; he was a Ḥāshimī and thus remotely connected with the Prophet. His mother belonged to the tribe of Ard, but some say that she was an 'Alid. Born in 150 (767) in Ghazza (al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 58) he lost his father early and was brought up in very humble circumstances by his mother in Mecca. He spent much time among the Beduins and acquired a thorough knowledge of the old Arab poets (e. g. Zuhair, Imru 'l-Qais, Jarir etc., cf. *Umm*, l, 174; v, 118, 142 etc.). The philologist al-Aṣma'ī learned from the youthful Shāfi' the songs of the Banū Hudhāl (cf. also *Umm*, ii, 167; iv, 133) and the *Diwān* of al-Shanfara. In Mecca he studied ḥadīth and fiqh with Muslim al-Zindjī (d. 180) and Sufyān b. 'Uyayna (d. 198); he knew the *Muwāḍḍi'* by heart. When about 20 he went to Medina to Mālik b. Anas and remained there till the latter's death in 179 (796). He then took an appointment in Yemen. Here he was involved in 'Alid intrigues, — he secretly paid homage to the Zaidī Imām Yahyā b. 'Abd Allāh (v. Arendonck, *Opheist van het zaiditische Imamaat*, p. 60 and 290) — and with other 'Alids was brought a prisoner to the Caliph Ḥārūn al-Rashīd to Raqqa (187 = 803). He was pardoned and then became intimate with the celebrated Ḥanafī Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shābānī (d. 189 = 805), whose books he had copied for himself. But as he did not dare challenge al-Shābānī, a man influential at court, he went in 188 (804) via Ḥarrān and Syria to Egypt where he was at first well received as a pupil of Mālik. It was not till 195 (810/11) that he went to Baghḍād and set up successfully as a teacher there. Here he attached himself to 'Abd Allāh, son of the newly appointed governor of Egypt, 'Abbās b. Mūsā and came to Mīr on Shawwāl 28, 198 (June 21, 814; al-Kinī, ed. Guent p. 154). As a result of disturbances he very soon went to Mecca, from which he returned in 200 (815/816) to settle definitely in Egypt. He died on the last day of Rajab 204 (Jan. 20, 820) in Fuṣṭāṭ and was buried at the foot of the Muḳattam in the vault of Banū 'Abd al-Ḥakam. Saḥīb al-Dīn had a great and roomy madrasa built here (Ibn Dūbair, *Riḥla*, p. 48). The dome

on the tomb was built by the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Kāmil in 608 (1211/1212). It was always a favourite place of pilgrimage.

Al-Shāfiʿi may be described as an eclectic who acted as an intermediary between the independent legal investigation and the traditionalism of his time. Not only did he work through the legal material available but in his *Risāla* he also investigated the principles and methods of jurisprudence. He is regarded as the founder of the Uṣūl al-Fiḥ. Unlike the Hanafis he sought to lay down regular rules for *ḳiyās* (*K. al-Risāla*, Cairo 1321, p. 66 and 70) while he would have nothing to do with *istiḥṣān* [q.v.]. The principle of *istiḥṣān* seems to have been first introduced by the later Shāfiʿis (cf. Goldziher, *Zahriten*, p. 20 sqq.; do. in *B. I.*, vol. II, 109 and Hergsträsser, *Anfänge und Charakter des juristischen Denkens im Islam*, in *Isl.*, 1924, xiv, p. 76, 80 sq.). In al-Shāfiʿi two creative periods can be distinguished, an earlier (Irāqī) and a later (Egyptian). Al-Ḥākim (d. 405) for example says this of the *Risāla* (al-ʿAsḳalāni, p. 77), which, however, only survive in the later recension (printed at Cairo 1321 etc.). These two periods are also often marked in the *K. al-Umm* as well as in the variant teachings of the later Shāfiʿis.

His writings in which he makes a masterly use of dialogue, with opponents usually unnamed, we have had transmitted to us by his pupil al-Rabīʿ b. Sulaimān (d. 270 = 884). A list of them is to be found in the *Fihrist*, p. 210, another of al-Baihaḳī (d. 458) in al-ʿAsḳalāni, p. 78, a third in Yāqūt, p. 396–398. The most of the titles mentioned there are parts of the *K. al-Umm*, a collection of writings of Shāfiʿi (printed at Cairo in 7 volumes: 1321–1325, in part from a manuscript of the celebrated Shāfiʿi Sirāḍ al-Dīn al-Bulḳīni). The title of this collection can hardly be old. As far as I know, it is mentioned for the first time by al-Baihaḳī (in al-ʿAsḳalāni, p. 78) and al-Ḡazālī, *Iḳyā* (Cairo 1327), II, 131. In the work itself it is mentioned only in such passages as appear to be glosses (e.g. *Umm*, I, 158). Several recensions of this work must have existed. As late as the fifth century another recension different from that of al-Rabīʿ was known to al-Baihaḳī for he gives some of the separate chapters of the *Umm* in a different order. This may perhaps have been al-Buwaiṭi's recension, which al-Rabīʿ seems to have used along with that of Ibn Abī ʿI-Djārūd (cf. *Umm*, I, 96, 157; II, 52; VII, 389 etc.). In the present printed text of the *Umm*, a number of larger and smaller glosses seem to have been incorporated; for example al-Ḡazālī, Ibn al-Sabḥāḡh (d. 477), al-Māwardī, etc., are quoted (cf. *Umm*, I, 114 sq., 158).

According to al-Ḡazālī (*loc. cit.*) this collection was arranged by al-Buwaiṭi and published by al-Rabīʿ with his own additions. Final inquiry into the origin of the *Kitāb al-Umm* cannot be based upon the printed edition, as the editor has followed the MS. of al-Bulḳīni without recording the variants of the other MSS.

The present components of the *Umm* are writings quoted by al-Baihaḳī as separate works: *Ḍiyāʾ al-ʿIlm* (*Umm*, VII, 250 sqq.), *K. Ḥal al-Iṣṭiḥṣān* (VII, 267 sqq.), *K. Bayʿan al-Farḍ* (VII, 262 sqq.), *K. Ṣifāt al-Ame wa ʿl-Naḳy* (VII, 265), *K. Iḥṭitāf Maḥk wa ʿl-Shāfiʿi* (VII, 177 sqq.), *K. Iḥṭitāf al-ʿIrāḳīyain* (VII, 87 sqq.) i.e. Abū Ḥanīfa

and Ibn Abī Laila († 148), *K. Iḥṭitāf maʿa Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan* (VII, 277 sqq. = *K. al-Radd ʿalā Muḥ. b. al-Ḥasan*) and *K. Iḥṭitāf ʿAlī wa ʿAbd Allāh b. Maʿūd* († 32); VII, 151 sqq.). The *K. Iḥṭitāf al-Ḥadīth* is printed on the margin of *Umm*, vol. 7, the *Muṣnad* on the margin of vol. 6. This contains traditions which have been collected from the different writings, including those that have not survived but are mentioned in the *Fihrist* and in Yāqūt, e.g. *K. Ahḳām al-Ḳurʿān*, *K. Faḍl al-Ḳurʿān*, etc. The *K. al-Madḥūq fī ʿl-Fiḥ* (*Fihrist*, p. 210) must have been another large law-book, which was still available to al-Baihaḳī, and is also called *al-Mukhtaṣar al-ḳabīr wa ʿl-Manḥūrūt*. There has also survived a profession of faith by Shāfiʿi entitled: *K. Waḳīyat al-Shāfiʿi* (mentioned in Yāqūt, ed. by Kern in *M. S. O. S.*, XI, 1910) while the *K. al-Fiḥ al-akḥar* (Cairo 1324 etc.) is a short treatise on dogmatics of the Ashʿarī period. A few poems bear witness to his command of language (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūḡ*, VIII, 66; Ibn Khallikān, I, 448; al-ʿAsḳalāni, p. 73 sq.).

The main centres of his activities as a teacher were Baghdad and Cairo. The most notable of his pupils were al-Muzānī († 264), al-Buwaiṭi († 231), al-Rabīʿ b. Sulaimān al-Murāḍī († 270), al-Zaʿfarānī († 260), Abū Thawr († 240), al-Ḥunaidī († 219), Ahmad b. Hanbal († 241), al-Karībī († 248) etc. In the course of the third and fourth (ix. and x.) century the Shāfiʿis won more and more adherents from these two towns as centres, although from the first they had a difficult position in Baghdad, the centre of the *Ahl al-Raʿy*. In the fourth (xth) century Mecca and Medina were their chief centres next to Egypt. By the end of the third (beg. of the tenth) century they had already successfully disputed Syria with the Awṣʿis so that from Abū Zurʿa onwards (302 = 915), they always had the office of *Ḳāḍī* in Damascus. In the time of Muḳaddas the Shāfiʿis exclusively held the judgeships in Syria, Kirmān, Bukhārā and the greater part of Khurāsān; they were also in considerable strength in Northern Mesopotamia (Aḳūr) and Dailām (Egypt by this time was Shīʿa). In the fifth and sixth (xi. and xii.) century there was frequently street fighting with the Ḥanbalis in Baghdad, with the Hanafis in Iṣfahān while on the other hand they won the Ḡhārid princes to their side (Snouck Hurgronje, *Verpr. Gechr.*, II, 306). In Egypt under Salāḡ al-Dīn (564 = 1169) they again became the predominant *Madḥhab*. But in 664 (1265/1266) al-Malik al-Zāhir Baibars appointed one Hanafī and Malīkī one judge alongside of the Shāfiʿi (cf. al-Sabḳī, v, 134). In the last centuries before the rise of the Ottomans the Shāfiʿis had attained absolute preeminence in the central lands of Islam. Even in Ibn Djubair's time (*Riḥla*, p. 102) the Shāfiʿi Imām conducted the prayers in Mecca. It was only under the Ottoman Sultāns at the beginning of the x (xvth) century that they were replaced by Hanafis, who were sent from Constantinople to fill the judgeships, while in Central Asia with the rise of the Safawids (1501) they were lost to the Shīʿa. Nevertheless in Egypt, Syria and the Hidjāz, the people followed the Shāfiʿi *Madḥhab* (Snouck Hurgronje, *Verpr. Gechr.*, II, 378/379). The Shāfiʿi teaching is still eagerly studied to-day in the Ashʿarī mosque. It is still predominant in South Arabia, Bahrain, the Malay Archipelago, the former German East Africa,

Daghustān and some parts of Central Asia.

Among famous and important Shafī's were: The traditionist al-Nasā'ī († 303 = 915), al-Ash'arī († 324 = 935), al-Māwardī († 450 = 1058), al-Shirāzī († 476 = 1083), Imām al-Haramīn († 478 = 1085), al-Ghazālī († 505 = 1111), al-Raṣṣī († 623 = 1226), al-Nawawī († 676 = 1277) etc. On them cf. the separate articles and Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, IV/1, p. 105.

Islamic law according to the Shafī school is given by L. W. C. van den Berg, *De beginselen van het mohammed. recht*, 3 ed. (Batavia 1883; cf. thereon Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, II, 59—221), French transl. by R. de France de Tervant entitled: *Principes du droit musulman*... Algiers 1886; Ed. Sachau, *Muham. Recht* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1897; cf. thereon Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, II, 367—414); Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Geistes*, Leiden 1910 and 1925, Italian transl. with suppl. notes by G. Baviera entitled: *Manuale di diritto musulmano*... Milan 1916.

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(HEFFENING)

SHAFSHĀWAN (popularly Chechaouen, ech-Chaoum, in Spanish Xauen; the original of the name is no doubt the Berber plural *shafshāwān*), a little town in Northwest Morocco, 35 miles south of Tetuan. It lies at the foot of the mountain of Sidi Bū-Hādja (a spur of the massif of lū-Hāhem) on a tributary of the Wādī Lāq; it now lies within the lands of the tribe of el-Khamās, but it used to belong to the Banū Zadjal, a tribe belonging to the Ghumāra group.

In 1918 the population was about 7,000, who lived in a thousand houses in the six quarters: el-'Onjar, Rif el-Andalus, el-Kharāzin, es-Sūḥ, es-Swika, Rif es-Ṣebbānī. There is an important Jewish colony in it of Spanish origin. The ghetto (*Mellah*), originally on the edge of the Wādī T-Dmānī, was later brought into the interior of the town. It contains 22 houses with about 200 inhabitants and 2 synagogues, one very luxurious. Almost all the houses have sloping tiled roofs, for the winter brings heavy falls of snow. The town is surrounded by walls and has eleven gates; there are twelve mosques, nine sawiyyas (including 3 Derkawa and 3 Isawa) and eight notable sanctuaries, the chief of which is that of Sidi 'Alī b. Rāshid, founder of the town. In the citadel (*ḥaḍra*) are the government buildings and the madrasa.

The Muslim population consists mainly of Shafī and Andalusian refugees, possessing the culture and amenities of town life but fanatical and uncompromising in character.

The surroundings, fertile and well watered, produce wheat, barley, fruits, olives and grapes in abundance; the town also has 21 watermills and 13 oil presses. The forests of the surrounding mountains supply wood for carpentry and furniture making (a speciality of the place is artistically painted woodwork); tan-bark is abundant and supplies the wants of 5 tanneries. Woollen cloth for djellābas (cf. *WILLIS*) is made on many looms.

The Jews are mainly occupied in trading in imported cloths and have constant dealings with their co-religionists in Tetuan with whom they are connected by common Spanish origin. They are also jewellers and saddlers, a despised trade which the Muslims leave to them.

Lying at the intersection of the roads from Tetuan, el-Kṣar, Wazzān and Fes, in the middle of the land of the Djebāla, Shafshāwan is a great centre of supplies for the latter to which they come to get the produce imported from Tetuan (cotton goods, sugar, tea and candles); but the well-nigh permanent state of anarchy in which the surrounding tribe el-Khamās lives, makes business difficult.

Shafshāwan was founded about 876 (1471—1472) by a descendant of the great saint 'Abd al-Salām b. Maḥshūh (q. v.), the 'Alawī Sharif al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad, known as Ibn Djum's, who wished to make it a place of refuge and centre of resistance for the Djebāla against the Portuguese. The latter, taking advantage of the weakness of the dynasty of the Banū Wattās (q. v.) had seized Ceuta (1415), al-Kaṣr al-Yeghir (1458 q. v.), Tangier (1471) and Arzila (1472); from these ports they raided the country for over 50 miles inland, terrorised the mountaineers and brought the Audjera and various tribes of the Haḥt, including the Banū 'Arūs under their sway. It seems that, oppressed and harassed by the Shorfā, these tribes were quite ready to submit to Christian rule; a holy war was therefore an excellent pretext for the Shorfā to endeavour to regain their profitable prestige and authority.

Al-Ḥasan founded Shafshāwan on the bank of the river of the same name, in an excellent situation within easy reach of Tetuan and Ceuta in the northwest and el-Kṣar and el-Haḥt in the southwest. He died before completing his enterprise; having gone during the holy war to the people of el-Kharṣūb not far from Arzila, the latter were bribed by the Portuguese and set fire to the mosque in which he was performing his evening prayers; he perished in the flames.

His work was continued by his cousin the Sharif 'Alī (b. Mūsā) b. Rāshid who succeeded him as leader of the holy war (*ḥād al-djihad*). 'Alī lived among the Banū Ḥassān, a tribe to the north of Shafshāwan; when the latter rebelled against the tyranny of the Shorfā, he went over to Andalusia, where fighting sometimes in Christian pay and sometimes for the king of Granada, he became an expert in military matters. Returning to Morocco, he collected a body of horsemen belonging like himself to the Shorfā and began to fight the Portuguese. The Wattāid Sultan of Fes, Abū Sa'īd, then sent him a few horsemen and cross-bowmen, with whose help he was able to hold his own against the Portuguese. He used his force also to subjugate the mountaineers and restore the supremacy of the Shorfā. But rendered vain by his successes he went so far as to refuse to send

his tribute to the Sultān who came to attack him with a large army. Judging resistance impossible, 'Alī b. Rāshid submitted; the Sultān pardoned him out of respect for his Sharīfī origin and confirmed him in the government of Shafshāwan which became one of the marches of the empire of the Banū Wattāsa.

'Alī b. Rāshid built on the other bank of the Wādī Shafshāwan a citadel which he filled with members of his family and clan; people from the country round also came to settle there. 'Alī b. Rāshid is credited with the building of the rampart from the Bāb es-Sūr to the Bāb el-Mūkaf; it is from his time that the es-Sweka and Rif es-Sebbānī quarters date. After the capture of Granada (1492) and the general expulsion of the Muslims from Andalusia and Castile (1501—1502) numerous Spanish Muslims came and settled here so that by the death of 'Alī in 917 (1511—1512) a regular town had been created; Leo Africanus who was travelling through Morocco at this time, describes it as "a little city full of merchants and artisans".

The prestige of 'Alī b. Rāshid was still further increased by the brilliant attacks on Ceuta, Tangier and Arzila in which he fought along with al-Mandari, whom he had aided to install himself on the ruins of Tetuan with a colony of Spanish refugees.

'Alī (d. 1511) was succeeded by his sons, Ibrāhīm (d. 1530), then Muḥammad who was destined to be the last prince of the dynasty of the Banū Rāshid. In 948 (1511) the Wattāsid Sultān Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad married the sister of the Amīr, al-Ḥurra; the marriage was celebrated in Tetuan. Muḥammad b. Rāshid had quarrels with the following Wattāsid, Abū Ḥassūn, whose fief of Bādis in the Rif adjoining his own territory. When with the help of the Turks of Ṣalāh Ra'īs, Abū Ḥassūn had taken Fes in 961 (1554) and, when he had quarrelled with the Turkish chief, Muḥammad b. 'Alī arranged with the latter to proclaim Abū Bakkr b. Aḥmad Sultān; when Fes was evacuated by the Turks, Abū Ḥassūn had the Amīr of Shafshāwan arrested but on the death of the Sultān, the latter was released and resumed his governorship.

The Sa'dians then replaced the Wattāsids in northern Morocco. In 969 (1561) the Sa'dī Sultān 'Abd Allāh al-Ghālīb billāh, fearing that the warlike activities of the Amīrs of Shafshāwan might prevent him from concluding with the Spanish an alliance against the Turks which he was planning, sent against the town his troops commanded by the vizier Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Kādir, grandson of Sultān Muḥammad al-Shaikh; being strenuously besieged Muḥammad b. Rāshid fled through the mountains with his family during the night and reached the port of Targha among the Ghumāra; from there he sailed for the east and took refuge in al-Medīna where he died; some of his descendants were exiled to Marrākuṣh. The fief of Shafshāwan was then given to the grandson of Mu'min b. al-'Idj; the latter's grandfather Yahyā (or Muḥammad) al-'Idj was a Genoese merchant who had become a convert to Islām and had married the beautiful daughter of the semi-independent chief of the Tejrat region in Sūs. On the death of his father-in-law, the Genoese merchant was chosen chief of the people and gained the favour of the Sa'dian Shorfa by allowing them to cross his territory to reach the Hāha; his eldest son Mu'min had entered the service of the Sa'dians and was one of their most faithful supporters.

In 986 (1578) the Portuguese were crushed at the battle of Wādī l-Makhāzin; they had to abandon their hopes of occupying the interior of the country and the struggle against the Christians became localised round the occupied ports and on the sea. Shafshāwan then lost its strategic importance which passed to Tetuan its rival, which had been raised from its ruins by 'Alī al-Mandari and had been peopled by Andalusians who soon made it a regular nest of corsairs. On the other hand the religious prestige of the town, based for a large part on the successes of the holy war, also began to decline especially after the installation at Wazzān of the Sharīfī family of Mawlay 'Abd Allāh al-Sharīf (d. 1089 = 1678) whose influence continued to increase.

After the government of the grandson of Mu'min al-'Idj, the town seems to have returned under the authority of the Shorfa. In 1028 (1618—1619), we actually find the Sharīf al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Raīsūn (buried in Shafshāwan) having Muḥammad b. al-Shaikh called Zaghūda proclaimed as Sultān by the people of Hāha.

In the beginning of the 'Alawī dynasty and during the struggle between Sultān al-Rāshid and his brother Muḥammad, the northwest of Morocco was under the domination of an independent chief al-Khadir Ghallān, whose capital was el-Kjar el-Kbīr and whose power extended over the lands lying between Tangier and Ceuta, Tetuan and Shafshāwan.

In 1667, M. al-Rāshid, lord of Fes, subdued the Banū Zarwāl and went to Tetuan after putting Ghallān to flight; he appointed the Muḥaddim al-Taiser, governor of the town, and the latter's sons succeeded him there.

On the death of Mawlay Ismā'īl the northwest of Morocco passed under the rule of a leader in the holy war, the Pasha Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Rifī (d. 1156 = 1743) who built at Shafshāwan, inside the citadel built by 'Alī b. Rāshid, the government-house and the madrasa.

In 1171 (1757—1758), a murābiṭ of the tribe of al-Khmās, Muḥammad al-'Arabī al-Khumṣī, called Abū's-sakhūr, rebelled against the Sultān Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh who captured him and sent his head to Fes. He then appointed the Pasha al-'Ayyāshī governor of the Ghumāra, al-Khmās and Shafshāwan. He was succeeded by governors appointed by the Sa'dian Sultāns down to the rebellion of the ṭālib Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Salām called Zaiṭān, who raised all the tribes of this region in 1208 (1793—1794). Defeated and pardoned he was restored to the governorship of Shafshāwan and al-Khmās. After him the town was governed by local chiefs, then by the pashas of Tetuan who sent a khalifa there.

In 1306 (1899) the Sultān M. al-Ḥasan visited the town on his way to Tetuan.

Since the establishment of the Spanish protectorate the town has been under the influence of the famous 'Alawī Sharīf 'Aḥmad al-Raīsūn of Tāzrūt. On Oct. 4, 1920, it was taken by a Spanish army from Tetuan; on Nov. 15, 1924, the Spaniards evacuated it. It was then occupied by the Rifis under the rebel Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm and since the capture and death of the al-Raīsūn, it became their political and strategic centre from which they dominate the Djebāla and can raid the districts of Tetuan, el-Kjar and Wazzān; their tyranny has driven away many of the inhabitants of the town, which has been several times bombarded by French and Spanish aeroplanes.

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(G. S. COLIN)

SHĀH (r.), "King". a. Etymological. The old Persian *Kāshāyathiya* is probably formed with a suffix from an unquotable substantive from the Old Iran. verbal root *kāshay* (meaning to "rule" etc.); cf. Sanskr. *kāyati* = "he rules", *kāyadvira* = "ruler of men (or heroes)", an epithet of the gods in the *Rigveda*. From the same root comes Old Persian *Kāshāth(r)a* ("kingdom") = M. P. *Shahr*; cf. *shahyār* ("king, ruler") from an unquotable root *shahyāth(r)ayūra*. The word *kāshāyathiya* is therefore originally an adjective: it is found as such once in the Bāntān inscription while in all other passages it means "king" (Bartholomae, *Air. Wörterb.*, col. 553/554). The modern Persian *shāhshāh* is regarded as a compound of *shāh*; this may be so as regards the modern usage. For a noteworthy attempt to give another explanation of *shāhshāh* see Bartholomae, *Zum sasanidischen Recht*, I. 5, note 5. (S. B. Ak. Heid., *Hist. Phil. Kl.*, 1918, Abh. 5). In Pahlavi the word already means *shāh*. Whether in the second syllable of the inscriptional form of the name *Shāpūr* שְׁפֹרִי the *yod* is a remnant of the second syllable of the old Persian word (*Grundr. d. Iran. Phil.*, I. 269) or a sign of an old oblique case, is not easy to decide. The modern form *shāhshāh* shows with its Turkish influence in the declension (*Grundr. d. Iran. Phil.*, i. b. 24); this combination might perhaps show a remnant of the original second syllable in the form in which it is found on Indo-Scythic coins (with the ending *-ians* in the first word; *Grundr. d. Iran. Phil.*, I. 269, but cf. p. 284; there is a good reproduction of one of these coins in Rapson, *Indian Coins*, Pl. ii. 12). The Indo-Scythic word is due to borrowing (but cf. also Konow in *Z. D. M. G.*, lxxviii. 93 sqq.).

b. Lexicographical. In Vulliers' *Lexicon*, pp. 392/393 the statements of the later lexicographers are collected. The derivation given in the *Burhān-i Kāfi* (*af u-khūdāwand*) is, at least as concerns the *af*, not supported by the etymology. The meaning given under (5) (*via aperta et lata e qua alius derivatur*) is perhaps more closely connected with that given under (4) (*magnum quodvis et excellens in suo genere*, in words like *shāhshāh* or *shāhparr*), although the author's view that simple *shāh* is also found with the meaning of *shāhshāh* may be deduced from the text of the *Burhān-i Kāfi* (p. 552); so far as I know this use of the word does not occur. The other meanings (a chessman, animal in Hindūstān etc.) need not be discussed; an (independent) meaning *dāmād*, *shāhshāh-i dādshāh* found not only in more recent lexicons like the *Burhān* and *Shāh'arī*, but as early as Shams-i Fakhri (see Salemann, p. 114), is perhaps not so certain as it appears in the lexicographical tradition. In the two passages from poets which *Shāh'arī* gives for it, the word *shāh* is associated with '*orūz*': this would be simply: "lord of the bride" = "bridegroom", which can of course, be expressed by *dāmād* so that only

one meaning derived from the main sense would be present. The verse which is quoted by Vulliers, s.v. *shāhshāh* out of *Shāh'arī* as evidence of a meaning *puer-i dāmād* (a peculiar combination in any case) is not absolutely convincing.

c. Historical. The usual title of the Achaemenids is *Kāshāyathiya*; on their inscriptions they call themselves *kāshāyathiya varra kashāyathiya* (*kāshāyathiyānām* ("great king, king of kings"): Pahlavi and Modern Persian *shāhān shāh* (also M. P. *shāhshāh*) corresponds to *kāshāyathiya kashāyathiyānām*. *Shāhshāh* regularly occurs in the titles of the Sāsānian kings, e.g. *mazdēn bagh ardashāh shāhān shāh(i) Erān* ("the worshipper of Mazda, the god Ardashir, king of kings of Irān"); it is written with the ideogram 𐭮𐭲𐭮 *malhān malhā*.

Ardashir's father Pāpak is given the title *shāh* (𐭮𐭲𐭮) on a coin of his son (E. Thomas, *Nismatique and other antiquarian illustrations of the rule of the Sassanians in Persia*, p. 16), and in inscriptions and this is also the designation of the rank of some pre-Sāsānian dynasts of Persia (*Grundr. d. Iran. Phil.*, ii. 487).

The Sāsānian crown princes in their father's time were often given the title *shāh* of a certain province, cf. Hamza, *Tārīkh*, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 50/51; (cf. Noldeke, *Tubari*, p. 115; Agathias, iv. 24 and 26 where we have *šāā*); Bahram III and IV before their accession were thus called *Sagānshāh* or *Karmānshāh*; Hormizd III had also the former title as Crown Prince (Noldeke, *Tubari*, p. 115). The word *sagānshāh* wrongly appears as *shāhshāh* in some Arab writers: not only in *Tabari* (Noldeke, *loc. cit.*) but also in Ibn Kutāiba (*K. al-ma'arīf*, p. 322), Eutychius (ed. Cheikh, i. 113) and Thā'ālibī (*Hist. des rois des Perses*, ed. Zotenberg, p. 507).

In Muslim lands where Persian is spoken *shāh* remains the usual word for king, a title also given in literature to rulers who have an Arabic title, e.g. the Amir Mahmūd of Ghazna in Firdawsi. The regular panegyrists are of course very liberal with the term *shāhshāh*; when for example Minūshihri VIII, calls the Amir Mas'ūd of Ghazna *Kāshāw-i shāhshāh-i dunyā*, this is only one example out of many. The term is further found frequently in kings' names in such a way that we can hardly speak of it as a title, e.g. we have among the Yemeni Aiyūbids a *Turānshāh* and in a Mongol dynasty an 'Arab-Shāh' (see Lane-Poole, *Mohammedan Dynasties*, p. 98 and 239). The word was already not unusual in personal names in Pahlavi; besides the name *Shāpūr* (*shāh* + Pahlavi *puhr*, son) cf. the names of the Sāsānid princes in Hamza, *Tārīkh*, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 61. Many rulers of the Seljūq dynasty used the term in such a way that it may be regarded as a title. From an examination of the names (e.g. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 153) we see that the combination may have as its first component the name of a people (*Turān Shāh*, *Irān Shāh*, i.e. on the Sāsānian plan), or a personal name (*Arslān Shāh*, *Bahram Shāh*), or we may even have a combination with other words meaning ruler (*Malik Shāh*, *Ruknuddin Sulṭān Shāh*). Analogous formations are found among the Atabegs. On a case of rulers who did not have the title *shāh* having adopted it at a definite time, cf. H. F. Amedroz, *The Assumption of the title Shāhshāh by Basmakid*

Antez, Num. Chron., 1905, iv., Ser. v., p. 393-397. There were Shāhs of Armenia from 493-604 A.H., and of Khwarizm about the same time (± 470-628 A.H.; see Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 170, 176); there have been Shāhs of Persia since the accession of the first Safawid (907/1502). In India we find the term among the rulers of Ahmadnagar, Bidar, Berar, Bidjapur and Golkonda; Shāh occurs as the first or second component of the name of several Mughal Emperors (Shāh Djahān, 'Ālam Shāh).

(V. F. RICHNER)

SHĀH 'ĀLAM was the title borne, before his accession, by Kūṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad Mu'izzam, third son of the Mughal emperor Aurangzib ('Ālamgir I), but on ascending the throne of Dīhli the prince took the title of Bahadur Shāh [q. v.].

The only Mughal emperor who bore the title while on the throne was 'Alī Gawhar, son of 'Azīz al-Dīn 'Ālamgir II, who succeeded his father in 1759 and in 1761 was recognised as emperor by Ahmad Shāh Abdālī, who had then crushed the power of the Marāṭhas at the third battle of Pānipt. Shāh 'Ālam was, throughout his forty-seven years' reign, a puppet in the hands of others, and on two occasions factions selected rivals from among his kinsmen and proclaimed them as emperors, viz. Shāh Djahān III in 1759 and 1760 and Bihār Baksh in 1788. Together with Shudjā' al-Dawla, the Nawwāb-Wazīr of Awadh, Shāh 'Ālam gave a half-hearted support to Mir Kāsim, the Nawwāb-Nāim of Bengal, who was defeated by the British at the battle of Baksar (Buxar) in 1764 but after the battle submitted and signed a treaty under which the Nawwāb-Wazīr became a vassal and he himself a pensioner of the victors. In 1765 he signed a treaty conferring on the East India Company the *dewānī*, or control of the revenues of Bengal, Bihār and Orissa (Uṭṭar), but the duties and responsibilities of the appointment were not accepted by the Company until seven years later. Shāh 'Ālam afterwards, in order to facilitate his return to Dīhli, threw himself on the protection of the Marāṭhas and transferred to them the districts of Ilāhābād and Kara, which had been assigned to him for his support. By this alliance he forfeited the Company's friendship and the tribute or allowance of Rs. 2,600,000 which had been assigned to him. In 1788 Mahādājī Sindhya, who was ordinarily held responsible for the emperor's personal safety, was in a critical position owing to attacks by Rohilla chiefs, and the Russian Ghulām Kādir captured Dīhli and plundered the palace. He flogged the princesses and throwing the emperor on the ground sat on his chest and blinded him with his dagger. Sindhya recaptured Dīhli and Ghulām Kādir was taken prisoner and suffered death by torture. In 1803 the East India Company formally made itself responsible for the emperor's personal safety and in 1806 Shāh 'Ālam died.

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(T. W. HAIG)

SHĀH DJAHĀN was the title conferred by the Mughal emperor Djahāngir on his third son, Khurram, as a reward for his successes in the Dakan in 1616. Khurram was

born in 1592; in 1622 he caused his eldest brother, Khuraw, whom his father had placed in his care, to be murdered, and afterwards rose in rebellion. Having been defeated in 1623 he became a fugitive, but occupied Bengal and Bihār. In 1625 a peace was patched up between him and his father. When Djahāngir died, in October, 1627, Khurram was at Džunnār in the Dakan, but his father-in-law, Asaf Khān, caused his younger brother, Shahryār, to be blinded at Lāhor and proclaimed as a stop-gap Dawar Bakhsh (Bulāki), the son of Khuraw, whom he afterwards permitted to escape to Persia when the other males of the imperial family were put to death by Shāh Djahān's orders. In 1628 Shāh Djahān ascended the throne in Āgra, and soon had to deal with the rebellions of the Bundelas and Khān Djahān Lodi [q. v.], which he crushed. In 1631 his dearly loved wife, Mumtāz Mahall, died in childbirth at Burhānpūr, and he afterwards erected over her remains, at Āgra, the beautiful Taj Mahall [q. v.]. In 1632 he captured Dawlatābād and swept away the last vestiges of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar, and shortly afterwards compelled the two remaining kingdoms of the Dakan, Golkonda and Bidjapur, to acknowledge his suzerainty. In 1632 also Hūglī was besieged and taken from the Portuguese, and the Christians were cruelly persecuted for two years. In 1636 Aurangzib, the emperor's third son, was appointed viceroy of the Dakan, and in 1638 'Alī Mardān Khān, who held Kandahār for the Shāh of Persia, treacherously surrendered it to Shāh Djahān's officers, but the Persians recovered the town in 1649. In 1638 Badakhshān and Balkh were occupied but Aurangzib who, having been recalled from the Dakan, was sent to retain them, failed to hold them and was obliged to retreat. In 1652 the same prince and in the following year his eldest brother, Dara Shikūh, failed to recover Kandahār from the Persians. In 1653 Aurangzib was again sent to the Dakan, where his aggressive policy was checked by his father, who ordered him to make peace with 'Abd Allāh Kūṭb Shāh of Golkonda whom he had attacked, but in a campaign against 'Alī 'Adil Shāh II of Bidjapur, who had succeeded Muḥammad 'Adil Shāh, he captured Bidar and Kaliyāni. In 1657 reports of the failure of Shāh Djahān's health caused Aurangzib to rebel and a contest for the throne began between him and his three brothers. Aurangzib defeated Dara Shikūh at Samūgarh and Sultān Shudjā' at Khajwa, treacherously imprisoned and executed Murād Bakhsh and having imprisoned Shāh Djahān ascended the throne in Āgra on July 21, 1658. Shāh Djahān never regained his liberty and on January 2, 1666, died in the Āgra fort at the age of 74.

Shāh Djahān, the wealthiest of the "Great Mughals", displayed his taste and magnificence in his restoration and adornment of Āgra, in the construction of his city of New Dīhli or Shāh-djahānābād, where he spent the greater part of a luxurious old age, and in the famous peacock throne, which was seven years in the making. He had little military ability and was cruel, treacherous and unscrupulous. A redeeming feature of his character was his deep love for his wife, Mumtāz Mahall, of which her splendid tomb is a lasting memorial, but she died early in his reign and after her death he sank into unbridled

licentiousness. His rule was oppressive and tyrannical and he ill deserves the favourable treatment which he has received at the hands of some modern historians.

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(T. W. HAIG)

SHAH MIR, an adventurer who founded the first dynasty of Muhammadan kings of Kashmir, settled in that country in A.D. 1315—1316 and, having ingratiated himself with the *rājā*, Sihadeva, who was perhaps impressed by the stranger's pretensions to descend from Arjuna, the Pāṇḍava, entered his service. Kashmir suffered two invasions during Sihadeva's reign, that of Dulā, a Turk from Kandahār, and that of the Bhautta of Tibet, Rincana, both of whom entered the country by the Zoji-lā. Rincana usurped the throne, made Shah Mir his minister and, according to Muhammadan accounts, was converted to Islam by him. He was succeeded on his death by a relation, Adnideva, under whom Shah Mir retained his office and extended his power. On the death of Adnideva Shah Mir contested the sovereignty with his widow, Kotā, and having defeated and captured her compelled her to marry him. Shortly after the marriage she retired to, or was imprisoned in, the fortress of Dīyapura and was there put to death by her husband's orders in 1339. In 1341—1342 Shah Mir succeeded the throne of Kashmir under the title of Shams al-Dīn and caused the *khutbas* to be said in his name. The rule of the Hindu *rājās* had been oppressive and extortionate and the people were the gainers by the usurpation of the adventurer who limited the demands of his treasury to one sixth of the gross produce of the land. He established order with a firm hand, and though he probably encouraged his people to accept his religion, his rule was tolerant and beneficent, and the forcible conversion of the inhabitants to Islam was not effected until the reign of his grandson, Sikandar Butshikan. Shah Mir is said to have accepted the claim of the Čakk and Mākari tribes to precedence over the other tribes of the country and to have employed them in the principal posts both in the army and the civil administration. It was by the Čakk tribe that the dynasty which he founded was overthrown about two centuries later. He died in 1349 and was peaceably succeeded by his eldest son, Djamshīd.

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(T. W. HAIG)

SHAH NAWAZ KHAN. [See JAMSHĪD AL-DĀWLĀ.]

SHAH SHUDJĀ', DJALĀL AL-DĪN B. MUHAMMAD B. AL-MUẒAFFAR, a MUẒAFFARĪD. After Muḥarrir al-Dīn Muhammad, lord of Fārs, Kirmān and Kurdistan, had been deposed and blinded in Ramaḍān

759 (Aug. 1358), he was succeeded by his son Shah Shudjā' but within a couple of months Muhammad, whose sight had not been entirely destroyed, seized the citadel of Kalā-i Sefīd (q.v.) where he had been placed, and fortified himself in it. Peace was soon afterwards made between him and Shah Shudjā', the terms being that Muhammad should go to Shirāz and have his name mentioned in the *khutba*; further no business of state was to be decided without his approval. After some time his followers decided to seize Shah Shudjā' and put him to death; but they were betrayed whereupon Shah Shudjā' had the conspirators put to death and his father imprisoned. The latter died at the end of Rabi' I 765 (Jan. 1364). Shah Shudjā' had next to fight with his brother Shah Mahmūd. In 764 (1362/1363) his officials had raised a claim to tribute upon the town of Abarkūh, although it was governed along with Isfahān by Shah Mahmūd. This excited Shah Mahmūd's distrust and he invaded Yazd and seized this province. On his return to Isfahān he was besieged by his brother; but soon a friendly arrangement was come to, as a result of which he recognised the suzerainty of Shah Shudjā'. In 765 (1363/1364) however, he made an alliance with the Djalā'irid Uways, lord of Baghdad and Tabriz, and invaded Fārs. Shah Shudjā' took the field against him; the final encounter was not decisive; Shah Mahmūd then succeeded in taking Shirāz after eleven months' siege, but lost it again in Dhū 'l-Ka'da 767 (Aug. 1366). After the death of Shah Mahmūd on Shawwāl 9, 776 (March 13, 1375), Shah Shudjā' who had recognised the 'Abbāsid Caliph of the day in 770 (1368/1369), also became lord of Isfahān. He also wanted to extend his rule over Adharbāydjān because the notables there had become discontented with Husain, successor of Uways, who had died in 776 (1364/1365). With this object Shah Shudjā' set out with a large army, took Kāzwin, defeated Husain and advanced successfully up to the neighbourhood of Tabriz. The former surrendered and Husain had to retire to the south. But when Shah Shudjā' returned home a couple of months later, Tabriz was again occupied by Husain and as the former had also to fight his nephew Shah Yahyā, he had to make peace with Husain. To seal the treaty Shah Shudjā's son Zain al-'Abidin married Husain's sister. Nevertheless hostilities soon afterwards broke out again. When 'Adil Aghā, one of Husain's vassals, usually called Sārik 'Adil, equipped an army in 781 (1379/1380) to invade MuẒaffarid territory, Shah Shudjā' went to Saljānīya to anticipate him, but was surprised and only escaped with difficulty. When he himself took the offensive, however, he succeeded in putting to flight Sārik 'Adil's troops, who were busy plundering the camp. He then laid siege to al-Saljānīya, whereupon Sārik 'Adil had to surrender. In the meanwhile Shaikh 'Alī, a brother of Husain, after the murder of the governor of Baghdad, who ruled the city in Husain's name, was proclaimed lord of Baghdad, which again provoked hostilities. To strengthen his position he made an alliance with the governor of Shustar, Pir 'Alī Bībak, who had been supported by Shah Shudjā'; Shaikh 'Alī and Pir 'Alī had however to take to flight when Husain and Sārik 'Adil approached in 782 (1380/1381); but when the latter had departed, they came back and now it was Husain's turn to fly. Soon afterwards — the usual date is Djumādā II,

783 (Aug.-Sept. 1381) — the latter was killed by his brother Ahmad b. Uwais who then ascended the throne. He had first of all to defend his position against Shaikh 'Alī and Pir 'Alī; these two were defeated and killed but the third brother Bīyazīd then came forward as a pretender. When he sought help from Šarīf 'Alī, Ahmad appealed to Šah Shudjā' who at once occupied al-Sulṭāniya then belonging to Bīyazīd and appointed the latter his governor. Šah Shudjā's officers, however, were soon expelled and al-Sulṭāniya passed into Ahmad's hands. When Timūr soon afterwards approached, Šah Shudjā' sent him all sorts of valuable presents to gain the friendship of the threatening conqueror. As a pledge of fidelity, Timūr demanded a daughter of Šah Shudjā' for one of his sons. Šah Shudjā' died, according to the usual statement on Šahbān 22, 786 (Oct. 9, 1384), aged 53 years two months. The poet Ḥaṣī lived at his court.

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(K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

SHAHĀDA, (A.), testimony, whether in the ordinary sense of the word, the statement of an eye-witness (from *shāhida* 'to see'), or in the religious and legal sense.

1. In the religious use of the word *shahāda* is the Muslim profession of faith: "there is no god but God; Muhammad is the Prophet of God" (cf. *TASHAHHUD*); and by extension it is the testimony one gives in fighting for Islām, and more particularly in dying for it in the holy war. The Muslim who falls on the battlefield is called *Shāhid* [q. v.] "witness, martyr"; e.g. Eyub, Sulḥān Murād, killed after the battle of Kosovo. *Mashhad*, the tomb of a martyr, *mashhad 'Alī*, *mashhad Husain*. This idea of the Muslim martyr is not explicit in the Qur'ān.

2. In the civil and legal sense, the witness is called *Shāhid*: e.g. the witnesses of a marriage who accompany the relatives before the Imām; the witnesses in a case of adultery; Sūra, iv. 19: "If your wives commit the act of infamy, call four witnesses".

On the theory of evidence in law consult the article *SHĀHĪD*.

Bibliography: See the handbooks of law; d'Osson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1778, i. p. 176; ii. p. 319—324, 348—350; Carré de Vaux, *Les Peintures de l'Islam*, iii., Paris 1923, chap. on Tradition.

(CARRÉ DE VAUX)

SHAHĀRA, a town in South Arabia, mentioned by Yāqūt among the fortified places in the district of San'a', on the Djabal Shahāra. A second place distinguished from the preceding as Shahārat al-Faish lies quite near it, a little to the east on the same hill, which lies due north of the town of Ḥabūr. Al-Ḥamdānī already knows this town as the source of the stone used in rings called *sa'mānī*, a red onyx with white veins, also called *'arwānī*. The town frequently played an important part in the history of South Arabia. The Amir Dhī 'l-Sharāfīn Muḥammad b. Dīnār, the last descendant of al-Kāsim al-A'yānī died here in 478 (1085/1086) and was buried here. His tomb

is widely celebrated and the place was called Shahārat al-Amīr after him. The Saiyid al-Kāsim b. Muḥammad, who raised the Yamani rebellion against the Turks about 1630 was born and lived here. When he had succeeded in expelling the Turks he retained Shahāra as his capital. He was the ancestor of the Imāms of San'a'. When the Turks began to regain their hold on the Yaman in 1871—1872 Shahāra was taken by Muṭāfā 'Asim Pasha in a bold campaign and the house of the ringleader in the anti-Turkish movement, Saiyid Muḥsin al-Shahārī destroyed; the latter had for years been at war also with the Imām of San'a' Muḥsin Mu'izz. Saiyid Muḥsin had to retire to Wādā'a and in 1884 the notables of Ḥabūr, Sa'da and Shahāra were forced to submit to the then governor of Yaman, 'Izzet Pasha. In the wars following Shahāra was again lost to the Turks and became the centre of all the elements hostile to Turkish rule.

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(ADOLF GROHMANN)

SHĀHĪ, a small coin of the Shāhs of Persia. It was the smallest of the silver coins in the xviith and xviiith centuries and weighed 18 grains (1.17 grammes); it was worth $\frac{1}{4}$ of an 'abbās or $\frac{1}{2}$ mahmūdī or ten copper kashagis; in Fatḥ 'Alī's reformed coinage 20 shāhis were equal to the new silver unit, the *ḥavāri*. Under Nāṣir al-Dīn the shāhi was a copper coin = 5 centimes; the 2 shāhi piece and $\frac{1}{2}$ shāhi were also issued in copper.

(J. ALLAN)

SHAHĪD (A.), witness, martyr (pl. *shahāda*) is often used in the Qur'ān (as is *shāhid* [q. v.], plur. *shuhūd*, from which it is not definitely distinguished) in the primary meaning of witness. The following examples are typical of the various contexts in which it occurs: Sūra, ii. 127: "Or were ye eye-witnesses when Jacob was at the point of death and he said to his sons? ... Sūra, xxiv. 6: "Those who slander their wives and have no witness except themselves" ... Sūra, ii. 137: "And thus we have made you a people in the middle that ye may be witnesses in regard to mankind and that the Prophet may be a witness in regard to you"; Sūra, i. 20: "(On the day of judgment) every soul shall come, with an urger and a witness". (On the expression: to give evidence from belief, etc., see the articles *SHAHĀDA* and *TASHAHHUD*). *Shāhid* frequently occurs as referring to God, e.g. Sūra, iii. 93: "God is the witness of your deeds"; Sūra, v. 117: "Thou art the witness of all things". *Shāhid* is therefore also one of "the most beautiful names" (*al-asmā' al-ḥusnā*, cf. the article *ALLĀH*).

The meaning martyr is not found for *shāhid* in the Qur'ān. It is only later commentators that

have tried to find it in Sūra, iv. 71. The Qur'an always uses circumlocutions to express this conception, e.g. Sūra, iii. 151: "If ye be slain or die on the path of God, then pardon from God and mercy is better than what ye have amassed". Sūra, iii. 161: "Consider not those slain on God's path to be dead, nay, alive with God; they are cared for". Sūra, xlvii. 5-7: "And those who fight for the cause of God, their works He will not suffer to miscarry. He will guide them and bring their heart to peace and lead them into Paradise which He has told them of".

The development of meaning of *shahid* to martyr (there is not the parallel development in *shahid*; this never means anything but witness, namely in a court of justice, cf. the article *SHAHID*), took place under Christian influence, cf. the Syriac *shahid* for the N.T. Greek *μάρτυρ*.

Wensinck's monograph on martyrdom in the east shows that the development in Christianity and in Islam runs parallel down to minor details and that the doctrine of martyrdom in both religions in the last resort goes back to old oriental (Jewish) and Hellenistic ideas. The old meaning *shahid* = witness, later became so forgotten in Islam that false etymologies are regularly given for it (e.g. from *sh-h-d* to look, etc.).

The martyr who seals his belief with his death, fighting against the infidels is *shahid* throughout the Hadith literature and the great privileges which await him in heaven are readily depicted in numerous hadiths. By his sacrifice the martyr escapes the examination in the grave by the "interrogating angels" Munkar and Nakir, nor does he need to pass through the "purging fires of Islām", *harākāt*. Martyrs receive the highest of the various ranks in Paradise, nearest the throne of God; the Prophet sees in a vision the most beautiful abode in Paradise, the *Dār al-shuhadā'*. The wounds of the *shahid* received in the *Djihād* become red like blood on the day of judgment, and shine and smell of musk. None of the dwellers in Paradise could ever come back to earth, except the *shahid*: for on account of the very special privileges which are granted him in Paradise he still wishes to suffer martyrdom another ten times. Martyrs are freed by their death from the guilt of all sins so that they do not require the intercession of the Prophet, and indeed in later traditions we even find them interceding for other men. They are already pure, and therefore alone among men are not washed before their burial, a view which has found a place in the Fiqh (cf. A. J. Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muhammadan Tradition*, s. v. *Martyr*).

In the Fiqh books the *shahid* is dealt with in the section on *ṣalāt* in connection with the prayer for the dead, and the differences of opinion in the schools (the reasons for them are sometimes very interesting) centre mainly round the question whether the *shahid* is washed, whether the prayer for the dead is uttered over him, whether he is to be buried in his bloodstained garments, or not, etc. In them we find the distinction made whether the *shahida* has been for this world for the next or for both, for as an ethical action it must be judged according to its *niyya*; on the other hand we find the different kinds of *shuhadā'* in the wider sense, detailed below. The case of *shahid* in the legal sense does not occur if the man concerned survived the battle in spite

of his wounds and was able to arrange his affairs before his death. We sometimes find sections, *fi ṣalāt al-shahida* in the book of *Dhiḥād*, where martyrdom is praised quite in the style of the hadith.

The praise of *shahida* led to a real longing to meet a martyr's death and according to some traditions, even Muhammad and 'Omar longed for it. This *ṭalab al-shahida*, however, was by no means encouraged by orthodox theology but rather deprecated, perhaps — according to a suggestion of Wensinck — because this kind of self-sacrifice looked very like suicide, always condemned in Islam. Therefore peaceful moral duties are represented as equal to or even better than voluntary death, such as fasting, regularity in prayer, reading the Qur'an, gratitude to one's parents, honesty as a tax-collector, learning; these are all deeds on the path of God, *fi ṣalāt Allāh* (this expression with the gradual cessation of the wars of conquest undergoes the same change from a warlike to a peaceful ethical meaning as *shahid*, cf. the article *SAHIL*) and may enable men to share in the rewards otherwise promised for the *shuhadā'*. But the conception of *shahid* itself underwent an important extension which may be partly already seen in hadith's, so that in the end almost anyone who had died any violent death and aroused pity was considered by the general public to be a martyr and soon was actually regarded as a saint. An important factor in bringing about this development was the very old tendency of the people to worship holy men generally, cf. the article *WALI*. In this sense, for example, anyone who dies of disease, like the plague and the "diseases of the stomach", is considered a *shahid*; anyone who dies a violent death, e.g. from starvation, thirst, drowning, being buried alive, burning, poison, a lightning stroke, being killed by robbers or wild beasts, or a mother who dies in childbirth; also one who dies during the performance of a meritorious action, e.g. on the pilgrimage or in a foreign land, where no friend or relative is with him, or on a journey which is *ṣunna* or while visiting a saint's tomb or while in the act of prayer, or as a result of continuous ablations, or in the Friday night, or in the search for the knowledge of the faith: *fi ṭalab 'ilm al-Dīn*, or in defending the right against injustice: of the *amir bi 'l-ma'rūf wa 'l-nahy 'an al-munkar* against the *ẓālim*: whoever loves and remains chaste and does not betray his secret and dies, dies a *shahid* and anyone who meets his death fighting against his own impulses in the *djihād akbar*, is *shahid*.

The tomb of such a *shahid* is considered *maḥḥad*, enjoys the reverence of the pious and becomes an object of pilgrimage. In many of these *maḥḥad* it can be proved that we have pre-Islamic local cults which have been continued in this form under Islam. This side of the survival of the ancient in the nearer East has been illuminated by van Berchem's study of the inscriptions, but only after further material is available will a final verdict be possible. The phrase found as early as tombs of the third century A.H.: *hādū mī jashadū bihi wa 'alāhi*, with which the term *maḥḥad* might perhaps be connected (according to a suggestion by M. Hartmann, *Z.D.P.V.*, xvi. 652; cf. however, Ritter in *Id.*, xii. 148-150), is interesting. When we further find Sultans called *shahid* in inscriptions, the word here has lost its

real significance and is no more than a pious term for deceased. In many cases the name *maṣḥād* was transferred to rites of local cults, which have nothing to do with a *shahid* and in Turkish *shahidlik* and *meṣhed* (also pronounced *meṣhaf*) is a name for cemetery in general (see Mordtmann, in *Isl.*, xii, 223). The inscriptions also show that frequently the Muslim builders of *maṣḥād* built them in their own lifetime, apparently in order to share in the blessings of their good deed while still here on earth (cf. *MAṢḤAD*).

In Cairo there used to be celebrated a festival in commemoration of martyrs, in which Muslims took part up to the VIII/XIVth century (Maḥṣūn, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 68 sq.; Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islām*, p. 399 sq.).

In contrast to orthodoxy the various sects often kept rigidly to the original sense of *shahid*; for example the Khawārij fanatically sought death fighting against the government, which they considered unrighteous, while the orthodox theologians taught that rebellion against the government was not a *ḡiyād* with a prospect of martyrdom.

Martyrdom plays a special role of peculiar importance for the Shī'a. For them Husain is the *shahid* par excellence, the king of martyrs, *shāh-i shuhadā* (much as the favourite martyr of the Sūfis is al-Hallāj). In keeping with the character of the Shī'a, Husain is sometimes endowed with features which almost recall the passion of Christ or sufferings of St. Francis (deliberate self-sacrifice, transmission and inheritance of the divine light in the family of the Prophet, immortality etc., cf. the articles *SHĪ'A*, *MUḤARRAM*, *HUSAIN*). There is a rich literature of martyrologies describing very fully the sufferings of Husain and other members of the family of the Prophet, a speciality of the Shī'a; for example there is a famous work entitled *Rawḍat al-Shuhadā* by Ḥusain b. 'Alī al-Wāṣi al-Kāshifī, which has been translated into Turkish (by Fuṭūlī with the title: *Hadīḩat al-Sa'ādā*) and into Eastern Turkish and several times also abbreviated.

The worship of *shahids* has attained noteworthy developments in parts of India where there is a gigantic *Shahid ganjī* said to be the tomb of no fewer than 150,000 *shuhadā*.

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Ivar Lassy, *The Muḩarram mysteries among the Azerbaijan Turks of Caucasus*, Diss. Helsingfors, 1916, p. 132 sqq.; Geiger-Kuhn, *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, ii, 358; A. Nöldeke, *Das Heiligtum des Husain zu Kerbela*, 1909, p. 37, 43. (W. BÖCKMAN).

SHĀHID (A., pl. *shuhūd*), witness. The statement (*shahāda*) of a witness, is a declaration on a legal claim in favour of a second person against a third, which is based on an accurate knowledge of the state of affairs and is made before the judge in prescribed form (*ashḩadu bi-kadhā wa-kadhā*). The following main principles have grown up, based on the Qurān and Tradition and perhaps also influenced by the legal opinions in the Talmud and are in the main common to all *maḩḩabib*; there are of course numerous differences in points of detail which cannot be dealt with here.

The taking and giving of evidence (*shahāda*) is a *farḩ 'ala 'l-kifāya*; but if only one person was present on the scene, there is an absolute obligation on him to give evidence (*farḩ al-ain*). In the case of a *ḩaḩḩ Allāḩ* it is, however, left to the discretion of the witness whether he cares to bring the culprit before the *ḩaḩḩ* or spare his Muslim co-religionist and remain silent; the last course is usually recommended as the more meritorious. The witness must: 1. have accurate knowledge (*'ilm*) of what he is talking of and have perceived it with his own eyes and ears (cf. Sūra, v, 11); 2. be *mukāllaf* (q. v.); 3. be a free man; 4. be a Muslim (if he is giving evidence in a case brought against a Muslim); 5. be in full possession of his mental faculties; 6. be 'adl (q. v.) (cf. Sūra, v, 105, and lxx, 2; *ḩawāḩ 'adl*); he must also not have been previously punished with *ḩadd* for slander (cf. Sūra, xxiv, 4); 7. lead a decent and moral life (*murumma*); thus for example a witness is rejected, if he enters the bath without a shift or is devoted to gambling (chess, *nard*) or eats in public; 8. be above suspicion; he must not for example get any advantage for himself from his evidence or avert any injury to himself; he must not be on bad terms with the accused, if he is giving evidence against him. Nor can those who have a claim for maintenance give evidence against one another, like parents and children, husband and wife, master and slave.

The following regulations concern the number and sex of the witnesses: 1. In *zinā* four male witnesses are required (cf. Sūra, xxiv, 2 sq. and iv, 19). 2. In all other cases, which do not concern *māḩ*, like theft, murder, marriage and divorce, release of slaves etc., two male witnesses are required (cf. Sūra, ii, 282 sq. and v, 105 sqq.); in cases which, as a rule, women alone are competent to deal with (child-birth, unchastity in women, etc.), four women are sufficient according to the Shāfi' teaching (two for the Mālikis and only one for the Hanafis and Zaidis). 3. In cases which concern *māḩ*, like claims arising out of contracts and bonds or accidental homicide, two men or one man and two women are required as witnesses (cf. Sūra, ii, 282 sq.). In these cases one male witness is usually sufficient along with the oath of the accuser.

Except in criminal cases, it is allowed to replace one original witness (*shāhid al-awḩ*) by two male deputy witnesses (*shuhūd al-far*), the

so-called *shahīdā* 'alā *shahīdā*; but only when the original witness is dead or cannot appear before the court on account of severe illness or is three days' journey or more from the place of trial.

The witnesses may withdraw their evidence before the judge; but if sentence has already been passed, they are liable for the injury done. If a statement is withdrawn, which affirmed *amā*, the witnesses are punished with *hadd* for slander (*qadhf*). False witness (*shuhūd al-ḥur*) is already censured in the *Kurʾān* (*Sūra*, xiv, 72; ii, 283) and Tradition. Witnesses are frequently purchased in the east (cf. E. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 1860, p. 100, 114; Ch. White, *Three Years in Constantinople*, 1845, i, 103).

The most difficult point in the above rules is undoubtedly the question of *ʿadāla*; the witnesses must either be personally known as *ʿadl* to the *qāḍī* or their *ʿadāla* must first of all be established. From the end of the second (eighth) century an assistant to the *qāḍī*, the *qāḥil al-maʿāḍil* or *mu-nakkil*, was appointed to conduct these often tiresome investigations. As Muslim procedure does not recognise documentary evidence as proof but only the oral evidence of eye-witnesses, such people were preferred for the verification of legal matters whose *ʿadāla* had already been proved. Thus permanent "witnesses" came into existence: at times their numbers rose to thousands but usually there were only a few. They were officials of the *qāḍī*, and were appointed and dismissed by him. Thus arose the body of notaries, who were called *shuhūd* in Cairo and Baghdad, in the east and the Maghrib *ʿadāl*. Besides verifying legal matters they also decided smaller disputes independently. They were as a rule young lawyers who later received judicial appointments. Muslim writers frequently complain of the corruption among these people. Their development began in the 11th (viii) century (the first reference is in Cairo in 174 A.H.: al-Kindi, *Governors and Judges*, ed. Guest, p. 386) and they were abolished in the 14th (xth) century. These "witnesses" are properly to be regarded as a revival of the Roman-Byzantine notaries. — For the present conditions see Lane, *op. cit.*, i, 117; Vassil, *Über muslimische Prozesspraxis in M. S. O. S. Az.*, 1902, v, p. 475 ff.

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(W. HEFFENING)

SHĀHINSHĀH. [See **SHĀH**.]

SHAHR (P.), a town. It is etymologically the same word as old Persian *shahāra* — (cf. skr. *śatra* —); the old Persian word, however, means only: "dominion, reign", and also: "empire"; this old significance the Pahlavi *shahr* (written ideographically: 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲) originally retained, but it means also: "a district, a large town". The Armenian loan-word *ashkharkh* denotes: "a province, a land", also: "the world" (*shapur*, *shapuria*, cf. also the compound *ashkharkhat* = *shahrapur*). It seems to have been borrowed from the older (Arsacidian) middle-Iranian. The modern Persian *shahr*, which signifies "a (large) town", originally comprised the old meaning ("empire, realm") besides. It can be seen in phrases like *Irān shahr*, *Shahr-i Kūhān*, etc., which belong to the poetical style; cf. also the derivative *shahryār* (from *shahāra* —), "a ruler, a king".

It is perhaps no mere fortuity, that in old Persian there seems to be a trace of a similar semasiological transition in the case of the word *wardana* —, which in that idiom signifies "a town". In the Babylonian texts of the inscriptions of the Achaemenids, this word is rendered by *alu*; the old Persian term for "land, district" (*dahyāna*) is translated into Babylonian by *mutu*; now in Bisutūn 2,6 (= § 25 Weissbach), Babylonian *alu* corresponds to Persian *dahyāna* and a Babylonian duplicate of a portion of the Bisutūn inscription (cf. Weissbach, *Die Keilschriften der Achämeniden*, p. 311.) has 2,12 (= § 31 Weissbach) *mutu* for Persian *wardana*, whereas Bisutūn 3,13 (= § 49 Weissbach), Persian *dahyāna* is rendered in the Elamite text by the ideogram for "town". That the old Persian here may have influenced the Babylonian, is not impossible, as one could suppose, that also the later Babylonian use of the verbal form *iddin(u)* (lit. "he gave") for: "he created", which is found, e.g. in the Elwend-inscription of Darius, might have originated by the influence of Persian *adū* = he created (the Aryan roots *dā* and *dhā* no more being phonetically different in Iranian); cf. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handwörterbuch*, p. 451; Weissbach, *Keilschr. der Achäm.*, p. 100, note a. It seems probable, then, that already in old Persian the meanings "a district" and "a large town" were inclined to fade one into the other. This is not very surprising, taking into consideration the fact, that in later times also several large cities in Persia had their dependent localities, which were reckoned to belong to the town, so that the ideas of "town" and "district" in some cases might cover each other.

The modern Persian, according to the lexicographers, has also the collateral form *shār*.

The word *shahr* occurs in several names of towns, e.g. *Shahrābād*, and, more often, in *ishāfa*-construction, as *Shahr-i Bīkta*, *Shahr-i Rustam*, etc. (cf. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Index); is personal names it retains its old meaning: "empire", as in the (already Pahlavi) names *Shahrwarāz*, or *Shahrshān*.

The word passed into Osmanli under the form of *shahr*; town-names, in which it enters, are numerous, e.g. *Akshehir*, *Yeni-shehir*, etc.; see for this word and its derivations Barlier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire Turco-Français*, 2 v.

Shahrangiz or *Shahrshāh*, in Turkish and Persian literature, denotes a kind of poetical composition, which satyrizes or praises the inhabitants

of a certain town (*madh u-dhammi kīh shu'arū ahl-i shahr rā kunand*; cf. Vullers, *Lexicon*, s.v. *shahr*); Browne, *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, p. 237/238; Gibb, *Hist. of Ottoman Poetry*, II, 232 etc.). (V. F. BÜCHNER)

SHAHRASTĀN or *Shahristān* (s.), a derivation from *shahr* with the suffix — *stān*. Collateral forms are *shahrastāna*, *shāristān* (and, metri causa, *shāristān*). In Pahlavi the word also occurs, written ideographically 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲; the meaning is, both in Pahlavi and in modern Persian: a town, especially a fortified one, or a capital (cf. Vullers, s.v. *shāristān* and *shahristān*; i.e. Strange: *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 203, note 1). The principal part of several Persian towns is therefore named by this term, as was the case with that quarter of Barwān (according to al-Mukaddasī, the capital of Dailām), where the governor resided; also with the eastern part of the city of Djurdjān, the inner part of the city of Kuzwān; the (new) city of Kāth [q.v.], according to al-Mukaddasī, also bore the name of *Shahristān*, and during the Middle Ages, the old (eastern) city of Isfahān was known as *Shahrastāna*; otherwise, this latter locality was named *Djāy*, or simply, *Madina*, which term seems to be nothing but the Arabic translation of *Shahrastāna*.

There are some cities and villages, which are designated by this name, either exclusively, or optionally, viz.:

1) *Shahristān-i Yazdigird*, a fortified town, built by the Sāsānian king Yazdigird II (438—457 A.D.) against the incursions of the Turks; the king resided here from the fourth to the eleventh year of his reign. The town must have been situated in the province of Djurdjān.

2) A town in *Khurāsān*, at a distance of three days from Nāsā (Nisā), on the border of the desert. This locality seems not to have been of great importance; it had textile industry, and was the birth-place of the well-known al-Shahristānī [q.v.].

3) A village in *Sidjistān*, situated near the ruins of the medieval capital of the province, Zaranj.

4) *Shahrastāna*, a village near Hamādhān.

5) The city of *Shāpūr* [q.v.] in Fārs also bore the name of *Shahristān*, as was the case with

6) *Rūyān*, a city in the district of the same name belonging to *Tabaristān*.

Bibliography: G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (see Index); P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, p. 31, 586; J. Marquart, *Erānshahr*, p. 56, 73; C. Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire... de la Perse*, p. 358 etc.; C. Ritter, *Erldkunde*, ix, 121. (V. F. BÜCHNER)

AL-SHAHRĀSTĀNĪ, MUHAMMAD B. 'ABD AL-KARIM, the principal historian of religions in the oriental middle ages, was born in *Shahristān*, a town of *Khurāsān*, in 469 (1076); the date of his birth is also given as 467 and 479. He studied jurisprudence and theology at *Djurdjāniya* and *Nisābūr*; his teacher in scholastic theology was Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Ansārī. According to Ibn Khallikān he belonged to the *Ash'ari* school but Sam'ānī says that he adopted the dreams of the *Isma'ili*s and that in his conversation and discussions he only spoke of the philosophers and took no interest in religious law. He made the pilgrimage however and returning after having spent 3 years in *Baghdād*, he settled in his native town where he died in 548 (1153).

He wrote several books, of which the most famous is the treatise on religions and sects: *Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-Nihal*; among the others we may mention, on speculative theology: *Nihāyat al-Idām fi 'l'm al-Kalām*, another on metaphysics, the title of which: *Mu'āma'at al-Falāifa*, the duel of the philosophers, recalls that of the *Tahāfut* of Ghazālī, and one on "the history of the learned": *Ta'rikh al-Hukamā'*, which has the same title as the well-known work of Ibn al-Kifī (d. 1248), written about a century later.

The treatise on religions and sects, one of the most remarkable documents of the philosophical literature of the Arabs, was written in 521 (1127). The author in it passes in review all the philosophic and religious systems that he was able to study and classes them according to their degree of remoteness from Muslim orthodoxy. He therefore begins with the Muslim sects, *Mu'tazila*, the *Shi'a* and the *Bāṭinis*. He next deals with the "people of the book", those who have a revealed book recognised by *Islām*, i.e. the Christians and Jews; next those who have revealed books either doubtful or false, e.g. the Magi and the Dualists, after whom come the Sabaeans who worship the stars. Leaving the sects founded on a revelation, he goes back to pagan antiquity and gives articles on the principal philosophers and sages of Greece, after which he gives an exposition of Arab Scholasticism as a derivative from Hellenism; the last part of the book is devoted to the religions of India.

The book is preceded by prolegomena, of which one chapter, the fourth, is an account of all the differences which broke out in *Islām* in the last moments of Muhammad's life and which, influencing religion on the one hand politics on the other, gave rise successively to the sects of *Shi'a* and *Mu'tazila*. This is a very fine section. In another chapter of these prolegomena *Shahristānī* deals with arithmetic and makes some pretensions to be a mathematician; but these are not justified in the result. *Shahristānī*'s mind is essentially and almost exclusively a philosophic one. He is interested only in ideas, he gives few biographical details, almost no titles of books, little chronology and no dates. As an analyst of the systems, he is very subtle and in general very objective. He has not the primarily apologetic character which the lost work of al-Ash'ari on the sects for example must have had.

The most important parts of the work of al-Shahristānī are those which deal with the *Mu'tazila*, the *Shi'a*, the Dualists and the Sabaeans. For the *Mu'tazila*, hair-splitting theologians and subtle thinkers, whose works have not come down to us, he is the one of the most important sources with al-'Idjī; the article on *Ash'ari* and the *Ash'ari* school which fixed Muslim orthodoxy, is interesting for the same reason. The articles on the *Shi'a*, *Khāridjīs*, *Murjīs*, divided into numerous sects political in character, which differed in the theory of the imamate, are very interesting; but the author is rather brief on the *Isma'ili*s and *Bāṭinis*. He is equally short on the Jews. As to the Christians he knows three principal sects: the Melkites, the Nestorians and the Jacobites; he contrasts St. Paul with St. Peter (Simon al-Salt), saying that Paul came to disturb the arrangements made by Peter and to mingle philosophic ideas in the teaching of Christ. He knows a little about the Christian scriptures but does not criticise them so acutely as Ibn Hārm.

The references to the Dualists, Manichaeism, Manes, Mardak, Bardesanes, Marcion, are of course very valuable; the opposition between light and darkness plays a considerable part in them as in the philosophy of *Ishrāq*. It is the same with the long section on the Sabaeans; Shahrastānī puts in it a dialogue in which an orthodox Muslim argues with a Sabaeen, opposing the idea of prophecy to that of the spirits of the stars, disputing the existence of the latter and criticising the conception of them.

At the present day, Shahrastānī appears quite ignorant of Greek philosophy; but he has quite a good article on Plato, whose theory of ideas he understands and another interesting one on Pythagoras, in which he gives an exposition of the theory of number and of geometrical ideas conceived as principles of beings. The article on Aristotle is derived from Avicenna and the commentary of Themistius. The very long article on Arab scholasticism is in the main a résumé of the *Nafīṣ* of Avicenna. Lastly the section on India contains some curious passages. We know that Arab authors as a whole knew very little about India. Nevertheless we find in Shahrastānī some accurate notes on Buddhist psychology and doctrine, on the Bodhisattvas and the successive Buddhas and on certain practices of Hinduism — the worship of the goddess Kālī, whose idol (Mahākālī) is described, ablutions in the sacred rivers, religious suicides etc. Shahrastānī seems to regard Pythagoras as the founder of intellectual thought in India.

Bibliography: Muḥammad al-Shahrastānī, *Book of Religious and Philosophical Sects*, ed. Cureton, 2 vol., London 1846; another ed., Būlak 1261; transl. Th. Haubricher, *Religionspartheien und Philosophenschulen*, 2 vol., Halle 1850/1851; Ibn Khallikān, *ed. de Slane*; al-Sam'ānī quoted in Yāqūt, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, transl. Barbier de Meynard, Paris 1861, p. 359. (CARRA DE VAUX)

SHAHRIŪR, the name of the sixth Persian month, which has 30 days like every Persian month. The older form of the name found also in al-Bīrūnī is *Shahrivar*. As the name is also that of the fourth day of every Persian month, the month and day are distinguished by the addition of *māh* or *rūz*. The 4th *Shahrīr*, on which the name of day and month are the same is called *Shahrīgūn*.

Bibliography: al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, ed. Sachau, p. 42 sq., 70, 221; al-Kāẓimī, *Adab al-Makhṭūṭ*, ed. Wāstenfeld, i. 79, 81 (German transl. by Ethé p. 163, 167); on the linguistic history of the name cf. Horn, *Neuperische Schriftsprache* (*Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, i. 2), p. 181. (M. PLÉSSNER)

SHAHRŪD, 1. Name of two rivers belonging to the system of the Kizil Ūzen (Safīdrūd: this other name, however, which in the Middle-Ages designated the whole Kizil Ūzen, at present belongs to its lower course, from Mandjil to the Caspian, cf. Andreas in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz.* 2, i., col. 1736; Monteith, p. 16). The most important of the two Shahrūds is that, which at Mandjil (± 36° lat., 49° long.) joins the main river. This Shahrūd takes its rise in the mountain-system of the Alburz, and its direction is from the South-East to the North-West. According to Mustawfī al-Kāẓimī, who gives a concise, but tolerably clear description of this river (*Nuṣṣat al-Ḳulūb*, text, p. 217/218;

transl. p. 210), the Shahrūd rises from the confluence of two streams in the Rūdbār-district of Kāẓimī, one originating from the Taliḳān hills, the other from the „Nār and Takḥmas mountains“, as Le Strange construes the text, which is uncertain, as it presents some variants. Hādījī Khālifa, who, in his *Dihānūmūl* (p. 304), as often, copies the *Nuṣṣat*, reads here: *Kūh-i Shār* (cf. the variants in Le Strange's edition, p. 217, N° 4).

The Shahrūd, according to Mustawfī, passes Alamūt, while flowing through the Rūdbār-district, and unites in the district of Bara, „which is of the two Tārums“, with the Safīdrūd. From its origin to its junction with the last-named river it measures 35 leagues (*farsang*); its water, but for a small degree, is not used for field-irrigation. With these last words, the statement of the same author, that most of the lands of the district of Rūstamdār are watered by the Shahrūd (text, p. 160, transl. p. 157) should be compared or contrasted.

The Shahrūd, not being navigable, has no significance for traffic. Although the Kizil Ūzen is well-known in antiquity under the name of Amardus, there seems to be no mention of the Shahrūd before the Middle Ages. It is noticed by the Armenian geographer, translated and annotated by J. Marquart, in his *Erānshahr*, p. 126; this authority mentions its rising in the mountains of Taliḳān. On the infrequent mentions of the Shahrūd in Arab geographers, Andreas' article on the Amardus in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz.* 2, i., col. 1734 etc. may be consulted. In the nineteenth century, the river became known by the travels of Monteith and Rawlinson. The first, the account of whose journey dates from 1832, explored the valley of the Shahrūd, starting from Mandjil (or, as he calls it, Menjile), in search of the ruins of Alamūt. He first notices the height of Menjile (800 feet above the sea), and gives the names of some localities, situated on the Shahrūd: they are (retaining the orthography of the original): at 2 miles (from Mandjil): Loushan; at 28: Berenzini; 36 miles from Berenzini: Jirandey, „just where the stream from the mountains of Ala Mout in Mazanderan . . . joins the stream of Kherzan, coming from the mountains behind Kashine“. In this region there were found ruins, which were considered to be the ruins of the renowned stronghold of al-Ḥasan b. al-Ṣabbāḥ. Returning by the same route, Monteith visited, at 12 miles distance from Mandjil, the alum-mines near the village of Surdar.

In the account of Rawlinson's journey from Tabriz to Gilān (1838) the Shahrūd is also mentioned, but the last named traveller does not give a detailed account of it.

The other Shahrūd, as appears from Kiepert's *Nouvelle carte générale des provinces asiatiques de l'Empire ottoman*, 1884, joins the Kizil Ūzen between Senna and Miḡānsarūy; the locality, mentioned by Monteith (pp. 13 and 20) under the name of „Berendeh“, must be the „Berinda“ or Kiepert's map, to the North of Senna. This „Berendeh“ might be compared with the „Bara“ in the passage of Mustawfī, were it not, that the description of that author cannot but relate to the river of Mandjil. One might, however, suppose, that Mustawfī has, in this place, mistaken the one Shahrūd for the other. The second, or lesser Shahrūd, called formerly the river of Shāl, which

receives some small tributaries (of, as it seems, unknown names) from the East, rises in the Shäl hills, and passes some localities, e. g. Shäl (see below), flowing almost parallel to the Kizil Uzen to the east; then, east of Berinda (which lies on what seems to be a western tributary to the lesser Shährüd), it takes a curve to the South-West, to merge into the Kizil Uzen, joining it, therefore, from the north-east. To assume, as Ritter does, in his *Erdkunde*, three Shährüds, is not necessary.

II. A district described by Mustawfi as belonging to the Tülah-districts (تولایش). Among its villages, he mentions Shäl, Kalür, Hims, Darüd and Külüwän. We see, then, that it is the region of the lesser Shährüd. The climate, according to our authority, is temperate, and the soil produces good corn, but not much fruit. The people are Shäfi'ites, but, as the author observes, only by name, for they do not care much about religion. The revenues, in Mustawfi's time (middle of the viiith = xvth century), amounted to 10,000 dinärs.

III. Name of a city in the West of Khurāsān, not far from the frontiers of the province of Astarābād. It lies to the South of Bistām; according to Fraser, its geographical position is lat. 36° 25' 20", long. 55° 2' 23"; its height above the sea is 3500 feet. The town is a trade-centre; from it to the city of Astarābād there are two ways. The geographers of the Middle Ages make no mention of it.

Bibliography: I: Mustawfi-i Karwini, *Nushat al-Kulūb*, ed. Le Strange (G. M. S., xxiii, i. 60 sq., 160, 217 sq.; ii. 66, 157, 209 sq.; Monteith, *Journal of a Tour through Azerbaidjan and the Shores of the Caspian*, in *Journal of the Royal Geogr. Society of London*, 1833, iii., p. 13, 15, 20; Rawlinson, *Notes on a Journey from Tabriz . . . to Gilān in October and November 1838*, i. c., 1840, x. p. 61, 64; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii. 574, 581, 587, 590, 592, 616 sqq., 628, 637, 668; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 170 sq. II: Mustawfi, *op. cit.*, i. 82; ii. 85; Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire . . . de la Perse*, p. 344; Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 169, 171. III: Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii. 11, 337, 470 sq., 473, 475; Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 366. (V. F. BÜCHNER)

SHÄHRUKH MİRZÄ, the fourth son of Timūr and the first of the Timūrid sovereigns, born at Samarqand on the 14th Rabi' II, 779 (20th August, 1377) and thus named, according to the legend, because his father heard of his birth in the middle of a game of chess, when the knight "rukh" was on the point of checking the king "shāh". He received also the titles of *Bahādur*, "valiant", *Akhān-i Sefid*, "fortunate sovereign". Married at the age of eleven, governor of the Empire during the Kipčak campaign [q.v.] at the age of thirteen, he was sent back to Samarqand during the great Persian expedition, but was called to the army in 795 (1392). At the age of seventeen he distinguished himself at the siege of Kāl'e-i Sefid [q.v.], cut off the head of the enemy leader, Shāh Manšūr, and acted as mediator at the siege of Takrit, became governor of Samarqand and of the country around in 796 (1393/1394); and three years later, he took part in the expeditions to Persia, Syria and Asia Minor, and held important commands at the siege of Aleppo and at the battle of Ancyra. Chalcondylas, who calls

him Σαγγελος, speaks of him with admiration. His presence being necessary at Herāt, he did not go to the *Shirāzī*, which decided upon the Chinese expedition, and he contracted then a new marriage.

On the death of Timūr, Shährukh was recognized as sovereign of the provinces which he was governing (Ramādān 807 = March-April 1405). The other princes, very much divided, finally adopted the proposal of Pir Muḥammad to rally around Shährukh, who would probably be content with a formal recognition and certain marks of respect. Shährukh showed himself touched by the deference of his brothers.

One of the latter, Khalil Sulṭān, dispossessed by the emir Barandaq, had taken his revenge by seizing Samarqand. Shährukh departed at once with his army for Transoxiana; he was conciliatory and his envoy, Shaikh Nur al-Dīn, concluded a peace leaving Khalil sovereign of the country. Soon after, war broke out between Khalil and Mirzā Pir Muḥammad. The latter was assassinated by his vizier, Pir 'Alī Tāz. Rebellions deprived Khalil of any authority. On the other hand, the Djalā'irids and Kara Yūsuf seized Baghdād and Adharbāidjān; Pir 'Omār was dispossessed and killed by his kinsman Iskandar. Shährukh then intervened, defeated Iskandar and annexed to his states 'Irāk 'Adjami and contrary to the promise he had given, Khalil's lands were given to Ulugh Beg; Khalil received as compensation the governorship of 'Irāk, and Shährukh restored to him his love, Djawhar Shād, who had been insulted and maltreated by the rebels. In the same year (809 = 1406-1407), Mūsādarān was finally conquered.

In the following year Mirānshāh, the brother of Shährukh, was killed in a battle against Kara Yūsuf. The sons of Kara Yūsuf's enemy, Abū Bakr and Muḥammad 'Omār, survived him only a short time, and Kara Yūsuf, following up his conquests, founded a vast empire embracing Tabriz, Adharbāidjān and the 'Irāk. Shährukh, desirous of avenging his brother, attacked him in the year 823 (1420). Kara Yūsuf died suddenly at the moment of giving battle, his troops were disbanded and his corpse treated with indignity.

Several expeditions took place in the year 810 (1407-1408); one against Balḫ in which Pir 'Alī Tāz was conquered and put to death; one against Pir Pādishāh, who had rebelled at Astarābād. War broke out between Pir Muḥammad and Rustam, who was victorious, and made his entry into Isfahān where he behaved with moderation. Abū Bakr and Iskandar were at war in Kermān; Sulṭān was conquered by Shährukh. Pir Muḥammad had a reconciliation with Iskandar, but 'Alī al-Dawla revolted; his father, sulṭān Ahmad, pursued him and Kara Yūsuf made him prisoner. At the end of 811 (1409) Samarqand was under the power of Shährukh.

In the year 812 (1409-1410) there was an expedition against a rebel emir, Khudābidād, whose head was sent by a Mongol Khan to Shährukh. The revolt of Shāh Bahā' al-Dīn in Badakhshān was put down and Transoxiana, after being conquered, was reorganized. Marw was rebuilt, the ancient course of the Murghāb was restored and the dikes repaired. During the two succeeding years Shährukh had to return to Transoxiana in order to put down in that country the revolts of the

Emir Shāikh Nur al-Dīn, who was killed in Mongolia. New troubles broke out in Kermān, where Iskandar supplanted Mirzā Rustam. Under the rule of Khālīl, the Tatars brought back from Asia Minor by Timūr, had fled from Transoxiana into Khwārizm, which they laid waste and they wished then to return to their native land. A first expedition sent against them in 815 (1412/1413) was a failure. Much affected by this lack of success, Shāhrukh sent another against them and, once master of Khwārizm, handed it over to an able administrator, the Emir Shāh Mulk.

In 817 (1414/1415) the revolt of Mirzā Amtrak Ahmad took place; Ulugh Beg departed to besiege Akhū. The Emirs of Iskandar revolted and placed themselves under the authority of Shāhrukh, who offered Iskandar an honourable peace. This offer was rejected. After a long siege Isfahān was taken by assault and laid waste. Shāhrukh intervened, undertook the defence of the inhabitants and gave them Rustam as governor. He also ordered Iskandar to be treated with clemency. No attention was paid to his orders and the prince was blinded. The latter assisted by the Emir Sa'd-i Waqqās, the ally of the Turkomans, had helped the revolt of Bākara Mirzā at Shirāz (818 = 1415/1416). Besieging this town, Shāhrukh pardoned Bākara and sent him into the district of Kandahār; after another revolt, he was exiled to India with Mirzā Amtrak Ahmad; another suspect, Mirzā Ilangar, was sent into remote exile. Two other rebels, Sulṭān Uwais of Kermān and the Emir Bahlūl Ilarās of Kandahār made their submission.

In 820 (1417—1418) Bāisonkor, the son of Shāhrukh, was placed at the head of the government and he abolished the hated exactions of the vizier Saiyid Fakhr al-Dīn, whom he made disgorge some of his ill-gotten gains. The death of this Emir, which took place soon after, was considered a blessing from heaven.

On 23 Rabi' II, 830 (Feb. 21, 1427), Shāhrukh was the victim of a plot in the great mosque of Herāt, where the Darwish Ahmad Lw, who had come under the pretext of presenting a petition, tried to stab him. He was immediately lynched by the crowd. The consequence of this plot was that many arrests and executions of suspected people took place. Iskandar, aided by his brother Dīhānshāh, had rebelled again against Shāhrukh in 832 (1429). After being in revolt for six years, Dīhānshāh submitted and became governor-general of Adharbāidjān. Iskandar, who had fled, was assassinated a short time after at the instigation of his son. In Ramadān 838 (March 1435) the plague laid waste Herāt and its suburbs. Hundreds of thousands are said to have died at this time.

Shāhrukh died at Fīshāward, in the province of Ray on the 25th Ūlu 850 (March 12, 1447). Of the five sons that he had — Ulugh Beg, Abu 'l-Fath, Ibrāhīm Bāisonkor, Suyūghatmish and Muḥammad Dīkū — only the eldest survived to succeed him.

Historians are of one accord in eulogising Shāhrukh as a munificent sovereign, peaceful and void of ambition, loving peace without feigning war, in which he was always successful, and endeavouring to repair the damage done by Timūr. He rebuilt Merw, fortified and embellished Herāt. A zealous Muslim, he was believed even to have the gift of working miracles. Himself a poet and artist, he was the patron of writers, of artists and of scholars,

whom he attracted to Herāt, where he founded a magnificent library. Dīwān and the mystic poets Saiyid Nī'matu'llāh Kirmānī and Kāsim al-Anwār (q.v.) lived at this time. Turkish poetry began to rival Persian. Shāhrukh, who was particularly interested in historical studies, inspired or encouraged the works of Nizām al-Dīn Shāmī, Sharaf al-Dīn, 'Alī Yazdī, Fāsihi, 'Abd al-Razzāk, Samarqandī, as well as Hāfiḡ Abū, whom he commissioned to write a great work on geography. His sons, Ulugh Beg, the learned astronomer, and Bāisonkor, the noted artist, who gave a great stimulus to painting and to calligraphy, followed his example.

With other states Shāhrukh maintained peaceful relationships. He exchanged embassies with China, the suzerain of the family of Timūr, who paid her tribute. India recognized his authority, at least nominally. In 824 (1421) Khīr Khān, the sovereign of Delhi, sent him an embassy and we have the story several times published or translated of the embassy of 'Abd al-Razzāk Samarqandī to China and India. Deferential to China, Shāhrukh was, on the other hand, arrogant with the Turks. His correspondence with Muḥammad I is the proof of this. With Egypt his relationships were sometimes difficult. In 824 (1421) Tibet sent him an embassy.

On the death of Shāhrukh the decline began. The Timūrid princes, who all aspired to power and found followers, exhausted themselves in struggles which hastened on the rise of the Sāfawis and the formation of the Uzbek Empire.

Bibliography: The *Maṣṭū' al-Sādain wa-Maḡma' al-Bahrain* of 'Abd al-Razzāk al-Samarqandī is the most important work to consult; unfortunately it has never been published completely. Galland made a French translation still unpublished (*Bibl. Nat.*, fonds français, No. 6084—6087) and Quatremère has taken from it his *Mémoires historiques sur la vie de sultan Schah-rokh* (J. A., 1836, II, 193—233 and 338—364), which revised and continued until the year 924 (1421) resulted in the *Notice de l'ouvrage persan qui a pour titre Matlo-attadein....*, Paris 1843 (N.E., XVI/1). Numerous passages of lost parts of Hāfiḡ Abū have been preserved by the *Maṣṭū'* which contains besides the substance of Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī and other historians of Timūr. Mirkhwānd, VI, 180—223 and Khwāndamīr III, 178—214 are important. The *Tadhkirah* of Dawlatshāh gives but very scattered literary information; see on the same subject Mir 'Alī Shīr, *Maṣṭū'at*, book VII. (J. A., 1861, XVII, 285/286). The story of the plot is found in Barbier de Meynard's *Extraits de la Chronique persane d'Herāt* (J. A., 1862, XX, 268—272).

Munadījīm Bāshī, *Shāhīf al-akhbār*, Constantinople 1285, III, 57 is important for the relations with the 'Omānīs. Consult also: — Price, *Chronological Retrospect*, London 1821, III, 485 sq.; Sédillot, *Sur un sceau de Shah Rokh, fils de Tamerlan, et sur quelques monnaies des Timourides de la Transoxiane* (J. A., 1840, X, 295—319) and reprinted in *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire comparée des sciences mathématiques chez les Grecs et les Orientaux*, I, 243—269; Browne, *Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, p. 379—387, and Blochet, *Introduction à l'histoire des Mongols*, p. 248—265 (on the relations of Shāhrukh with China).

(L. BOUYAT)

SHĀH-SEWAN, the name of several groups of Turkish tribes in Persia. The term means in Turkish "those who love the Shāh". Persian historians write: *shāh-sewān*, thus indicating the Turkish accusative (*shāh*) and the Turkish closed *e*.

History. According to Malcolm, Shāh 'Abbās I (995—1037 = 1587—1628), in order to reduce the turbulent Turkish tribes known as *Khāl-bāsh* (= "red-heads"), who played the part of praetorians, invited the men of all the tribes to enrol themselves in a new body which was called Shāh-sewan. Entirely devoted to the Safawi family, this tribe enjoyed the particular favour of the sovereign. At one time they must have numbered 100,000 families, but this number diminished in time.

Malcolm quotes the *Zubdat al-tawārīkh* and his version has been adopted by later historians. The European travellers, who were contemporaries of the Safawis (R. da Mans, D. Garcias de Silva Figueroa, Chardin, Olearius), however, do not mention the tribe of Shāh-sewan and the known facts somewhat complicate Malcolm's story.

I. The *'Alam arāyī* 'Abbāsī frequently uses expressions like "*shāh-sewān*" *kardan*, *zaltāyī-shāh-sewān* in the sense of "to make appeal to the faithful." Thus the father of Shāh 'Abbās, Shāh Sultān Muḥammad, had already used this procedure in the rebellions of 989 and 992. "Shāh Muḥammad", says Iskandar Munshi, "having launched the (appeal) *shāhī sewān*, ordered that all those of the Turkoman tribe who were servants and partisans of this hearth (*ghulam wa-zahājīhāt* in *dūdman*) should rally round His Majesty". These ad hoc appeals played upon the religious sentiments of the adepts of the Safawi family (*dūdman*, *oḡjak*). The sovereigns of this dynasty not only traced their origins to the *Shāhī imāms*, but even claimed to be the incarnations of the latter (cf. KHATĀ'Y). In the time of Shāh 'Abbās there was in Turkey a sect which regarded the Persian sovereign as its *murshid*. In our own day, the Ahl-i Ḥaqq (cf. the article 'AHL-I-HAQQ) give a place in their theophanies to the Safawi kings. The formula called of Shāh-sewan thus recalled to political recalcitrants their obligations to their superiors.

In 996, in the first year of the reign of Shāh 'Abbās, the Khāl-bāsh rebelled against the authority of the majordomo Murshid Kuli Khān. The Shāh had recourse to the process of "*shāhī-sewan*" and the faithful arrived en masse. A few days later the rebels were captured and put to death. This decisive blow dealt to the truculence of the Khāl-bāsh must have made an impression on his contemporaries, for in the firm reign of Shāh 'Abbās, it was rarely necessary to resort to unusual measures. Iskandar Munshi says nothing about the permanent results of the appeal of 996. He only adds that the Shāh-sewan who came at the king's call "mounted guard till morning".

II. On the other hand, Shāh 'Abbās continued vigorously and successfully the policy of regrouping the great tribes. His grandfather, Shāh Tahmāsp [q.v.], about 936 (1529) had already reformed one of the most important Khāl-bāsh tribes: the Tūkkālū (Malcolm, I. 506), remnants of which are still to be found in Kernān. The new military corps (*kullār*, *tufangār*) made unnecessary the Khāl-bāsh *Kurāt* (Chardin V, 292). Another way of weakening the old praetorians was to dilute them with new elements personally devoted to the sovereign.

These newcomers seem to have been particularly proud of the name of Shāh-sewan as is shown by the history of the Shāh-sewan of Ardabil. To sum up then, it may be doubted if a single regularly constituted tribe was ever founded by Shāh 'Abbās under the name Shāh-sewan.

The Shāh-sewan of Ardabil. Although the inhabitants of this *khūmat* all use the "Azari" Turkish dialect and are all Shī'is, the Shāh-sewan, even when settled, form a group apart, distinguished by its tribal organisation. According to their traditions the Shāh-sewan came from Asia Minor under their chief Yamsur (?)-pāshā who had obtained permission to do this from Shāh 'Abbās I. Yamsur is said to have brought 3,300 families (hearths), a section of whom migrated later to Khurān.

Among these Shāh-sewan three groups are distinguished: (1) the tribe of Yamsur-pāshā, which later broke up into clans bearing the names of the descendants of the chief: Saru-khān [q.v.], Kōdjā-bēg, Band 'Alī bēg, Pālid bēg, Damir bēg, Kurāt bēg, etc., with other later ramifications; (2) the tribe brought at the same time by Kurd bēg, of which following clans still exist: Tālīsh mikailū, Khālīfēlu, Mughānlu, Udullu, Murādlu, Zargar, etc.; (3) the tribes which arrived in the time of Yamsur-pāshā, but independently of him: Inanlu (*'Alam arā*: imānlu, evidently from the Mongol *iman* "goat") with the clans: Ir-Eiwatlu, Kalāsh, Kūr (Kor?), 'Abbāslu, Ge'iklu, Yurtē, Dursun Khodjalu, and Begdillu with the clans: Adjirlu, Khodja-Khodjalu, Yeddi Olmak, Arablu, Çakhlulu, Kabādlu. As to the Begdillu, the *'Alam arā* (p. 762) mentions the different fiefs (*tiyālat*) held in Adharbāyījān by the Khāl-bāsh chief Gundoghmuş Sultān Begdili, "who with his tribe and their tents dwelled at Tā'uk near Kirkūk. Having become Shāh-sewan in the first Baghdad campaign (1032 = 1622), he presented himself to the Shāh and received the rank of Sakān". Alongside of these two tribes, mention is made of isolated groups, the Rīzā bēglu, Sarwānlar ("camel-drivers") and Giamushči ("buffalo-breeders").

Saru-khān succeeded Yamsur-pāshā. Among the descendants of the latter is mentioned Badr Khān, who accompanied Nadir Shāh on his campaigns. His sons, as the result of a quarrel, divided all the Shāh-sewan into two parties. The Ardabil section took the side of the Ir-bēg; descended from Naḡar 'Alī Khān and the Mishklu section those descended from Kūčuk Khān.

The arrival of the Russians in Transcaucasia reacted on the fortunes of the Shāh-sewan. Between 1728 and 1732 several clans leading a nomadic life on the Kura (Kor) recognised Russian supremacy. The peace of Gandja (1813) established the Russians north of Mughān. The frontier fixed on the Turkman-čai (1828) and always rigorously maintained separated the Shāh-sewan from a great part of their winter-quarters. The Russians for a considerable time did not prevent the tribes from continuing to enjoy their pastures, but there were continual incidents. In 1867, the Rīzā-bēglu and Kōdjā-bēglu were refused access to Russian Mughān. On their side the Persian authorities burned the village of the Kōdjā-bēglu, Barzand [q.v.], and in 1876 the tribe was deported to Urmia, from which it has little by little regained its old home.

From 1869 a mixed commission was created on Russian territory at Bilasuwār (on the river

Bolghār) with the task of settling amicably the mutual claims of Russian and Persian subjects. In 1884, the Russian frontier was definitely closed to the Shāh-sewan and at the same time the Russian nomads (Perebēl, Darwishlu) were forbidden to descend into Persia. This measure dealt a blow to the prosperity of the Shāh-sewan, but did not put a stop to their incursions. On the other hand, it encouraged the Shāh-sewan to settle down and they had to cultivate their lands more intensively.

The governors of Ardabil had made very little impression on the Shāh-sewan. Only the expedition of 1910 undertaken against the turbulent tribes by the leaders of Persian revolution attained a notable success. Towards April of 1925, Rida Khān Sardār Sipāh succeeded in disarming the Shāh-sewan.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were the following groups in Mughān; (1) Tarākama (Turkomans) 1,500 families of settlers; (2) Shākāki 8,000 families of nomad Kurds (?); (3) 10,000 families of Shāh-sewan nomads.

The Shākāki later withdrew into the interior of Persia. Before the Russian frontier was closed, fourteen clans of Persian Shāh-sewan, numbering 3,500 families, arrived in Russia, while 27 clans with 2,600 families remained in Persia.

Before 1914 the position was as follows: In the canton of Mishkhin on the northern slopes of the Sāwālān (q. v.), N. E. E. of Ardabil, from which it is separated by the river Dodjakh (a tributary of the Kama-su), there were over 5,000 hearths of the Shāh-sewan divided into 37 clans governed by their hereditary chiefs. The latter in turn were subordinate to an Il-bēgi. The Shāh-sewan of Mishkhin are nomads. They spend the summer on the high plateaux of Sāwālān and winter in Persian Mughān. The limit of their migration is about 120 miles. On this stretch they have villages inhabited by peasants, who have come from the interior of Adharbāidjān, who till the soil, receiving a third of the produce.

The number of Shāh-sewan in the canton of Ardabil was over 6,000 hearths divided into 12 clans, whose chiefs did not have an Il-bēgi in common. Among these clans only two are nomad; they go to Mughān of the eastern coast (Barand-Rāstwār). Four clans are becoming settled (*tahk-to-kapā* "the gates of wood"), especially in the S.E. and S.W. of Ardabil (the strongest clans are the Pulādla and Yurūl). In all there are over 11,000 hearths at Shāh-sewan residing in the *khūmūt* of Ardabil and they must number at least 75,000 souls.

The Shāh-sewan are Shi'is. The conversion of Yamsur-pāshā, who was at first a Sunnit, is said to have taken place when Shāh 'Abbās passed through Mughān. Since then the house of Yamsur-pāshā has been regarded as an *adakh* ("hearth") by which the tribes swear when taking an oath. The Kodja-bēgi are suspected of Sunnit leanings. One clan of Shāh-sewan consists entirely of *salayda* (Selyidus). Like the majority of nomads, the Shāh-sewan are rather indifferent in matters of religion.

The language of the Shāh-sewan does not differ from the "Azari" dialect spoken by the rest of the population of Ardabil, but it is said that the Zargār also use a Čaghatal dialect.

In the tribes a distinction is made between the clan of *hēg* and that of *hēg-sāda*, the latter being descended from lateral lines. The hired peasants

who till the earth on behalf of the tribes, are called *šawrāh* ("companions").

The Shāh-sewan of Sāwā. This group consists of two tribes: A. Baghdādī, 800 families living between Sāwā (q. v.) and Kum and governed by an Il-bēgi and four Il-bēgi. The tribe is said to have come from Shirāz in the time of Shāh 'Abbās I. It consists of 14 clans: Kāzayān (the most important), Kūselar, Kāz boyunlu, Mokhtabandlu, Yānjānlu, Ahmādla, 'Alī kurtlu, Sāthlu, Kutlu, Kādmīn, Suldūz, Husain khūmīn, Dugār, Nilkār, Mahdīn; B. Inānlu, 1000 families wintering between Teheran (Tihān) and Kum south of the river Karādī; summer quarters (54 months from April) at Parwān in the province Khāmas (Zandjān).

The tribe used to live in Mughān, whence they were transported by Nadir Shāh (?) to Khāmas to form a bulwark against the incursions of the Bihās Kurds (cf. SAWIJ BULAK).

Other groups. In the province of Khāmas (q. v.) the Doweitān, who dispute the power with the local Afshār, call themselves Shāh-sewan; they came from Mughān at the same time as the Inānlu. On the other hand, a tribe of this last mentioned name (Hādīdī Mirzā Hasan Fāsā'i, *Fārs-nāmayi Nāpīrī*, Tihān 1313, ii. 309; *Thi Inānlu*), numbering 5,000 families, forms a part of the confederation of the five tribes (Khāmas) in the eastern part of Fārs. Of at least one of the 25 subdivisions of these Inānlu, viz. of the Gok-pār, it is reported by Hasan Fāsā'i that, after having proclaimed themselves Shāh-sewan, i. e. "friends of the king (*šāh-fārd*)", they had separated from the tribe Gok-pār in the time of Shāh 'Abbās. Zain al-'Abidin Shirwānī mentions the existence of Shāh-sewan even in Kābul and Kashghir where they had gone in consequence of the dispersion policy practised by Nādir-shāh with regard to the Shāh-sewan (cf. J. Morier).

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SHA' (أ), a thing, anything, in Arab algebra the name for the unknown quantity in an equation. The expression is first used in the *Algebra* of Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Kāwārismi (about 820) and probably goes back to the Indian *śiṣṭa-shat*. In the mediaeval Latin translations, it is translated by *res*, latterly *causa*, Ital. *cosa*, from which developed the name *cosa* given to algebra. P. de Lagarde's attempt to trace the *x* of algebra to *Shai'*, which has found some credence among Orientalists, is untenable.

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SHAIBA (هَابَة), the name of the keepers of the Ka'ba (*Safana*, *ḥaḥāba*) whose authority does not extend over the whole of the sanctuary (*masjid al-haram*), nor even as far as the well of Zamzam and its annexes. They are the *Danū Shaiha* or *Shaihiyin* and have as their head a *wa'im* or *shaiḥ*.

Modern works only give brief references to them. Snouck Hurgronje gives the days on which they open the door of the Ka'ba. He notes that they only admit the faithful on payment of a fee and quotes the witty Mecca saying: "The B. Shai'ha are wreathed in smiles; this must be a day for opening the Ka'ba". — They find a further source of revenue in the sale of scraps of the covering of the holy house, which is replaced every year by their care. The embroidered parts reserved in theory for the sovereign are given more or less gratuitously to the great personages who represent him at Mecca and on the *ḥajj*. The remainder in accordance with custom (*Chroniken d. Stadt Mekka*, iii, 72) is the perquisite of the *Shaihiyin*, who sell it in the little booths at the Bāb al-Salām (Batanūni, p. 139), the ancient Bāb B. Shai'ha, the principal gate of the mosque. They also sell there the little brooms made of palm leaves, which are all alleged to have been used for cleaning the floor of the Ka'ba, a solemn ceremony in which the greatest personages glory in participating (Ibn Djabair, p. 138; Batanūni, p. 109). They also have the charge and care of the offerings made by the faithful, which adorn the interior of the holy house. This treasure comprises the most diverse objects, articles of gold and of silver, precious stones, lamps richly adorned, foreign idols, the offerings of converts in distant lands. This treasure has regularly been plundered by the Amirs of Mecca, by the governors, by its guardians and even by the *Shaihiyin* themselves (Gaudesroy-Demonbynes, *Le Pèlerinage*, p. 57) although according to tradition, the grand-master *Shai'ha* is said to have defended it against the attempts of the Caliph 'Omar (*Ud al-ghāba*, iii, 8). They have charge of the interior curtains of the Ka'ba. They had at one time the care of the *Maḥām* *ḥarām* which was considered a dependence of the holy house; but do I not know what is the present rule.

The possession of these diverse functions by the *Shaihiyin* is now so generally recognised that it attracts no attention. They evoked a more lively interest from earlier authors and especially from the pilgrims. The principal narratives are those of Ibn Djabair in 1183 and of Nāṣir-i Khosraw in 1276. The visit to the Ka'ba accompanied by

a *ḥajāt* of two *raḥ'a* made if possible, at the very spot where the Prophet performed them on the day of the taking of Mecca, is a pious act, which is not a part of the rites of the pilgrimage, but one from which the pilgrims themselves hope to acquire further merit although the people of Mecca seem to attach but slight importance to it. The dates of the public opening seem to have varied a little (*Le Pèlerinage*, p. 60 sq.) but the ceremony has remained unchanged. The *wa'im* alone has the key of the Holy House, the history of which I shall deal with below. When the gangway (*daraj*), which gives access to the door which is above the ground level, has been put into position by the *Shaihiyin*, their chief advances and, while he is inserting the key, one of his acolytes hides it from the gaze of the faithful. In the 12th century (Ibn Djabair, p. 93; *Pèlerinage*, p. 59), he held a black cloth (the 'Abbasid colour) in his extended hands. In the thirteenth century (Nāṣir-i Khosraw, p. 209), there was a curtain on the door which a *Shaihi* lifted to allow the *wa'im* to pass and which he let fall again behind him. The Prophet had veiled (*ataraka*) the door on opening it (Ya'qūbi, *Tarikh*, ed. Houtsma, ii, 61). In imitation of the Prophet the *wa'im* enters alone or with 2 or 3 acolytes, prays the two ritual *raḥ'a*, then opens the door to the public whose admission he regulates. The Persian pilgrim as well as the Spanish made a visit to the Ka'ba and they have both noted the miracle, which allows this very small building to hold at one time such a large number of the faithful. Nāṣir-i Khosraw counted 720 in it at the same time as himself. Ibn Djabair was particularly interested in the Ka'ba and its *ḥaḥāba*. He was present at the reception of Saif al-Dīn Tughtekin, the brother of Saladin (p. 146 and 147), on whose left hand the *wa'im* of the *Shaihiyin* solemnly entered the mosque; the *wa'im* Muḥammad b. Ismā'il b. 'Abd al-Rahmān was his chief informant (p. 81). He tells us that during his sojourn the Amir of Mecca, Mukhlir, arrested the *wa'im* Muḥammad and, accusing him of such baseness of conduct as was "unworthy of the guardian of the holy house", confiscated his goods and set up in his place one of his cousins, whom popular report accused of the same vices. Then some time after, he saw the *wa'im* Muḥammad, after paying 500 dinars to the Amir, re-established in his office, strutting proudly before the gate of the Ka'ba (p. 163, 164, 166, 179). This act of violence does not prove that there was any exact custom which regulated the relations of the Amir with the B. Shaiha. Under al-Mutawakkil (847–861), they sent delegates to the Caliph at Baghdad to assert, in opposition to the proposals of the governor of Mecca, their right to decide what works it was necessary to undertake at the Ka'ba; the master of works sent by the Caliph was to apply only to them. When he came to make his first enquiry the master Ishaq was, however, accompanied by the *ḥaḥāba shaihiyin*, and also by the governor, by pious individuals and by the *Ḥaḥib al-harām* (cf. the art. *RAḤIB*), "the postmaster", in reality the redoubtable intelligence officer of the sovereign (*Chron. d. Stadt Mekka*, i, 210/211).

The privilege of the B. Shaiha is very old; the historians of the ninth century Ibn Hishām, Ibn Sa'd, Ya'qūbi and the compilers of collections

of hadiths confirm this; but they pile up proofs of its legitimacy in a way that makes one think it was recent and disputed. We know what obscurity prevails in "spite of the texts" on the history of the "Arab kingdom" at the time when so many things were being organised of themselves.

According to tradition, Kogaly, the ancestor of the Korāshī, had reserved the guardianship of the Ka'ba (*hijāba*) for 'Abd al-Dār and his descendants. At the time of the conquest of Mecca, it was in the hands of 'Othmān b. Talha b. Abi Talha 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-'Uzza b. 'Othmān b. 'Abd al-Dār (Tabari, iii. 2378; *Ud al-ghāba*, iii. 7 and 372 etc.). Ibn Sa'd (Tabaqāt, v. 331) has a variant story which casts doubts upon the near relationship of 'Othmān and Shaiba, while the genealogy given by the *as'im* to Ibn Djabair (p. 81) intercalates an ancestor Shaiba unknown to the other authors. 'Othmān by a happy foresight was converted at al-Hodaihiya with other notable personages of Mecca, although several members of his family had perished at Uhud in the ranks of the Korāshī (Tabari, i. 1604; Aghāni, xv. 11; Ibn Sa'd, v. 331 etc.). On the day of the taking of Mecca, he accompanied the Prophet to the Ka'ba and the latter demanded the key from him; in general the authorities say that he gave it up, but according to one tradition (al-Aini, *umda*, iv. 609; *Chroniken*, i. 187), 'Othmān, a new convert, had to get it from his mother, an infidel, who had charge of it and who refused to give it up. 'Othmān had to threaten to kill himself before her eyes. According to another authority (*Chroniken*, i. 185), she heard in the court-yard of the house the threatening voices of Abū Bakr and of 'Umar before she decided to give it up (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, ii. 44). But another tradition which does not assume the conversion of 'Othmān in the year 8, shows him on the terrace of the Ka'ba holding the key in his hand and shouting to the Prophet: "If I were sure that he is the messenger of God I would not refuse it to him". "Alī climbed up, held in hand out, took the key and himself opened the door; here 'Alid bias is evident (Rāsi, *Mafatīh*, ii. 460; Kalkashandi, *Subh*, iv. 264). — The general tradition is that the Prophet, in possession of the key, opened the door and entered with 'Othmān, Bilāl and 'Ukma, prayed two *rak'as* in a spot which is to-day held sacred and went out holding the key in his hand. At this point the traditions differ once more in detail, but end in the restoration of the key to 'Othmān; according to one account, the Prophet either on his own motion or because of the appeals of al-'Abbās or of 'Alī, leant on the posts of the door of the Ka'ba and made a speech which ended: "Everything is under my feet except the *sidāna* and the *siḥaya* of the pilgrims, which are going to be restored to those to whom they belong". He gave the *siḥaya* to al-'Abbās and returned the key to 'Othmān; according to the other tradition, the Prophet came out of the Ka'ba uttering verse 61 of Sūra iv., which according to an opinion which Tabari (*Tafsir*, v. 86) accepts as only of secondary value, was revealed at this moment and applies to the *Siḥana* and the *Siḥaya* (Vāḥid, *Muḥjam*, iv. 625; Rāsi, *Mafatīh*, ii. 460; *Chroniken*, i. 186).

But 'Othmān, master of the *sidāna* and of the key, did not exercise his rights: he followed the Prophet to Medina and died there in the year 42

(662—663) or he was killed at Adjuḍān in 13 (634). No one mentions him further and authors take the precaution of making the Prophet say that he returned the *sidāna* to 'Othmān and to Shaiba, and to the Banū Talha (Abū T-Mahāsīn, i. 138; Nawawī, p. 407; *Ud*, iii. 372; *Chroniken*, i. 184).

This attempt to make the cousin german of 'Othmān, Shaiba b. 'Othmān b. Abi Talha, he present at the taking of Mecca is unfortunate. Shaiba was not yet a Muslim, although some late authors have tentatively tried to convert him at the taking of Mecca. They are not able to escape the legend, which has grown up round the conversion of Shaiba at Honain a month later. Shaiba searches out the Prophet in the middle of the combat in order to take vengeance for the death of his father, who had been killed at Uhud by Hamza, but from the Prophet a light emanates causing him to lose heart. Muḥammad puts his hand upon his heart and causes the demon to depart from him. Shaiba is converted (Ya'qūbi, ii. 64; Ibn Hishām, 845; Ibn Sa'd, v. 331; Tabari, *Annales*, i. 1661, 3; *Ud*, iii. 7; *Chroniken*, ii. 46; etc.) and without the writers knowing why, Shaiba becomes the keeper of the Ka'ba; all his family hasten to come to his assistance; his brother Wabb b. 'Othmān, the sons of 'Othmān b. Talha, those of Musāfi b. Abi Talha who was killed at Uhud: "It is then", concludes al-Azrakī (*Chroniken*, i. 67), "all the descendants of Abū Talha who in general exercise the *hijāba* (*Chroniken*, i. 67)". But according to all the traditionists, it is Shaiba who is their chief. It is he who had the power to demolish the houses dominating the Ka'ba (*Chroniken*, iii. 15). It is he who came into conflict with Mu'āwiya about the sale of a house and who at the time of the second pilgrimage of the Caliph, not wishing to be disturbed, sends his grandson Shaiba b. Djabir to open the door of the sanctuary (*Chroniken*, i. 89). It is he who arbitrates between the two *hādjdj* chiefs, the partisans of 'Alī and those of Mu'āwiya (Tabari, *Annales*, i. 3448 and iii. 2352; *Muḥjam*, ix. 56/57); one of his sons 'Abd Allāh or Talha was a victim of the "abominable" al-Kasri (*Chroniken*, ii. 37, 38, 175). It is he who appears in one of the versions of the hadith where 'A'isha wishes to have the Ka'ba opened (*Chroniken*, i. 220, 222, 223). There are discussions with 'A'isha which settle that it is lawful for the Shaiḥiyyin to sell parts of the covering (*kurwa*) but only for the maintenance of the poor (*Chroniken*, i. 180, 182 and iii. 70—72; al-Kalkashandi, iv. 283); in spite of the efforts of the makers of hadiths, the question is discussed by jurists and in 621 (1224) al-Malik al-Kāmil, the nephew of Salādin, purchased from the Shaiḥiyyin for an annual fixed sum, the revenues that they drew from the opening of the Ka'ba and forced them to open it free of charge (*Chroniken*, i. 266). Shaiba died in 57 (676—677) or under Yazid b. Mu'āwiya (Tabari, *Annales*, iii. 2378; Ibn Sa'd, v. 331; *Ud*, iii. 8).

The tradition which gave to the Shaiḥiyyin the *hijāba* of the Holy House is an ancient one. It is still perpetuated in the name of the archway, which, beside Zamzam, marks the ancient boundary of the wall of the *maq'did al-haram*. When the former had been enlarged, the new gate, called at the present time Bab al-Salām, which was in a line with the Ka'ba and the ancient arcade, was

called in its turn Bāb Hani Shaiba (*Pālinage*, p. 132 and 133). But for this institution as for many others the period when it was established and merged in an anti-Islamic institution, remains obscure.

Bibliography: See the works cited in the article.

AL-SHAIBĀNĪ, ABŪ 'AMR ISHĀK b. MURĀN, who, according to Abū Maṣṣūr al-Azhari, had the nickname al-Aḥwā, was descended from Persian country gentry, but being a client (*mawla*) of some person of the tribe of Shaibān was called al-Shaibānī. He was the foremost of the Kūfī grammarians. We are told that he was called al-Shaibānī because he was instructor to those sons of the caliph Hārūn al-Raṣīd who were under the care of Yazīd b. Maryād al-Shaibānī. The date of his birth can only be ascertained approximately, but if the age at which he is said to have died is correct, he must have been born shortly after the year 100 (719–720). The date of his death is also uncertain, the years 205, 206 and 213 being given; the latter date is probably correct, as he is said to have died on the same day as the poet Abū 'I-ʿAtāhiya and the singer Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī who died in that year. Abū 'Amr was not only celebrated as a grammarian, but has also the reputation of a trustworthy transmitter of traditions (*ḥadīth*), and is quoted as an authority in the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. He studied under the most celebrated masters of the Kūfī school and spent a long time among the nomad Arabs collecting poetry and linguistic data. In later life he removed to Baghdād. Earlier in life he compiled his large collection of the poetry of the Arabic tribes. This collection, which has not been preserved to us, contained the poems of some eighty tribes and was extensively used by later editors of ancient Arabic poetry. We find his name regularly mentioned, especially when poems are cited which were not known to other grammarians. He surpassed his colleagues, with the exception of Abū 'Ubayda, in taking an interest also in the historical allusions found in ancient poems, about which many others, like the Baṣrian al-Aṣma'ī, seem to be particularly ignorant or uninterested. Although a pious man, he was at times addicted to drink. It is not surprising that he gives at times in good faith spurious poems as genuine, as for instance the 66th poem in the *Divān* of al-A'ashā (ed. Geyer), where the borrowings from the Qur'ān are too evident. Only one of his works has come down to us, the *Kitāb al-Liḡm*, which was intended to be a dictionary of the Arabic language but was never completed. No doubt the *Kitāb al-Liḡm* of al-Khalil b. Aḥmad had given him the impulse for this undertaking. It is arranged according to the ordinary Arabic alphabet, but only completed to the letter *ghīm*. It is preserved in a unique copy in the library of the Escorial and being one of the earliest books in the Arabic language deserves special study (brief description in Cat. Derenbourg, No. 572).

His biographers tell us that he would not dictate his *Kitāb al-Liḡm* to anyone and that in consequence copies were taken only after his death. The scribe of the Escorial MS. whom I have not identified so far, belongs to a much older period than is stated by Derenbourg; he used a copy made by the grammarian al-Sukkari [q.v.], but as some leaves were missing in that copy he compared it with

one made by Abū Mūsā al-Ḥāmidī. The book is not a lexicon as the biographers would have us believe, though in a rough way the words are arranged in four chapters comprising words commencing with the first four letters of the alphabet. There are frequent errors due to the author himself. The particular value of the book lies in the fact that it is a large collection of expressions peculiar to certain tribes; on the first 27 pages no less than thirty different tribes being mentioned, and there is not the least doubt that Abū 'Amr extracted the unusual words from the 80 old *Divān*'s of Arab tribes which he had collected. This is evident when he quotes e.g. the poet Kuthayyir four times in succession. A diligent search in the *Lisān al-Arab* reveals also that the book had not been used by the lexicographers whose works form the basis of that work. The authorities and poets quoted are in many cases not cited elsewhere and I hope to prepare an edition of the complete work, which is the greatest monument of the Kūfī school of grammarians.

Biographers mention in addition the following works of Abū 'Amr all of which seem to be lost: *Gharīb al-Muṣannaf*, *Kitāb al-Khall*, *Gharīb al-Ḥadīth*, *Kitāb al-Kutub*, *Kitāb al-Lughāt* and especially the *Kitāb al-Nawādir*, a miscellany which has been freely extracted, generally without acknowledgment, by later authors. Among his most prominent pupils were the Kūfī grammarians Tha'lab, Ibn al-Sikkī, Abū 'Ubayd al-Kāsim b. Sallām and his own son 'Amr. The indices of the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* and the *Nakā'id* give us only a faint idea of how often he is quoted as an authority for the earlier literature. Ḳālī mentions him several times, e.g. l. 136, 211 and 238.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p. 68; al-Zubaidī, *Tabaqāt al-Nuḥāt*, in R.S.O., viii. 145; al-Anbārī, *Nuḥāt*, p. 120–125; Yāqūt, *Irbāḥ*, ed. Margoliouth in G.M.S., ii. 233; Ibn Khallikān, No. 85, Cairo 1310, l. 65; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, Haidarābād 1327, xii. 183; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 192; Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen*, p. 139–142; Brockelmann, G.A.L., l. 116, (F. KRENKOW).

AL-SHAIBĀNĪ, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUHAMMAD b. AL-ḤASAN b. FARQAD, Mawla of the Banū Shaibān, a Ḥanafī jurist, born at Wasīṭ in 132 (749/750). Brought up in al-Kūfa, he studied at the early age of fourteen under Abū Ḥanīfa, under whose influence he devoted himself to *ra'y*. At twenty he is said to have lectured in the mosque of al-Kūfa. He extended his knowledge of *ḥadīth* under Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161), al-Awza'ī (d. 157) and others and especially Malik b. Anas (d. 179), whose lectures he attended for over three years in Medina. His training in Fiqh, however, he owed mainly to Abū Yūsuf, but he soon began to threaten the latter's prestige by his own lectures, so that Abū Yūsuf tried to get him a judgeship in Syria or Egypt, which, however, al-Shaibānī declined. In 176 (792/793) he was consulted by the Caliph Hārūn al-Raṣīd in the affair of the Zaidī imām Yahyā b. 'Abd Allāh. On this occasion he lost the Caliph's favour through his own fault and became suspected of being a supporter of the 'Alids (Tabarī III, 619; Kardarī II, 163 sqq.). He was, it is true, like some of his teachers a Murji'ā (Ibn Kutaiba, *Ma'ārif*, p. 301; Shāhrastānī, ed. Cureton, p. 108), but he seems

to have kept clear of Shi'a activities (*Fihrist*, p. 204). It was not till 180 (796) at the earliest — in this year Hārūn made al-Rakka his capital (Tab., iv. 645) — that Hārūn made him *kāfi* of al-Rakka. After his dismissal (187 = 803) he stayed in Baghdad till the Caliph commanded him to accompany him on his journey to Khurāsān (189 = 805) and appointed him *kāfi* of Khurāsān (according to Abū Hāzim (d. 292) in *Kardari* ii, 147). He died there in the same year at Ranshawān, near al-Raiy.

He belonged to the moderate school of *ra'y* and sought to base his teaching wherever possible on *hadiths*. He was also considered an able grammarian. Among his pupils are mentioned the imām al-Shāfi'i [q. v.], who nevertheless wrote a polemic against him (*Kitāb al-Radd 'alā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥaṣṣan* in *K. al-Umm*, Cairo 1325, vii. 277 sqq.). It is to Shaibānī and Abū Yūsuf that the Hanafi *Madhhab* owes its first spread of popularity. His writings, which have had frequent commentaries made on them, are the oldest that enable us to judge the teachings of Abū Ḥanīfa, although they differ in many points from the ideas of Abū Ḥanīfa. The most important are: *Kitāb al-Aṣl fī 'l-Furū'* or *al-Mabāsū'*; *K. al-Djāmi' al-kabir*; *K. al-Djāmi' al-saghir* (pr. Bulak 1302 on the margin of Abū Yūsuf, *K. al-Kharāḍī*); *K. al-Siyar al-kabir* (pr. with the commentary of al-Sarakhsī in 4 vol., Haidarābād 1335—1336), *K. al-Aḥbār* (lith. in India).

We also owe to him an edition, with many critical additions, of the *Muwatta'* of his teacher Mālik b. Anas, which differs widely from the usual version (cf. Goldziher, *Mus. Studien*, ii. 222, sq.; now printed in Kazan, 1909).

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaṭā'i*, ed. Sachau, vii/ii. 78 (synopsis in: Ibn Kutaiba, *K. al-Mu'arraf*, ed. Wustenfeld, p. 251; al-Jahiz, ed. de Goeje, iii. 2521; al-Nawawī, *Biograph. dictionary*, p. 104); *Fihrist*, p. 203 sq. — The later sources are more legendary in character: al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Tarikh* in al-Sam'ani, *K. al-Ansāb*, G.M.S., xi. fol. 342v; al-Nawawī, p. 103 sqq.; al-Sarakhsī, *Sharḥ al-Siyar al-kabir*, introduction; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, i. 453 sq.; al-Kardari, *Manāẓib al-Imām al-ḥaṣṣan*, Haidarābād 1321, ii. 146—167 (uses old sources); Ibn Kutūbaghā, ed. Flügel, No. 159 — Barbier de Meynard, *Notice sur Moh. b. Hasan* in *J. A.*, 4. Ser., xi. 1852, p. 406—419; Flügel, *Claves der hanafit. Rechtsgelerten*, p. 283; Dimitroff, *Arch-Schailān und sein corpus iuris* in *M.S.O.S.A.*, xi. 1908, p. 75—98; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 171 sq. (HEFFENING).

SHAIBĀNĪ, Abū Naṣr Faṭḥ-Allāh Khān of Kāshān, a Persian poet of the sixth century. His father Muḥammad Kārim was the son of the Muḥammad Sant Khān who had been governor of Kāshān, had fought successfully against the nomad Turkomans and was fond of the society of men of distinction. The poet lived at the court of Muḥammad Shāh and then retired from the world. He wrote a work in prose and verse entitled *Maḥāṣir* "discourses" containing dihyrambics in honour of his patron Naṣir al-Dīn Shāh, the prime Minister Ḥādīj Mīrā Akās, Farīdūn Mīrā, governor of Khorāsān, etc. A large selection of his poems was published in Constantinople in 1308, for the Akhtar press, 312 p.

Bibliography: Rīfā Kāfi Khān, *Madīyat*

al-fuzala, Teheran 1295, ii. 224—245; E. G. Browne, *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, p. 344. (CL. HUART).

SHAIBĀNIDS, descendants of the Mongol prince Shaibān, a brother of Batu Khān [q. v.]. The names of the twelve sons of Shaibān and their earlier descendants are given by Rashid al-Dīn (*Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, ed. Blochet, p. 114 sqq., with notes by the editor from the anonymous *Mu'iz al-Ansāb*; on its importance as a source see W. Barthold, *Turkistan = spokhu mongolskago nachistieya*, ii. 56). Later writers give information on Shaibān and his descendants which is more legendary than historical; the bias of these tales is decided by the political conditions of the countries concerned. For example, Ötemish Ḥādīj, writing in Khwārizm under Shaibānī rule, tells how Čingiz-Khān heaped distinctions on his grandson Shaibān at the same time as Batu, but paid no attention to their brother, Tughai Timur; in contrast to this Mahmūd b. Wali, writing in Bukhārā under the rule of the descendants of Tughai Timur, says that Bahādur, son and successor of Shaibān, always regarded the descendants of Tughai Timur as his suzerains. (*Zap.* xv. 231 and 256).

According to Abū 'l-Ghāzī (ed. Desmaisons, p. 181), Batu granted his brother Shaibān the land between his own territory and that of his eldest brother Orda-İben; the land between the Irghiz and Ural mountains and along the east bank of the Yäyik was allotted him as summer residence and the lands on the Sir-Daryā and the lower course of the Ču and Sarī-Su as winter residence. These statements are in general corroborated by the account of Plano Carpini, a contemporary of the three brothers (Engl. transl. by W. W. Rockhill, *Hakl. Soc.*, Ser. ii, No. iv, p. 15).

According to Abū 'l-Ghāzī, the sovereignty in the house of Shaibān regularly passed from father to son for several generations; the names of the princes concerned were Bahādur, Djuči Bagha, Badaḡul, Ming-Timur and Fülād. After the death of the latter his kingdom was divided between his two sons, Ibrāhīm and 'Arabshāh, but the brothers remained together. Their summer-quarters were on the upper Yäyik, their winter abode on the lower Sir-Daryā.

On the other hand, according to both the *Mu'iz al-Ansāb* and the *Tarikh-i Abū 'l-Khair-Khānī*, the sovereignty immediately before the accession of Abū 'l-Khair (a grandson of Ibrāhīm) was in another line, the descendants of Fülād's brother Tungā; according to the *Mu'iz*, in 829 (Nov. 1425/1426) there was ruling there a prince named Yumaduk (in the *Tarikh-i Abū 'l-Khair Khānī*: Djumaduk), a great-grandson of Tungā, although his father Šafti was still alive. For the names of the two brothers Ibrāhīm and 'Arabshāh, the ancestors of the later rulers of Mā warā al-Nahr and Khwārizm, the Özbek used the compound Isā-'Arab (according to Abū 'l-Ghāzī, p. 182). The people ruled by the descendants of the two brothers called themselves Özbek, presumably after the famous ruler of the Golden Horde under whom the rule of Islam on the Volga was definitely established.

The conquest of Mā warā al-Nahr by the Özbek took place under Muḥammad Shāh Bakht or Shāh Beg (also Shaibak Beg) known as a poet under the name Shaibānī, which is also frequently given him by historians, a grandson of Abū 'l-Khair. The capital Samarḡand was occupied by him

towards the end of the year 905 (1500) and definitely the next year. After Shaibānī had fallen in battle against Shāh Ismā'il, the founder of the modern Persian kingdom, at Merw (Ramadān 27, 916 = November 29, 1510), Bābur succeeded for a brief period in restoring the rule of the Timurids in Mā warā al-Nahr, but he was defeated in 918 (1512) and had to abandon Bakhārā and Samarqand and in 920 (1514) also his last possessions in Mā warā al-Nahr (cf. HÄBER). Mā warā al-Nahr now remained under the rule of the Shaibānids (as descendants of Shaibān and not of Shaibānī, after whose death the suzerainty passed not to his sons, but to other princes of the house of Abu 'l-Khair) or Abu 'l-Khairids (Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, ii., 1880, p. 686 sqq.). Cf. the names and dates of the members in Lane-Poole, *Mohammedan Dynasties*, 1894 (21925), N^o. 98; additions and corrections in the Russian translation by W. Barthold; and a few additional facts in W. Wyatkin, *Spravochnaya Knizka Samar'k. Oblast.*, vi., 242 sq. from the inscriptions on the tomb of the Shaibānids in Samarqand. On the most important ruler of this house, 'Abd Allāh, cf. the article 'ABD ALLĀH B. BUKANDAR; on the latter's father, cf. the article BUKANDAR. Central Asiatic sources always give as the last ruler of Mā warā al-Nahr the son and successor of 'Abd Allāh, 'Abd al-Mu'min, e.g. Abu 'l-Ghāzī, p. 183; Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Munshī in J. Senkowski, *Supplément à l'Histoire générale des Huns*, etc., p. 30; Mahmūd b. Walī in W. Barthold, *Zap.*, xv., 260; Welyaminow-Zernow in his work on the coins of Bakhārā and Khīwa also calls 'Abd al-Mu'min the last Khān of the house of the Shaibānids (*Trud. Vest. Otd. Arkh. Obshch.*, iv., 1859, p. 402); also W. Barthold, under 'ABD ALLĀH B. BUKANDAR. On the other hand, in the *Turik-i Alam Arā' (Abbas of Iskandar Munshī, a successor to 'Abd al-Mu'min is given, namely Pir Muḥammad, "a relative of 'Abd Allāh and a prince of the house of Džānī-Beg". This statement is quoted by Welyaminow-Zernow in his later work on the Tatars of Kasimow (*Trud.*, etc., x., 345 sqq.) and this Khān identified with Pir Muḥammad b. Sulaimān, a grandson of Džānī-Beg, mentioned in the 'Abdallāh-nāma. Pir Muḥammad was soon overthrown by Bakī Muḥammad, the founder of the new (Astrakhān) dynasty, taken prisoner and killed (end of 1007 = June/July, 1599). Therefore in Howorth (ii. 739 sqq.) and Lane-Poole the history of the Shaibānids ends not with 'Abd al-Mu'min, but with Pir Muḥammad II.*

Western European and Russian scholars restrict the term Shaibānids to the rulers of Mā warā al-Nahr, and do not apply it to the rulers of Khwārizm, although the descendants of Shaibān ruled for a considerable time in Khwārizm. Khwārizm, like Mā warā al-Nahr, was conquered by Shaibānī (Rab' I 21, 911 = Aug. 22, 1505).

After the death of Shaibānī, it passed not to Bābur, but directly to the Persians. Soon afterwards (according to Abu 'l-Ghāzī, p. 197, as early as the year of the sheep 1511, — the Hijra date 911 given is certainly wrong) the Persians were driven out by another branch of the house of Shaibān, the descendants of 'Arabshāh. Khwārizm remained under the rule of this dynasty till the end of the seventeenth century; on one of the last rulers, Abu 'l-Ghāzī and his historical work, see the article ABU 'L-GHĀZĪ BAHĀDUR KHĀN. The son

and successor of Abu 'l-Ghāzī, Anūsha Khān (1663—1687) also had considerable power; after the conquest of Meshhed, he took the title 'Shāh'; from this the great canal, which he dug and which still exists, takes the name 'Shāhābād'. He was followed by his two sons, Khudāddād and Muḥammad Krenk; the year of the latter's death is usually given as 1099 (1687/1688); in the still unpublished history of Mu'nis, the historiographer of Khwārizm, 1106 (1694/1695) is given. After this for a considerable period there was no longer a dynasty until the foundation of the house of Kunghrat. The Özbek aristocracy installed as rulers only for periods princes of the line of Čingiz Khān.

On the history of the Shaibānids of Khwārizm, cf. especially Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, ii. 876—905; Weselowski, *Očerki istoriko-geograficheskoi razvedki v Khivinskoi Khanstve*, 1877, p. 101—157; S. Lane-Poole, *The Mohammedan Dynasties*, N^o. 101 and the genealogy in the Russian translation by W. Barthold, p. 304.

According to Abu 'l-Ghāzī, p. 177, the princes of Siberia driven out by the Russians about 1003 (1594/1595), were also descendants of Shaibān.

(W. BARTHOLD)

SHAIBĀNĪ KHĀN, ABU 'L-FATH MUḤAMMAD, also called Shāh Beg Uzbek, or better Shāh Beg Khān Uzbek and also Shaibak, a corruption of Shāhbakht, a name given him by his grandfather Abu 'l-Khair (the *name* Abu 'l-Fath is only found on his coins), Khān of the Uzbeks and conqueror of Transoxiana, over which he reigned from 906 (1500/1501) to 915 (1509/1510). Born in 855 (1451) the son of Shāh Būdāk and Āk Kūz Begum, in 873 (1468) he lost his father, who was surprised and decapitated by Yūnus, Khān of Mongolia, who had come to the help of the Kazaks [q. v.]. Entrusted to the guardianship successively of the Atabek Uighur Khān, the Emir Karāčīn Beg and Kāsim, Khān of Astrakhān, in the troubled period that followed the death of Abu 'l-Khair, he waited till he had sufficient followers to avenge his father. He attacked and defeated Burke Sulṭān, whom a devoted follower endeavoured to save at the cost of his own life, but Burke was soon discovered and put to death. Defeated near Sabrān by Irānī, son of Džānī Beg, Shaibānī took refuge in Bakhārā, then in Samarqand. The Khān of the Manguts (Noghāis) Mūsā, promised him the sovereignty of Kiptāk [q. v.], but did not fulfil his promise, saying that the people were opposed to it. Resuming the struggle, Shaibānī defeated the Kazak Barandak, was defeated by Mahmūd Sulṭān, son of Džānī Beg, and received the hospitality of the Emir of Khwārizm, 'Abd al-Khalīk Firuz Shāh.

In the struggle between Ahmad Mirzā Khān of Transoxiana and Mahmūd Khān of Mongolia, Shaibānī declared for the former, but by his defection at the battle of Shīr (893 = 1488) secured the victory of Mahmūd, entered the latter's service, and received from him the town of Turkistān, again defeated Barandak, but failed in his siege of Urgendj (Khīwa). The people of Sabrān, having rebelled, replaced their governor by Mahmūd, brother of Shaibānī, but handed him over to the Kazaks, who laid siege to the town. Mahmūd escaped, rejoined his brother who was besieging Vān, the governor of which, Mazid Tarkhān, was made prisoner; restored to liberty, Mazid made an alliance with the Kazaks against Shaibānī, who had

previously offered him his services. Peace was concluded with Barandak, who besieged Otrār, which was defended by Muhammad Timūr, son of Mahmūd Sulṭān; the treaty was sealed by a marriage.

Entering Transoxiana in 900 (1494/1495), Shaibānī four years later was master of almost the whole of this region as well as of Khorāsān; in 906 (1500), the conquest was completed. Bāisonkor Mirzā, the Timūrid sovereign of Samarkand, having demanded his assistance against Bābur in 904/905 (1498/1499), he came, but withdrew on seeing the enemy in force and went to raise a large army of mercenaries with which he took Samarkand, abandoned successively by Bābur and by Sulṭān 'Alī, brother of Bāisonkor, in 906. Zuhra Begum, mother of Sulṭān 'Alī, is said to have offered to hand over the town to Shaibānī if he would promise to marry her. The town was taken by assault. Khwāzja Yahyā, who defended it, was executed with his sons and Sulṭān 'Alī is said to have met the same fate. According to another story, Sulṭān 'Alī was killed by Shaibānī. He is also said to have been accidentally killed.

Aided by the inhabitants, Bābur regained Samarkand by a bold stroke. All the country rose and the Uzbeks were massacred. Shaibānī, who only retained Bukhārā and the neighbourhood, resumed the offensive some months later, seized Kara Kul and Dabāst, inflicted a disastrous defeat on Bābur at Sar-i Pul (q. v.) and starved Samarkand into surrender. By the terms of the capitulation, Khānzāda Begum, sister of Bābur, was to marry the victor.

In 908 (1502/1503), Shaibānī quarrelled with his protector, Mahmūd Sulṭān, laid waste the region of Shāhrukhiya and Tashkent and left it before Bābur arrived. After a raid against Uratpā, he gave his assistance to Sulṭān Ahmad Tambal, who had rebelled against Mahmūd Sulṭān, and recognised Shaibānī as suzerain of Fārgāna. Not strong enough to engage in battle, the enemy army stole away. Shaibānī surprised it and scattered it near Akhst. Bābur escaped, but Mahmūd Sulṭān and his brother Ahmad were made prisoners. They were well treated, but had to agree to the cession of Tashkent and Shāhrukhiya, to the incorporation of 30,000 of their subjects in the army of Shaibānī and to several marriages with the family of the conqueror. Returning to his estates, Mahmūd Sulṭān died soon after, poisoned, he said, by Shaibānī.

In the same year took place several expeditions in the south of Transoxiana, in which Khusrāw Shāh of the Kīpčak, had taken several towns. Balkh, which was governed by the Timūrid Badī' al-Zamān, was besieged. Ahmad Tambal had entrenched himself in Andījān; obliged to surrender, he was executed with his brothers, but pillaging was forbidden. Khusrāw Shāh fled without fighting, leaving Shīrīn Cāhā to succumb in Hījar after a heroic resistance, and abandoned Kundūz, which had supplies to last for twenty years.

In 911 (1505) Shaibānī set out to conquer Khwāzism, with an army of 30,000 former subjects of Mahmūd Sulṭān, undisciplined and dangerous, whom he tried to set at variance by suppressing their chiefs. Besieged for ten months, Urgendī, valiantly defended by Čin (or Hussin) Sūfī, was only taken by treachery. Khusrāw Shāh, arriving too late to help him, was massacred with his seven hundred men. Kitk Bī was made governor of

Khwāzism, and the relatives of Shaibānī were given important posts.

Next year Shaibānī repelled the incursions of the Kazaks. The Kīpčak at that time had two rulers: one *de jure*, Barandak, who died in exile in Samarkand, the other *de facto*, Kāsīm Beg. The latter was so dreaded that the rumour of his arrival caused a panic in the Uzbek army. At the end of 912 (spring of 1507), Shaibānī took the offensive against the kingdom of Herāt. Husain Bāikarā summoned the help of his sons, who hurried up, except Muṣaffar Mirzā, but he died soon afterwards. Coming to the help of the Timūrids, Bābur, indignant at their apathy and their rivalries, soon left them. Crossing the Oxus, Shaibānī entered Andikhūd, which was surrendered by Shāh Manṣūr Bakhshī, defeated Bābā Khākī and routed Dhu 'l-Nūn Arghūn, who was put to death. The Timūrids fled to Herāt, but left it in a few hours, leaving their harems and treasures in the palace of Ikhtiyār al-Dīn. Shaibānī entered Herāt on Muḥarram 11, 913 (May 24, 1507), and levied a contribution of 100,000 *tanḡa*'s on it, but reassured the inhabitants by his humanity. Two or three weeks later, he entered the palace. Falling madly in love with Khānzāda Khānum, wife of Muṣaffar Mirzā, he married her by force, without even observing the legal interval. Troops were sent in all directions against the Timūrids, who were tracked down and put to death; Badī' al-Zamān alone escaped, through the protection of Shāh Ismā'īl.

Two years were occupied in new expeditions against the Kazaks, a demonstration against Kābul and the siege of Kandahār, held by Nāṣir Mirānshāhī, which had to be abandoned. At this time Shaibānī massacred the Dughlāt princes, Sa'īd Caghātī, Mahmūd Khān, and his six sons, Muḥammad Husain Mirzā, etc. (914 = 1508/1509). Then posing as the champion of the *Sunna*, he next year summoned Shāh Ismā'īl to return to orthodoxy. The Persian ruler paid no heed to his threats and protested against the aggressions of the Uzbeks; Shaibānī then sent him a dervish's *kaykāl* (wooden bowl) and ironically invited him to follow the profession of his ancestors. Shāh Ismā'īl promised to go on a pilgrimage to Meḥmed, where he would meet his adversary, and at once took the offensive. Shaibānī at this time was busy putting down a revolt at Frīnkūh; the Kīrghiz had just inflicted a disastrous defeat on his son Muḥammad Timūr, and Shaibānī took refuge behind the walls of Marw. There he received an ironical letter from Shāh Ismā'īl on his way to meet his adversary, who had not kept his promise to come to attack him in his own country. The battle was fought on the banks of the Murghāb. Surrounded by 17,000 Persians, who had destroyed the bridges, the Uzbeks, having lost half their fighting men, succumbed after a desperate struggle. Shaibānī left the field to die of his wounds in an abandoned farmhouse. It has been said that his skull, mounted in gold, became Shāh Ismā'īl's drinking cup, that the skin of his head, stuffed with straw, was sent to Bāzaid II, and his right hand to Aḥs Rūstām, prince of Māzandarān, who had always wanted his support. His tomb in the madrasa, which he had founded some months before in Samarkand, became a place of pilgrimage. The most probable date of his death is Shābān 29, 915 (December 2, 1510). Cf. *Bābur Nāma*, transl. Beveridge, p. 350 note.

Shaibānī has rightly been reproached for his complete lack of scruples and for his cruelties; he only thought of extending his dominions and for him the end justified the means. But he was not the unlettered and boastful barbarian, extravagant and coarse, that Bābur shows us, giving lessons to theologians, correcting the works of artists and having his own bad verses recited before an audience (*Bābur Nāma*, ed. Beveridge, p. 206^b and transl. p. 325—326). He knew Persian and Arabic well and has left notable productions in Turki. His official poet, Mullā Binnā'i, had ability. He helped and encouraged men of letters, artists and scholars, sought their society and founded several madrasas. The last of the founders of great empires to arise in Central Asia, Shaibānī brought Uzbek power to its apogee; his successor, Kōtkūndjī Khān, was able to restore it again and successfully resist the Persians and Bābur; but the death of Shaibānī, with the separation of the Shī'īs of Persia from the Sunnis of Transoxiana, marks a far-reaching change in the situation in Central Asia (cf. Vāmbery, *Geich. Buchara's* ii. 64).

Shaibānī had married Mir Nigār Čaghatalī, daughter of Yūnus Khān, Khānzāda Khānum, whom Shāh Ismā'īl sent back to her brother Bābur with great honour and Zuhra Begī, who handed over Sāmārkand to him. In addition to Muḥammad Timūr, he had a son Khurram, who died young.

Bibliography: Mirkhānd, *Rawdat al-Safā*, vii. 61, 199; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iii. 284 199; Bābur, *Memoirs*, years 906 up to 915; This work, often misused, has a much needed complement in the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* of Mirzā Muḥammad Haidar Dughlāt (cf. especially p. 116—123, 158—169, 175—180, 190—211 and 221—237); Mrs. Beveridge also calls attention to the importance of the *Tārīkh-i Gulīda* *Nurāt Nāma* (British Museum, Or. 3222), a Turkish work dated 908 (1503/1503) of which the *Shaibānī Nāma* publ. by Bērczine, Kazan 1849, is only a synopsis. The epic of Muḥammad Sālīb Mirzā with the same title is a long panegyric of Shaibānī; it has been published with a German translation by Vāmbery, Vienna 1885, and re-edited by Melioransky and Sanoilovitch, St. Petersburg 1908. The genealogical history of the Turks by Abu 'l-Ġhāṣī, often transl. or edited from Bentinck 1726 and Denham's 1874, devotes its viiith book to him: *The Tadhkirat al-Muḥim Khānī* of Muḥammad Yūṣuf al-Munshī only contains the main events (*Mémoires asiatiques*, iv. 259). Veliūminoff-Zernoff, *Khānī* de *Kāsimoff*, p. 234—249; Erskine, *History of India* (cf. esp. 184—192, 203—206, 295—325); Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, ii. 691—713; Vāmbery, *Geichichte Buchara's*, ii. 35—65, 191—193, 250—268.

(L. BOUVAT)

SHAIKH. This word means one who bears the marks of old age, who is over fifty (cf. *Lisān*, iii. 509). It is applied to aged relatives; the Shaikh is the patriarch of the tribe or family.

In pre-Islamic antiquity the title *Sayid*, the chief of the tribe, was frequently given the epithet *Shaikh* meaning full maturity in years and therefore of mental powers. The moral influence of the Shaikhs over the Beduins was considerable and the term came to mean chiefs having a long career behind them, the glorious veterans.

In the history of the Muslim period, it has

frequently the sense of supreme chief, especially among the royal pretenders seeking to revive Arab traditions. Thus in the fourth (tenth) century the reformer Abū Yaṣīd calls himself *Shaikh al-Mu'minīn*, i.e. Shaikh of the Believers (Dory, *Bayān*, i. 225, transl. Fagnan, i. 315). Ibn Battūṭa (ii. 288—289) mentions a governor of a town with this title. It is also the title of the governor of Medina *Shaikh al-Haram*. Ibn Khaldūn (*Muqaddima*, ii. 14 and 165 of the transl.) tells us that at the Hafṣid court of Tunis the first minister, regent of the empire, who appointed all the officials was called *Shaikh* of the Almohads. Muḥammad, the founder of the Wattṣid dynasty took the title *al-Shaikh* as did Muḥammad al-Mahdī founder of the dynasty of Sa'dī Sheriffs.

The title, at the present day, at once a term of polite address and a sign of importance, respected, venerated, which all who govern, administer or hold a share of public authority are happy to have, whether in the spiritual or political sphere, in the mystic as well as the social life, is borne with unconcealed pride. It is given to the head of a family, to the political head of the section of a tribe called *shayb* (in North Africa) and comprising a group of common origin. It is given to high dignitaries of religion, to teachers, scholars, to men of religion without distinction of age, to all persons respected for their office, their age or their morals. Thus we have the *Shaikh al-Islām*, the title of the Grand Mufti, the Pontiff of Islām, the *Shaikh al-Dīn*, Minister of Religion, *Shaikh al-Madīna*, Chief of police, *Shaikh al-Balad*, the mayor of a town. Al-Bukhārī and Muslim are the two *Shaikhs* par excellence (Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima*, ii. 165); the official leader of the pilgrimage is called in Egypt *Shaikh al-Djinnāl* (Perron, *Précis de jurisprudence musulmane*, ii. 641).

But it is particularly in the Muslim religious brotherhood or *ṭarīqa* (q. v.) that the title *Shaikh* has an importance of its own. (A. COUPE)

SHAIKH AL-ISLĀM is one of the honorific titles which first appear in the second half of the fourth century A.H. While other honorific titles compounded with *islām* (like *ṭarīq*, *Djāmi*, *Saif al-Islām*) were borne by persons exercising secular power (notably the viziers of the Fātimids, cf. van Berchem, *Z. D. P. V.*, xvi, p. 101), the title of *Shaikh al-Islām* has always been reserved for 'ulama' and mystics, like other titles of honour whose first part is *Shaikh* (e.g. *Shaikh al-Dīn*; the surname of *Shaikh al-Fayyā* is given by Ibn Khaldūn to the jurist Anad b. al-Farāḥ; cf. *Muqaddima*, transl. de Slane, i. p. lxxviii.). Of all these titles only that of *Shaikh al-Islām* has been extensively used. Thus in the fifth century the head of the Shāfī theologians in Khurāsān, Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, was called by the Sunnis the *Shaikh al-Islām* par excellence (cf. also Djawainī, *Djāmi-Guṣṣa*, ii. 23, where there is a reference to the *Shaikh al-Islāmī al-Khurāsānī*), while at the same period the partisans of the mystics Abū Ismā'īl al-Anṣārī (1006—1088) claimed this title for him (al-Sulḥī, *Tahqīq*, Cairo 1324, iii. 117; *Djāmi*, *Nafahāt al-Uni*, ed. Lees, Calcutta, 1859, p. 33, 376). In the sixth century Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī was called *Shaikh al-Islām*. Other examples in the centuries following are the mystic *Shaikh* Ṣafī al-Dīn of Ardabil (cf. Browne, *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, p. 33), and the theo-

logian al-Taftāzānī. In Syria and in Egypt, however, Shaikh al-Islām had become a title of honour (but not an official one) which could only be given to jurists and more particularly to those who by their *fatāwā*'s had attained a certain fame or the approval of a great body of jurists, especially at the beginning of the Mamlūk period. Thus in the polemics provoked by the teachings of Ibn Taimiyya, his adversaries refused him the title of Shaikh al-Islām, given him by his partisans (cf. the article *IBN TAIMIYYA*, where in the *Bibliography*, Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Shāhī's treatise, *al-Radd al-wāḍiʿ ʿala man ʿaṣama anna man zammā lān Taimiyya Shaikh al-Islām kāfir*, is quoted). The modernists of our day who are under the influence of Ibn Taimiyya and Ibn Kāyim al-Djāwīziyya, represent these two jurists as religious leaders who really deserve the title Shaikh al-Islām (*al-Manār*, ix. 34, according to Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, p. 339). Towards 700 (1300) Shaikh al-Islām had thus become a title which each *mufti* of some authority could claim for himself. Maḥmūd b. Sulaimān al-Kafawī (d. 1582) in his biographies of Ḥanafī jurists, *al-ʿAṭām al-akhyār min fuḥalāʾ madīnah al-Nuʿmān al-Muḥṭār* (Bruckmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 83) says that among the *mufti*'s those are called Shaikh al-Islām who settle differences and decide questions of general discipline (according to 'Alī Emīrī in *ʿIlmiyye Sālnāme*, p. 306). We thus find that in Egypt and in Russia down to the present day, and in Turkey till the xviiith century (cf. Ewliyyā Celebi, *Siyāhatnāma*, passim) *mufti*'s (Shīʿis as well as Sunnis) of any importance may be given this title. In Persia the development of the title has been different; here the Shaikh al-Islām has become a judicial authority who presides in each important village over the ecclesiastical tribunal, composed of Mollas and Madṭahids. In the time of the Ṣafawids he was appointed by the Ṣadr al-Sudūr (cf. Tavernier, *Les six voyages*, Paris 1676, i. 598, who calls him Scheik el-Selom and Curtan, *Persia*, London 1892, i. 452, 454).

But the title gained most glory after it had become applied more particularly to the *Mufti* of Constantinople, whose office in the Empire of the Ottoman Sultāns in time acquired a religious and political importance without parallel in other Muslim countries. In the early centuries of the Ottoman Empire the influence of the 'ulama' had been greatly surpassed by that of the mystic shaikhs and after the reconstitution of the empire by Muḥammad I, we see a furious struggle between the new Sunni orthodox influences and mystic-Shīʿa influences (e.g. the incident of Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd), a struggle that ended in the victory of orthodoxy under Selīm I. Historical pragmatic tradition seems to have ignored this development and must be accepted with a good deal of reserve, while the older sources give but little information. Thus the collection of biographies *al-Shaikh al-Nuʿmāniyya* (written under Sulaimān I) is compiled from quite the orthodox point of view, but it is quite evident from it that the majority of the older jurists in Ottoman countries had studied in Egypt or Persia or had Arab or Persian teachers; some of the first *mufti*'s of Constantinople were themselves foreigners like Fakhr al-Dīn al-ʿAdjāmī (*mufti* from 1430—1460) and 'Alī al-Dīn al-Araḥī. Later tradition makes Shaikh Ede Hāli, father-in-law of 'Othmān, already the

the first *mufti* of the Ottoman lands (*ʿIlmiyye Sālnāme*, p. 315). They also claim that a *Mufti* al-Anām was appointed as early as under Murūd II, with authority over all the other *mufti*'s (*Sijillat ʿOthmāni*, i. 6), and that Muḥammad II after the taking of Constantinople gave the official title of Shaikh al-Islām to the *mufti* of the new capital, Khidr Beg Celebi, who was at the same time given authority over the two *ḥāḍiʿ asker* (d'Ohason, von Hammer), but there is nothing to show that the *mufti* was already so important a personage at this time. According to the *Shāhī*'s, this Khidr Beg was only *ḥāḍiʿ* of Stambul, while Fakhr al-Dīn al-ʿAdjāmī was the *mufti* (*op. cit.*, p. 111, 81). If we later find that the biographer of the Shaikh al-Islām in the *Dawḥat al-maḥālikā* (see *Bibl.*), begins his biographies with the *mufti* Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn Fenārī (d. 1430), this seems to be purely conventional. It is only under Selīm I that the great influence of the *Mufti* of Constantinople begins to manifest itself during the 24 years in which the office was held by the famous Zambillī 'Alī Djemālī Efendi (q.v.). In the time of the latter (he was *Mufti* from 1501 to 1525), the two *ḥāḍiʿ asker* still had precedence over him because they sat in the Imperial *Dīvān*, while the *Mufti* did not (*Shāhī*'s, p. 305), but on the other hand we are told that the same Djemālī Efendi refused to accept from Sultān Sulaimān I the two *ḥāḍiʿ askerlikā* combined which were offered him (*Shāhī*'s, p. 307). It is only in the reign of Sulaimān that the *Mufti* of Constantinople seems to have acquired undisputed authority over all the 'ulama' of the empire, including all grades of judges. According to d'Ohason and von Hammer, this *mufti* was Civi Zāde Muḥyī al-Dīn Efendi (q.v.); it should be noted, however, that the latter was also the first *Mufti* who was relieved of his office by the Sultān (in 1541).

The growth in importance of the *Mufti* of Constantinople was in any case spontaneous and not caused by the sovereign will of the Sultāns, expressed by the conferring on his part of the title of Shaikh al-Islām, which at this period was borne by many *mufti*'s (see below). To explain this development, we may investigate in several directions. There is the tempting hypothesis of M. Gaudesroy-Demonbyones who sees a striking analogy between the position of *Mufti* of Constantinople and that of the 'Abbasid caliph at the court of the Mamlūks, before the conquest of Egypt by the Turks (*Le Syrie*, Paris 1923, p. xxii.). On the other hand, the organisation of the 'ulama' of the Ottoman empire under a religious chief may be in some way influenced by that of the Christian hierarchy in the empire under the Oecumenical patriarch. Lastly we may perhaps see in the Shaikh al-Islām a survival of the ancient mystical religious tradition in the Ottoman state, a tradition which demanded alongside of the secular power, a religious authority having no judicial powers but representing, so to speak the religious conscience of the people.

This last hypothesis would explain the tenacity with which the Shaikh al-Islām maintained his position through the centuries that followed in spite of the power of the Sultān to dismiss the holder of the title, a power of which they make frequent use. 'Othmān II (1618—1622) went so far as to deprive the *mufti* of all his

prerogatives — on account of his refusal to issue a *fatwā* legalising the fratricide — but under his successor all these prerogatives were restored. Murād IV had the *muftī* Akhi Zāde Husain (1632) put to death, without the dignity of the office itself being compromised. Sixteen years later it was the *muftī* 'Abd al-Rahmān Efendi who took the initiative in the dethronement and execution of Ibrahim I, although this cost him his office. The last *muftī* who was able to retain his position for a long series of years was Abū 'I-Su'ūd (1545—1574). After this time they succeeded one another at intervals averaging three to four years. Since the end of the xvth century it has been possible for the same person to become *muftī* several times. The frequent change of *muftī*'s became more and more connected with the political intrigues of the grand viziers, of the imperial harem, of the janissaries, intrigues by which the *muftī*'s themselves were sometimes gravely compromised, e.g. the famous Kara Çelebi Zāde [q.v.]; the majority, however, were men of integrity, although their political independence became for the most part quite illusory.

Since the beginning of the xvth century, the *muftī*'s have all been natives of Ottoman countries and, like all *'ulamā*, have belonged to Muslim families; in this they have been distinguished from the high officers of state and of the army who were frequently children of Christian parents, recruited by the *dewānīrme*. Later the *muftī*'s sometimes belonged to different generations of one family. They usually acquired the *maḥyā-khāt-i islāmīye* (the usual Turkish pronunciation, however, is *maḥkhat*) after having gone through the higher offices of the judicature; the majority of the *muftī*'s therefore had been *hāṭī* 'ashir before their appointment. This custom gave rise to an esprit de corps among the *'ulamā* and their chief which often comes out in history. Unlike the usage which gradually became established for the high judicial offices, the title of Shaikh al-Islām was not given to an individual without his actually accepting the office (there are only two exceptions).

The eminence of the Shaikh al-Islām's position in the state found its expression in the ceremonial. As, according to the *Kānūn* on ceremonial, he was regarded as the Abū Hanīfa of his time, only the Grand Vizier was higher in rank than he. In the xviiith century the *muftī* was obliged to pay visits only to the grand vizier. The formalities of his visits to the latter and to the Sultān were minutely regulated. The duties and prerogatives of the *muftī* on the occasion of religious ceremonies, the burial of the Sultān, the taking of the oath to the new sovereign (*la'fat*) and the solemn installation of the latter were equally defined. In addition to Shaikh al-Islām he had several more titles, the oldest of which *Muftī al-Anām* was the most used; others were *'Alam al-'Ulamā*, *Bahr 'Ulam Shattā*, *Asās* or *Afḥal al-Fuḍalā*, *Ṣadr al-Shūrā*, *Meinad-Nashin-i Fetwā*. His dress was always characterised by simplicity; the early *muftī* Molla Khouraw (q.v., d. 1480) wore a little turban over the *ṭāḍī* of the Imām Aḥmān (*Shakhṣiyye*, p. 137). In later times he wore a white *kafīlān*, trimmed with fur and a turban with a band of gold brocade (there are many pictures of the dress, e.g. in Choiseul Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce*, II. 49).

The political function of the Shaikh al-Islām was formerly confined to his power of issuing *fatwā*'s. In supplying the demand for *fatwā*'s to private individuals, he was soon replaced by the Fetwā Emini (see below) but enormous importance was attached to *fatwā*'s relating to questions of policy and public discipline. To the first category belong for example the *fatwā* of 'Alī Djemālī on the war against Egypt (1516) and that of Abū 'I-Su'ūd on the war against Venice (1570). Under 'Othmān II the *muftī* Es'ad Efendi declined to authorise by *fatwā* the fratricide of the Ottoman princes. *Fetwā*'s regarding public discipline were for example, that of Abū 'I-Su'ūd authorising the drinking of coffee (see *KAHWA*), that of 'Ahd Allāh Efendi on the establishing of a printing-press (in 1727, cf. Babinger, *Stambul Buchwesen*, Leipzig 1919, p. 9) and that of Es'ad Efendi authorising the Niḡām-i Djedid of Selīm III [q.v.]. By their *fatwā*'s the *muftī*'s also collaborated in imperial legislation by legalising by their *fatwā*'s the different *Kānūnnāme*'s (e.g. the *Kānūn* of Sulaimān I all had the approbation of Abū 'I-Su'ūd, cf. *Milli tettebbuat mecmu'atı*, 1331, I, Nos. 1 and 2). Besides, it was the custom to consult the Shaikh al-Islām on all political matters of any importance. In the majority of cases the *muftī*'s thus exercised a beneficial influence on public affairs, although by their personal interference they had often to suffer from the Sultān's arbitrary measures. The decline of the Ottoman empire has sometimes been attributed to the reactionary spirit of the institution of the Shaikh al-Islām; it should be noted, however, that in many cases the *muftī*'s have shown themselves less reactionary than the majority of the clergy and that through their intervention they were able to prevent fanatical and arbitrary acts (e.g. Abū 'I-Su'ūd's opposition to the forced conversion of all the Christians). Although in the Ottoman empire of the xixth and xxth centuries the Shaikh al-Islām no longer played this important political role, appeal was occasionally made to the traditional authority of this institution when policy required it, as on the occasion of the deposition of 'Abd al-Hamid in 1909, the proclamation of the *ḡikāḥ* in 1914 and the *fatwā* against the nationalists of Angora in 1920. The *fatwā*'s of 1914 are not only concerned with the policy of the Ottoman empire but are addressed to the whole Muslim world. This fact reveals a new, and more general, pan-islamic conception of the function of the Ottoman Shaikh al-Islām. It is a conception which seems to have developed in Turkey in the course of the xixth century, probably in connection with new theories of the caliphate. And just as is the case with these latter theories, the idea of the central importance of the Shaikh al-Islām for all the Muslim world is first found in Christian European authors. The xvth century travellers (e.g. Ricaut) already compare him with the Pope. Volney (*Voyage en Syrie*, Paris 1789/1790, II. 371) regards him as the representative of the spiritual power of the Caliph to the whole Muslim world. Legally speaking, it is true, the *fatwā* of a *Muftī* is addressed to every Muslim who wishes to follow it, but it was only in 1914 that the attempt was made to take advantage of the universal spiritual authority, which was attributed at the time by Christians as well as by Muslims to the Shaikh al-Islām in Constantinople (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verbreide Geschiedenis*, III. 272).

As head of the hierarchy of the 'ulamā', the Mufti had acquired the right of recommending to the sultan persons, who should be nominated to the six higher grades of the judiciary. He himself only very rarely acted as a judge.

When towards the end of the xviiith century the administration of the Ottoman empire began to be modernised, there was gradually formed an administrative department with the Shaikh al-Islām at its head. By this time there were already several personages who assisted the Mufti in his many duties, such as the *keşhoda* or *kāfya* who could represent the mufti, the *teşhîdî*, who was his agent in the government, the *mektûbî* or general secretary and the *fetvâ emini* whose duty it was to prepare and give out the fetvâs asked for by the public. All these functionaries had their own offices. In the period of the *tanzîmât*, this departmental organisation was consolidated. The Shaikh al-Islām was given as his official residence the former residence of the Agha of Janissaries; it was in this office henceforth called Shaikh al-Islām Kâpısı or Bab-ı Fetvâ (cf. the article Constantinople), that the offices of his department were housed till its abolition. The department dealt with the administration and management of all institutions having a religious basis, except the administration of the *emlâk*. The Shaikh al-Islām thus became the colleague of the heads of the other ministerial departments, which were created in the course of the xixth century. He became a member of the Ministry and as such his tenure of office was limited by the life of the cabinet of which he was a member. He retained his precedence over the other ministers; this priority was laid down in Art. 27 of the Constitution of Midhat Paşa of 1876, in which it is enacted that the Sultan is to choose the Grand Vizier and Shaikh al-Islām directly while the other ministers are appointed by the Grand Vizier. As early as the xviiith century the Grand Vizier and the Shaikh al-Islām were the only officials who received their investiture in the presence of the Sultan.

In proportion as the secularisation of the institutions of the Ottoman empire advanced, the influence of the Shaikh al-Islām in the State declined. The institution in 1839 of a Council of State (*Şûrâ-yı Devlet*) deprived him of much of his influence on domestic politics; then the creation in 1879 of new civil and penal tribunals under a new Minister of Justice (*Adliye Nâzırı*) took away another large share of his influence. A series of legislative measures was passed which defined the competence of jurisdiction according to the *şar'î* and *nizâmîye* tribunals. This development filled a prominent part in the religious reforms of the Young Turks (cf. e.g. the poem *Mezâkhat* of Zî Gök Alp, p. 62 of *Aus der religiösen Reformbewegung in der Türkei*, by Dr. A. Fischer, Leipzig, 1922) and was brought to its logical conclusion, when in 1916 the Young Turkish government removed the administration of all the *mahkâm-i şar'îye* to the Ministry of Justice and that of the *medresât* to the Ministry of Education. This step was justified by appeals to modern public law. The declared object was to avoid the mistakes made at the time of the *tanzîmât* and to make the *mahkâm-i islâmiye* a department for purely religious matters (cf. e.g. the *Tanin* of Oct. 31 and Nov. 2, 1916). It was in the same spirit that

an office was established in 1917 at the Shaikh al-Islām, the *dâr al-îlmâ al-islâmiye*, of a propagandist character. But after the armistice of Mudros (Nov. 2, 1918) the Young Turkish reforms were revoked by the new government. But by this time, however, the life of the Shaikh al-Islām was nearing its end, for in November 1922 after the victory of Turkish nationalisation all that remained in Constantinople of the old government institutions of the Ottoman empire was abolished. Their functions were taken over by the officers of the new government at Angora. This government no longer included the Shaikh al-Islām. At the constitution of the new government, it is true, a *şar'îye meclîsi* had been instituted but the anti-clerical spirit of the Grand National Assembly did not allow this imitation of the Shaikh al-Islāmlik to survive; it was replaced by a modest *diyanet işleri reisliği*, by a law passed on March 3, 1924, the day on which the Ottoman caliphate was abolished.

The fullest description of the office of Shaikh al-Islām towards the end of his existence is found in the *İlmîye Sâlnümesi* published in 1334 (1916) by the Shaikh al-Islām which was then under the vigorous direction of Mustafa Khair Efendi. The principal departments which composed it, were the *fetvâ-khâne*, the *medfîli-i idâre-i şer'îye*, a kind of court of cassation for the *mahkâm-i şer'îye*, an office for the administration of the medreses (*derz meclîsi ve medfîli-i mazâlih-i talebîye*), an office which superintended the printing of Kur'ân and legal works (*teşhî-i mazâhif ve müellifât-i şer'îye medfîsi*), an office dealing with the mystical orders (*medfîli-i meşârik*) and the administration of the *bait al-mâl* or *cumûl-i aylâm*. There were also administrative departments dealing with the archives, correspondence and accounts. As in other government offices, there was an under-secretary of state (*muşteşâr*). The Shaikh al-Islām Kâpısı also contained the great *şar'îye* tribunals of the *hâfî 'âşer*, the *hâsâm* and the *İstanbul hâfîsi*. Finally a large number of committees (*cumûmen*) whose advice was asked on different matters, including a committee for the nomination of judges had their homes there. For further details see the *İlmîye Sâlnümesi*.

Bibliography: The biographies of 108 Shaikh al-Islām are given in *Davhat al-Mashâ'ikh* by Rifat Efendi, lithogr. at Stambul n.d.; the last biography is that of 'Omer Husâm al-Dîn Efendi (d. 1288/1871). A *dhîl* has been written by 'Ali Emiri Efendi. Following these two sources the *İlmîye Sâlnümesi*, p. 322—641 gives the biographies of 124 Shaikh al-Islām down to Mustafa Khair Efendi (held office till Nov. 1916), edited by the historians Ahmad Refik and Ali Emiri Efendi. The latter contributed to the same *Sâlnüme*, p. 304—320, a *Mashâ'ikat-i İslâmiye târîhleri*. At Vienna there is a manuscript of the *Davhat al-Mashâ'ikh* of Mustafa Zâde (Flügel, ii, p. 409 199.). Many western writers on Turkey have notices in their books of the Shaikh al-Islām: Ricaut, *The history of the present state of the Ottoman empire*, London 1686, p. 200 199.; D'Obsson, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman*, ii, Paris 1790, p. 256 199.; J. von Hammer, *Der osmanischen Reichs Staatverfassung*, Vienna 1813 ii. 373 199.; other descriptions: Dr. Stephan Kekule, *Über Titel*,

Amir, Rangstufen und Anreden in der offiziellen osmanischen Sprache, Halle 1911, p. 16 sqq.; G. Young, *Corps de droit ottoman*, Oxford 1905, I, 285 sqq.; A. H. Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Suleiman the Magnificent*, Cambridge 1913, p. 207 sqq.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

SHAikh 'ADĪ. [See 'ADĪ].

SHAikh SA'ID, a seaport in South Arabia on the strait of Bāb al-Manḍab, 2 miles from the island of Perim. It lies on a cape whose cliffs 850 feet high dominate this island. Two volcanic hills which lie on a peninsula 6 miles long by $4\frac{1}{2}$ broad here form the extreme south-west corner of Arabia. Between the latter and Perim runs the so-called Little Strait, called Bāb al-Manḍab or Bāb Iskandar by the Arabs, because Alexander is said to have built a town here; there are actually ruins south of the cape. A. Sprenger and E. Glaser have — probably rightly — identified Shaikh Sa'id with the ancient Ocellis or Acella mentioned by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi, 23, § 104, 28, § 152; Ptolemy, i, 7, and the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, § 25. It took about 20 days to reach here from Berenice. The name Ocellis, as Glaser suggests, probably conceals some name like Ukālī. The harbour originally belonged to the kingdom of Katabān (q. v.), then passed to the Gubanites and finally to the Himyarites. In the 14th (x^{iv}) century it belonged to the Banū Maḍīd b. Ḥaldān b. 'Amr b. al-Ḥaf b. Qudā'a. The modern name of the place comes from the tomb of Shaikh Sa'id, who is buried on the north side of the cape. But the harbour is now of no practical significance. It is a so-called monsoon harbour, which may become very dangerous for shipping at the turn of the monsoon.

The unusually favourable strategic situation of the place prompted the French Admiral Mahé de Labourdonnais as early as 1734 to acquire the cape from a native Sultān. Louis XVI is even said to have kept an agent there. Shaikh Sa'id continued to be a French sphere of interest. No less a person than Napoleon Bonaparte wished to garrison the place, a proposal also suggested to Mehemmed 'Alī in 1828 by the French government. But, when in 1838 he was actually preparing to put the plan into force, he encountered the resolute opposition of England who occupied 'Aden in 1839 and Perim in 1857. Not long afterwards the French again became actively interested in the place. After long negotiations a Marseilles firm bought the territory for 50,000 francs from the native sultān to whom it belonged. It was not till 1871 that this purchase was confirmed to the Société de Bāb el-Mandeb, founded by Raboud-Basis. During the Franco-German War, the port was used as a coaling station by the French. But after the war French interest in this harbour declined and in 1873 an agreement was come to between England and Turkey in which the latter recognised England's sovereignty over Cape Bāb al-Manḍab. In 1884 Shaikh Sa'id was occupied by the Turks. The French had to reconcile themselves to this, especially as the Turks had planted fortifications in the Cape. It was not till 1896 that the French Chamber again began to take an interest in the harbour. France is even said to have declared the territory of Shaikh Sa'id to be a French Colony. Later repeated attempts to enforce France's claims in a practical fashion

have always come to nought. Turkey continued to occupy the place and in time made it a well defended fortress which, although bombarded by the English in 1914, was strongly supported next year by the troops of the Imām Yahyā Ḥamid al-Dīn and was even able to bombard Perim and close the straits for a time. The military collapse of Turkey in the world-war resulted in the restoration of the place to the native population. Like Mokhā, Shaikh Sa'id is an important coast-town in the independent imāmate of the Zaidī lord of Yemen, which is of all the more value as coal and iron are found there.

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SHAikhī, followers of Ahmad Aḥsā'ī (q. v.), dissenting Shī'a theologians of Persia. Their teachers are the pupils and successors of the founder: Saīyid Kāzīm of Reḡat, teacher of Ḥādījī Muḥammad Kāzīm Khān of Kirmān and Mollā Muḥammad Māmakānī, a theologian who was one of the commission which tried and condemned the Bāb at Tabriz towards the end of 1847. Their doctrines definitely prepared the way for those of the Bāb. They are opposed to those of the Akhbārī, who follow pure tradition; they protest against the immoderate number of traditions and the complete absence of criticism with which they are adopted; from this particular point of view they approach the Sunnī way of thinking.

They give new explanations of the principles of religion and of ḥadīth. The twelve Imāms are the effective cause of creation, being the scene of the manifestation of the divine will, the interpreters of God's desire. If they had not existed, God would not have created anything; they are therefore the ultimate cause of creation. All the acts of the divinity are produced by them but they have no power in or of themselves; they are only organs of transmission. Hence we have the charge of *tafsīl* (delegation of God's powers) wrongly brought against the Shaikhī by the Shī'a theologians. God being incomprehensible and escaping the thought of every created being, He can only be understood through the intermediary of the Imāms, who are in reality hypostases of the supreme being; to sin against them is to sin against God. The *lawḥ mahfūz* is the heart of the Imām, which embraces all the heavens and all the worlds. The Imāms are the first of created beings and have preceded them all.

In eschatology the Shaikhī have been charged with denying the resurrection of the material body. They reply that man possesses two bodies; one is formed by temporal elements: "like a robe which a man sometimes puts on and sometimes takes off"; it is this which dissolves in the grave; the other which subsists when the first has crumbled to dust, is a subtle body which belongs to the invisible world (*ʿālam al-haywānīyāt*); it is this which is resurrected on this earth and then goes into paradise or hell.

Their thought became later more definite for they admitted two *ʿālam* and two *ʿālam* (these Arabic words both mean "body"); the first *ʿālam* is composed of the four visible elements, it is it which is perceptible in this world below and does not share in the future life; the second *ʿālam* persists and reappears in the other life; the first *ʿālam* is the body which the spirit reclothes in *barzakh* (purgatory); from the moment of death till the first sound of the trumpet, the second *ʿālam* subsists pure: it is it that the spirit becomes incarnate which directs itself towards the second *ʿālam*; it is it and the latter which come out of the grave entirely purified.

Knowledge of God. For God there exist two kinds of knowledge; one is essential knowledge and has no connection with contingencies: the other is a new knowledge created (*mukhlāṭ*); this knowledge is the actual being of the known and the Imāms are the gates (*bāb*) which give access to this knowledge. The world is eternal in time and new in essence, for accidents without substances, forms without any substratum cannot come into existence. Accidents are transitory novelties, sometimes they exist, sometimes they disappear; they were nothing and they return to nothing. Substance on the contrary is not a transitory novelty; in consequence matter is a novelty in essence; it is eternal in the future, but not in the past; otherwise the future life would have an end; paradise and hell would disappear. Paradise is the love of the people of the House, the members of the family of the Prophet, the Imāms. Paradise and hell are created by the acts of men.

The material bodies of the Imāms after their death fall into decay in the grave; while it is true that these bodies are subtle they show themselves under the human form, created of the four elements; as soon as their human body is no longer useful to men, they return it whence they have taken it and each of its molecules returns to its source; while the Shīʿīs believe that the bodies of the Imāms are not subject to the injuries of time.

It is not possible for known things to be eternal; they must therefore then be new and contingent; they are different to the essence of God but knowledge existed before the objects of knowledge. There are two kinds of knowledge; essential knowledge and newly created knowledge; the latter is of two kinds, that of possibility *ʿilm al-ḥāzī* and that of beings *ʿilm al-mawjūd*; the first is used of beings before their existence, and the second once they exist. This second acquired knowledge is not an attribute of God, it is present before Him.

They attribute particular importance to the order given by God (*amr*) which is the first class of created things and precedes the creation in the strict sense of the word (*ḥaṣṣ*); the first constitutes a fixed world without change; it is through

it that time exists and in consequence the latter can exert no influence on it. The knowledge of other creatures is preceded by ignorance, while this is not the case with God; this knowledge is new in the creature, it cannot be so for God. It is by the reflection of phenomena that man gains the apprehension of the world which surrounds him. This reflection does not exist for God who knows beings by their essence. Just as beings are manifold and varied as regards their existence, so there exists in God's knowledge of beings plurality and multiplicity.

They condemn Sūfism and its pantheism with such sayings as: "It is impossible for the essence of God to be the being of multiple things". They explain the miracles of the Prophet (ascension by night, the split moon) not in a material sense but figuratively and with rationalistic interpretation.

At the beginning of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, troubles broke out in Tabriz in 1266 (1850) because a Shaikhī was forbidden to enter the public baths as a result of a decision of the *Muḥtashid*. The governor succeeded in quieting the disturbance and made peace between the two parties. Later persecutions were several times directed against the members of the sect.

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SHAIKHĪ (pronounced: *Sheikhī*), in two syllables, *nisha* from Shaikh, q.v.), nom de plume (*sahhāṭ* or *mahhāṭ*) of a considerable number of Turkish poets. V. Hammer mentions sixteen of them in his "*Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst*". (See the index s.v. Scheichī). The most important by far was Shaikhī Celebi, alias Mevlānā (Mawlānā) Yūsuf Sīnā Germiānī, a Turkish "Romantic" poet. Born at Kutahia (Cotaseum in Phrygia), the capital of the Germiān, he flourished at the beginning of the 15th century. He is sometimes called *shāikh al-shuʿarā*, "The sheikh of the poets".

It is difficult to form an exact idea of his life. Information is not lacking either from the "*ṭikrār-nāme*" (the authors of poetical biographies) or from the historians, but none of them was contemporary with Shaikhī, and their information is vague and they are sometimes difficult to reconcile with one another. V. Hammer and Gibb — the latter without even citing his sources — have combined the different data so as to obtain a continuous narrative, but one that does not give a great guarantee of truth.

Here we give a résumé of the biography of the poet according to Sehi, an author less often cited than Laṭīf but having, nevertheless, the advantage of being of an earlier date (he wrote between 1520 and 1548): Yūsuf Germiānī went to Persia where he studied under Saiyid Sharif Dīrdjānī (q.v.), showing a marked preference for medicine, whence the name of Hekim (doctor) Sīnā by which he was equally well known. The Emir Sāleimān (the son of Bāzand I, who ruled at Adrianople, then at Brussa from 1402 to 1410 and who was the patron of letters and of art) having noticed his poetical ability, Shaikhī entered into favour with

the Ottoman sovereigns and later Murād II wished to make him a vizier. Some envious individuals persuaded the Sultan to put Shaikhī's talent to the proof by imposing upon him a very difficult task, the translation of the "Five" Poems (*Khamsa*, q. v.) of the Persian Nizāmī. Shaikhī having chosen the poem called *Khuraw u-Shirīn* began by presenting the first 1000 verses of it to Murād who rewarded him generously. On his return into his own country, the poet was assailed and robbed by brigands whom his enemies had placed in wait for him. This was the occasion of his writing a well-known satire called *Khur-nūme*, "Laus naini". He was buried at Germiān (Kütahia).

According to *Tashköprüzade*, Shaikhī had been initiated into Sūfism by Hādī al-Bairāmī, the founder of the Bairāmī order, who was born and buried at Angora, in 833 (1429—1430). Shaikhī was actually at Angora, to which he was called to the court of Sultan Mehmed I (according to Rieu, wrongly Mehmed II) in 818 (1415—1416), (according to the *Taḥf al-tawarrūk* of Sa'd al-Dīn) in his capacity as doctor to the prince of the Germiān, who had been seized with a lethargy. The poet-doctor is said to have declared that an entertaining romance would suffice to dispel the melancholia. The following verse taken from a *na'at* of Shaikhī, which is quoted in the *Faṣḥ al-Riḥād* (p. 86) seems to confirm this detail:

lafe-lā müferriḡi maras-ı ruh-a dir ihfā.

"The entertaining word is the remedy for the sickness of the soul".

Shaikhī is said to have been rewarded for his medical services by the title of physician in ordinary to the Sultan (*ser fahib* or *schin-bazār*) which he is said to have been the first to hold officially. The author of the *Saḡīr-i 'Othmānī* in recounting this anecdote calls our poet Sināi instead of Sinān (iii. 113 and iv. 721) and also gives the date of his death as 829 (1425—1426), which would make him die at a very early age, if it is true that he was born under Bāyazid I (whose reign began in 1389). An anecdote which almost all the authors repeat and which resembles a folk-lore tale, tells how a patient with solemn countenance one day doubled the sum which he was giving to "doctor", Shaikhī in order to enable him to buy something to cure his own eyes, which were affected.

The sojourn and medical practice of Shaikhī at the Ottoman court seem very different to reconcile with the continuous stay which he is said to have made at Kütahia according to *Tashköprüzade*. One is at times given the impression that two persons have been confused. From the point of view of the history, which is so little known of the local Turkish dynasties, which the Ottoman dynasty, particularly jealous of its own greatness, had absorbed and effaced, it would have been interesting to have had more precise ideas on the relations of Shaikhī with the Germiānoghlu. [q. v.] In the preface to his interminable *Sāḡh-nūme*, Firdawsī Tawīl, who, having lived during the time of Bāyazid II (1481—1512), is anterior to Sehi himself, tells us that Shaikhī had begun *Khuraw u-Shirīn* not for the Sultan Murād II, but for a prince of the house of Germiān called Mustafā. The historian 'Alī tells (iv/l. 191) that the bucolic sovereign (*hākim-i rūstāyī*) of the Germiān, unable to appreciate the beauty of the "ḡazals" of Shaikhī, wearied quickly of his company. One day he greatly upset

the poet by showing, by his generous gifts, his preference for the following verses which an "aḡam" (popular bard) had recited to him.

*Benim dōwletü Sultānım, 'aḡbāfın (sic!)
ḡayr olun,
Yedüyüh balla haimaḡ, yürüdüyüh ḡayr olun.*

"Fortunate Lord that thy end may be happy, may you have only honey and cream for fare and may you tread on your way, only on the meadows".

The necessities of the metre (*azad*) made it necessary to read 'aḡbāfın instead of the correct 'aḡbetiḡ and ḡayr (metrical value: -) instead of ḡayr (-). The pronunciation ḡayr was in conformity with the vulgar Turkish usage but indescribably shocked men of letters.

The works of Shaikhī: the most important is the poem already mentioned, *Khuraw u-Shirīn*. All the authors say that it was left incomplete and that it was *Shāḡh-zāde* (Shaikh oghlu) Djemālī who finished it. In reality the addition consists of 111 verses, in which the subject dealt with in very vague terms is the death of Shaikhī and in which we find a new eulogy of Murād II. The first verse of the addition is: *ḡāḡib ey bīn dīnün nūḡh idenler; ku ḡikmet iḡstirini ḡāḡh idenler.*

According to the MS. Asc. f. l. 322 in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, Djemālī had as his prenomens: Hāyazid ben Mustafā (fol. 273). The MS. 328 follows this hint with the words Ahmed al-tarḡūmānī al-Aḡshāhri. It is known that the poem attributed to Ferhād, the lover of Shirīn, the bas-reliefs of Bisutūn (cf. Hammer; *Hist.* ii. 169). The work of Shaikhī is not the first Turkish translation of the poem. See a translation into Kıptak Turkish of 1383, mentioned in J. Deny's *Gram. de la langue turque*, Paris 1920, p. xx—xxi.

The satire called *Khur-nūme* was due, according to certain authors, to reasons other than those mentioned by Sehi. The district where Shaikhī is said to have been the victim of brigands was called *Dokuzlu*.

Shaikhī also composed ḡazals, as well as *na'at* and *terḡi'at bend*, and a certain number of *ḡazla* of which a few were dedicated to the house of Germiān, others to the Emir Süleimān, which were discussed above. It seems difficult to admit that there is here, as in the case of the poet Ahmedī — see Gibb, i., p. 265 — a confusion with the prince Süleimān of the family of Germiān the date of death († 790 A.H.) of the latter rendering the same hypothesis improbable.

Like his predecessor and compatriot (?) Ahmedī [q. v.] but with greater authority, Shaikhī naturalized in Turkey the methnewi metre (which is that of *Khuraw u-Shirīn*). He was, moreover, greatly influenced by mysticism which pervaded the methnewi par excellence, that of Mawlānā Djālāl al-Dīn Rūmī. Shaikhī was considered the greatest of the Turkish poets of the epoch before Ahmed Pasha, who accustomed the Turks to a language more refined. Too learned for the taste of the prince of Germiān, Shaikhī was, however, criticised by Latīf for his "oghuzāne" style, this ethnic here meaning "vulgar". Certain Turkish critics, even modern ones, give vent again to these complaints, reproaching Shaikhī with the use of Turkish "archaisms". It is certain that in the eyes of Turks to-day these peculiarities are only an

additional merit, and that the relative simplicity of his poetry in which words truly Turkish are not systematically banned, is appreciated more and more.

Of other Turkish personalities of this name, there is to be mentioned the author of a supplement (*Dhail*, 1780 bibliographies up to the reign of Ahmed III) to the *Hadâ'ik al-Hakâ'ik* by 'Atî, who composed a continuation of Tashköprüzâde's work (cf. the *Bibliography*). Another Shaikhî ('Abd al-Kâdir, † 1002) was Shaikh al-Islâm in the reign of Murâd III.

Bibliography: Oriental authors: the different *Tadhkirat al-shu'arâ* (*tadhkirat-shu'arâ*) are easy to consult, being arranged in the alphabetical order of the names of the authors. (See those of 'Ashik Çelebi, Hinnîzâde or Kinnîzâde, especially). Here are, however, a few more precise references for the printed *tadhkirat*: Sehi, *Huht Bihisht*, edited by Mehmed Shâkirî (Library of Amid) 1325 (1909), p. 32 sqq.; Latîfî, *Teskere-i Latîfî*, ed. Ahmed Hecwet (Library of the İkdâm), Constantinople 1314, p. 215 sqq.; do. in German: *Latîfî oder Biographische Nachrichten von vorzüglichen türkischen Dichtern, nebst einer Blumenlese aus ihren Werken, aus dem türkischen des Mowla Abdul Latîf und des Ashik Hassan Tchelebi übersetzt von Thomas Chabert*, Zürich 1800, p. 219 sqq. (less complete); Tashköprüzâde, *al-Sha'ir al-namuniya*, transl. into Turkish by Edirneli Mehmed Medjdi Efendi, Constantinople 1269 (1853), p. 128—129; 'Ali Efendi, *Künhûl-Akhar*, Constantinople 1277, iv/l, p. 190; 199; Fâik Reshîd, *Esâf*, Conspile 1311, p. 36 sqq.; do., *Târîkh-i adabiyât-i 'omâniye*, Conspile n.d., p. 80 sqq. (many verses from Shaikhî quoted); Shihâb al-Din Süleimân, *Târîkh-i adabiyât-i 'omâniye*, Conspile 1328, p. 37 sqq.; Mehmed Thurnîya, *Sijill-i 'omâni*, Conspile 1308, ill, p. 113 and iv, p. 721.

Western authors: Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst bis auf unsere Zeit*, Pesth 1836, p. 104 sqq.; Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, London 1900, i, Chap. vi. (The Romantics continued; Sheykhi), p. 299—335; Hammer, *Hist. Emp. Ott.*, index; Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der k.-k. Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, Vienna 1867, i, p. 617 (cf. also index to Jacuf Sinan); Catalogue (manuscript) of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris: Anc. f. t. 322—326, 328—330, 363, Sup. t. 353, 614 (all manuscripts of Khusrâw u-Shîrî); for the principal manuscripts of other Libraries see the Catalogue of the Brit. Mus. by Rieu, p. 165. (J. DENY)

SHAIKHÎYA. Name of a sub-division of the Shâdhiliyya-order [q. v.], which deserves the name of a brotherhood rather than that of an order. It was founded by 'Abd al-Kâdir b. Mahammad (951—1023 = 1544—1615), who bore the title of Sidi Shaikh. He was a lineal descendant of the caliph Abû Bakr and belonged to a branch that emigrated from Arabia to Egypt in the 1st century A. H., and from there to Tunisia where it resided from 699—802 A. H.; from this date onward it had its quarters in the Maghrib, where it was known under the name of Bû Bakrîya or Ulûd Bû Bakr.

Sidi Shaikh was *mukaddam* of the Shâdhiliyya-order. He retained the rite of this order with the addition of a thrice repeated *fatîha* at the end of

each of the five daily *salâts*. His piety and character made him the chief of his people in matters spiritual and temporal. In order to procure accommodation for his many visitors, he built a *ḥusn* at al-Abyad which to the present day is one of the five *ḥusn* of the Shaikhî's. His position became hereditary in his family for some generations. In the second half of the xviiith century, however, a schism took place in consequence of which the Shaikhîya became divided into two groups, the *Shirazi* and the *Gheraba*. The further history is dominated by this schism.

In the xixth century a certain Bû 'Amama ('Amâma?) tried to unite the factions under his authority, which he based upon his being divinely appointed successor of Sidi Shaikh. His personal attitude resembled that of the popular derwishes and was moreover marked by hatred of Christians. He extended the rite by the addition of a *dhikr* and a *du'a*.

The Shaikhîya has its centre chiefly in the southern borderland between Algeria and Morocco. Apparently it never spread abroad.

Bibliography: L. Rinn, *Marabouts et Khaman*, p. 349 sqq.; O. Depont and X. Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, p. 468 sqq. Cf. also the art. *TARIQA*.

SHAIKHZÂDE, pronounced Sheikhzâde, a compound Persian word signifying "son (or descendant) of the Shaikh" [q. v.], synonymous with the Turkish expression *Sheikh-oghlu*. The word *sheikh*, pronounced in vulgar Turkish, *Shâh*, means according to Turkish usage "prescher in a large mosque; the head of a religious brotherhood". This expression must not be confused with *shâh-zâde* (vulgar secondary form for *shâh-zâde*) "prince imperial".

Sheikhzâde is a patronym of the same kind as *Imâmzâde* or *Imâm-oghlu*, *Mû'addihînzâde* or *Mû'addihî-oghlu*, *N.-Pashazâde*, *N.-Beyzâde*, *N.-Efendîzâde*. The Arabic synonym *ben al-Shaikh* is not used in Turkish; expressions like *Ibn-i Kemâl* for Kemâl Pasha-zâde are exceptional.

The patronymic Sheikhzâde or Sheikh-oghlu has been employed as a proper noun in the names of the following Turkish personages:

1. The author of the *Khusrâw Nâme*, which was completed about May 20, 1387. It is in the preface and in the epilogue of this work that we find information about the poet Sheikh-oghlu or Sheikhzâde, and at the same time about his patron, Süleimân Shâh, the prince of the Germanian. (The quotations which follow are from the manuscript A. F. T., N^o. 314 of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris).

Sheikh-oghlu was born about the year 1340. He was in fact "about fifty years" of age when he finished his book (*in shimidi illi-ye yaklaşkıl yaşımı*, fol. 304, b. l. 9). By birth on both his father's and his mother's side he was of high descent (*iki tarafdân benüm aslüm ulu-dur*; l. 2). His ancestors were powerful (*devlet isit*), men of learning (*ilm isri fâhîr beyler*), Muslims of note. Süleimân Shâh had absolute confidence in him (*hem il-idüm ada hem tash-idüm ben, Ne illüm uylessen zabûh (shâddâh) idüm ben*; ibid., l. 6) and had granted him the right of acting as secretary as well as High Treasurer (*nishân u defter u mül u shazine*; fol. 6, l. 7). This entirely confirms Sehi, who says that Sheikh-oghlu was *ni-shâddî* and *defterdâr* of the prince of the Germanian.

It is also to this prince that he intended to dedicate his poem. He says in fact:

*Süleimân-şâh semâni-di kâ ercel,
Usatdım bu kitâbı dümnye el,
Kî şâhı-di temâmeti Germiyanuh
Hem ulu oğlı-yıldi Cağhâdanuh*
(MS. N^o. 355: *Cağhâdanuh*).

"It was in the time of Süleimân Shâh when I first
"stretched out my hand to compose this book;
"he was the Shâh of all the Germiyan
"and the elder son of him who makes the
"weapons clash".

But this prince died when the author was in the middle of his work (fol. 16, l. 10). Sheikh oğlu then entered the service of Yıldırım Bayazid, the son-in-law of Süleimân Shâh, still prince imperial, having already received as an appanage the capital of the Germiyan (see article GERMİYANOĞLU), and it is to Bayazid that the poem is dedicated in recognition of the benefits which he had heaped upon the author in his turn (fol. 18, l. 1). This combination of circumstances explains how the poet could at the same time write a eulogy of his former master. He could not forget indeed that the latter must be eclipsed and over-shadowed by his powerful namesake, who was equally a patron of the Ottoman House (the Emir Süleimân, son of İlyasid). His name has only been preserved on inscriptions and coins (Khalid Edhem, *Al-i Germiyan kışâbıleri*, *Revue de l'Institut d'Histoire Ottomane* [in Turkish], i. 112—128; Ahmad Tawhid, ... *Kütahyede Germiyan [Kermiyan] Beyleri*, ii. 505—513).

In the eulogy of Bayazid, "young in age but old in knowledge" (*Yigit-dür 'emrile, 'ağlılı pîr*; fol. 18, b. l. 11), this prince is described in different ways in the different manuscripts. That of Berlin, the oldest, styles him: "Bayezid Bey, son (= descendant) of Orkhan Bey". In the MS. 314 of Paris (fol. 16, b. l. 1 and 2), he is the son of the Sultân Shâh (*Sultân oğlı-dür Shâh*), these words being followed by this qualification: *Ne (Na) Sultân ibni Sultân ten-i Sultân, Şehinşeh Bayezid ibni Murâd Khân*. The same formula is found in the manuscript 355, fol. 4, l. 4, but in place of *Şehinşeh*, etc. there is: *Çelebi Bayezid, of Şîr-i mirdân*. It will be noted that the imperial princes actually bore the title of Çelebi up to the reign of Mehmed II (*Sidfi'llâ 'otmânî*, i. 89). The surname Yıldırım (the form in old Osmanli for Yıldırım) appears in the verse: *Yıldırım dilerse haşş-dür*, fol. 16, b. l. 5.

In the same preface it is said that the work was finished in the time of Bayezid (*devletinde*, fol. 17, l. 10) and further on, the author expresses the hope of living long enough to finish under the name of the same prince (*Şehinşeh adlı*) an *Vekâ Nâme*. The end seems to be a eulogy of a minister (the Grand Vizier 'Alî Paşa, cf. fol. 19, l. 10). All these differences and variations make one surmise that the preface was entirely remodelled at a later date, perhaps by the author himself. A critical edition would be desirable, but whatever may be the version adopted as definitive, one can adopt as certain the date of the completion of the work (May 20, 1387) given in the epilogue. This date is thus formulated (fol. 304, l. 13): *yıldi yûz sekiz defında — Kî toktâ marmûh-ıdi Khurşîd âkâde —* "in 789 when the sun had raised his throne under (the sign of)

Taurus". Then a description of spring follows, which concludes thus: ... *robi' ul-âkhirîn* (sic) *âkhir âkhir — Bu Khurşîd Nâme eldu erel âkhir* (sic). "It was evidently at the end of the Rabi' II (spring). That the *Khurşîd Nâme* was finished (ibidem, l. 2)". Now the lunar month of Rabi' II, 789 extended from 21st April to 20th May, and that corresponds exactly with the passage of the sun to the zodiacal sign of Taurus. Such an exact coincidence, which is in contrast to the usual lack of precision in Ottoman chronology excludes the possibility of error. The poem then is older than is usually believed.

It follows from what has been said that Süleimân Shâh had already been dead for some time in the year 789 (cf. the article GERMİYANOĞLU). We may notice also that according to the eulogy of him by Sheikhoghlu, Süleimân Shâh was so devout that the dervishes forgot the respect due to a great prince (*ulu Şâh*) and did not salute him first (*islâm ehâretme-idi*, fol. 15, b. l. 13). As regards the epithet *Cağhâdan* which is given in a passage quoted above to the father of Süleimân Shâh (Germiyanoghlu Mehmed) and which we have translated by "he who makes the shields clash", it is obviously the regular participle in *-yan* of a causal verb of onomatopoeic origin *Cağh(-)sh-a-t-mâş* (*Cağhshatmaş*), synonymous with the metathesis of *Cağh(-)sh-a-t-mâş* or *Cağhshatmaş* (whence no doubt comes the proper name Fach Schad, wrongly given by v. Hammer, *Gesch. d. osm. Dichtkunst*, i. p. 110, note 1; we shall correct the other errors in the same quotation). The verb *Cağhshatmaş* is given by Mahmud Kâshghâri, *Divân-ı lughât al-Türk*, iii. 212, below in the sense of "to jingle (little pebbles), to tinkle, in speaking of toys or other objects". (Cf. also J. Deny, *Gram. turque*, § 850, rem. 4 and note; add the words *Cağhshat*, from the *Burhân-i kâfi* in Turkish, p. 626, l. 24; *Cağhshatmaş*, from the Diet of Redhouse, p. 722, b.; *Cağhshat*, from Kâshghâri, i. 390, l. 12—15; and *Cağhshatmaş*, Vambéry, *Altoin*, p. 185).

The *Khurşîd Nâme* describes the loves of Khurşîd, the daughter of the king of Persia Siyâwush and of Ferahshâd, son of the king of Maghrib (see the analysis in Hammer, *loc. cit.*). It is a poem of 7,640 verses (with two rhyming hemistichs of 11 syllables), that is to say it is a *mathnawî* like the *Khawerem Shîrin* and in the same metre, the *kesîdî* (--- ---). This poem is called *Khurşîd-u Ferrukhshâd* by Sehi and *Ferâk Nâme* by Hâdjî Khalîfa (iv. 412), v. Hammer, Gibb, and, following them, other authors pronounce it *Ferrukhshâd*, and Gibb corrects the editor of Hâdjî Khalîfa by reading *Ferrukh Nâme*. In the Paris manuscripts quoted, this name is always written *Ferahshâd* and this reading ought always to be retained as the only one compatible with the metre (---). The word is found indeed either at the beginning or at the end of the hemistich (fol. 70, 72 b., 73, 78, 78 b., 76 etc.) where *Ferrukhshâd* (---) would be inadmissible. This last word besides does not occur either in the *Shâhnâme* or in Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895, and seems due to a confusion with *Ferrukhshâd* and *Ferrukhshâz* (cf. an analogous confusion in the popular story of *Ferrukhshâd*, *Ferrukhshâz* and *Ferrukhnâz*, translated into French by the Jeune de Langues Maltor in 1742, Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, Suppl. turc., N^o. 945).

Sehi identifies Sheikhoghlu with the "nephew", on his mother's side, and continuer of Shaikh. The historian 'Alî who makes the same confusion, calls him Djâmâlî Sheikhzâde (Hammer: Djâmâlîzâde). The dates contradict this identification (Shaikh, who wrote under Murâd II, was still alive in 1421), and it is difficult to believe that he could have for his continuer a nephew born in 1340. Two different individuals must therefore be distinguished.

Köprülü Zâde Mehmed Fuâd notes in N° 124 of the bibliography to his *Türk edebiyâtında ilk müteferrişler*, Stambul 1918, an autograph and unique manuscript belonging to him of a work entitled *Künûs ül-kütürâ* by Sheikhoghlu "extremely important from the point of view of the history of language and literature", but without more detailed information, it is impossible to say if it is here a question of our author.

Bibliography: See especially: Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, London 1900, I, 427 sqq.; The manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris are: A.F.T., N° 314 (a fine vocalised *neshâ* MS. of 882), 315 and 355 (the last two incomplete). The Berlin copy (Pertsch, N° 365) is of Rabî I, 807 (Sept. 7—Oct. 6, 1404).

II. The author, or rather the translator, of the *Ḳırk Weir* (*Wair*) *hikayisi*, "the history of the forty viziers". Only the little which is given in the preface of this work is known about this writer. The text also varies according to different manuscripts. In some one finds only Sheikhzâde, in others only Ahmed-i-Misri. Gibb thinks it is one and the same person, the translator of the *Ḳırk Weir* from Arabic into Turkish, from a work which has been lost, entitled *Arba'in lailah wa-ma'â*, "The Forty Days and Forty Nights". This translation is dedicated in the great majority of manuscripts to Sultan Murâd II (1421—1451), and this indicates approximately the epoch in which our author lived (according to Pertsch he is said to have written the *Ḳırk Weir* in 850 = 1446). It is to be noted, however, that according to the text of Belletère (which is in agreement with one of the manuscripts of Vienna) Sheikhzâde is the name of an author who wrote in Arabic for the Sultan of Egypt (*Misr* and *Magr* in place of the *misr* of other manuscripts), and it is an anonymous writer speaking of himself in the first person who wrote the Turkish translation, ornamenting it with diverse flowers of diction and quotations. According to other manuscripts, we might suppose that Sheikhzâde (or Ahmed Misri) made the first translation and that an anonymous writer improved upon it. Fleischer, Behnasser and Gibb reject the reading Misri as wrong, but the change of person (which passes from the third to the first) in the text of the preface remains none the less a puzzle. It is important then to set up a critical text from the different manuscripts of the *Ḳırk Weir* in order to establish even the name of the author.

Like the *Bahktiyâr-nâme* [q. v.] or the "History of the Ten Viziers", "The Forty Viziers" are a ramification of the "*Sindbad Nâme*" [q. v.] or the "History of the Seven Wise Men" (seven viziers in the Arab version). The framework of "The Forty Viziers" may be summarized as follows: There was in Persia a sovereign called Shâh-i Khâshkayn (of the east and of the west), whose young wife fell in love with her stepson, a prince

of marvellous beauty and of great virtue. Solicited by the Queen (Khatun), the prince (Sheikhzâde) follows the advice which his tutor (*khodja, aâd*) had given him, who after consulting his horoscope, recommends him to maintain, whatever happens, the silence of a mute, during a dangerous period which will last forty days. Irritated by the indifference of the prince, the queen slanders him to the king, who orders his son to be put to death. It is at this moment that the forty viziers intervene and the first of them in the presence of the executioner tells a story (that of Shaikh Shihab al-Din Mahtûl, who died the victim of a woman's ruse), at the end of which the king consents to postpone the execution of the prince until he has obtained further information. In the evening the queen on her part tells a story calculated to revive the anger of her husband, who again summons the executioner on the following morning. But the second vizier intervenes in his turn and so on until the forty stories of the viziers alternate with the forty stories of the queen. Finally, on the forty-first day, when the king was just going to give credence to the queen by putting his son to death and throwing the viziers into prison, the tutor, who had disappeared during this time, comes back and relieves the prince of the silence imposed by the omens. Then the prince reveals the intrigues of the queen. The latter, confounded by the testimony of her servants, is attached to the tail of a horse, which shatters her to pieces dragging her over stones and rough roads.

The stories of the forty viziers are most frequently localised in Egypt, which is in accordance with the indications in the preface as to the place where the collection is said to have been written (Aqchid [Akshid], the Salân of Egypt, of one of the tales — cf. Chauvin, p. 123 — is probably Ikhshid).

Bibliography: A very full bibliography of the Forty Viziers is given in V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, Liège and Leipzig 1904, viii. (Synopsis), p. 18—21, 112 sq. (and extracts publ. by Smirnov, *Chrestomathie Ottomane* [Russian title], St. Petersburg 1903, p. 220—223. We might also note that a young Turcologist of Prague, M. Duda, is preparing an edition of the Forty Viziers). The manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris are: A.F.T. 378, 388 to 392; Suppl. turc. 428 to 434, 1392 to 1394, 644. For the other manuscripts and editions printed in Turkey, cf. Pertsch, Berlin, Catalogue No. 454, 437, 438; Gotha, Catalogue No. 230 and esp.: Rieu, British Museum p. 216, 4. 3. Muḥyî al-Din Muḥammad b. Maḥlîḥ al-Din Muḥṣaf al-Ḳudjawi, called Sheikhzâde, died in 951 (March 25, 1544—March 14, 1545), wrote a gloss in Arabic on the Commentary of Baiḍawî, the *ḥaṣṣat al-burda* and other texts.

Bibliography: Ḥadîdî Khalîfa, *Kaṣf al-Zunin*, vii, Index, No. 643; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, I, 265—417; Dozy, *Catalogue*.... bibl. *Ar. Langues-Orientales*, 1851, II, 82.

4. 'Abd al-Rahmân b. al-Shaikh Muḥammad b. Sulaimân, called Shaikhzâde (in Ḥadîdî Khalîfa: Shaikhî zâde), d. in 1078 (June 23, 1667—June 11, 1668), finished in 1077, *Maḥfûḍ al-anhur*, commentary (Arabic) on the *Multaḥḥ al-ahḥar*, a treatise on Hanafî law by Ibrahim al-Halabî; see AL-JALALI. The Turkish translation

of this work by Mawqūfātī is at the root of d'Ossun's *Tableau général de l'empire Ottoman*. This commentary was first published in Constantinople in 1240 (1824/1825) and again in 1305, 2 tomes in one large volume in-4°.

Bibliography: Hadjī Khalīfa, vi. 105; Zenker, *Bibliotheca orientalis*, N^o. 1450; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 432; Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes... offerts... par Decourdemanche*, 1909, ar. N^o. 6411 (misprints in the dates).

On other individuals who have had the surname Shaikhzade see: Rieu, *Cat. of Turk. MSS.* in the *British Museum*, 82, b. and 120b; Dorn, *Das aralische Museum*, St. Petersburg 1846, p. 219.

(J. DENV.)

SHĀ'IR (A.), poet. The word is probably derived from the word *shā'ir* "poetry" or "poem", which may be of ancient Semitic origin, for we have in Hebrew *shā'ir* for a solemn hymn, and it is most unlikely that the derivation is from the Arabic verb *shā'ara* "to know", as Arabic philologists explain it. The very fact that the verb is not used in the meaning of composing verses seems to speak against such a derivation. [Goldziher in his *Abhandl. z. arab. Phil.*, i. 17, has explained *shā'ir* as "the one with inspired knowledge"]. The origin is lost in the remotest antiquity and though to my knowledge no ancient Arabic inscription contains any metrical verse, we cannot argue from this that poetry did not exist at those times. The remarkable fact remains that the oldest specimens of Arabic poetry which we can consider genuine have already fully developed rules as to metre and rhyme. That a poem must rhyme is imperative, but the *shā'ir* in some of the earliest specimens of his art which are preserved employs metres which the critics of the second century of the Hijra did not acknowledge and did not know (e.g. poems by 'Abid, Imru' al-Kais and 'Amr b. Kamrā). Also in early times it was probably more frequent than we can now ascertain that the metre was not always correct, even if it corresponded with one of the 16 metres evolved by Khalil and al-Akhhafsh, for one verse of Zuhair has several syllables too many which the grammarians have not been able to amend.

It is also important that the earliest specimens of Arabic poetry are by men who held an honourable position in their tribe: the time had not come when poor men, like al-Hutai'a, practised the art. Some authorities wish to emphasise that the *shā'ir* and the *shākin* were probably identical, a view which I cannot endorse, as Arabic poetry as a rule in early times holds aloof from all that is religious. It is a strong point that it is as a rule strictly concerned with worldly affairs.

The short *rajaz* metre may have been the first which was practised in the *hidā'* or "leading the moving string of camels", but we have no ancient specimens of the *hidā'*, the earliest being preserved in the *Diwān* of al-Shammākh who lived during the time of the rise of Islām.

The earliest poets of whom we have any knowledge lived in Eastern Arabia and in their poetry they employed only very few of the 16 metres, and it is significant that even such late poets as Djarir and Farāsid never use the shorter metres, which seem to have originated later in the Hijra. Djarir only uses the metres *rajaz*, *hazl*, *wāfir*, *hāfif*, *kāmil* and *mutajarrif*, the poet al-A'shā adds to

this number only the metre *hāfif*. As later poets in various parts of Arabia employ all other metres, the fact mentioned might point to the existence of some unknown cause for this peculiarity. The *shā'ir* was considered to be possessed of some special knowledge communicated to him by a kind of familiar spirit which inspired him, and he had in his company one or more real persons whose business it was to remember his verses and to recite them in other camps. While the familiar spirit may only have been fictitious, the reciter of the poet, named *rāwī*, was very real and we have many names of such *rāwī's* mentioned in the *Kitāb al-Aghāni* and by the poets themselves in their poems. More important, however, is that in many cases the *rāwī* himself became a poet of note in the next generation. Among the *rāwī's* of repute the following may be named. Tufail al-Ghanawī had for his *rāwī* Aws b. Ḥajjar, whose *rāwī* was the poet Zuhair. The latter was also *rāwī* of his uncle Bashshār. The *rāwī's* of Zuhair were his son Ka'b, al-Hutai'a and al-Shammākh. Such chains of poets who recited each other's poems could be mentioned in greater numbers than is generally realised. This points to a kind of school for poets and the *rāwī* at the same time made attempts at own composition, which he submitted to his master; this also accounts for finding in certain parts of Arabia a prevalence not only of specific metres, but also of special themes. It is not an accident that Abū Dhū'ayb, Sa'ida b. Dja'āya and al-Mutamakkhal, the Hudhali poets, specialise in the description of bees; they were one the *rāwī* of another and not only used similar metres but also the same subjects which they had learned from their masters. This also explains why we find a line word for word in a poem of Tufail, Aws b. Ḥajjar and Zuhair. "The unfettered horses of passion" was an idea which the *rāwī's* of Tufail could not omit from their verses.

The poet of the early times loved to fill his poems with fine words and it is specially in the earlier times that a large quantity of foreign words were used to adorn the poems, a practice which ceased after the first century of the Hijra. At this time the calling of the *shā'ir* had altered entirely. In the earlier times the poet stood for the honour of his tribe; he had to mourn his relations or the valiant men of his clan or sing the defiant *hijā'* against the enemies of his tribe. Now the poet had sunk to be a beggar for favours from the mighty and rich; to this he added lampoons against rivals, who made his work of extorting presents more difficult, and new themes for the edification of drunken gatherings, poems on boys and obscene ditties. We have no Persian poetry as old, but Ibn Dinnat tells us (*Khazā'ir*, i. 252) that in Persia also poetry flourished and that they were very diligent in avoiding the use of any Arabic word in their poetry which was by critics considered a serious fault. We do not know the contents of this class of poetry, but we may assume that the lighter poetry in the Arabic language as represented by the poems of Bashshār and Abū Nuwās reflects the themes of Persian verse. The earliest authentic Persian poetry dates from the fourth century of the Hijra and the specimens preserved agree remarkably well with the kind of verse composed in Arabic by their contemporaries like Abū 'l-Faṭḥ al-Buṭi, who wrote in both

languages. Since then the *shā'ir* has never died out, but the art which seems so fresh in the earliest specimens has seldom been able to leave the old path and like sheep and cows the poets, whether Arabic, Persian, Turkish or Urdu, have been chewing the cud to this day.

The Prophet took a special stand against the poets. He was accused of being a *shā'ir*, which brought about the answer at the end of Sūra xxvii, which has been entitled "the Poets" from these verses. "The poets are liars and those who follow them have gone astray". The poets, however, were too well established in Arab civilisation and the traditions know that the Prophet's immediate successors were well versed in ancient poetry; especially 'Alī is credited with many verses, all of which are probably spurious. Though the Prophet would not be called a poet himself, he made full use of several poets, especially Ḥassān b. Thābit, who composed biting verses against the Mekkān adversaries. The method the *shā'ir* had to use for such verses to reach the hostile camp was to teach the verses to a *ṣāḥib* who recited them in another place before a neutral audience, which had, however, sufficient interest to repeat the verses to the party attacked. As regards the art of the poet I am inclined to doubt that all ancient poems were originally complete poems; often the *shā'ir* could only get from his familiar spirit the inspiration for part, and, like Zuhair, had to work for a whole year on a single poem or recite it before it was complete, according to the rules which Ahiwardt e. g. has laid down for every poem. We have ample evidence that many poems were at all times only fragments, for an Arabic (or Persian) *ḥazāda* with the same rhyme going through a great number of verses is a very unreal thing.

(F. KRENKOW)

SHAIṬĀN, Satan. (See also **ḌINN**, **IBLIS**). "Every proud and rebellious one among *ḍinn*, men and animals" is the meaning given in the dictionaries. As applied to spirits *shaiṭān* has two distinct meanings with separate histories. The sense of devil goes back to Jewish sources and that of superhuman being has its roots in Arab paganism, though the two meanings interact. In the stories about Solomon a *shaiṭān* is nothing more than a *ḍinn* superior in knowledge and power to other *ḍinn*. But even their powers are limited. Closely connected with this is the use of the word in the sense of genius. "He made up his mind, when they died, to hunger and disappointment, but his Demon said to him — Thou hast the charge of a household to meet" (*As-Saffat*, xvii, 68). Belonging to the same order of ideas is the belief that a poet was possessed by a *shaiṭān* who inspired his words. Later writers knew the names of these familiar spirits. There is some evidence that the pagan gods of Arabia were afterwards reduced to the rank of demons. Tabari says (*Taṣṭir*) that the *shaiṭān* are those whom the infidels obeyed while disobeying God. The bow of Kuzah was afterwards called the bow of *Shaiṭān* and the two horns of *Shaiṭān* is a name for a phenomenon accompanying sunrise. Similarly old superstitions are preserved in the belief that a *shaiṭān* eats excrement and all manner of filth and frequents the borderline between shade and sunlight.

The word is common in the *Kur'ān* but in the *Sūras* of the first Makkān period the indefinite

singular alone is found and that only once. It is not till the second period that the definite form occurs, suggesting that the prophet had found or remembered another idea. *Shaiṭān* is tacitly identified with Iblis who is obviously borrowed from Judaism. Thus al-*shaiṭān* is the chief of the evil spirits and *shaiṭān* is a spirit, though not necessarily evil. There is no fixed tradition as to the relation of al-*shaiṭān* with the *shaiṭāns* and other *ḍinn*. One account says that he is their father; another makes him produce eggs from which they were hatched and another says that God first created the devil then his wife and from the union came three eggs from which the various sorts of *ḍinn* were hatched. The *Kur'ān* says that *Shaiṭān* is made of fire; the commentators refine on this and say that the angels are made of light, *Shaiṭān* of fire or of the smoke of fire. It is not settled whether the *shaiṭāns* have no bodies at all or have bodies of some very subtle substance. The punishment of *Shaiṭān* for resisting God is postponed to the end of the world when he will receive his reward in hell-fire. He is not the lord of hell; according to the *Kur'ān* *Malik* is lord of hell. His standing epithet *raḍfīm* is derived by tradition from the stoning of the devil by Ibrahim at Minā; according to Prof. Nöldeke it is derived from the Abyssinian word meaning accursed. Other names for *Shaiṭān* are *Taḥāṭ* and *Ḍinn* which is said to mean the father of the *ḍinn*. The serpent which helped *shaiṭān* to tempt Adam was punished by being deprived of its legs but the peacock, the intermediary, seems to have escaped scot-free. Perhaps there is some connection with the *Malik* *Tā'as* of the Yazidis.

In religious thought *Shaiṭān* is the power that opposes God in the hearts of men. He whispers his insidious suggestions in their ears and makes his proposals seductive to them. The *Kur'ān* ascribes this activity now to one *shaiṭān* now to several. Later it is said that one *shaiṭān* is attached to each man so that it is possible for everyone to speak of "my *shaiṭān*". There are no exceptions to this rule for even Yahyā b. Zakariyā (the Baptist) had his *shaiṭān* though he was too good to listen to its insinuations. The union between a man and his *shaiṭān* is as close as that between a man and his blood. But there is no hint of dualism for a *shaiṭān* has no real power over man, he owes his success to craft alone. He cannot exploit that success for he is afraid of God and leaves men in the lurch as soon as he has persuaded them to sin. The activities of *Shaiṭān* are summarised in the following tale. He complained to God of the privileges granted to men and was thereupon given similar ones. Diviners were his prophets; tattoo marks his sacred books; lies his traditions; poetry his religious reading; musical instruments his mazzins; the market his mosque; the baths his home; his food was everything on which the name of God was not invoked; his drink all intoxicating liquors and the object of his hunting women. The popular view is that every man is attended by an angel and a *shaiṭān* who urge him to evil and good deeds respectively. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī is reported to have said: — They are two thoughts that rush into the minds of men. He thus reduced these spirit forces to mental states.

Shaiṭāns were of both sexes and ugly. They could appear in human form without anything

unnatural betraying their identity. Many had names. Those of the familiars of some poets were known. Farazdaq's demon was *Amr*. The shaiṭāns of India and Syria were among the most powerful and the names of their chiefs are given. Diseases, particularly the plague, were their weapons. Some said that the shaiṭāns were bound during the month of Ramaḍān and a cock was supposed to be a protection against them.

Attempts were made to reduce these ideas to some system. An unbelieving *ajfān* was a shaiṭān; one strong enough to move buildings and overhear the divine plans was a *marid* (rebel) and one capable of more than that was an *ifrīt*. Spirits who attacked boys were called *arwāḥ*. Some men had power over the various kinds of spirits, but this power was not for all. The body of the *maḥmūd* had to be a fit temple (*halkal*) for spirits if a man was to control them.

The Arab philologists accepted shaiṭān as a native word and derived it from the root *ṣ-ṣ-ṣ* though some preferred the root *ṣ-ṣ-ṣ*. The word is very rare in early poetry. Umayya b. Aḥī Ṭ-ṣalt uses it in connection with the throwing of the stars at the devils. 'Adī b. Zaid tells of Iblīs being punished in fire. It might be urged that he was familiar with the idea but not with the word shaiṭān. Umayya also has the participle shaiṭān in the sense of rebellious spirit. It almost looks as if he were experimenting to find a suitable word. The form shaiṭān used by Belādhorī seems to be an attempt to represent the Greek form of the word. As the idea is obviously borrowed, it is probable that the word — a regular Arabic form — is also borrowed from the Ethiopic which is in turn derived from Hebrew.

Shaiṭān is also the name of a snake and has some metaphorical meanings.

Bibliography: The passages of the *Qur'ān* and the commentaries thereon; Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, i. 106 sqq.; Noeldke, *Neue Beiträge*, p. 34; al-Dīḥī, *Kitaḥ al-Hayawān*; Tha'ālībī, *Kitaḥ al-Anbiyā'*; Tabarī, i. 78; al-Qhazālī, *Iḥyā'*, iii. 20 sqq.; al-Kawṣarī, *Adjā'ib al-Maḥmūdīn*; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, Paris ed., iii. 321.

(A. S. TRITTON)

SHAIYĀD, a term used as a synonym of the word *kalender* and meaning a certain kind of dervish. The word has been derived from the root *sh-y-d*, which means "to perish", according to the translation of the *Ḥamās* by 'Āṣim. The same author defines *shaiyād* as follows: "to cry something with a loud voice; to raise (a building) to a great height; to mention some one loudly, i.e. to praise him openly and make him famous; to cry a lost article". Thus etymologically we might translate *shaiyād* by "some one who loses himself; who does not hesitate to annihilate himself on the path of Truth; who continually proclaims the Truth in a loud voice". This comes near Zenker's translation (p. 554). Tāyār Efendi in his *Ruh-i Gulistan* (Maṭba'at-i 'Amire, 1308, p. 156) gives the meaning impostor (*kahdān*), but this is due to the fact that the word *shaiyād* is used as a synonym of *aiyār* — which is also an old Sufi term — and is not a translation (the *aiyār* formed a special body which played a part in politics in Baghdad towards the end of the second century A. H. and whose influence long survived; they contributed a great deal to the spread of

Sufism in other lands of Islam and laid the foundations for the development of the *ṣūfīya*, cf. *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, transl. Nicholson, p. 100, 183; *Taḥṣīrat al-Awliyā'*, ed. Nicholson, i. 332; R. Hartmann, *Ar-Sulamī's Risālat al-Malamatiya*, *Der Islam*, viii. 190—191. In the third century, we find in Khorāsān and in Transoxiana similar groups which in Khorāsān are called *shaiyān* or *shayān* and in Transoxiana *shayān*; cf. Köprülü Zāde Fu'ād, *Turkiye Tarih-i*, i. 81—82).

We find this term — which is synonymous with *kalender*, *haidar*, *abdāl* — in general use from the seventh century A. H. onwards and especially in Asia Minor. We know that there was a Sufi named Shaikh 'Abd al-Rahmān Shaiyād, a contemporary of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, in Konya (*Les Saints des Derwiche Tourneurs*, transl. Huart, i. 113); Sa'di, in the *Gulistan*, speaks of a *shaiyād* with dishevelled hair who claimed to be 'alewi and referred a *ḥajida* of Enweri to himself. In the seventh century and later, we find Turkish poets like Shaiyād Ḥamza [q. v.] and Shaiyād 'Isā, author of a romantic poem called *Salṣal-nāme* (in the *Bibl. Nat.* there is a Turkish MS. No. 1207, entitled *Salṣal-nāme* by a Turkish poet called Ibn Yūsuf). The references in Fakiri, a poet of the tenth century, in his *Risāle-i ta'rifāt* (on this book cf. the bibliographical index to my *Ilk Mutevewwifler*) show that these *shaiyāds* still existed in his time and that, both in their manner of living and in their mystic life, they did not differ from the groups of heterodox dervishes who had much in common and were closely connected with one another, like the *abdāl*'s, *haidar*'s, *kalender*'s, *djāmī*'s, *edhemī*'s, *ishāqī*'s and *bektāshī*'s (for historical information, regarding them, cf. my *Anadolu'da İslamiyet*). In the *Alam-arāy-i 'Abdāl*, among the events of 1029 A. H., there is mention of a *shaiyād* (cf. Dorn, *Auszüge aus Mohammedanischen Schriftstellern*, 1858, p. 370; the note which Dorn gives in his introduction on the word *shaiyād* is of no importance, cf. p. 18).

(KÖPRÜLÜ ZADE FU'AD)

SHAIYĀD ḤAMZA, a Turkish poet who lived in Asia Minor in the seventh century A. H. He was one of the Baṭīnī [q. v.] *bāḥās*, who spread throughout Asia Minor in this century under different names like *kalender*, *abdāl*, *bāḥā*'i, *yesewi* and *haidar*, and taking the opportunity of the material and moral crisis caused by the invasion of the Mongols, went from village to village, trying to spread their teaching among the people (on the religious situation and movements in Asia Minor at this time see my *Anadolu'da İslamiyet*, p. 36—90). This explains the surname of Shaiyād [q. v.] which he took. The only information regarding his life is found in certain legendary biographies written in the tenth century. It is certain that he was the author of mystical-religious poems written in the language of the people in syllabary metre (*hidvā wazn*) in preference to the 'arūd but these poems are lost like many of the literary products of this period. The only remnant that survives is a *mathnawī* of 15 *baire*'s preserved in the *Djāmī al-naṣā'ir*, composed in 918 by Egerdirli Hādjdī Kemāl (the only known MS. of this work is in the Kütübhāne-i 'Umūmī; for further information cf. the bibliographical index to my *Ilk Mutevewwifler*); this *mathnawī* has been published by me. Shaiyād Ḥamza the memory of whom and his works sur-

vived till the tenth century, did not, like Vünas Emre, have a powerful poetic personality but, like his predecessors and contemporaries whose names are now forgotten, he had an influence on the development of Vünas (on the character of and formative elements in Turkish literature at this time cf. my *İlk Müteavvifler*, Ch. vii, p. 205-286). Nevertheless after gaining some fame at the period when this style of poetry was adopted by Vünas Emre and his successors to the popular taste, the works of Şaiyâd Ḥamza gradually lost their popularity and became completely forgotten from the tenth century onwards.

Bibliography: Besides the sources mentioned above: Köprülü Zâde Fu'âd, *Seldüktiller devrinde Anadolu şâirleri*, I, *Şaiyâd Ḥamza*, in *Kerkür Cema Archivum*, I, No. 3, 1922, p. 18-19. (KÖRKÜLC ZÂDE FU'ÂD)

SHAIẒAR, a town in Northern Syria, the ancient *Σαῖζα*, Byzantine *Σαῖζα*. It is mentioned as early as the inscriptions of Thutmose III and in the Amarna tablets. Seleucus I settled colonists here from Larissa in Thessaly and gave it the name of this town; but the new name could not drive out the old, which soon came into general use again in the Muslim period in the form *ShaiẒar*. It is mentioned as *ShaiẒar* along with *Hamâ* by Imru' l-Qais and 'Ubaydallah b. Kais al-Ruḥayyât (Imru' l-Qais, *Diwan*, xx, 40, ed. Alwardt, *The Diwan of the six anc. Arab. Poets* . . . , p. 130; Kais al-Ruḥayyât, *Diwan*, liv, 9, ed. Rhodokanakis, *S. B. Ak. Wien*, phil.-hist. Kl., c. lvi, Abh. x, p. 240).

In the year 17 (638), the people of the town received Abū 'Ubayda with open arms. They went out to meet him with music, and were satisfied with the same general terms of peace as had been offered to the people of *Hamâ*, namely payment of the poll and ground-tax (*ḡizya* and *ḡharāj*). *ShaiẒar* later became a district (*ihlām*) of the military province (*ḡund*) of *Hims*. Towards the end of the 11th century, the people were *Kindis* (al-Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtama, ii, 324). When Nicephorus Phocas advanced on Halab, Sa'īd al-Dawla retired to *ShaiẒar*, but fell very ill there and was brought back dying to his capital (356 = 967). In the following year Nicephorus took *ShaiẒar* and burned down its chief mosque. In the treaty between him and Karghūya of Halab (Safar 359) the town was included in the latter's territory (Kamāl al-Dīn, *Zuhd*, transl. Freytag, *Z. D. M. G.*, xi, 232 = Migne, *Patrol. Graeca*, cxviii, Col., 1023). On the 16th Rajab 383 (Sept. 6, 993), *ShaiẒar*, which then belonged to the Hamdanid Sa'īd al-Dawla, was taken by the Egyptian general Banḡutakin who guaranteed the commandant *Sitān*, an old officer of Sa'īd al-Dawla, security of life and property. When Sa'īd al-Dawla appealed to the Emperor Basil for help against the Egyptians, the latter came up and besieged *ShaiẒar*; the commander appointed by the Caliph, Manṣūr b. Karḡis, was bribed by him and handed over the fortress, which received a strong Greek garrison (383 = 994/995). But it again passed — apparently as a result of the defeat of Damianos Dalassenes at *Afamiya* (998) — who installed *Hamān* (or *Hamān*) b. Karḡis as governor there (who can hardly be identified with the above mentioned Manṣūr in Rosen, *Zapiski Imp. Ak. Nauk.*, xlv, p. 311, note 266 and Schlumberger *Égypte byzantine*, ii, 151, note 3, suppose; rather his brother). Basilios however attacked *ShaiẒar* the very next year (999),

began hostilities on October 28 and destroyed the aqueduct which supplied the fortress with water. An attempt to bribe the commander failed, but want of water finally forced him to offer to surrender, if he and his troops were allowed to march out freely, without the usual *proskynese* before the Emperor, and the citizens were guaranteed security of life and property; the Emperor accepted these conditions; in spite of this, many citizens left the town with the garrison, and Basilios repopulated it with Armenian colonists.

The town remained for the next eighty years in the hands of the Byzantines. In the year 395 (1004/1005) a certain *Aḥmad* b. al-Ḥusain al-Aḥṣar of the tribe of Taghlīb appeared as a *ṣāḡir* and advanced against *ShaiẒar* with a prominent Arab named al-*Hamālī*, to drive the Greeks out of it. They defeated a Byzantine detachment and were only driven away by an Egyptian army sent in reply to an official complaint by Basil to the Caliph al-Ḥākim (Yaḥyā al-Anṣārī, in Rosen, *op. cit.* p. 41 [transl. p. 43] and Kamāl al-Dīn, *ibid.* p. 342-4; in Müller, *Historia Merdasidarum*, p. 2, *Sisaram* should be read for *Casaram*, cf. his note p. 95). About 1025 Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās [q. v.] granted the Munkidhīs of the tribe of the Banū Kindā the land round *ShaiẒar*, which however itself still remained in the hands of the Byzantines. The Munkidhī Muḥallad was ruling over *Kafarṭāh* in 1041; he was the ancestor of *Usāma* Abū 'l-Matawwadī Muḥallad b. Naṣr b. Munkidhī, who extended his territory down to the Orontes, and probably built the fortress *Djār* hunt Munkidhī at the bridgehead below *ShaiẒar*. When he died in January 1059, he was succeeded by his son 'Izz al-Dawla Sa'īd al-Mulk Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, who in 1078, by arrangement with the last Mirdāsīd of Halab, Ṣāliḥ, rebuilt the fortress above mentioned and the salarḡ of *ShaiẒar*, *Iljān* al-Djār, in order to cut off the fortress from supplies and support from the Greeks, and thus force it to surrender. In the same year he gave shelter in this fortress to the Turkomans under *Aḥmad* Shāh, who were fleeing before Tādī al-Dawla Tutuḡh (Kamāl al-Dīn, *Hist. Merdas.*, p. 85, 90; Derenbourg, *Orient*, p. 20), but was able to win the favour of Tutuḡh again, and later of Sharaf al-Dawla, who took Halab on June 18, 1080. On December 19, 1081 he succeeded in getting possession of the citadel of *ShaiẒar* which had hitherto belonged to the Emperor Alexios Comnenus, by a treaty with the Bishop of al-Bān, who resided in it. The Greek garrison were allowed to depart. Sharaf al-Dawla who envied him the possession of the fortress, and in vain endeavoured to take it from him, was appeased by rich presents from the Munkidhī. The latter died next year (towards the end of 1082); he was succeeded by his pious son 'Izz al-Dawla Abū 'l-Murḡaf Naṣr, a peaceful, art-loving prince, under whom the territory of *ShaiẒar* for a time also included *Afamiya*, *Kafarṭāh* and al-Ladhikiya till he had to cede these towns in 1086 to Malik-Shāh of Isfahān. *ShaiẒar* was several times besieged during his rule, but always unsuccessfully. He died childless in 1098, shortly after the conquest of Anṣārīya by the Crusaders (Oct. 1097). He had destined as his successor his younger brother Maḡdī al-Dīn Abū Salama Muḡhid (1098-1137), father of *Usāma*; but this hunter and calligrapher declined the emirate in favour of his youngest brother 'Izz al-Dīn Abū 'l-Asāḡir Sulṭān.

Madjd al-Din Mu'ayyid al-Dawla Abu 'l-Mu'azzar Usama (d. 1188), the celebrated author of the *Kitab al-Fitah* (born July 4, 1095), gives in this autobiography a valuable account of life and activities in his native town, which however he left in 1129 and never saw again after his father's death (May 30, 1137).

The fortress (*Hisn, Kafsa*) was built on a steep ridge running north and south, called *waf al-dih* ["cock's comb"] (Dimashki, ed. Mehren, p. 205). The Nahr al-'Asi flowed round it on north and east; on the south side it was cut off by a deep trench from a high plateau which formed its continuation. The upper town (in Usama: *balad*, in European sources: *præsidium, oppidum, pars superior civitatis*) lay within this citadel, the fortifications of which were presumably strongest at the north and south ends, and therefore are still best preserved here. It had only three gates; through the north gate one crossed over a sloping stone bridge of several arches, which crossed a brook and formed the only entrance to the fortress, to the stone bridge Djir Banî Munkidh, leading straight across the Nahr al-'Asi, over which lay on the south side of the river the lower town (Usama: *Madina*, in European sources: *suburbium, pars inferior civitatis*), which was called al-Djir after it (*Güterb., Hierap.*) and was defended by a fort which probably lay on the right bank (*Hisn al-Djir*). The neighbourhood of Shaizar was well-watered and had a luxurious vegetation. It was particularly rich in pomegranate-trees.

During Sulṭān's rule, Shaizar was frequently threatened by raids of the Banî Kilāb of Ḥalab, the Franks and other enemies, without their being able to take this stronghold. The Emperor, John Comnenus, who laid siege to the fortress from the Djabal Džursidjis opposite on the east bank of the Orontes for 24 days (April 29, — May 21, 1138), and bombarded it for ten days in succession, had finally to retire with no success, in spite of the fact that he had already promised it in the preceding year to Fulco of Antioch as a fief. Sulṭān died in 1154, or a little before that. He was succeeded by his son Tādī al-Dawla Nāṣir al-Din Muḥammad, who perished in the middle of a festival in a terrible earthquake with almost all the members of his house (1157). In October of this year the Franks endeavoured to seize the ownerless shattered fortress, but were driven back by the Isma'ili, who had held the region of Masyād since 1140. Nūr al-Din, however, took Shaizar from them, restored the citadel and placed it under his foster-brother, Madjd al-Din Abū Bakr b. al-Dāya. He also repaired Shaizar after a second earthquake which devastated a considerable part of Northern Syria on June 29, 1170. In the same year Abū Bakr died, and was succeeded by his brother Shams al-Din 'Alī. Salāḥ al-Din who took Northern Syria in 1174 after Nūr al-Din's death from his eleven year old son, Isma'īl, made Sābiḥ al-Din 'Uthmān, his vassal in Shaizar; he was succeeded by his son 'Izz al-Din Ma'ūd and later by his grandson Shihāb al-Din Yūsuf under the suzerainty of the Aiyūbids of Ḥalab. Malik 'Aziz of Ḥalab deprived the latter of his fief for insubordination in 630 (1233). Four years later, however, we again find him described as lord of Shaizar; but it is doubtful if he was still living there. In 638 (1240/1241), Shaizar was again occupied by a Ḥalabī army. When the Mongols invaded Syria in 1260, Malik Nāṣir al-Din Yūsuf of Ḥalab fled

before them, and razed his fortresses to the ground as he went; Shaizar was among these. Baibars had it rebuilt when he ascended the throne, after the expulsion of the Mongols in 1261. He visited the town in 1268 on a tour through the country. Under Sulṭān Kalā'ān, Shaizar belonged for a year (1280—1281) to the rebel emir Sunḡur al-Ashkar of Dimashki. Henceforth it was a *niyāba* under the *nāib* of Ḥalab (cf. the inscriptions of Shaizar of the time of Barsbāh, published by Littmann). After the troubles stirred up by Muntash and al-Nāṣiri (1389), nomad tribes occupied this *niyāba* (Kalkashandi, *Ṣubḥ al-'Ashā*, iv, 227, 17). About 1450 Khallī al-Zāhiri uses the modern form of the name, Saidjar, for the first time. No deduction can be made from the fact that al-Lijān Abū 'l-Bakā' in his description of Kāthbā's journey (1477) through Northern Syria, does not mention Shaizar (cf. Devonshire's edition in *B.I.F.A.O.*, xx, Cairo 1921), as the Sulṭān's route did not take him near the town. With Turkish rule or even before it began the gradual decay of the stronghold, which is still going on.

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SHAKĀK (SHAKKĀK), a Kurdish tribe on the Turco-Persian frontier. In Persia to the west of Lake Urmia before the war they occupied the cantons of Brādōst, Somāl (q. v.), Čehrīk (cf. SĀLMĀS) and Kōtūr; in Turkey, the eastern districts of the wilāyet of Wān: Sarāi (Mahmūdī) and Albak (Baḡkal'a), i. e. the territory which in the xvth century belonged to the Dumbuli tribe (*Sharaf-nāma*, i. 313—314).

The name of the tribe is written by Yūsuf Diyā al-Dīn: Shikākān and by Shirwānī: Shākāk; Khurshīd Efendi writes "Shikākī or Shikākī". To the south of Lake Urmia in the canton of Bāhī we have a village Kāni-Shākāk ("the source of the Shākāk"), which not being far from Bolak-Shikākī (cf. SHAKĀK) may be evidence of contact between the two tribes, if it is not a phonetic variant of the same name.

Among the Persian clans, the principal are: Kandā and Delān (Somāl and Brādōst) and 'Awdō' (Čehrīk and Kōtūr). There were in all about 2,000 families of Shākāk in Persia who formed the warrior caste (*ashīrat*); their subjects (*ra'yaf*) were the remnants of tribes who have disappeared.

The 'Awdō' have played a prominent part in local politics. Their ancestor is said to have arrived in Diyār Bakr at Urmia about 1700. The first known chief was Ismā'īl Aghā (d. 1231/1816) whose stronghold and tomb are on the river Nāzu-Esī (N.W. of Urmia). The 'Awdō' harassed by the Afghar then entrenched themselves in Dīnāi (Somāl) from which they went northwards to Čehrīk. Dī'far Aghā, sometimes frontier-commissioner and sometimes rebel and brigand, was killed at Tabriz in 1905 by order of the governor-general. His brother Ismā'īl, better known by the Kurdish diminutive of Simkō (Simītkō) succeeded him and operated between Čehrīk and Kōtūr. He trimmed carefully between Persians, Turks and Russians, holding a practically independent position. As a result of his numerous crimes (e.g. the assassination of the Nestorian patriarch, Mīr-Shimūn, and the massacres of Muslims at Urmia), the Persian government undertook several expeditions against Simkō who in 1922 was driven towards Turkey and Mesopotamia.

On the Turkish side, the principal clans are: Makūrī, Millān, Shamīsī and Takūrī (at Mahmūdī) and Mersīkī (at Baḡkal'a). The Turkish government used to recruit 5 "Hamīdiye" regiments from among these clans. About 1900 these clans numbered 2,000 families, but the war must have severely reduced their numbers.

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(V. MINORSKY)
SHAKĀKĪ (Shikākī), a tribe of Kurdish origin. According to Yūsuf Diyā al-Dīn, the word *shikākī* means in Kurdish a beast which has a particular disease of the foot. According to the *Sharaf-nāma* (i. 148), the Shākākī were one of the four warrior tribes (*ashīrat*) in the nāhiya of Fīnk of the principality of Dīzma. According to the Ottoman *sal-nāma*, there were Kurdish Shākākī in the nāhiya of Shikākī in the ḡazā of Kīllis in

the wilāyet of Aleppo (cf. Spiegel, *Iran. Altertums-kunde*, i. 744). The nāhiya Shākākī of the *Dīhān-nāma* (between Mukus and Dīlāmārg) is certainly only a mis-reading for Shātīkī. As a result of certain movements, probably in the time of the Ak-Koyunlu, we find the Shākākī leading a nomadic life on the Mughān on the frontier of Transcaucasia (cf. HĀH-SĒWAN). At the beginning of the sixteenth century there were 8,000 families on Russian territory. Dupré speaks of 25,000 hearths of Shākākī among the tribes speaking Kurdish. About 1814 J. Morier numbered them at 50,000 grouped along the Tabriz-Zandjān road in the districts of Hajhtarīd, Garmatūd and Miyāna as well as at Ardabil. 'Abbās Mīrā drew from this tribe the main cadres of his infantry drilled in European fashion. According to Morier, the Shākākī spoke Turkish. Shirwānī puts the summer and winter quarters of the 60,000 families of Shākākī in the region of Tabriz-Sarāb (on the road from Ardabil) and adds that it is a Kurdish tribe whose language is Turkish, which forms part of the Kīllī-bāsh (*min rawūl-i Kīllī-bāsh*), which evidently means that the tribe is Shī'a as is also suggested by its association with the Shāh-sewan. The importance of the tribe may be judged from the fact that at the beginning of the xxth century the Persian government recruited four regiments from the Shākākī; we do not know the connexions that may exist between the Shākākī and the Kurdish Shākākī, but all indications point to their being a Turkicised Kurdish tribe (like the Kurds of Gāndjā). In the toponymy of the region south of Lake Urmia (cf. the article *sāwūn-wīlāk*), we find traces of the passage of the Shākākī (the village of Kīllī-bāsh-Shikākī at Suldūr).

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(V. MINORSKY)
SHAKAR-GANDJ, Indian saint, whose real name was FARID AL-DIN MAS'UD, was born in 569 A.H. (1173 A.D.). He was a disciple of Khwāja Kūb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī and settled in Aḡwadhān, better known as Pākpatan, in Multan and died there on Saturday, Muharram 5, 664 (October 17, 1265), at the age of 95 years. It is said that by continued fasting his body had become so pure that whatever he used to put into his mouth to allay the cravings of hunger, even earth and stones, used to turn immediately into sugar; hence he derived his title of *Shakar-gandj*, "sugar-store".

At the tomb of this saint there is an annual fair on the fifth day of Muharram, and Muslims in considerable numbers come there to pass through a narrow gate-way known as the *Bīghīlī Darwāze* or "Gate of Paradise", which leads to the mausoleum and is opened only once a year.

His teachings were collected by his famous devotee Badr al-Dīn Ishāq b. 'Alī al-Dihlawī under the title of *Asrār al-Awliyā'*.

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(M. HIDAYAT HOSAIN)

SHAKIKAT AL-NU'MAN (A.), the blood-red anemone hortensis or A. conoraria, which is a native of the Mediterranean lands and nearer Asia. According to al-Kazwini, *al-Aghā'ib al-Maḥallāt*, i. 288, it is also called *Khadd al-'Adhā'*, "the virgin's cheek", and Persian *Lālah* (cf. Valler's, *Lex.*, ii. 1074: "any wild flower and especially the tulip and anemone"). It opens by day and closes at night and turns towards the sun. Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir (reigned 482-489 A.D.) is said to have said as he passed a spot covered with anemones: "any one who pulls up one of these, will have his shoulder torn out". *Shakika*, however, was also the name of Nu'mān's mother. Others say the name comes from *shakika* "summer-lightning" and *nu'mān* "blood", which is probably true. According to de Lagarde, *Zeitschrift für die griechische Philologie*, p. 373, it is the other way round and *an-nu'mān* comes from anemone. Ibn al-Baitār gives a detailed description of the plant; the medicinal uses of it and its root are numerous.

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SHAKUNDA, arabised form of Secunda, name of a little town opposite Cordova on the left bank of the Guadalquivir. According to al-Maḥḥārī and Ibn Ḥalīb it was originally surrounded by a rampart. It was here that a decisive battle was fought in 747 A.D. between the Ma'addi clan under Yūsaf al-Fihri [q.v.] and al-Ḥumail b. Ḥatim [q.v.] and the Yamanī clan commanded by Abū 'l-Khaṭṭār who was defeated. Later at the zenith of the Umayyad caliphate, Secunda became one of the richest suburbs of Cordova and was also called the "southern suburb" (*al-rabad al-djannabi*). The celebrated Abū 'l-Walid Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad al-Shakundi, the most famous man of letters in al-Andalus in his day was born in Secunda; he was appointed Kāḍī of Baeza and Lorca by the Almoḥad Sultān Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr and died in 629 (1231/1232). It was he who wrote the famous epistle (*risāla*) on the merits of his native country as a companion piece to that which the author Abū Yaḥyā b. al-Mu'allim of Tangier had composed on the excellence of North Africa. The text is given almost in full by al-Maḥḥārī in his *Nafḥ al-Tib*. On him see especially: F. Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico sobre los historiadores y geógrafos árabes-españoles*, Madrid 1898, No. 234, p. 276-280.

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SHAKURA, a Spanish Arabic place-name corresponding to the Spanish Segura. This last name is now only applied to the river which waters Murcia and Orihuela and flows into the Mediterranean near Guardamar. In the Muslim geographers this river is usually called the "white river" (*al-mihr al-abyad*). It rises like the Guadalquivir in the range called Djabal Shākūra, but on the eastern slope. The mountains to which this name was given are of considerable extent. They were, according to the Arab geographers, covered with forests and had no fewer than 300 towns and villages and 33 strongholds. They corresponded apparently not only to the Sierra de Segura still called on the maps Sierra de Segura, but also to those called del Velmo, de las Cuatro Villas, de Castril and de Cazorla. The highest points are the Velmo de Segura (6,000 feet) and the Blanquilla (6,100 feet).

Shākūra was also the name in the Arab writers of a fairly important town in the district, clustered round a castle reputed to be almost inaccessible. It was here that Ibn 'Ammār, the vizier of the 'Abbāsid al-Mu'tamid, came to seek refuge with Ibn Mubārak, lord of the town, who handed him over to his master. At the end of the Almoravid dynasty, Segura was the usual residence of Abū Ishāk Ibrāhīm b. Hemoshko, lieutenant and vassal of the famous king of Murcia, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Mardaniḥ.

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SHALTISH (sometimes SALTISH), Spanish Saltes, is the name which the Arab geographers give to the little island situated in the estuary of the river Odiel opposite the modern Huelva (Ar.: Walla). A fairly minute description of it is given by al-Idrīsī: it almost touches the mainland on the west coast, for the arm of the sea which separates it is only half a stone's throw in width. This island has no spring of drinking water; there was a little town on it in the period of Muslim rule. It is a fishing centre of some importance; according to Ibn Sa'īd, the fish caught here were salted and sent to Seville. Saltes formed part of the province of Sīdona (Arab.: *Shadūjina*) and in the middle ages shared the destinies of Huelva. This island was the last possession of the Bakrī ruler Abū Mus'ab 'Abd al-'Azīz after in 1051 he surrendered his capital to the 'Abbāsid sovereign al-Mu'tadid.

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AL-SHALYĀK, the usual Arabic name for the constellation of the Lyre (Lyra), is the arabicised form of the Greek word *χάλυξ* (= lyre), as the Arabs usually reproduce the Greek *χ* by *sh* (cf. Arabinudes, Eutoshios) and are fond of adding a *sh* to such foreign words (E. B. Knobel, see below, thinks the meaning of *shalayāk* is unknown). The word *Sulhāfā* is a second name for the Lyre occurring in Uluġ Beg; it again corresponds to the Greek *χάλυξ* in its original meaning of "tertile". *Al-Lūra*, the form taken from the Greek *λύρα*, is also found quite early in the Arab astronomers, e.g. in al-Bīrūnī, in the form *qurat al-lūrā wa-huma al-ṣandī* (cf. *Ḥānūn al-Ma'ādī*, Berl. MSS. Or. 8^o, 275, fol. 196^b) and not for the first time in Uluġ Beg (as L. Ideler thinks). The word *al-ṣandī* (= cymbal, harp) comes from the Persian *sang, sang* or *lang* (= Persian harp).

The constellation of the Lyre is a northern one, but is not circumpolar in the latitudes of the Muslim world. It thus contains stars, one of which is particularly striking for its brightness and its white light. This is a *Lyrae* or *Vega*. The full name of the star is: *al-nar al-wāḡi* ("the falling eagle"). The last component of this expression was changed in course of time into *Vega* through the influence of the Spanish. The star *Vega* was classed by the Greeks and Arabs as of the first magnitude; as a matter of fact its magnitude is 0.1.

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AL-SHĀM, Syria. From time immemorial the Beduins, troublesome neighbours of Syria and Palestine have been attracted by the fertility of this land, "a land of wine and leavened bread". They succeeded sometimes by whole tribes, sometimes by driplets in slipping into the districts bordering on the desert. They founded there from the beginning of the 2nd century before Christ principalities at Hims, at Palmyra and at Petra. They did not take long to adopt the Syrian language and civilization. In the fifth century A.D. the Ghassanid phylarchs (cf. GHASSĀN) were entrusted with the defence of the Syrian *finēs*. They soon embraced Christianity. So also did the tribes, which in the sixth century roved up and down the steppes which separated Syria from Arabia: the Banū Kalb, the Banū Lakhm, the Banū Dhihām [q.v.]. As is attested of the Banū Kalb (*Al-Ḥānī*, II, 127), these Syro-Arabs spoke a sort of *saḥir*, a mixture of Arabic and Aramaic, related without doubt to the Sinitic dialect. Thus any of these groups before the Hijra might have given a name to the Arab Parnassus. They all believed themselves to be Syrians and had only commercial relations with the Arabs of Naḥd and the Hijāz. At Māra [q.v.] they fought with the Byzantines against the invaders from Medina.

The Arab conquest: The death of Muḥammad (June 8, 632) and the election of Abū Bakr, was the signal in Arabia for the *riḍā*, the defection of the tribes. A year after that date bands were formed around Medina amongst the Beduins who had taken part in the bloody sup-

pression of this revolt. They undertook the government of Syria, in conformity with an order of the Prophet or simply with the object of ravaging this land now without defenders. Thinking he had only to deal with an ordinary raid of pillaging Beduins, Sergius, commander in Caesarea, hurried to meet them with several hundred hastily equipped soldiers. He came upon the Arabs assembled in the valley of al-'Araba, to the west of the Dead Sea. Overcome by numbers, the Byzantines retired in disorder, and suffered a second defeat at Dāthina. Sergius fell in the débâcle (Feb. 634). The imperial troops collected reinforcements, and the Arabs received reinforcements from Medina. Under the command of Khalid b. al-Walid [q.v.] who had hurried from the 'Irāq, they inflicted on the enemy the disastrous defeat of Adjūdāin (July 30, 634) between Jerusalem and Baitdžibrin. The defeated forces tried to reform behind the marshes of Balaia. Dislodged, they crossed the Jordan, to be again defeated at Fihl (Pella). Palestine was definitely lost to the Empire.

In March 635, the Arabs took up their position under the walls of Damascus. Abandoned by the Greek garrison, the citizens capitulated in the following September. The army collected by Heraclius to raise the siege arrived too late. The Arabs established themselves in Džābiya, then retired to entrench themselves behind the Yarmūk, the eastern tributary of the Jordan. A mutiny of Armenian troops broke out in the Byzantine camp. Abandoned by the Syrian Arabs in the middle of the battle, the imperial forces were completely routed. This battle (Aug. 20, 636) settled the fate of Syria. The conquest of the north and of the Phoenician coast was simply a route-march. Everywhere the towns, abandoned by their garrisons, paid contributions. Nowhere was a serious resistance encountered. This was literally the *faṣḥ yatr*, easy conquest, as Balādhuri tactfully calls it. Jerusalem did not surrender till 638, and Caesarea after a more or less continuous siege of seven years, in 640, thanks to the treachery of a Jew. After the surrender of the last coast towns of Palestine, the conquest could be regarded as complete.

Shortly before the capitulation of Jerusalem, the Caliph 'Umar arrived in Syria, to preside over the congress or "Day of Džābiya" [q.v.]. The question of the organization of Syria was debated. The year 18 was marked by the plague of 'Amwūs [q.v.]. Yazid b. Abī Sufyān, governor of Damascus, perished in the epidemic and was replaced by his brother, Mu'āwīya. 'Umar rigorously maintained the political inequality of the conquerors and conquered. The latter formed the *dhimmīs*. The privileged race of Arabs was to furnish the framework of a military and salaried aristocracy. Syria was divided into *qunds* or military districts: Damascus, Hims, Palestine, al-Urdunn or the Province of Jordan. Yazid I later added the *qund* of Kinnasra for the north of Syria. From their military cantonnements — the chief of which was Džābiya — the conquerors controlled the country and collected the taxes. Besides the land tax, the *dhimmīs* paid a personal or poll-tax. In Syria, as in the other conquered provinces, "organisation was confined to a military occupation for the exploitation of the natives. The Arab government was confined to finance; their chancellery was an audit office" (Wellhausen, *Das arabisches Reich u. sein Sturz*, p. 20).

At the beginning of his administration, which under 'Othmān extended over all Syria, Mu'āwīya realised the necessity of getting the support of the Beduin tribes, politically more developed than the Beduins of the peninsula. For his military operations see the article MU'ĀWĪYA.

'Alī, 'Othmān's successor, wanted to dismiss him, but the Syrians took the side of their governor. The encounter between Syrians and 'Irāqīs on the battlefield of Siffin [q.v.] being undecided, arbitrators were appointed to decide between the two parties. The conference at Adhroḥ [q.v.] proclaimed the overthrow of 'Alī (Jan. 658). Profiting by this diplomatic success, Mu'āwīya sent 'Amr b. al-'Ās, his lieutenant, to conquer Egypt. On January 24, 661, 'Alī fell a victim to a Khāridjī dagger, and the field was left clear for his rival.

Omayyad Syria: Mu'āwīya had only been awaiting this day to found a dynasty, that of the Omayyads. The elder branch is called Sufyānid, from Abū Sufyān [q.v.], father of Mu'āwīya. The younger line begun by Marwān b. al-Hakam took from him the name Marwānid.

Mu'āwīya was acclaimed Caliph at Jerusalem by the troops and emirs of Syria. By taking up his residence in Damascus, he made it the capital instead of Medina, or Kūfa. Whether deliberate or not, this step displaced the centre of gravity of the caliphate to the advantage of Syria. It dealt the unjustified supremacy of the Beduins a blow from which it never recovered. Mu'āwīya made the Syrian Arabs supreme, and under the Omayyads they held all the principal offices. He twice tried to besiege Constantinople. For a verdict on the policy and character of the sovereign, who was with 'Omar I the real founder and organiser of the Caliphate, see the article MU'ĀWĪYA. He died at Damascus in April 680 (aged 75).

His son and successor, Yazīd I, had to face a rebellion, which the ability of his father had been able to prevent breaking out. Husain b. 'Alī and 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubair [q.v.], nephew of 'Ā'isha, the prophet's widow, refused to recognise Yazīd and took refuge on the inviolable territory of Mecca. Husain left the sanctuary to fall in the massacre of Karbalā' (cf. MASHHAD-HUSAIN); on October 10, 680 Medina quarrelled with Syria, and its inhabitants proclaimed Yazīd deposed. After futile negotiations recourse was had to arms. Victorious on the day of al-Harra [q.v.], the Syrians marched on Mecca, where Ibn al-Zubair had declared himself independent. His headquarters were in the great mosque. A scaffolding of wood covered with mattresses protected the Ka'ba from the Syrian catapults. The carelessness of a Meccan set it on fire (Nov. 683). The news of the death of Yazīd (Nov. 11, 683) decided the Syrian army to retreat. Yazīd was not a worthless sovereign, still less the tyrant depicted by anti-Omayyad annalists. He continued his father's policy. The patron of artists and poets, and himself a poet, he completed the administrative organisation of Syria by creating the *fund* of Kinnasrīn (cf. above). He perfected the irrigation of the *Qābiya* [q.v.] by digging a canal which was called after him. The *Continuatio Byzantine-Arabica* calls him *'Incunctissimus et cunctis nationibus regni ejus gratissime habitus . . . cum omnibus civiliter vixit'*. Beloved of his subjects, he lived *civiliter* like a private citizen. "No Caliph", says Wellhausen, "ever had such praise: it comes from the heart".

His younger son, the valetudinarian Mu'āwīya II had but a transitory reign. He was apparently carried off by the plague which was raging in 684. His brothers were all very young. The fact that they were minors compelled the Syrian chiefs to give their support to Marwān b. al-Hakam [q.v.], first Caliph of the Marwānid branch (June 22, 684). The Syrian Kais having refused to recognise him, were defeated at Mardj Rāḥī [q.v.]. His reign was a continual series of battles. A rapid campaign secured him Egypt. Exhausted with his exertions, the septuagenarian Caliph returned to Damascus to die on May 7, 685. His eldest son 'Abd al-Malik [q.v.] succeeded him. He had to retake the eastern provinces and Arabia from the anti-Caliph Ibn al-Zubair, and at the same time repel an invasion of the Mardais or Djurdjims [q.v.]. In Jerusalem we owe him the building of the mosque of al-Aḳṣā. His reign marks the beginning of the nationalisation or arabicising of the administration, which had remained in the hands of the individuals of the conquered races. He succeeded, if not in substituting Arabic for Greek, in getting it used alongside of Greek in the keeping of the official accounts and registers. He was the creator of Arab coinage. 'Abd al-Malik died in Oct. 705, after a reign of 20 years.

His successor, Walīd I, brought to the throne an autocratic temperament and a display of religious fervour unknown in his predecessors. He was the great builder of the dynasty. According to the earliest evidence it seems that the Christians of Damascus had been allowed to retain the splendid Basilika of St. John. Walīd took it from them and turned it into a mosque. In his reign the Arab empire attained its greatest extent. Walīd was singularly successful in his enterprises. His autocratic mood revealed itself in a diminution in tolerance to the conquered peoples. The great administrative offices were definitely taken from the Christians. By his fondness for magnificence, Walīd secured undisputed popularity with the Arabs of Syria. He died on February 23, 715.

His brother, Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik [q.v.], founder of al-Ramla [q.v.] in Palestine, succeeded him. He perished at the disastrous siege of Constantinople. He was succeeded (Aug. 717) by his cousin 'Omar II b. 'Abd al-'Azīz [q.v.] who died on February 9, 720, and was replaced by the incapable Yazīd II. From the time of Walīd I the Omayyads had begun to forsake Damascus; the official capital, it ceased to be the Caliph's residence. The decline of the dynasty set in after the death of 'Omar II. Highām, who succeeded Yazīd II, vainly endeavoured to revive the prestige of the Syrian caliphate. The conquests ceased. In France the Arabs suffered the disastrous defeat of Poitiers, Oct. 732. Highām allowed the Melkite patriarchs of Antioch to reside in Syria. His greed, the failure of his military plans, and finally the way in which he shut himself up in his desert palace of Ruṣāfa, made this ruler unpopular, though he was the most hard-working of the Omayyad caliphs. He was succeeded in February 743 by his nephew, Walīd II, son of Yazīd II. This prince, an artist and poet, lived contentedly in the desert, where he began the building of the splendid palace of Mghatta [q.v.]. He died at the hands of an assassin before finishing it (April 744). His successor, Yazīd III, was the

first caliph born of a slave. He died five months later, having designated as his successor his insignificant brother, Ibrahim, who did not succeed in getting himself acknowledged.

In the midst of the general anarchy, there came on the scene the energetic governor of Mesopotamia, Marwān b. Muḥammad [q.v.], grandson of the caliph Marwān I. The victory of 'Aindjarr in the Bka' broke the resistance of his adversaries, the Syrian Yemenns. Becoming caliph in December 744, Marwān II made the mistake of moving the capital to Harrān (Mesopotamia) which alienated the Syrians from him. He exhausted himself in putting down their rebellions and those of the Khāridjīs. The 'Abbāsids, were now secretly conspiring against the Omayyad dynasty. Taking advantage of the disaffection in Syria, Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Saffāh [q.v.] had himself proclaimed caliph at Kūfa (Nov. 749). After his defeat on the great Zab (Jan. 750) Marwān had to evacuate Mesopotamia, and then Syria. Abandoned by the Syrians, he took refuge in Egypt where he died at Abū Sir in August 750. The Omayyads were everywhere pursued and exterminated, their tombs desecrated, and their ashes scattered to the winds. The Syrians tried in vain to regain their lost ground. They raised the "white flag" of the Omayyads in opposition to the "black flag" of the 'Abbāsids. They found too late that by indifference to the fall of the Omayyads they had thrown away the future and supremacy of Syria. They hoped henceforth for speedy coming of al-Sufyānī [q.v.], a national hero and champion of Syrian liberty. As his name shows, al-Sufyānī, was to be a descendant of Abū Sufyān. He was to bring back the golden age and the happy days of the dynasty, the memory of which his name perpetuates.

Immediately after the conquest, the tribes of Syria had to learn the dialect of the Quraysh, now promoted to be the classical language. Among the Syrian Arabs, distracted by foreign conquests and the suppression of revolts in the provinces, intellectual activity under the Omayyads had been confined to poetry. The chief representatives of this literary renaissance were, next to the Taghlibī Christian Akhtal [q.v.], the Caliphs Yūsuf I and Walid II. Arts and liberal professions remained the monopoly of the subject races, like banking and commerce. The Qadiri movement [q.v.] which seems to have started in Syria, shows that the Arabs of Syria were beginning to take an interest in the philosophical problems to which they had been introduced by their Christian compatriots.

Agriculture remained flourishing in spite of the greed of the exchequer. As a result of the war with Byzantium, maritime trade had considerably diminished. On the other hand the fall of the Persian empire had opened up Central Asia to the Syrians, but they were soon to meet the competition of the commercial cities of the 'Irāq, notably Basra. Syrian commerce, so active in the time of Justinian, became dormant under the Arabs. When maritime relations were resumed, it was the western peoples who secured the advantage from it, at the time of the Crusades. From the time of the Marwānids, the great towns of eastern Syria — Damascus, Hims, etc. — began to be Islamised as a result of the abolition of the military cantonnements. The subject races learned Arabic, without, however, abandoning Aramaic

or Greek. Decimated by epidemics, famine, civil strife and foreign wars, the Arab population of Syria grew slowly. If we neglect local outbreaks of fanaticism, there is no evidence of systematic persecution or proselytising encouraged by the authorities. The latter only exercised pressure on the Christians of Arab race, the Tanūkh and Taghlib. The Banū Kalb and other Syrian tribes had adopted Islam soon after the conquest.

In spite of their position as political helots, this was a period of marked tranquillity and tolerance for non-Muslims, if we compare it with the troubles that awaited them under the 'Abbāsids. For the Arabs, paid and fed by the State, it was a golden age, a continual feast. Their chiefs, growing rich in exploiting the provinces, acquired enormous fortunes. What favoured the success of the 'Abbāsīd conspiracy was the incapacity of the latter Marwānīd caliphs, excluding of course Hishām and Marwān II.

Then came the grave and continuous dissensions, after Mardj Rāhit, between Kaïs and Yemenns, and lastly the refusal of the conquerors to grant political rights to the non-Arabs, who were their intellectual superiors.

'Abbāsīd and Fātimīd Syria. With the fall of the Omayyads, Syria lost its privileged position, and ceased to form the centre of a vast empire. It found itself reduced to the rank of a simple province, and jealously watched on account of its attachment to the old régime. The capital of the caliphate was moved across the Euphrates. Straining under a power, the hostility of which they never ceased to feel, the Syrians found themselves systematically excluded from all share in government affairs, as they were henceforth to be under the Fātimīd and succeeding rules. The caliphs of Baghdād only intervened in Syria to make it feel its position of inferiority by inflicting increased taxation on it. Driven to extremes by the exactions of the caliph's agents, the Christians of Lebanon attempted without success to gain their freedom in 759—760. On the occasion of the pilgrimage or of the war against the Byzantines, the Caliphs al-Manṣūr, al-Mahdī, Hārūn and al-Ma'mūn passed through Syria. In the midst of the troubles that preceded the accession of al-Ma'mūn (813—833), the position of the Christians became intolerable and many of them migrated to Cyprus.

The misfortunes of their country, the loss of its autonomy, could not decide Kaïs and Yemenns to forget their regrettable differences, which ended by weakening the Syrians and dooming to failure their efforts to shake off the 'Abbāsīd yoke. A descendant of Mu'āwīya, 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh al-Sufyānī, raised the "white standard" which had become the symbol of Syrian independence. But to get the support of the Kalbis, he alienated the Kaïs (809—813). Another rising was no more successful. An Arab of obscure antecedents, named Abū Harb of Yemeni origin, proclaimed himself the Sufyānī (cf. above). The indifference of the Kaïs once again brought about his defeat in the reign of the Caliph al-Mu'tasim (833—847). Yielding to caprice the moody caliph al-Mutawakkil (847—861) thought of shifting his capital and living in Damascus. A mutiny in his guard forced him to return to Mesopotamia. His reign was a period of severe trial for the Syrians. From his reign dates for the most part the intolerant legislation, which it has been proposed to attribute

to 'Umar I: the wearing of a special dress, the prohibition of riding on horseback etc. Numerous churches were turned into mosques. At this date there were no longer any Christians of Arab stock in Syria. Under the Omayyads, the Banū Tammūkh had resisted all advances of the government. The Caliph al-Mahdī (775—785), however, forced them to apostatise.

It is to the early 'Abbāsids, that the Syrian military marches owe their origin, the *awāḥim* and *ḥuḡḡūr* [q.v.], lines of forts built to check the progress of the Byzantine invaders. In 906 an agitator claiming to be the Sufyāni was arrested. This was the last attempt at an Omayyad restoration; it failed before the apathy of the demoralised Syrians. A Turkish Mamlūk, Ahmad b. Tulūn [q.v.], already master of Egypt, invaded Syria under pretext of defending it against the Byzantines. He declared himself independent there. The dynasty which he founded had only an ephemeral existence (875—905), as had that of the Ikshīdids (875—905) who repeated the experience of the Tulūnids. In the interval, Syria had been devastated by the Karmatians [q.v.] who left behind them the germ of Ismā'īlī doctrines. From the time of the Tulūnids, the country may politically speaking be considered lost to the 'Abbāsids. Their power was only felt there during a few brief periods of restoration.

In their turn the Beduin tribes wished to take their share in plundering an empire in decay. A Taghlibī clan, the Banū Ḥamdān [q.v.] found themselves entrusted with the reconquest of Syria for the Ikshīdids and checking the Byzantine advance. They installed themselves as masters of the south of the country, without however breaking with the 'Abbasid caliphate. The most famous of these Ḥamdānī emirs was Saif al-Dawla [q.v.], who in his court at Aleppo, showed himself an enlightened patron of arts and letters (949—967). After the fall of the Ḥamdānids (1003/1004) in spite of a brief 'Abbāsīd reaction at Damascus (975—977), Syria fell into and remained for over a century (977—1098) in the hands of an 'Alid dynasty, or more accurately Ismā'īlī, that of the Fātimids [q.v.].

Having conquered Egypt, the Fātimīd armies invaded Syria (969), and conquered Palestine and then Damascus, without encountering any particular resistance. In the centre and north it is difficult to say what form the Egyptian conquest took. The direct authority of the Fātimids was enforced so long as their troops occupied the region. After their departure, the local Emirs did as they pleased without openly breaking with the suzerain in Cairo. Fātimīd rule was only kept up in Syria by continually dismissing the agents to whom it was forced to delegate its authority, thus perpetuating administrative instability. In Palestine it had to reckon with the Banū 'I-Djarrāh. These Emirs of the tribe of Tayy arrogated to themselves for over a century a regular hegemony over the nomad Syrians. In the reign of al-Hākim (996—1020), the Banū 'I-Djarrāh amused themselves by appointing an anti-caliph, and then sending him back to Mecca, whence they had brought him. In Tyre a humble boatman succeeded for a time in declaring himself independent (997).

Taking advantage of the anarchy the Emperor Nicephorus Phocas (963—969) had conquered Northern Syria. His successors, Tricases (969—976) and Basil II (976—1025), easily con-

quered the valley of the Orontes and the Phoenician coast. Of all these conquests all that the Byzantines were able to keep for over a century was the "duchy" of Antioch, which included northern Syria, except the emirate of Aleppo. We have already mentioned the Caliph al-Hākim [q.v.] with whom is connected the origin of the Druses [q.v.]. This moody prince quarrelled with the Christians and ordered the Basilika of the Resurrection in Jerusalem to be destroyed, Syria gradually detached itself from Egypt. In the midst of the political disorders, the pernicious influence of the Beduins increased. About 1023, the Banū Mirdās of the Ḳaist tribe of Banū Kilāb established themselves in Aleppo, and held it with interruptions till 1079.

By this time the Saldjūks [q.v.] had already gained a footing in Syria. The provinces of Syria fell into their power, Damascus in 1075. At Jerusalem a Saldjūk Emir Ortoḡ, founded a local dynasty (1086—1087). In 1084, the Greeks lost Antioch, their last possession in Syria. Syria was now divided into two Saldjūk Sultanates, that of Aleppo and that of Damascus. Saldjūk Emirs more or less independent commanded at Aleppo and Ḥimṣ, all at war with one another. At Tripoli, a humble *Ḳāḍī* founded the dynasty of Banū 'Ammār. To the south of this town the towns on the coast remained in the hands of the Egyptians. Into the midst of this confusion, this piecemeal distribution of territory, came the armies of the Crusaders.

The persistent hostility shown by the 'Abbāsids to the intellectuals of Syria, the political anarchy, the rule of Turkish and Berber adventurers, unlettered and greedy masters, were all circumstances unfavourable to the progress of ideas. A few poets had gathered at the court of the Ḥamdānids and Mirdāsids of Aleppo. The patronage of Saif al-Dawla encouraged the preparation of the celebrated *Kiṣṣ al-Aghāni*. The reader may be referred to the articles on Abu Tammām, Abu 'I-'Ala' al-Ma'arri, al-Mutanabbī, a native of Kūfa, but a Syrian by education and upbringing, al-Maḳḍisī, one of the most justly esteemed of Arab geographers. Less tolerant, more irritating than the Omayyads, the authorities began to encourage conversion to Islām. Arabic slowly began to take the place of Syriac as the spoken language of the subject races, who began to write in it. Profane sciences, especially medicine, began to be cultivated, mainly by Jews and Christians. The end of this period coincides with the institution of the Madrasas [q.v.] which grew up under the stimulus of the Saldjūks, especially in Aleppo and Damascus. The lack of respect into which the 'Abbasid caliphate had fallen reacted on orthodox Islām: it favoured the rapid growth of sects practising initiation and following the Shī'a: the Druses, Ismā'īlīs, Nuṣairīs and Mutawāllīs [q.v.].

The exactions of the 'Abbāsīd and Fātimīd agents diminished without however destroying the great vitality of the country. In 311, a governor of Damascus was sentenced to pay 300,000 dinars to the treasury. The country began to become depopulated and agriculture languished. Its complete decline was only checked by the introduction of new crops: sugar-cane and the orange. Cotton-growing was developed and cotton was used for the manufacture of paper. In the tenth century there was a paper factory in Damascus. One should

read the sketch of the commerce of Syria in al-Makdisi's geography, *Aḥqan al-taḥālim* (p. 180, 184), to get an idea of the varied resources of a country which centuries of oppression and the most deplorable administration had not been able to impoverish.

Syria under the Franks. On October 21, 1097, the army of the Crusaders appeared before the walls of Antioch. After a very laborious siege, they entered it on June 3, 1098. Then following the valley of the Orontes through the mountains of the Nisairis and along the coast, the Franks, now reduced to 40,000 men, debouched before Jerusalem. The city, which the Fātimids had just retaken from the Ortōkīds, was taken by assault on July 15, 1099, and Godfrey of Bouillon elected head of the new Latin state (1099-1100). But the first Frank king of Jerusalem was really his brother and successor, Baldwin I. He conquered the towns on the coast, Arsūf, Caesarea, Acre, Sidā, Bairūt and Tripoli (1109-1110). This brave leader, the most remarkable of the crusading sovereigns, died during an expedition against Egypt (1118). His successor, Baldwin II du Bourg, captured Tyre in 1124; he failed before Damascus, but the town had to promise to pay tribute.

It was towards 1130 that the Latin kingdom attained its greatest extent stretching from Diyār Bakr to the borders of Egypt. In Syria its frontier never crossed the valley of the Upper Orontes, nor the crest of the Anti-Lebanon. The great cities of the interior, Aleppo, Hamā, Hims, Baalbek, Damascus while agreeing to pay tribute, remained independent. The kingdom consisted of a confederation of four feudal states: 1. On the east, the county of Edessa lay along the two banks of the Euphrates. 2. In the north the principality of Antioch included in its protectorate Armenian Cilicia. 3. In the centre the county of Tripoli stretched from the fort of Margat (Marḡah) to the Nahr al-Kalb. 4. Lastly came the royal domains, or kingdom of Jerusalem, strictly speaking. It included all cis-Jordan Palestine and in Transjordan, the ancient districts of Moab and Edom, which became the seignoury of Crac (Kerak, q.v.) and of Montréal (cf. *SHAWHAK*) "in the land of Oultre-Jourdain". For a time it had a dependency, the port of Aila-⁴Aḥaba. To defend these possessions the Crusaders built strong castles: the Crac des Chevaliers (Hṣn al-Akrād, q.v.), Chastel-Blanc (Ṣafṣā), Maracles (Marḡṭya), Margat (Marḡah) and in southern Lebanon, Beaufort (Ṣaḡīf Arnūn). Lastly in Transjordan the two massive fortresses of Crac and Montréal.

After the death of Baldwin II (1131) the decline of the Latin state began; it was hastened by the isolation of the Crusaders and their lack of unity. The Byzantines claimed the rights of a suzerain over the north of the kingdom. The Armenians sought to form a national state for themselves in the region of the Taurus. Instead of coming to an agreement, Franks, Byzantines and Armenians only succeeded in enfeebling one another to the advantage of the Muslims, who were gathered round remarkable leaders like Zangī, Nūr al-Dīn and Ṣalāh al-Dīn (q.v.). Baldwin III (1144-1162) resumed the siege of Damascus (July 23-28, 1148) without any more success than his predecessors. Already Lord of Aleppo, Nūr al-Dīn installed himself in Damascus. Amaury, king of Jerusalem from 1162, formed the bold project of seizing the

heritage of the dying dynasty of the Fātimids. He was anticipated by Nūr al-Dīn. The latter sent his lieutenant, the Kurd Ṣalāh al-Dīn, to Egypt. On the death of the last Fātimid Caliph, Ṣalāh al-Dīn proclaimed himself independent in Egypt, and founded the Aiyūbid dynasty there, then seized Damascus from the sons of Nūr al-Dīn. On July 4, 1187, at Hattin between Tiberias and Nazareth, the whole Christian army under Guy de Lusignan fell into the hands of Ṣalāh al-Dīn. Jerusalem capitulated on October 2 following. Deprived of their defenders, the other cities, except Antioch, Tripoli and Tyre, had to surrender.

The preaching of the third crusade brought to the camp before Acre, which the Franks had been besieging two years, Philip Augustus of France and Richard Coeur-de-Lion of England. The town surrendered on July 19, 1191. A truce between the belligerents ceded the coast from Jaffa to Tyre to the Crusaders. In default of Jerusalem, which they had been unable to reconquer, Acre was henceforth the capital of the kingdom. The death of Ṣalāh al-Dīn produced dissension among his numerous heirs. The Emperor Frederick II took advantage of the discord to negotiate with al-Malik al-Kāmil, Aiyūbid Sultan of Egypt, for the cession of Jerusalem and other places of no strategic importance. Threatened by the sons of Ṣalāh al-Dīn, who had made an alliance with the Franks, their uncle al-Malik al-Kāmil called in the help of the Kh⁴arizmis who crushed the combined Syrian and Frankish forces near Ḥaṣṣa (1244) and enabled the Egyptians to occupy Jerusalem, Damascus and Hims.

The seventh crusade brought St. Louis to Syria after the check to his expedition to Egypt. For four years (1250-1254) he was engaged in fortifying the towns of the coast. It was the Mamlūk Sultāns, Balbars, Kalā'īn and al-Malik al-Aḥṣaf, son of the latter, who dealt the last blow to the Latin kingdom. Acre fell (May 31, 1291) after a heroic defence. In the course of the next months, Tyre, Haifa, Sidā, Bairūt and Tartūs were taken or evacuated. Athlith (q.v.) the imposing fortress between Haifa and Caesarea was the last to surrender (Aug. 14, 1291). The Frankish colonies in Syria were at an end.

The Crusades introduced into Syria the feudal organisation of contemporary Europe. The elective character of the kingship soon gave place to dynastic succession. The king only ruled directly the Palestinian kingdom of Jerusalem. His authority was limited by the privileges of the three orders: the clergy, nobility and bourgeoisie. "He cannot", notes Usama b. Munḡīḡ, "annul the decisions of the Court of Seigneurs". The authority of the great feudatories within their principalities was circumscribed in the same way. Agricultural serfdom was retained, as had been the custom in Syria. The name "poulatins" (*pūlatīn*) was given to the issue of marriages between Franks and natives: the etymology of this word is still obscure. The army was recruited not only from Franks but also from Armenians and Maronites. The Turcopols were the Muslim auxiliaries. The position of Muslims and Jews recalled that of the *dhimmī*s (q.v.) in Muslim lands, with this difference that they were not so heavily taxed. According to Ibn Dju-bair, his co-religionists did not conceal their satisfaction with Frankish rule.

Every principality had its own silver coin.

There were also gold ducats, "besants sarracénats", or "sarrasins" with Arabic inscriptions. Commerce, more or less dormant since the Arab conquest, again became active as a result of maritime relations with the west, which were never greater. The principal ports were Acre, Tyre and Tripoli. In the principalities of the north, the terminus for continental trade was La Liche (Ladhikiya) or Soudin (Suwaydiya) now called Port St. Simeon. We have to go back to the time of the Phoenicians to find a period of so great economic activity.

The state of war hampered, but did not put a stop to intellectual activity among the Muslims of Syria. In Damascus, al-Kāfīnī was busy with his history, and Ibn 'Asākir finished his monumental encyclopaedia, *Ta'rikh Dimashq*, devoted to individuals who had a more or less remote connection with Syria. At the end of his troubled career, the Emir Usāma b. Munqidh, produced an autobiography which is very valuable for the study of the relations which existed between Franks and Muslims. Barhebraeus, Syrian and Mesopotamian, wrote Arabic and Syriac with equal elegance. It was in this last language that the Jacobite patriarch wrote a voluminous *Chronicle*. Muslims, Christians and Jews studied medicine with success. Never except in the Roman period had there been so much building. The fortresses built by the Crusaders are wonderful specimens of mediaeval military architecture. Among the churches which they built, we mention that of Djubail, the monumental basilica at Tarsūs, the graceful cathedral of John the Baptist, now the great mosque of Bairūt, with its walls once covered with pictures. Many crusading lords had adopted Syrian customs (*taballadā*, [*Usūma*]). In the collaboration of Franks and natives was hailed, as by Pope Honorius III, a "Nova Francia", the dawn of a new civilisation. The destruction of the Latin kingdom destroyed any hopes based on it. The coming of the slave dynasty (Mamlūks) opened a period of anarchy, such as Syria had not yet seen.

Mamlūk Syria. We have already given a résumé of the exploits of the early Mamlūk Sultans against the Frank principalities. Fearing a return of the Franks and the warships of the European navy, which ruled the Mediterranean, the Mamlūks began to lay waste the towns of the coast, not even excepting the most prosperous, Acre, Tyre and Tripoli; they demolished the citadels at Saïda and Bairūt. Tripoli was rebuilt two miles from the coast. From the administrative point of view, they retained the old Aiyūbid appanages and divided Syria into six main districts called *mamlaka*, or *niyāha*: Damascus, Aleppo, Hama, Tripoli, Safad and Kerak (Transjordania).

The past history of Damascus assured its *nā'ib*, or viceroy, not only authority over his Syrian colleagues, but a special prestige of his own. This high official had little difficulty in persuading himself that he had the same rights to the throne as his ancestor in Egypt. To guard against the ambition of the Syrian *nā'ib's*, Cairo took care to change them continually (Sāliḥ b. Yahyā). Never did instability of government and greed of rulers, uncertain of the morrow, attain such proportions. Lebanon continued to enjoy a kind of autonomy. The dissenting Muslims of the highlands — Druses and Mutawallīs — took advantage of the troubles of the Mamlūks, occupied with the Franks and Mamlūks, to proclaim their independence. All the

forces of Syria had to be mobilised, and a long and bitter war endured (1293—1305) which ended in the complete destruction of the rebels and the devastation of Central Lebanon.

The Mongol Khāns of Persia were burning to avenge the military defeats which the Mamlūks had inflicted upon them. The most energetic of these sovereigns, Ghāzān (1296—1304), in 1299 secured the support of the Armenians and Georgians as well as of the Franks of Cyprus, and routed the Mamlūks near Hims. The troops occupied Damascus, and advanced up to Ḥama. The Egyptians having again invaded Syria, Ghāzān recrossed the Euphrates to meet them, but he was defeated in 1303 at Marj al-Saffar near Damascus. Syria had nothing to gain by the coming of the Burjids, who in 1382 replaced the Bahrī dynasty. They "preserved" Ibn Ayyās tells us, "the old laws", that is to say the anarchical rule of their predecessors. Saltān Farajī (1392—1405) had to begin the reconquest of Syria no less than seven times. The year 1401 coincided with the invasion of Timūr [q.v.]. After the capture of Aleppo which they sacked, his hordes appeared before Damascus. The town having agreed to surrender, the Tatars plundered it methodically. The majority of the able-bodied inhabitants were carried off into slavery, especially artists, architects, workers in steel and glass. They were almost all taken to Samarkand. Fire was then set to the city, to the mosque of the Omayyads and other monuments. Timūr led back his army and left Syria a prey to epidemics and bands of brigands. Meanwhile on the plateaus of Anatolia, the power of the Ottomans was gathering. The capture of Constantinople (1453) had increased their ambition. Death alone prevented Muḥammad II from invading Syria. His successors did not cease preparations. Kā'ibay (1468—1496) and Bīyazīd [q.v.] signed a treaty of peace, but it was only to be a truce.

The destruction of Baghdad by Hūllū and the fall of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate had shifted the centre of the Muslim world to the west of the Euphrates, Arabic literature found in the land of the Mamlūks an asylum, at best precarious. No encouragement was to be expected from ignorant and brutal sovereigns, many of whom could not even sign their own names. The intellectuals lived in the past, their activity lacks originality. It was the golden age of epitomisers, compilers, authors of handbooks and encyclopaedias. They were interested in collecting knowledge and learning it by heart. Among the encyclopaedists a special place must be given to the worthy Shihāb al-Dīn b. Faḍlallāh al-'Omari, author of the *Masālik al-Aḥyār*, a voluminous compilation of a historical, geographical and literary character for the use of officials of the Mamlūk chancellery. We may next mention Abu 'l-Fidā' [q.v.], historian and geographer, the geographer Shams al-Dīn al-Dimashqī (d. 1327), markedly inferior to his predecessor al-Maḳdisī [q.v.]. The versatile al-Dihābī [q.v.] was born in Mesopotamia but lived and died in Damascus (1353). Ibn 'Arabshāh (d. 1450) was the author of a history of Timūr. Al-Safadī [q.v.] compiled a great biographical dictionary (1296—1383), Sāliḥ b. Yahyā (d. 1436), the author of the *Ta'rikh Bairūt*, has left us in this work on the Emirs of the Ghārb the best contribution to the history of the Lebanon and a valuable supplement to the annals of the Frankish states. Ibn Talmīya [q.v.]

and his pupil Ibn Kaṣīm al-Djawzi are among the most original figures of this period. Their activities covered the whole field of Muslim studies. Indefatigable polemicists with a keen scent for heresies, they have had the peculiar good fortune to be exalted both by the Wahhābīs and the modernist Muslims of to-day.

The departure of the Crusaders marks the end of a period of astonishing economic prosperity. Syrian commerce fell back into stagnation. Little by little, however, necessity forced the resumption of relations with Europe. The decline of Acre, Tyre and Tripoli, ruined by the Mamlūks and the fall (1347) of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, to which western merchants had first gone, were to the advantage of Bairūt. For over a century this town became the principal port of Syria. Near Damascus and opposite Cyprus — the kingdom of the Lusignans and rendezvous of the European shipping — Bairūt was every year visited by ships of the Venetians, Genoese, Catalans, Provençals and Rhodians. These various communities had henceforth consuls as their representatives, officially recognised by the Mamlūks and receiving a grant or *ijāmaṭiyya*. On the other hand the Cairo government regarded them as "hostages" (*rakīna*) (*Khālī al-Zāhiri*); it held them responsible not only for those under their jurisdiction, but also for acts of hostility by Corsairs. The consuls protected pilgrims and intervened if required on behalf of native Christians. Thus we already have the system of capitulations which was to be developed in succeeding centuries.

Syria under the Ottomans. With the opening of the XVIth century the rule of the Mamlūks had begun to break up. Their exactions had exasperated the populace. The Ottoman Sultān Selīm I. [q.v.] resolved to take advantage of the occasion to invade Syria. Taking the initiative, the Mamlūk Sultān, Kānsūh al-Ghūrī [q.v.] mobilised his forces, and marched via Damascus and Aleppo towards Anatolia. The two armies met at Dabīk, a day's journey north of Aleppo. The Turkish artillery and the Janissary infantry scattered disorder through the Egyptian ranks. Ghūrī disappeared in the disaster of Dabīk (Aug. 24, 1516). Aleppo, Damascus and the towns of Syria opened their gates to the conqueror who went on to Egypt and put an end to Mamlūk rule. The Turks retained at first the territorial divisions or *niyāha*. The Mamlūk Ghazālī, *naib* of Damascus, had gone over to the Ottoman camp after Dabīk. The renegade was in return given the administration of the country except the *niyāha* of Aleppo, which was reserved for a Turkish Pasha.

On the death of Selīm I (1520), Ghazālī had himself proclaimed Sultān under the name of al-Malik al-Ashraf. He was defeated and killed at Kāhin at the gates of Damascus (Jan. 1521). Before the end of the 16th century, Syria had become divided into three great pashaliks: 1. Damascus, comprising ten sanjaks or prefectures, the chief of which were Jerusalem, Ghazza, Naplūs, Saīdā and Bairūt; 2. Tripoli, including the sanjaks of Hims, Hamā, Salamiya and Djabala; 3. Aleppo, including all North Syria, except 'Aintāb, which was included in the pashalik of Mar'ash. In the century following, the pashalik of Saīdā was created to include Lebanon. In its main outlines, this administrative division lasted till the middle of the xviiith

century, when the centre of government of Saīdā was moved to Acre.

The Diwān of Stamboul was only interested in Syria in so far as it enabled it to watch Egypt and Syria, and to levy upon its resources contributions to the expenses of the palace and for foreign wars. The taxes, which were put up to auction went to the highest bidder. According to a Venetian Consular report, the pashalik was worth 80,000 to 100,000 ducats (probably the silver ducat, the Venetian *grana* whence *grish* plur. *grush*, or piastre = 5 francs). The Pashas only administered directly the important towns and their immediate neighbourhood. The interior of the country was left to the old feudal tenants whose number and influence had increased since the Mamlūks: — Bedouin emirs, Turkomans, Mutawallīs, Druses, Nusairīs. The Porte only asked them to pay the tribute or *miri*, without worrying if it saw them fighting with its own representatives. Every year the Turkish Pasha at the head of his artillery and Janissaries set out to collect the taxes. The force lived on the country and laid it waste if resisted. It is remarkable that agriculture, the principal resource of Syria declined, the population diminished, the country districts emptied in favour of the Lebanon and mountainous districts where the harassed people sought an asylum.

The instability of their position increased the rapacity of the Turkish functionaries. Damascus saw 133 Pashas in 180 years. This period saw the rise of Fakhr al-Dīn [q.v.], the champion of Syrian independence (1583—1635), the Mutawallī emir, the Banū Harfūsh, lords of Ba'albek and al-Bīṣā, the Banū Manṣūr b. Furāikh, Beduin Shaikhs, who carved out for themselves an appanage in Palestine and in the region of Naplūs. These feudal lords were fairly well organised in spite of their cupidity, and they were able to defend their gains from the arbitrary Turk. By sending round the Cape the traffic of the middle East, the Portuguese occupation of India proved fatal to Syria. The harbour of Bairūt remained empty. Tripoli at first, then — thanks to the initiative of Fakhr al-Dīn — Saīdā attracted European ships which came for cargoes of silk and cotton. Aleppo, thanks to its situation between Mesopotamia, the sea, and the Anatolian provinces whose market it was, the principal depot on the direct route to the Persian Gulf, remained for three centuries the chief commercial centre of Northern Syria.

In the second half of the xviiith century, the doings of three individuals suddenly attracted attention to the town and region of Acre. These were Dāhiz (Syrian pronunciation of Zāhir) al-'Omar, Djazzār and Bonaparte. Dāhiz, a Beduin Shaikh, lord of the land of Safad, extended his authority over Galilee, and settled at Acre which he fortified and raised from its ruins. He resisted the Porte (1750—75) with assistance lent by the Egyptian Mamlūks 'Alī Bey and Abu Dhahab and a Russian squadron cruising in Syrian waters. Besieged in Acre by the Turks, he died there in 1775. His successor Djazzār [q.v.] held out for three months (March—May 1799) against the military genius of the youthful Bonaparte. Pasha of Damascus and of Acre, he remained the arbiter of Syria for nearly 40 years (1775—1804), in spite of his exactions and his cruelty.

The four million inhabitants of Syria and Palestine at the time of the Arab conquest were reduced

to one and a half after three centuries of Turkish rule. The cultivation of cotton, which with that of silk, formed one of the main sources of Syria's wealth had completely declined, when Muhammad 'Alī [q. v.] of Egypt, decided to attract to Egypt the disheartened Syrian planters. It was this state of anarchy that enabled the Lebanon emir Bashir [q. v.] to intervene in Syrian politics. Down to about 1840 we continually find him mixed up with the history of Syria. Even the great Turkish officials sought his intervention. Yūsuf Pasha of Damascus (1807-10) implored his help against a threatened invasion of the Wahhābīs. Bashir presided in Damascus at the installation of Sulaimān Pasha of Acre and successor-designate of Yūsuf Pasha. In the middle of the general confusion however Muhammad 'Alī of Egypt was watching for an opportunity of adding Syria to his governorship of Egypt. 'Abdallāh Pasha who succeeded Sulaimān at Acre (1818) undertook to give it him. He refused to allow the extradition of Egyptian fellāhīn and the repayment of a million piastres. Summoned to contribute towards this sum by the Pasha of Acre, under whom the Lebanon was, the Christians of the Lebanon refused to pay. The rising of the Christians was a new feature in Syrian politics, but it was not to be the only one. Through contact with the Europeans the Christians were becoming enlightened and they were learning their own strength. Taking as a pretext the refusals of 'Abdallāh Pasha, Muhammad 'Alī sent his son Ibrāhīm Pasha [q. v.] into Syria at the head of an army trained on European lines. Acre surrendered on May 27, 1832, after a siege of seven months. On July 8 at Hims, Ibrāhīm routed the Turks. A little later he forced the pass of Baḥlān and entered Anatolia. A treaty (May 1833) assured Egypt temporary possession of Syria.

The new rule proved tolerant. It admitted Christians to the communal councils; it favoured the abolition of measures humiliating to non-Muslims. It endeavoured to reform the police and the tribunals. On the other hand it provoked discontent by introducing forced labour and conscription even in the semi-independent regions of the Lebanon. Rebellions broke out among the Druses of the Lebanon and of the Hawrān, among the Nuṣairīs and in the never properly subjected province of Naplīs. Ibrāhīm exhausted himself in suppressing these risings. The Turks thought the moment had come for the re-conquest of Syria. They were completely defeated (June 27, 1839) at Nizib, north of Aleppo. European diplomacy then intervened at the instigation of England, which was disturbed by the ambition of Muhammad 'Alī. Until the expedition of Bonaparte, England had taken no interest in Egypt. Thenceforth she was continually occupied with Egypt and the Red Sea. Her agents stirred up the whole of Lebanon. An allied fleet bombarded Bairūt (Sept. 1850). On Nov. 2, Acre surrendered and Ibrāhīm Pasha had to agree to evacuate Syria. Shortly before, the Emir Bashir had gone into exile.

From the reign of Mahmūd II. [q. v.] the Porte had inaugurated a policy of administrative centralisation, and decreed the abolition of local autonomies and feudalities. After the departure of the Egyptians, it moved to Bairūt, whose importance was steadily increasing, the administrative centres of the ancient pashalīks of Acre and Sidā, in order to prepare for the annexation of Lebanon. With the

same object it declared the old line of princes of the Lebanon, the Shihāb Emirs, deposed. The only result was to perpetuate anarchy there. The Christians who had fought against the Egyptians claimed to be treated on terms of equality to the Druses. In the southern Lebanon several had acquired the confiscated lands of the Druse chiefs banished by Ibrāhīm Pasha. The latter, coming back from exile, demanded a return to the *status quo* and the restoration of their ancient privileges. In taking their side, Turkey paved the way for new conflicts and sanguinary fighting. The Syrian Muslims showed no less animosity to the Christians, whom Egyptian rule had partly enfranchised. They took no account of the intellectual and material progress made by the Christians, nor of the political equality promised by the *khatt* of the Sultan. The *khatt-i humayūn* [q. v.] of Sulṭān 'Abd al-Majīd [q. v.] communicated to the congress of Paris (1856), and tacitly placed under the guarantee of the Powers, scandalised Muslim opinion, but inspired confidence among the Christians. At Damascus and in the large towns they took advantage of the occasion to enrich themselves. A secret agitation began to stir up the Druses and Muslims, and waited for the events of 1860 to burst forth.

The Druses of the Lebanon combining with their co-religionists of the Wādī Ṭ-Taim and of the Hawrān, scattered fire and death through the villages of the Maronites, who were at sixes and sevens, as the result of an agrarian dispute. The anti-Christian movement reached Damascus, which the Muslims pillaged and then set fire to the prosperous Christian quarter, after massacring its inhabitants. In this city, in the Lebanon, and in Bairūt, the Turkish authorities intervened only to disarm the Christians, and watched the butchery inactive, powerless or abetting it. Under a mandate from Europe, France disembarked at Bairūt (Sept. 1860) a body of troops "to help the Sultan to restore peace." Taking the initiative, the Porte had sent Fu'ād Pasha [q. v.] with discretionary powers to Syria. He began to inflict summary judgment. Sentences of exile pronounced against the Turkish leaders and the most compromised Druses, faced Europe with the *fait accompli*: French intervention, though paralysed by the cunning of the Turks and the distrust of England, nevertheless restored confidence to the Christians, and preserved their native land for the people of Lebanon. The latter, given an autonomous organisation under the direct supervision of Europe (cf. LEBANON) thus gained half a century of peace and prosperity.

After 1864 Syria was divided into two wilāyets: Aleppo and Damascus. In 1888 Bairūt, the chief port, the centre of the commercial life of Syria, was made a separate wilāyet. Falling into stagnation after the shocks of 1860, the country saw with indifference the fall of Sulṭān 'Abd al-Azīs and Murād, the coming of 'Abd al-Hamīd [q. v.] and the granting of a constitution in 1876 (soon withdrawn). Between 1881 and 1883 we have the foundation of the first Jewish agricultural colonies in Palestine, which paved the way for Zionism. The latter received official recognition by the Balfour Declaration (Nov. 1917). It has been incorporated in the text of the British mandate over Palestine (1922).

Under 'Abd al-Hamīd also, emigration began to assume disquieting proportions. Having no room for development at home, exploited by a greedy

and untrustworthy power, the Syrians began to emigrate. Among the just complaints of the Syrians, was the indifference of the Turkish government to public works. France, with its capital, came to the relief of Syria, now left to herself, and having suffered a further economic blow by the opening of the Suez Canal. With the exception of the Syrian section of the Baghdad railway and the Damascus-Medina railway — the work of 'Abd al-Hamid, the Syrian railway system is in the main a French creation. These enterprises have considerably increased the wealth and productivity of Syria, by linking it up with an extensive series of connections, the Taurus, Anatolia and Constantinople on the north, and Arabia and Egypt on the south.

The Turks took even less interest than the Mamluks in furthering intellectual progress. 'Abd al-Hamid showed himself frankly hostile to Arabic literature, and instituted a system of turkicising. In spite of all obstacles the Christians of Aleppo in the xviiith century succeeded in resuming contact with Arabic studies, which had been practically closed to them for centuries. We owe to them the establishment of the first printing press in the Lebanon (1610) and in Aleppo. It is to their beginnings that we owe the literary revival of the xixth century when Syria became the centre of Arabic studies. Under the stimulus of foreign missions, French, Americans, etc., Syria became covered with schools and printing-presses which published newspapers, reviews and standard editions. Bairūt took the lead in the intellectual life of Syria, less by its own energy than under the stimulus of Europe. Still more efficaciously than the American mission, the Society of Jesus, with its very well organised printing-press, contributed to the renaissance of Arabic letters and no less to the diffusion of European culture. Bairūt and Syria in general thus produced a large number of young literary men. Their native land soon becoming too small for them (Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 492), some migrated to Egypt. Among them we may note the two Yuzidj, Nasif [q.v.] and his son Ibrahim (d. 1906) and Butrus al-Bustāni [d. 1883, q. v.]. Turkey took no part in the movement for the education of Syria. Here it was again foreigners, particularly French and Americans, who made up for official indifference. They developed education in all three grades. In 1878 the Jesuits founded the Université St. Joseph at Bairūt. The older Syrian Protestant College of the Americans at Bairūt has recently been made a university (1923).

Syria of to-day. A revolution prepared secretly by the young Turkish party overthrew 'Abd al-Hamid and set up in his place his brother Reshād (April 1907). The Constitution of 1876 was re-established, and the Parliament which had been closed by the Sulṭān was reopened. Syria hailed with enthusiasm the revolution as the dawn of a new era. This illusion was of short duration. The young Turks, whom the Syrians had trusted, were not long in resuming once more the process of turkicising begun by 'Abd al-Hamid. With more method and continuity they declared war against all who were Arab by race or language. They insisted everywhere in Parliament and in the government offices on the employment of Turks only, and removed the Syrians from high offices and important military commands. This provocative policy

brought together for the first time Muslims and Christians in Syria. It awakened amongst all the desire to come to an understanding in regard to a common policy and to take joint action. Their demands were limited to reforms of a decentralizing nature. They asked that in the allotment of public offices, regard should be had to the progress which had been made by Syria, the most civilised province of the Empire, and that in the imposition and spending of taxes regard should be paid to the needs of their country. They thought the time had come to grant it a certain administrative autonomy. It was the obstinacy of the young Turks in rejecting these moderate demands which opened the door to separatist ideas, and finally convinced the Syrian nationalists that there was nothing for it but to rely upon their own efforts and upon the sympathies of Europe.

On the 29th of October 1914, Turkey entered the Great War. It began by suppressing the administrative autonomy of Lebanon, and imposing on it a Turkish governor. Djamāl-Pasha took into his own hands the government of all Syria with discretionary powers. He at once proceeded to hang the principal patriots whether Syrian, Muslim or Christian. Hundreds of others were sent into exile. Soon afterwards famine and disease decimated the population, principally of the Lebanon. Energetic but presumptuous, dreaming of the conquest of Egypt, Djamāl proceeded very unsuccessfully to attack the Canal of Suez (Feb. 1915). After the repulse of the second attack (August 1916), the English, commanded by Allenby, advanced as far as Ghazza. By November 1917 they had become masters of the southern portion of Palestine, and on the 11th of December, they entered Jerusalem, which the Turks had evacuated. The latter defended themselves for a further nine months on a line extending to the north of Jaffa as far as the Jordan. The decisive action took place on the 19th of September, 1918, on the plain of Sarona near Tulkarm. The forces of Allenby broke the Turkish front. It was a rout. At the end of the month the English, without meeting with any resistance, arrived in the neighbourhood of Damascus. The advance was delayed for a few days, in order to allow the Emir Faisal, the son of the Grand Sherif of Mecca, time to hasten from the remote end of Transjordan and to make on the 1st of October his entry into Damascus at the head of a body of Beduins. On the 31st of October, the Turks signed an armistice. A week later, the last of their soldiers had repassed the Taurus.

The English occupied the country with a military force. The French contingent, which had brilliantly contributed to the victories in Palestine, established itself on the Syrian side. During the course of the war the allies, in order to secure the help of Hamid b. 'Alī, Grand Sherif of Mecca, had promised to support the establishment of a federation of Arab states, with reservation of the rights acquired by France. The Emir Faisal took advantage of these equivocal formulae to claim the whole of Syria, and organised a form of government at Damascus. This town became a hot-bed of intrigues, from which hordes of bandits and assassins went out to perpetuate the insecurity in Syria. On March 7th, 1920, an alleged "Syrian Congress" at Damascus proclaimed "Faisal I, King of Syria". General Gouraud, appointed High Commissioner of the Republic of Syria, called upon

Faïsal to produce his credentials. When the ultimatum received no response, the French, after a few hours fighting, scattered at Khān Maissalīn in the Antelibanon, the bands who opposed their advance (24th of July 1920). On the following day they entered Damascus; Faïsal had taken to flight. On August 10th following, the Treaty of Sévres separated Syria from Turkey, in order to form provisionally an independent state, on condition that the councils of a mandatory should guide its administration until such time as it should be capable of independent government. Previous to this, the Congress of San Remo decided that the mandate should be confided to the French government. On the 1st of September 1920 at Bairūt, Gouraud solemnly proclaimed the constitution of "Grand Liban" (v. LUBNAN). Thereafter the "Federation of Syrian States" composing the three independent states of Damascus, of Aleppo and of the "territory of the 'Alawis" (the name officially adopted for the Nujairis) was formed. The administrative centre of this last state is Lādhikiya. A fourth state was formed for the Druses of the Hawrān. Like the people of Lebanon they had been allowed to remain outside the Syrian Federation. The latter had as its chief a Syrian president. Native officials, with the help of French advisers, assumed the government of these states. Representative councils were entrusted with the discussion of affairs of general interest and settling the budget.

Syria, placed under French mandate, adjoins Turkish Anatolia. The Northern frontier is defined by a line running from Alexandretta, crossing the Euphrates to the south of Djerāblus, and ending at Djaīrat b. 'Omar on the Tigris. On the west Syria is bounded by the kingdom of 'Irāq, on the south by Transjordan and English Palestine. This part of the frontier runs on irregularly from Rās al-Nakūra between Tyre and Acre. On the East it goes round the Lake of Tiberias, traverses the valley of Yarmūk, leaves the town of Dar'ū (Hawrān) on the north and after crossing the desert reaches the district of Djaīrat b. 'Omar by way of Abū Kamāl on the Euphrates.

The following are the approximate results in round figures of the census of 1921—1922, the first taken in Syria since the Arab conquest. The nomads in the district of Aleppo and of Damascus are not included in it. The state of Aleppo, comprising the independent sandjak of Alexandretta had 604,000 inhabitants. This number was made up as follows: 502,000 Sunnis, 30,000 'Alawis, 52,000 Christians of diverse denominations, 7,000 Jews, 3,000 foreigners. The state of Damascus contains 595,000 inhabitants, of which 447,000 were Sunnis, 8,000 Isma'ilis, 5,000 'Alawis, 4,000 Druses, 9,000 Mutawallis, 67,000 Christians of different denominations, 6,000 Jews, 49,000 foreigners. In the state of the 'Alawis, there were 60,000 Sunnis, 153,000 'Alawis, 3,000 Isma'ilis and 42,000 Christians of different denominations, in all 261,000 inhabitants. The state of Hawrān was remarkable for the homogeneity of its population. There were 43,000 Druses against 700 Sunnis, and about 7,000 Greek, Catholic, or orthodox Christians. For the population of Grand-Liban, see the article LUBNAN.

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Tablet, *Descriptions Terrae Sanctae ex sacculis VIII-XV*, Leipzig 1874; Roehricht, *Deutsche Pilgerreise nach dem heiligen Lande*, Berlin 1880; H. Lammen, *Relations officielles entre la Cour romaine et les sultans mamluks d'Egypte in Rec. de l'Orient chrétien* 1905; do., *Correspondances diplomatiques entre les sultans mamluks d'Egypte et les Puissances chrétiennes*, *Ibid.* 1904; L. Cahun, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie, Turcs et Mongols*, Paris 1896.

OTTOMAN AND MODERN PERIOD: Ibn Ayas, *op. cit.*; Mahibbi, *Khutbat al-ahbar fi ayun al-hunn al-hadi 'ashar*, Bulak 1284; Haldar Shihab, *Tārīkh*, Cairo 1900; Jorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, Gotha 1908—1913; d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, 6 vols., Paris 1735; Wüstenfeld, *Fachr ed-din, der Drusenfürst*, Göttingen 1886; Vandal, *L'Odyssée d'un ambassadeur; voyages du marquis de Nointel*, Paris 1901; Un ancien diplomate, *Le régime des Capitulations*, Paris 1898; Masson, *Histoire du commerce français dans le Levant*, Paris 1896; *Relazioni dei consoli veneti nella Siria*, ed. Berchet, Venice 1866; Tenta, *Recueil des traités de la Porte ottomane avec les Puissances étrangères*, 6 vols., Paris 1864; Rabbath-Tournebise, *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire du christianisme en Orient*, 2 vols., Paris-Leipzig-London 1905; Driault, *La question d'Orient*, Paris 1921; Djaharī, *Tārīkh*, Cairo 1880; von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, Berlin 1899; Verney et Dambmann, *Les Puissances étrangères dans le Levant, en Syrie et en Palestine*, Paris 1900. For the bibliography, especially from the xviii century, P. Masson, *Éléments d'une bibliographie française de la Syrie in Congrès français de la Syrie*, Paris 1919. (H. LAMMENS)

SHAMAN (v.), an idolater. The word belongs to the poetical language, and is at present obsolete. In Asadi's *Lughat al-Fars* (ed. Horn, p. 104), it is explained: „butparast“, while quoting the following verse of Rudaki:

„butparasti girifta im kamā,
im shāhūn dūn but ast u mā shaman im“

[„We have all adopted idolatry; this world is like the idol, and we are idolater(s)“, or: „because this world is the idol, etc.“]

The same explanation is given in the *Farhang-i Shāhī* (ii., fol. 132 verso) where besides the verse just mentioned (here reproduced in a somewhat altered, seemingly corrupt, form), quotations are given from Sanā'i, Shams-i Fakhri, and Amir Mu'izz; by Shams-i Fakhri (*Lexicon Persicum*, ed. Salemann, p. 105); by 'Abd al-Kādir of Baghdād (*Lexicon Shāhnamianum*, ed. Salemann, p. 143). The last named author cites *Shāhnāma*, 1074: 155 (Vallens), with which verse may be compared Minūshiri, *Divān* (ed. Kazimirski), ii. 2 19, and Kazimirski's note, p. 320, where two passages from Sanā'i's poetry are cited, one of which is also given in *Shāhī*.

In all these passages, shaman signifies nothing but „idolater“, and a term, expressing the idea „idol“ (*janam, but, wāhan*) always occurs in the verse also. *Shāhī*, *i. e.*, besides the signification „idolater“ gives that of „idol“ (*but*) too. It is, however, not probable, that these two ideas would be expressed by the same word; moreover, an instance for this signification: „idol“ seems to be

wanting. This second explanation, then, may be due to a mistake.

Respecting the etymology of the word, the derivation from Sanskrit *gramana*, a Buddhist monk, seems to be very probable. Words, denoting a religious person of some foreign sect, after passing into Persian, more than once acquired a less definite sense, for instance the word *nigūshāz*, which, while originally denoting the „auditor“ of the Manichees, in Persian poetry signifies simply: „an infidel“. As to the medium, through which the term *shaman* has been derived, we must look to the East-Iranian countries, where Buddhism once flourished. In Sakan as well as in Soghdian we find resp. the forms *saman(a)* and *shmn* (to be pronounced *shaman*), reflecting the Indian *gramana*. Most likely, then, the word entered the Persian from the Soghdian. The question, whether the East-Middle-Iranian word come directly from the Sanskrit or from some popular dialect, is of minor importance. The Pāli form *samāne* does not come into consideration, as the East-Iranian Buddhism belonged to the Northern form of that religion; besides, the initial *s* of the Pāli word could scarcely have been represented by Soghdian *sh* or Sakan *st*. A derivation direct from the Sanskrit seems probable for the Soghdian word (comp. R. Gauthiot, *Essai de grammaire soghdienne*, 1914—1923, I, § 177), and for the Sakan one also, for in all Prakrits, except Māgadhī and one minor dialect, Skt. *r* becomes *z*. Moreover, a word like *gramana* would rather be taken from the scriptural language of the religion, in this case Sanskrit.

A second question refers to the relation between the Persian word and the modern European term Eng. *shaman*, German *Schamane*, Russian *shaman*, etc., which designs the sorcerer-priest of the North-Asiatic and some North-American peoples. First, we must state, that the Persian *shaman* has no connection with any priestly function, but simply signifies an idolater. Kazimirski, who, in his edition of Minūshiri's poems, translates the word by „bonze“ seems to be led to this interpretation by his supposition, that the Persian *shaman* and the Siberian *shaman* were originally the same; cf. his note p. 320. Now, the European word occurs, so far I can see, for the first time in Brand's relation of Eberhard Isbrand's embassy to China, by order of the Russian government, in the years 1693—1695. The passage runs in the original (A. Brand, *Beschreibung der Chinesischen Reise, welche... d. 1693, 94 und 95... verrichtet worden*, Hamburg 1698, p. 80): „we fünf oder sechs Tungusen bey einander wohnen... halten sie einen Schaman, welche auf ihre Art einen Pfaffen oder Zauberer bedeutet“. The European term, therefore, originally designates the sorcerer of the Tunguses. And, indeed, only the Tungusian dialects (as well those of Siberia as the Mandjia) call the sorcerer *saman* (cf. M. A. Castrén, *Grundzüge einer Tungusischen Sprachlehre*, St. Petersburg 1856, p. 7, 91; A. Rudnew, *Novyya dannyya po žizni Mandžurskoj rli i jamanstwu*, St. Petersburg 1912, p. 9). It is not quite certain, if this word *saman* is originally Tungus; W. Schott (*Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1842, p. 462) is inclined, though hesitatingly, to derive it from a Tungus root; a different etymology, but also from the same language, is proposed by C. de Harlez (*La religion nationale des Tartares Orientaux*,

Brussels 1887, p. 28 *sq.*). On the other hand, however, it is difficult to assume an Indian (or Iranian) origin for the Tungus word, as the other North-Asiatic idioms designate the sorcerer in a different manner. If Buddhist influence had been at work here, the term might have spread over a wider area. The derivation of the Tungus word from a Chinese one, which itself might be taken from the Indian (though representing rather *śākyā* than *śramaṇa*) seems also to be excluded (cf. Schott, p. 463). The form *Shaman* in the German work of 1698 presents an irregular *sch* in stead of *s*; we may, however, be sure, that the traveller acquired the word through a Russian medium, and therefore the difficulty lies in the Russian *shaman*, having *sh* instead of the Tung. *s*; de Harles (*op. cit.*, p. 28, n. 1), thinks that this fact may be due to Chinese influence.

The European "shaman" therefore, seems to be independent of the Persian *shaman*, which latter has nothing to do with any definite branch of religion.

(V. F. BÖCHNER)

SHAMDĪNĀN¹⁾, known also under the Kurdish name of *Nîw Cîx* (between mountains), *kaḫā* of the *sandjak* of Hakkārî, in the wilayet of Wan, is one of the least explored regions of Central Kurdistan. Its boundaries are: — on the north, the *kaḫā* of Guîawar; on the south, *Barîdost* and *Barzân* (*maḥall* of *Rawândiz*); on the west, *Oramûr* (*nâhiya* of the *sandjak* of Guîawar); on the east, the Persian districts, dependencies of Urmîya: *Desht*, *Merguîawar* and *Uşnû*. Situated between 37° and 38° N. and 44° and 45° E. (Greenwich), *ShamdĪnān* is divided into three *nâhiya*: (1) *Zerrân* with *Nehrî*, the administrative centre and seat of a *kā'immaḫān*; (2) *Humârû*, with the seat of a *mudîr* at *Benbô* or *Surûnû*; (3) *Guirdî Herikî* (*Herikî*), *mudîr* at *Bitkâr*. *Guirdî* is divided into three parts: (a) *Guirdiye Baroza* (against the sun); (b) *Guirdiye Nâwpâr* (middle); (c) *Guirdiye Bîn Cîx* (under the mountain). The greater part of the population is Kurd with a small Christian (Nestorian) minority. In 1914 there were about 13,000 Kurds and 2,000 Christians. The Kurd tribes of *ShamdĪnān* are the *Herikî*, *Guirdî* and *ShamdĪnān*. This last tribe is divided into *Zerrân* and *Humârû*. Every tribe recognizes the authority of its chief and all obey the power of the powerful family of *Shalkhs* of *Nehrî* (*Sadâte Nehrî*) [see below]. There are in all 126 villages in *ShamdĪnān*. In view of the importance of Kurdish toponymy, it may be useful to give here the names of the principal groups: viz. *Nâhiya Humârû*: *Nehrî*, *Benbô*, *Surûnû*, *Bûi*, *Deimîn Sufîsî*, *Melaiane Humârû*, *Begirdî*, *Awlîân*; *Nâhiya Zerrân*: *Gârê*, *Masîrû*, *Helîna*, *Nowshahr* (*Benârwe*), *Hexma*, *Serîrû*, *Ribunûs*; *Nâhiya Guirdî*: *G. Baroza*, *Nehâwa*, *Islân*, *Beirûh*; *G. Nâwpâr*: *Bîskân*, *Zet*, *Mawân*; *G. Bîn Cîx*: *Sûne*, *Shepatâne Guirdîân*, *Besûsîn*, *Zewîa Roci*, *Begûr*, *Sherwenân*, *Keled*; *Nâhiya Herikî*: *Bitkâr*, *Nefîs Herikî* (which includes three villages under the common name of *Shtwa Herikî*: *Gandê Zherî*, *Kerespânî*, *Zîrânî*), *Bedâw*, *Stûnî*, *Dîrî*, *Begâlîte*, *Sate*.

A few observations are suggested by the above names. On the subject of the name of *Nehrî* a suggestion has been made (Minorsky, *Zap. Vest.*

Old., xxiv., 1917, p. 157) connecting it with that of *Nairi*. This name, according to him, may have been brought here at a later date by the Christians. Delattre (*Esquisse de géographie assyrienne*, in *La Revue des Questions Scientifiques*, July, 1883) expounds at length the controversy on the subject of the site of *Nairi*, "which matter is of capital importance in the study of Assyrian geography." He is against the application of the names of Upper Sea of *Nairi* and Lower Sea of *Nairi* to the Lakes of *Wân* and of *Urmîya* respectively. Note, however, his remark that the name in question is rendered *Nairi*, *Nahri* or *Nahiri*, according to the different ways of writing it. He also says: "What must above all be noted is that Samiraman locates the country of *Nairi* to the east of the Great Zab, on the frontiers of Media." On the other hand, according to Thureau-Dangin (*Une relation de la 5ème campagne de Sargon*, Paris, 1912), there is every sign that *Nairi* or *Hubbâshkia* is the valley of the *Bohtân-Sa*. It is that part of the ancient region of *Nairi* which remained independent of the kings of *Urtu* (*op. cit.*, p. x., xi.). According to the same authority, "the *Guîawar* probably forms the centre of the country of *Muşaîr*. This localisation is confirmed by the itinerary of the thirty-first campaign of *Salmannasar*. ... Up to this time the site of the country of *Muşaîr* was placed further south, in the district of the steles of *Kelichîn* and of *Toprawa*..." If this is so, *ShamdĪnān* must have formerly formed part of the country of *Muşaîr*. Mention should also be made of the opinion of Th. Reinach (*Un peuple oublié: les Mattiènes*, in *Revue des Études grecques*, vii., 1894): "the territory of the *Mattiènes* of Herodotus corresponded in the main to the greater part of the present Turkish wilayets of *Hakkîari* and of *Moşul*... it is, in a word, the Turkish Kurdistan of to-day." Besides *Nehrî*, other names seem to suggest certain links with this ancient epoch. We refer particularly to *Bitkâr* (cf. *Bit - Ka - ri*, page 222, M. Streck, *Glossen zu O. A. Tofstain's Geographical List to R. F. Harper's Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, vols. I—VIII in *Amer. J. of Sem. Lang. and Liter.*, vol. xxii., No. 3, 1906) and some names in *-is* (*Surûnûs*, *Ribunûs*) or *-ung* (village of *nâhiya Humârû*; the mountain *Baskî Gecang*, between *Helîna* et *Katûna Yukhârî*). Dr. W. Belck (*Beiträge zur alten Geographie und Geschichte Vorderasiens*, Leipzig 1901, I, 46—47) points to the importance of such names, saying: "I have discovered a whole series of ancient Chaldean names among those ending in *-is* or *-ick*". It is well to point out, however, in regard to the name *Shepatân*, that it might perhaps be connected with *Sciathan* mentioned by *Assemani* (*Solomana... sub Abdern Patriarcha Anno 1554 subiectas ecclesias habebat... Sciathanom...*). May there be some connection between *Galnica* (*Assemani, Bibl. Or.*, iii., p. l.) and *Gulung*, mentioned above?

As regards Kurdish orography of *ShamdĪnān* the following names are worth mentioning: *Shehidân* (Kur *Shehidân*), on the frontier of *Desht*; *Serî Gâwlekân*, above *Nehrî*; *Kûrî Mirgewtân*, above *Awlîyân* (Kur means a separate summit); *Çîaye Keleşhine*, above *Geleşhîm*; *Mîye Helîna*, at *Helîna*; *Serî Salîrân* at *Salîrân*; *Çîaye Resh* (ou *Resh Ruiyân*), at *Benawûk*; *Çar Çel*, *nâhiya Herikî*; *Tatte*, at *Bedâw*; *Gersûr*, at *Ardwel*, *Çîaye Huzûli*, between the *nâhiya* of *Guirdî* and *Herikî*; *Mengure*, *nâhiya Guirdî Baroza*; *Serî Sûlu*,

¹⁾ The editors have not attempted to bring the Kurd names in this article into uniformity with the transcription adopted for the *Encyclopædia*.

near Besham and Begor; Dolâ Mehendi, Gêwertik, Gîlhebâl and Çîaye Spt Rezi — on the frontier of Gulawar.

The principal passes leading into Merguiawar are: (1) the pass of Keleshim, very difficult, which must not be confused with the pass of the same name to the south of Uthun, famous on account of the celebrated stele which was found there; (2) the much easier pass, rendered passable even by vehicular traffic during the war, which is known by three names: Ziniya Sorik, Ziniya Pirgoule, Berd Hîştir. Mention must be made also of the pass of Guirve Talâtân between Kâtûna Yekhari (nâhiya Zerran) and Djerma (Desht). Finally the road from Nehri to Mosul (telegraph line) passes by Beguirdi (ancient bridge) Ruwân (pass Ziniya Beri) and Shepâtân. The principal water-course is given by the Turks the name Shamdinân Su, but amongst the Kurds it is known by the name Rubârî Beguirdi in its higher regions, and Rubârî Shîn in its lower regions. It is a tributary of the Great Zab into which it flows at the spot called Tengui Bîlinda, in the neighbourhood of the village of Suriya, in the district of 'Amâdiya. Its source is near the pass of Ziniya Sorik. Its principal tributaries are on the right: — Humârî (upper course called Dura), Nagârî, Herki, Rubârî Shîn (or Gramîr Su), Awî Marik; on the left: — Sherwenân (Husûdel), Mawân, Begîshne.

Holy places. Amongst the places which are venerated by the Kurds mention must be made of the numerous places of sepulture. There is the cemetery of Çel Shehidân on the mountain of the same name, where it is popularly believed that the remains of the companions of the Prophet are buried. At Mellîne Humârî there is the tomb of Molla Hâdîdî, the founder of the family of the Sheikh of Nehri. At Nehri itself, there are the tombs of the sayid 'Abdullah, the disciple of Mawlânâ Khâlid, the propagator of the Naksh-bandiya doctrine, of the sayid Tâ and of the sheikh Shâlih. These three tombs are found in a family vault called *Makbarê Shatukh* in the northern part of the village. Other tombs venerated are those of Pir Rashidân at Rashidân; Pir Abû Bakr at Gawlekân; Pir Wesân, at Basiyân. The gift of telepathy is attributed to the latter two saints. Having married one another's sisters, they were able to communicate with one another at a great distance. The tomb of Shaikh Farakh or Farikh at Nehîwa possesses a special virtue in gaining the acceptance of prayers that are offered there. There is also an ancient tomb which is not attributed to any one person, but bears the name of *em bek* (green lance). He who is buried here, the Kurds say, is continuing in the other world with this lance the fight against the infidels. In the village of Belâtîan there is a tomb called *marghade Sheikh Bekal*. This sheikh, at the invitation of the angels who appeared to him, is said to have been transported from Gulawar, where he lived, to Belâtîan, on a praying carpet, in order to build a mosque there. There is still shown on a stone of the gate of this mosque the imprint of the sheikh's foot. In order to correct the work of the masons he pushed with his foot and set in line the layer of stones, although other stones had already been placed above it. Under a cupola, at the side of his master, is interred the Sheikh's favourite cat. He always sent him with his little caravan to superintend the muleteers.

Besides the tombs there are other *ziyâret gâh*, in the veneration of which we see signs of the ancient cult of the spirits of the mountains. Thus on the mountain of Seri Sate the place called *Marium* is venerated without distinction by Muslims and Christians. This sanctuary is always guarded by a Christian of the village of Sate, who is exempt from taxes and treated with esteem by the Kurds. We must remember in this connection, with B. Dickson, that on this mountain there are "the remains of Urartian construction." On the other hand, the summits of Kûri Mirgewtân at Awliyân and of Çîaye Rezh at Benawûk (a place called *Mâlî Sharân*) are also considered holy places.

The ruins which have associations of a more or less historical nature, ought next to be mentioned. Near the road between Benârwe and Nehri, on the hill of Kemi Tîwân, is the Kal'a Gûzel Ahmed. Its site is very spacious and the remains of a fountain, to which the water was lead from Derâ Rezh are found. Gûzel Ahmed is said to have risen in revolt against the Persians, the masters of Shamdinân at this period, to have been besieged in this fortress and to have perished with all the garrison after having thrown the women from the walls; feminine ornaments have frequently been discovered at the foot of the hill.

It is difficult to pronounce with certainty regarding the exact period of Persian domination in these districts. Did Shamdinân share the destinies of the district of Mosul or on the other hand did it go rather with the district of Hakkârî? In regard to this question, no direct evidence is given in history, but it is just this vague frontier zone whose possession was in dispute between Turkey and Persia. Under the Safawids Shamdinân belonged to Persia. It passed to the Turks after the victory of Sultan Selim, but returned to Persia under Nadir, etc. All these frontier districts, Shamdinân as well as Merguiawar, Terguiawar, Burâdest-Somâi, Ushnû and Lahidjân, were known at first among the Turks by the name of *Mulanatavm fâh*, then by that of *Nawâhiye Sharûkiye*. The final delimitation, with Anglo-Russian assistance, took place exactly on the eve of the outbreak of the war. It must be added that in all this district on this side of the Grand Zab, Persian is the language employed by the Kurds.

At Shiwa Herki, on an isolated rock, the ruins called Kîahki-Kelâtî should be noted (*kîah* = little mountain in the Herki dialect). This fortress is attributed to a certain Mir Dâ'ud and it is believed that it was razed to the ground at the Arab conquest. We read in the *Shiraf-Nâmê* (I, 177), "... A great river passes under the bridge of stone in front of the Chateau of the Emir Dâwâd." The reference here is to a castle in the neighbourhood of Gulawar, while the one which concerns us, is in the middle of Shamdinân. Moreover, the name Dâ'ud is very frequently applied to the remains of the past in this part of Asia. (Cf. for example the grotto Dukânî Dâ'ud near Sari Pûl [q. v.]; cf. G. Hüsing, *Der Zagros und seine Völker in Der Alte Orient*, iii., iv., Leipzig 1908).

In the district round the village of Begâlta on the peak of Begâlta (Kela Begâlta) are the ruins called Kelata Timûr Leng, very difficult of access. It is known that the Mongol warriors overran Central Kurdistan in many directions (cf. Hammer,

Geschichte der Ilkane). According to a tradition, which is quoted by G. Soane (*Te Mengotania and Kurdistan in Disguise*), after the conquest of Diyarbakir by Timur, an Emir Kara Usman is said to have been nominated governor of Hakkâri and to have married a Kurd lady of noble birth, whose marriage contributed to the rise of the family of Hakkâri. Now the family of Hakkâri, as is shown below, seems to have been very intimately connected with the history of the governors of Shamdinân. Moreover, a historical example of these conjugal alliances between the Mongols and the Kurds is known, namely that of Nas Khatun (cf. Hammer, *op. cit.*, ii. 289): "Nas Chatur was the daughter of the lord of Kurdistan, which Coban's father, Melik, son of Turan Behadir, conquered in the time of Hulagu and took the lady Nas prisoner." Emir Coban is said to have seized certain lands at Kaxwin, Sharhan and Hamadin under the pretext that they formerly belonged to Nas Khatun. In a valley of the same peak of Begalta, at a place called Tuyra Deri, the remains of an important construction are to be seen. On the other side of the peak Kels Begalta, at the village of Baniyan, are found the remains of an aqueduct which are connected with the ruins of Tuyra Deri. Names formed with *deri*, *dera* (church — the Syriac *dar*(e), convent; cf. also the Armenian village of Deir near Bagh Kal'a with the convent of St. Bartholomew), such as Dera Baniye, Dera Barozha, Dera Resh, etc., indicate a certain connection with Christian tradition. The history of the Nestorian church in fact shows us that from the fifth century Christianity was more prevalent in these districts than it is at present. There are grounds for surmising that Shamdinân formed part of the ecclesiastical province of Hadyab (Adiabene). "The Syrians understood by this name the district stretching between the Great and the Little Zab" (cf. J. B. Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale ou recueil de Synodes nestoriens*, Paris 1902, p. 673, 617). F. N. Heazell (*Kurds and Christians*, London 1911, p. 64) thinks one can say of Shamdinân: "The ancient name of this region was Rustaka (that is to say black mountains), which described in a picturesque fashion the beautiful mountains covered with dark forests". This statement seems difficult to reconcile with what one knows about the name of Rustaka from other sources: Rustak, town in Fars (Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionn. Gêogr. de la Perse*); and in the *Sheref-Nâme* (i. 226): "The name of Restak, read Rustak, is given to the towns of Mawerannehr... the name is also given to the small towns of Khuzistan". Whatever may be the actual location of modern Shamdinân in the framework of the ancient Nestorian administration of this country, before the last *ghikâd* passed over it, the principal church was situated at Dera Resh, the residence of the Metropolitan Nestorian, Mar Hanânisho'. The right of sanctuary which was attached to this spot was respected by the Kurds. They had also churches at Shepatâne Zerrân and Guirdi, Bettuâ, Dera Baniye, Sate and Zerrâ. Christian tradition supports the view that the Kapr at Kâfina was built on the ruins of a very ancient church. Mention must be made finally of certain ruins, which are not named, but which are very extensive, between the villages of Heran and Nanj (nâhiya Guirdi) and that on the hill between Begor and Sherwin there are also ruins, which are not named.

Genealogy. The Kurd tradition traces the origin of the name of Shamdinân to that of Shaikh Shams al-Din, the founder of the very noble and ancient local line of Bekrâde 'Abbâs. It is said to have belonged to an Arab tribe (the Kurds usually show a marked preference for Arab pedigrees) between Mosul and Baghdad. Defeated by Shammar [q. v.], he is said to have taken shelter in the mountains of Shamdinân, where his first residence was at Stûni, in the nâhiya of Herki. His son, 'Izz al-Din, extended his power over the districts of Mergilawar, Tergilawar, Guirdi, Baridost, Duskânî, Oramâr and Rekân. Six or seven generations of this family resided at Stûni, which was at last abandoned for Bitkâr in the time of Mir Zain al-Din whose name a mosque at Nehri bears. After three or four generations the capital, in the reign of Mir Zain al-Din, was transferred from Bitkâr to Harûnân in the nâhiya of Humârû. The remains of the fortress which he erected at that spot are visible to the present time. One of his sons, 'Imâd al-Din, left his father after a quarrel and migrated to the district of Urmiya, where the beglerbegui Afshâr gave him Berde Sûr and Tergilawar as a fief. From him sprang the family of the Bekrâde of Desht. The second son, who succeeded his father, was the first to take the name of Mir of Shamdinân. For two or three generations the Mirs remained at Harûnân and thereafter they established themselves at Nehri, where they exercised their power until the time of the Shaikh 'Ubaid Allâh (1870—1883), who imposed his rule not only on Shamdinân, but on many other Kurd districts, even in Persia.

The Kurd oral tradition, which has only recently been written down, offers only rather uncertain chronological data. Only one reference to Berde Sûr is said to be known. It is given in Minorsky (*Matériaux pour l'étude de l'histoire, du Minist. des Aff. Etr., St. Petersburg 1915, p. 473*), who in speaking of the Bekrâde of Desht points out that at first this region was governed by a branch of the Mirs Hasanawâhi. The line of the latter having for a long time been extinct at Tergilawar, their place was taken by the Bekrâde of Desht, who trace their origin to the three 'Abbâsîd brothers of Bohtan: Raahid Beg, who died at Djûlâmerk, Musa Beg, who died at Shamdinân, and Kalandar Beg at Berde Sûr. The fortress which was erected there in 970 (1562) is still visible. These indications allow us perhaps to assign to the reign of the Shaikh 'Abbâs the period at which the separation into two lines of the 'Abbâsîd Bekrâde took place, for it was not till then that the Afshârs who accepted 'Imâd al-Din, established themselves firmly at Urmiya and began to exercise authority over the neighbouring Kurds.

On the other hand, v. Hammer (*op. cit.*, i. 55) speaks of the presence at the Kurultai of Gujûk (August 1246) of "the two rulers of Kurdistan, Shemseddin and Schihabeddin", while according to one story (*Sheref-Nâme*, ii. 67), "the Hakkery princes, who are descended from Chemseddin, are called Chemmu" (a regular Kurd etymology; cf. 'Izz al-Din = Izo, etc.). A confirmation of this is offered by G. B. Margaroli (*Dizionario Geografico storico del Impero Ottomano*, Milan, 1829), who is relying probably on the authority of Père Garzoni, "the father of Kurdology". (He refers to his name in the second volume under the name Kurgestan, "secondo Garzoni"....). Margaroli says

on the subject of the Djalāmerk (ii. 3): "... Its inhabitants call themselves *Sciambo*, according to others they have still the name of *Hakiri*, which is perhaps that of the principal family reigning in that place". Djalāmerk on the Grand Zab is not far from Shamdīnān. These concordances—Shams al-Din, Shamdīnān, Shembo, Sciambo, Hakkāri—seem to establish a certain connection between Shams al-Din and the powerful tribe of Hakkāri, which is well-known in Kurd annals. It should be recalled that, if on the one hand a Kurd (Hakkāri?) prince Shams al-Din, was present at the Kurultai of Gujuk along with other Mongol vassals; on the other hand at a later date in 1286, under Arghūn (cf. Hammer, *op. cit.*, i. 314), a revolt of Hakkāri took place, "after which 16,000 horsemen, commanded by the Amir Masuk Kuschd-schi and the Djalair Nuriaga, were sent against the Hakiri Kurds and their rising put down". This rather scanty documentary evidence does not permit any definite conclusion to be made, and we are content to note the references.

The Power of the 'Abhāsī Begāde, which we have seen to have been very great, had to bow before the family of Nehri Sadāte. The genealogy of this family traces its origin to the person of the Shaikh 'Abd al-Qādir Gilāni (or Dīlī; cf. R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Cambridge, 1921, p. 81, No. 1; contrary to the belief of Nicholson, we are here concerned with the locality called Gilān in southern Kurdistan and not with the province to the south of the Caspian). One of the sons of this promoter of the Khādirīya doctrine, Shaikh 'Abd al-'Azīz, is said to have established himself at Akri (to the north of Mosul), where his tomb is still venerated. His son, Shaikh Abū Bakr, proceeded to establish himself in the district of Herki at the village of Sūni, which had been the capital of Shams al-Din. Of the descendants of the Shaikh Abū Bakr, Shaikh Haidar and three or four generations resided at Sūni, then afterwards in the time of Molla Hādīdī they moved, some to Melān, some to Demāne Sūfi in the Humāri, until the time of Molla Sāliḥ. Of the two sons of this latter, Saiyid 'Abd Allāh and Saiyid Aḥmad, the first was the disciple and successor of Mawlānā Khālid. After having studied Naqshbandīya doctrine under him, he chose Nehri as his domicile which became from that time the residence of this family. At first it was content with purely spiritual influence, but in time it seized upon temporal authority also, which reached its apogee under Shaikh 'Ubaid Allāh. The ambitions of this great Kurd chief, who invaded the Agharbāidjān about the year 1883 and who was overcome only by the joint efforts of Persia and of Turkey, are well-known (cf. S. E. Wilson, *Persian Life and Customs*, 1895. See also in the *English Blue-Book*, Correspondence respecting the Kurdish Invasion of Persia, Turkey, 1881, No. 5). Saiyid Tā II and Shaikh 'Abd Allāh II, grandsons of the Shaikh 'Ubaid Allāh, are the present representatives of this family.

Besides these two principal families which disputed for primacy in the Shamdīnān, we may mention amongst the lords of less importance the Aghawāte-Zerrān. This tribe is divided into two branches, one at Ushaw in Persia and the other in the district called by its name in Shamdīnān. Both of them trace their common origin to Khālid Ibn al-Walīd (v. b. another Arab descent!). In re-

gard to Guirdi, the family of the Mirs divided in time into two branches, Zerrā Begāde and Bīn Cīa Begāde. For about a century, power belonged to the former. At Guirdi as at Zerrā besides the Mirs, there were pashmirs. The Taifci pashmir family of Zerrā is extinct; that of Guirdi, known as Kuče Begān, has pretensions to a more ancient nobility than that of the Mirs. In the Guirdi Baroka, the Mir Lashkeri family is well known. Lastly amongst the Herki, the most ancient family is that of Māla Shābe Aghā at Shīwa Herki. It no longer possessed influence nor wealth, but the prestige which it had formerly won, still remains; in all the assemblies of the Herki Kurds the first place is reserved for it. The Herki tribe has many branches. The settled part, Herki Benedjī (1,000 hearths), constitutes the population of the district of this name in Shamdīnān; the nomad part (6,000 tents) passes the winter between Rawandiz and Erbil (Hawler in Kurd), the Sidān and Serhātī and at Akri, the Mindan and in the summer at Terguiawar and Merguiawar in Persia. The common ancestor of the Aghas of Herki was a certain Abū Bakr, a dangerous rival of Zain al-Din, Mir of Shamdīnān, who ended by getting rid of him. Abū Bakr had four sons: Mendo, Sido, Serhat and Mam Shaikh, from which are derived the names of the nomad Herki clans. Jaba in his *Revue* wrongly places a part of the tribe of Herki in Kirmānshāh [q. v.].

Amongst clerical families the following enjoy a certain renown: in the Zerrā, Shaikh Djamāl, at Sūri; in the Guirdi, the family of Shaikh Tāi, that of Mollā Nābi of Kelit and that of Shaikh Farukh at Nehāwa. It should be mentioned that the evil spirits, *djinn*, recognize the authority of the families of Shaikh Djamāl, of Mollā Nābi and of Shaikh Bahk Pitrāni (in the 'ashirāt of Shirwān, which adjoins Shamdīnān).

Bibliography. As has been indicated at the beginning of this article, Shamdīnān is a Kurd country very little studied. Apart from certain vague references in the books of the American missionaries of the Presbyterian mission of Urmiya, e.g. Dr. A. Grant, *Ten Lost Tribes*, New York, 1841, there is a comparatively full description only in the works of B. Dickson, *Journeys in Kurdistan in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1910. One can consult also W. A. Wigram and Edgar T. A. Wigram, *The Cradle of Mankind (Life in E. Kurdistan)*, London, 1914, ch. viii.; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1891, II. 717-199.

The author of the present article is believed to be the first to publish details of the geography and history of Shamdīnān, which he has been able to bring together during his sojourn at Urmiya and his expeditions to Kurdistan. Cf. also his publications, B. Nikitine and E. B. Soane, *The Tale of Suto and Tato: Kurdish text with translation and notes in Bull. of the School of Oriental Studies*, iii. 1 and *Les Kurdes et le Christianisme in R. H. R.*, 1922; *Les Kurdes racontés par eux-mêmes in As. Fr. B.*, No. 231, May 1925; *Vue d'ensemble sur le théâtre de la grande guerre dans le N. O. de la Perse*, *ibid.*, No. 224. (B. NIKITINE)

SHĀMIL, a popular leader in Daghestān, head of the dervish order of Naqshbandīya, the last and most successful leader of the rising against

Russian rule (cf. above, I, p. 890). Like his predecessors he belonged to the people of the Avars. Born in the last years of the xviiith century in the village of Gimri where the family estate was, he distinguished himself for the first time in 1830 in the unsuccessful attack on the fortress of Khānzik. After the murder of his predecessor Hama Beg (1834), he was chosen by the rebels as their leader. In 1837 he was defeated and forced to surrender; he was able to regain his power next year and extend his rule over a great part of Dāghestān and over the land of the Cēcentzen west of it. His institutions (*nizām*) were based on the religious law (*shariʿa*) so that his rule was later known in Dāghestān as the "period of the Shariʿa". His territory was divided into 32 districts, with a *nāib* at the head of each and a *mufi* for judicial matters under whom were four *kādīs* appointed by him. Shāmīl's armed force amounted to 60,000 men. The mountains of Dāghestān and the still less accessible forests of the Cēcentzen formed the bulwark of his rule; in it was the fortress of Wedeno, Shāmīl's residence from 1845 till the Russian conquest (April 13, 1859).

After several unsuccessful attempts to put down the rising by the superiority of military force, there began in 1845 a slow penetration of the mountains and clearings of the forests. Shāmīl's attempts, especially during the Crimean War, to get help from the Turks were unavailing. After the fall of Wedeno the struggle was decided. Shāmīl was forced to surrender in his last mountain fastness Ganib on Aug. 25 (Sept. 6) 1859. After being received by the Tsar Alexander II in St. Petersburg, the town of Kaluga was allotted to him and his immediate relations as a residence. There by his own request he and his sons in 1866, took the oath of allegiance to the Tsar. In Feb. 1869 he was allowed to go to Mecca; he died in Medina in March in 1871. Before his death his oldest son Ghāzi Muḥammad (local pronunciation in Russian transliteration = Kazī Maḡoma) received permission to visit his sick father; later he entered the Turkish service and took part in the war of 1877 and in the efforts to stir up the people of Dāghestān. He died in Mecca in 1903. Shāmīl's second son, Muḥammad Shafī, entered Russian service and ultimately settled in Kazan with the rank of Major-General.

Bibliography: A survey of the numerous Russian writers about Shāmīl is given by M. Minnarow: *Bibliographia Caucasica et Transcaucasica*, St. Petersburg 1874—1876, I, p. 798 sqq., No. 4781—4840. Notes on this by E. Kozubskiy, *Pamyatnaya Knizhka Dagestanskoi oblasti*, 1898 and especially *Dagestanskii Sbornik*, 1904, II, p. 209, 213—243. — Mirzā Hasan Efendi, *Alḥār-i Dāghistān* (cf. above, I, 928), p. 194 sq., 202 sqq. A work on Shāmīl and his imprisonment was written in Arabic by his nephew ʿAbd al-Raḡmān in Kaluga. The MS. is now in the Asiatic Museum in Leningrad. A Russian translation by A. Runowski appeared in Tiflis in 1862 (first in the newspaper *Kavkaz*, No. 72—76). Cf. also E. Weidenbaum, *Petrovskii po Kavkazu*, Tiflis 1888, p. 164—200.

(W. BARTHOLO)

AL-SHAMMĀKHĪ, ABU ʿL-ʿABDŪS AHMAD B. ABU ʿULMĀN SAʿID B. ʿABD AL-WĀḤID, a learned jurist and Abādī biographer, died in Jumādā 928 (= March 29—April 28—May 26,

1522) in one of the villages of the oasis of the Ifren of the Djabal Nafūsa, in Tripolitania. Among his pupils was Abū Yahyā Zakariyā b. Ibrāhīm al-Hawwārī.

He was the author of the following works: 1. A commentary on the *ʿAlida*, a short treatise on theology by Abū Ḥafṣ Omar b. Djamī al-Nafūsi; 2. A commentary on his synopsis of the *K. al-ʿadl wa ʿl-inzāf* on the sources of law by Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Sadrānī; 3. *K. al-siyar*, a biographical collection, spiced with anecdotes and a few historical events, of the principal Abādī personages. A few extracts transl. into French have been published by Maqueray in his *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, Algiers 1879, p. 325 sqq.; the Arabic text was lithographed at Cairo in 1301.

Bibliography: Motylinski, *Bibliographie du Moud in Bull. de Correspond. afric.*, 1885, I, II, p. 47—70; do., *Le Djebel Nefouza*, Paris 1899, p. 90, note 1; al-Shammākhī, *K. al-siyar*, p. 362; Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Yūsuf Aḥṡayash al-Djāzārī, *al-Diʿāya ilā sabīl al-muʿminīn*, Cairo 1342/1923, p. 28, note 1.

(MOH. BEN CHENER)

AL-SHAMMĀKHĪ, ABU SĀKIN ʿAMIR B. ʿALĪ B. ʿAMIR B. ISHĀW, Abādī jurist, died at a great age in 792 (= December 20, 1389—December 8, 1390) in one of the villages of the Ifren of the Djabal Nafūsa, in Tripolitania.

After studying with Abū Mūsā ʿIsā b. ʿIsā al-Shammākhī, he attached himself to Abū ʿAzīz b. Ibrāhīm b. Abū Yahyā. On the conclusion of his studies, he settled at Metiwen where he devoted himself to teaching for thirteen years. He then settled in the oasis of Ifren in 756 (= January 16 1355—January 4, 1356).

His pupils were: his son Abū ʿImrān Mūsā, his grandson Sulaimān, Abū ʿIḥsām b. Ibrāhīm al-Barrānī, Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf b. Miḡbāh, etc.

He composed the following works: 1. a *Diwān*, which remained unfinished in four great volumes which has become the fundamental lawbook of the people of the Djabal Nafūsa; 2. *ʿAlida*, a theological treatise dedicated to Nūḥ b. Ḥāzim; 3. *Kāfiya fī ʿl-ʿasmina*.

Bibliography: al-Shammākhī, *K. al-siyar*, Cairo 1301, p. 559; Motylinski, *Bibliographie du Moud in Bull. de Correspond. afric.*, 1885, I, II, p. 44.

(MOH. BEN CHENER)

SHAMMAR, (a) the plateau containing the parallel ranges of Djabal ʿAdja and Djabal Salmā, "the two mountains of Tay". In extent it stretches southward from the Naḡd to the Wādī ʿl-Rumma and includes Imna, Mima, Huḡrān and Rumma which shelter Shammar tribesmen. Politically the term is inconstant. Thus, when the Amir of Ḥāʾil [q. v.] was at the height of his power Djaʿf and Riyāḍ were included to Shammar. Inasmuch as the tribe gave its name to the district, like its predecessors, the Tayʿi, it is best to confine the name to the Djabal where the tribe is paramount. The capital is cut off from the outside world by its mountain barriers, fair access only being possible from the direction of Taima by the Rīʿ al-Salf which pierces the mountain to the S. W. of Ḥāʾil and by a pass through the Djabal Salmā. Between the ranges water is plentiful; but outside the fertile fringe wells are few. The climate is bracing and healthy and epidemics like those recorded by Doughty (I, 296) are doubtless of external origin. In the

oases water is near the surface and cultivation correspondingly easy.

(b) The confederation of tribes in this region and in al-Djazīra. Local traditions as to the origin vary. It is claimed that the Shammar are of Northern stock in the lines of Rabī'a and Muḍar. Wallin (*J.R.G.S.*, xx, 331) reported that they differ considerably from Syrian Arabs in racial characteristics and resemble in features the Yamanis, and that their tradition is that they were the last to migrate from southern Arabia. The ruling clan, the Dja'far, is a sub-tribe of the 'Abda of 'Abida, descent from Kahtān, so that they may be Yamanis. They certainly hold that they displaced and in part absorbed the Tay'i. Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-luḡat*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 233, merely says that the Banū Shammar are *min Tay'i*. Doughty, ii, 41, reports that Naḍjīan opinion favours a mixed ancestry. There is no good clue as to the date of the Shammar irruption. At the beginning of Islām the Tay'i were in the Shammar lands and probably their expropriation was gradual. Al-Kalāshandī mentions the Shammar merely as Arabs inhabiting the Tay'i mountains. He does not connect them with any known stem.

Their hereditary foes are the 'Anaza; Beduwin war has gone on for at least a century and a half. About a hundred years ago, the 'Anaza succeeded in dividing the Shammar. They forced a large section of them to cross the Euphrates and occupied the intervening *dīra*. By this time the two groups of Shammar are politically distinct, the Mesopotamian section following Ibn Djerba. Nevertheless the blood tie is still honoured in that the pasture land of the Djabal is open to any of the Djerba Shammar. The Shammar *dīra* extends almost to Naḍjaf, though the assaults of the 'Anaza, the Dha'fir and recently the Amīr of Riyāḍ tend to confine them to the Naḍf.

The Dja'zira Shammar are practically all nomads, their range being between Tigris and Euphrates. They come as far south as Baghdad and Zubār. A *rendez-vous* is Dair al-Zūr and they move up the Khāhūr [q.v.] towards Niḥlīn. In the absence of an official estimate their numbers may be said to be 10,000.

The Amīr, who takes the name of his house and is known as Ibn Rashīd, is not only the paramount *shaykh* of the Shammar tribes; he is also the ruler of the settled population in the line of oases between the ranges of Adja' and Salma, and outlying settlements like Mastajidda. Hā'il [q.v.] and Fa'il (population about 1,000), Kafar, Akda, Muḥṣā and Samira deserve mention.

The renowned Tamīm still form a considerable proportion of the settled population, though they incline to Ibn Sa'ūd of Riyāḍ. The townspeople are regarded as superior to the Beduīn brethren in courage and military skill. They form the backbone of the army; each man is compelled to furnish his own camel or horse, weapons, ammunition and equipment, and afterwards a summons is sent to the nomads, who, though they turn out in great numbers, are merely regarded as auxiliaries. The great strength of the Shammar in the past has lain in their discipline and they may yet again assert their strength under a capable Amīr.

Wallin noted that apart from the Khāhūr and Kādī, men with any knowledge of Arabic literature were extremely rare; and the former knew little but the Qur'ān, the Hanbali traditions and the

specific tenets of the Wahhābī faith. The Shammar have been some of the most devoted champions of Wahhābī doctrines and they have done much to propagate it throughout western Arabia. Lately they have revolted against the excessive austerity of the sect, and tobacco and silk are not taboo as in Naḍj. Doubtless up-to-date information of the effect of Ibn Sa'ūd's régime in Hā'il would lead to a modification of some statements made above.

I refrain deliberately from noticing the work of William Gifford Palgrave, as Philby (ii, 117-156) has shown that he was a liar.

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(A. GUILLAUME)

AL-SHAMS (A.), the sun. As in Greek astronomy, whose conception of the cosmos the Arabs had taken over, they made the sun go round the earth from east to west in a true (tropic) year. The centre of the sun's orbit (epicycle = *ḥalāq al-tadwīr*) did not coincide with the earth's centre but was eccentric to it (*al-khawāridj al-marḥūl*) to account for the inequality of the seasons which had already been established by Hipparchus. The sun itself was a ball-shaped solid body sunk into the so-called eccentric sphere of the sun (*ḥalāq al-shams*) in such a way that the ball of the sun nowhere protruded beyond the surface of the sphere. (A pictorial illustration of this idea is given in Rudloff and Hochheim, *Die Astronomie des Gazmāl*, Leipzig 1893, p. 13). If we put the radius of the sun's orbit at 60^h, then according to Hipparchus the distance of its centre from the centre of the earth = approximately 2^h 30' = $\frac{1}{4}$ of this radius, according to al-Battānī = 2^h 48', while the calculations of Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwarizmi result in an eccentricity, the magnitude of which has been variously estimated from 2^h 10' to 2^h 20' (cf. H. Suter, *Die astronomischen Tafeln des Muḥ. b. Mūsā al-Khwarizmi*, Copenhagen 1914, p. 45). The two directions at which one looks at the sun from the two centres mentioned thus form an angle calculated by Hipparchus as = $\pm 2^{\circ} 13'$ as a maximum (by al-Ma'nūn's astronomers at $1^{\circ} 59'$, by Battānī at $1^{\circ} 58'$). This magnitude is called the equation (*al-dīl al-ḥaṣṣa wa 'l-marḥūl*). In consequence of the eccentric sun's orbit which (in modern language) is simply the elliptic path of the earth round the sun projected on the sphere of the heavens, there were two outstanding points for the motion of the sun; that at which it is nearest the earth (*perigee*, *perigaron*, *ḥafḍ*, *ḥuḍ afrāḍ*), and that of its greatest distance from

the earth (*apogee*, *apogäum*, *awḡḡ*, *būd ad-ad*). It is one of al-Battānī's most important contributions to knowledge, that he discovered the turning movement of the apogee which we can now prove to be a necessary result of the disturbance of the earth's path by the attraction of the moon (three body problem). Al-Battānī found it amounted to 21" in a year, according to the results of modern astronomy it is about 11" 50 (cf. e.g. Israel-Holtsch, *Die Elemente der theoretischen Astronomie*, I., Wiesbaden 1885, p. 17). This movement of the apogee has nothing to do with that which is produced by the precession of the equinoxes and is added in the same direction to the former. While Hipparchus and Ptolemy estimated its annual amount at 36", al-Battānī came much nearer with 54" — 55", while Naṣr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī about 1260 calculated it at 51" which is practically correct. Whether now the introduction of trepidation into this movement of precession in the zodiacal circle, i.e. the assumption of an inequality in it in the form of a see-saw movement (*ḥarakat al-iḥḥāl wa 'l-idḥār*) is due to lack of agreement in calculations or, as S. Günther thinks, was learned by the Arabs from the Hindus (cf. his *Studien zur Geschichte der mathemat. und physikal. Geographie*, II., Halle 1877, p. 78), need not be discussed here. It will be sufficient to refer to the work of Thābit b. Qurra (826—901) which was translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona with the title *Liber Thabit de motu accensionis et recessionis* (cf. H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker u. Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1900, p. 37). Both texts, Arabic and Latin, are in MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Delambre has investigated the Latin MS. He quotes it as *Thabit ben Qurrah: de motu octavarum sphaerarum* and finds that Thābit introduces a second movable ecliptic, which rises and falls alternately above and below the fixed ecliptic. The equinoctial points at the same time advance or retire as much as 10° 45" (cf. J. B. Delambre, *Histoire de l'Astronomie au moyen âge*, Paris 1819, p. 74).

The divisions of time are caused by two kinds of solar motion. The first is that which is completed within a tropic year along the eccentric solar sphere, during which time the sun traverses the twelve constellations of the zodiac (ecliptic = *ṣalāk al-burūj*) to return again to its starting point (beginning of spring = *naḥḥat al-ṣīdāl*). The duration of the tropic year was calculated by al-Battānī at 365^d 5^h 46' 24" (actually it is 365^d 5^h 48' 47"), i.e. much more accurately than by Ptolemy who puts it at 365^d 5^h 55' 12". Secondly, the sun as a result of the revolution of the globe of heaven around the earth performs its daily round in the heavens from east to west. The Arabs understood by natural day (*yawm*), the day of sunlight and night combined. Muslim religious ceremonies are closely connected with the different stages of daylight: Dawn and twilight (*ḥaḡḡ*, *ḥaḡḡ* q.v.) are periods for prayer and it was necessary to define them astronomically. In the meridian or at midday (*nisf al-naḥr*), the sun attains its greatest height (*ḡāyat al-irtifāʿ*) and then begins to sink (*anzāl*). The *ṣuḥr* is the period of prayer immediately after noon. The distance of the sun from the meridian is called *ṣaḡl al-dūr*. The position of the sun in the heavens was usually obtained from the length and direction of the shadow of the *miḡyās*. The Ḥakīmī

astronomer Ibn Yūnus (1009) called attention to the half-shadow which is a result of the flatness of the sun's disc. The shadow instruments of the Arabs i.e. their sundials were of varied kinds. At the moment when the afternoon shadow on the *ḡāḡḡ* (horizontal sundial) exceeded the midday shadow by the length of the *miḡyās* (*ḡāḡḡ*), the time of *ʿaṣr* began (afternoon prayer). The hours (*al-sāʿat* see *ṣāʿa*) were either equal (*al-sāʿat al-muʿadḍilla*) or unequal i.e. temporal (*al-sāʿat al-samāniya*). Later the equal hours were also marked on the sundial.

The procedure for ascertaining the beginning and magnitude of the eclipse of the sun (*ḡuṣūf al-shams*) among the Arabs is based on the *Almagest* of Ptolemy. As regards accuracy in calculating the beginning of and observing an eclipse of the sun, the same holds as for the moon (cf. *AL-KAMAR*). In such questions as solar parallaxes, apparent size of the sun, its distance from the earth etc., the Arabs also closely followed the Greeks. Ibn al-Haiṭham notes that in solar eclipses a similar reddish black is seen on the sun's disc as on the moon, at the time of its total eclipse. He recommends the observation of a solar eclipse in its reflection in a vessel filled with water, in view of the too fierce light, especially in partial eclipses.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text: C. A. Nallino, *al-Battānī visse Al-battānī Opus astronomicum*, Milan 1899—1907, I. 41, 43, 71, 104, 135, and the corresponding Adnotationes, Vol. II. with the plates of the sun; R. Wolf, *Geschichte der Astronomie*, Munich 1877, p. 47, 160, 173. On Ibn Yūnus's proof that the shadow (*al-ḡill*) of a *miḡyās* gives the height of the upper rim of the sun and not that of its centre, cf. C. Schoy, *Über eine arabische Methode, die geographische Breite aus der Höhe der Sonne im ersten Vertikal (Höhe ohne Azimut) zu bestimmen (Annalen d. Hydrographie u. maritimen Meteorologie, 1921, p. 131)*. On sundials, the division of the days and hours: C. Schoy, *Gnomonik der Araber*, Berlin 1923 and do., *Sonnenuhren der islamischen Astronomie*, Isis, vi., No. 18, 1924, p. 332—361. On the greatest declination of the sun or sphere of the ecliptic (*ḡāyat al-maʿl, al-maʿl al-ʿaṣam*), cf. the article *AL-SARATĀN*. Ibn al-Haiṭham's note on the observation of the eclipse of the sun is in his: *Fi Maʿyāt al-Aḥḡ al-ḡāḡḡ fī Wadīh al-Kamar* (Maḡlis baladiy in Alexandria). (C. SCHOY)

SHAMS AL-DAWLA, ABU TAḤIR B. FAKHR AL-DAWLA, a Ḥūyid. After the death of Fakhr al-Dawla [q.v.] the amirs proclaimed as his successor his four-year-old son Maḡdī al-Dawla under the guardianship of his mother Saiyida and gave the governorship of Hamadhān and Kirmānshāhān to Shams al-Dawla who was also a minor. When Maḡdī al-Dawla grew up, he sought to overthrow his mother and with this object made an arrangement with the vizier al-Khaṭir Abū 'Alī b. 'Alī b. al-Kāsim in 397 (1006/1007). But when they sought assistance from the Kurd chief Badr b. Hasanawāh, the latter set out for al-Raiy with Shams al-Dawla and took Maḡdī al-Dawla prisoner. The government was then given to Shams al-Dawla but as he was not so pliant as Maḡdī al-Dawla, the latter was released from his prison after a year and again proclaimed ruler, while Shams al-Dawla returned to Hamadhān. After Badr had been murdered by the soldiers in 405 (1014/1015), Shams al-Dawla

seized a portion of his territory and when the grandson of the dead man, Tahir b. Hilal b. Badr, wished to dispute the possession of it, he was defeated and thrown into prison. His father Hilal b. Badr had already been imprisoned by Sultan al-Dawla (q. v.); but the latter released him and sent him with an army to regain the lands occupied by Shams al-Dawla. In Dhū l-Qa'da 405 (April/May 1015), he came upon the enemy but the battle resulted in Hilal's defeat and death. After this victory Shams al-Dawla seized the town of al-Raiy; Majid al-Dawla and his mother took to flight, but when Shams al-Dawla wished to pursue them, his troops mutinied and forced him to return to Hamadhān, whereupon Majid al-Dawla and his mother returned to al-Raiy. In 411 (1020/1021) the Turks rose in Hamadhān; Shams al-Dawla appealed to Abū Dī'ār b. Kākawāh, governor of Isfahan, and with his help succeeded in driving the mutinous element out of the town. About 412 (1021/1022), Shams al-Dawla was succeeded by his son Sam' al-Dawla but within two years (414 = 1023/1024), Hamadhān fell into the hands of the Kākūyids (q. v.) (Kākawāhids).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, ix. 93, 144, 173—175, 182, 208, 226; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar*, iv. 466, 469—473; Hamd Allāh Muslawī-i Kāzwinī, *Tārīkh-i Ghasida*, ed. Browne, i. 429, 431; Wilken, *Geich. d. Sultane aus d. Geichl. Buje nach Mirchond*, Chap. xii.; Weil, *Geich. d. Chalifen*, iii. 53, 57 sqq.; Lane-Poole, *The Mohammedan Dynasties*, p. 142; I. G. Covernton in *Namiatie Chronicle* 1909, 220—240. (K. V. ZETTERSTEEN)

SHAMS AL-DIN. [See DJUWAINI, i. 1070^a, IL-DEGIZ, ILTIMISH, FERLEWÂN, TIRIZI.]

SHAMS AL-DIN, Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-SAMATRA'NI (the *nisha* is variously given, as the pronunciation of the name of the country varies), = belonging to Samatra < Samudra, a district in North Sumatra which in those days formed a part of the kingdom of Pasei; cf. the art. SUMATRA), a Malay mystic author, who was born probably before 1575 and died in 1630 (Radjab 12, 1039 A. H., as we know from Nūr al-Din al-Rāniri's *Bustān al-Salāfin*; the part in question has been edited by G. K. Niemann, under the title *Hikāyat Nagari Atjeh*, in *Blommestein uit Maltische Geschiedenis*, the Hague 1907, ii. 127). On his personality al-Rāniri says: "This Shaikh was learned in all branches of learning; especially his knowledge in the field of the 'ilm *tasawwuf* was well known; a number of books have been written by him". He is often mentioned along with his contemporary Hamza al-Fanāuri (= belonging to Baros, on the West coast of Sumatra; cf. the art. HAMZA AL-FANĀURI in the Supplement), whose importance is, however, much greater. Whether Shams al-Din was Hamza's pupil, as H. Kraemer suggests (*Een Javaansche Primbon uit de Zestiende Eeuw*, diss. Leiden 1921, p. 28), seems to be not quite certain.

After the conquest of Malacca by the Portuguese (1511), the importance of Aceh as a centre of Muslim economic and religious life had increased. Especially during the reign of Iskandar Muda (= Maklūta 'Alam) (1607-1636), who extended his sway over parts of the Malay peninsula, religious life in Northern Sumatra was very intensive. Our sources speak of a struggle between the radical mysticism of Hamza and Shams al-Din and their

adherents, and the more orthodox Nūr al-Din al-Rāniri; as Shams al-Din was granted the favour of Iskandar Muda, al-Rāniri left Aceh for some time, but later on, during the reign of Iskandar II, he succeeded in securing the assistance of the public authorities and, by a *fatwā*, caused the books of his opponents to be burnt publicly (H. Kraemer, *op. cit.*, p. 30; *do.*, *Noord-Sumatraansche invloeden op de Javaansche mystiek*, in *Ojsam*, 1924, iv. 30; cf. also H. N. v. d. Tuuk, *Kort Verslag der Mal. Handchr. etc.*, in *B.T.L.V.*, 1866, Series 3, vol. i. 463, where Muqul Ma'jat Sjah is another name for Iskandar II).

Kraemer, *op. cit.*, p. 30 sqq., mentions the following works of Shams al-Din:

1) *Mir'at al-Mu'min*, "Mirror of the Believer", deals with dogmatics in an orthodox manner, written in 1009 (1601). Cod. Or. Leiden N^o. 1700 (H. H. Juyaboll, *Cat. Mal. . . . Handchr. Leidische Univ. Bibl.*, Leiden 1899, p. 256—257) and N^o. 1952 (Kraemer, p. 30) contain parts of it; the former is provided with a Dutch MS. translation by P. v. d. Vorm (d. 1731), and is therefore the same MS. as has already been described by G. H. Wernally; the complete work contained 211 questions and answers on religious subjects (G. H. Wernally, *Maltische Boektaal*, Amsterdam 1736, p. 354—355; the author also says that this work was very popular in his days and cites [Introduction, p. I—III] the beginning sentences, according to which Shams al-Din wrote this book for those who were not acquainted with the Arab and Persian languages).

2) *Mir'at al-Muḥaqqiqin*, "Mirror of those who have acquired a deep mystic knowledge", mentioned by al-Rāniri, seems to be lost. V. d. Tuuk's identification of this work with Cod. Or. Leiden N^o. 1332 is, according to Kraemer, p. 31, wrong. 3) *Sharḥ Ruk'at Hamzat al-Fanāuri* (written in 1611), perhaps a commentary on Hamza's *Ruk'at al-Muḥaqqiqin* (Kraemer, p. 29 and note 3), which has not survived to us. Juyaboll, *op. cit.*, p. 289, supposes that Cod. Or. Leiden, N^o. 1983 (2) contains this commentary.

Excerpts of works by Shams al-Din are mentioned by Kraemer on p. 31; on p. 32 we find a list of works which are only known by name (cf. also p. 30 above). As it is not always certain that Shams al-Din is the real author, and our knowledge of their contents is still very limited, it seems not to be necessary to enumerate them all here. Only scanty notice of Shams al-Din's teachings can be gathered from the fragments preserved in us; even Codex Leiden, coll. Su. H., N^o. 30, described by Prof. Ph. S. van Ronkel (*Suppl. Cat. Mal. . . . Handchr. Leidische Univ. Bibl.*, Leiden 1921, p. 145, N^o. 341) as a résumé of Shams al-Din's teachings, has only the character of a collection of annotations which presuppose a fuller account or oral explanation.

Al-Rāniri mentions Shams al-Din (Kraemer, p. 28) as a representative of the Wudūdīya (q. v.), and from the information on his teachings given by Kraemer (p. 46—48) we may conclude that there is no essential deviation from the general Muslim mystic conceptions of his days. On the other hand he has exercised a considerable influence on the peculiar Javanese mystic literature, which is, however, not yet fully investigated (cf. the art. *SURUK*). Continued researches will perhaps solve the question whether Indonesian elements, which are so well represented in Ja-

vastest mystic treatises, are already to be found in the literary inheritance of Shams al-Din and his contemporaries.

According to v. d. Tuuk (*op. cit.*, p. 463-464), al-Rānirī's [q. v.] *Nuḥḍa fī Da'wā al-Zill* and his *Tabyān fī Ma'rifat al-Adyan* are especially intended as polemics against Shams al-Din (cf. also Kraemer, p. 32-33).

Bibliography: H. N. v. d. Tuuk, *Kort Verlag etc.*, B.T.L.V., Series 3, vol. I, 462-466; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehese*, Leiden 1906, II, 12-13; H. Djajalingrat, *Critisch Overzicht . . . van het Soeltanaat van Atjeh*, in B.T.L.V., 1911, lxx, 178, 182, 183, 186, 213; H. Kraemer, *Een Javaansche Prins van de Zestiende Eeuw*, Leiden 1921, Cap. I-III *passim*; do., *Noord-Sumatraansche invloeden op de Javaansche mystiek*, in *Djawa*, 1924, iv, 29-33; and the other literature mentioned in the text. (C. C. BERG)

SHAMS AL-MA'ĀLĪ. [See ʔANŪS.]

SHAMSIYA, order of derwishes called after Shams al-Din Abu 'l-Ḥanā' Ahmad b. Abi 'l-Barkāt Muḥammad Siwāsī or Siwāsī-rāde, also called Kara Shams al-Din and Shamsī (d. 1009 = 1600-1601). He is mentioned by the historians Na'imī (Constantinople 1281, I, 372) and Pečewī (Constantinople 1283, II, 290) among the saints of the reign of Muḥammad III, and they state (probably on the authority of this sovereign, whose letter is cited by von Hammer, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, III, 286) that he fought at the taking of Erlau (1005 = 1596). He was the author of numerous works in Turkish, enumerated by Ḥādīdī Khalīfa, who, however, confuses him with other persons; of one called *Manāzil al-Arifin* there is a copy in the British Museum, and another called *Gulshanābād* is preserved in the Vienna Library. Notices of this order in European works are mainly derived from d'Ohaeson, who mentions it in his list (*Tableau*, IV, 625), whence von Hammer obtains his information in the *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, IV, 236, adding that the founder lived and died at Medina in the odour of sanctity. In his later work on Ottoman Poetry, *loc. cit.*, he states that this person was head of the Khalwati order in Siwās; and in the *Kamūs al-A'fām* he is called the restorer of the Khalwati order. In a pedigree of orders made by a Naqshabandī and cited by Le Châtelier, *Conférences*, p. 50, the Shamsiya is represented as a branch of the Khalwatiya and appears to be confined to Siwās. It does not figure in the list of *tekke* at Siwās drawn up by Cuinet (*La Turquie d'Asie*, I, 666), whence it was probably a local name for the Khalwati order which speedily became obsolete. Le Châtelier, *loc. cit.*, p. 179, mentions an order of this name as a branch of the Badawiyah in Egypt.

(D. S. MARGOLIOUTH)

AL-SHANFARĀ was a poet of the time before Islam and is reckoned by the Arabs as one of the great rascals, along with others like Ta'abbata Sharran, and also as one of the ravens (*agribā*) on account of his black skin. The genealogists know his complete genealogy, but as the various sources consulted are not even unanimous as to his name and that of his immediate ancestors, it is hazardous to attach great credence to the chain of his forebears named. There is, however, perfect agreement that he belonged to

the South-Arabian clan of the Banu 'l-Iḥwā b. al-Ḥidjr b. al-Haww b. al-A'ed and consequently he is one of the very few South-Arabian pre-Islamic poets of whom poems are preserved. As a boy he was captured by the tribe Shabāba b. Fahm, a clan of Kaïs 'Ailan, and he remained a prisoner among them till he was exchanged for a man of the Banu Shabāba, whom the Banu Salamān b. Mufarrij, a clan of al-A'ed, had captured. He remained among the latter as one of their tribe till he began to make love with a girl of the Banu Salamān who resented his wooing, and when he was insulted by the father of the girl he ran away to his first captors. When he learned from them his real descent he swore that he would take vengeance upon the clan of Salamān by killing a hundred of their men. He succeeded in this in so far that he killed actually 99 of them. The small tribe of Fahm were noted robbers; associated with Ta'abbata Sharran he was for a long time a terror to tribes which often lived very long distances from the home of the clan of Fahm. It is reported that he, like his companion, made all his raids on foot, crossing large stretches of desert, through which he made his retreat sure by burying ostrich-eggs filled with water in the sand. As soon as he had made his murderous attack he would, upon being pursued, race back into the wilderness, where his pursuers were compelled to give up their chase for fear of dying of thirst.

When his murderous career against the Banu Salamān had assumed the dimensions indicated, three men of the clan Ghāmid waylaid him in the night when he was going to a lonely well at al-Nāṣif near Ahida and though he wounded two of them by shooting at them as he espied their form in the dark, they overpowered him and after cutting one of his hands off brought him to their camp, where they killed him. It is stated that on this occasion he uttered the defiant verses telling them not to bury his body but to leave it to the hyenas, which are found in the *Ḥamāra* of Abū Tammam and have several times been translated into European languages. Al-A'ini in his commentary on the verses of the *Alfiya* (IV, 596, 10) mentions his *Diwān* among the books which he has consulted, but this book is now probably lost.

We have, however, two celebrated poems of some length attributed to him, one found in the collection of ancient odes entitled *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* (ed. Lyall, N° 20; ed. Thorbecke, N° 18) in which he celebrates his murder of Ḥarām b. Djabir, a man of the Banu Salamān, but the chief beauty of this poem lies perhaps in the *wasf* or amatory introduction. This poem is accessible to European readers in the excellent rendering of Lyall. Greater celebrity, however, is enjoyed by his other poem which is generally known under the title of the *Lamiyat al-'Araḍ*, a poem full of defiance and manliness, which since it was made accessible to Western readers by Sylvestre de Sacy has been acknowledged as one of the finest products of Arabic poetry. It has been translated into several Western languages, even Polish. It was also appreciated by Arabic scholars and we possess an early commentary which is attributed to the printed editions (Constantinople 1300 etc.) to al-Mubarrad; this is, however, an error as the commentator himself mentions that he derived his text from Abū 'l-'Abbās in more than one place and once

(p. 26) from Ahmad b. Yahyā i. e. the Kūfī grammarian Tha'lab who died in 291 (903). Printed with the same commentary is another commentary, more extensive, by al-Zamakhsharī who died in 538 (1143/1144).

While the poem in the *Mufaḍḍalliyāt* is considered the undisputed work of al-Shanfara, this is not the case with the *Lamiyat al-'Arab*. The earliest scholars appear to have no knowledge of the poem at all; it is not mentioned by Ibn Kutaiba in his book on poets, nor is there any reference to this poem in the fairly long account of the poet in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (xxi. 134-143). Though al-Kālī (died 358=969) quotes the poem at length in the appendix of his *Amālī* (lii. 208-212) he informs us in an earlier part of his work (i. 157) that the poem, though generally attributed to al-Shanfara, is in reality the work of Abū Muḥrīr i. e. the Bagrian philologist Khalaf al-Aḥmar. Al-Kālī, who derives about two thirds of his book from Ibn Duraid, has received this information also from him and probably from this source it is repeated in later literature. Ibn Duraid was well informed about the activities of the scholars of the Bagrian school and only two generations separated him from Khalaf al-Aḥmar, his information being as a rule derived from pupils of al-Aḥmar from Khalaf. We are consequently compelled to attach some weight to his statement, which is largely corroborated by the internal evidence of the poem itself. The entire lack of names of places and personal names, except such as cannot easily be identified, is so unusual in early poems that it must give rise to suspicion, for we have not a fragment, but a harmonious complete poem. To this must be added that in its diction occur words and phrases which cannot easily be confirmed from poems which are acknowledged as originating from poets who lived contemporary or near the time of al-Shanfara and we must come to the conclusion that Khalaf inspired by the fragment found in the *Hamāsa* composed his masterpiece, which truly represented the defiant nature of the wild robber and murderer.

Added to this comes the remarkable fact that another poem of equally wild nature and attributed in the *Hamāsa* to Ta'abbata Sharran, the companion of al-Shanfara, is also attributed to al-Shanfara, but by critics vindicated as a forgery of the same Khalaf al-Aḥmar (*Hamāsa*, ed. Freytag, p. 382 = ed. Büllā, II. 160). Besides these poems are quoted fragments of four other poems, which probably are not remnants of longer *ḥaṣīda's*.

Bibliography: The whole subject is most exhaustively dealt with by G. Jacob in his *Schanfara Studien*, Munich 1914-1915, from which it is evident that the poems of al-Shanfara have attracted greater attention in European literature than any other Arabic poet, and to the works cited there I can only add an édition-de-luxe of the *Lamiya* in German translation, Hanover 1923. Scattered verses by al-Shanfara are found in several other older works besides those used by Jacob, but they add nothing to our knowledge. (F. KRENKOW)

SHANT YAKUB (Yakū, in Abū 'I-Fidā'), Arab transcription of the Spanish Santiago, in French St. Jacques de Compostelle, is the most celebrated place of pilgrimage in Christian Spain, the former

capital of the kingdom of Galicia, situated 760 feet above sea-level, between Vigo and La Coruña, to the east of Cape Finisterre. It is there that according to the legend are the relics of the apostle St. James the Greater, the patron-saint of Spain, who landed on the coast near Santiago to convert the peninsula. There was, before the eleventh century, a celebrated church dedicated to St. James Compostelle, with which the Arab authors deal with full details. It was for the Christians, says the author of *al-Bayān al-Maghrib*, what the Ka'ba is for the Muslims.

In 387 (997), the ḥadīth al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī 'Amir directed an important expedition from Cordova against Santiago, of which Dozy has given a detailed account from the chronicler Ibn al-Iḍhārī. On Sha'bān 2 (10th August), the town, which had been deserted by the inhabitants, was taken by the Arab army and burned to the ground; only the tomb of the saint was respected. The king of Galicia, Bermudo II, recaptured Santiago from the Muslims at the end of the eleventh century and restored all its traditional splendour to the place of pilgrimage. The building of the present cathedral on the foundations of the sanctuary destroyed by al-Manṣūr, was undertaken in the reign of Alphonso VI in the last quarter of the eleventh century.

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SHĀPŪR (r.), Arabic Šabūr (the form Šāshafūr in a verse of A'shā quoted in Tha'alibi, *Hist. des rois des Perses*, ed. Zotenberg, p. 493 is nearer the Pahlavi *Šāshpūr*), the name of several members of the Sāsānid dynasty. The three Persian kings of this name have associations with Muslim tradition.

SHĀPŪR I R. ARDASHĪR called Šabūr al-Djundī by the Arabs; the Sapor I of the classical historians (241-272 A.D.) who waged war with the Romans for the greater part of his reign, for he continued the offensive which had been begun by his father Artaxerxes. He succeeded in capturing important towns like Nisibis (which were however lost again after his defeat at Resaina in 243). Later (256?) he took Antioch and in 260 he even took the Emperor Valerian a prisoner. The Roman wars, waged with varying fortune, thus seemed to have ended in the definite victory of Sapor, when he discovered an enemy in the king of Palmyra, Odenathus, who forced him to evacuate the conquered territory. Odenathus remained the enemy of the Persians till his death; it was only his successor Zenobia that concluded a treaty with Sapor. On this and other historical facts which cannot be gone into here, see Pauly-Wissowa, II., *Realenzyklop.* col. 2325 sq.; here we are only concerned with the Muslim tradition based on an older Persian tradition, which can on the whole claim little real

historical value, although it will not be disputed that it has preserved many historical, important and valuable details, otherwise unknown. The facts of the legendary biography of Shāpur I as contained in Muslim sources are in the main as follows:

YOUTH. Ardāshīr, Shāpur's father, had married a daughter of the Arsakid Ardawān, whom he had dethroned and slain. The princess attempted to poison Ardāshīr but the plot was discovered and the king ordered a trusted court official to put her to death. When the latter saw that she was pregnant, he spared her life and when she gave birth to a boy, he called him *Shāpur*, i.e. "king's son". Shāpur grew up in concealment. Ardāshīr was lamenting that he would leave no heir to succeed him at his death; the courtier thereupon revealed the secret and brought the son to his delighted father.

This story is already found in the Pahlavi *Kārnāmak*. Muslim tradition agrees with it in the main, although all the sources do not have the same details. Firdawsi gives two details, which are lacking in the *Kārnāmak* but can be shown from the rest of the story to be old; in order not to run any danger should the fact of Shāpur's birth become known, the official entrusted with the execution of the Arsakid princess acts exactly like the Lycian Combabos; the second is that Shāpur is recognised as a real prince by the fact that he dares, while playing, to pick up the ball near Ardāshīr who is looking on, without showing any awe at the king. Al-Tabari knows this story also, but says nothing of a poison-plot. In his story Ardāshīr is bound by an oath to destroy all Arsakids but does not know that his wife belongs to this family; so also al-Dīnawari, only he makes the princess a niece of the Arsakid Farrukhān.

The legend next deals with the story of Shāpur's wooing and the birth of his son Hormizd; it is practically a repetition of the preceding. An Indian sage has predicted to Ardāshīr that the throne will be inherited by the family of the Mihrak dynasty overthrown by Ardāshīr, therefore the king has all the descendants of Mihrak put to death; only a daughter escapes; Shāpur meets her while out hunting and brings her home without Ardāshīr's knowledge. When her son, later Hormizd I, is grown up, Ardāshīr recognises royal blood in the boy, who is without fear in the presence of the king (the same motif as in the story of Shāpur); everything then ends happily. This is the story of the *Kārnāmak* and Firdawsi and al-Tabari agrees. The other sources do not give this story, but Hamza al-Isfahāni says (ed. Gottwaldt, p. 49) that there was a well-known story about the mother of Hormizd I, whom he calls Gurdād.

The legend preserved by Tabari tells that Shāpur, before his accession, took an active part in a fight between Ardāshīr and Ardawān; Shāpur killed the *dabir* of the Parthian king. Shāpur succeeded Ardāshīr on the latter's death; the statement in Mas'ūdi (*Murūj*, ii. 160) that Ardāshīr resigned the throne in favour of his son and henceforth devoted his life to religion, does not seem to belong to the old tradition.

HATRA. The conquest of Hatra is ascribed by al-Tabari and Tha'alibi to Shāpur I, by Ibn Kutaiba and Eutychius to Ardāshīr, and by Firdawsi and al-Dīnawari to Shāpur II. The story is as follows:

The Persian king was unsuccessful in taking the

stronghold of Hatra, the residence of the prince Sāfirūn (according to others: Dairan) until the latter's daughter Naḍīra fell in love with him and put the town in his hands by making her father and his soldiers intoxicated, or by betraying to the enemy the talisman on which the ownership of the fortress depended. The Persian king married Naḍīra as he had promised, but afterwards had her executed, in disgust at her ingratitude to her father.

Our authorities quote Arabic poems in this connection, which are, of course, of much later date and are of as little value as sources as the stories of the historians. They are evidence, however, that the Arabs also had the tradition that the warlike Sībūr once besieged Hatra. Whether the king who took Hatra was Ardāshīr or Shāpur I, cannot be certainly ascertained. We know from a really reliable source (Dio Cassius) of only one siege of Hatra by a Sāsānid, namely Ardāshīr, and this siege was unsuccessful. It is assumed by many, what is not in itself improbable, that either Ardāshīr himself after an unsuccessful attempt, or Shāpur I soon after his accession took Hatra. But we have no reliable historical information; what we have is a version of the widespread Scylla (Komaithō) story. There may be an echo of history in the name of the king Sāfirūn; he must have been a Syrian with an originally Parthian name (Sanatruk?). The name Dairan is an intrusion from another context (cf. Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser und Araber*, p. 35). The version which places the taking of Hatra in the reign of Shāpur II, makes the Arab prince Dairan (in Firdawsi: Tā'ir) carry off a Persian princess; his daughter by her is the traitress (so in Firdawsi). Here we find the better known Shāpur II in this story in place of his earlier namesake and the treachery of the king's daughter at Hatra excused to some extent because she is of Sāsānid descent on her mother's side. Firdawsi further knows nothing of her execution, which al-Dīnawari inserts from another, apparently older, version of the story (cf. the article *HATRA* in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz.*², vii., col. 2516 *sqq.*).

WAR WITH THE ROMANS. Persian tradition preserves a memory of the capture of Valerian and the taking of Nisibis and other towns of the Roman empire. From the old, not quite coherent and often not quite clear tradition, it seems that Sapor I took Nisibis twice; according to the western accounts the Romans retook the town after the battle of Kessina and it was later taken by Odenathus from the Persians (Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz.*², ii., Reihe I., col. 2328 and 2331; cf. also Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 31, note 3). Firdawsi makes the Romans the attackers, because they hoped to profit from a possible weakness in the Persian empire as a result of the change of ruler (a similar idea is found in the history of Shāpur II). The Roman general Barzabūsh (a corrupt form which goes back to Valerianus) is defeated and taken prisoner. He only regains his freedom by planning the dam of Shēstār for Shāpur. Practically the same story is found in the other sources, only that al-Tabari more correctly calls Valerian a king (*malik*). The Persian version of al-Tabari (transl. Zotenberg, ii. 79 *sq.*) is somewhat fuller than the original text. There were also stories, as Tabari points out, according to which Shāpur had the Roman's nose cut off and even put him to death. Here we cannot tell how far we have to deal

with native tradition or a non-Persian version. Tha'alibi calls the Roman emperor in question Constantine. His source, therefore, does not seem to have contained the correct name. Eutychius, whose synchronisms between the Roman emperor and the Sāsānids are wrong, puts the capture and death of Valerian (who appears here as an unnamed son of Gallienus, while in reality their relationships were the reverse) in the reign of Bahrām II (Eutychius, ed. Cheikh, p. 113). That, according to al-Tabari, Valerian was besieged in Antioch by Shāpur is a reminiscence of the taking of this city by the Persians under Sapor I (the year is not certain; indeed Antioch seems to have been taken twice: Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, cols. 2327 and 2329). The name Cappadocia, which occurs several times in the Persian tradition (cf. Noldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 32, note 2) is likewise an echo of the events of 258 A.D. and the following years, namely the capture of the Cappadocian capital Caesarea by Sapor I (c. 260). There is a wonderful story associated with the fall of Nisibis. Shāpur is said to have invested the town in the eleventh year of his reign, then to have raised the siege because his presence was required in Khorāsān. Later he laid siege to the city a second time and succeeded in taking it because the walls split open by a miracle. The story is found in Tabari and more fully in Eutychius; the interruption of the siege and the splitting of the walls reflect events of the reign of Shāpur II. According to Tha'alibi Shāpur I also took Tarsus; there is also a historical basis for this in the taking of this city by one of Sapor's generals (c. 260 A.D., cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, col. 2331 *supra*).

City-Foundations: Miscellaneous. The oriental writers ascribe to Shāpur I the foundation of the following cities: Shādh-Shāpur (in Kaghkar), Djundai-Shāpur (in Ahwāz) near Shūshār (with an absurd story that the king settled the Romans taken in Antioch here); Firdawst's Shāpurāgird is probably the same town; Hamza further mentions the towns of Bishāpur (in Fārs), Shāpur Khwāsh and Balāsh Shāpur which cannot be exactly located, and wrongly (they are foundations of Shāpur II) Nishāpur (also attributed to Shāpur I by Firdawst) and Firūz-Shāpur (al-Anbār). Ibn Kūṭaiha says that Shāpur settled his prisoners of war in three cities: Djundai-Shāpur, Sābūr in Fārs (probably Hamza's Bishāpur) and Tustar in Ahwāz (cf. also Tha'alibi, p. 494).

Some historians like Tabari and Dinawari, place the first appearance of Māni in the reign of Shāpur I; but the catastrophe did not occur till the reign of a later king (Hormizd I or Bahrām II). Firdawst, who wrongly places the event in the reign of Shāpur II, alone makes a continuous story of it: the painter Māni from Cīn appeared before Shāpur as a prophet and the founder of a sect, but he was refuted by the Mobeds and executed by the king's orders. Tha'alibi (p. 501) has a similar story: in the reign of Bahrām I, Māni had a disputation with the chief mobed, was worsted and slayed. According to Mas'ūdi (*Murūū*, ii, 164), Shāpur I was a Manichaeism for a time; this can hardly be historical; perhaps we have had a reminiscence of the later king Kawādī and his inclination to Mazdakism. Shāpur I died, according to the Muslim tradition, after a reign of thirty years, after giving the usual exhortations to his son and successor Hormizd.

SHĀPUR II R. HORMIZD, called Dhu 'l-Akīf (because he had the shoulders of Arab prisoners dislocated or pierced), is the Sapor II of history (310–379 A.D.), throughout whose long reign wars were waged with Rōme. Persian arms were not successful against Constantine and under Julian the Roman offensive threatened to be dangerous to the Sāsānid empire. The death of the gifted emperor (363) was the reason that the treaty of peace which his successor Jovian made with Sapor was as advantageous for Persia as it was shameful for Rome. In the reign of the Emperor Valens, also the war with Persia continued; within this period falls the capture of Arsakes of Armenia by Sapor and following this the intervention of Rome in favour of Pap, son and successor of Arsakes. These wars, which were interrupted from time to time by negotiations, dragged on and had not yet brought about any important decisions when Sapor died in 379. For all details and references to original sources see the Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, col. 2334 *seq.* Here we are only concerned with the oriental traditions. It must be remembered that in Persian tradition, although on the whole it has kept distinct the figures of Shāpur I and II, details originally referring to one have been transferred to the other. Incidents from the Julian story, which has of course nothing to do with Persian tradition, have penetrated some of the sources.

Youth and Arab wars: All sources agree that Shāpur was not yet born when his father Hormizd II died; but in case his mother should give birth to a son, the throne was set aside for the latter, so that Shāpur was born a king. All this must be legend; the older western sources suggest that Sapor II only ascended the throne as a young man (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, col. 2334; Noldeke, *Geogr. d. Perser*, p. 51, note 3). Adharnasur must also have reigned between Hormizd II and Sapor II.

During the time that Shāpur's youth rendered him incapable of ruling in person, the kingdom was attacked on all sides (say the oriental sources) by enemies, particularly by the Arabs. Among the tribes mentioned are the 'Abd al-Kais, the inhabitants of Bahrain and Kāzima (Tabari, Ibn Kūṭaiha), the Ghassānids (al-Dinawari, who also mentions Bahrain and Kāzima), and the Banū Iyād (Mas'ūdi, Tha'alibi). The young king early gave an indication of his foresight by ordering a second bridge to be built beside the bridge over the Tigris at Ctesiphon, so that traffic between the two banks of the river could develop unhindered. When sixteen years of age (according to some fifteen), Shāpur led an army against the Arabs. Here Firdawst and al-Dinawari place the Hatra episode which belongs to the reign of Shāpur I. The fairly full details of these Arab wars, probably in part at least, became incorporated in the old Persian tradition in the post-Sāsānid period. That the king dislocated or pierced the shoulders of the prisoners (in Eutychius, the captured kings) seems to be based on quite an early tradition: Hamza (ed. Gottwaldt, p. 51) gives the Persian equivalent of the epithet

Dhu 'l-Akīf as ذُو الْكَفِّ (1) *imnā*. On the whole the account of these wars is unhistorical. Shāpur certainly never advanced so far as some writers say. He is said to have not only conquered Bahrain and Yamāna, but even to have reached Medina. The story of Shāpur's encounter with 'Amr b.

Tamm b. Murra in Bahrain (Mas'udi, *Murūdj*, ii. 176-177; a connected story in *Tha'alibi*, ed. Zotenberg, p. 520-21) is an invention of Arab fancy. How far these stories reflect historical happenings, it is difficult to decide; nor can we say whether tradition has here kept Shāpur II and I quite distinct [of the latter a war of destruction against the Kuda's and the Banū Halwā is reported, cf. Noldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser*, p. 38. (The Kuda's here appear as allies of (Jaizan of Hatra)]. The Arabic verses quoted in Mas'udi (*Murūdj*, ii. 176-177) which are referred to Shāpur II's campaign against the Banū Iyād, are of course, of a much later date and seem to have had nothing at all to do with Sāsānid history. If the other verses quoted there (ii. 178) really date from the time of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, this would be the oldest Arab reference to these events. But all these stories must have some historical background; it is known that Shāpur II had dealings with the Arabs; the Emperor Constantine negotiated in 338 with Arab tribes and urged them to conduct raids into Persian territory. Julian also had Saracen chiefs as allies in the war against Sapor II. That the Persian king took steps to protect his frontier against the Arabs is very probable (Noldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 57, note 1).

Shāpur and the Romans. In the tradition the account of the Roman wars is introduced by the well known motif of the king who visits an enemy country in disguise. This is found, for example, in the Greek Alexander romance (Pseudo-Callisthenes, ed. Müller, ii. 14-17, iii. 19-22; cf. Malalas, ed. Bonn, p. 194, 195) in Sāsānid legend a similar story is told of Bahrām Gūr. Firdawsī reports the story as follows: The astronomers prophesied misfortune to Shāpur; nevertheless he decided to risk entering the enemy land of Rūm in disguise. He appeared before the emperor as a Persian merchant, but was recognised by a Persian staying at the court, sewn up by the Emperor's orders in an ass's skin and put in prison. A young woman whose duty it was to keep the keys of his prison was herself of Persian descent and aided him to liberty by softening the ass's skin with hot milk. When a great feast was being celebrated and the imperial palace was empty, the two fled to Irān. On their way they stopped at the house of a gardener, who told the king, whom he did not know, that the Emperor of Rūm had invaded Persia and laid it waste in dreadful fashion in the absence of the legitimate king. Shāpur then ordered the man to take his (Shāpur's) signet-impression to the chief mobed. The latter saw that the king had returned. An army was soon collected with which the king attacked the Romans in the night, wrought great slaughter and took the emperor himself prisoner. The Romans found in the Persian empire were massacred everywhere. Shāpur levied a heavy indemnity on the Emperor, but did not release him; on the contrary he had him mutilated and put into prison. The Persian king then carried fire and sword into Rūm, defeated the Emperor's brother and slew many Christians. The Romans then chose a certain Bazānāsh as Emperor; the latter sought for peace which Shāpur granted on condition that the Roman Emperor rebuild the destroyed Persian towns, paid a yearly tribute of 600,000 dinārs and surrendered Nisibis. This was done, but the people of Nisibis resisted Shāpur as they would not serve a fire-worshipper. The king subdued them by force of

arms. He then rewarded the young woman who had liberated him and the gardener; he sent to Rūm the body of the previous emperor who had died in prison. He settled the Roman prisoners-of-war in towns specially built for the purpose (Khurramābād, Pirtūshāpur, Kunām-i Avrān).

This story is for the most part fictitious. The beginning (the prophecy of the astrologer) also forms the introduction to another story which develops differently, but is no doubt connected, and which is related in mediaeval oriental sources of Shāpur II b. Ardashir; the latter king is foretold that he is doomed to be unfortunate for some years. He therefore goes voluntarily into banishment (cf. P. Schwartz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, p. 544, note 6). We have already called attention to the occurrence of the motif of the unknown king, afterwards discovered. Shāpur's flight with the young woman recalls the story of Ardashir's flight before Ardawān, which is already in the *Ārnā-mak*. It is quite in the style of Irānian story-telling that the Emperor of Rūm in his request for peace mentions incidents like Minūcihr's revenge for Irān. It should further be observed that the representation of military events agrees in some respects better with the deeds of Shāpur I; the capture of the emperor (which here appears as a kind of revenge for Shāpur's imprisonment in Rūm) and his death without regaining his liberty, recall the historical facts of Sapor's war with Valerian. Even the name Bazānāsh occurs again although in a somewhat different connection. The imposition of indemnities was also found in the story of Shāpur I. On the other hand, as we saw above, the account of the (historically true) capture of Nisibis by Shāpur I, has features which belong to the vain siege of this town by the historical Sapor II in 350 (fall of a part of the wall, withdrawal of the king as a result of an invasion of Persia by nomads). The following elements in Firdawsī's narrative may be considered historical: Shāpur's hostility to the Christians (Sapor II began a great persecution of Christians in 339 A.D.); the ravaging by the Romans of the Persian kingdom (Julian plundered and burned a great part of it) (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, col. 2347); the cession of Nisibis (by the peace of 363 ceded by Jovian to the Persians) and the disinclination of the Nisibenes for Persian rule (Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, col. 2351).

The other sources (apart from the fact that Tabari and Dinawari also contain elements of the Julian romance with which we are not concerned here) differ mainly in the fact that they make the Emperor take Shāpur with him sewn up in a skin on his campaign. At the siege of Djundā-Shāpur the king is released by Persian prisoners of war and taken into the town by the garrison. This causes the defeat and capture of the emperor who has to make good the damage done and is sent back mutilated to his kingdom. This version of the story is also found in the poem quoted by Mas'udi, *Murūdj*, ii. 185, echoes of the phraseology of which seem to be found in *Tha'alibi* (cf. *Tha'alibi*, p. 525: *farātanakun Sāpur* with Mas'udi *op. cit.*: *farātanā 'l-Furū*; *Tha'alibi*, p. 527: *waghra makāna kullī nahklatin fāp'takū wāh-natan* with Mas'udi *op. cit.*: *iqā yaghrišūna min al-zaitūni mā 'aḡarū min al-nahklat*).

City-Foundations and Miscellaneous. Shāpur II, according to tradition renewed the walls of the city of Djundā-Shāpur. According to Ḥamza,

p. 52, he lived in this city till his thirtieth year and then moved to Ctesiphon, a statement which does not agree with the story of his building the bridge while still young. The new foundations are: Buzurg-Shāpūr (Ukbarā), Firrāz-Shāpūr (Anbār), Irān-Khurra-Shāpūr, with which Sās is mentioned; he probably restored the latter town under the name Irān-Khurra-Shāpūr (cf. Noldeke, *Geogr. d. Pers.*, p. 58, note 1). Roman prisoners were settled there. Nishāpūr also was one of this king's foundations; Tabari also mentions a town which must be accurately identified with a fire-temple Sarūsh-Adharān. The rebuilding of Djundai-Shāpūr formed part of the reparations the Emperor had to make; besides in the stories of these feats, there are confusions between Shāpūr I and Shāpūr II (Noldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 66, note 2). The king is said to have sent for an Indian physician and given him a dwelling in Sās; from him the people of Sās learned the art of healing, in which they afterwards excelled all other Persians. Hamza says finally that Ādhurbād (quite well known from Pahlavi literature) lived under Shāpūr II. There are no legends associated with Shāpūr's death.

SHĀPŪR III, the historical Sapor III (probably 383–387 A.D.). On the historical events of his reign, his relations with Armenia and Rome, see Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, col. 2355. Oriental tradition deals chiefly with his accession and his death. Shāpūr III was a son of Shāpūr II. According to Firdawsi, the latter at the end of his reign handed on the government to his brother Artashir, who had to bind himself to give it to the young Shāpūr when he came of age. This he did as promised. More in keeping with historical truth, Tabari says that Shāpūr III followed his predecessor Artashir when the latter was overthrown by the nobles. Al-Dinawari quite wrongly makes Shāpūr III succeed Shāpūr II directly. Mas'ūdi knows of a war of Shāpūr III against the Banū Iyād and other Arab tribes. The death of this king is ascribed to the collapse of his tent, caused by a storm, (Firdawsi, *Tha'ālihi*) or by a plot of the nobles (Tabari); the latter is probably nearer the truth. That Eutychius makes this king wage war on Julian is due to the fact that his synchronisms between the Sāsānids and the Roman Emperor are wrong.

Bibliography: See the article SĀSĀNIDS.

(V. F. BOCHNER)

SHĀPŪR (1) Name of the river of the district of Shāpūr Khūra in Fārs; also called Bishāwūr (in Thevenot: Suite du Voyage de Levant, Paris 1674, p. 295; Bouschavir; p. 296; Bouschavir), and river of Tawwadj. It must be identical with the antique Granis, mentioned by Arrian, *Indica*, 39; Pliny: *Nat. Hist.*, vi, 99. The lower course, the proper river of Tawwadj, is formed by the junction of two streams, the Shāpūr and the Dalaki-Rūd, rising both on the S. W. border-mountains of the Irān-plateau, which extend along the Persian Gulf. The upper course is called by the Arab geographers Nahr Rātin: this name is, very likely, found in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi, 121, where *Dratinus* (with v.l. *Ratinus*) must, however, mean the river down to its mouth. (This statement must be due to another source than Iuba, on whose authority the Granis was mentioned in vi, 99). In his *Nushat al-Kutub*, Mustawfi al-Kāsimi seems to indicate, that the Rātin, whose source is, according to him as well as to al-Istakhri, in the Upper Humāyidiān (Istakhri:

Humāyidiān) district, is a tributary to the Shāpūr Rūd (Gibb Mem.-Ser. xxiii, il. 217: "It is a great stream, and it flows into the Shāpūr river, its length, till it joins the Shāpūr river being to leagues"). By this way of putting things, he can but mean, that the river of Tawwadj originates from two different streams, one of which is the Rātin. This, then, must be the older name for either the Shāpūr or the Dalaki-Rūd. Al-Istakhri (ed. de Goeje, p. 120) represents these facts in the same manner; there is said, that the Rātin flows through the district of al-Ziriyān (with v.l.) before joining the Shāpūr.

The other rivers of the system are the Djirra (or Djarshik), which joins the Shāpūr on the left, below Khisht, and the Ikshahin. The name of the latter (it signifies "blue") can have originated from the colouring property of its waters, mentioned by the medieval geographers. Djarshik is the older name of the Djirra river, although in the *Nushat al-Djarshik* and Djirra are erroneously described as two different streams. The account which the latter work gives of the Djirra is for the most part copied from Ibn al-Balkhi's *Fārināma*. This states (Gibb Mem. Ser., New Series, I, 151) that the Nahr Djirra, rising in the Māzaram-district, waters the lands of Musdjan and Djirra, and part of Ghandidjan, after which it joins the Shāpūr. In addition, al-Istakhri mentions the bridge of Sabik, under which the river Djarshik flows before entering the *rustak* of Khurra (Ibn al-Balkhi's Djirra; on the reading *Kāurra* in the text of al-Istakhri, cf. P. Schwarz: *Iran im Mittelalter*, p. 35, ann. 4); after Khurra the stream passes into Dāhūn, where it unites with the Ikshahin. The *Nushat* makes the Djirra join the Shāpūr and the Djarshik the Ikshahin: as its author erroneously splits up the one river Djarshik-Djirra into two, his account is here worthless.

The Ikshahin, according to al-Istakhri and Mustawfi, rises in the Dāhūn-hills, and unites with the Shāpūr at al-Djundān. The *Nushat* calls it a great stream; now at day, it is identified with a little water course to the S. W. of the lake of Kazerūn. There appears, then, to be a difference as to the question, whether the Djarshik and the Ikshahin first join each other, and then unite with the river of Tawwadj, or flow into that stream each apart.

Concerning the Shāpūr itself, the *Fārināma* (p. 152) says, that it rises in the mountain region (*Kuhistān*) of the Bishāpūr district, which it waters, as also Khisht and Dih Malik. It flows in the sea (Persian Gulf) between Djanābi and Māndistān. This account is repeated in the *Nushat*, which only adds: "its length is 9 leagues". In *Fārināma*, p. 142, the Bishāpūr district is said to have its water from "a great river, called Rūd-i Bishāpūr". Owing to rice-plantations being there, its water is unwholesome (*naḥshim u nāḡawūr*). A short description of the river in modern times is given in J. Morier's *Second Journey through Persia... between the years 1810 and 1816*, London 1818, p. 49: "a river which... having pierced into the plain of the Dashtistan, at length falls into the sea at Rohilla. It takes its source near the site of Shapour, and when it begins to flow is fresh. But when it reaches the mountains it passes through a salt soil, and then its waters... become brackish. A lesser stream of the same river branches off before it reaches the salt soil, and flows pure to the sea".

The mouth of the river is at a short distance to the North of Bushir, near the frontier of the district Arradjan. Opposite to it lies the island Khārik, in the shipping-route from Bagra to India. The name Māndistān in the Persian geographers is connected by Tomaschek (**Topographische Erläuterung der Küstenfahrt Neiriki*) in *S.D. Ak. Wien*, cxli. 65) with the *Devimontani* in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 99 (The edition of Jan-Mayhoff reads *Dexi montani*, in two words). According to Pliny, the river (Granis) is navigable for small vessels. Now at day, the principal mouth presents difficulties to navigation because of its shallows: two minor mouths can be navigated up to some distance. On the present conditions, the delta, and the bitumen wells on the left bank of the river, S. of Dalaki, Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, may be compared.

In antiquity, there was on the Granis a royal residence, Taske, 200 stadia from the sea. This must be the same as the medieval Tawwadj (or Tawwaz), from which place the Shāpūr is named river of Tawwadj. In early Muhammadan times it was an important trade-city, which also had a considerable textile industry: the stuffs named *tawwaziya* were well-known. This town belonged to the district of Ardashir Khūra (Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārmāna*, p. 114). During the viith/xiith century, the place had already declined; in Mustawfi al-Kāzini's time (viiith/xivth century) it was totally ruined. Its site can not exactly be determined; nowadays the coast-district of the Shāpūr river is called Tawwadj. Le Strange (Gibb Mem. Ser. xxiii, ii. 115, ann. 2) thinks, that the site of the town may be identified with the present Dih Kuhna, "the chief town of the (modern) Shabānkāra sub-district of the Dashtistān district".

On another Shāpūr (Shāwūr), a tributary of the Dāfūr-Rūd, comp. the article KĀRUM (ii. 833).

(2) Name of the ancient capital of the district Shāpūr Khūra of Fārs; according to Muḥaddasī, it was also called Shahrastān; its older name is Bishāpūr (from Pahlavi *Wih-Sāpūr*). A naive etymology is found in the *Nuzhat*, whose author, Mustawfi, says, that the word Bishāpūr is a contraction of binā-i Shāpūr, building of Shāpūr. Ibn al-Balkhī on the other hand states, that the first syllable of the original Bishāpūr (with a long i) may disappear by way of *tahfif*.

Shāpūr-Khūra, the area, watered by the system of the Shāpūr-Ratn, the smallest of the five provinces of Fārs, contained besides the town of Shāpūr some other important localities, e.g. Kāzerūn [q. v.], which was regarded as its chief town after Shāpūr had fallen into ruins, moreover Nubandājan and Djirra.

The old town of Shāpūr was situated on the Shāpūr Rūd, at the road from Shirāz to the sea, to the north of Kāzerūn. Mustawfi gives its situation as long. 86° 15', lat. 20°. Its climate belongs to the *garmīr*, but its atmosphere was considered not to be healthy, because the territory of the city was shut up by the mountains from the northern side. The environs were fruitful; they produced, besides many kinds of fruits and flowers also silk, the mulberry-tree being frequent in that region. Honey and wax also came from its territory. The town was founded by the Sāsānian king Shāpūr I. It was one of the three cities, where he colonized his captives of war. It has been supposed, with much reason, that the king made use

of the skill of these Roman captives in the construction of his buildings, and also in the execution of his famous reliefs, that have been found in the ruins. These reliefs relate to the campaigns of Shāpūr against the Romans. Three later kings, Bahram II, Narsai and Khusrāw II have also added each a relief of themselves.

These works of art, who are already described in detail by Morier, have also been noticed by the Oriental geographers of the Middle-ages: at least, they mention a great statue, standing in a cavern, which European travellers could identify.

The Orientals have excogitated a mythical history of the city from before the times of its Sāsānian founder. It was, according to these traditions, originally built by Tahmūrath, at a time, when there existed in Fārs no other town besides Ištākhr. Later on, it was laid waste by Alexander, to be only renovated by Shāpūr I. The name of Tahmūrath's foundation had been دین دلا (Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārmāna*, p. 63, 142).

The Muslims subdued Shāpūr Khūra in 16 (637), after the conquest of Tawwadj and the battle of Rishahr. Bishāpūr is mentioned on the occasion of the disturbances which ensued at the beginning of the khalifate of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān; the insurrection in Fārs (25 = 645/646) against the Arabs seems to have been directed for some time from Bishāpūr by a brother of Shahrak, the governor of Fārs, who had fallen in the battle of Rishahr. After the submission of the rebels, the inhabitants of Bishāpūr once more broke the treaty; in consequence thereof it was reduced by Abu 'L-Mūsā al-Ash'ari and 'Uthmān b. Abi 'L-'As.

In the time of the geographer Muḥaddasī (end of the ivth/xth century), the town of Shahrastān or Shāpūr was already decaying, its outskirts being ruined; the environs however were well cultivated. He notices the four city-gates and the ditch, also the *masjid al-djāmi'*, outside of the city. Perhaps this may be the *masjid-i djāmi'* mentioned by Ibn al-Balkhī, whose words seem to imply, that it still existed when he wrote (beginning of the viith/xiith century). In the end of the Buyid rule, the Shabānkāra chieftain Abū Sa'd b. Muḥammad b. Mamā destroyed Shāpūr, but, as Ibn al-Balkhī remarks, in his time the (Seldjūq) government tried to restore the damage. These endeavours may have had effect as regards the district as a whole, but the city of Shāpūr never has been raised from its ruins. As Morier visited the site (1809), he found only a poor village, Daris, in the neighbourhood of the remains. The opinion of this traveller, that the town may have existed till the xvth century of the Christian aera, because its name occurs in a table of latitudes and longitudes in the *Am-i Akbari*, carries no weight, for such a table may have been composed from older sources.

On the other foundations of Shāpūr I, which were called after his name, comp. the article on that king, in addition to which it may be remarked, that the town of Shāpūr Khwast, according to the *Fārmāna* (p. 63), was situated in Khūristān, near al-Ashkar.

Bibliography: (Besides the authorities quoted in the article): The articles Dratius and Granis in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realen.* 2 (v. 1668; vii. 1815); Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 259—263, 267; Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire . . . de la Perse*, p. 142 sq.;

P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, p. 7 sq., 30 sqq.; Ritter, *Erdenkunde*, viii., p. 827 sqq.; J. Morier, *A Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor... in the years 1808 and 1809*, London 1812, p. 85 sqq., 375 sqq.; C. A. de Bode, *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*, 1845, i. 206 sqq.; Flandin et Coste, *Voyage en Perse*, Paris 1851: *Relation du Voyage*, ii. 248 sqq.; M. Dieulafoy, *L'art antique de la Perse*, v. 119 sq., Pl. xviii—xxi.; Sarre and Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 1910, p. 213 sqq.; Pl. xl—xlv.

(V. F. HUCHNER)

SHAR'. [See SHĀRĀNĪ.]

SHARĀB (A., plur. *Ashriba*), beverage. The collections of traditions deal with two subjects in the chapter on *Ashriba*: beverages and the laws to be observed in drinking. Here we only deal with the latter as the former has been dealt with in the article **KHĀMR**.

Blessings should be uttered before and after drinking (Abū Dā'ūd, *Ashriba*, bāb 21; Dārimī, *Aḥim*, bāb 3; Ibn Ḥanbal i. 225, 284; iii. 100, 117). The cup should be held in the right, not the left hand. The Prophet of God said: "When one of you eats, let him eat with the right hand and if he drinks, he should drink with the right for Satan eats and drinks with the left hand" (Muslim, *Ashriba*, trad. 105; cf. 106).

Opinions differ on the question whether it is permitted to drink standing. On the one hand there are a large number of utterances which represent this attitude in drinking as forbidden (e.g. Muslim, *Ashriba*, trad. 112—116).

On the other hand Ibn 'Abbās says that he gave the Prophet Zemmam water and that he drank it standing (Muslim, *Ashriba*, trad. 117—120). 'Alī abolished any misgivings on this point by saying that he had seen Muḥammad drink standing (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal, i. 101 sq.).

It is further considered forbidden to drink out of the mouth of the water-skin (cf. Abū Dā'ūd, *Ashriba*, bāb 14) or to bend the latter inwards to drink (Ibn Mādjā, *Ashriba*, bāb 20); but this is also allowed (Tirmidhī, *Ashriba*, bāb 18).

In drinking one should not lap like a dog (Ibn Mādjā, *Ashriba*, bāb 25) or blow or snort on the drink (Muslim, *Ashriba*, trad. 121; Abū Dā'ūd, *Ashriba*, bāb 16, 20); on the other hand one should inhale and exhale the breath (Abū Dā'ūd, *Ashriba*, bāb 10; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, i/ii. 103) and not drink the whole at one draught (Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṭabaqāt*, bāb 18). If one is drinking in company the cup should be passed to the right (Bukhārī, *Sharḥ*, bāb 1).

The knowledge of these matters distinguishes the believer from the infidel. The latter "drinks in seven stomachs, the former in one" (Mālik, *Muwatta'*, *Sifat al-Nabi*, bāb 10).

(A. J. WENIGCK)

SHARAF AL-DĪN, 'ALĪ YAZDĪ, Persian poet and historian, born at Yazd, was the companion of Shāh Rukh and more particularly of his son, Mirzā Isḥāq Sultān (d. 838 = 1434/1435). In 846 (1442) Mirzā Sultān Muḥammad, appointed governor of Irāk 'Adjami, summoned him to Ḥumam and treated him as one of his councillors. This prince having rebelled in 850 (1446—1447), Sharaf al-Dīn, suspected of being involved in the plot, was saved from execution, ordered by Shāh Rukh, through the intervention of Mirzā 'Abd al-Latif, son of Ulugh Beg, who brought

him to Samarqand. Sultān Muḥammad, who became lord of Khurāsān after the death of Shāh Rukh, allowed him to return to Yazd (853 = 1449—1450), where he died in 858 (1454). He was buried in the Sharafiya madrasa, which he had built in the village of Taft.

In 828 (1424/1425) he wrote the history of Timūr under the title *Zafar-Nāma*, in a vigorous style, on materials apparently taken from an unpublished work with the same title written by Nizām al-Dīn Shāmi by Timūr's orders in 804—806 (1401—1403), of which there is a unique M.S. in the British Museum. This history was translated into French by Pétis de la Croix (1722) and from French into English by J. Darby (1723). The text has been published without the preface in the *Bibliotheca Indica* (Calcutta, 1887—1888). He also composed under the *taḥalluq* of Sharab a treatise on enigmas, another on magic squares, a commentary on the *burda* of Būshīrī and various poems.

Bibliography: Khondemir, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* iii/iii, 148; Dawlat Shāh, *Tadhkira*, ed. Browne, p. 378—381; J. von Hammer, *Geschichte d. schön. Redik. Pers.*, p. 284; Rieu, *Pers. Catal. Brit. Mus.*, p. 173—175; E. G. Browne, *Hist. of Pers. Liter. under Tartar dominion*, p. 183, 362—365. (CL. HUARY)

AL-SHĀRĀNĪ, a *nisba* by which several individuals are known; it is usually derived from *shār* "hair" and is applied to any one with a strong growth of hair or with long hair (cf. al-Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-Anṣāb*, G.M.S., fol. 334^b, s; Wright, *Arabic Grammar* 2, i. 164^c); in the case of the best known bearer of the name, it is a *nisba* from a place like the form also found, indeed more frequently, **AL-SHĀRĀNĪ** (which has however a different origin: Vollers, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1890, p. 390 sq.) but came to be interpreted as above.

1. **ABU 'L-MAWĀHIB** (ideal *ḥunayn*, also **ABD 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN** from his son; his family still existed in modern times) **'ARDALWAḤIDH** R. **AḤMAD** (d. 907) R. **ALĪ R. AḤMAD R. MUḤAMMAD R. MUḤ R. MAWLĀY R. 'ABD-ALLĀH AL-ZUGHĀLĪ** (Sultān of Tilmūsā) R. **'ALĪ AL-ANṢARĪ AL-SHĀRĀNĪ AL-MIZRĪ**: a famous Ṣūfī, born 897, lived in Cairo from his early youth and died there in 973 (other dates given are wrong). Since 1188 his favourite mosque beside which he is buried, has borne his name. He earned his living as a weaver. He belonged to the *ṭarīqa* founded by 'Alī al-Shādhilī (d. 656; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 449, N^o 29, and the article **AL-SHĀDHILĪ**) and himself founded *al-ṭarīqa al-Shādhiliya* (cf. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 1899, p. 252; but not mentioned in Kahle, *Islam*, vi., p. 154). Among his Ṣūfī teachers the most important was 'Alī al-Khawwāṣ (d. after 941), whose *maḥfāl* he attended for ten years. A number of other teachers are mentioned by him in various works, e.g. in *al-Baḥr al-mawrūd*, *al-Djawhar al-maḥmūd wa 'l-Sirr al-marḥūm* and in the *Laf'if al-Minan*; a full list of the shāḥiks whom he knew and whose lectures he had attended is given at the end of his *Ṭabaqāt*. Like many Ṣūfis he had to endure persecution but was successfully in overcoming all hostility.

His literary activity was mainly concerned with mysticism, but he also dealt with learning, generally Kuranic sciences, dogmatics, fikh, grammar, and medicine; further we may mention his *Ṭabaqāt* of the Ṣūfis and an autobiography (*Laf'if al-*

Minan). A list of his writings is given in Brockelmann, ii. 336 *sqq.* (and supplement, p. 711); on that list the following corrections and additions are now made: 7a and b) *al-Miṣn al-Sha'rānīya* and *al-Miṣn al-kubrā* are identical, also printed Cairo 1276, while *al-Miṣn al-Khidriya* is a synopsis of the other work; 8) in the title also *fi Muḥṭaṭar al-Futūḥāt al-makkiya*, a synopsis of this entitled: *Muḥṭaṭar Lawā'ih al-Anwār*, prepared in 1166 by Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad al-Padghūridjawi (Berlin, N^o. 3046); 11) printed Cairo 1306 on the margin of 2); 12) full title *Tandih al-Mugharrin fi 'l-Karn al-āḥir 'alā mā khālaf fih Salafahum al-āḥir*; 13) in the title also *Mārifat* in place of *Bayān*, add Berlin, N^o. 3101; 14) read *al-Anwār al-kudsiya*, in place of *Lawā'ih al-Anwār al-kudsiya* fi [*Bayān*] *al-Uḥūd al-Muḥammadiya*, printed Cairo 1311 on the margin of 44); 18) also a *Wird al-Raiḥ*, Berlin, N^o. 3780; 21) also printed Cairo 1332; 22) in the title in place of *al-Fatāwā* also *fi Manāḥiḥ*, the marginal edition Cairo 1304 rather has 23); 35) read *fi 'Ilm Kitāb Allāh*; 37) read *al-Talabhuṣ*, printed Cairo 1279; 40) lithographed Cairo 1276; 43) in the title also *al-Sādāt al-Aḥyār*, also called *al-Tabaḥḥūt al-Kubrā*, also printed Cairo 1299, while the marginal edition Cairo 1311 rather has 14); 44) also printed Cairo 1321; 47) *Waḥy al-ʿArifin* (cf. Berlin, N^o. 3183); 48) *Mufakḥḥim al-Aḥdād fi Bayān Mawāḍiʿ al-ʿIjtihād*; 49) *Lawā'ih al-Khādhiḥ 'alā tull man lam ya'mal bi 'l-Kurʿān*; 50) *Ḥadd al-Ḥutūm 'alā man awḥab al-Aḥdād bi 'l-Ḥām*; 51) *al-Tabaḥḥūt wa 'l-Faḥḥ 'alā Ḥukm al-Ḥām* (cf. *Khāṭ al-Naḥḥ*); 52) *al-Burūḥ al-Ḥawāṭif* fi 'l-Baqar fi 'Amal al-Hawāṭif; 53) *Tandih al-Aghbiyā 'alā Kaṭra min Baḥr 'Ulūm al-Aḥyār*; 54) *al-Durr al-naẓim fi 'Ulūm al-Kurʿān al-naẓim*; 55) *al-Manḥad al-mubīn fi Bayān Adillat al-Muḥṭaḥidīn*, supplement to 21); 56) *Kitāb al-Iḥṣār fi 'Ilm al-Kiyās*; 57) *Muḥṭaṭar Kaṭā'id al-Zarkashī*, extract from the work of al-Zarkashī (d. 794) quoted in Brockelmann, ii. 91, N^o. 18, 2; 58) *Minḥad al-Waḥd al-ʿUlūm al-ʿUlūl*, a compilation from the Commentary of al-Mahallī (d. 791; Brockelmann, ii. 114, N^o. 23) on the *Uḥūd al-Djāwāz* fi 'l-ʿUlūl of al-Sabkī (d. 771; Brockelmann, ii. 89, N^o. 14, 1 and c) and the glosses of Kamāl al-Dīn b. ʿAlī Sharīf (d. 906; *ibid.* a) on this commentary.

Al-Sha'rānī was a comprehensive and honest scholar of wide education but uncritical and highly superstitious. His tremendous exaggeration of his own value is an unpleasant feature in him; he usually boasts of his own works that they were pioneers and nothing similar existed on the particular subject. In his autobiography (no. 44), which he significantly calls *Manāḥiḥ nafsihi*, under a pretence of being humbly grateful to God for having endowed him with wonderful gifts of mind and holiness, he tells us the most remarkable things about his wonderful qualities, his intercourse with God, the angels and the prophets, his ability to work miracles, to ascertain the secrets of the world, etc. But the honesty, uprightness and enthusiasm of his character, his championship of justice, humanity and toleration, his sincerity and the frankness with which he holds up the modesty of the Christians and Jews as a pattern for the 'Ulamā', and finally his high respect for the dignity of womanhood all make an exceedingly favourable impression.

Besides his intellectual importance, which must not however be over-estimated, he owes his far-reaching influence on the Muslim world to his extremely prolific pen, writing in an easily intelligible form, which has contributed to the popularity of his works. His books were already popular in his life-time and are still very highly esteemed as may be seen from their numerous reprints. In spite of his insistence to the contrary there is hardly any originality in them; in mysticism especially he simply repeats the ideas of Ibn al-ʿArabī [q. v.]. N^o. 8, for example, is a synopsis of his *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiya*, N^o. 11 a synopsis of 8, with reference to passages from the *Futūḥāt* itself, N^o. 9 an explanation of the verses of the *Futūḥāt*, N^o. 10 a defence of Ibn al-ʿArabī; he tells us for example in N^o. 2, that he has used the terms used by Ibn al-ʿArabī and not those of other Sūfis. Al-Sha'rānī endeavoured to bring about a synthesis of Sūfism and Fiqh in his person and was therefore in no wise hostile to the *Sharʿa*. Several of his writings show this, notably, N^o. 7, 21, 28, 48—51, 55—58.

Cf. Brockelmann, ii. 335 *sqq.* (where further literature is given) and Ḥajī Khalīf, ed. Flügel, Index (Vol. vii.), p. 1145, N^o. 5446. Edition of N^o. 2) by Flügel in *Z.D.M.G.*, 1866, p. 1 *sqq.*, of N^o. 16) by Kremer in *J.A.*, 6, xl., 1868, p. 253 *sqq.*, of N^o. 43) by Horten, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Orients*, 1915, p. 64 *sqq.* (cf. Massignon, *Al-Hallaj*, p. 393, N^o. 19); brief synopsis of N^o. 44) by Flügel in *Z.D.M.G.*, 1867, p. 271 *sqq.* Biography in the *Tarāḥim* of his pupil ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Tāḍ al-ʿArīf al-Munāwī (d. 1031; Brockelmann, ii. 306, N^o. 13).

2) ABU MUHAMMAD AL-FAḌL b. MUHAMMAD b. AL-MUSAḌYID b. ZUHAYR b. VAZID b. KAḌḌAN b. BAḌḌAN (the Persian governor in Yaman in the time of Muḥammad): a traditionalist who travelled widely to collect traditions; he also studied with the Kūfa grammarian Ibn al-Aʿrābī (d. 231; Brockelmann, i. 116, N^o. 6); learned Kūfī reading with Khalaf (d. 229; Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qurʿāns*, p. 291, N^o. 9; Ibn Saʿd, *Tabaqāt*, vii/ii. 87; al-Samʿānī, fol. 77b, 30) and heard the lectures of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241; q. v.); he did not however obtain general recognition and died in 282. His epithet which he received from his habit of wearing his hair long, was transferred to his descendants, his son ABU BAKR MUHAMMAD AL-BAḌḌAN and his sons ABU ʿL-ḤASAN ISMʿĀIL (d. 347) and ABU ʿL-ḤASAN MUHAMMAD AL-ḌUL. Al-Samʿānī, fol. 334b, 12 and 101b, 12.

3) ABU ʿL-ARḌĀSH AḤMAD b. DJAFAR b. MUHAMMAD b. MARZUK b. BUSTĀN (this should perhaps be the reading of a meaningless word in al-Samʿānī; cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 74) b. FAHRUKH AL-AZIM AL-DJURJĀNĪ: Traditionalist, who studied under Shuʿaib b. al-Ḥabbāb (died before the middle of 11th/11th century; Ibn Saʿd, vii/ii. 18) and others. Al-Samʿānī, fol. 334b, 14—16.

4) Thirteen further individuals with the same *nisba* will be found dealt with in the following passages: *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 7, 10; al-Samʿānī, fol. 334b, 10 *sq.*; *Fihrist*, p. 314, 23; al-Samʿānī, fol. 334b, 15 *sq.*; cf. Ibn Saʿd, vii/ii. 51, 78; *ibid.* 28 *sq.*; Massignon, *Al-Hallaj*, p. 80, 755; *ibid.* p. 333; al-Samʿānī, fol. 334b, 17—23; *ibid.* 23—28 (read 371 for 372); *ibid.* 10 *sq.*; (cf. Brockelmann, i. 334); al-Ḍijānī (cf. i., p. 1055), *Nafahāt al-Uḥūd*, N^o. 298 (Calcutta 1859, p. 205; Turkish

Constantinople 1270, p. 181; Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften Berlin*, 2, s. v. al-Shar'īn. (J. SCHLACHT)

AL-SHARĀT, from the Latin *terra* through the Spanish *sierra*, is the term applied by certain geographers of Muslim Spain to the mountains which stretch from the east to west in the centre of the Iberian Peninsula. The best definition is given by Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-Umari. According to this author, the mountain range called al-Sharāt stretches from the country behind Madinat Salim (Medinaceli) to Coimbra. This term therefore describes the mountains now known under the names of Sierra de Guadarrama (Ar. Wādī 'l-rānā?), Sierra de Gredos and Sierra de Gata in Spain and Serra de Estrela in Portugal. In the time of al-Idrisi, however, it was applied only to the Sierra de Guadarrama, to the north of Madrid. The geographer Abu 'l-Fidā', quoting Ibn Sa'īd, described the mountain system of the centre of al-Andalus under the name of Djabal al-Shārā. According to him, it divided the peninsula into two well marked divisions, the north and the south.

Al-Idrisi, in his description of al-Andalus, gives the name of al-Sharāt to one of the twenty-six climes of this country, the twenty-second in his classification; this region, which embraced all the Sierra de Guadarrama, included the towns of Talavera de la Reina, Toledo, Madrid, al-Fahmīn, Guadalajara, Ucles and Huete.

Bibliography: al-Idrisi, *Sifat al-Maghrib*, ed. and transl. Dozy and de Goeje, Register; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḥṣīm al-buldān*, ed. Reinhold and de Slane, Paris 1840, p. 66 and 167; E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Alger 1924, p. 93 and index sub ach-Chārāt; E. Saavedra, *La Geografía de España del Edrisi*, Madrid 1881, p. 48; J. Alemany Bolester, *La Geografía de la Península Ibérica en los escritores árabes*, de la *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y su Reino*, vol. X, Granada 1920, p. 3—4. (E. LÉVY-PROVENÇAL)

SHARDJA, name of three places in Arabia: 1. Shardj al-Karī, a port on the coast of the Yaman, where there were storehouses for the *durra* which was shipped to Aden; the native town of Sirāḍ al-Yūn 'Abd al-Latif al-Zabidi, the famous grammarian who taught in Cairo and died in 802 A.H. (1399—1400).

2. A place near Meḥka.

3. A port on the Pirate Coast, on the Persian Gulf between 'Omān and Bahrain.

Bibliography: Ibn Hawqal, *B.G.A.*, II, 19; al-Makaddasī, *B.G.A.*, III, 53, 69, 86, 92; Ibn Khurdaḍbeh, *B.G.A.*, VI, 145; al-Ya'qūbī, *B.G.A.*, VII, 317, 319; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, s. v.; *Taḥṣīm al-arṣ*, s. v. (G. S. COLIN)

SHARḤ (A.), opening, commentary; *sharḥ* means to enlarge, expand, open, then to explain, comment upon; *taḥṣīṭ*, dissection of bodies, anatomy.

1. The word *sharḥ* was taken as the title of Sūra xciv. of the Qur'ān, as the first verse is: "Have we not opened, expanded your heart?" A legend has grown up round this verse. Muhammad, while still in the arms of his nurse, had his chest opened by two angels, who took out his heart and replaced it after washing it. This is why it is called the "opening of the heart".

2. *Sharḥ*, commentary on a work which is being studied in different branches of knowledge; next

come the glosses, *hāshiya*. The greater part of the famous treatises or poems in Arabic and Persian literature have had commentaries written on them; e.g. commentary on the *Alf al-lakān* (Arabic poetry); on the *Mathnawī* (Persian poetry); on the *Mawṣiṭa* (law); on the *Alfiya* (grammar); on Hāriri, philology; on astronomical treatises; the great, middle, and little commentaries on Aristotle by Averroes. For the commentaries on the Qur'ān, a special word is used, *tafsīr* (q.v.). (CARRA DE VACK)

SHARĀ' (A.) also SHAR' (originally infinitive), the road to the watering place, the clear path to be followed, the path which the believer has to tread, the religion of Islam, as a technical term, the canon law of Islam, the totality of Allāh's commandments (also used as the term for a single commandment = *ḥukm*, the plural *ḥukm* = *ahkām*, which is also used as identical with *shar'a*), *shar'a*, which was also used for custom and later became obsolete, is synonymous. *Shar'* is also used as a technical term for the Prophet as the preacher of the *shar'a*, but more frequently it is applied to Allāh as the law-giver. *Maḥṣūṭ* is what is laid down in the *shar'a*. Anything connected with the canon law, or anything in keeping with it, or legal is called *shar'i*. *Shar'* is also used in opposition to *ḥisā* ("purely sensible"); the former means the outward perceptible actions, which come under the cognizance of the law; the latter, all those in which this is not the case and so they have no significance in the *shar'a* (offer and acceptance are, for example, in concluding a bargain, *shar'i* in other circumstances *ḥisā*). Similarly *shar'* and *ḥukm* are in contrast to *ḥaqq*, the actual relations, from which those created by the law may be divergent.

The technical use goes back to some passages in the Qur'ān: xiv. 17 (of the last Meccan period) on the dating cf. Noldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qur'ān*, I, 58 sqq., and Grimme, *Mohammed*, II, 24 sqq.: "Then we gave them a *shar'a* (a path to be followed) in religion; follow it and not the wishes of those who have no knowledge"; xlii. 11 (the same period, perhaps somewhat later): "To you he hath prescribed the religion (*shar'a*), which"; etc.; ibid. 20: "... gods, who have prescribed a religion for them (*shar'a*), which Allāh hath not approved"; v. 52 (Medina, perhaps of the first Medina period): "To every one (people) of you, we have given a *shir'a* (a path to be followed) and a *minhādī* (a clear path)". Here *shar'a* and *shir'a* are not yet technical terms.

An old definition of *shar'a* is given by Tuhari on Qur'ān, xiv. 17: the *shar'a* comprises the law of inheritance (*farā'id*), the *ḥadd*-punishments, commandments and prohibitions. In the latter system by *shar'a* and *shar'* are understood Allāh's commandments relating to the activities of man, of which those that relate to ethics are taken out and classed together as *adab* (cf. ADAB, AETHLX). *Fikḥ* (along with the sciences of *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth* and the ancillary sciences) is the science of the *shar'a* or the *shar'ī* (cf. FIKH) and can sometimes be used as synonymous with it, and the *uṣūl al-fikḥ* are also called *uṣūl al-shar'*. According to the orthodox view, the *shar'a* is the basis (*maḥṣūṭ*) for the judgment of actions as good or bad, which accordingly can only come from Allāh, while according to the Mu'tazila (q.v.), it only confirms the verdict of the intelligence which has preceded it.

The *shar'ā* (as *forma exterranea*) regulates only the external relations of the subject to Allāh and his fellow-men and entirely ignores his inner consciousness, his attitude to the *forma internum*. Even the *niya* (intention) which is required, for example in many religious exercises, implies no impulse from the heart. The *shar'ā* demands and is only concerned with the fulfilment of the prescribed outward forms. The *shar'ā*, the legal judgment of actions based on it (*ḥukm*) and the judicial verdict (*ḥaḍḥ*) which is only concerned with the external circumstances, are in contrast to the conscience and religious feeling of responsibility (*ḍiyāna, tanazzuh*) of the individual and his inner relation to Allāh (*waḍ ḍalīqah mahkūm* [Allāh]). Religious minds like al-Ghazālī therefore protested against the over-estimation of the legal point of view and the *faqih's* themselves say that it is not sufficient simply to fulfil all the commandments of the *shar'ā*. With this is connected the position of the *shar'ā* among the Sufis [q.v.], for which cf. I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam* 2, 165 sq. and R. Hartmann, *al-Kuchairi's Darstellung des Sūfismus*, 72, 101 sq. The law is a starting-point on the path of the Sufi; on the one hand, it can serve as an indispensable basis for the further religious life, while the fulfilment of the law has to intensify (*shar'ā = amr bi'l-islām al-nūbiyya* = "commands to follow the path of recognition", and *ḥabībā = muḥababat al-nūbiyya*, "direct vision of the divine" form a correlated pair); on the other hand, only as a symbolical parable and allegory, finally even as superfluous and even dangerous forms which one has to cast off entirely (cf. MALĀMATIYA).

The knowledge of the *shar'ā* was originally obtained directly from the Kor'an and Tradition (hence, as already mentioned, the sciences of *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth* belong to the *Fiqh*); but later among the Sunnis (in contrast to some Hanbalis, the Wahhābīs and the Shī'īs) no one was considered qualified to investigate these sources independently (cf. IDRISSA, TAGHID). The knowledge of the *Shari'a* is authoritatively communicated to later generations through the system of *Fiqh*, which has been worked out to the most trifling details, and the authority of which is ultimately based on the infallible *ijmā'*. No orthodox Muslim can escape it, while for example the Mahdī Muḥammad Aḥmad did so (cf. *Islam*, xiv, 271, 275) and modernism does (cf. e.g. for Turkey: A. Fischer, *Übersetzung und Texte aus der neuarabischen Literatur*; do., *Aus der religiösen Reformbewegung in der Türkei*; A. Mahiddin, *Die Kulturbewegung im modernen Turkenum*; for Egypt: 'Alī 'Abd al-Raḥī, *al-Islām wa-Uḥūl al-Ruḥn*, Cairo 1344; for India: Syed Ameer Ali, *The Life and Teachings of Mohammed*; do., *The Spirit of Islam*; M. Barakatullah, *The Khilafat*).

A result of the development of the *Fiqh* has been that there is no codification of the law in the modern sense nor can there ever be one (cf. especially: Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, IV/ii, 260 sq.). At the same time the *Fiqh* books, especially those of later date and recognised as authoritative in wide circles (by *ijmā'*), are practically "law books" for the orthodox Muslim; in them he finds Allāh's *shar'ā* expounded in the way in which it is binding on him, and according to the particular *madhhab* which he follows while the Kor'an and Ḥadīth may have no more value

for him than edifying literature. But it is not everyone who is able himself to ascertain from the *ḥk* books with sufficient technical knowledge how the law affects particular cases; the laity rather require instruction from experts. This is done through *fatwā's* (legal opinions) and a scholar who gives *fatwā's* is therefore called *mufti*.

Allāh's law is not to be completely grasped by the intelligence, it is *as'abbadī*, i.e. man has to accept it without criticism, with its contradictions and its incomprehensible decrees, as wisdom into which it is impossible to enquire. We must not look in it for causes in our sense, nor for principles; it is based on the will of Allāh which is bound by no principles, therefore evasions are considered as a permissible use of means put at one's disposal by Allāh himself. Muslim law which has come into being in the course of time through the interworking of many factors, which can hardly be exactly appreciated (cf. Bergsträsser, *Islam*, xiv, 76, 277), has always been presented to its followers as something elevated, high above human wisdom, and with justice in so far as human logic or systematic has little share in it. A modest enquiry into the meaning of the divine laws so far as Allāh himself has indicated the path of enquiry is also not prohibited. There is therefore frequent reference to the deeper meaning and suitability (*ḥikma*) of a law. But one must always guard against placing too much stress on such theoretical considerations.

For this very reason the *shar'ā* is not "law" in the modern sense of the word any more than it is an account of its subject matter. It comprises as an infallible doctrine of ethics the whole religious, political, social, domestic and private life of those who profess Islam, to the fullest extent without limitation and that of the tolerated members of other faiths in so far as their activities are not inimical to Islam. Only one who has attained years of discretion (*baligh*) and is in full possession of his mental powers (*aqil*) is bound to obey the ritual law (*muṭallaḥ*). The prescriptions of the *shar'ā* may be classed in two main groups according to their subject: (1) Regulations relating to worship and ritual duties; (2) regulations of a juridical and political nature. These are absolutely similar from the Muslim point of view (although it is of course felt that the former, the so-called *ṣūḥūf*, are more closely connected with Allāh), and this is also true of the numerous regulations scattered everywhere through the *Fiqh* books regarding the most varied matters, which can hardly be brought under the heads of the two main groups, e.g. permitted and forbidden musical instruments, the use of gold and silver vessels, the relations of the sexes, racing and shooting for wagers, the copying of living things, clothing and ornaments for men and women, etc. The fundamental tendency in the growth of the *Shari'a* was the religious evaluation of all affairs of life and legal considerations were only secondary (cf. Bergsträsser, l.c.). A systematic division of the *Shari'a* was never reached. The Sunnis sometimes classify it quite formally into *ṣūḥūf* (obligations regarding worship), *mu'āmalāt* (civil and legal matters) and *uḥūdāt* (punishments), without any special stress being laid on this. We find more systematically worked out among the Shī'ī Twelver Imāms an equally formal division and one not logically carried through to its con-

clusion into *'ibādāt*, *'ahād* (legal matters affecting two parties), *ḥikāṣ* (legal matters affecting one party), *ahkām* (the remaining laws).

Among the early generations of Muslims, no unanimity prevailed as to what were the main duties of Muslims. Muhammad himself had laid special weight on the *ṣalāt* (ritual worship), *ṣakāt* (charity) and *ṣawm* (fasting). Many further regarded participation in the *jihād* (war for the faith) as one of the first duties of a Muslim, a view still held among the Khāridjīs. The Mahdī Muhammad Aḥmad also adopted the *jihād* as one of the main duties as revised by him (cf. *Islam*, xiv. 285). [The Shī'īs regard recognition of the imāmat as one of the main duties]. But according to the view that has come to prevail among the Sunnīs, *islām* is based on five pillars (*arkān*, sg. *rukn*): *shahādā* (the profession of faith), *ṣalāt*, *ṣakāt*, *ḥajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca), *ṣawm* (fasting in the month of Ramaḥān). The profession of faith is not dealt with in the Fiqh books. Questions connected with the creed were so numerous that the teaching of the first pillar soon became a special branch of study, the science of *kalām*. The other four *arkān* are sometimes classed together with *ṣaḥāra* (ritual purification) as the five *'ibādāt*. In the traditional arrangement of the Fiqh books, which is already the basis of the oldest books that have survived to us, but regarding whose origin, which must be earlier than the formation of the modern *madhhab*'s and probably belong to the second century, nothing is definitely known, the first five chapters are always devoted to these five *'ibādāt*, usually followed by the following subjects in succession: contracts, inheritance, marriage and family law, criminal law, war against unbelievers and attitude to unbelievers generally, laws regarding food, sacrifice and killing of animals, oaths and vows, judicial procedure and evidence, liberation of slaves.

All the prescriptions of the *shar'ā* are not to be taken as absolute commands or prohibitions. In many cases it is regarded, from the religious point of view, only as desirable or undesirable to do or permit something. Finally the law also regulates actions which it neither recommends nor condemns, but regards with indifference. In keeping with this, the following five legal categories (*al-ahkām al-khamsa*) are distinguished: (1) "duty" (*fard*) or "necessary" (*wājib*; cf. below), i.e. prescribed actions, the performance of which is obligatory, whose performance is rewarded and omission punished; of the further divisions of *fard* (*wājib*), the most important is that into *fard 'ain* and *fard kifāya* (cf. FARQ), a similar division being made in the following category; (2) meritorious (*mandūb* "recommended", *sunna* "ordained custom"; *sunna* in this meaning is not to be confounded with the "sunna of the Prophet", one of the *uṣūl al-fiqh*, although these two senses are connected; sometimes, however, the meaning of *sunna* as quality of an action did not remain uninfluenced by the other one), *mustahabb* "desirable", *nafī* or *nafiya* "voluntary meritorious action"; the performance of such is called *tafarruṭ*, i.e. actions the neglect of which is not punished, but the performance of which is rewarded; (3) permitted or indifferent (*mubāḥ*; rarely *ḥālī*; cf. below), i.e. actions the performance or neglect of which the law leaves quite open and for which neither reward nor punishment is to be expected; (4) reprehensible (*makrūh*), i.e. actions which although not punish-

able are disapproved of from the legal point of view; the later Shāfi'īs further distinguish a milder form of *makrūh*, the *ḥikāf al-awḥā*, "diverging from the path that is nearest"; correspondingly there is also an *awḥā*, that which lies nearer" which lies between what is permitted and what is meritorious; (5) forbidden (*ḥarām*, also *maḥḥūr*), i.e. actions punishable by Allah. Something the law approves of is called *maṭṭūb*; this may be *fard*, *sunna* or *awḥā*; the term is sometimes used for "permitted", so as to include "the irreprehensible", i.e. what is not definitely forbidden. There are still further subdivisions and grades in the categories mentioned (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschied.*, Register, s.v. *Kategorien*; T. de Boer, *De Wetsgeerte in den Islam*, Haarlem 1921, 33 ff. and the works on the *Uṣūl*, cf. the art. UṢŪL).

The reasons which lead to an action being classed under one of these categories may be of the most varied kind and here there is a wide field for difference of opinion (*ikhtilāf*) among jurists. What one party considers absolutely forbidden or an absolute duty, the others often regard as reprehensible or meritorious or even indifferent. Here, however, the catholic tendency of *islām* makes itself felt. Thus it may happen that something is considered *sunna* by one *madhhab* simply because the latter is unwilling to differ too much from the view of another school of Fiqh, which considers it a duty. That the same action according to circumstances can be sometimes forbidden, sometimes reprehensible, sometimes permitted, sometimes meritorious, sometimes a duty is generally recognised.

At the same time actions from the point of view of their legal significance in civil life are classed as: *ṣāḥḥ*, "valid, right", opposite *ḥāṣil*, "invalid", and *ṣāḥḥ*, "wrong"; *ḥālī*, "valid, permitted" (to be strictly distinguished from the meaning of *ḥālī* given above); but both meanings have the same root and the former is the older; cf. Bergsträsser, *loc. cit.*, opposite *ḥāṣil* *ḥālī*, "invalid, not permitted"; *māḥḥ* "legally valid", opposite *ḥāṣil* *māḥḥ*; *ḥāṣil*, *māḥḥ* "binding" (also in *wājib* the two meanings are to be distinguished; as to the sense, the above mentioned is more original; whether this is the same case in the application of the word as *terminus technicus* may be doubtful), opposite *ḥāṣil* *ḥāṣil*, or *māḥḥ*, etc., divisions which are not mutually exclusive and whose historical relations and the relations of the concepts behind them to one another and to the five categories still require explanation.

In the first thirty years of *islām* the same individuals may be said to have possessed the knowledge of the legal prescriptions to be enforced and authority in the guidance of the community, namely the companions of Muhammad; there was therefore little danger of utterly impractical ideas forcing their way in. After the coming of the Omayyads, however, the representatives of the religious and juridical ideals lost their position of authority, and this continued to be the case — the early 'Abbāsids being to some extent an exception. They then began — being no longer so bound by realities — to take a pleasure in developing their doctrine of duties in an ideal direction in a way which became more and more irreconcilable with practical life. They were particularly averse in constitutional law against any abuses, without

regard to persons; but they also showed a rabbinical turn for dialectic in continual new deductions and in stating cases. Thus a more learned body developed the school out of the council of the first Caliphs. It was only after many fruitless attempts to regain power that the pious became resigned and concluded a kind of truce with the temporal powers, a truce which is not laid down in any document, the terms of which are nowhere expressly formulated, but which was observed by both sides under the pressure of circumstances; they obeyed it in practice, retaining full liberty to censure theoretically, and thus we find everywhere laments about "the present age" and warnings against "the princes of this world". The latter in their turn recognised the law in theory and did not claim for themselves the right of legislation in the field of *shar'ā*, but when they thought fit, put the latter practically out of action by regulations in a contrary sense (*ḥukūm*, cf. below). This did not prevent them when they wished to be considered particularly pious, from sometimes — usually at some one else's expense — enforcing one or another regulation of the *shar'ā*, especially penal laws, but without themselves fulfilling the demands of the *shar'ā* or being able to do so. One must not imagine too sharp a line drawn between the influence of the schools and the power of the state. This is particularly evident in the office of *qāḍī*, the religious judge who is at the same time a state official (cf. e.g. Amedroz, *J. R. A.S.*, 1909, p. 1138; 1910, p. 761; 1911, p. 635; 1913, p. 823; Bergsträsser, *Z. D. M. G.*, 1914, p. 395; Margolouth, *J. R. A.S.*, 1910, p. 307). Finally there was only left to him public worship, the law of marriage, family and inheritance, vows, in part also pious foundations (*waḥf*), all fields which in the popular mind are more or less closely connected with religion, and in which the *shar'ā* always prevailed. So far as circumstances permitted, sins in the proper sense did not so much come under his consideration, as for example, invalidity of contracts, yet the religious character of the separate sections of the *shar'ā* was variously emphasised from the first (cf. Bergsträsser, *Islam*, loc. cit.). In the field of commercial law, practice therefore went its course unencumbered; only the *shar'ā* never really prevailed. Constitutional and criminal law, law relating to war and taxation and all the more important suits regarding property were more and more appropriated by the temporal power and cases were settled by a mixture of arbitrariness, local custom (*ʿūda*; cf. below) and a feeling of equity, and latterly also according to laws on the European model. Thus everywhere in Islam, quite independent of western influence, a twofold legal practice has grown up, which may be called the religious and the temporal. It is true that with the coming of the Ottomans a new wave of appreciation of the *shar'ā* even in practice sets in, which found expression, for example, in the office of *Shaykh al-Islām* [q.v.] and ultimately in the codification of the *madḥallā* [q.v.]; but even here we do not have an actual enforcement of the *shar'ā*; according to the *shar'ā* even the *madḥallā* is illegal and the temporal jurisdiction continued to exist in this case also. This period is not only long past (cf. the words quoted above on Turkish modernism), but an attempt is being made to drive the *shar'ā* entirely out of public life even out of the spheres

reserved to it hitherto and European codes have been bodily adopted (cf. the articles in the *Orient Modern* and in the *Revue du Monde Musulman*).

Of the impossibility of enforcing the *shar'ā* under prevailing conditions the *fuqahā* themselves were quite aware under the pressure of the facts. Even their truce with the temporal power was based on a recognition of this. To brand almost all Muslims as sinners or heretics, because they had continually to break the law, if they were not prepared to withdraw from the world entirely, was not feasible; on the contrary, these things had rather to be taken as arranged and even willed by Allāh. Thus the *shar'ā* was rendered actually powerless in so far as it could not be enforced in practice; the way was even pointed out to evade its rules; appeal was made to the principle that necessity breaks the laws; it was emphasised that one does not become an infidel by breaking the law, but only by doubting its eternal validity. The conviction that the Muslim community would steadily become corrupted till the coming of the Mahdī and that the breaches of Allāh's commands, which had been deduced in the course of development, would still increase, were expressed in traditions which were invented and even put in the mouth of the Prophet as prophecies; these conditions were thus sanctioned as a fulfilment of his prophecy. To sum up, the law in the convinced opinion of the *fuqahā* themselves is intended only for the ideal community of the early decades of Islam and for the time of the Mahdī; this was a confession of the impotence of the pious in face of the circumstances of the age. The *shar'ā*, essentially academic in character, has at the same time always been a considerable educational force and is still ardently studied; in spite of al-Ghazālī's advice to the contrary, it is still regarded in wide circles of Islam as the only subject of true learning. But as it was held up as an unattainable ideal and became the doctrine of the infallibility of the *ijmāʿ* together with the conviction of cessation of the *isṭiḥād* forbade any divergence from what had been formerly customary, it has become quite rigid: the jurists are opponents of all progress; even yet many prescriptions are still emphasised which only referred to the early Arabs and can have no longer any practical significance even for the most orthodox Muslim of to-day.

The heads of the law which are of practical importance for the Muslim (not regarding the later developments in Turkey) have already been mentioned; the following notes are now added and it should always be remembered that there may be considerable differences in detail in different periods and countries and that strictness and slackness in following the prescriptions of the *shar'ā* have nothing to do with the degree of intolerance. Even in ritual and the religious duties in the narrower sense, which mean most to Muslims, ignorance and gross neglect is never general, but nevertheless throughout the whole Muslim world there is perceptible a striving to perform some at least of the main obligations as closely as possible. The usages especially, by which Muslims are externally distinguished from members of other creeds, are in general very closely observed and considered very important even if they are not quite in accordance with the letter of the law, while, on the other hand, many religious obligations imperative

in theory are generally quite neglected. In the law relating to marriage, families and inheritance, which usually can be quite closely followed in practice, we have already the limitations enforced by *ʿāda* [q. v.] or *urf*, the local customary law that has existed from time immemorial in the different Muslim lands. The other parts of the law have no practical significance although everywhere and in every period we find conscientious, pious men who endeavour to take account as far as possible of the teaching of the *sharīʿa* even in commercial affairs; but here the *ʿāda* everywhere outweighs the rules of the *sharīʿa*, although according to the fifth books the former only has binding force in cases where the law definitely refers to it. But this low estimation is not quite in keeping with the position which the *ʿāda* had in the history of the *sharīʿa*. Muhammad himself allowed the Arab *ʿāda*'s to remain, so long as no uniform regulation was necessary or the *ʿāda*'s did not conflict with his principles. He only laid down a few rules and the *ʿāda* was to be in no wise deposed, although of course he did not lay down this as a principle. Islam then married the Arab *ʿāda*'s into foreign lands and even foreign *ʿāda*'s were at first partially recognised to a far-reaching extent; later this doctrine was given up in theory, although the *ʿāda* always retained great influence, as the *faṭḥ*'s have continually lamented; even the recognition of the *ʿāda* as the fifth of the *uṣūl al-fikḥ* was rejected. But public opinion knows only the *ʿāda*; even the obligations of the law, which are actually observed, are observed simply because they belong to use and wont, and in the Dutch East Indies, for example (apart from the theologians proper), the *ʿāda* is recognised among authoritative Muslim circles as being even in theory equal in every way to the *sharīʿa*.

The position of the *ḥanūn* [q. v.] with regard to the *sharīʿa* is similar to that of the *ʿāda*. The word is sometimes used in the sense of *ʿāda*; generally, however, it is applied to the (in part based on the *ʿāda*) regulations laid down by temporal princes of Islam; in this way *ḥanūn* is the opposite of *sharīʿa*. The best known are the *ḥanūn-nāma*'s of the Ottoman Sultans (cf. *ẖanūn-nāma*, KAT. at the end; to the literature given there add: *Özeride-i aṭṭīye*, N^o. 156, p. 463 sq.; N^o. 158, p. 669 sq.; N^o. 163—167, p. 1196 sq.).

The collections of *fatwa*'s from the Fikḥ literature along with other sources for *ʿāda* and *ḥanūn* are important for ascertaining the actual practice; from the questions of those who seek *fatwa*'s we see in what parts of the law the people of a country are most interested, what heresies and shisms are most prevalent and what conditions arouse indignations regarding their legality among pious laymen. At the same time the *hiyal* (stratagem) literature has to be considered, which describes evasions of the law (cf. above) and deals fully with the actual practice; finally the documents, original documents as well as collections of forms and precedents (*Sharīf* books, cf. SHARĪF), because in them more notice is taken than elsewhere of actual practice.

Bibliography: Lane, *Lexicon*, s. v.; *Dictionary of the Technical Terms used in the Sciences of the Muslims*, ed. . . . under the superintendence of A. Sprenger (Bibliotheca Indica, Old Series), i. 759 sq.; al-Tabari on *Qurʾān*, v. 52; Th. W. Juynebol, *Handbuch der*

Islamischen Gesetz, § 15—17; do., *Handbuch der Kenntnis von der islamischen Welt*, § 16 sq.; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschiedenis*, esp. vol. II and IV, 1, 2; do., *Der Islam in A. Bertholet—E. Lehmann, Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, 648 sq. (1895 sq.). *Das Gesetz*; I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, 30 sq.; Art.: LAW in T. P. Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*. Also in the works on the *Uṣūl* [q. v.]. — Add to the literature of *ʿāda*: E. Ubach and E. Rackow, *Sitte und Recht in Nordafrika (Quellen zur ethnologischen Rechtsforschung)*, suppl.-vol. to *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, xl.) and the pertinent works in the bibliography *Isl.*, xiii. p. 349 sq.

(JOSEPH SCHACHT)

SHARĪF (A.) (plur. *ashraf*, *sharafa*) "noble, exalted", the root of which expresses the idea of elevation and prominence, means primarily a freeman, who can claim a distinguished position because of his descent from illustrious ancestors (cf. *Lis. Ar.*, xi. 70 sq.). It is of course assumed here that the meritorious qualities of the fathers are transmitted to their descendants. The possession of several illustrious ancestors is the requisite condition for a *sharīf* (also *sharāh*) *dahīm*, a "solid" nobility. (Goldziher, *Mus. Stud.*, Halle a. S., 1898—1900, i. 41 sq.; Laumens, *Le Berceau de l'Islam*, Rome 1914, p. 289 sq.). Although in Islam the doctrine — based on *Qurʾān* xlix, 13 "Verily the noblest among you in the eyes of God is he that fears God most" — of the equality of all Arabs and ultimately of all believers grew up (Goldziher, *op. cit.*, i. 50 sq., 69 sq.), it never quite displaced the old reverence for a distinguished genealogy.

The *ashraf* were the heads of the prominent families, to whom were entrusted the administration of the affairs of the tribe or alliance of towns; cf. Ibn Hishām, *Stras.*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 237 l. 2; 295, 17; al-Tabari, *Akhbār al-Baṭn al-Madīna*, ed. Leiden, i. 1191; the *Ashraf* of al-Ḥira, *ibid.*, i. 2017; the *Ashraf* of *Qasr al-Nabī*, *ibid.*, ii. 541, 17; the *Ashraf* in Kufa, *ibid.*, ii. 631 sq. passing; the *Ashraf* of Khorāsān, *ibid.*, iii. 714, 1; the *Ashraf* of *al-Aḥqām*, *ibid.*, iv. 176, 4. The *ashraf* regarded themselves as the aristocrats (*Ahl al-faḥḥ*) with whom were contrasted the rude and uneducated masses (*ʿarāḍiyyūn*, *rafahā*, *akhlāṣ*) (al-Tabari, ii. 631, 1). *Sharīf* also means a person of importance in contrast to one of low social status (*qasf*, *waff*, al-Bukhārī, *Badʾ al-Waḥy* b. 6, *al-Hudūd*, b. 11, 12). In this sense the word is frequently found in the older literature of Islam, e.g. in the very title of al-Balādhurī's history, *Ansab al-Ashraf* and in chapter-headings, for example in Ibn Kutaiba, *Afʿāl min Afʿāl al-Salā wal-Ashraf* (*Uyūn al-Akhbār*, i. Cairo 1343, p. 332), in Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (*al-ʿIḍ al-farid*, Hüllä 1293, ii. 29; *Marāthiʿ al-Ashraf*, 207; *Ashraf Kuttāb al-Nabī*, iii. 311; *Nawāḥ al-Ashraf*, iii. 406; *man ḥadda min al-Ashraf*) and in al-Ḥaṣṣīn (*Sināʾat al-Ashraf*, *Lafḥ al-Maʿarīf*, ed. de Joze, Leiden 1867, p. 77); cf. also L. Massignon, *La Passion d'al-Hallaj*, Paris 1922, i. 230, note 6.

In Islam under the influence of Shīʿa views and the increasing veneration for the Prophet, membership of the house of Muhammad became a mark of special distinction. The expression *Ahl*

al-Bait comes from Qur'an xxxiii. 33: "God will remove the stains from you, O people of the house and purify you completely" which the Shi'is applied to 'Ali and Fāṭima and their sons (cf. already al-Kumait *al-Haḡimiyāt*, ed. Horowitz, Leiden 1904, text, p. 38, verse 30, cf. p. 92, verse 67) by interpreting it through the well known tradition of the mantle (*ḡalīl al-ḡalīl*, *ḡ. al-abbā*) also adopted in orthodox tradition. The explanation of the phrase as referring to the "women", which is more in keeping with the context, said to have been put forward by Ibn 'Abbās and 'Ikrima is found in some versions of this tradition, in which Umm Salama is recognised by the Prophet as belonging to the *Ahl al-Bait*. The current orthodox view is based on the harmonising opinion, according to which the term *Ahl al-Bait* includes the *Ahl al-ḡalīl*, i.e. the Prophet, 'Ali, Fāṭima, al-ḡasan and al-ḡusain as well as the women of the Prophet. But even the 'Abbāsids relied on the verse of purification and therefore we have the counterpart of the *ḡalīl al-ḡalīl* which includes al-'Abbās and his sons in the *Ahl al-Bait*.

Ahl al-Bait is given a still wider interpretation in a version of the so-called *ḡalīl al-ḡalīl*, where the term is referred to those to whom the sharing in *Sadaqa* is forbidden; among such are definitely mentioned the *Al* 'Ali, the *Al* 'Aḡl, the *Al* Dīfār and the *Al* al-'Abbās. According to this, the *Ahl al-Bait* includes the Ṭālibids and 'Abbāsids, historically the most important families of the Banū ḡashim. Cf. the article *AHL AL-BAIT* and on the traditions just mentioned al-Makrizi, *Ma'rifa*, I. 103^b 199; al-Sabbān, *ḡaf*, p. 96 199; al-Nahhānī, *Sharaf*, 6 199; Lammens, *Fāṭima*, Rome 1912, p. 95 199; Ströthmann, *Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen*, Straßburg 1912, p. 19 19; van Armanlonk, *De Opkomst van het Zaiditische Imamaat in Yemen*, Leyden, p. 65 199; see also the articles *AL* and *IKRA*.

The clan of the Banū ḡashim was put in the forefront by the editors of the *Sira* of the Prophet. God's deliberate choice after a gradual process of elimination of families finally selected the ḡashim as the family to produce the Prophet. A tradition which occurs in several versions runs as follows: The Prophet of Allāh said: "Allāh chose Ismā'il from the sons of Ibrāhīm and from the sons of Ismā'il the Banū Kināna and from the Banū Kināna the Quraysh and from the Quraysh the Banū ḡashim" (Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaḡāt*, ed. Sachau, I. 1, 2). One of these versions concludes with the words: "consequently I (i.e. Maḡammad) am the best of you as regards family and the best of you as regards genealogy" (Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *op. cit.*, II. 247). Cf. also al-Khaḡḡlī, *Nasim al-Riyāḡ fī Sharḡ Shifā' al-ḡaḡīl* (1944, Cairo 1325-1327, I. 429 199, chap. on the *Sharaf* of the Prophet; al-Nahhānī, p. 37-39).

To al-Kumait who lauded the noble blood of the Prophet in exuberant language (*op. cit.*, text, p. 14, I. 45 199) the Banū ḡashim are "the peaks of splendid nobility" (*ibid.*, p. 5, I. 14), who are granted "a pre-eminence over all men" (p. 38, I. 87). To be able to show kinship with the Prophet was thus an important claim to *ḡharaf* (cf. also al-Balḡhāḡ, *al-Maḡḡim wa 'l-Maḡḡim*, ed. Schwally, Giessen 1902, p. 95 199); al-ḡasan and al-ḡusain were regarded as the noblest by birth (al-Tha'libī, *op. cit.*, p. 51 199).

This special position of the Banū ḡashim, among whom the Ṭālibids are already celebrated by al-Kumait as *ḡharaf* and *abbā* (*op. cit.*, text, p. 10, I. 29, p. 56, I. 80), led in the later 'Abbāsid period (about the 10th/11th century) to a limitation of the title of honour *al-ḡharif*, which is also said to have been a *laḡab* of 'Ali (Maḡḡib al-ḡim al-Ṭabari, *al-Riyāḡ al-naḡira*, Cairo, 1327, II. 155, 18) to the descendants of al-'Abbās and Abū Ṭālib. al-Ṭabari (III. 635, 8) also mentions the *ḡharif* as a special group alongside of the Banū ḡashim.

In al-Miwardī (*al-Aḡḡam al-sulḡaniya*, ed. Enger, Bonn 1853, p. 165, 2) the *ḡharif* are divided into Ṭālibiyyūn and 'Abbāsiyyūn. From the literary history of the second half of the 10th (11th) century we know of the two brothers al-Sharīf al-Rida and al-Sharīf al-Murtada (cf. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, I. 82). According to al-Suyūṭī, *Ris. al-Sulḡa al-Zainabiya*, I. 40 19. (= al-Sabbān, p. 112 19.) the name al-Sharīf was used in the earlier period (*al-ḡadr al-awwal*) of all who belonged to the *Ahl al-Bait*, whether a ḡasani, ḡusaini or 'Alawi, i.e. a descendant of Maḡammad b. al-ḡanafiya or of another of 'Ali's sons, or a Dīfāri, Aḡlī or 'Abbāsi. He points out that in the chronicle of al-Dḡahabī (q.v.) we often meet with titles like *al-Sharīf al-'Abbāsi*, *al-Sharīf al-'Aḡlī*, *al-Sharīf al-Dīfāri*, *al-Sharīf al-Zainabī*, which however proves very little for the older period. The Fāṭimids however, as he observes, restricted the name *al-Sharīf* to the descendants of al-ḡasan and al-ḡusain and this had remained the custom in Egypt down to his time. Although this does not seem quite to agree with the very brief note that he quotes from the *Kitāb al-Aḡḡā* of Ibn ḡadḡar (al-'Asḡalānī) according to which *al-ḡharif* was used in Baghdad as a *laḡab* of every 'Abbāsi and in Egypt of every 'Alawi, we may assume that the word *al-ḡharif* in the strict sense was at that time applied only to a ḡasani or ḡusaini. For, as al-Suyūṭī notes in another connection (p. 60/8, al-Sabbān, p. 190 19., similarly Ibn ḡadḡar al-Haitamī, *al-Fatāwā al-ḡadḡhiya*, p. 124 199.), a *waḡf* or a testamentary deposition in favour of the *ḡharif* is only awarded to the descendants of al-ḡasan and al-ḡusain for such depositions are decided by local usage (*urf*) and according to the usage in Egypt, dating from the Fāṭimid period, this term was applied only to the ḡasani and ḡusaini. In conclusion al-Suyūṭī observes that according to the linguistic usage of Egypt the noble blood (*ḡharaf*) was divided into different classes, namely a grade which included the whole of the *Ahl al-Bait*, another which contained only the *ḡharifiya*, i.e. the descendants of 'Ali which included the Zainabīs, the descendants of Zainab bint 'Ali and also all sons of 'Ali's daughters, and finally a still smaller class this *ḡharaf al-niḡba* which only admitted the descendants of al-ḡasan and al-ḡusain.

Among the historians the title *ḡharif* is first used for the 'Alids in the period of the dissolution of the 'Abbāsid empire, when the 'Alids were rebelling everywhere and attaining power in Tabaristān and Arabia (Snouck Hurgronje, *Meḡāsa*, I. 56 19.).

The case of *ḡarīf* was similar to that of *ḡharif*. *ḡarīf* means the master in contrast to the slave (cf. e.g. al-Balḡhāḡ, *al-Aḡḡam*, b. 1, etc.; al-Tirmidḡī, *al-Birr*, b. 531, and the husband as opposed to the wife (e.g. Qur'an, xii. 25). *ḡarīf* was also the usual name for the head of a tribe or clan (cf. Qur'an xxxiii. 67; Ibn ḡashim, p.

195, 17), whose authority was based mainly on personal qualities like discretion (*hilm*), liberality and command of language (cf. Ibn Kutaiba, *Uyūn al-Akhbār*, i. 223 sqq.; G. Jacob, *Altarab. Studien*, 2 ed., Berlin 1897, p. 223 sq.; Lammen, *Le Brevet de l'Islam*, p. 206 sqq.). Certain physical qualities are also said to mark a man as a *saiyid* (Ibn Kutaiba, *loc. cit.*; Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, p. 144). The Qur'an praises the prophet Yahyā as a *saiyid* (lii. 34). *Saiyid* may have become particularly used as a title for 'Alids and Tālibids at about the same time as *sharīf*. This development was probably not unaffected by traditions which describe al-Hasan and al-Husain and their parents as *saiyid(a)*. The Prophet is recorded to have said of al-Hasan, "this my son is a *saiyid* and perhaps Allah will bring about reconciliation between the two parties of Muslims through him" (al-Bukhārī, *al-Fitan*, b. 20, No. 2, *Faḍl al-Saḥāba*, ii. 22; al-Tirmidhī, *Munāḥid al-Hasan wa 'l-Husain*, b. 30). Al-Husain appears in the Hadith as *Saiyid Shuhūd Ahl al-Djanna*, "lord of young men among the inhabitants of Paradise" (al-Nabḥānī, p. 64, 19 sqq.) and along with his brother he is celebrated as *Saiyidā Shāhid* etc. "the two lords of the young men" etc. (al-Tirmidhī, *op. cit.*; al-Nasā'ī, *Khaṣṣa' al-Amir al-Mu'minin 'Ali b. Abi Tālib*, Cairo 1308, p. 24, 26), while their mother Fāṭima is lauded by the Prophet as "mistress of the women of my (this) community" or "mistress of the women of the worlds", "mistress of the women of the dwellers in Paradise" (*Saiyidat Nisā' Ummah*, and *hāḥikhi 'Umma*, S. N. al-Adami, S. N. al-Djanna, cf. Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, viii. 17, 2 sqq.; al-Bukhārī, *Faḍl al-Saḥāba*, b. 29; al-Nasā'ī, *op. cit.*, 23 sq.; al-Nabḥānī, p. 54, 3 sqq.). The Prophet is said to have called 'Ali *Saiyid al-'Arab* and *Saiyid al-Muslīmīn* and to have once said to him "Thou art a *saiyid* in this world and a *saiyid* in the next" (Maḥibb al-Iḥn al-Tabarī, *op. cit.*, ii. 177). In a verse in al-Baiḥaqī, *op. cit.*, p. 90, 10, 'Ali is described as *saiyid al-nās*, but as a rule such expressions are only applied to the Prophet (*Saiyid Walad Adam*, Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, li. 1 and 3, 15; *Saiyid al-Bayḥar*, Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī, *op. cit.*, ii. 246, 17).

In the beginning the term *saiyid* may have been first applied to those who possessed some authority in their own sphere. In the genealogical work of the Hasanid Ibn Maḥannā, *Umdat al-Tālib fī Anṣab al-Ahlī Tālib*, individual 'Alids are often described as *saiyid* (Bombay edition 1318, e.g. p. 51, 16, 52, 12, 54, 10, 59, 12, 61, 10, 65, 15, 17, 117 ult., 142, 7, 149, 9). Al-Dhahabī, *Tarīḥ al-Islām*, MS. Leyden, 1721, i. 65^o gives this title to the Twelve Imām 'Ali b. Muḥammad. We also find the combination al-*Saiyid al-Sharīf* or vice versa (al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-'Arab*, Cairo 1342, ii. p. 277, 12; al-Kharrāzī, *al-Uḥūd al-Lu'lu'iyū*, i. Gihb Mem. Ser., iii. 4, Leyden—London 1913, p. 314, 11). The word *saiyid*, also came to be applied to Ṣūfī authorities, saints and notable theologians, e.g. al-Sada (al-Sufīyū), al-Sādāt al-Awḥāḍ (al-Sharīf), *Tabaqāt al-Khawāṣṣ*, Cairo 1321, p. 2, 9, 3, 1, 195, 3; al-Sada al-'Alam (Ibn Ḥafṣ al-Haitamī, al-Faṣayḥ al-hadithiyyū, p. 124, 1, 2). The term *Saiyid* or *Sidi* (frequently in al-Sharīf, *Lawaḥiḥ al-Anṣab fī Tabaqāt al-Aḥyār*, Cairo 1315), became very popular for persons regarded as holy, and is the expression used by the slave in addressing his master.

Like al-*sharīf*, al-*saiyid* came in many Muslim lands to be applied only to Hasanids and Husainids. Thus in Hadramawt their usual title is *saiyid* (Snouck Hurgronje, *Versep. Geogr.*, iii. 163). To judge from al-Kharrāzī (*op. cit.*, i. 315 sqq. *passim*) *sharīf* was in his day the usual name for them, now according to Amin al-Rajhānī (*Muṣṣa al-'Arab*, Beirut 1924, i. 92, note 1) it is *saiyid*. In the Hijāz it was the custom to call *sharīf* only those Hasanids whose ancestors had lived in Mecca and to give the name *saiyid* only to the Husainids. But the Meccan talks of the Grand Sharīf as *saiyidawā* and the latter gives the members of his family the title *saiyid* (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i. 57; do., *Versep. Geogr.*, iii. 163, v. 31, 40; al-Nabḥānī, p. 41). The names *saiyid* and *amir* (*amir*) used in Persia were also current in Turkey and India (Chardin, *Feyyag*, ed. Laugel, Paris 1811, v. 290; d'Ohason, *Tolbeau de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1786—1820, i. 70; J. von Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung u. Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna 1815, i. 398; Ja'far Sharīf-Herklots, *Islam in India or the Qanun-i-Islām*, new ed. by W. Crooke, London 1921, p. 26—28). Along with the title *saiyid* usual in the Malay Archipelago we also find in Atjeh the honorific *habib* (beloved) also used in Arabia (Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, i. 155).

In the 'Abbasid period, the *Aghraf*, 'Abbasids and Tālibids, were usually under the authority of a *naḥīb* "marshal of nobility" chosen by them. The history of this office has so far been little investigated. That it already existed under the Umayyads as von Kremer (*Culturegeschichte d. Orient unter den Chalifen*, Vienna 1873, i. 449, note 1) supposes from Ibn Khallikān, *al-'Iṣṣar*, Bāḥḥ 1284, ii. 134, 3 from below, is very doubtful as the passage quoted is probably corrupt (cf. al-Tabarī, ii. 16, ult., 17, 1). The two branches of the Banū Hāshim were from the first probably under a marshal as was the case about 301 (913/914). ('Arīb, ed. de Goeje, p. 47, 10). Yet we find mentioned in al-Tabarī (iii. 1516, 4) in the year 250 (864) as administrator of the affairs of the Tālibids (*yatawalla amr al-'T*). Umar b. Furaḍl (al-Rokh-khādī) who apparently was not a Hāshimī. The 'Alid 'Ali b. Muḥammad b. Dja'far al-Himḥanī who died in 260 (873/874) was *naḥīb* in Kufa (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūḥ al-Dhahab*, Paris 1861—1875, vii. 338). Perhaps at this date there were in the larger towns as at a later date, marshals of the nobles, who were under a grand marshal (*naḥīb al-nuḥabā*). In general theory it was the duty of the *naḥīb* who had to possess a good knowledge of genealogical matters, to keep a register of nobility, enter births and deaths in it and to examine the validity of alleged 'Alid genealogies (cf. thereon, 'Arīb, p. 49 sq., 167). He had to keep a watch on the behaviour of the *sharīf*, to restrain them from excesses, to remind them to do their duty and avoid anything which might injure their prestige. He had also to urge their claims, especially those on the treasury, to endeavour to prevent the women of noble blood from making mésalliances and to see that the waḳfs of the *naḥīb* were properly administered. The chief *naḥīb* had other special duties, including certain judicial powers. Cf. al-Mawardi, *op. cit.*, p. 164 sqq.; von Kremer, *op. cit.*, i. 448 sq.; Mez, *op. cit.*, p. 145, see also the article *NAḤīb*.

The green turban which became usual as a mark of the *ashraf*, especially in Egypt, owes its origin to an edict of Sulṭān al-Ashraf Sha'bān (764-778 = 1363-1376) who ordered in 773 (1371/1372) that the *Ashraf* should wear a green badge (*ḥuṭṭa*) fastened to their turbans to distinguish them from other people and as an honour for their rank (Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī al-Zuhūr*, Cairo 1311, I, 227; 'Alī Dede, *Muḥḍarāt al-Awā'id wa-Muḥḍarāt al-Awā'id*, Bulāq 1300, p. 85; Dory, *Dict. des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes*, Amsterdam 1845, p. 308; Mez, *op. cit.*, p. 59). This edict which is commemorated by the poets of the time recalls that of al-Ma'mūn which replaced in Ramaḍān 201 (817) the black colour of his house by green, when he designated the Husaynid 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Ridā as his successor (al-Tabarī, III, 1012 sq.). The Husaynid Muḥammad b. Iḥṣān al-Kaṭṭānī in his treatise on the turban (*al-Ḍaḥmā li-mu'rīfat al-kānūn min al-inṣān*, Damascus 1342, p. 97 sq.) supposes that the descendants of 'Alī and Fāṭima henceforth retained green as their colour, but confined themselves in practice to wearing a piece of green material on the turban. This, he thinks, fell into disuse in time, until Sulṭān Sha'bān revived it by his edict. According to the work *Durār al-afḍāl* which is quoted by al-Kaṭṭānī, the wearing of an entirely green turban dates from an edict of the Pasha of Egypt al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Sharīf (cf. in al-Iḥṣān, *Al-ḥabār al-Uṣṭāl fi-man taṭarrafā fi Miṣr min Ar-Ras al-Dumal*, Cairo 1311, p. 164 infra) of the year 1004 (1596): when he had the *kīmā* for the Ka'ba exhibited, he ordered the *ashraf* to come before him, every one wearing a green turban. Al-Suyūṭī observes that the wearing of this badge is a permissible innovation (*bid'a muḥibba*) which no one, whether a *sharif* or not a *sharif* can be prevented from following, if he wishes to do so, and which cannot be forced upon any one who wishes to omit it, as it cannot be deduced from the law. At most it can be said that the badge was introduced as a distinction for the *ashraf*: it is therefore equally permissible to limit it to the Husaynids and Husaynids or to allow it to the Zaynabiyas also and to the still wider circle of the remaining 'Alids and the Ṭalibids. An endeavour is made to connect this custom with Kor. II, xxiii, 59 in which some scholars see a suggestion that learned men should be distinguished by their dress, for example, by wearing long sleeves or by the winding of the *qalām*, so that they may be readily recognised and honoured for the sake of learning (al-Suyūṭī, I, 54-55, complete in al-Sabḥān, p. 189 sq., abbreviated in Ibn Hajar al-Haitamī, *al-Fatāwā al-ḥadīṭhiyya*, p. 124 and al-Nabḥānī, p. 41 sq.). With regard to the Kor'anic verse above mentioned, it should, according to al-Sabḥān (p. 191), be held that the wearing of the green badge or green turban is recommended for the *ashraf*, and blameworthy for others than they, because the latter by wearing it would put themselves into another than their real genealogical category, which is not permitted. On this account according to al-Kaṭṭānī, even the Maliki authorities considered the wearing of a green turban as forbidden to a non-*sharif*. With regard to a tradition transmitted by Ibn Hanbal, according to which the Prophet on the day of resurrection is clothed by his Lord with a green turban, Sha'bān's teachers are said to incline to the view that this headgear

is desirable for the *ashraf* (al-Kaṭṭānī, p. 98 below, cf. 95). Other authorities like to insist that green is the colour of the garments of the dwellers in Paradise (cf. *Kur'ān* xviii, 30, lxxvi, 21), and that it was the Prophet's favourite colour (al-Kaṭṭānī p. 95 sq., with references to Ḥadīth).

The green turban did not become the general headgear of the *Ashraf* throughout the Muslim world. In Arabia they rarely wear other than white turbans (Snoeck Hurgonje, *Verspr. Geogr.*, IV, 63). The green colour was preferred in Persia (Chardin, *Voyages*, loc. cit.); according to P. M. Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, London 1902, p. 24, note 1, the *sayyid* is distinguished there by a blue turban and a green loin-cloth. In India *sayyids* wear green; they are therefore occasionally called: *sayyid*; "green-robed" (Ja'far Sharīf-Herklotz, *op. cit.*, p. 103). According to al-Nabḥānī (p. 42 sq.) the green turban is not a mark of noble blood in Constantinople. It is worn there not only by learned men and students but also by artisans and street merchants, especially in winter as it does not show dirt so quickly. On this account many *ashraf* are said to avoid the colour green.

Those of the Prophet's blood are also distinguished in other ways according to orthodox views. For example the sharing in the *ṣadaqa* (*ṣadāq*, q. v.) is forbidden them. The Prophet is recorded to have frequently said of the *ṣadaqa*: "It is the filth of men (cf. *Kur'ān*, ix, 104) and permitted neither to Muḥammad or the family (al) of Muḥammad". The legal authorities differ on the question whether this rule applies not only to the Banū Hāshim but also to the Banū 'l-Muṭṭalib and the clients of these families, and whether also free-will offerings (*ṣadaqāt al-naṣl*, cf. *al-Ṣafawāt*) are included under it (al-Nabḥānī, p. 33 sq.).

The sons of Fāṭima have the privilege of being called "sons of the Prophet of God" and thus having their descent traced directly to the Prophet. They are therefore frequently addressed as *Ibn Rasūl Allāh*. From the work of al-Tabarānī sayings of the Prophet are quoted in justification such as: "All the sons of one mother trace themselves back to an agnate, except the sons of Fāṭima, for I am their nearest relative and their agnate" (*Waliyahum wa'Aqabatuhum*. Cf. Ibn Hajar al-Haitamī, *al-Fatāwā al-ḥadīṭhiyya*, p. 123, 24 sq.; al-Nabḥānī, p. 48 sq.).

From the fact that the *Ahl al-Bait* are the noblest in descent it results that the female members of the family have no one of equal birth to them (*ḥuṭṭa*). According to al-Suyūṭī (I, 30 sq., cf. al-Sabḥān, p. 188; cf. Ibn Hajar al-Haitamī, *op. cit.*, p. 123, 31) it is a very old opinion that the son of the marriage of a *sharif* woman with a man who is not a *sharif*, is not a *sharif*. As al-Sabḥān, p. 192, points out there are many however who consider him a *sharif*. In practice however marriages of a *sayyid*'s daughter with men not their equals are extremely rare (Snoeck Hurgonje, *The Achehnese*, Leyden 1906, I, 158; do., *Verspr. Geogr.*, IV, 297 sq.; Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali, *Observations on the Muhammadans of India*, with notes by W. Crooke, London 1917, p. 4 sq.); al-Sharānī (in al-Nabḥānī, p. 89 sq.) does not consider it seemly to marry the divorced wife or widow of a *sharif*: one may only enter into matrimony with a *sharif* woman, if he knows

he is in a position to afford her all that is due to her, will obey her pleasure and consider himself her slave.

The following saying of the Prophet refers particularly to the *Ahl al-Bait*: "Every bond of relationship and consanguinity (*rahb wa-nasab*) will be severed on the day of resurrection except mine". They are therefore the only ones whose relationship can avail them (al-Nabhanī, p. 22, 30, 39 sq., 47).

A weak tradition makes the Prophet say: "The stars are a security (*amūn*) for the dwellers in the heavens and my *Ahl al-Bait* are a security for the dwellers on earth" (or "for my community"). According to the commentators by the *Ahl al-Bait* are here meant the descendants of Fāṭima. Their existence on the earth is a security for its inhabitants in general and for the community of the Prophet in particular against punishment or against overwhelming by "temptations" (*fitan*). It is not the pious among them that are specially meant here; this distinction is solely based on their descent from the Prophet (*al-'unṣur al-nabawī*) apart from any qualities, meritorious or otherwise, which they happen to possess as individuals. An allusion to this opinion is also sought in Qur'an viii. 33 (al-Nabhanī, p. 28 sq., 30 and 47; cf. al-Ṣabbānī, p. 119 sq.; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haitamī, *al-Sawā'iq*, p. 144; *al-Fatāwā al-hadithiyya*, p. 122, 11 sq.).

None of the *Ahl al-Bait* will suffer the punishment of Hell (al-Makrīzī, f. 100b; al-Nabhanī, p. 21, 27 sq., 33, 5 sq., 45) and 'Alī, al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥusain with their families will be the first to enter Paradise along with the Prophet (al-Nabhanī, p. 48, 11 sq.).

The "sons of the Prophet of God" may be certain of divine forgiveness and any wrong inflicted by them must be accepted like a dispensation of Allāh, if possible with gratitude. Ibn al-'Arabī, who takes the verse of purification in connection with Qur'an xlviii. 2, in which the Prophet is promised pardon for his sin, observes, *inter alia*: "It behoves every Muslim, who believes in Allāh and in what he has revealed to recognise the truth of the word of Allāh: 'Allāh will remove the stain from you, O people of the house and purify you completely', so that he may be convinced with respect to everything done by the *Ahl al-Bait* that Allāh has given them pardon for it. It is therefore not fitting for a Muslim to criticise them, neither for what is not in keeping with the honour of those of whom God has testified that he has purified them and removed the stain from them nor for pious works performed by them, nor for good deeds which they have performed, but always to remember God's watching care over them (*al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, Cairo 1329, Chap. 29, i. 196, 17-198, 25, esp. 196, 21 sq., cf. 197, 11 sq.; in al-Makrīzī, f. 108b, 13 sq.; in al-Nabhanī, p. 11-13, 76-79).

A *sharif* who has received *hadd* punishment for incontinence, taking intoxicating liquor or theft may be compared with an *amir* or *sultān* whose feet have become soiled but are wiped clean by one of his servants. He is also likened to a refractory son, who is however not deprived of his inheritance (Ibn Ḥajar al-Haitamī, *op. cit.*, p. 122, 20 sq.; al-Nabhanī, p. 46).

The duty of love for the *Ahl al-Bait* is based on Qur'an xlii. 22, where *ḥarbā* is referred to

relationship with the Prophet (Ibn Bīrīq al-Hillī, *Khawāṣṣ Waḥy al-Muḥsin*, p. 51 sq.; do., *al-Uṣūl*, p. 23 sq.; al-Makrīzī, f. 112*, 16 sq.; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haitamī, *al-Sawā'iq*, p. 104 sq.; al-Shabrāwī, p. 4 sq.; al-Ṣabbānī, p. 96 and sq.; al-Nabhanī, p. 72 sq.). It is further pointed out that the conclusion of the *taḥḥād* [q. v.] contains a prayer for the Al Muḥammad (Ibn Ḥajar al-Haitamī, *al-Sawā'iq*, p. 143; al-Nabhanī, p. 75 below). A saying attributed to al-Shāfi' [q. v.] is as follows: "O ye members of the house of the Prophet, love for you is a duty to God, which he has revealed in the Qur'an". It is a great honour for you that any one who does not say the *ḥaṭiya* [q. v.] over you has not performed the *ḥaṭiya* (*op. cit.*, p. 88). There are further a large number of traditions, which urge this affection, represent it as a proof of belief, and promise in return for it the *ḥaṭiya* of the Prophet on the day of the resurrection and a heavenly reward, forbid signs of hatred and even describe the latter as infidelity (Ibn Ḥajar al-Haitamī, *al-Sawā'iq*, p. 141 sq.; al-Shabrāwī, p. 3 sq.; al-Nabhanī, p. 81 sq.).

Reverence and respect ought therefore always to be shown to the *sharīf*, especially to the pious and learned among them; this is a natural result of reverence for the Prophet. One should be humble in their presence; the man who injures them should be an object of hatred. Unjust treatment from them should be patiently borne, their evil returned with good; they should be assisted when necessary; one should refrain from mentioning their faults, on the other hand their virtues should be lauded abroad; one should try to come nearer to God and his Prophet through the prayers of the devout among them (al-Shabrāwī, 7, 17, sq.). According to al-Shāfi'ānī, one should treat a *sharif* with the same distinction as a governor or a *ḥāfi al-askar*. One should not take a seat if a *sharif* is without one. Special reverence should be paid to the *sharif*; one hardly dare look at them. Any one who really loves the sons of the Prophet will present them with anything they wish to buy. Whoever has a daughter or sister to give in marriage with a rich dowry, should not refuse her hand to a *sharif* even if he has no more than the bridal gift for her and can only live from hand to mouth. If one meets a *sharif* or *sharif* on the street, who asks for a gift, one should give him what one can (al-Nabhanī, p. 89 sq.).

One should not refuse marks of respect even to a *sharif* whose conduct is contrary to the law (*ḥaṭ*), because one knows his sin will be forgiven him. This high esteem is his due on account of his pure origin (*al-'unṣur al-nabawī*) and *ḥaṭ* does not affect his genealogy (al-Nabhanī, p. 45). If it is doubtful whether a man is a *sharif* but there is nothing to object to in his genealogy from the legal point of view he should be treated with the proper respect. Even if his pedigree is not legally established, one should not assume he is lying without being absolutely certain on the point (Ibn Ḥajar al-Haitamī, *al-Fatāwā al-hadithiyya*, p. 122, 27 sq.; al-Nabhanī, p. 46). There are a number of anecdotes in which an individual who has been neglectful of respect to a *sharif* or who has irritated one has been corrected in a dream by the Prophet or by Fāṭima (al-Makrīzī, f. 144*, 11 sq.; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haitamī, *al-Sawā'iq*, p. 148; al-Nabhanī, p. 45, 95 sq.).

The numerous *saiyids* and *sharifs* are represented throughout the whole Muslim world. Several families have attained ruling power for longer or shorter periods, e.g. in Tabaristān and Dailam, in western Arabia, Yemen and Morocco. Other families have exercised local influence but by far the great majority lived and live in poor circumstances. The genuineness of an 'Alid pedigree has for long not been unassailable. The genealogical tradition has survived in its greatest purity in western Arabia and Hadramawt. The family of 'Alawi's in Hadramawt, which has produced many notable jurists, theologians and mystics, regard only the west Arabian *sharifs* as their equals in birth.

The *saiyid*, who distinguishes himself by a pious life, readily becomes revered as a saint. His blessing is expected to bring good fortune, while his wrath brings misfortune. By vows and gifts it is hoped to secure his auspicious intercession and his tomb becomes a place of pilgrimage. On the much visited tombs of *saiyids* and *saiyidas* in Cairo cf. al-Shablandj's work cited below.

In the Yemen as in Hadramawt, the *saiyid* who is to be distinguished there from the armed *sharif* carrying a staff (*'uḥḥār*) and rosary, acts as intermediary between two disputing parties. He also drives away the locusts and his prayer puts an end to infertility while his curse makes it continue. Many *saiyids* are also visited for their healing powers. Reverence for the *saiyid* frequently finds expression in presenting him with lands (H. Jacob, *Parfumes of Araby*, London 1915, p. 45, 173, 199.).

For a fuller description of the *sharifs* and *saiyids* and the reverence paid to them see Snouck Hargronje, *Mekka*, i. 32 199., 70 199.; on the *saiyids* of Hadramawt, who are also strongly represented in the Malay Archipelago and to whom belong the founders of the sultanates of Siak and Pontianak, cf. do., *Verspre. Geschr.* iii. 162 199., and *The Atchehmes*, i. 153 199.

For the history of the *sharifs* who ruled in Mekka and the Hijāz from the 14th (15th) century till 1924, see Snouck Hargronje, *Mekka*, i. and the article MEKKA (history); cf. also the sketch in al-Batānūnī, *al-Rihla al-Hijāziyya*?, Cairo 1329, p. 73 199. — Information on the families of *sharifs* in Arabia is given in *A Handbook of Arabia*, i., comp. by the Geogr. Sect. of the Naval Intelligence Division, London n.d., Ind. and *Aghraf*.

On the *sharifs* of Morocco cf. the art. HANANĪ, GURAINĪ, GHURFĀ; on the *Saiyids* of India cf. art. INDIA (Brit.) II.

The genealogy of the *Talibids* is discussed in Ahmad b. 'Alī... Ibn Muḥannā al-Da'ūdī al-Ḥasanī, *'Umdat al-Talib fi Anṣab Al Abi Talib*, Bombay 1318.

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Ahl al-Bida' wa 'l-Zandaqa, Cairo 1308; do., *al-Fatāwī al-Ḥadithiyya*, Cairo 1329; al-Shahrawī, *al-Iḥḥāf bi-ḥuḥḥ al-Aghraf*, Cairo 1318; Muḥammad al-Sabbān, *ṭīf al-Kāghibin fi Sirat al-Muṭṭafā wa-Faḍl al-Ahl Baitih al-Takrim*, on the margin of al-Shablandj, *Nūr al-Aḥqār fi Manāḥib Abi al-Bait al-Nabi al-Muḥḥār*, Cairo 1322; Yūsuf b. Ima'īl al-Nabḥānī, *al-Sharaf al-mu'abbad li-Abi Muḥammad*, Cairo 1318; Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1722, p. 11 199.; E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 3rd ed., London 1842, i. 42, 46, 197, 210, 366. (C. VAN ARKHOUD)

AL-SHARIF AL-RADI, ABU 'L-ḤASAN MUHAMMAD b. ABĪ ṬĀHIR AL-ḤUSAIN b. MUḤA descended from al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī through MUSA al-Kārim on account of which he and his brother 'Alī al-Murtadā [q.v.] were given the family name al-Musawī. His father who was born in the year 307 (919/920) was under Būyid rule in Baghdad *Naḥb* of the *Talibis*, an office resembling that of a heralds-college for the descendants of the Prophet through 'Alī's wife Fātima. al-Rādī was born in Baghdad in the year 359 (970) and appears to have been very precocious; we are told by Tha'alibi, his contemporary, that he composed his first verses when he had hardly passed the age of ten years. The earliest dated poem in his *Divān* was composed in the year 374, when he was 15 years old. Tha'alibi, and the authors who copy him, assert that al-Rādī was undoubtedly the greatest poet of the *Talibis*, perhaps even the greatest poet of the tribe of Kuraysh had produced. If we take the measure of so much inferior poetry composed at that time, for the times were prolific in poets, Tha'alibi may be right, and we cannot but admit that some of his elegies upon friends have a touch of genuine feeling. The quantity of poetry composed by him in his short life is also remarkable, as his *Divān* filled originally four volumes. al-Rādī must have been of feeble constitution and he tells us himself in one of his poems that he began to show grey hair at the early age of 21 years. Several other poems tell us of his recovery from serious illness. Perhaps the anxiety for his father who for a long time was imprisoned in Shirāz for some offence which I have been unable to elucidate, and the agitation in Baghdad due to the marked preference given by the Būyid amirs to the Shī'a and the consequent rancour of the Sunnis, may have contributed to undermine his health. His father had retired from the office of *Naḥb* and al-Rādī was honoured with the appointment to this important office. Tha'alibi, and other biographers who copy him, state that he received this post in the year 388, but the introduction to the poem which he sent to Bahā' al-Dawla thanking him for his favour tells us that the diploma was sent to him from al-Basra, together with the command to serve as leader of the pilgrim-caravan, and arrived in Baghdad on the 1st of Dhu'l-Ḥijja 1 of the year 397. The following year Bahā' al-Dawla honoured him further by conferring upon him the title of al-Rādī by which name he is generally known. Three years later in the month Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 401, he received from the same amir the further title of al-Sharīf. Bahā' al-Dawla continued to confer other honours upon him and on Friday the 16th of Muḥarram 403, he was appointed *Naḥb* over the

descendants of the Prophet in the whole dominions of the amir, but in Djamādī I of the same year he felt so seriously ill, that his life was despaired of. However two months later in the month Rajab he had so far recovered that he was able to send another poem to Sulṭān al-Dawla who was then in Arradjan, where Bahā' al-Dawla died in Djamādī II. His last poem composed in praise of any prince was a poem he addressed to Sulṭān al-Dawla in the month Safar 404 and the last dated poem in his Diwan is an elegy upon the poet Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Battī who died in the month Shabān 405. He himself died on Sunday morning the 6th of Muḥarram 406 (26th of June 1016). His brother 'Alī al-Murtaḍā was so overcome with grief that he could not stay in Baghdād to attend his funeral and the waṣīr Fakhr al-Mulk said the prayers over his grave. He was buried in his house in the quarter of the Anḥārīn in the suburb al-Karḥ of Baghdād. In the time of Ibn Khallikān the house as well as the grave had been demolished. From occasional references to al-Raqī found scattered, we can form the opinion that he was of an amiable character and broad-minded as is proved by his friendship with al-Sābi, whom he honoured with two elegies though he was not a Muslim, and even the reproaches of his brother on account of the first of these did not deter him from composing a second one in which he pronounces his grief even more. His poems as already stated are very numerous and were collected by several friends; manuscripts are not rare and we actually have two printed editions (Bombay 1889 in one volume and Bairūt 1890/1892 in two volumes). Both these editions are in alphabetical order; this is also the case in the two MSS. in the British museum (Add. 19419 and Add. 25750) consulted, except that in one manuscript the Elegies are separated from the other poems. It is of value that both in the MSS. and the printed editions many of the poems are precisely dated and these dates have furnished some of the details of the biography, but as many poems are elegies upon eminent persons who died in Baghdād, these dates have additional historical value. There are poems for every year from 374 to 405 and a full analysis would require too much space. In addition to his poems al-Raqī is credited with two works dealing with the exegesis of the Qur'ān entitled *Ma'āni 'l-Qur'ān* (obscurities of the Qur'ān) and *Maḥāṣil al-Qur'ān* (Metaphors in the Qur'ān), these works have not come down to us. In his Catalogue of the manuscripts in the library of the Escorial, Dérenbourg describes under No. 348 a manuscript of a work entitled *Taif al-Khayāl* as being by al-Raqī. Whether the error is due to Dérenbourg or to the scribe who wrote the codex, there can be no doubt that this is a mistake. The brother of al-Raqī, 'Alī al-Murtaḍā, certainly wrote a book of this title and another 'Alid author, Hibat Allāh b. al-Shaḥārī quotes in his *Ḥamāṣa* (Paris, MS. Arabe, No. 9257, fol. 96 recto) from the *Taif al-Khayāl* of al-Murtaḍā; further in the introduction of the Escorial MS. the author mentions that he had previously written a book on "grey hair" (*fi 'l-Shayb*). This latter book we possess in a printed edition (Constantinople 1302) and it certainly is by al-Murtaḍā, who tells us at the end that he finished it in the year 421, or fifteen years after the death of his brother al-Raqī. We cannot possibly admit that the two brothers wrote two books with exactly the

same titles and the same, or similar contents, and we consequently have to attribute the work in the Escorial MS. to al-Murtaḍā.

Bibliography: Tha'alibī, *Yafīna*, Damascus, ii. 297—315, with many extracts of his poems; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 639, Cairo ed., ii. 2; Yāfī, *Min 'at al-Qizān*, iii. 18—20; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 82. — Poems by al-Raqī are found in nearly every anthology.

(F. KERNKOW)

SHARIF PASHA, an Egyptian statesman in the reigns of the Khedives Ismā'īl and Tawfīk. He was of Turkish origin and was born in 1823 in Cairo where his father was then acting as kādī 'l-ḥudūd sent by the Sulṭān. When some ten years later the family was again temporarily in Cairo, Muḥammad 'Alī had the boy sent to the military school recently founded by him. Henceforth his whole career was to be spent in the Egyptian service. Sharif was a member of the "Egyptian mission" sent to Paris for higher education (cf. the article *КЕНОТЫ*) which included the future Khedives Sa'id Pasha, Ismā'īl Pasha and 'Alī Muḥarak Pasha. He then took a military course at St. Cyr (1843—1845) and served for some time in the French army until the mission was recalled by 'Abdās I in 1849. For the next four years he acted as secretary to Prince Halim, then took up military duties again in 1853 and attained the rank of general under Sa'id Pasha. During this period he was much associated with the commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army, Sulaimān Pasha (de Séves), whose daughter he married.

In 1857 Sharif Pasha began his political career as Minister of Foreign Affairs and he acted as deputy for the Khedive Ismā'īl when the latter went to Constantinople in 1865. He later filled in succession all the high offices of state. It was he who in 1866 drew up the plans for the new *Majlis Niyāzi*.

After the inauguration of constitutional government in Egypt in 1878, three cabinets were formed by Sharif Pasha. When in February 1879 Nāḥūr Pasha's cabinet (which included two Europeans) had been overthrown by the nationalist parliament, a constitutionalist movement was begun under Sharif Pasha, the leader of which in Parliament was 'Abd al-Salām al-Muwaililī. This party drew up a plan of financial reforms, which was laid before the Khedive who in April 1879 entrusted Sharif Pasha with the formation of a cabinet composed of purely Egyptian elements. This new cabinet (see the list of members in Sabry, p. 153, note) instituted a Conseil d'État and had a new organic law passed by the Chamber (promulgated on June 14, 1879). After the accession of the Khedive Tawfīk Pasha, Sharif Pasha's cabinet was remodelled, but the new government was not so national as the preceding. In August of the same year the new Khedive refused to approve the constitution drawn up by the Prime Minister and on the 18th of the same month Sharif Pasha resigned and was succeeded by Riyāḍ Pasha. Sharif then took part in the formation of the "National Party" at Hulwān, which published a manifesto against Riyāḍ Pasha on November 4. Two years later after the nationalist military revolution of Sept. 9, 1881, Sharif Pasha was the only statesman in whom the military party had sufficient confidence to entrust with the formation of a new cabinet

(Sept. 15). Sharif then called together an assembly of notables intended to counterbalance the influence of the military. This assembly met on Dec. 26, but the nationalists in it soon combined with the military against the Khedive and his cabinet, who were thought to be too much under the influence of the political and financial control by the Great Powers. Sharif Pasha was unwilling to co-operate with the Majlis in the modification of the rules on the budget vote and he resigned in January 1882. His successor was Mahmūd Pasha Sāmī. On Aug. 10 of the same year, after the Khedive had taken up a definitely anti-Arabi attitude, Sharif Pasha again became Prime Minister (Aug. 18, 1882). He held this office after the defeat of 'Arabi and the English occupation but in the end came into conflict with the English cabinet and its representative, when they demanded the evacuation of the Sūdān. Sharif Pasha thought the evacuation a political and economic danger to Egypt but he had to yield to English pressure (Jan. 1884). He then retired from politics and died three years later at Graz, to which he had gone on account of a malady of the liver. He was buried in Cairo in April 1887.

By birth Sharif Pasha belonged to the Egyptian-Turkish class and was bound to be Khedivalist rather than nationalist. The nationalists, however, never doubted his sincerity. He sincerely endeavoured to make Egypt a constitutional state under the Khedival dynasty; as a political figure he occupies a position intermediate between the tendencies represented by 'Arabi, Nūbār and Riyāḍ.

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(J. H. KRAMERS)

SHARISH (adjective: *Sharīshī*) was the Arabic name for the modern Jerez de la Frontera, an important town in Spain, in the province of Cadiz, a little north of this town. It has to be distinguished from Jerez de los Caballeros, the *Sharīshā*, of the Muslim period (cf. al-Idrīsī, *Deser. de l'Esp.*, pp. 175, 186, 211, 226), a little town in the province of Badajoz, south of this capital and west of Zafra. Jerez de la Frontera, from its position in a country blessed with remarkable fertility, was while under Muslim rule as at the present day a rich and prosperous city. According to some geographers it formed part of the province of al-Buhaira (Lago de la Janda), according to others of Shadhāna (Sídona). Its vineyards were already renowned in the middle ages, like its olive-groves. A speciality of the town was the making of *muffabbanāt* (a kind of cheese-pastry).

Muslim Jerez never rose to be a capital. It was too near its great neighbour Seville, whose political fate it usually shared. It used to be thought that it was in the district of *Sharīsh*, on the banks of the Guadalete, that the first encounter between Christians and Muslims took place at the time of the conquest of Spain but we now know that this battlefield should be located in the valley of the Rio Salade farther east. The town plays little part in subsequent history and not even the names of its governors have been preserved. After the fall

of the Umayyad Caliphate, it formed part of the kingdom of Abbadids [q.v.] and in 650 (1233) it submitted to the Nasrid rulers of Granada after having successively rejected Almoravid and Almohad suzerainty. Jerez was taken by the Christians for the first time in 1251 three years after Seville, but in the years that followed, it was twice retaken by the Muslims in spite of the efforts of the Castilian leaders Garci Gomez Carrillo and Fortūn de Torre. In the end it was definitely retaken by Alfonso the Wise on Oct. 9, 1264. The Marinid Sultān then tried in vain to recapture it, notably Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. 'Abd al-Hakīm, who made it and Seville his main objectives on his various campaigns in Andalusia and several times laid waste the whole district.

Among celebrated Muslims born in Sharīsh, we may mention, besides the commentator on the *Maḥāmāt* of al-Harīrī (see the next article) the jurist Djamāl al-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bakrī al-Sharīshī born in 601 (1204/1205) and died in Syria in 685 (1286) after declining the post of Maliki Kādī 'l-kuḍāt of Damascus.

Bibliography: al-Idrīsī, *Sifat al-Andalus*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, text, p. 206, transl., p. 254; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, s.v.; Abū 'l-Fidā, *Takwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 166; E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Algiers 1924, p. 82, 106; al-Maḥḥārī, *Nafḥ al-Fāḥ, Analectes* ..., i. 113, 292, 892; Ibn Abī Zar', *Ramḍ al-Kīfī*, ed. Tornberg (*Annales regum Mauritaniae*), Upsala 1843, Marinid dynasty, *passim*; Ibn Khaldūn *K. al-'Ibar, Histoire des Berbères*, ed. and transl. de Slane, text, t. II, transl., t. IV, index. (E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-SHARISHI, ABU 'L-'ABEAS AHMAD b. 'ABD AL-MU'MIN (or 'Abd al-Mu'min, according to al-Suyūṭī, followed by Brockelmann) b. Mūsā b. 'Isā b. 'ABD AL-MU'MIN AL-KASHI KAMAL AL-DIN, Arab author of Spain, a native of Sharīsh [q.v.], where he died in 619 (1222). He wrote a commentary on the *al-Iḡāḥ* of al-Fārīsī and another on the *al-Djurnal* of al-Zaghjādī and wrote a treatise on prosody. He also compiled an anthology of ancient Arabic poems and made a synopsis of the *Nawādir* of al-Kālī; but he is best known as a commentator on the *Maḥāmāt* of al-Harīrī. He wrote three commentaries on the *Assemblies*, a large one, literary, a medium, philological and a small one, a résumé. The first was published at Bulāḡ in 1284, 1300 and in Cairo in 1306; the second is in the Library at Leiden, N^o. 415.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmilat al-Sila*, vol. I, ed. Bel and Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1920, p. 136-137, N^o. 281; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'at*, Cairo 1326, p. 143; al-Maḥḥārī, *Nafḥ al-fāḥ, Analectes*, i. 536; Brockelmann, i. 277, 6. (E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL)

SHARĀWA, or **SHERĀWA**, the common ethnic of a Marabout body in Central Morocco, belonging to the Shadhālī-Djazzālī brotherhood through the intermediary of the mystic Abū Fāris 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Tabbā [q.v.]. The singular is *Sharḥāwī*, synonym of *sharḥī* (*sharḥī*, pl. *sharḥā*), a geographical ethnic (cf. on the other hand *ṣādīlī*, ethnic from Tādā confined to the *shurḥā* of this name, while the geographical ethnic is *Tādāwī*). The principal *Zāwiya* of the *Sharḥāwa* is in the town of Abū 'l-Djā'd (modern spelling:

Boujad), in the Tādila, between the Middle Atlas and the Atlantic coast. It attained importance at the end of the xviith century and henceforth became one of the most frequented sanctuaries in Morocco.

Among the more notable of this Marabout family may be mentioned: 1. the founder of the Zāwiya of Abū 'I-Djād, MAHAMMAD (with initial *m* vocalised in *a*) b. Abī 'L-Kāsim al-Sharkī al-Sumaiḳī al-Zā'ī al-Djāwī, d. 1st Muharram 1010/1012 (July 1601); a monograph was devoted to him by one of his descendants, Abū Muhammad 'Abd al-Khālīq b. Muḥammad al-'Arūḥ al-Tādili al-Sharkī, entitled *al-Murāḥḥī fī dhikr ḥaḍ manāḥib al-kutb tayyidat M. al-Sharkī*; 2. the latter's son, MUHAMMAD al-Mu'ṭā, d. Rabī' II 1092/April–May 1681; 3. his son MUHAMMAD al-Sāliḥ, who was the patron of the historian al-Ifrānī (or al-Wafīnī, q.v.): a monograph entitled *al-Rawḍ al-yānī al-fā'ih fī manāḥib al-shaikh Abī 'Abd Allāh M. al-S.* was devoted to him by a scholar of Fās who was ḥādī of Meknes (Miknās al-zā'itūn) in the reign of the 'Alawid Sulṭān Mawlay Ismā'īl, Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Raḥḥāl al-Ma'dānī al-Tādili, d. 1140/1728; 4. the son of the preceding, MUHAMMAD al-Mu'ṭā, who restored the Zāwiya and wrote a collection of prayers in no fewer than 40 volumes entitled *Dhakhīrat al-ghāni wa 'l-muḥṭadī fī ṣāhib al-lawā' wa 'l-taḍfī* (there is one volume in the Bibliothèque Générale of Rabat, No. 100, cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Manuscrits Arabes de Rabat*, I, p. 36); he died in Muharram 1180/June 1766. A monograph has been devoted to him by his secretary Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-'Abdūnī, d. 1189/1775–1776, entitled *Yatimat al-'uḥūd al-zawīa fī manāḥib al-shaikh al-Mu'ṭā*.

Bibliography: Muḥammad al-Mahdi al-Fāsi, *Mumtā' al-ammā'*, lith. Fas, 1313 A.H., p. 121; al-Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man intaḥar*, lith. Fas, p. 25; al-Kādiri, *Naḥr al-maḥānī*, lith. Fas, 1310 A.H., I, p. 58; II, p. 277; al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, lith. Fas, 1316 A.H., I, p. 193; R. Basset, *Recherches bibliographiques sur les sources de la Salwat al-anfās*, in *Recueil de Mémoires et de Textes publiés en l'honneur du XI^{ème} Congrès des Orientalistes*, Algiers 1905, p. 34, No. 91, p. 45, No. 128; Cimetières, *La savana de Benjad*, in *R.M.M.*, xxiv, p. 277 199; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chérifs*, Paris 1922, p. 119, 297–298, 330–331.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

SHARKĪ, the name of a dynasty which reigned at Djawnpūr, so called from the title of Malik al-Shark (Lord of the East) conferred upon its founder, the eunuch Malik Sarwar, Khwādja Dīshān [q.v.], who, having in March, 1393, placed Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd of the Tughlak dynasty on the throne of Dihli, suppressed the Hindū rebellions in the Gangetic Doāb and Awadh, and assumed independence in Djawnpūr. He died in 1399, leaving his dominions to his adopted son, Malik Karamūl, who assumed the title of Mubārak Shāh. Maḥmūd Shāh of Dihli made two abortive attempts to recover Awadh, and Mubārak Shāh died in 1402, and was succeeded by his younger brother, who assumed the title of Shams al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Shāh. Ibrāhīm was a patron of learning and art, and it was during his reign that Djawnpūr was adorned with most of those buildings the remains of which excite our admiration to-day. He annexed

some districts in Kātehr which had belonged to Dihli, invaded Bengal, where he protected the Muslims from persecution, made an unsuccessful attempt to annex Kālpī, and was succeeded, on his death, in 1436, by his son Maḥmūd. Maḥmūd Sharkī quarrelled with Maḥmūd Khaldjī I of Malwa over Kālpī, and an indecisive campaign was closed in 1445 by a peace not altogether honourable to Djawnpūr. In 1452 he unsuccessfully attacked Dihli, then held by Bahlōl Lodi, and in 1457 he died just as he was about to meet Bahlōl Lodi in the field, and was succeeded by his son Bḥkan, who styled himself Muḥammad Shāh. His tyranny was so galling that his nobles, even while confronted in the field by Bahlōl Lodi, dethroned him and proclaimed Husain, his younger brother. Husain concluded peace with Bahlōl and then led a successful expedition against the Hindus of Uṛas. In 1466 he failed to take Gwāliyar but compelled the Rājās to pay tribute and do homage. In 1473 he invaded the dominions of Dihli and during the next three years strove to subdue it. He was often on the threshold of success, but as often failed owing to carelessness or excess of confidence, and in 1476 Bahlōl Lodi occupied Djawnpūr, and with Husain's flight to Bengal the Sharkī dynasty came to an end. Husain lived for twenty-four years after his fall, and although he made no serious attempt to recover his kingdom, lost no opportunity of fomenting disension and rebellion in the south-eastern provinces of the kingdom of Dihli. He died in 1500.

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SHARKĪ. As opposed to the Turkish popular ballad which has arisen among the people and is composed on the national system, syllabic (*parmaḥ* *hikā*) not metric and is found in various forms notably the *türkü* and also as *türkmanī*, *warzagh*, *haghma*, *ḥaya*, *haghī*, *manī* and *twyagh* (on the latter cf. Samoilowicz in *Musulmanshiy Mir*, Petrograd 1917, I, No. 1, p. 1 199), the Sharkī is a poem regularly composed by a poet on literary lines in more or less accurate agreement with the laws of Persian and Arabic prosody, following the quantitative system of metre: the sharkī is the *türkī* adapted to literature.

While the popular song as regards matter, imagery and phraseology is quite free from restrictions, the sharkī is usually a gay love-song and follows the model of the traditional love-lyric in metre, language and contents.

It is distinguished from the *ghazal*, which is intended only for recitation and reading, by the fact that it is intended to be sung. In contrast to the double verse system of the *ghazal* with the monorhyme running through it, the stanza form, taken from the folk-song, is peculiar to the sharkī. The separate stanzas, of which the third (*miyāza-khāne*) is traditionally meant to be the most impressive, are linked together by a refrain of one — sometimes two — line (called *naḥwāl*, chorus) which recalls the rhyme of the *ghazal*. The rhyme scheme is usually as follows *aabb* (and more frequently *abab*); *cccb*; *dddb* or *aaaa*, *bbba*, *ccca*, in the case of a two line refrain, *aaaaa*, *bbbaa*, *cccaa*.

The language is elevated in the *sharqi*, free from dialectic forms; the rhyme is more strictly observed than in the *turkū*. But although it is free from extravagant language, it is nevertheless much too literary to be at once intelligible to the common people.

The link between the *turkū* and *sharqi* was probably formed by the popular poets and mystics, notably the *ʿaṭṭā*, the successors of the *isās* and dervish poets, who very early recognised this intermediate form, the ballad with a literary flavour suitable for singing, as a form of literature admirably suited for dissemination, which could also be to some extent used as a chant to accompany the exercises of the *ṣūfī*. But it was long before the *sharqi* won itself an official position in the traditional "regular" *Diwāns* of the classical poets. The fact that the *Diwāns* of poets of the people so rarely contain *sharqi* is amply explained from the literary intolerance with which non-classical forms of verse were rejected.

The first poet in whose *Diwān* we find *sharqi*'s seems to be Naṣīm (d. 1107 = 1695). The *sharqi* is the characteristic poem of the period of transition which begins with Sulṭān Aḥmad III (1703–1730) and marks a concession to popular taste and a reaction from Persian influence. Nedīm (d. 1143 = 1730) and Enderūnī ʿOṭmān Wāṣif (d. 1240 = 1824/1825) are the most famous of *sharqi* writers.

The many printed and lithographed collections of *sharqi*'s are evidence that they are still very popular.

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AL-SHARQIYA, name of a *kūra* and of a province (formerly *ʿamal*, now *mudiriya*) in Egypt.

1. The *kūra* of al-Sharqiya, which replaced the Byzantine pagarchy of Aphroditopolis, was one of the few districts which received an Arabic name; the latter is explained by its situation on the eastern bank of the Nile.

It is difficult to estimate the extent of its territory, which lay immediately south of the capital of the country, Fuṣṭāṭ. The first capital of the *kūra*, situated on the right bank of the river, was Anṣinā (Antinoë), but the small number (17) of villages in the *kūra* of al-Sharqiya allows us to suppose that the next *kūra*, Dālīs (Nilo-polis) or at least al-Kais (Kynopolis) lay on both sides of the Nile. The capital of the *kūra* was very probably Aṭṭīḥ since one of the censuses quoted by Makrīzī gives it in addition the name of Aṭṭīḥiyya. It should, however, be noted that Dimashqī, very late for information of this kind, distinguishes a *kūra* of al-Sharqiya and a *kūra* which, lying beyond the district of Aṭṭīḥ, included also that of Wāṣm to the north-west of Fuṣṭāṭ, which is exceedingly improbable.

In the Fāṭimid division into provinces, there was a province of al-Aṭṭīḥiyya, larger than the old *kūra* (50 villages at the time of Ibn al-Djān), which now forms a district (*marka*) of the *mudiriya* of al-Djiza. The capital is now al-Ṣaff, a few miles to the north of Aṭṭīḥ.

In the time of the governors of the Caliphs,

the *kūra* of al-Sharqiya enjoyed at times a certain prosperity. On account of an epidemic of plague, Abd al-Azīz b. Marwān transferred the government offices to Hulwān; a little later and for the same reason another governor transferred them to Askur (or Sakur) towards the south. To the north of the *kūra* lie the quarries of Turā.

Bibliography: cf. the art. Aṭṭīḥ; Kindi, ed. Guest, *Index*, p. 643; J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géogr. de l'Égypte*, M.I.F.A.O., xxvi, p. 22, 112, 173, 175, 177, 180–182, 184, 185; Makrīzī, *Khitaṭ*, ed. M.I.F.A.O., iv, p. 18; v, ch. xi, § 2.

2. The Eastern province of the Delta of Egypt, situated to the east of the province of al-Dakahlīya and bordered towards its south-west point by that of Kaḥyūbiya. Now it has 749,130 inhabitants (in 1897), 393 towns, villages and hamlets, and is divided into 6 districts (*mudiriya*) which are as follows: (1) Bilbais, (2) Fāḥiḥ, (3) Hithiyya, (4) Kafr Ṣakhr, (5) Minā al-Kamh, (6) Zaḥārik. The capital is Zaḥārik (41,741 inhabitants in 1917, against 35,700 in 1897).

The present area of the *mudiriya* of al-Sharqiya corresponds roughly to the following pagarchies of the Byzantine epoch, divisions retained by the Arabs under the name of *kūra*: Buhaste (Baḡṭa), Arabia (Farūbiya) and Pharbaithos (Farbait). The Delta was at this time divided into three large divisions not administrative in character, which are mentioned by the historians: the Hawf Ḥarbi, situated to the west of the Rosetta arm, the Baḡṭa al-Rif applied to the territory lying between this arm and that of Damietta. All the land which extended to the east of the latter district was called the Hawf Sharqi and it is probably this name which gave rise to that of al-Sharqiya. The Hawf Sharqi followed the two Augustamnica. It included 11 or 12 *kūra*'s and 529 villages.

At the time of the division into provinces under the Fāṭimids the Hawf Sharqi included those of al-Sharqiya, of al-Murtāhiya, of al-Dakahlīya and of al-Abwāniya. Thus delimited, the province of al-Sharqiya, which extended farther than at the present time in the direction of Cairo, still included 452 towns and villages (the three other provinces together accounted for 165). It brought annually to the Treasury 694,121 dinars. The southern part of al-Sharqiya was separated from it in 715 (1315) at the time of the survey of Malik Nāḡir Muḥammad, and received the name of al-Kalyūbiya. From this time the province of Sharqiya must have shown little variation. Thus reduced it contained, according to Ibn al-Djān, 380 towns and villages and the taxes were valued at 1,411,875 dinars. The capital was Bilbais in the Middle Ages and it was also in this town that the Turkish *Kāhif* resides. It was only during the nineteenth century that Zaḥārik supplanted Bilbais.

This eastern region of lower Egypt plays a considerable rôle in the history of Muslim Egypt, for if we except the Fāṭimid conquest, which came from the north of Africa, the Crusaders' attack on Damietta and in modern times the French occupation by Bonaparte, all the invaders of Egypt entered the country by this route. The anonymous military memoir called the *Devise des chemins de Babiloine*, which is simply an exposition of the different plans of attack upon

Cairo, shows in the first place the itinerary of an army setting out from Ghazza with the object of marching on the capital through the province of al-Sharḥiya (Sassarquile).

This region offered the difficulty to the owners of Egypt for the time being that it had no natural defences. The Byzantines had made up for this by stationing several garrisons in the Augustamnica, the sites of which we know from references in the accounts of the Arab conquest. The Arabs, avoiding the fortresses in the neighbourhood of Rhinocolura (al-'Arish), advanced on Pelusa (al-Faramā), near which they were held up for two months. The defences of the region of Phasbalthos (Farhaiṭ) and Bubaste (Baṣṣa) did not inconvenience the conquerors, who, turning their route southwards and following the valley of the Wādī Tannīlāt, attacked Phelbes (Bilbais), which only held out for a month.

If we review the military events of which the province of al-Sharḥiya was the scene, it will be seen that the main resistance was offered by the successive defenders of Egypt round the towns of Bilbais. As early as the end of the period of conquest, we find — in obedience to some instinct for security — the Djūdhām in the army of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, given some towns in this district, notably Farhaiṭ and Baṣṣa, as fiefs (*ḥiṣṣ*). A century later portions of the tribe of Kaïs were settled in Bilbais, then sparsely populated, who had also the task of organising the caravans for Kūlaum intended to provision the Hijāz. We further know that Bilbais was in time provided with another chain of fortresses (Maḥṣat, *Khifāt*, publ. in *M. I.F.A.O.*, iii, p. 188; *Sulūk*, transl. Blochet, p. 258).

It was by this route that Marwān I came from Aila to Fustāt to regain Egypt, which had been stirred into rebellion by the partisans of Ibn al-Zuhair. At a later date Ḥawf Sharḥī was the scene of the Coptic rebellions, which soaked the Delta in blood in the second century A.H., especially towards its end: — in 107 (725) at Natī, Tumaiy, Farhaiṭ and Tannīthiya; — in 178 (794) in 186 (802) and on this occasion the tribe of Kaïs joined the Copts, who were overcome at Djubb 'Umaira, halfway between Fustāt and Bilbais. In 191—192 (807—808) a new rising was put down; in 214 (829) a series of rebellions began which lasted with varying success till the arrival of the Caliph Ma'mūn in 217 (832). In 469 (1076) the Salḡūḡ Emir Atīz, who had reached the outskirts of Cairo, suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of Badr al-Djannālī; the chronicles do not give the exact site of the battle. In 558 (1163) the Franks under Amāsur I occupied Bilbais; next year near this town Shāwar, coming from Syria, defeated Dīrghām and later Shīrkūh was besieged in Bilbais by Shāwar, helped by the Franks. In the course of Salāḍīn's wars with the Crusaders, the latter, on at least one occasion, attempted a diversion on Fāḡūs. The Sultān of Egypt, who did not fear an attack by the north of al-Sharḥiya, but was more anxious about the Franks of the principality of Montréal, placed advanced lines of defence at Kūlaum and at al-Sawās (Suez) and even farther to the east at Sadr, where his fortress had just been identified (Barthaux and Wiet, *Découverte d'une forteresse de Salāḍīn*, Syria, iii, 44—65, 145—152). We also know from official documents that Kaḥat Sadr was administered by the governor of al-Sharḥiya. When in 591 (1195) Malik

'Āḍīl and Malik Afḡāl resolved to dethrone Malik 'Āḍī, the plot was begun with a siege of Bilbais. It was in the same region that the last serious rising of the Arabs in Egypt ended (651 = 1253). Their leader, Hīṣū al-Dīn Tha'lab, was taken at Bilbais and gallows were erected from here to Cairo. Lastly it was by this, the natural route of invasion from the east, that the Ottoman army reached Cairo in 923 (1517).

This province was of course traversed by the post route which connected the capital with Ghazza. The following are the stages in Egypt as given by Ibn Khordādbeh:

Fustāt-Bilbais	24 miles
Bilbais-Masḡidd Kuḡḡ'a	21 "
Masḡidd Kuḡḡ'a-Kāṣira (var. Ghāḡira, at any rate taken from Fāḡūs	18 "
Kāṣira-Djardīr	24 "
Djardīr-Faramā	30 "

In the Mamlūk period, the post stages for the same stretch were: Siryākūs (which took the place of al-'Uḡḡah, which was too far from Cairo), Bīr al-Baldā', Bilbais, al-Sa'ūdiyya, al-Khazrūba, al-Khaṭāra, Kaḥr al-Wā'illī, al-Sālihiyya, Bīr 'Aḡr (or Bīr Ghazī), Halwa, al-Ghurābi and Kaṭyā (cf. also *Devisé des chemins de Babiloine* and the analysis in Schefer, in *Arch. Or. lat.*, ii, 94—95).

It may be also mentioned that there were doves-cotes for carrier-pigeons at Bilbais, al-Sālihiyya and Kaṭyā (Gaudesroy-Demonbynes, *La Syrie*, p. 253).

The pilgrim route also passed through this province, in the south of it; it was only abandoned for about two centuries between 450 and 660 A.H. Some stages are difficult to determine, for the names have become much corrupted by the copyists of manuscripts; the known points are Bīrkat al-Djubb (= Djubb 'Umaira mentioned above), 'Adḡrād and Kūlzūm (cf. the article in *Syria*, iii, 148—149).

In conclusion we may mention that Trajan's canal passed through the province of Sharḥiyya; it was renovated by order of the Caliph 'Umar, whence its name of Canal of the Commander of the Faithful; the Caliph Maḡḡūr had it partly filled in.

Bibliography: J. Maspero, *Organ. milit. de l'Égypte byzantine*, p. 28—29, 135—137; Maḡḡūr, *Khifāt*, in *M.I.F.A.O.*, i, 333—339; iii, 224—226; iv, 85—87; Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux*, *M.I.F.A.O.*, xxxvi, Index, see esp. p. 45, 112; Kalkashandī, *Subḥ al-'Ash*, iv, 27, 66, 69—70; xiv, 376—368; Quatremère, *Mém. sur l'Égypte*, ii, 190—195, 212—214; Hartmann, in *Z.D.M.G.*, lxx, 485—487; 'Alī Pasha Muḥarak, *Khifāt al-Jadida*, xix, 52—61 (irrigation canals of the province). (G. Wiet)

AL-SHARRĀṬ (the manufacturer of string from palm-fibre, *sharrif*). **ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. 'AḤMAD**, son of a *muḡḡāḡid*, slain in battle with the Spaniards at al-Ma'mūra (al-Mahdiyya = San Miguel de Ultramar) was born at Fās in 1035 (1625/1626) and died there in 1109 (1697) after having adopted Sūfism. He is credited with the authorship of a hagiographical collection, but this has sometimes been disputed by his compatriots; it is entitled: *al-Rawḍ al-'Afīr al-Anḡūr bi-Aḥḡār al-Sāliḡīn min Aḡl Fās*. According to al-Kaṭṭānī it was really the work of Muḡḡammad al-'Arāḡī al-Kāḡīrī. In it among the biographies are a synopsis of the *manāḡib* of 99

saints of Fās dating for the most part from the 17th and 18th centuries. They are all included again in the *Salwat al-Anfās*. There is a manuscript of this work dated 1203/1788 in the Bibliothèque Générale de Rabat, No. 389.

Bibliography: al-Kādirī, *Nashr al-Mathānī*, lith. Fās, 1310 A. H., II, p. 161; al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-Anfās*, lith. Fās, 1316 A. H., I, p. 8 and II, p. 347; René Basset, *Recherches bibliographiques*, . . . , p. 32, No. 86; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfā*, Paris 1922, p. 280—283. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL.)

SHARṬ (A. pl. *sharṭ*, *sharṭ*), condition. It is defined in different ways. Al-Uhazālī for example says (*K. al-Mustafī*, Bulāq, 1325, II, 180) *sharṭ* is that with the non-existence of which the conditional (*maḥrūf*) does not exist, with the existence of which however the conditional must not exist also, in contrast to the cause (*illa*) the existence of which demands the existence of the caused. The non-existence of the condition (*sharṭ*) demands the non-existence of the conditional (*maḥrūf*), but its existence does not demand the existence of the conditional (e. g. place and life). — As a term in the *Uṣūl* the Hanafīs define *sharṭ* as that upon which a matter is based, but which is neither within it (in contrast to *rukn*) nor leaves a trace in it (in contrast to the *illa*). Thus for example in theft the minimum value of the object stolen is a *sharṭ*, on the other hand the removal of the object from its place of keeping is a *rukn* (cf. *Ḥanāfi*).

In the *Furū* the word has a more specialised meaning: condition = reservation in an agreement. Thus for example certain conditions make a contract to purchase invalid. On this question see the section on the *bayʿ* in the *Fikḥ*-books. Of special importance among these is the right to withdraw (*ḥayʿ al-sharṭ*) within an agreed period after the conclusion of the purchase (usually three days; cf. van den Berg, *De contractu "de ut des"*, Leiden, Jur. Diss. 1868).

From the use of the word *sharṭ* for reservation in an agreement, it came to be applied to the document itself. At quite an early date a special branch of study the *ilm al-sharṭ* was formed which dealt with the correct drafting of documents. There are many works on the subject of the third century entitled *Kitāb al-Sharṭ* or *Kitāb al-Waḥḍ*. The oldest representatives of the subject are al-Shāfiʿī, al-Muzani, al-Khassāf, al-Tahāwī (cf. *Fihrist*, p. 206 sqq., Goldziher, *Mus. Studien*, II, 233). One such work is printed in al-Sarakhsī. *K. al-Mahṣūf*, Miṣr 1331, xxx, 167—208.

In grammar *sharṭ* means the conditional sentence, *ḥawāḍ al-sharṭ* the apodosis, and *ḥarf al-sharṭ* the conditional conjunction.

Bibliography: Besides the works above mentioned see the various dictionaries and works on *Uṣūl* such as Sadr al-Dīn, *Tawḍīḥ*, ed. Taḥṣīn, Kasan 1883, p. 375 sq., 398 sqq.; also: *Dictionary of the technical terms* II, 752 sqq.; Djurdjani, *Dictionnaire*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, p. 131; J. Obermann, *Der philosophische und religiöse Subjektivismus Ghazālī*, Wien 1921, p. 68 sqq. (HYEVENING)

[It is worth mentioning that *Sharṭ* among the Arabic speaking population of the Western Maghrib has acquired the sense of legal agreement between the head of a village and the schoolmaster. *Mahṣūf* means the schoolmaster]. [EDITORIAL]

SHASH. [See *TASHKENT*].

SHATĀ, a place celebrated in the Middle Ages, situated a few miles from Damietta, on the Western shore of the Lake of Tinnīs, now called Lake Manzala.

This town existed before the Arab period, since it is mentioned as the see of the bishop (Sāra). There is no reason for giving credence to the romantic story of the pseudo-Wazīdī, which gives as the founder of this town a certain Shatā b. al-Hāmuk (var. al-Hāmīrak), a relative of the famous Muḥawwīs. This Shatā is presented to us as a deserter from the garrison of Damietta who helped to secure the possession of Burullus, Damira and Ashmūn Tanḥ for the Muslim army and who was killed at the capture of Tinnīs, on Shaʿbān 15, 21. Every year at this date, it is the custom to celebrate the anniversary of his death and to this origin the writers attribute the pilgrimage which still took place at Shatā in the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.

To guard against the maritime attacks of the Greeks the Arabs stationed regiments of troops on certain parts on the coast, and Shatā was amongst the number. This port became in the Middle Ages a very active industrial centre, in this region sharing with Damietta, Dabīk and Tinnīs, the manufacture of valuable materials. Each of these towns probably manufactured a special article since the materials which they exported bore a name indicative of their place of origin. Travellers and geographers never tire of praising the goods of Shatā called *shafawī*. Very probably there was at this place in addition to the private industry a government workshop, a *Dār al-Ṭirāz*, analogous to those of Alexandria and Tinnīs. The historian of Mecca, Fākihī, has preserved the text of an inscription embroidered on a cover intended for the Kaʿba. It was the Caliph Ḥārūn al-Rashīd who ordered it to be made in the year 191 at the ṭirāz of Shatā.

We do not know the part which Shatā played in the two occupations of Damietta by the Franks. Certain writers have tried to place at the spot the site of the encampment of Jean de Brienne, but this view has been disputed. Between the two crusades, Tinnīs had been razed to the ground by order of Malik Kāmil in the year 624, and as military reasons had probably induced this destruction, Shatā perhaps suffered the same fate.

But while the ruins of the former have survived under the name of Tell Tinnīs, a miserable hamlet of fishers now bears the name of Shaikh Shatā. Their huts surround the mosque in which the relics of the hero of the Arab conquest, who became the Shaikh Shatā, are venerated. But the town is no longer a port on Lake Manzala; the waters have receded to a distance of 5 or 6 hundred yards. The depth of the lake in this district is insignificant, and the inhabitants use flat-bottomed boats for navigation.

Bibliography: Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, II, 811; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xix, 162; the bibliography, given in J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériaux, M. I. F. A. O.*, xxxvi, 112—113; Makrīn, *Ḥifāṭ*, in *M. I. F. A. O.*, IV, 80—82. (G. WIET)

SHATĪ (A. pl. *shatāṭ* or *shatāṭ*) *shatāṭ* a technical term in mysticism, signifying an "ecstatic phrase", or more exactly a "divinely inspired utterance".

Etymology: This term, which was probably a Syrian loan-word (*shatāṭ* = expands) is derived

from the root *ḡ-ṣ-ḡ* in Arabic: "disturb, agitate" (*miḡṣṣa* = place where flour is ground). Adopted in the tenth century A. D. by the Sūfīs it is applied to the perturbation of the consciousness, into which divine grace suddenly penetrates, then to the "divinely inspired utterance" which this supernatural commotion extracts from the subject.

The Muslim mystics are unanimous in seeing in the *ḡṣṣ*, following preparatory anagogic graces (*ḡhaṣarāt*, *ṣawā'id*, *muḡāṣ*), the sign of a perfect purification reaching the soul of the mystic. But the majority of theorists — at first from scruples of orthodoxy, later from monistic conviction — consider that this state is transitory and is only a stage before the definitive annihilation of personality in the divine silence. Some, notably Muḡaibī and Ḥallādj [q. v.], on the other hand consider that these divine touches transfigure the faltering voice of the lover, give him an intermittent divine investiture, which will make him consent for ever to the dialogue of love (*muḡāḍaṭha*) "between Thee and me".

The first "ecstatic sayings" were incorporated by tradition in the classical collections of *Ḥadīth*, not as utterances of the mystics but as "words of God" (*Ḥadīth ʿūdī*, q. v.).

From the third century A. D. Muslim orthodoxy excluded this source of traditions and the *ḡṣṣ* circulate under the names of those responsible for uttering them. Here we give the most famous, arranged according to two tendencies, the one class referring rather to an immediate psychological commotion, the other which betrays a scholarly reconstruction, or at least a retrospection influenced by the prejudices of the school, sometimes showing an insolent and cynical familiarity.

a. Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī (d. 261 = 875): "Praise be to Me! (*Subḡāni*). My intercession is greater than that of Muḡammad! Thou obeyest me no longer than I obey Thee. Adam sold his God for a mouthful. Thy Paradise is only a children's game". — Ḥallādj (d. 309 = 922): "I am the Truth (*an-nā-ḡaṣṣ*). It is Thou, or it is I! That would make two gods. Ah! for mercy's sake take away this *an-nā* ('it is I') from between us two! I do not desire thee for my joy but for my hurt. Pardon them and do not pardon me. Prayer for the perfect lover becomes impiety". — Abū Bakr Naṣṣādj Ṭūsī (d. 487 = 1094): "Guide of those who have gone astray, lead me still further astray". — Aḥmad Ghazālī (d. 517 = 1123): "God alone understands God. There is no master more persuasive than Desire! The call for the union is the essence of the beloved; the call for separation is the essence of the lover whether We torture him with desire, whether We kill him by severing him from contemplation".

Ibn Sahl Ṭasṭanī (d. 283 = 896): "I am the Proof of God, in face of the saints of my time. Divine omnipotence has a secret; if it is revealed there is an end of the prophetic mission." — Al-Wāsiṭī (d. 320 = 932): "Ritual acts are only impurities." — Al-Shihīdī (d. 334 = 945): "I am the diacritical point under the letter *ḡā*! In Paradise there is no person except God. Mysticism is only polytheism, since it is engaged in purifying the heart of that which is not God, when God alone is." — Khorkānī (d. 426 = 1034): "I am only two years younger than God. God is my instant (my unity of psychological time)". — Ibn Abī 'l-Khaṣīr (d. 440 = 1048): "Under my robe there is only God". — Ghazālī, the elder (d. 505 = 1111): "There is

nothing more in the possible than in the created". — Ibn 'Arabi (d. 638 = 1240): "The slave is the lord and the Lord is the slave; ah! how can one tell which of the two is the debtor?" — 'Alī Ḥarīrī (d. 645 = 1247): "The perfect poor man has no longer a heart, nor a lord." — Ibn Saḥīn (d. 668 = 1269): "There is nothing but God" (*lā ilā ḡāṣṣ*, the *ḡṣṣ* of his order). — 'Alī al-Tiḡmānī (d. 690 = 1291): "The whole *ḡurṣ* is simply polytheism."

Whole monographs have been devoted to elucidating, criticising or justifying one or other of these ecstatic utterances. Dürī and Sarraḡj were the first to perceive their theological importance, and we possess in three books by Rūḡabāḡn Baklī (d. 606 = 1209) a full treatise on the question.

Bibliography: Sarraḡj, *Lumā'*, ed. Nicholson, London 1914, p. 375—409 (with an extract from the commentary of Dūnāid on the *ḡṣṣ* of Bisṭāmī, probably from Dürī); Kharghabī, *Tahḡīb*, MS. Berlin, Sprenger 832, f. 230^a; Sulamī, *ḡhalasāt*, MS. Cairo vii. 228; Baklī, *ḡṣṣ*, MS. Shabīb 'Alī Pasha 1342 (extr. in Ḥallādj, *Kiṣāḡ al-Tawṣīṭ*, ed. Massignon, Paris 1913); Kawrānī, *Maṣlak ḡṣṣ* *fi ḡṣṣ* *ḡṣṣ al-walī*, MS. Stambul, Walī al-Dīn 1815 (cf. MS. 1821 § ix. of the same library); Dürī Shikḡī, *ḡṣṣ* (alias: *ḡṣṣ al-ḡṣṣ*), written in 1062 (1652), lith. in India; L. Massignon, "Anā' ḡṣṣ" (in "Der Islam", 1912, lii. 248—257); do. "Passion d'al ḡṣṣ", Paris 1922, p. 713, 935.

On the *Ḥadīth ʿūdī* cf. Rāḡhib paṣṡā, *Safina*, Cairo 1282, p. 162; L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1922, p. 100—108; and S. Zwemer, in *Moslem World*, 1922, p. 263—275. (L. MASSIGNON)

SHĀṬIBA (adjective *ḡṣṣ*), the Arab name of Játiva, the *Sutabis* of the Romans, a town in the East of Spain, in the province of Valencia, 35 miles to the South West of this last town, at an altitude of 500 feet. Játiva, which has at the present time about 12,000 inhabitants is built on a splendid site at the foot of Mount Bernisa on whose steep slopes the Muslim city was built. The latter was celebrated in the middle ages for its manufacture of paper which was sent not only throughout the whole of Spain but also as far as Egypt. This paper can still be recognised in old Arab manuscripts, on account of the watermarks bearing the name of its place of origin and in Morocco the name *ḡṣṣ* "Játiva paper" is still given to a kind of coarse grained paper. There still remained at Játiva at the time of the Muslim occupation remains of the Roman occupation. Al-Maḡḡarī quotes the verses of a poet called Abū 'Umar al-Buryānī about an ancient statue which was to be seen in his day in the town. On account of its strategic position of the first order, Játiva was one of the most important fortresses of the whole of Andalusia; from the height of its rock it dominated and guarded the whole of the very rich and fertile plain which stretched below it. There still exists at the present time remains of the wall and of the *ḡṣṣ* of the Muslim Játiva of very great archaeological interest, in spite of alterations and unfortunate restorations to which it has been subjected since the "reconquista". Abū 'l-Fidā' has preserved the names of three pleasure resorts near Játiva: al-Baḡḡā', al-Ghaḡḡir and al-'Ain al-Kaḡḡra.

Játiva is too near to Valencia not to have shared the latter's political history. In the Muslim period it was the second town in the district of Valencia, and its population was without doubt larger in those days than at the present time. Mention is hardly made of it during the Umayyad caliphate of Spain, and its history commences, when, with Valencia, it formed a part of the independent principality founded at the end of the 10th century A.D. by the grandson of the celebrated *Ḥaǧǧī* al-Manǧar Ibn Abī 'Amir, 'Abd al-'Azīz, after the reign of the two "Slavs" (see article *ṢAḤĀLIR*) Muḥdarak and Muǧaffar. When the king of Toledo, al-Kādir, with the help of the Christian sovereign of Castile, took possession of the kingdom of Valencia, Ibn Maǧǧar, who was at that time governor of Játiva, refused to come in person to Valencia to pay homage to his new master. An expedition was therefore decided upon against the town. But it miscarried; the Hūdīd prince al-Mundhir b. al-Muṣṭafī who reigned over Lerida, Denia and Tortosa, came to the rescue of Ibn Maǧǧar and took possession of Játiva for some time. The town was also taken by the troops of the Almoravid Sultān Yūsuf b. Tāshīn at the time of the expedition, which was crowned by the victory of Zallāǧa; Játiva was finally conquered in 1239—1240 by the king of Aragon Jaime I and the last Muslims were driven out of the town at the end of the year 1247.

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AL-ŠAṬĪBĪ, ABU MUḤAMMAD AL-ḲĀSIM B. FARRUK B. KHALAF B. AHMAD AL-RU'AINĪ, generally called Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Šaṭībī, was born towards the end of the year 538 A.H. (1144 A.D.) in Xativa (Šaṭība; q. v.). In his native town he studied under Abū 'Alī al-Ḥaǧǧī Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Nafasī, known as Ibn al-Layūh (Leo) and according to Ibn Khallikān he was actually preacher in the mosque of his native town in spite of his youth. Later he removed to Valencia, where he studied under Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Hudhail and others enumerated by his biographers the reading of the Qur'ān and Tradition. On his way to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca he availed himself in Alexandria of the opportunity of hearing the teaching of Abū Tahir Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Silafī and upon his return from the pilgrimage in 572 (1175) he found a patron in the Ḳāǧī 'l-Faǧǧī, who appointed him head-teacher in the Faǧǧīya Madrasa which he had founded. In 589 (1193) he visited Sultān Salāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin) in Jerusalem after the conquest of the city from the Christians. He returned to his post in the Faǧǧīya Madrasa and taught there till the time of his death which occurred on Sunday the 28th of Djuḥada II, 590 (June 10, 1194) at the age of 52 years. He was buried the following day in the smaller Ḳarafa cemetery in the

part which the Ḳāǧī 'l-Faǧǧī had given; and Ibn Khallikān tells us that he had visited the grave of al-Šaṭībī several times. He was a man of very humble and devout character and during his last illness, when he was suffering very much, he always replied in answer to enquiries that he was recovering. He was renowned for his extensive learning in the sciences concerned with the reading and interpretation of the Qur'ān and his reputation as an author rests upon his two didactic poems, or better rhymed prose, dealing with these matters: 1) A poem rhyming upon the letter *l* consisting of 1173 verses, which the author entitled *Ḥīr al-ʿAmān ma-Waǧǧh al-Tahānī*, but which is generally known by the name of *al-Šaṭībīya* after its author. It is a verification of the work on the same subject by 'Uṣmān b. Sa'īd Abū 'Amr al-Dānī (born 371, died 441 A.H.) entitled *al-Tawīr*. As Yāqūt in the *ṭahīd* says that the verses of al-Šaṭībī are awkward and difficult to understand, it is no wonder that they are not easy for us and that the poem has been the subject of numerous commentaries. The author after the introduction begins with the explanation of the correct way of reading the letters when unvocalised, when to read a word *mahrūr* or *mamḍūl*, how to pronounce the Hamza especially if two should occur in one word; then follow chapters on *Tamwīn*, *Imāla* etc., till at last he comes to the chapters of the Qur'ān indicating the various readings of the seven "Readers". To understand the seemingly endless rhyming is only possible with a commentary, or by comparison with books in prose dealing with the same subject. The great popularity of the book is undoubtedly due to two reasons, first a student according to the old method could more easily learn the whole thing by heart, whether he understood it or not; but here the second reason for its popularity came in, as this gave the teacher ample scope for displaying his own learning in commenting on the obscure verses. The poem is found in many manuscripts in most libraries of Arabic literature and there exists a printed edition (Cairo 1328 A.H.) which contains also the second poem of al-Šaṭībī. As regards the commentaries, these are very numerous, the best is said to be that by Burḥān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. 'Umar al-Djāhart who died in 732 (1332) and who finished his work in 691 A.H.; this commentary was amplified by Shams al-Dīn Ahmad b. Ismā'īl al-Kawrānī who died 893 A.H. Another commentary is by a pupil of al-Šaṭībī, Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī, who died in 643 A.H. This was the first commentary written upon the poem and has the title *al-Faḥ al-Waǧǧh fī Šarḥ al-Ḳāǧī*; a third commentary is by Abū Shāma 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ismā'īl who died 665 and called his commentary *Ḥīr al-Ma'ān min Ḥīr al-ʿAmān*, of which manuscripts are in several libraries. To enumerate more commentaries would take quite a page, but the existence of such an abundant literature shows that the poem was after the taste of the following generations. 2) A poem rhyming upon the letter *r* in about 300 verses which has the title *ʿAṭat Aṭrāḥ al-Ḳaṭāʿ fī Amā al-Maǧāʿid*, also on the reading of the Qur'ān, but this poem is more concerned with reading the holy writ elegantly than with the variants as was the case with the poem rhyming upon *l*. It is, like the other poem, not an original work, but a verification of a book on the same subject by al-Dānī (see above) which

has the title *al-Mukāṣṣa*. This poem is composed in the same obscure language as the *ḥīc al-ḥādī* and has found numerous commentators for the same reasons and the earliest commentators are the same as for the other poem, namely al-Ḥāḥḥ and al-Sakḥāwī; the first called his commentary *Ḥijāzīlāt* *Asāḥ al-Murāḡī*, while the second named his work: *al-Waṣṭā ilā Kaṣṣ al-Aḥḥa*. Both these poems have in the eyes of the pious another merit i.e. that they are claims against all kinds of evil influences. 3) A poem of about 500 verses rhyming upon the letter *m*, which is a verification of the work *al-Tamhīd* by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr Abū 'Umar Yūsuf b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kurṭubī on the law (*Fikḥ*) as found in the Traditions. This poem I have not seen, but according to Yāqūt it is also very obscure. Fragments of other religious poems of al-Shāṭibī are occasionally cited in anthologies, but all are of little literary value. — The name of al-Shāṭibī's father is explained as meaning in Spanish "iron" and we must read *Ferro*, because at that time the word was pronounced so and not *ferro* as in modern Spanish. There are rather many errors in all biographies of the author consulted as regards the proper names, but I hope I have been able to correct them.

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(F. KERNKOW)

SHAṬRANDĪ, the game of chess. The game of chess was known in Greek antiquity when Palamedes was said to have invented it. From there it spread through various countries. The Muslims say they got it from India, but the stories on this subject are legendary, and it is more probable that it came to them from ancient Persia.

In the middle ages there were several games in the East played with a board, notably *ward* (trick-track, backgammon) and chess (*shaṭrandī*); the pieces and the rules of the game have varied in course of time. The words *shaṭrandī* and *trick-track* seem to be Indian (Sanskrit) in origin; as to the word chess itself, it has been derived from the Persian *šāh* *shāh*, 'O king', said when the king is threatened; but this etymology is not very satisfactory.

The legends relating to the origin of chess have a Pythagorean character. According to Mas'ūdī, learned kings of India invented the arts and discovered the principles of the sciences. The first was Brahman, the second Bāhūd under whom *ward* was invented, the third Dāḥabīl who is connected with the book of *Kāṭil wa-Dinnah*, the fourth Rāḥī and it is in his reign that chess was invented, even at this time there was a treatise on the game entitled *Tarāḥ al-ḡiyāḥ* which has remained popular among the Hindus. The pieces were figures of men and animals and were thought to be representations of the signs of the zodiac. The game was not yet fixed in the time of Mas'ūdī (10th century). He knows six main forms of the game: two squares with 64 or 100 squares, one oblong, two round, one attributed to the Byzantines and the other called *sūdāṭī*; the latter invented in the time of the author had twelve

pieces played with six on each side and representing the different organs of the human body. Even then there were treatises on chess and celebrated players.

Al-Bīrūnī became acquainted with the several forms of this game in India. That which he describes as the commonest is a regular game of chance and played with dice. It is the dice that settle the movements of the pieces and not the skill of the player. Thus 1 and 3 move the king or the pawn, 2 moves the *ruḥ*; 3 the knight whose move is already what it now is, the 6 and 4 move the elephant which goes in straight lines and which among the Arabs had already been replaced by the castle. The pieces had values which were counted up and the total decided the victory.

Firdawsī has written charming pages on chess and describes a game in poetical language. He puts the king in the centre with the vizier who plays the part of our queen; on either side of them are two elephants, next dromedaries, then knights and lastly two *ruḥ*. This *ruḥ* is an animal; it is the same as the fabulous bird mentioned in the *Arabian Nights* and it is from it we got the term 'rook'. Another variety, mentioned by the same poet, is still nearer our modern game; this board has 64 squares; in the middle is the king with his minister, on either side are elephants, horses and *ruḥ*, in front are the foot-soldiers, our pawns.

The game of chess has an interest in arithmetic, in which it has given rise to a question of some importance that of the summation of the successive powers of 2. The story is well known in which an inventor asked a king as his reward, a grain of wheat on the first square, 2 on the second, 4 on the third and so on, doubling each time. The result is a number in 20 figures beyond possibility of fulfilment. This legend is given by al-Safadi; al-Bīrūnī in trying to shorten the calculation was led to interesting observations.

Chess was a noble game in the middle ages both in east and west. During the Crusades it was played in both camps. Hārūn al-Rāḥīd sent a chess-board as a present to Charlemagne. The Old Man of the Mountains presented a very handsome one to St. Louis. 'Umar al-Khoṣṣān has taken a beautiful image of fatalism from the game:

"Tis all a Chequer-board of Nights and Days,
Where Destiny with Men for Pawns plays.
Hither and thither moves and mates and slays,
And one by one back in the Closet lays".

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(H. CARRÉ DE VAUX)

to fight but fled to Syria in the course of the month of Ramaḍān (August).

He went to Damascus to the court of Nūr al-Dīn and was given an army by him to help him to return to power: Shāwar in his turn promised to hand over one third of the revenues of Egypt, to pay the expenses of maintaining the army. The troops sent by Nūr al-Dīn, who had entrusted the command to Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh marched on Cairo and inflicted a serious defeat near Tell Baḡa on the unreliable soldiers that Dirghām had been able to collect. On entering the capital in Jumādā II, 559 (May, 1164), Shāwar resumed the vicariate. Difficulties immediately broke out between Shīrkūh and Shāwar: some accuse the former of treachery while others accuse Shāwar of not fulfilling his engagements to Nūr al-Dīn. In any case after some skirmishes which jeopardised his authority, Shāwar appealed for help to Amaury, pointing out to the Franks the danger of allowing their enemy Nūr al-Dīn to establish himself in Egypt. The Franks, whom Shāwar had promised to indemnify, accepted the terms offered with pleasure in the hope of conquering Egypt for themselves. Shīrkūh, besieged in Billaia, when his provisions were almost exhausted, accepted the terms offered him to return to Syria. The Franks on their side, impressed by Nūr al-Dīn's capture of Hama were not long in leaving the country.

In 562 (1167) Egypt was again invaded by Shīrkūh, who defeated Shāwar, again allied with the Franks at Bābāla in Middle Egypt near Ashmūnān (Jumādā II 25, 562 = April 18, 1167). This defeat did not lead to a definite decision and Shāwar was able to rally his troops and besiege Shīrkūh in Alexandria. On capturing this town he succeeded in getting Shīrkūh to leave the country once more. But the treaty with the Franks was onerous for the Fātimids, who besides paying an annual tribute, had to allow certain points in Cairo to be occupied by troops and to have a kind of High Commissioner (*shihna*) quartered there.

In 564 (1168) Shīrkūh was sent into Egypt for the third time by Nūr al-Dīn with the avowed object of driving out the Franks, whose demands had provoked a rupture with Shāwar. Besieged by them in the two towns of Cairo and Fustāt, Shāwar set fire to this area which he could no longer defend. He got out of his difficulty once more by negotiation and purchased the departure of the Franks. But his own position was becoming precarious, the policy of balancing between the Franks and Syrians being no longer possible; besides, the Caliph al-'Adīl had in the meanwhile made a personal appeal to Nūr al-Dīn. Shīrkūh began by calling upon Shāwar to fulfil the terms of the treaty concluded between them and, in view of his shuffling, his death was decided upon by Shīrkūh's entourage notably by his nephew Salāḍīn. Shāwar was drawn into an ambush near the tomb of the Imām al-Shāfi' and assassinated by Salāḍīn and the officers of his suite on Rabi' II 17, 564 (Jan. 18, 1169).

He was, strictly speaking, the last statesman of the Fātimid dynasty, the decline of which was signalled by the rise of Shīrkūh. Shāwar, although praised by the poet 'Umāra of Yemen, has left the reputation of being crafty and cruel; a Christian writer sums him up as very able, experienced in wars, tricks, plots and stratagems.

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(G. WIEB)

AL-SHAWBAK, a fortress of the Crusaders east of the Arabs in the mountains of al-Sharā. It was built in 509 (1115) by Baldwin I of Jerusalem in 18 days in Syria *Saba* and was called *Mont Regalis* (Montreal, also *le Crac de Montréal* to distinguish it from *Crac des Moabites*, i. e. Kerak [q. v.] and *Crac des Chevaliers*, i. e. Hama al-Akrād [q. v.]) by the Franks. The site of the fortress was, as William of Tyre (XI. 26; Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, ccl., col. 514 *seqq.*) points out, very suitable for the building of an impregnable fortress. It is therefore not improbable that, as Yāqūt (III. 332) indicates, there had already been a settlement here in ancient times (according to R. Hartmann, *Z.D.P.F.*, 1913, 188, sub A 28 the ancient *Samay*). The fortress commanded the desert road from Damascus to the Hijāz and Egypt; its possession was therefore of extraordinary importance for both Arabs and Crusaders. The town and the gardens west of it were supplied with water from two springs; its apricots were famous and were exported to Egypt (Abū 'I-Fidā', p. 247) and its groves of sugar-cane were also noted (de Mas Latrie, *Arch. Venet.*, xxv. 479).

Romanus de Podio (*Romain du Puy*) is the first dominus regionis illius quae est trans Jordanem mentioned. He lost his fief in 1132, which consisted of the land of Moab and al-Shawbak, and instead the former royal cup-bearer received *Paganus* (*Pagen*), which is already called *Paganus Montis Regalis* in a document of 1126 (Rohricht, *Regesta regni Hierosolym.*, p. 28, N^o 115), the *terra trans Jordanem*. In 1142 he built the fortress of al-Karak which henceforth was the capital of this feudal state. He was succeeded by his nephew Mauricius (to whom we have references in 1152 and 1153); then came Philippe de Milly who received those lands in exchange for Nābulus (1161) but when he later became Grand Master of the Templars (1169) gave them up in favour of his daughter Stephanie. After losing her two first husbands, Humphrey of Toron and Milo de Plancy, while still young (1174), the latter married the valiant Reynald de Chatillon, who by his vigorous character seemed particularly fitted to defend from the south the kingdom of Jerusalem, then seriously threatened by the attacks of Salāḥ al-Dīn. But his challenging and faithless attitude to the Muslims irritated the Sultān and brought about the downfall of the kingdom. How anxious Salāḥ al-Dīn was to gain the two fortresses of al-Karak and al-Shawbak is evident from his frequent campaigns against them (in

1171, 1172/1173, 1182, 1183 and 1184) on which however he had to be content with laying waste the country round them, as he was not able to take them. Indeed Raynald even had the boldness to take a fleet and make an advance on Mecca and Medina. Even the eastern frontier of Egypt was threatened by his raids and to defend it Salāh al-Dīn fortified Kāṣim, al-Sawā (Suez) and the citadel of Sadr (Kālāt Khudī) in the Dimi desert (Barthoux and Wiet in *Syrie*, 1922, iii. 44–63, 145–152). It was only after Raynald had been taken prisoner in the battle of Hattin (1189) and executed by Salāh al-Dīn that al-Shawbak surrendered to the Arabs. The Franks, however, did not thereupon abandon their claims to *Montreal* so that Salāh al-Dīn only liberated Humphrey IV of Toron, the captured son of Stephanie de Milly, after the conquest of the fortress. In 1190 the latter calls himself *Hemfridus Montis Regalis* (Rohricht, *op. cit.*, p. 186, No. 696); after his death (1195) his sister Isabella of Toron and then her daughter Alice of Armenia inherited these claims. After the treaty of Frederick II with Egypt (1229) these lands came in part back to the Franks; but al-Shawbak is not mentioned in this connection. Afterwards the claim to *Montreal* passed to Alice's younger daughter Maria of Armenia, then to her son Rapiin and finally to his daughter Maria of Antioch.

Actually the fortress seems to have been lost for ever to the Franks in 1189; the majority of the inhabitants like those of al-Karak, remained Christians however (Abu 'l-Fida', *op. cit.*). Among the Emirs, who besieged 'Akkā along with Salāh al-Dīn in 1189 is mentioned a certain Haimdinnarsel (Ibn al-Dīn Arillān?) of al-Karak and al-Shawbak (Radulfus de Diceto, ii. 81). After Salāh al-Dīn's death in 1193, his brother Malik al-Adil became lord of these two fortresses, which had previously been granted to him as a fief. Shortly before his death in 615 (1218) he transferred them to his son al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Isā.

In the peace negotiations of Dimyāṭ (1219), the question of the ownership of the two fortresses played a decisive part (Rohricht, *Geich. d. Künig. Friedrichs*, p. 738, 4, 754). Towards the end of his reign (about 1226), al-Mu'azzam seems to have ordered the fortresses of Sāfād, Tibnā and al-Shawbak to be raised to the ground (Ibn Furfur in Rohricht, *op. cit.*, p. 768). But he extended and fortified the town according to 'Umārī (*Musallāh al-Adīr* in Gaudelroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, p. 133) to such an extent that it is said to have rivalled Damascus. His son al-Nāṣir Dā'ūd received in exchange for Damascus, which he had to cede to his uncle, Sulṭān Malik al-Nāṣir, the rule over al-Karak, al-Shawbak, al-Baḥrā, al-Salt and the Ghawr territory. The last Ayyūbid ruler of al-Karak, al-Mughthī 'Umār, who fell into the hands of the Mamlūk Baḥars through treachery in 1263, had previously lost al-Shawbak to him, for we have an inscription of Baḥars in a building there of as early as 646 (1248). His successor Kālā'ūs took the town in 1279 (Maḥṣnī, *Hist. des Sult. Maml.*, transl. Quatremère, ii. 77). In 697 (1297/1298) Lādīn had the fortress restored, according to several inscriptions under the supervision of the prince 'Alā al-Dīn Kibritī(?) al-Maḥṣnī. In the Mamlūk period al-Shawbak formed an office (*amāl*) of the province (*mamlaka*) of al-Karak; the names of the governors of al-Karak

and al-Shawbak are known from inscriptions of Qjāfar at Mūsā of the years 717 (1327) and 752 (1353) (de Laynes, *Voyage*, p. 206, No. 21 et.; Brūnow and Domaszewski, *Provincia Arabia*, i. 105). About 1340 'Umārī says of al-Shawbak: "its citadel is now emptied of men, its gate is closed" (R. Hartmann, in *ibid.*, ii. 138). In the country round at this time the Banī 'Ukba, who now dwell around al-Karak, lived in tents (*op. cit.*, p. 137).

The present al-Shubak (Masill also writes al-Shubak) whose greyish walls still surround gardens and terraces which were formerly covered with vines, is a miserable village. In the castle are ruins of baths and other buildings, also (according to Socin-Baedeker) an underground passage, which leads by 375 steps down to a well. The threefold line of defences of the Crusaders' castle mentioned by William of Tyre and Thietmar no longer exist; the existing remains rather date exclusively from the time of Baḥars and Lādīn, to whom belong the foundation inscription running along the outside of the enclosing wall.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Ma'jam*, ed. Wustenfeld, iii. 332; Saif al-Dīn, *Marʿid al-Ijtihād*, ii. 432; Abu 'l-Fida', ed. Reinaud, p. 247; Le Strange, *Palatines under the Moslems*, p. 536; Gaudelroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, p. 129–134 (according to Kāṣhshandī, *Salāh al-Dīn*, iv. 157 et. with supplementary notes from 'Umārī's *Musallāh al-Adīr*); G. Rey, *Étude sur le monum. des croisades en Syrie*, 1871, p. 273–277 (in *Collection de docum. ind. sur l'histoire de France*, ser. I, Bd. XLII); L. de Mas Latrie, *Les seigneurs du Croc de Montreal*, in *Archiv. Ventur*, 1883, xxv. 475–494; R. Hartmann, *Die Herrschaft von al-Karak*, in *ibid.*, ii. 129–142; Masill, *Arabia Petraea*, 1907, ii. 35 et., 158 et.; 326, 337–339; Brūnow and Domaszewski, *Provincia Arabia*, i. 113–119 (with pictures 96–104) et passim.

Inscriptions: Saavare in Doc de Laynes, *Voyage d'explor.*, ii. 209–213; Brūnow and Domaszewski, *op. cit.*, i. 118 et.

(E. HONIGMANN)

AL-SHAWI (*nisha* from Shāwīya; q. v.) ABU 'L-ANBĀS AHMAD MUHAMMAD, one of the most popular saints (*ṣāliḥ*) of Fās, died there on Muharram 26, 1014 = June 15, 1605 and was buried in the *Zāwīya* which still bears his name, in the al-Siyādī (el-Siāḥ) quarter. Many notices of him are given by the Moroccan hagiographers, and a collection of his *manāḥiḥ* was made by the famous Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Salām al-Kādīrī (1058–1110/1648–1698), entitled *Muṭamad al-amān fi manāḥiḥ walī al-ah al-ṣāliḥ al-Shawī*.

Bibliography: al-Ifrānī, *Safwat man in-shāḥ*, lith. Fas, p. 36; al-Kādīrī, *Nashr al-Manāḥiḥ*, lith. Fas, 1310 A.H., i. p. 96; al-Kādīrī, *Safwat al-Anfās*, lith. Fas, 1316 A.H., i. p. 274; Gaillard, *Une ville de l'Islam: Fes*, Paris 1905, p. 128; René Basset, *Recherches bibliographiques*, p. 27, No. 71; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chérifs*, Paris 1922, p. 278.

SHAWIYA (plur. of *shawī*, "sheep-breeder") a name, originally applied in contempt, which has become the general designation of several groups in the Maghrib, of which the most important are in Morocco, the Shāwīya of Tāmasnā

and in Algeria, the Shāwiya of the Awrās. E. Doutté (*Marrākech*, p. 4-5) mentions several other groups of less importance. An endeavour has also been made to connect Choa, the name of a district in Abyssinia, with Shāwiya.

Wherever it is found, the term is applied to Berbers of the Zanāta and Hawwāra, more or less arabicised, mixed with purely Arab elements; almost always, moreover, these ethnic groups seem to have schismatic tendencies.

[The massif of the Awrās, occupied by the Shāwiya of the department of Constantine, was in the eighth century the centre of resistance of the Abādī [q.v.] Khāridjīs as the Mātib still is at the present day. Now among the Shāwiya of Morocco, the successors to the heretical Baraghwāta [q.v.] we find a tribe of Mātib and the memory of "judaising" ancestors. On the other hand, Ibn Khaldūn tells us that at the beginning of the Marinid dynasty in eastern Morocco, a group of Shāwiya lived in contact with the Zakkāra, whose heterodox practices have been studied by A. Mouliérac].

According to Ibn Khaldūn (*Hist. des Berb.*, i. 176-182, transl. i. 271-282) the original home of the Hawwāra (vulgo Hawwāra [q.v.]) was the province of Tripoli and the adjacent part of the territory of Barka; conquered and oppressed by the Arabs, they had scattered through the whole of the Maghrib where, crushed by taxation and having lost that pride and independence which once characterised them, they devoted themselves to sheep-breeding, whence the name ultimately given them. As to the Zanāta, they were nomadic Berbers, like the Arabs, living in tents on the produce of their flocks and spending the summer in the Tell and the winter in the desert (Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, ii. 1; transl. iii. 179-180).

The name of Shāwiya seems to be first found in Ibn Khaldūn (*Prolegomenes*, i. 226, 16, transl. i. 256, *Hist. des Berb.*, i. 179, 10; transl. i. 278; ii. 245, 1; transl. iv. 31; the Shāwiya mentioned in this last passage do not seem to correspond to those of Tāmasnā but to some people of Eastern Morocco, neighbours of the tribes of Hawwāra and Zakkāra).

Next, Leo Africanus (i. 83-84) who calls them *Sawra* tells us that they are African (i.e. Berber) tribes who have adopted the Arab way of living. The majority live at the foot of the Atlas or in the mountain range itself, living by cattle- and sheep-breeding. Wherever they dwell they are always subject to the local dynast or to Arabs. This author already knows two main groups: one in Morocco, in Tāmasnā, the other on the borders of the kingdom of Tunis and the "land of Dates" (*بلاد الدجاجة*).

It will be readily understood that in the Arab world, the term "sheep-breeders" would have a contemptuous significance. As M. W. Marçais observes "in ancient Arabia a certain disgrace seems to have been attached to the breeding of the smaller domestic stock. North African opinion has retained a prejudice against the rearers of sheep. The great camel-rearing nomads have nothing but contempt for them. In the middle ages the feeling may have been strengthened by racial antagonism, real or imaginary. But in general at this period, to abandon the camel and adopt the sheep was an avowal of a terrible downfall for a tribe. It

meant renouncing the long free travels, the secure refuge of the desert, and independence, to submit to local rulers, endure their blows and tolerate their fiscal exactions".

2. Shāwiya of Tāmasnā. They occupy in the N. E. the lower course of the Umm al-Rūd, vast fertile plains which extend to the latitude of the little harbour of Fedjāla. They are descended, according to Leo Africanus (ii. 9) from the Zanāta, and Hawwāra whom the Marinid sovereigns settled there and who mixed with the remnants of the Baraghwāta [q.v.], the ancient heretical inhabitants of the region, as well as with the Arabs brought from Ifrikiya by the Almoravid Sultān Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr. These Shāwiya now speak Arabic; the modern tribes which seem to be of Berber origin are the Zūta, Medyāna, Mātib, Mellila, Zyāda, and the Ulād Bu-Ziri.

3. Shāwiya of the Awrās. They occupy this mountain mass, in the south of the department of Constantine, between Haïna and Biakra. Ibn Khaldūn (*Hist. des Berb.*, ii. 1; transl. iii. 179-180) already mentions sections of the Zanāta settled in the Awrās alongside of Hillālī Arabs who had conquered them. It is no doubt to their living in a mountainous country that these Shāwiya have preserved a Berber dialect to the present day.

Bibliography: 1. Shāwiya in general: Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Schefer, i. 83; Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolegomenes*, i. 222, transl. i. 256-257; E. Carotte, *Recherches sur l'origine et les migrations des principales tribus de l'Afrique septentrionale et particulièrement de l'Algérie*, in *Exploration Scientifique de l'Algérie, Sciences Historiques et Géographiques*, Paris 1853, iii. 147-152, 190; W. Marçais and Abderrahmān Gulga, *Textes arabes de Tabrēkna*, p. 257, n. 37, p. 258, n. 39.

2. Shāwiya of Tāmasnā: Leo Africanus, *op. cit.*, i. 9; Marmol, *L'Afrique*, transl. de Petrot of Ablancourt, Paris 1677, ii. Pl. 4, Chap. i.-xii.; Ahmad al-Nāṣiri, *Kitaḥ al-Istiqṣā*, iii. 135-136; G. Kampffmeyer, *Sūnia in Marokko*, in *M. S. O. S. A.*, vi., Berlin 1903; E. Doutté, *Marrākech*, p. 2 199; *Villes et tribus du Maroc: Casablanca et les Chénoua*, particularly i. 109-116 and 131-136.

3. Shāwiya of the Awrās: Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, ii. 1, transl. iii. 179-180; E. Masquernay, *Le Djebel Chekar*, in *Revue Africaine*, 1878, xlii. 259-281; De Lartigue, *Mémoires de l'Aurès*, Constantine 1904, esp. p. 123-125 and the bibliography given on p. p. 477-480. On their Berber dialect, cf. G. Mercier, *Le Chaouia de l'Aurès*, Paris 1896. See also the Bibliography to the article **AWRĀS**.

(GEORGES S. COLIN)

SHAWWĀL, name of the tenth month of the lunar year. In the Qur'ān (Sūra ix. 2) four months are mentioned during which, in the year 9 A.H., the Arabs could move in their country without exposing themselves to attacks (cf. "the sacred months" in verse 3). These four months were, according to the commentaries, Shawwāl, Dhū l-Ka'da, Dhū l-Hijja and Muharram. In *Hadith* Shawwāl is therefore among "the months of pilgrimage mentioned in Allah's Book" (al-Bukhārī, *Hadith*, bāb 33, 37).

In pre-Islamic times Shawwāl was considered ill-omened for the conclusion of marriages (*Lisān*

al-'Arab, c. v.). In order to prove this opinion baseless, 'Alīshā emphasised the fact that Muhammad had married her in this month (Tirmidhi, *Nikāh*, bāb 10). In the modern Muslim world there is difference of opinion concerning this point. Among the Muslim Tigre tribes Shawwāl is one of the months suitable for celebrating marriages; in 'Uman, on the other hand, it is considered ill-omened in this respect.

The law recommends fasting during six days following the 'id al-fitr ([q.v.]; cf. Tirmidhi, *Sawm*, bāb 52: Whosoever fasts the month of Ramadān as well as six days of Shawwāl, has reached the *ḡawm al-ḡāḡ*; cf. also Muslim, *Sawm*, trad. 203). Nevertheless these days usually partake of the solemn character of the 'lesser festival'. For the same reason Shawwāl bears not only the epithet of *al-mukarram* ('the venerated'), but also such names as *safer ḡadām* (Tigre), *hıram* (Turkey), *safer 'awāl* ('Uman), *urē rays* (Acheh).

Bibliography: Lätmann, *Die Ehrennamen und Neubennungen der islamischen Monate in Isl.*, viii. 228 sqq.; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekke*, ii. 97; do., *The Achehnese*, i. 237 sqq.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

SHA'YĀ, Isaiah, son of Amos, a prophet sent to the Israelites in the reign of Sedecias (Sedecias, by confusion with Heczekiah), took part in the siege of Jerusalem under Sennacherib, announced to the king that his death had been postponed for fifteen years; the besiegers all perished except their king and five of his secretaries who took refuge in a cave. For 66 days the king of Judah made the prisoners walk round Jerusalem, giving them two loaves of barley each day as their food. According to Muhammad b. Ishāq, Isaiah fleeing from the Israelites who had turned against him on account of his prophecies, came in the course of his flight to a tree which bent down and he took refuge in it. Satan having caught the hem of his garment which remained visible, betrayed him by this means and the Israelites sawed the tree through the middle. Tahrī gives as his authority Wahb b. Munabbih, an echo of the Talmud (*Jerish Emzlop.*, vi. 636) which places the event in the reign of Manasseh. The book of Isaiah is quoted by Mutahhar b. Tahrī al-Maḡdisi, *Libre de la Création*, ed. and transl. Huart, i. 183; ii. 172.

Bibliography: Tabari, *Annales*, i. 638-645; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, i. 178-180; Mirkhond, *Rawaf al-Safā*, Bombay 1271, i. 121 *ad imam*; cf. ii. *Kale*, xix.-xx.; ii. *Chroniques*, xxxii.; *Kur'ān*, xvii. 4; al-Balāwī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Fleischer, i. 533. (CL. HUART)

SHEB-I BARĀT. [See SHA'BĀN.]

SHEBEK. [See SHARAK.]

SHEBISTARĪ, SA'D AL-DIN MAHMUD b. 'ABD AL-KARIM b. VAHVA, author of the Persian mystical *mathnawī* entitled *Gulshān-i Rās*, was born circa 650 at Shabistar (Cahistar), a village near Tabriz, and died in 720. He composed the *Gulshān-i Rās* in 717 in answer to fifteen questions which had been sent to him by an eminent Ṣūfī of Khurāsān, whom Dīlāmī (*Nafāḡāt*, p. 705) identifies with the celebrated Mīr Fakhr al-Safāt ḡusānī of Ghūr. These questions, written in rhymed verse, form part of the *mathnawī*, each one standing at the head of a separate section. The popularity of the poem is attested by the large number of commentaries upon it (Eihé, *India Office Lib. Cat.*, 996,

Nº. 1816). Within the compass of little more than a thousand verses Shabistari explains concisely and in simple language the doctrine of *wahdat al-wuḡūd*, the descent and ascent of the 'perfect man' (see *Inshā al-Kāmil* and H. H. Schaeder, *Die islamische Lehre vom vollkommenen Menschen*, *Z. D. M. G.*, 1925, p. 253, sqq.), and other leading ideas of the later Persian mystical poetry — which was deeply influenced by Ibn al-'Arabī — as well as the terms used in the erotic symbolism 'whereby the Ṣafīs express their conceptions of God and the universe and their ecstatic experiences'. The author refers to his want of practice in verification, but though some traces of this are apparent, he shows himself to be a true poet. Besides the *Gulshān-i Rās* he has left three prose treatises on Ṣafism, namely: (1) *Ḥaḡḡ al-ṣāḡim fī Ma'rifa-i Rabb al-'Ālamīn*; (2) *Salūdat-nūma*; (3) *Risāla-i Shakk*.

Bibliography: E. G. Browne, *Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, pp. 146-150; Rieu, *Cat. Pers. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, p. 608; Eihé, *India Office Lib. Cat.*, 995, Nº. 1814; J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Mahmud Scheibistari's Rosenflor des Geheimnisses, Persisch und Deutsch*, Pesth 1838; E. H. Whinfield, *Gulshān-i Rās: the Mystic Rose Garden of Sa'd al-Din Mahmūd Shabistari. Persian text with English translation and notes, chiefly from the commentary of Muhammad ibn Yahyā Lahijī*, London 1880.

(R. A. NICHOLSON)

SHEFIK MEHMED EFENDI, called Maḡarrif-āde, Ottoman imperial historian and stylist. Not much is known of his life. He was born in Stambul, received an appointment as clerk in the *Dıvān* (*dıvān kâtlibi*), later became one of the *ḡawāḡdārān* i.e. head of one of the 28 chanceries (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, viii. 431), was next appointed chief of the smaller audit office (*muhāsibet-i küllīye*) of the pious foundations (*evkāf*), and ultimately was appointed imperial historian (*wakfa nūwīs*). He seems to have died not long after his appointment to the office, the date of his death is given as 1127 (1715/1716). Mehmed Shefik Efendi is not prominent on the roll of official imperial historians as the work of the *wakfa nūwīs* Muḡaffā Na'mā (q.v.) who died in the Morea in 1128 (1716) was immediately continued by Mehmed Rāḡhīd, the former dealing with the years 1000-1070 and the latter with 1071-1134. Mehmed Shefik Efendi only described — by command of Sultan Ahmad III — the important events of the year 1115 (1703), that is practically the fall of Muḡaffā II and accession of Ahmad III, under the title *22'rikhi 'Abdallāh* (by which he meant himself). There is a good manuscript of this short work (c. 75 folios) in the Vienna National Library; cf. G. Flügel's *Katalog*, ii. 278 sq. Mehmed Shefik also describes the same revolution in a work entitled *Shefik-nāma*, which has become famous on account of its involved allegorical style; the difference between the two works is that, as it was not advisable in the former work to discuss quite openly the secret workings of the rising and its course, in the latter he used a secret, allegorical style and at the same time gave his political and historical creed (cf. Flügel, *op. cit.*, ii. 279; according to J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ix. 207, Nº. 92). The *Shefik-nāma* has been several times printed [Stambul 1282 (1865), small 8º, p. 112; Stambul 1289 (1874), p. 154;

small 89, with a commentary (*Şerîhü'l-ma'ârif*) by İzzetî ed-Din Mahmud Paşa *Kandak al-kâmilin* under this title also published separately 1289, p. 312, 8^a, [Sтамбул] and several times annotated; beside the above commentary mention may be made of that by 'Abdallâh Mehmed b. Ahmad (original MSS. in the Yefî Dîmî Library in Sтамбул, cf. Brunsli Mehmed Tahir, *'Othmânî Müvâzîferi*, II, 426, Hâdîdî Khalîfa, *Kaşf al-Zamân*, vi, 600, N^o. 14822). A French translation planned by Arthur Alric does not seem to have been printed.

Bibliography: *Sijill-i 'othmânî*, III, 152, (brief); İzzetî ed-Din, *'Othmânî Târîkî ve Mu'arrifleri*, Sтамбул 1314, p. 50 ap.; Sâlim, *Tadâbir*, Sтамбул 1315, 385 27 (where he is wrongly called: Ahmad); Brunsli Mehmed Tahir, *'Othmânî Müvâzîferi*, III, 75.

(FRANZ BÄDINGER)

SHEHR. [See **SHAHIL**.]

SHEHR-I SEBZ. [See **KASHI**.]

SHEHRIZÜR (Shahrizür, in the *Şerîf-nâme*: Shahrizûr), a district in Kurdistan. Shehrizür, strictly speaking, is a beautiful and fertile plain (36 × 25 miles) situated to the west of the chain of Awrâmân (cf. **SENGE**). To the south-east it adjoins the Persian district of Awrâmân-i lubûn. On the south the river Sirwân is the boundary of the district; on the south-west Shehrizür extends as far as the pass of Darhând-i Khân by which the Sirwân (Diyâla) makes its way to the south. On the west Shehrizür is bounded by Arbet which belongs to Sulaimâniya. To the north a buttress of the Awrâmân (Karrâ-Kallâw) separates it from the district of Kara-Çowlân (Shahr-i bâr). The plain is watered by the tributaries of the Tâdjerdî (Tâdjerdî) which coming from Sulaimâniya flows into the Sirwân; the chief of these tributaries is the river Zalm, which in its turn receives the Cowân from the North.

The mountains Nâdîr and Balambô rising on the right bank of the Sirwân separate the plain from the right bank of this river (the district of Shâk-mâidân). The district of Shamirân situated on the left bank in the bend of the Sirwân is also considered a dependency of Shehrizür. The old centre situated where the river Zalm enters the plain, is Gul'anbar, whose real name seems to be Ghulâm (Khulâm)-bar, to which the Kurd name Khurnâl corresponds phonetically. The present chief town is Alabâ (Alabâ Halabca), a township of 500 houses, 25 being Jewish and there are a few Christian families.

The plain belongs to the Dîjî Kurds. In the time of Rich (I. 107) there were Afghan colonies in the province of Shehrizür; these were the remains of the troops of Arâk-khân, who during his struggle against Kartîr Khân Zand [q. v.] besieged Seme (in 1168).

To the south-east of Shehrizür, in the two parallel gorges formed by the spurs of the Awrâmân amongst vineyards and woods are situated the villages of Beyra and Tawûla belonging to Naksh-bandi Shaikhs. Numbers of pilgrims come there from all parts, even from Russia and India. At Tawûla there is a beautiful mosque built by Shaikh 'Omar, who is himself buried at Beyra. The two villages form enclaves in Awrâmân-i lubûn and the Awrâmân dialect is spoken in the north. It is said to extend even as far as Pâdîjwin.

The district of Shehrizür is closely associated

with the beliefs of the Ahl-i Haqq (v. 'AG-ILAN); the initiates of the sect await the last judgment which is to take place in the plain of Shehrizür; "in the threshing-floor of Shehrizür (*Shahrizûrân* *sharmânâda*) all the faithful will receive their due".

In the wide sense of the word, Shehrizür served to denote the eyalet of Kerkûk whence, as one can see, there resulted a considerable amount of confusion in geographical terms.

History. For the epoch of the Assyrians, Billerbeck places at Shehrizür the centre of the Zamus country, inhabited at the time of Assur-usharpal by the Lullu people. Streck seems to agree with this localisation of Zamus (*Z. A.*, xv, 1900 p. 284). The Arabs (Ibn Muhalhil) associated with Shehrizür (more precisely Durdân) the biblical legends concerning Saul (Talât) and David, which suggests the presence in these districts of strong Jewish colonies.

The numerous tumuli in the plain of Shehrizür confirm the testimony — of Theophanes as well as of Mu'ir b. Muhallil — regarding the number of settlements in this region. The most important town bore the name of Nim-az-rûi (Nim-rûi) i.e. "half-way" between Ctesiphon and the great fire-altar of Shîr [q. v.] (Takht-i Sulaimân in Adharbâidjân). Çirikov and Herzfeld (on his map) identify Nim-rûi with Gul'anbar, and this corresponds with the indication of Mi'ar (in Vâkûf) regarding the proximity of the town to the mountains of Shâ'ân and Zalm. The most persistent tradition (Ibn al-Fakîh, p. 199; Mustawfî, p. 107) attributes its construction to the Sassânid Kawâdh, the son of Pêrôz (488—531). The ruins of a Sassânid bridge on the Sirwân protected by the fort of Shamirân (Çirikov, 438) indicate the line of communications of Nim-rûi with Kâr-i Shîrîm. At this latter point the route coming from Ctesiphon forked to run towards Hamadân and towards Shehrizür (Ibn Rusta, p. 164; Edrisî, ed. Jaubert, p. 156). On the other hand, according to Rawlinson (*J. R. A. S.*, 1868, p. 296—300), the monument of Pâi-kull on the right bank of the Sirwân not far from the ford of Bânkheûla marked a station on the road from Nim-rûi, which the great explorer thought was to be found at Vâsin-tâpa to the North-West of the plain of Shehrizür. As the monument dates back to the epoch of the first Sassânids, the road, before the construction of Nim-rûi, might well have followed another direction in the plain. According to Ibn Khurdâdhbih (p. 120) the Sassânids, after their accession to the throne, made a pilgrimage on foot to Shîr. The monument of Pâi-kull may mark the road. Herzfeld promises to publish separately the geographical part of his new explorations in this district. Finally, the Kurds told Rich (I. 269) that "the ancient town of Shehrizür" was at Kîzâl'a to the south-east of Arbet (cf. Haussknecht's map).

Shehrizür, forming part of the diocese of Bêth Garmal (Bâ-Djarmak) is often mentioned in the history of the Nestorian Church. The *Synodicon Orientale* (ed. Chabot, 1902, p. 266) gives the names of its bishops between 554 and 605.

During his third Persian campaign the Emperor Heraclius spent the month of February in 628 in Shehrizür "laying waste the district and towns by fire" (*Theophanes Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, p. 345; cf. *rév. Zâ'arôp*; *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf, I, 730; *rév. rev. Zâ'arôp* — the two graphs indicate the pronunciation -zûr and not -zûr).

The Arabs had reached Shehrizūr even in Sassanian times (Ibn al-Fakih, p. 130). The remote situation of Shehrizūr frequently attracted rebels and schismatics to it (Kharridjī, Khurramī). The district is often mentioned along with Dimaghān and Lārdān (Kurdāna, p. 232) the exact sites of which are unknown. In the time of Ibn Muḥallih (330/942) there were in Shehrizūr 60,000 (?) tents of Kurds; Djalāl (Rich, i. 280, Ghellālī?), Hāllān, Hākāmī, and Sālī (Shūhūr).

The same author (in Yāqūt) counts Shīs (perhaps a misreading of Hoffmann, p. 251) among the towns of Shehrizūr and mentions a little town Dardān (?) between Nim-rān and Shiz. The other names of places in the region of Shehrizūr were Tūmshāh (Ibn al-Athīr), Kīnā (?) and Dailamastān (Yāqūt). Between 400 and 434, scions of the Kurl dynasty of the Ḥasanwaidhids ruled at Shehrizūr. In the sixth (sixth) century the Turkomans and the Zangid Atābegs held the district. In the time of Yāqūt, Muḥammad al-Dīn Kōkbōrī, Atābeg of Arbīl had settled himself there. In 623 (1226) an earthquake ruined the district. According to al-Umārī (d. 749 = 1348) Shehrizūr "before its depopulation" was inhabited by Kūsa Kurds (Rich, i. 281) notes a few remnants of them in this region; cf. also place-names like Kosa-madīna, Māmenū-Kosa. After the capture of Baghdad by Hūllūg these Kurds migrated to Egypt and Syria and their place was taken by the Ḥwama (?) who "are not true Kurds". The reference is perhaps to the mountaineers of Avramān, who still occupy the western slope of the mountains. On the other hand, a Kūsa whom A. von Le Coq met in 1901 at Damascus spoke the *mes* dialect [q. v.] which is not a proper Kurd one.

Tīmūr crossed Shehrizūr in 803 (1411) on his way from Baghdad to Tabriz (Zafar-nāma, ii. 370; cf. *al-Shihāzī* and *al-Zāḥirī*).

Shehrizūr played an important part in the Turco-Persian wars. According to the *Sharaf-nāma*, the Ardilān family (cf. SENNA) had been at first settled in Shehrizūr. The local history of Senna even claims that the fort of Zalm was built by Bābā Ardilān in 564 (1158). Sulḥān Salāmān about 944 (1537) sent the governor of Amādiya to conquer Shehrizūr but although a fortress was built at Gul-anbar, the Ardilān re-established their authority in the region (*Sharaf-nāma*, 84). Shāh 'Abbās dismantled this fortress but it was restored during the Persian campaign of Khosrow-paḥā [q. v.] in 1630. The treaty of 1049 (1639) allotted to Turkey the western slope of the Avramān with the fort of Zalm. Changes, however, must have taken place slowly, for Tavernier on his journey in 1644, seems to place the Turco-Persian frontier much further west. The representative of Sulaimān-Khān, Wālī of Ardilān, maintained a garrison in a "large town", the situation of which corresponds to that of Gul-anbar. We may note here that Tavernier seems to mention the town of Altun-köprü (?) under the name "Shehrizūr".

The Ardilān being finally removed from Shehrizūr, the district was governed by local hereditary chiefs who received their investiture from Constantinople. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the governor of the 'Irāk, Ḥasan-Paḥā, was allowed by the Porte to have southern Kurdistan placed under his control. The eyālet of Shehrizūr was then formed containing the sandjaks of Kerūk, Arbīl, Kōi-sandjak, Kara-colin (Shāra-bāzār),

Rawānduz and Harir, the mutasallims of which were appointed from Baghdad (Khurridjī Efendi, p. 199—202). But soon the Bāhān chiefs (cf. SALAMANIYA) attained to power and Shehrizūr was placed under them. After the administrative reforms of 1867 and the creation of the wilāyet of Mawālī the name of Shehrizūr was given to the sandjak of Kerūk (the *kaḥ* were: Kerūk, Arbīl, Kāmiya, Rawānduz, Kōi and Salāhiya) but to complete the confusion the plain of Shehrizūr proper was included in the sandjak of Salāmāniya (v. Caillet, *La Turquie en Asie*, ii. 764).

From the sixteenth century a branch of the tribe of Dīl (cf. SENNA) had been established on Turkish territory. The plain of Shehrizūr, as well as many villages in Kīst, Pandjwin, etc., belonged before the world war to the powerful Dīl chiefs, Othmān Paḥā and Mahḥūd Paḥā. This family exercised administrative functions of which the Porte gradually tried to deprive them. For a considerable time the effective administration of Shehrizūr was in the hands of the widow of Othmān Paḥā, the energetic 'Adila-Khānum, a native of Senna. Sonne has given an interesting description of her little court at Alabā.

Archaeology. Among the half score of tumuli on the plain of Shehrizūr (Hassknecht's map) the most important are: Bakrāwa (Čirikov: 120 feet high, diameter 450 feet, remains of walls, ditch 60 feet broad) and Yāsintapa (F. Jones: square in shape 90 feet high, surface sloping from N. to S. 320 feet). Important ruins exist at Gul-anbar (Čirikov: walls of trimmed stone, towers and an ancient aqueduct). In the ravine of the river Zalm above Gul-anbar lies the fort of Zalm. Kāwint (*Āthār al-Bilād*, ii. 266) explains that *zalm* is a seed (*ḥabb*) possessing aphrodisiacal qualities and not found elsewhere. Tavernier mentions lilies between Shehrizūr and Sonne having similar properties. The *Djibān-namī* (p. 442) gives the gorge at Zalm the epithets, "habitation of the blue sorcerer" (*ustūḥ-ghān*) and "cave of the confusion of speech" (*ḥabīḥ-ḥāḍim*). He mentions the local sights: the fort of 'Alī Zalm (apparently for Zalm), another ruined fort of Yeḍdellird and a cave (natural) with a staircase and windows carved out of the rock. We may recall in this connection the Christian tradition of the monk Sabrīḥ who had built a cell in the mountain of Shā'ra (Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'Empire Persan*, Paris 1904, p. 210). The number of fortifications on the river Zalm show the importance of the place. Their object was to protect Shehrizūr from invasion from the east. The usual routes of communication with Adharbāidjān were however by the more convenient passes more to the north (Čaghān Gāzān, Nawkhūwān, the passes of Bāna).

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al-Umari in *M.E.*, xiii, 1838; Hüdudü'l-Khalifa, *Djihan-namâ*, Stambul 1145, p. 445 (transl. in Charnoy, *Cherch-montâ*, i, p. 127, 423); Tavernier, *Let. its voyages*, Paris 1692, i. 197; Rich, *Narrative of a residence in Kurdistan*, 1836, i. 107, 269, 290-391; Hammer-Purgstall, *G.O.*, 1846, iii (events of 1630); Ritter, *Erst-handl.*, ix, p. 442-447, 459; F. Jones, *Narrative of a journey to the frontier of Turkey and Persia, in Selections from the records of the Bombay Government*, xiii, new series (n.6.), p. 204; Cirkov, *Putevi Journal*, St. Petersburg 1875, p. 438, and *passim*; Khurshid-efendi, *Siyâhat-nâmâsı* *hüddüd* (Russ. transl. 1877); Shchegolevskii, p. 199-262; Hoffmann, *Auszug aus syrischen Akten* *per. Märtyrer*, 1880, p. 254 and *passim*; H. Suane, *In disguise in Mesopotamia and Kurdistan*, London 1912, 2nd ed. 1926; *Materialy po Vostochnu*, Petrograd 1915, p. 203, 340, 554.

Cartography: Map by F. Jones; Hannaknecht—Kiepert, *Routen im Orient*, iii, Kurdistan and Irak; E. Hertfeld, *Pakistan, Monuments and inscription of the early history of the Sassanian Empire*, Berlin 1924, map 1:200,000.

(V. MINORSKY)

SHEKER BAIRAMI [See 'UL-FIR.]

SHEKKI, a district in Eastern Transcaucasia. In Armenia it is called Shakkē, in Georgian Shakhā (and Shakhik?), the Arabs write Shakkā = Shakk (Ibn Khurshid, p. 223, 124, 131, p. 183, Balādhuri, p. 206), Shakkī (Yāqūt, iii, 311), Shakkān (Ibn al-Fakih, p. 293, Balādhuri, p. 194), Shakk (Ma'sadi, *Musād.*, ii, 68).

The usual boundaries of Shekki were: on the east, the Gök-ei which separates it from Shirvān (q. v.); proper, on the west, the Alan (Turk. Kank?) and its left tributary the Kakhk-ei, which separates Shekki from Georgia (Kakhetia) and the Georgian cantons later occupied by the Daghistanis (El-mu, now Zakar 'Alī); in the north the southern slopes of the Caucasus (Salawat-Daghl), the passes of which, however, are within the confines of Daghistan; to the south the Kura (Kur). Shekki is watered by the tributary of the Alan, Agri-ei ("river running diagonally" i. e. from east to west) and the river Abjigan (Ghan) and Türiyān which run towards the Kura. Shekki consists of three regions, one of high valleys covered with forests and orchards; a central one, a treeless and desert plateau; lastly a fertile plain declining to the Kura.

The variety of the factors that have influenced this remote region is responsible for the remarkable character of its local history in which we see pass before us in succession, the Albanians (Aghewans), Armenians, Georgians, the people of Daghistan, Persians, Turks and Russians.

In ancient time it formed part of Caucasian Albania (cf. *ALBAN*) which was a confederation of 26 tribes speaking different languages (Strabo, xi, 4). The remnants of one of these tribes are believed to survive in the Udi, who are still to be found at Shekki (Balādhuri, p. 203; Udi). From their name they must have originally come from the region of Gti (Strabo, xi, 7; *Odrysia*, Pliny, vi, 13; Otene) lying on the right bank of the Kura (the modern Gendja, Shankur, Tāsh); it at first belonged to Armenia Major but was later occupied by the Albanians (cf. "the Armenian geography" of the 5th century translated into Russian by Pal-

kanov, 1877, p. 51). The present language of the Udi is related to the S.-E. group of languages of Daghistan (Khmalugh, Hudugh etc.) and has been subjected to very heterogeneous influences, especially Turkish (Marquart, *Ostereuropäische Sprachg.*, p. 49). The Albanians were very early converted by the Armenians and according to the Armenian legend the church of Gish (now Kish) was built by Elshē, a disciple of the Apostle Thaddäus.

Among the places mentioned in Albania by Ptolemy *Xabāsa* and al 'Aḥḥaw wāḥa occupying the same position, long. 80°, lat. 47°, must correspond to Kabala and to the passes which above it give access to the valley of Samur (Khosmat and Kutahen roads). The ruins of Kabala lie near the confluence of the two branches of the Türiyān-ei "Orax" (long. 77° 30', lat. 44° 45') may correspond to the town of Shekki which has now disappeared (Yanovskii places it S. W. of Nakh, near the village of Shekki). The other identification (Nōya = Nū) has still to be examined carefully. The present capital Nūkhā or Nūkh (on the river Kish) is said to have taken its name from a village more to the east (Sulāim-Nūkhā near Nū); its name is only found from the xviii century onwards, unless it is connected with lekhi (name of an Albanian canton according to the Armenian geographers).

When the Arabs talk of towns of Arrān built by the Sāsānians they probably only refer to the rebuilding of ancient sites; thus Kabālā b. Fāris (488-531) is credited with the building of Kabala (Ibn al-Fakih, p. 288; Yāqūt, iv, 32) and his son Khustaw Anshirwan (531-579) with Abwāl-Shakkān, Kamitān (Kamitān, Khambān in Kakhetia) and Abwāl al-Imdāniya (Balādhuri, p. 194).

Under the Caliph 'Uthman, Salama b. Kabā, having crossed the Kura conquered Kabala not confined himself to concluding a treaty of peace with the chiefs of Shakkān and Kamitān. Later Ghazāl b. 'Abd Allah al-Hakami halted at Shekki on his return from the Daghistan campaign.

The Christians of Shekki remained for a long time in the majority. According to Ma'sadi (ii, 68) the principality of Shakkān, adjoining that of Samur (Ptolemy, v, 9; *Edessa*, Dinar in the valley of the river Samur), was inhabited by Christians and the Muslims who worked as merchants and artisans. The king was called Adarnas b. Humām. The next district on the east was Kabala, "a haunt of robbers and bad characters", the town of which had a Muslim population while the environs were inhabited by Christians. The king (*Malik*) of Kabala was called 'Adarnas al-A'war (the "one-eyed"). The identity of these is still uncertain. Towards the end of the 6th century Georgian and Armenian sources mention a mysterious Adarnas the Blind (Brosset, i, 1, 249); in the 15th century the name of Adarnas was fairly common in the family of Milarakān (Albanian princes of Sāsānian origin, Brosset, i, 2, 480). According to Mukaddasi, p. 51, Kabala and Shekki were little towns.

Shekki later belonged to the Shirvānshāhs, with whom, however, the Georgians disputed its possession. In 1117 King David conquered Gish (Kish above Nakh) on one of the tributaries of the Agri-ei. This little town was the residence of the governors (*erishans*) of Tankabeh (district N.E. of Alan), and of the bishop whose diocese comprised

Turks and 18% Armenians). Among the villages of Nukha may be mentioned the two last refuges of the Udi: Wartashen (majority Jewish; the Udi half Armenian-Gregorians and Orthodox) and Niz or Net (3000 Udi, Armenian-Gregorians). The village of Dyalid (Yāshī, iii. 311) still exists west of Wartashen. The district of Nukha produces raw silk, fruits and wine. The district of Aresh covers 1000 square miles, has 125 villages and 52,371 inhabitants, of whom 37,577 are Turks, 12,278 Armenians and a few Gregorians, Kurds and gipsies. The district consists of steppes and flat lands where rice is grown. Many of the inhabitants are semi-nomads.

Since the Russian revolution the old khānate has formed part of the Agharhaidjan republic (at first affiliated to the Transcaucasian federation, later independent and finally, since 1920, Soviet).

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(V. MINORSKY)

SHELLA, in the texts of the middle ages, *Shella*, necropolis of the Marīnid Sultāns of Morocco, S. E. of the Almohad fortress of Ribāṭ al-Fath (Kasbi), 300 yards below the gate now called Bab al-Fath. It occupies the site of an ancient Phoenician settlement, later the Roman *Sala Colonia*

(cf. *KASAT*), some distance above the mouth of the Wādī Bū-ragrag. With Salā (Sale) on the other side of the river and the Almohad Ribāṭ al-Fath, it formed from quite early times a centre of mobilization for the holy war.

At the end of the xiiith century, the Marīnid princes decided to use this site for their dynastic necropolis. The first member of the family to be buried there was the princess Umm al-'Izz (d. 683 = 1284); she was the wife of Sultān Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. 'Abd al-Hakīm and the mother of Sultān Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf. On his death which took place at Algiers in 685 (1286), Sultān Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb was taken to Shella to be buried; 706 (1307) his son Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf after his assassination at Tlemcen and in 708 (1308) Sultān Thābit 'Amir who was poisoned at Tangier were likewise buried there.

Down to this time the necropolis seems to have been a simple sanctuary of modest size. It was the Sultān Abū 'I-Hasan 'Alī who gave it the appearance which it has retained to the present day. He enclosed the original sanctuary within a vast enclosure of cement, with three gates, one of them monumental. The work was finished, as the inscription testifies, at the end of 739 (July 1339). Within the necropolis, various restorations, extensions and decorations were undertaken at the same time. A new mosque was built with a splendid funeral chamber. In the lifetime of the Sultān, his son Abū Malik (d. 740 = 1340) and his wife Shams al-Duḥā (d. 750 = 1349) were buried at Shella. On his death in 752 (1361) on the mountain of the Himmata in the Great Atlas, the Sultān's body was brought here for burial by order of his son Abū 'Inān.

No Marīnid Sultān was buried here after Abū 'I-Hasan; the enclosure however continued to receive the remains of members of the royal family. It was for some time a splendid sanctuary, some idea of which may be gathered, not only from what remains of the present day, but also from the enthusiastic descriptions written in the sixteenth century by the celebrated Andalusian writer Lūlū al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb. With the fall of the Marīnid dynasty, the necropolis of Shella began to fall into ruins as it was no longer cared for. Since the French occupation, the remains that still exist are preserved against any further injury.

An historical, epigraphical, monumental and folk-lore study, with numerous illustrations has been devoted to Shella by Henry Basset and E. Lévi-Provençal, entitled *Shella: Une Necropole Mérinide*, collection *Hespéris*, vol. i., Paris 1925. The bibliography — rather limited — of the subject is collected there.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

SHEMĀKHA. [See *SHIRWĀN*.]

SHENDI, *SHUNDI*, 18° 1' N, 33° 59' E., a town on the right bank of the Nile, about 104 miles north of Khartūm, on the old caravan-route between Egypt and Sennar. It also gives its name to a district in the Berber Province. Nowadays it is an important station on the Wādī-Halfa-Khartūm Railway, with many locomotive and leather and iron works. Although still a thriving city, in the olden times it was one of the outstanding marts in the whole of the Eastern Sudan with over 50,000 inhabitants. In the course of history it has suffered at the hands of ruthless invaders and merciless marauders. The

result has been that it has shrunk from its former greatness. It is the centre of a district that has been noted for its tall, beautiful women, and it is significant that this region in past ages was ruled by a succession of queens. A vague relic of that period lingers in an eighteenth century traveller's tale of his meeting a "Queen" of Shendi in 1772 (Bruce, *Travels*, vi. 448). Until modern times the town was a busy market for slave-traders and other traffickers. The neighbourhood, north and south, contains many remnants of ancient splendour, ruins of Meroë and its crumbling pyramids. In 1882 a dreadful catastrophe befell the town. The native Governor, who is called the *Muk*, and given the sobriquet of *Nimr* or Panther, invited Isma'il, the son of Muhammad 'Ali, who had been sent by his father to quell the rebellious tribes and punish the fugitive Mamlūk Beys, to a splendid banquet. When the Egyptians were in a drunken stupor the building was set on fire and Isma'il and his suite perished in the flames. In retaliation the place was bombarded by Muhammad Bey the *Defdar*, and thousands of the inhabitants massacred in a most revolting fashion. In 1884 the Gordon Relief Expedition passed by Shendi. Ever since the Anglo-Egyptian occupation in 1898 the town has developed to a great extent.

Bibliography: Prince Ibrahim Hilmy, *Silhouette of Egypt and the Sudan*, ii. 233; James Bruce, *Travels*, Edinburgh 1813; Burckhardt, *Travels*, p. 277—361; Wallis Budge, *The Egyptian Sudan*, ii. 402 seq.

(J. WALKER)

SHERSHEL (French *CHERCHEL*), a town in Algeria, 60 miles W. of Algeria; long. L. 10° E. Long. 36° 37' N. lat. — Population: 5500 of whom 1400 are Europeans. — The town is built on a plateau 1000 yards broad lying between the sea on the north and wooded hills, the outer buttresses of the massif of the Paul Menager, in the south. The calcareous rocks of the plateau provide excellent building materials, the fertility of the soil and humidity of the climate are conducive to the growth of all kinds of produce. The country round is covered with gardens and vineyards. The harbour, sheltered from the west winds by the little island of Joinville and from the east winds by Cape Tizrine is small but safe. Its annual trade is about 30,000 tons and it exports the agricultural produce of the region.

History. The advantages of the site of Cherchel were remarked in very early times. The Phoenicians had a trading station here called Iol, which later passed to the Carthaginians. After the Second Punic War, Iol became the capital of the King of Mauretania, Bocchus, and his successors. Placed on the throne of Mauretania in 25 B.C. by Augustus, king Juba II gave the town the name of Caesarea and adorned it with monuments and works of art. When, after the death of Ptolemy, successor of Juba, Mauretania had been annexed to the empire the town was raised to the rank of a Roman colony (*Colonia Claudia Caesarea*) and was the capital of the province of Mauretania. It was considerably extended and in the second century A.D. had about 150,000 inhabitants. Its walls were about 5 miles round. The ruins of baths, theatres, the amphitheatre, statues and mosaics discovered since the French occupation attest its wealth. Having previously lost its importance by the par-

titution of the two Mauretaniae in the time of Diocletian, it was burned during the rebellion of Firmus (371) and at the beginning of the next century was sacked by the Vandals. The Byzantines reoccupied it in 585 but never restored to it its past prosperity; at a date which is not accurately known, but probably in the early years of the eighth century A.D., Caesarea fell into the hands of the Arabs who completed its ruin. It was perhaps not completely abandoned. The harbour in any case still existed in the time of Ibn Hawkal (*Description de l'Afrique*, transl. de Slane, *J. A.*, 1842, p. 184). In the time of al-Bakri (*Musill*, transl. de Slane, Algiers 1915, p. 165) it was in ruins. According to this author there was nothing left at Shershel but an anchorage commanded by an enormous town of ancient buildings and still inhabited. Bakri, however, mentions the existence of several "ribat" where a large crowd of people assembled every year. Idrisi describes Shershel as a town of small extent but well populated (transl. de Goetze, p. 103). The country round was occupied by Beduin families who devoted themselves to cattle-rearing, to growing vines and figs and they harvested more wheat and barley than they could consume. These circumstances explain the descent made on the town by the Normans of Sicily in 1144. According to Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, Bk. iv., ed. Schefer, iii. 52 the town was continuously inhabited during the five centuries that followed the Arab conquest. During this period Shershel was held in turn by the various dynasties which disputed the possession of Central Maghrib. After the disruption of the Almohad empire, it fell to the 'Abd al-Wadids of Tlemcen, was taken from them by the Marinids in 1309 A.D., became a part of the ephemeral kingdom founded about 1350 by the Ulad Mendil and ultimately recognised the authority of the Ziyānids in the reign of Abū Tabet. In the xvth century fugitive Moors from Spain settled here in large numbers and built 2000 houses (according to Leo Africanus, *op. cit.*). The newcomers devoted themselves to agriculture and industry, especially to silk growing, and commerce but also to piracy. In the first years of the xvth century A.D. a Turkish corsair named Kara Hasan settled at Shershel but was put to death by Arūd [q.v.] who made himself master of the town and placed a garrison in it. Temporarily liberated from the authority of the Turks as a result of the defeat of Khair al-Din [q.v.] by the Kabyla, the people of Shershel had again to recognise the Turkish government and this time finally in 1528. An attempt made by the Spanish to seize the town and make it a base of operations against Algiers failed in 1531. Andrea Doria had to recumb after losing 600 men. During the Turkish period, Shershel simply stagnated. The population never exceeded 2500—3000 men occupying a limited part of the old town. The depredations wrought by the corsairs who sallied out from it, led to its bombardment by Duquesnes in 1682. Turkish authority was represented by a *kaid*, aided in the administration of local affairs by a council of six notables and supported by a garrison established some distance south on the al-Hashim. The mainstay of Turkish power, however, was the Marabout family of Ghobrin, whose ancestors had come from Morocco at the end of the xvth century and who had acquired considerable influence throughout this region. At

the beginning of the sixth century, the Turks quarrelled with them. Al-Hādīd b. Awda al-Ghobrinī was put to death by order of the Dey and his relatives had to take refuge in al-Dahra.

The disappearance of Turkish government in 1830 enabled the Ghobrinī to return to Shershel and become masters of the province. But they found their influence assailed by that of another Marabout family, that of the Brakna who lived among the Bani Menasser. Finally 'Abd al-Kādir who had established a *shaykh* at Mīhana forced the people of Shershel to submit to him. He tried to use the harbour of Shershel for an attempt to revive piracy. An attack by a Shershel corsair on a French warship decided the governor-general Valée to occupy the town in 1840 and to establish there a colony of a 100 European families. The new settlement prospered rapidly and by 1850 had over a thousand inhabitants. They began the development of the country round and this has been steadily continued. An attack on it in July 1871 by the Bani Menasser who besieged it for a fortnight is the only incident that has occurred since the occupation.

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SHI'Ā, the general name for a large group of very different Muslim sects, the starting point of all of which is the recognition of 'Alī as the legitimate caliph after the death of the Prophet.

THE MOTIVES OF THE SHI'Ā AND THE EARLIER PERIOD

Islam is a religious and a political phenomenon as its founder was a prophet and statesman. The development of the community of Islam into separate sectional groups was therefore a natural result of the different possible relations which the political constitution and religious belief might bear to one another. Three main schools may be distinguished. The middle line was taken by the Sunnis. Their leading principle that the "imamate belongs to the Kurashī" is a simple expression of recognition of the historical fact that the world of Islam in the early centuries was ruled by Meccan families. The intelligible demand that the rulers who represented the state which was founded upon religion should be really religious personalities very early led among the Sunnis also to the un-historical glorification of the first "four pious caliphs" and further faced them with the problem of finding formulae to explain that it was also a religious duty to owe obedience to caliphs of little worth and even to foreign Sultans, so long as the exercise of religion and the maintenance of order was afforded by them. How little, however, such principles arose out of pleased approval is best shown by the constant warnings, not only from pious circles, to be careful in dealing with secular, though Sunni rulers. If we have here on the Sunni side less a clear theory than rather the attempt to reconcile a religious ideal with political reality, on the other hand on the two flanks of Islam we find two fundamental theories. The one demands clearest separation of the constitutional question from the religious one, the other has interwoven the two. The former question, although

already in existence, only obtained greater publicity in the first civil war among the Khāridjīs [q. v.] for whose salvation the question of the person of the caliph was a matter of such indifference that he might "even be an Abyssinian slave". The Shi'as on the other hand lay religious value on the question of the imamate and their dogmatic books contain a special section, the leading idea of which is the traditional principle "whosoever dies without knowing the true Imām of his time dies the death of an unbeliever".

There was a political Shi'ā, more accurately a *Shi'at 'Alī* i.e. a party of 'Alī [q. v.] at the very latest immediately after the death of the Prophet. If we may believe the Shi'ā stories the original Shi'ā consisted of three men: Salmān al-Fārisī, 'Abū Dharr and al-Miqdād b. al-Awwad al-Kindī. They were the only ones — some stories give a few more names — who championed 'Alī's succession on the death of the Prophet and therefore did not falter from their faith. For the other companions of the Prophet are credited by the majority of the Shi'as with *ridā* [q. v.] for paying homage to 'Abū Bakr. But the stories, especially about Salmān al-Fārisī — if he ever really existed (cf. Horowitz in *Islam*, xii. 178, 199) — are quite legendary. A large number of the later Shi'ā traditions and many prophecies regarding the future of 'Alī's are associated with his name.

The desire that the imamate in Islam should be kept for the 'Alids [q. v.] as the family of the house (of the Prophet) (*Āl al-Bayt*) has not been fulfilled. The brief reign of 'Alī from 35–40 (656–661) was only a strongly contested partial caliphate while his son Hasan [q. v.] can hardly be seriously considered to have been caliph. The first 'Alid independent principality was founded in 172 (789) in Morocco by the Hasanid Idrīs I b. 'Abd Allāh [q. v.]. But his territory was entirely Sunni, that is to say we have not here a Shi'ā state but simply an 'Alid kingdom. At the present day there still exist a few small states with 'Alid chiefs, all more or less under European Christian powers, of whom however the Imām of Ṣan'ā in Yemen alone is Shi'ā and indeed a Zaidī (see below).

As the energies of the Shi'ā forces met with too much resistance in the political field they devoted themselves to the religions. The political experiences of the Shi'ā had been particularly suitable to further this development. The martyr's death of one 'Alid succeeded that of another. Much more than the blood of 'Alī who was murdered by a casual Khāridjī, it was the blood of Husain [q. v.] who perished under the swords of the government troops that was the seed of the Shi'ā church. The passion motive was thus restored to religion again among the Shi'as; it had been lost to official Islam since the turn of fortune which after the Hijra set the Prophet's career on the path of worldly prosperity and excluded all possibility of it by a peaceful death, devoid of any tragedy that might have borne fruit in this direction. The insistence on the idea of a passion has so thoroughly penetrated the Shi'ā that it has formed legends full of difficult historical problems, which make even the lives of 'Alids, who never attained any prominence, end in martyrdom, usually through poison at the instigation of the caliphs, as in the case of Hasan I, Dī'far al-Ṣādīq, 'Alī al-Riḍā, etc.

That this feeling of passion, which can remain

worldly and among the Zaidīs who are closest to the Sunnīs, has remained very worldly, was transformed to something completely religious in the majority of Shī'as, i.e. that to the Shī'as the death of Husain paved the way to Paradise, is a result of the fact that another religious idea came into play, which is, as the history of religions shows, often associated with the passion motive, namely the idea of the manifestation of the divine in man (epiphany). It was not strange to Muḥammad, indeed to him for example Jesus was "a word of God" (Kor'ān III. 40). But he had not placed the intermediation between God and man in a person and certainly not in his own (Kor'ān, xviii. 110; ii. 5; xvii. 95) but in a revelation, the Kor'ān. From this point of view the characteristic of the Shī'as can be thus defined: — to the First Article: "I believe in God the One" — and the Second Article "I believe in the revelation of the Kor'ān which is uncreated from all eternity" — is added a Third Article: — "I believe that the Imām especially chosen by God as the bearer of a part of the divine being is the leader to salvation". But if such an Imām possesses in the eyes of his believers any quality or more frequently a substance of divine origin, then when faced with his decease, they do not console themselves with the thought of his living on in paradise, which he only shares, although in a higher degree, with all believers, but to them the death of an Imām is rendered void by the idea of *ruḡ'a* [q. v.], belief in "concealment" and parousia. The Imām becomes Mahdī [q. v.]. Many indeed abandon the earthly part of the Imām but make his divine element pass into the next Imām, after the manner of the doctrine of transmigration. The mutual interaction of the idea of passion and epiphany again shows that the expectation of parousia arising from the latter, which, as the example of the hidden Mahdī, Muḥammad b. al-Hanafīya shows, can also arise independently of a martyrdom, was increased by martyrdom.

The state of our sources does not enable us to have a reliable insight into the confluence of the various Shī'as motives. It must for example remain an open question how far the Shī'as ideas of epiphany and the intercession of the Imām are the direct continuation of the similar ideas which, according to Ibn Ishāq, certain singers of primitive Islam already associated with the person of Muḥammad: i.e. the question arises how far these religious ideas of the Shī'as were within Islam before the year 11 (632). Under 'Alī, however they appear as important dogmas of religion. If the tradition through 'Abd Allāh b. Saḥā [q. v.] is still obscure, we find it somewhat clearer in the many poems of Shī'as mentality. One Abu 'Awwad al-Du'ālī [q. v.] who fought by the side of 'Alī at Ṣiffīn praised him with more than the ordinary infatuation: "When I looked into the face of Abu 'Alī-Husain, I saw the full moon, which filled the spectators with reverent wonder. The Kurānīth now know, wherever they may be, that thou art their noblest in merit and religion". His attitude to 'Alī is therefore already religious. In accordance with traditions referring to him, therefore already current (see below), he calls him "our fore and waṣī", Phrases like "I seek God and waṣī" and *waṣī*. Phrases like "I seek God and waṣī" are the future state through my love to 'Alī" are frequently found. Kuthāyir [q. v.], d. 105 (723),

expects the *ruḡ'a* of Muḥammad b. al-Hanafīya; Kumāṭī [q. v.], d. 126 (743), sings of the light emanating through Adam through Muḥammad to the holy family. In the 'Abbasid period political disillusionment for the first time exceeds this religious devotion. Salyid al-Himḡārī [q. v.], devotes his poems to it. In Dī'bil [q. v.], the "panegyrist of the holy house" the coarse attacks on the ruling family, in which "one sinner inherits the caliphate after another" are explained by his belief in the unique claim of 'Alī Riḍā to the intimate at the time. In a poem on the death of Husain, often previously celebrated by him, he looks for the *ruḡ'a* [q. v.]. "If it were not for what I hope for to-day or to-morrow, my heart would break for woe: the "passing" of an Imām, who will without doubt pass, who will appear in the name of God and with all blessings".

The 'Alids at this time as a rule had not the leadership in the political field in their own hands. They were urged on by their followers, just as Husain and Zaid b. 'Alī had been used for political purposes and as Muḥammad b. al-Hanafīya had been a pawn in the hands of al-Mukhtar and Muḥammad b. Tabāṭabā and Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Zaid in the hands of Abu 'I-Saraya. It was the same in the sphere of religion. Religious fanatics gathered round every prominent 'Alid. Of those around 'Alī we may mention his client Kanbar, who is said to have recognised the "tongue of the word of God" in his master. That this was considered mild language is seen from the legend in which Kanbar himself figures as opposing these extravagant Shī'as who had attributed *rubūḡiyya* (divinity) to 'Alī and who are therefore condemned to fire by the two.

Djābir b. 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī attached himself to Husain's son Zain al-'Abidin and his son Muḥammad al-Bāqir; the former had paid homage to the Prophet in the first battle of Akaba along with the first Medinese to do so. He opposed the young 'Alid as the preserver of the continuity of Shī'as belief, and had intercession assured him by Muḥammad al-Bāqir on the last day. With Bāqir and his successors Djāfar al-Sādiq and Mūsā al-Kāzim were found theologians like Djābir b. Vazīd al-Djū'fī, Hishām b. Salīm al-Djū'fī b. al-Hakam, a former prisoner of war and Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, a client of 'Alī b. Yaḥyā b. Mūsā. Yūnus also belonged to the great circle of 'Alī Riḍā. The fundamental principles of their theology are of course of the Muslim type.

Tradition. The Shī'as are to a much greater degree "Sunnīs" than the so-called Sunnīs. We must not place the origin of their *hadīth*s too late, since some are as early as Du'ālī. The late, since some are as early as Du'ālī. The most celebrated are: 'Alī is Aaron; 'Alī is the most celebrated are: 'Alī is designated by the Prophet and *waṣī* who is designated by the Prophet and *waṣī*. He is the *Mamā* (see also GHAFAR AL-ALLAH). The holy family is the ark of Noah; KHUMM). The holy family and the Kur'ān are the two treasures of the earth; Muḥammad, 'Alī, Fātima, Husain and Husain are the five companions of the cloak. Similar principles also underlie their exegesis of the Kur'ān, which regards a vast number of verses (e.g. xxxiii. 33; lvii. 26; xi. 76; xxiv. 35) as evidence for the Shī'as claims.

The particular character of the Shī'as offered so much incentive to dogmatic speculation and religious fantasy that it never, like the Sunna, attained any far-reaching uniformity. Three main

forms may be distinguished within the Shī'a: The Zaidī [q.v.] who are nearest akin to the Sunnīs, limit the manifestation of God in the Imām quite rationally to mere divine "right guidance" and deny the miraculous influx of the divine portion of light into a definite 'Alid individual. The martyrdom of the Imāms finds expression among them mainly in the political field in constant endeavours to attain with the sword of man and help of God the goal of 'Alid supremacy. They have successfully resisted various chiliastic expectations of the Mahdī that have appeared among them. On the other wing, the epiphany becomes completely inherent, absolute *ḥulūl* [q.v.]; the mortal in the Imām is entirely swallowed up; in the end God himself has no place beside him. The representatives of this school are ardently fought by the Zaidīs and Imāmīs, the representatives of the middle school, as people who have brought the Shī'a into discredit and have fallen away from Islām — they call them *Ghulāt* (sg. *ghālī*, q.v.). To the Imāmīs the Imām remains mortal but a divine light-substance is inherent in him by partial *ḥulūl*. The death of the Imām, which among the *Ghulāt* e.g. the Druses, is simply the withdrawal of the deified, becomes with them the religious force which makes it a joy to die. Its voluntariness is emphasised with dogmatic intention. In the battle of Kerbelā? God sent the angel of victory to Husayn; but he preferred "to approach to God".

In the course of history each of the three divisions had perforce to divide into many subdivisions, simply on account of the specifically Shī'a ideas of each. Thus, as a result of the Zaidī agitations, small principalities arose in Ṭabaristān and Dailām from 250 (864) and in Yenmen from 288 (901) which from the distance between them could not form a unity nor even possess uniformity. The Zaidīs of the Irāq, who never attained independence in a kingdom of their own, but were often able to make up for this by exerting considerable influence in the Caliph's empire, had to adapt themselves to conditions there by a greater use of the *ṭafīya* [q.v.] or the *ḥimān*. The school of the *Ghulāt*, who went furthest beyond Muḥammad's inheritance and gave the greatest play to individual initiative, found very varied expression in the Ḳarmatīan groups, the Ismā'īlīs and the Druses and ultimately in the Nuṣayrīs and 'Alī Ilāhī [q.v.]. These groups also to a great degree cut themselves away from the members of the holy family. This is already seen in the Kaistāniya [q.v.] whose Imām, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanaṭīya, is not a descendant of the Prophet; this is also expressed in a tradition: "Salmūn al-Fārisī belongs to the family of the house". It led for example in the 12th (12th) century among the Hurūfī [q.v.] to the exclusion of the 'Alid Imāms in favour of the deity incarnate in Faḍl Allāh al-Astarabādī. But the very principle of the Imāmīya had the seeds of dissension within it. For the contact between God and man is not at a point of intersection but in a continuous line, not in a single individual but in an uninterrupted series of Imāms, among whom the divinely inspired father appoints the son on each occasion or — according to others — the divine element is transmitted directly to the eldest son, whose mother also comes from the holy family. But religious adherence to an Imām might become so fervent that one could not abandon

him even after his death; or the successor might be a person of very doubtful character; or he might be quite defective. Thus arose the subordinate groups of the *Wāḥidīya* and *Kiṭṭīya* or *Kaṭīya*. The former "hesitate" regarding the death of the Imām, therefore "stand" by him and see in him the Mahdī; the latter regard the death of the Imām as "destined" and therefore continue the line. There are a whole series of such *Wāḥidīya*, like the *Djā'fariya* with *Djā'far al-Ṣādiq*, the *Mūsawīya*, the *Riḍāwīya* etc.; in the narrower sense the term applies only to the *Djā'fariya*. For the reasons mentioned, however, the line could not be continued endlessly even among the *Kiṭṭīya*. It is very doubtful whether the eleventh Imām Ḥasan al-Khalīs left a child at all at his death in 260 (873), but the belief has prevailed among the Imāmīs in the existence, the mysterious disappearance and the Mahdī character of a son Muḥammad Ḥudjdāt Allāh. Thus the Imāmīs become "Twelvers", *litham 'Ashariya* [q.v.], although it was for a period still disputed whether there was not a thirteenth Imām.

If we thus see among the Shī'a denominations, simply in so far as they are Shī'a, a range which corresponds to that in the Christian church history which separates the Theopaschites from the Socinians, we must remember we are only considering one of the principles that have gone to form it. For the Shī'a belongs to Islām and is therefore faced with all the problems that agitate Islām generally. But Islām does not look at the world from the point of view of religion only, but has its cultural, economic, and social and through the question of the *ḥaḥīfa* its political problems also. The results for the Shī'a can only be briefly indicated here. In dogmatics we find besides the Mu'tazilīs, [q.v.] predestinarians like the Zaidī Sulaimān b. Djarrar and anthropomorphists like the already mentioned Imāmī Hishām b. Salīm al-Djauallīkī; and how much the dispute common to all Islām regarding the nature of the *Ḳorān* was also a disintegrating danger for the Shī'a is shown by the tradition attributed to *Djā'far al-Ṣādiq*, said to have been uttered to the above mentioned Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, a saying which suggests a provisional formula: "The *Ḳorān* is neither creator nor created; it is the word of a creator". In relation to philosophy both attraction and repulsion were considerably stronger than among the Sunnīs. For on the one hand their richer theological speculation required to a greater extent the categories of philosophy and its dialectic for dogmatic stabilisation, on the other hand the Shī'a was here particularly sensitive, indeed vulnerable, like every religious community, which sets out from pure metaphysical postulates, as it does with the belief in the Imāmāte. Apart from epistemological antagonistic principles which philosophy, called in to its aid, introduced into the Shī'a, the latter had also to settle well known disputed points within Islām on the fundamentals, the *Uṣūl al-Dīn* and the *Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, for example on the binding force of a single tradition or on *ḥiyāṣ* [q.v.]. In the same way there were in Shī'a law disputed points from the *Zāhirs* to the *Ḥanafīs*. In worship there was in all groups a strong impulse to satisfy the tendency towards adoration by the reverencing of Imāms and places of pilgrimage at the graves of their martyrs, which was in conflict with the conservative tendency still to remain Muslims.

The dividing line between the Shīʿa and domestic politics (i.e. nationalism) is very intricate and much broken. It is not simply that the conquered people like the Persians from the first had sided with the Shīʿa opposition. The oldest of the principal leaders were genuine Arabs, of the south, it is true. Among those around Rīdā for example, Yūnus and Hishām al-Djūwālīkī were clients; but Dīʿāl a race-proud South Arabian and an opponent of the Northern Arabs. Two hundred years later we still find Mufīd (see below) priding himself on his South Arabian descent "from Yaqtān, the first man to speak Arabic". Social disputes were brought into the Shīʿa as early as al-Mukhtār when he mobilised his clients and slaves. Among some Ghulāt, like the Karmāṭians, socialistic demands increased to communism, which however here in view of the authoritative attachment to an Imām or his representative was only a mask for a despotic oligarchy.

A more obvious aristocracy was formed by the circles of higher administrative officials at the ʿAbbasid court, who, for the most part Iranians, were bound together by ardent devotion to the Imāmate, among these, for example were the family of the Nawbakht. As regards women also the Shīʿa had to deal with all aspects of the problem. Some of the Karmāṭians are accused — at least — of having community of women; the Imāmits allow temporary marriages (see *MUTʿA*); the Zaidīs confine themselves to polygamy as defined by the Sunna; the ʿAlī lāhīs decided on monogamy.

As the numbers of possibilities in the fields of dogma, epistemology, law, worship, politics and social sciences are not additional to but multipliers of the figures of possibilities in the question of the Imāms, the result is that, although we do not have in practice all the possible combinations, we have a number of Shīʿa subdivisions, which far exceeds the well known 72 sects. At the same time this possibility of variation explains the many discrepancies in the usual Muslim books on the various sects, as the latter, as can easily be understood, divide one and the same community into several groups according to the special feature they emphasise.

In view of the elemental force with which the Shīʿa creed, in itself full of problems, made its appearance in the world of Islam which was already full of its own problems, we can understand that the personalities who are considered heads of schools in the present Shīʿa communities were less creators than circumscribers, but we can also see that the consensus each time became limited to a smaller circle. In the language of the Shīʿa, the *iqbāl* affects only the individual ecclesiastical, which alone will be blessed. In dogmatics this limitation has never attained very great success: Zaidīs, as well Imāmits, finally joined the Muʿtazilīs. This is not mere accident, as the example of the Kūfān already shows: of the above mentioned articles of belief, the third was bound to drive out the second. The *kennesis* of an uncreated Kūfān had in the long run no place beside an Imām as a guarantor of the true faith. It is also logical that the Imāmiyya for the purpose of its classification among the beliefs of the Imāmate undertook an allegorical explanation and that on the extreme wings the Ghulāt fought it, made interpolations or even rejected parts and became themselves *Baṭīnīs* (cf. *BĀṬINĪYA*). The Muʿtazilīs was not

simply the first step; but through these borrowings from philosophy, primarily only seeking the formal, it penetrated into the space left vacant by the supernatural belief in revelation; theology thus became theosophy and gnosis.

The origin of the Shīʿa motives is not explained if we again emphasize the fact in itself illuminating after what has been said above that Gnostic Neo-Platonic, Manichaean and old Iranian ideas have intermingled. But in the present state of our knowledge, we cannot go far beyond this statement, as the literary modes of approach have not yet been indicated. With the echoes of Christianity also, one must for the time be content with the general remark that Islam spread over countries formerly Christian and made many converts whose forefathers had been Christians. Still more general but not less important is the observation that motives so fertile from the religious point of view like passion and divine epiphany need not be lost at the foundation of a new religion like Islam.

THE LATER PERIOD

The consolidation of the separate groups begins in the second half of the third (ixth) century. Signs of this process were earliest noticeable among the Zaidīs. Al-Kāsim b. Ibrāhīm b. Ṭabāṭabā al-Rassi (d. 246 = 860) selected the dogmatic and legal foundations for an ecclesiastical state, which his grandson Yahyā b. al-Husain carried into effect in Yemen in 288 (901). His teaching also found recognition in the territory of the older Zaidī state which had been founded in 250 (864) on the Caspian Sea. In 297 (909) the kingdom of Ismaʿīlī Fāṭimids arose in Africa and at the same time bodies of Karmāṭians held small tracts in N.E. and S. Arabia. Here we may refer the reader to the special articles for the lateral branches but we shall consider the main branch somewhat more fully, the Imāmits or "Twelvers". It is of them one usually thinks when using the term Shīʿa generally. They form also numerically by far the majority of Shīʿa, with their 4—5 million Persian followers and in addition to sporadic groups also considerable bodies in India and in the Irāq. Their literature, which is still the most easily accessible of all Shīʿa, also forms the best approach to Shīʿi problems, on account of intermediate position of the Imāmiyya.

Even the old ʿAlids like Dīʿfār al-Sādīq, ʿAlī al-Rīdā had not themselves been the real leaders. Envoys and plenipotentiaries (*nafīr* and *wakīl*, plur. *nafīrā* and *wakīlā*) acted on their behalf — or alleged behalf. The office of *wakīl* became still more important when the Imām had disappeared. He claimed to be the only one who knew the concealed Imām. Four men have succeeded since 260 (873) in establishing this claim for themselves. When the fourth, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Samarī died in 334 (939) the so-called "Little Ghāṭib" was at an end and has been succeeded to the present day by the "Great Ghāṭib", in which for example the Friday service dependent on the cooperation of the Imām is in abeyance. A clerical aristocracy took over the leadership, many representatives of which claimed to base their teachings on miraculous meetings with the hidden "Lord or the Age". It is true that the modern Persian theologian can still be a *Muḥṭashid* (q.v. and below); but in all essentials he still remains like the Sunnī, bound by what that aristocracy has made canonical. The literary deposit of the process of forming a

cannot, in the usual Muslim way, produced a large number of books on the criticism of the authorities and theological authors. They formed a kind of clerical censorship, long before the Safawids instituted a *Shāikh al-Islām* for the state church.

Political aspirations were opened up to the Shi'is by the rise of the tolerant Samānids, — not themselves Shi'is however — especially after the conquest of Khorāsān by Ismā'īl in 290 (903) and by the rise of Shi'i Hamdanids of Mōsil from 317 (929). When the Būyid Aḥmad Mu'izz al-Dawla entered Baghdad in 334 (945), a great period began for the Shi'is who had for long been in the capital, occupying, for example, the whole Karkh quarter. To this external consolidation corresponded an inner one. The canonical collections of traditions arose, the so-called "Four Books": 1. *al-Kaṣf* (pr. Teherān, 1312—1318) of Kulīnī, d. 328 or 329 (929); of over 16,000 ḥadīths on the *Uṣūl* and *Furū'* chapters, 5072 are considered "sound" by later authorities, 140 "good" and 1118 as "established", 302 as "strong" and 9488 as "weak"; a popular commentary is *al-Sāfī* of Khallīl b. Ghāṣi al-Kāẓirī begun at Mecca in 1057 (1647) and also published by him in Persia with the title *al-Sāfī*. Smaller in extent than *al-Kaṣf* is 2. *Man la yaḥḍurahu 'l-Faḥḥ* (pr. Teherān 1324) by Ibn Bābūya the younger (d. 381 = 991). Of about 6,000 ḥadīths some 4,000 have a complete *isnād*; in recent times a commentary was written on the collection by Muḥammad Taḥṣī al-Madḥīlī, father of the author of the *Biḥār al-Anwār* (see below) in two editions, Arabic (*Rawḍat al-Mutaḥḥin*) and Persian (*Lawā'ih-i Šāhid Kīrān*), while the commentary *Man la yaḥḍurahu 'l-Naḥḥ* of 'Abd Allāh b. Sāliḥ al-Samānīdī (d. 1155 = 1722) was never finished; 3. *al-Iṭṭihār fīma khatūfa min al-Akhbār* (Lucknow, n. d.) and the more comprehensive 4. *Taḥḍīb al-Aḥkām* (Teherān 1314) are both by the celebrated author of the Shi'i *Fihrist* (see *Bibl.*) Abū Dī'far Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī and were originally intended as commentaries on the *Muḥṣaṣa fī 'l-Fiḥḥ* of Muḥṣī (d. 413 = 1022). In both the attempt is made to sort out the huge mass of material that has been handed down, of course not in a critical fashion but according to the degree of agreement with the doctrines that have come to prevail. This *Taḥḍīb* is not to be confused with the lawbook *Taḥḍīb al-Shi'a* of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Dīnāid al-Iḥṣānī (d. 381 = 990) which has fallen into neglect because he goes too far in the application of *ḥijāb*. Only very rarely do we find the larger collection of Ibn Bābūya, *Madīnat al-Im* recognised as the "Fifth Book".

Among the Shi'i-Imāmī leaders of the fourth and fifth centuries may be mentioned Kulīnī Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Rāzi. He is celebrated as the "renovator" at the beginning of the fourth century just as year 100 was made sacred by the fifth Imām Muḥammad Bāqir, 200 by the eighth Imām 'Alī al-Riḍā and later 400 by the *Shāikh* Murtaḍā, while for 500 there is no one of equal importance to place alongside of al-Ghazālī who is also esteemed by many Shi'is. A maternal uncle of Kulīnī, 'Allān, had been one of the leading Shi'is of Ray, Teherān. He himself worked in Baghdad where his grave enjoyed the reverence paid to that of an Imām. Ibn Bābūya Muḥammad b. 'Alī, called al-*Shāikh* al-Ṣādīq, claimed to have been born to his father on the intercession of the hidden twelfth Imām.

He was *Shāikh* of the Shi'is in Kumm, which already was strongly 'Alid in sentiment in the second century but down to late in the fourth century was still exceptional in Persia which was mainly Sunnī. Of his works the *Riḍā fī 'l-Shurāf* to his son was used by the latter in his *Man la yaḥḍurahu 'l-Faḥḥ*. In Baghdad the son became associated with the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla, who was able to make good use of his teaching of the imāmīte for political purposes. Among the many pupils of the younger Ibn Bābūya was the father of Nadjāshī (see *Bibl.*). Ray is mentioned as the place of his death, but the tomb now honoured in Teherān was only discovered in 1238 (1821) by the members of the court of Fath 'Alī Shāh after an alleged miracle. There was a necessity for graves of saints in Persia proper, besides those in Meshhed Teš and Kumm especially at Nadjaf, Kerbelā, and the great Shi'i cemeteries of al-Kāzīmīn of Baghdad lay in foreign lands under Turkish rule. The tomb of the father in Kumm beside the tomb of the saint Fāṭima the second sister of the eighth Imām al-Riḍā, was, we know, very much visited even in ancient times. Of the some 300 writings of the son a considerable number has been printed, e.g. the *Hijāl* on good and bad qualities (Teherān 1302), the *Ilal al-Shurāf* and the book on the concealment of the Mahdī *Kamāl al-Dīn wa-Tanāwī al-Ni'ma* (ibid. 1301) (on the latter cf. E. Möller, *Beiträge zur Mahdīlehre des Islams*, Heidelberg 1901). His *Maḡāzī* are very popular, notably his *Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā* (Berlin MS. 9663 etc.). While these already contain beside theological, legendary, edifying and polemical matter, many questions of law, a special comprehensive *Fiḥḥ al-Riḍā* (2 vols., Tabriz 1274) was first compiled by Muḥṣī Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Nu'mān b. 'Abd al-Salām al-Ukbarī al-'Arabī. His conscious pride in his Arab descent did not prevent his close association with the Būyid 'Aḥmad al-Dawla. His funeral service was conducted by the Sharīf Murtaḍā 'Alam al-Hudā Abū 'I-Kāsim 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn. In him the Shi'is in Baghdad reached its zenith. A direct descendant of the seventh Imām Mūsā al-Kāzīm, he was, as official naḥḥ, the recognised representative of the 'Alids and also held the offices of chief secretary and leader of the pilgrim-caravan. His authority gave his lectures and his participation in the business of the court great theological and political importance. He conducted a vigorous correspondence with the faithful in Mōsil, Ḥallam, Ḥīrdjān, and as far away as Syria in Halab and Tripolis, the latter of which was wholly Shi'i according to the testimony of the contemporary Nāṣirī Khawrazmī (*Safar-Nāma*, ed. Schefer, 12 ult.). The discourses held at the halting-places with his pupils on a journey to Mecca, *Ghurur al-Farā'id wa-Durar al-Kalā'id* were printed at Teherān in 1312; the *Intiqāḥ* dedicated to the visitor 'Amīd al-Dīn, ibid. 1315; the *Amān* also at Cairo in 1325. On the fundamental question of the Shi'a he published his attack on the three first caliphs in *al-Shāfi'i* (Teherān 1301). Al-Nadjāshī had died before Murtaḍā and was laid to rest in the burial-place of his ancestors in al-Kāzīmīn. For another 28 years the pupil of Murtaḍā and of Muḥṣī, al-Ṭasī Abū Dī'far Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, called the "Shāikh" or the "Shāikh of the (Shi'a) people (Shāikh al-Tā'ifa)", worked in Baghdad alongside of Murtaḍā, who lived to be over 50. When the Saldjūq Toghrīl

Beg entered Baghdad (447 = 1055), the position of the Shī'ā became more difficult. This and the desire of being buried in the holy Mashhad 'Alī induced ʿAlī to move to Najaf, where he died between 458 and 460 (1065—1068).

The enormous Shī'ī literature of the fourth and fifth centuries, of which only a few authors and books can be mentioned here, seems at the first glance to be very one-sided. The same traditional themes crop up again and again: the Imāmate; the estimation from the theological and legal point of view of the earliest caliphs and of the opponents in the battles of the "camel" and of Siffin; the *ghulāt* and all that is connected with the concealment of Imām; then along with Fiqh in general, special Imāmī subjects like the *mu'ta* marriage or the *mu'atā*, i.e. the *mu'ta* marriage and the *tanattū* on the pilgrimage; besides complete exegeses of the Korān, special interpretations of favourite Shī'ā passages like Sūra xlii, 22 and xxxiii, 33 and notably the "light-verse" xxiv, 34; finally continuously recurring polemics against opponents within the Shī'ā. But a development cannot be denied, as a reference to the main problem may show. Ibn Bābiyya the younger had still granted the possibility in Prophets and Imāms of *islah* ("neglect") in secondary matters and even described the opposite view as the first step to *ghulūm* (heretical exaggeration). Against him for example Muḥid had urged in a special pamphlet their absolute infallibility (*ʿiṣma*), although later the position is still often discussed. But that on the other hand the gates were not at once closed against extremes is shown by the estimation in which the principal book of the Imānīs, the *Da'awim al-ʿilām* long continued to be held. The author, Nu'mān b. Muḥammad b. Manṣūr Ibn Hāṭiyān (d. 363 = 974), the "Abū Hanīfa of the Shī'ā" mentions no later authorities than the sixth Imām Dja'far al-Sādiq. That there were none later might be judged from an alleged *ṣūfiya* of this Fātimid Kāfi of Cairo as the special Imām of the Seveners was also left out. But Ibn Shahrāshūb al-Māzandarāni (d. 588 = 1192) (see *Bibl.*) says simply "he is not an Imām" and he is followed by later writers like Tafrīshi (see *Bibl.*).

In the centuries following arose for example the great commentary on the Korān (printed in Teherān) by Abū 'Alī al-Faḍl al-Tabarī died between 548 and 552 (1153—1158), *Mafīd al-Bayān* and *Qiyām al-Djāwān* which is still in use along with the quite concise *Tuḥfat* of al-Ḳāsimī 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥāshim (Teherān 1301), which dates from the time of Kulīnī and gives the special Shī'ā features in moderate compass. Al-Faḍl, who belonged to a family with literary traditions was in Tūs the centre of a learned Shī'ā circle which included for example Ibn Shahrāshūb and Abū Faḍl Shādhān b. Djabrīl, author of one of the many Shī'ī *K. al-Faḍlī* wa 'l-Manāḥiṣ (Tabriz 1304). By moving to Sabrawā al-Faḍl contributed to the spread and consolidation of the Shī'ā in Persia; but he is buried in the sanctuary of Rīdā in Tūs. A leading personality in the next century was Dja'far b. al-Ḥasan b. Ya'qūb b. Sa'īd al-Hillī, called al-Muḥaḥḥik (d. 676 = 1277). His influence in Baghdad extended to the immediate entourage of the last Abbāsīd al-Musta'ṣim. His circle included several members of the Saiyid family of the Banū Tā'is, also distinguished for its literary activity. To this family also belonged the then *naḥḥ* Abū

'l-Ḳāsim 'Alī b. Muḥ al-Tā'ist, the author of the still very popular little books of prayers, passion, guides for pilgrims and amulets, like the *al-Muḥḥim min al-Da'ā* (Bombay 1317) and *al-Ḳāḥ* (Teherān 1314). To Dja'far al-Hillī also the modern Shī'ā owes one of its most popular handbooks, the *Shorūḥ al-ʿilām* which has been continuously commented on in Persian and Arabic (Calcutta 1839, Teherān 1274, part I, ed. and transl. by Kāsembeḡ, St. Petersburg 1862). While Dja'far al-Hillī secured permanent importance for his work on *Furūḥ*, his countryman Ḥasan b. Yūsuf Ibn al-Muḥaḥḥar al-Hillī, called al-'Alīnā for short, is regarded as the great authority on *Uṣūl*. His father before him had been represented as such in the presence of Dja'far to the philosopher, mathematician, astronomer and ardent Shī'ī Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Tūsī (d. 672 = 1273) when this confidant of Hūllāḡ went to Hilla near Babel, which had long been strongly Shī'ī; Nāṣir al-Dīn himself, the "Khawāḍja", is not exactly renowned for his theological writings although these are still studied among the Shī'īs in spite of the fact that they are not easy to understand; but he is one of the most daring figures in Shī'ā politics. He assisted in winning the Assassins strongholds of Alamūt and Maimandis for the Mongol Khān, entered Baghdad with the latter's army and induced this pagan to execute the last caliph. He thus still has in the eyes of the Shī'ā the merit of having destroyed two of its worst enemies, the *ghulāt* and the "wicked" 'Abbāsīds, the betrayers of the holy family. His constructive work for the Shī'ā was taken over by Ibn al-Muḥaḥḥar, who was brought by him into contact with the family of the Khān and later attached himself to Khān Uldjaitū as leader of the Shī'īs. He disputed before the latter with the Ash'arīs, "sophists", and wrote pamphlets against them and against the Sunnī law-schools, and converted to the Imāmiya the Khān himself who had been baptised when a prince, later became a Hanbalī, then a Shāfi'ī. Some twenty of the works of Ibn Muḥaḥḥar are still in use, for example the *Nahḥ al-Mustarjīḥ* on theological principles (Bombay 1305) with the commentary of al-Mikdād b. 'Abd Allāh al-Suyūṭī, who was trained in philosophy; the *Kāḥ al-Fawā'id* (Teherān 1305) is a commentary on the *Kāḥ al-ʿAlī* of Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Tūsī who was his teacher. For the fuller understanding of the middle school of Shī'ā his two volumes *Muḥḥatāḥ al-Shī'ā* (Teherān 1314) are most important.

Ibn al-Muḥaḥḥar was neither the first nor the last to thrust the fundamental doctrines into the foreground. They generally play a more essential part among the Shī'īs than among the Sunnīs for the gate of *ʿiṣmā* is not closed to the former. The learned *ṣāḥib* in Persia claims the title of a *muḥḥatāḥ* who gives his *fatwā*s and bases his teaching on the material basis of the Korān and Sunna through the formal factors of analogy, the search for connections and approval, and by recognition of the above mentioned consensus of the spiritual aristocracy. There is thus at all times a kind of invigorating unrest in the Imāmī theology and jurisprudence, the matter of which otherwise has a tendency to rigidity. Ibn al-Muḥaḥḥar had given his doctrines formulation in the disputes which he waged, especially against a daughter's son of the old Shaikh al-Tūsī, Muḥammad b.

Ahmad Ibn Idrīs al-Hillī al-⁵Idjlī, who appeared to him to destroy the idjlīhāh arbitrarily. In the xth (xvth) century a reaction came from the opposite side through the Mullā Muḥammad Amin al-Astarābādī (d. 1033 = 1623), whose views are still much disputed. As he only allows the Shī'ī Sunna as a source of law beside the Kor'ān, although he also worked on commentaries to the "Four Books", he and his followers are called Akhbārī in opposition to the Uṣūlī who favour the *Idjlīhād*. In his polemics which he conducted from Mecca he was very severe. He refuses to rate the *Idjlīm* higher than the consensus of the Jews, Christians or philosophers. His activities however enlivened the discussion on *ḥyāt*, *istighnā*, *istighṣā* and on the legal force of a unique tradition in the same way as the attacks of Ibn Ḥanbal or Dā'ūd al-Zāhiri had done among the Sunnīs. The matter of the disputed principles among the Shī'īs is of course put in the foreground in keeping with the system; as is the recognition which he demands of the authority of the dead, *taḥlīd al-mayyit*, the subjection to the principles of the holy Imāms laid down in the Sunna.

The conception of the passion has always remained alive in the Shī'a. Out of the multitude of Shī'ī learned men special honour is therefore given to the one who combines the fame of an author with the glory of martyr. Four martyrs are particularly famous. The first *shahīd* is Muḥammad b. Makki al-⁶Amīl al-Djazlī, the author of the Fiqh book *al-Luma' al-Dimaḡhiyya*. Betrayed by seceders, he was imprisoned in Damascus and executed with the sword on the fatwā of the Shāfi'ī and notably also of the Mālikī *kādī*, impaled and burned, according to most authorities in 786 (1384). The second *shahīd* is Zain al-Dīn b. 'Alī b. Ahmad b. Taḳī al-⁷Amīl al-Shāmi. After fruitful activity in Damascus, Basilik and Haleh and after much travelling, he was put to death about 966 (1557) in Constantinople on the way there for delivering a Shī'ī legal opinion. In addition to several legal eschatological and edifying writings his *Commentary on the Luma'* (2 vols.) has been printed (Tabriz 1287). The third *shahīd* is usually held to be Saiyid Nūr Allāh, also (Nūr al-Dīn) b. Sharīf al-Dīn al-Mar'āṣī al-Shuḡrānī. His well known biographies, the Persian *Moḡallīn al-Mu'mīnīn* (Teherān 1268 etc.), have been used by Ethé and Horn for the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie* (vol. II, 214, 252). His *Ḥikāṣṣ al-Hakī* (Teherān 1273) was destined to be fatal for him, on account of its polemics or more accurately apologetics directed against Sunnī writings like *al-Sawā'ih al-Muḥriḡa 'alā Ahl al-Rafḍ wa 'l-Zanādika* (Cairo 1307, 1308) of the Shāfi'ī Ibn Ḥadjar al-Hattānī. The fanatical Emperor Dīshāqir had him whipped to death in 1019 (1610) (cf. also Horowitz in *Isl. III*, 63); his co-religionists used quite recently to visit his tomb in Akbarīdād (Agra). The honour of being the fourth *shahīd* is given to Muḥammad Mahdī b. Hidayat Allāh al-Isfahānī but he is surpassed in importance by his pupil Saiyid Dīlḍār 'Alī b. Mu'īn al-Nāshirādī, d. 1325 (1819), who expounded his theology in *Imād al-Ilām* (printed in India in 1319). In more recent times Mullā Muḥammad Taḳī al-Kāzwīnī, attained martyrdom, as opponent of Shaikh Ahmad al-Aḥsā'ī (see below) and of the *Ḥabīb*, from among whom came his murderer in 1263 (1847).

The first two *shahīds* were Syrians, the third lived in India. But Persia had become the centre of the Shī'a under the Safawids from 907 (1502). The temporary persecutions under the Aghās from 1135—1142 (1722—1729) and under Nadir (1148—1160 = 1736—1747) made no difference to this. A man whose family had the same native place and the same Shī'ī tendencies as the ancestor of the new ruling house, Husain b. 'Abd al-Hakī al-Ardabīlī al-⁸Ilāhī (the theologian) immediately adopted Persian culture as such and wrote his tracts and commentaries in Persian. In the still mainly Sunnī country he was often forced to lead the life of a *muhājir* (wanderer) between Tabriz, Shirāz, Herāt etc. The necessary vitality was imported into the Persian Shī'a from outside which is also important for the problem: Persia and the Shī'a. Those concerned were mainly Shī'īs from the Southern Syrian mountains of 'Amīl (Mukaddasī, p. 161, 10, 162, 3; 184, 2 always writes: 'Amīl). The last Serbedār 'Alī Mu'ayyid of Sabzawār is said to have offered an asylum to an 'Amīl, the First Shahīd. These rustic scholars came into the Safawid kingdom in increasing numbers. They settled there and receiving continual accessions to their numbers retained the traditions of their home. Further Shī'īs came from Bahrain. This is why we find so frequently in the nisbas of Persian Shī'īs, 'Amīlī or Baharī, or names showing the origin more definitely like Karakī in the one and Aḥsā'ī in the other. We can mention very few names for this later period here. Muḥammad b. Hasan Ibn al-Hurr al-⁹Amīlī al-Mashgharī had a great success with his first book *al-Djawāhir al-Saniya* (Teherān 1302) because in it he collected, for the first time it is said, the Shī'ī "ḥadīth kudat" (utterances of God not in the Kor'ān). But later the extravagance, volume and speed of his literary output, brought upon him sharp criticism even from theologians used to wholesale production; his 6 volume *Tafḥīl Wāḥid al-Shī'a līl Mar'āṣī al-Shar'a* (Teherān 1288) with a special index *man fā yafḥuruhu 'l-Imām* is still however of value on account of the great mass of tradition he has worked into it and the fact that he gives the authors. Ibn al-Hurr only migrated at the age of 40; after long pilgrimages he settled in Tūs and Isfahān. Among natives the leading family in its day was the Madhīlī. Their most notable representative Muḥammad Bakīr b. Muḥammad Taḳī, d. 1110 or 1111 (1698—1700), was appointed Shaikh al-Islām by Shāh Sulaimān I. He aimed at reaching the people and wrote about half his works in Persian; he also translated edifying writings in Arabic by Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Ta'nī. His own largest work is called *Bīḡar al-Anwār*, a great encyclopaedia of law and theology in 25 volumes, which has been printed in Tabriz and Teherān. Several were translated into Persian, for example the thirteenth on the Mahdī, by order of Shāh Nāṣir al-Dīn.

The attitude to those Shī'īs, who do not require an Imām as mediator, and to whom the spiritual union with God attainable by every believing lover is something at the opposite pole from the inheritance of the "divine post" in the chosen Imām, is naturally a hostile one, and also the reverencing of saints in the two schools is of course very different in origin and aim. The most notable encounter between the two was the active part taken by the

Imām Abū Saḥl al-Nawbakhtī (d. 311 = 923) in the destruction of Hallāj, who indeed had severely injured the Shī'is by his claims to be the wakīl of the hidden lord of the age (see the article *ḤALLĀJ*) and L. Massignon, *al-Hallaj, martyr mystique de l'Islam*, Paris 1922, i. 138 *sqq.* The attitude of the philosophers is at least one of suspicion, since, as the case of the *Ḡhūfī* warned the Imāmiya, scholasticism might undermine them. But there are many offshoots, mystics and philosophers who profess to be conscientious Shī'is and are not to be disposed of simply by the usual polemics. All the centuries therefore show examples of a fundamental reunion together with those of mutual attraction. Khwārdjā Nāṣir al-Dīn himself the author of the mildly Shī'ī work *Anṣaf al-Aḥraf* (Tehran 1320) is in spite of the verdict of Ibn Bābiyya, Muḥid, Shaikh Tūst and Ibn al-Muṭahhar, an admirer of Hallāj; Rāḍi al-b. Muḥammad al-Ḥāfi al-Bursī is, it is true, censured as the "renewer of Sūnism" since he built up his system on "deceitful fanciful interpretations" and ultra-Shī'ī "exaggerations", but his books like *Mashārīf al-Awṣaf* written about 800 (1397) were used even by such an enemy of the Sūfis as Majlisī, although with caution, for the *Biḥār*; and the fair-minded concede to Mullā Ṣadrā i.e. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Shīrāzī, d. between 1040 and 1050 (1630—1641), that in the "Explanation of the Throne-Verse" (Sūra ii. 256) he has kept himself free from Shī'ī fancies; his commentary on the *Uṣūl al-Kāf* of Kulmī, the *Mafāhīḥ al-Ḡhūf* (Tehran, n.d.) is also used and his version of the fourfold ascent to God in *al-Aṣfār al-arḥā'ia* or *al-Ḥikma al-mutā'aliya* (Tehran 1282) is tolerated, but it is always objected to him that his commentary on the *Ḥikmat al-Iḥrār* of the mystic Suhrawardī has too much of the language and sentiments of the mystics. His pupil Muḥammad b. Murād al-Kāshānī, called Muḥsin-i Faḥd, author of the Shī'ī commentary on the *Ḥurūf al-Sāfi* (Tehran 1276) vigorously defended himself against similar reproaches in *Inṣāf fī Bayān Ṭarīq al-Ilm li-Aṣṣar al-Dīn* (in the collected *Rasā'il*, Tehran 1301) and as a matter of fact he is cited by his pupil Sūfiyid Nī'mat Allāh al-Djāzīrī against the Sūfis. There is a better foundation for the orthodoxy of the two teachers of Mullā Ṣadrā, the two friends at the court of 'Abbās I, Muḥammad b. Husayn Bahā'ī al-Dīn or Bahā'ī al-ʿAmilī (d. 1030 = 1621) and Muḥammad Bakīr al-Astarābādī (d. 1041 = 1631) called Mīr Dāmād, as son of the "son-in-law" of 'Alī b. Abd al-ʿAlī al-Karaki, i.e. also an 'Amilī and one of the many commentators on the *Sharḥ al-Lilām*. In spite of his many sided interests, Bahā'ī, who was also Shaikh al-Islām, as a true Shī'ī revived a very old Shī'ī feature, the ritual interdiction of meat killed by the "people of a book" in the *Risāla fī Tahrim dhawā'ib al-Kilāb*, his *Djāmi' al-Aḥkām* (Tabriz 1309, Bombay 1319) contains decisions in the vernacular on all heads of the law relating to worship. Mīr Dāmād although he also revered Hallāj showed himself a good Shī'ī in his *al-Rawḍat al-ṣanā'iya fī Sharḥ al-Aḥādith al-Imāmiya* (pr. 1311), and in *al-Kāshānī* (Tehran 1314) he reconciled his philosophy with orthodoxy, acknowledging that God had existed from all times and is eternal and that the world is transitory. Philosophical discussions were further enlivened by the fact that they were

interwoven with specifically theological problems. There were therefore both Uṣūlīs and Aḥbārīs among the scholastic Mutakallimūn. The conflict occasionally became so fierce, as recently as last century, that, for example in Kerbelā, books were only handled in a wrapper of cloth lest a member of another school might have used them. One of the chief leaders in the feud was Shaikh Ahmad b. Zayn al-Dīn al-Aḥsā'ī, a Bahā'ī as his name shows. A theologian, poet, astronomer, and mathematician he fought against Sūfis and philosophers and especially for *idjtiḥād* and *iḥfād* against the Aḥbārīs (cf. his *Ziyārat al-Kalām* or *Ḥayāt al-Nafs*, Tabriz 1276). A much too philosophical belief in the resurrection which to the rightly orthodox seemed ill founded, brought him on and his school, the Shaikhīya (cf. *SHAIKHĪ*), the reproach of sectarianism, and as was later the case with Rāḍi (see above) the responsibility for the heresy of the Bahā'īs. They themselves like their offshoot, the Bahā'īs, saw to it that even in quite recent times, the feud was vigorously maintained by deed and pen. Nor was there a lack of other polemics. Majlisī was not the last to write against the Jews. War was waged on Christianity after the arrival of missionaries beginning with H. Martyn in 1195 (1781) and later C. G. Pfander's missionary pamphlet *Maḥmūd al-Ḥaḥḥ* and in recent years the activities of the societies for distributing the Bible.

Popular expression of the Shī'ā creed is found in the legends of martyrs, *maḥṣūl*, and passion-plays, *ta'ziyat*. The apocrypha are also numerous; the frequently printed songs and sayings of 'Alī (cf. Fleischer, *Ali's 100 Sprüche*, Leipzig 1837); the collection of his utterances in the *Nahj al-Balāgha* of Muḥammad al-Ridā, a brother of Shaikh Murādī; also many little books of prayers like the *Ṣaḥifa* of 'Alī, those of the fourth Imām 'Alī Zayn al-ʿAbidin and those of the eighth Imām 'Alī al-Ridā; also the *Ḥadīth ḥadīṣ* of 'Alī collected by Bahā'ī al-ʿAmilī and finally commentaries on the *Ḥurūf*, which are attributed to the sixth Imām Dja'far Ṣādiq or the seventh like the *Tafīr al-Aḥkām* (Tehran 1315), which the younger Ibn Bābiyya still used freely, though many later authorities express doubts as to their authenticity.

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(R. STROTHMANN)

SHIBĀM, the name of several towns in South Arabia.

1. **Shibām Harāz**. A mountain two days' journey W. of Ṣan'ā' and S.W. of Menākhā, according to E. Glaser 8700 feet and to A. Desfiers 8050 feet high. The lofty peak of the mountain commands the town of Menākhā, the Gibraltar of the Yemen. The little town of Shibām lies close under it built up against the cliffs; it is a fortified place with massive stone houses, which was taken by the Turks in 1871 and with Menākhā was the strongest bulwark of their power in the Yemen. The country round the little eyry is well cultivated and cereals and coffee grow well on the terraced fields; from the summit of the Djebel Shibām, a splendid view is obtained over the whole massif of the Harāz.

2. **Shibām al-Kaṣṣa** in the Djawf. This is perhaps the **Ḍaw** mentioned in the South Arabian inscription, Halévy, 344. 20 (from al-Baṣṣa' in the Djawf) and 444. 2 (from Barāḥish).

3. **Shibām Kawkabān**. The town lies at the foot of a small spur of the Djebel Sirwāh (a part of the Djebel Dūlā) called Lubākhā. On this little ridge N.W. of Shibām lies the fortress of the town of Shibām, of which there only remain the surrounding wall and a few other ruins at the present day. West of Shibām there is another old building called Dufān, higher than Lubākhā but

also on the eastern slope of the Djebel Dūlā close against the rocky wall.

The town is separated by the Wādī Nabḥān into a southern and northern part and according to Desfiers is 8800 feet above sea-level. It is surrounded by a wall and has 2500 inhabitants but it is said to have been much larger formerly. The inhabitants told Glaser that several places which now lie outside the town were once within its limits and had been markets, namely 'Erret Shukrī (the poultry-market), 500 yards from the town in the direction of Ṣan'ā'. 'Erret al-Baṣṣa' (oil-market) on the road to 'Aylā Sūḥ in the north, two red mounds which are supposed to have been ancient palaces of the Himyars, and al-Mallāḥ (salt-market) on the road to 'Amṣān, ed-Daf'a (butter-market) between the modern Jewish quarter, which lies on the north slope of the Lubākhā, ed-Djā'sert (joined to ed-Daf'a but a little higher and built against the Djebel Dūlā), el-'Āder (pottery-market), consisting of a temple with a poorly housed school and mud-houses. The town is said to have had at one time four gates (Bāb el-Fedjēr, Bāb el-Ahḡīr, Bāb el-Shukrī, Bāb el-Methā'). The chief mosque is a splendid old square building which in Glaser's opinion is as old as the Sabaean period. The tower is now much decayed and crooked but marvellously hewn black blocks 18 inches by 15 are used for the mosque which the natives say was a palace of the Himyars. The other mosques are also said to be ancient. Glaser mentions Kabḥat Shemal on the road to Kawkabān. Mesḡid el-Ghāl, Mesḡid Vā'es near the Jewish village with old walled cisterns, Mesḡid Meshhed, Mesḡid el-Ziyād, Mesḡid Ḥafet Khallake, Mesḡid el-Ma'beri. The three gates of the town are Bāb el-Hādīd and two smaller ones called Bāb el-Mugharr. On the southern slope of Lubākhā are numerous chamberlike caverns of sandstone, reached by breakneck narrow steps along the cliff. They lie in tiers above one another, are of different sizes, some large, some small, and are hewn out of the sandstone, quadrangular in shape. The entrance is formed by a hole 3 feet by 2 and the floor of the chamber is 3 feet below the entrance. In one of these chambers Glaser found a grave so that they were probably used for burials. Shibām is connected with Kawkabān by an old artificial path formed of steps. The country round the town is very fertile. Cereals, — barley, maize and durra, — beans, mustard, clover, and the better kinds of fruit grow very well here and a mine here still yields the famous Yemen carnelian, amethyst and alum.

The settlement is undoubtedly very old. The ancient south Arabian inscription Glaser, 110. 2, 27. speaks of the Akyān of Shibām and the later name Shibām Bait Akyān mentioned also by al-Ḥamdānī and others is no doubt connected with this. The town is also mentioned in the great inscription of Sirwāh (Glaser 1000 A. 15). The citadel of Shibām was the original centre of the Dhī al-Rumḥān. The town is said to have been originally called Yabḥis and then to have been called after Shibām b. 'Abd Allāh b. As'ad b. Dīshām b. Ḥāshid, who lived there. The Sukḥaim at a later date lived there who were descended from Yashum b. Bida' b. Dhī Khawāṣṣ. From them the town gets its epithet of Sukḥaim. Al-Ḥamdānī was still able to see in the town splendid columns of ancient date which supported a throne. The fortress was still considered impregnable after his time.

Ya'fur b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Hijālī was besieged in it in vain by the generals of al-Mu'tasim al-Wathik and al-Mutawakkil. Ibn Rosta's statement that the district then contained 300 palaces and at least 40 villages is of course an exaggeration. A silver mine was also worked here at this time. When Ḥasan Paşa ruled in the Yemen, the castle was in ruins. He built the village of Ghirda from the masonry of the ruins.

4. Shibām in the Wādī al-Kaṣr in Ḥaḍramūt, one of the largest towns in the country, which is now under the Sultan of Mukallā. Th. Bent estimates the number of inhabitants at 6,000. Wrede at 20,000 but the latter figure is certainly much too high. The town lies in the lowest part of the valley, on an eminence which has arisen out of the ruins of a series of earlier settlements, the brick buildings of which have supplied the material for its formation. The eminence commands the whole surrounding country and forms one of the best strategic points for miles around. In the south lies the plain of Suhel el-Bilād which is enclosed by the Djebel Khibbe which runs in a west-southwesterly direction right across in front of the town. The southern half of Suhel el-Bilād is well covered with palm-trees but at an earlier date the palm-groves were still more extensive. Cereals grow in the fields and excellent fruit and vegetables are grown while indigo is also much cultivated. The town contains not less than 30 mosques and 2 palaces. The one built by the grandfather of Sultan Munassar of Mukallā is a large well preserved building and the gateway is a masterpiece of the mason's art. The pillars in the lofty rooms are splendidly executed and the vast doors are covered with fine carving. The windows are artistically proportioned; bolts, doors and window-frames are finely carved. The palace of the Djem'adī 'Abd Allāh is also beautifully decorated and makes a pleasing impression. A high clay wall about 20 feet high runs from the two palaces around the whole town. Outside the town lie brickworks, oil-presses, indigo factories and limekilns, in which the business energy of the population finds its outlet. Many houses — there are 600 — and a number of mosques are however now in ruins.

The settlement of Shibām undoubtedly goes back to a very ancient date. The name of the town **شِبَام** appears on a fine ancient South Arabian inscription which Bent brought back from Ḥaḍramūt which came from Sa'ūn and on an inscription of the third century A.D. A number of graffiti scratched in the rocks about 2 hours' journey from Shibām are further evidence that the town was inhabited in ancient times. A cave with South Arabian inscription, probably a tomb, is said to exist in the neighbourhood. Shibām is said to have been founded by the people of Shabwa, who abandoned the latter and settled in Ḥaḍramūt (cf. SHABWA). Al-Bakri knows the town by the name al-Djarima "the large", as the most favoured town in Ḥaḍramūt. Its inhabitants however did not have a very good reputation. If we may believe Ibn al-Mudjawir, in the wars which the Banū Kinda waged in Ḥaḍramūt, Shibām suffered a good deal and a considerable part of its mosques were destroyed. Idṛisi and Abu 'l-Fida' have confused Shibām in Ḥaḍramūt with Shibām Kawkabān, as C. Niebuhr long ago pointed out.

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SHIBARGHĀN, called by the Arab geographers ShaburkĀn and SabūrĀn, is a town of northern Afghanistan, situated in 36° 35' N., and 65° 45' E. It was formerly one of the three chief towns of the district of Jūrdjān, the others being Yāhūdīya and Fāryāb. The oldest form of the name is Asapuragān, from which it has been conjectured that it was an ancient seat of the Asa, or Asargarti. 'Azzi describes it as the capital of Jūrdjān, but this position is usually accorded to Yāhūdīya. It lay on the old high road from Balkh, from which it is distant nineteen parasangs, or sixty-five miles, to Marw al-Rūd and Herāt, and is frequently mentioned in the *Zafar Nāma* and other historical works. According to Mustawfi its climate was temperate and grain was sold cheap in its market, but he adds, somewhat disparagingly, that some little corn and fruit were grown there. Marco Polo, on the other hand, says: "It has great plenty of everything, but especially of the very best melons in the world. They preserve them by paring them round and round into strips and drying them in the sun. There is also abundance of game here, both of birds and beasts". The dried melons of Shibarghān were exported not only to Herāt, but also to India and China, where they were famous. The town and its neighbourhood are watered by underground channels (*kanāt*) from the mountains. Early in the nineteenth century, when Afghanistan was in disorder, Shibarghān was the capital of a small Uzbek state, but it long since lost its independence and is now a mere district of the kingdom of Afghanistan. It contains some 12,000 inhabitants, and the land about the town is richly cultivated, though it is on the verge of the desert.

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(T. W. HAIG)

SHIBL AL-DAWLA NAJR B. ŠĀLIH B. MIRDĀS of the family of Mirdāsids (see the account of them in the article on the history of Aleppo [HALAB, II., p. 230] and also the article MIRDĀS B. ŠĀLIH), inherited the town of Aleppo after the death of his father Šālih in the battle of Ukkhūwāna on the Jordan in 420 (1029) while his brother Thimāl received the citadel. Najr has won a place in history by his victories over the Byzantines in the defence of the northern marches. After Šālih's death the Byzantine governor Spondil (not Niketas as the Arabic historians say) of Antioch thought the moment had come, by destroying the two Mirdāsīd rulers to free the northern province of the Byzantine empire from the continued attacks, the so-called summer campaigns (*qasf*) to which the Arabs felt themselves bound in fulfilment of the Holy War ordered by the Koran. Spondil who in spite of his incapacity held the important post of governor of Antioch was completely defeated by the brothers Najr and Thimāl in the same year (420). In this year the Emperor

Basil died and his ambitious successor the Emperor Romanos III hoped to gain glory from a campaign against these two princes and set out for Syria with a huge army which included Bulgarian and Russian auxiliaries. In the meanwhile Najr who wished sole control of Aleppo had taken advantage of the absence of his brother to seize the citadel. Thimāl, thoroughly roused at this act of violence, won the Arab tribes over to himself and advanced on Aleppo. Thus threatened Najr sent his nephew as an envoy to the Emperor in Antioch and asked him for assistance, promising to recognise him as suzerain and to pay him tribute. But it did not come to fighting between the two brothers, as the tribes, who saw the necessity of uniting in face of the danger threatening from the Emperor, negotiated a peace between them. Najr remained, as was only right from the political and military point of view, sole lord of Aleppo, and Thimāl was given Rahba and Bālis in compensation. Strengthened by the help of the Arabs, Najr withdrew his allegiance to the Emperor. The latter therefore (421 = 1030) advanced on Aleppo via Antioch and pitched his camp north of the town in Tabbāl. A body of cavalry which he sent out to reconnoitre was wiped out by the Arabs. Thus encouraged, the Beduins began to harass the camp itself, to intercept the men sent to bring provisions and water, so that the Emperor was ultimately so hard pressed that he had to retire hurriedly and leave vast booty to the Arabs. He is said to have been in such danger on the flight that he put off his tiara to avoid recognition. The victory of the Arabs brought no great results. The new governor of Antioch was, it is true, also defeated but Najr preferred to make terms with the Emperor. He sent an envoy to Constantinople, who was well received and sent back with rich presents for Najr. The latter bound himself to pay the Emperor tribute of 500,000 dirhems. Peace reigned henceforth between the two rulers. Najr was also able later to gain the favour of the Fatimid Caliph al-Zahir and his successor, or of his vizier, in 427 (1035) by rich presents from the Byzantine booty so that he was confirmed in the possession of Aleppo and could rest in peace and security. Only the old enemy of the Mirdāsids, Anushtikin al-Dibiri, intrigued against Najr and succeeded in gaining a promise of the Emperor's neutrality in a war against Najr; Anushtikin again succeeded in uniting the Arab tribes of Tay, Kalb and Kilāb. Thus reinforced he took the field against Najr. In the battle of Latmin Najr was killed, his head brought to Anushtikin, who is said to have deeply lamented his death. Anushtikin became lord of Aleppo and it was not till four years later, after his defeat and death that Thimāl regained it for the Mirdāsids.

Bibliography: (s. under HALAB) J. J. Müller, *Historia Mirdasidarum*, based on Kamāl al-Dīn, *Tārīkh Halab*, Bonn u. d.; text of Kamāl al-Dīn in MS. Or. 522, Musée asiatique, St. Petersburg, fo. 41^r—43^r. Also Gustav Schlumberger, *L'Épopee byzantine*, III., Paris 1905. Abu 'l-Faraj, *Chronicon syriacum*, ed. Bruns, Leipzig 1784 and the chronicle of Matthew of Edessa, ed. Dulaurier, Paris 1858. (M. SOBERNHEIM)

AL-SHIBLI, ABU BAKR DULAF B. DHĀMAR, a Sūnnī mystic. Born in Baghdad (of a family which came from Transoxiana) in 247 (861)

he died there in 334 (945). At first an official (and wali or deputy-governor of Dimašq) at the age of 40 he became a convert to asceticism under the influence of Khair Nasabī, a friend of Dīmānī; he brought into mystic circles in Baghdad the enthusiasm, at times cynical, of a dilettante, bolder in words than deeds. The tragic end of the trial of his friend al-Hallāj [q. v.] frightened him; he denied him before the vizier and went, it is said, to accuse him at the foot of the scaffold (309 = 922); in the end whether deliberately (through remorse or to avoid possible persecution) or unconsciously (through an excess of asceticism) Shibli affected a bizarre mode of life, cultivating eccentricities of speech and action which caused his internment in the lunatic asylum in Baghdad; there he used to discourse readily on mysticism in presence of distinguished visitors.

He has left no works, but his sayings (or 'al-luḥūn' [ḥikāḥ]) figure in the classical collections on *Shayḥ* [q. v.] as do his deliberate eccentricities, his ridiculous penances, humiliating or painful, such as putting salt in his eyes to prevent himself from sleeping. In the legend of al-Hallāj the part attributed to Shibli is very important. He seems to have revered him in secret after denying him in public. In dogma, his ideas are those of Dīmānī; in law he followed the Mālikī school, which saved him in his lifetime and caused him to be canonised after his death in legal circles, as a rule very hostile to Sūfism. In the classical transmission of *ḥikāḥ* (cf. Ṭaṣṭi) Shibli figures as a link in the chain, between Dīmānī and Naṣrābādī, the latter indeed was his pupil.

His tomb is still venerated at the A'zamiya in Baghdad, beside the *maṣṣan* of Abū Ḥanīfa.

Bibliography: Sarāḥī, *Luma'*, ed. Nicholson, p. 395—406 and index (cf. Bakī, *Shayḥiyyāt*); Ḥajjūrī, *Riḥla*, Cairo 1318, p. 30 and transl. R. Hartmann, index; Ma'arrī, *Ghāṣir*, Cairo, p. 206; Ḥudjwiri, *Kashf*, transl. Nicholson, p. 155—156 and index; Ibn al-Dīwānī, *Taḥṣīl al-ḥikāḥ*, Cairo 1340, p. 216, 268, 361—362, 383—386; 'Aṭṭār, *Tadhkirat*, ed. Nicholson, ii. 160—182; L. Massignon, *Passion d'Al-Hallaj*, p. 41—43; 306—310 and index; do., *Mission in Mesopotamie*, Cairo 1912, ii. p. 80—81 (for the present state of the tomb). (L. Massignon)

AL-SHIBLI (from *al-Shibliya*, a village in Ushrukhān in Transoxania): STRĀDJ AL-DIN ABŪ ḤAFṢ 'UMAR B. ISHĀK B. AHMED AL-GHAZNAWĪ AL-DIWLĀTĀVĀDĪ AL-HINDĪ AL-HANAFĪ, celebrated *Faṭḥ*. He was born about 714 (the date 704 must be wrong). He studied *Fikḥ* with Wadīh al-Dīn al-Dihlāwī al-Rāḥī, Shams al-Dīn al-Dīlī al-Khāṭib, Sirāj al-Dīn al-Thakāfi al-Dihlāwī, Rukn al-Dīn al-Badrūnī, pupils of Abū 'l-Kasīm al-Tanūkhī (d. 670), *Ḥadīth* with Aḥmad b. Manṣūr al-Dīwānī and others. In 740 he came to Egypt and became deputy for Dīmānī al-Dīn al-Turkumānī as *ḥākim*; through the influence of Yilboghā he was then appointed *Kāḍī* 'l-*Aḥkām*; after the death of Turkumānī in Sha'bān 769 he became chief *Kāḍī* (Kāḍī 'l-*Ḥudūd*) of Egypt and held the office till his death on Rajab 7, 773. He had also Sūfī tendencies; in Mecca he associated with Khīr and he was later a follower of Ibn al-Fārīd (cf. below).

His best known works are: 1. *al-Tamwīḥ*, a commentary on the *al-Hidāya* of al-Marghīnānī (cf. Brockelmann, i. 376, No. 24); 2. a second commentary on the *al-Hidāya* in syllogistic form;

3. *al-Sūmil* ḥ 'l-*Fikḥ*, dealing with *furū'*; 4. *Zuhd* al-*Aḥkām* ḥ 'l-*Khiṭāb* al-*A'imma* al-*A'im*; 5. a commentary on the *Baṭl al-Niḥān* ḥ 'l-*Uḥl* al-*Fikḥ* of al-Sūfī (cf. Brockelmann, i. 383, No. 49, 2); 6. a commentary on the *al-Mughāḥ* ḥ 'l-*Uḥl* of al-Khabbāṭ (cf. Brockelmann, i. 382, No. 48); 7. *al-Ghurra* (this seems to be the correct form of the title) *al-munīfa* ḥ 'l-*Tarḥīḥ* *Maḥḥ* *Abū Ḥanīfa*; 8. *Kiṭāb* ḥ 'l-*Fikḥ* al-*Khiṭāb*; 9. a commentary on the *al-Ziyādāt* of al-Shahānī (cf. Brockelmann, i. 172, No. 2); 10. an unfinished commentary on his *al-Dīwān* *al-khiṭāb* (identical with the *Mukhtasar al-Talḥīṭ*, ibid., No. 3 preserved in his autograph; the work is said to have originally included also *al-Dīwān* *al-yaghīr*); 11. a commentary on the *al-Tāyis* of Ibn al-Fārīd (cf. Brockelmann, i. 262, No. 8); 12. a work on *Taḥawwuf*; 13. a commentary on *al-Manār* ḥ 'l-*Uḥl* of al-Nasafī (cf. Brockelmann, ii. 196, No. 1, 1); 14. a commentary on the *al-Mukhtār* ḥ 'l-*Faṭḥ* of al-Bulḥājī (cf. Brockelmann, i. 382, No. 47, 1); 15. *Lawāḥ* al-*Anwār* ḥ 'l-*Radd* 'alā *man anḥar* 'alā 'l-*Avīṣṣ* *Lafṣ* al-*Arār*; 16. *Uddat al-Nāṭik* ḥ 'l-*Manārik*; 17. a commentary on the *Alīda* of al-Ṭabāwī (cf. Brockelmann, i. 174, No. 7, 7; where on MS. is quoted); 18. *al-Lawāḥ* ḥ 'l-*Sharḥ* *Dīwān* al-*Dīwān* (of al-Sukki; cf. Brockelmann, ii. 89, No. 1); 19. finally gives a collection of his *farā'id*. On manuscripts of the surviving works cf. Brockelmann, ii. 80, No. 9.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, loc. cit., where further references are given; al-Laknawī, *al-Faṭḥ* al-*baḥṭiyya* ḥ 'l-*Tarḥīḥ* al-*Ḥanafīyya*, 1324, 145 sq. On other individuals called al-Shibli, including the famous mystic [q. v.], cf. al-Sam'ānī, *Kiṭāb al-Anṣāb*, 329^a, 9 sqq.; Vāḥidī, *Muḥḥam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 256; Brockelmann, i. 199, No. 6; Massignon, *al-Hallaj*, passim (cf. Index); *Isl.*, xv., 121.

(JOSEPH SCHACHT)

SHIBLI NU'MĀNĪ, MUHAMMAD, Urdū writer and historian, was born during the Indian Mutiny of 1857, in a village, 8 miles away from A'zamgarh, U. P., in which his ancestors had been living as *zamindār's* for about 300 years. His father, Shaikh Ḥabībullah, was a *wakil* at A'zamgarh with a good legal practice. Shibli, after having been educated in Islamic sciences at home, under the famous scholar Muhammad Fārūk of Citaliyākot, made a further study of *fiqh* under Mawlāwī Iḥṣān Ḥusain at Rāmpūr; in 1859 (1872) he went to Lāhōr, where he specialised in Arabic literature under the eminent Arabist, Professor Faiḍ al-Ḥasan. After his return from Lāhōr, he specialised in *ḥadīth* under Mawlāwī Aḥmad 'Alī of Sahāranpūr, and then went to Dēoband, where he learnt *Farā'id* in about 6 weeks.

In 1880 he passed the *wakil's* examination, practised law at A'zamgarh and Basti but for a few months, acted as copyist and *amīn* in the A'zamgarh district for a short time, and took to indigo trade; but nothing suited him. While staying with his younger brother who was being educated at 'Alighar, Shibli was introduced to Sir Saiyid Ahmad who made him a teacher in the College School and soon after appointed him as one of the professors of Arabic and Persian (February 1, 1882). His coming in contact with Sir Saiyid had a very healthy influence on the young man's literary activities, and he very soon learnt to utilize the store of knowledge he had gathered

during the past years of his life. In 1892 he undertook a journey to the Near East to get acquainted with the literary and educational conditions there, and visited Constantinople, Beirut, Jerusalem, Cairo and other places. He was given a literary pension by the Nizam of Hyderabad in 1314 (1896) and resigned his Professorship in 1898; was Director of the Department of 'Ulum-u Fannūn, Hyderabad (April 1901—January 1905), Hon. Secretary of the Dār al-'Ulūm of the Nadwat al-'Ulūm, Lakhna'ū (1905—1913); was also, for sometime, Hon. Secretary of the *Andhman-i Taraqqi-i Urdū*. He died in 1914, and, just after, his pupils established, in his memory, the Dār al-Mu'annifin at Azamgarh, with a library and a publishing house, and with the monthly journal 'Ma'arif' as its organ. Shibli's works are: Urdū: *Musalmānān ki qur'ānī Ta'lim*, Agra 1887; *al-Ma'mūn*, a biography of the Khalīfah, Agra 1887; *Strat al-Nu'mān*, a biography of Abū Ḥanīfa, Agra 1891; *al-Dīziya*, on the origin of the word, Agra 1891 (Engl. translation, 'Aligarh); *Kutubkhāna-i Ishkandariya*, Agra 1891 (Engl. translation, Hyderabad); *Safar-nāma*, Agra 1893; *al-Farūq*, 'Umar's biography, Kanpur 1899; *al-Ghasālī*, the Imām's biography, Kanpur 1903; *Ilm al-Kalam*, 'Aligarh 1903; *al-Kalam*, Kanpur 1903; *Sawānīḥ-i Mawlānā Rām*, Lakhna'ū 1902; *Mawāzino-i Anis-u Dabir*, a criticism of two Urdū poets, Agra 1906; *Shīr al-'Adām* i—iv., 'Aligarh 1909—1912, v. (unfinished), Azamgarh 1919; *Strat al-Nabī*, i—ii., Kanpur 1919—1920, iii. (unfinished), Azamgarh; *Kulliyāt-i Urdū* (Poems); *Rasūl-i Shīblī*; *Makalat-i Shīblī*; *Makātib-i Shīblī*, 2 vols. (all published lately, Azamgarh). Persian: *Kulliyāt* (Poems), Azamgarh. Arabic: *al-Dīziya*, 'Aligarh; *al-Intihād 'ala 'l-Tamaddun al-Islāmī li Dīwānī Zaidān*, Lakhna'ū.

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(A. Smbit)

SHIGHNĀN. [See SHUGHNĀN.]

SHIHAB AL-DAWLĀ. [See MAWĀDID.]

SHIHAB AL-DĪN. [See MUHAMMAD B. SĀNĪ.]

SHIHAB AL-DĪN AHMAD B. MAJID, an Arab navigator of the xvth century, author of sailing instructions for the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, the western China Sea and the waters of the Malay Archipelago.

When Vasco da Gama had reached Malindi on the east coast of Africa in 1498, he was able to get a pilot there who took him direct to Calicut. The incident is briefly recorded by one of the sailors in the expedition (*Retiro da viagem de Vasco da Gama em MCCCXCVII*, 2nd ed., ed. by A. Herculano and Castello de Paiva, Lisbon 1861, p. 49); and in greater detail by the Portuguese historians of the xvth century, notably by Damiao

de Goes (*Chronica do verissimo Rei D. Manuel*, Coimbra 1790, i., Ch. xxxviii., p. 87), Castanheda (*Historia do descobrimento e conquista da India pelos Portuguezes*, 1833, Bk. i., end. of chap. xii and beginning of ch. xiii., p. 41) and Barros (*Da Asia*, Decade I., Bk. iv., ch. vi., p. 319—320 of the little edition of 1778) who give the name of this pilot as: *Malemo Canaga* in Castanheda and Goes, *Malemo Cana* in Barros, i. e. *mu'allim kanaka* or 'master of astrological navigation'.

This story is confirmed by an Arabic text: *al-Barq al-yamānī fī 'l-fath al-'Oṭhmānī* (MSS. nos. 1644—1650 and 5927, Arabic collection of the Bibl. Nat. [1]) by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrawī (1511—1582, cf. above), but the pilot there is called Ahmad b. Majid. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn records that, after several unsuccessful attempts, a Portuguese caravel arrived in the Indian Ocean: '[Before they reached the west coast of India and while they were on the east coast of Africa] the Portuguese continually sought information regarding this sea [of Western India] until a skilful sailor named Ahmad b. Majid put himself at their disposal; the leader of the Franks called *Almūdānī* (= Portuguese *Almirante* = 'Admiral') had become friendly with him and he used to become intoxicated with the Portuguese Admiral. This sailor being intoxicated showed the route to the Admiral, saying to the Portuguese: "Do not approach the coast in this part [of the east coast of Africa north of Malindi], steer straight for the open sea; you will then reach the coast [of India] and be sheltered from the waves". When they followed these directions, a large number of Portuguese ships avoided shipwreck and many ships reached the sea of western India" (MS. 1644, fol. 56, l. 9 sq.).

The story of the intoxication seems to be a complete invention; it seems that it was a pious fiction intended to excuse an action which the Muslims of Mecca where Ḳuṭb al-Dīn lived must have regarded as treachery. On the contrary it is more likely that the Arab *mu'allim* agreed to pilot the flagship of the Portuguese squadron on the promise of a handsome reward for his services. The Portuguese reports, which had no reason to conceal the fact, give quite a different story to this Arabic text.

Barros, who gives the most detailed account of the event, says that while Vasco da Gama was at Malindi some banyans from the kingdom of Cambay in Gujarat came to visit the Admiral. These Hindus, who paid homage to an image of the Virgin (taking her for a Hindu goddess) were thought by him to be members of one of the Christian communities which existed in India in the time of St. Thomas. With them came a Moor (= Muslim) of Gujarat (sic!) called *Malemo* (= *mu'allim*) *Cana* (= *Kanaka*). The latter as much for the pleasure he took in the company of our men as to please the king (of Malindi) who was looking for a pilot for the Portuguese, agreed to set out with them (to show them the route to India). After discoursing with him, Vasco da Gama was very satisfied with his knowledge, especially when the Moor had shown him a map of the whole coast of India arranged as those of the Moors are with meridians and parallels (= degrees of latitude and longitude) in great detail without indicating the rhumbs of the winds. As the squares (formed by the intersection) of these meridians and parallels were very small (the direction of) the coast by

the two rhumbs N. S. + E. W. was very exact without the map being overloaded with the quantity (of signs indicating the direction) of the winds and the needle, as on our Portuguese map which served as a basis for the others. Vasco da Gama showed the Moor the great wooden astrolabe which he had with him and other astrolabes in metal, with which the altitude of the sun was taken. The Moor displayed no astonishment at seeing such instruments. He said the (Arab) pilots of the Red Sea used instruments of brass, triangular in form and quadrants to take the height of the sun, and of the (pole-)star which they used most in their navigation. But, he added, he and the sailors of Cambray and the whole of India sailed with (the help of) certain stars, southern as well as northern, and other notable stars which crossed the centre of the heavens from east to west. They did not take their altitude with instruments like those (that Vasco da Gama showed him) but with another which he used himself, and he brought it at once to show him (on this instrument cf. Reinoud, *Introduction Générale à la Géographie des Orientaux in Géogr. d'Abenlida*, I, p. clix. 199); it was an instrument made of three plates. As we are dealing with the shape and method of using this instrument in our *Géographie universelle*, a work unfortunately now lost, in the chapter devoted to instruments of navigation, it is sufficient to mention here that the instrument in question is used by the Moors for the operation for which we use in Portugal the instrument called by the sailors *astrolabille*, which is also dealt with, along with its inventors in the chapter just mentioned (of the *Géographie Universelle*). After this discourse and others which they had with this pilot, Vasco da Gama had the feeling that he had found a great treasure (*parvata-ter nullo dum grão thesouro*). In order not to lose him, he put to sea as soon as possible and sailed for India on April 24, 1498" (*Da Asia*, Decade I, Bk. iv, Ch. vi, p. 318-321, of the edition of 1778).

According to Goes and Castanheda (*loc. cit.*) the pilot in question was "a Gujarat pilot", according to Barros "a Muslim of Gujarat", the description of him by the two Portuguese historians is a bilingual expression: — *mulemo* = Arabic *mu'allim*, in nautical language — "master of navigation" and *Canagwa* = *Kanaka*, the Tamil form of the Sanskrit *ganaka* = "astrologer" (cf. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, ed. M. Longworth Dames, Hakl. Soc., 1921, ii. 61/62 with v. Ronkel's correction in *Museum*, 1925, No. 1, p. 18). On the other hand this *mulemo canagwa* is undoubtedly the same person as Ahmad b. Mājid of the *al-Bahr al-yamūni*; and we know from himself that the celebrated *mu'allim* was an Arab of Arab descent, and born at Djulfar. The mistake made by Goes, Castanheda and Barros or rather by their sources is obvious but I am not able to explain it.

We know Ibn Mājid from other sources also. In the preface to his collection of sailing instructions entitled *al-Muḥīṭ*, the Turkish Admiral Sidi 'Alī says: "During a stay of five months which I made at Basra (in 1554) which lasted till the beginning of the monsoon, and during my three months' voyage from Basra to India, from the beginning of the month of Shāhān to the end of the month of Shawwāl (July 2 = Sept. 27, 1554), during these eight months I never missed an opportunity of talking day and night on nautical matters with the pilots of the coast

and the sailors (of the country) who were on board my ship. Thus I learned how the old pilots of Hormuz and Hindustān: Laith b. Kahlān, Muḥammad b. Shāhān and Sahl b. Abūn used to sail in the Indian Ocean. I also collected the books that had been written by modern (pilots), like Ahmad b. Mājid of Djulfar in the province of 'Omān and Sulaimān b. Ahmad (cf. the article *SULAIMAN AL-MAHRĪ*), a native of a town called Shīhr in the land of Djuz (Southern Arabia), as well as the books entitled: *Fawā'id*, *Hāwiya* (by Ibn Mājid, see below), *Takfāt al-fuḥūl*, *Min-hādī*, *Ḥilālata l-ḥumūsi* (by Sulaimān al-Mahrī); and I studied each one thoroughly. For as a matter of fact it was exceedingly difficult to navigate the Indian ocean without these works. The (foreign) Captains, Commanders and sailors do not know how to sail here and a pilot is always indispensable for them because they have not the necessary knowledge. I therefore have thought it at least a duty to write down all that is best in these books and to translate it into Turkish and then to write a good book so that those who consult it may attain their goal without needing a pilot and not have to seek advice from a pilot. My translation from these Arabic documents was finished in a short time with the help of the Powerful King (Allāh). As my books contain all the extraordinary things about navigation it has been entitled *al-Muḥīṭ*, "what surrounds our coasts, what includes all in itself" (*Die topographischen Capital des Indischen Seespiegels Muḥīṭ*, transl. M. Bittner, with preface and 30 maps by W. Tomaschek, Vienna 1897, p. 55). Sidi 'Alī mentions Ibn Mājid later (p. 51) and speaks highly of him; he calls him the "reliable among the sailors, the *mu'allim* of the sea of India, most worthy of belief among modern (writers of sailing instructions)".

So far as one can judge from the published extracts, the *Muḥīṭ* of Sidi 'Alī is only the Turkish version, often mediocre, of a part of the route-book and sailing instructions of Ibn Mājid and of Sulaimān al-Mahrī. Neither Maximilian Bittner nor his predecessor, von Hammer, endeavoured to trace the Arabic texts, the titles of which are briefly given by the Turkish admiral and their authors. No literary history mentions them but they appear in the *Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes de la Bibl. Nat.* under 2292 and 2559 (the former was acquired by the Bibliothèque in 1860, the latter according to a note made by the Syrian priest Joseph Ascari was already in the Arabic collection in 1732); these two valuable manuscripts contain all the works used by Sidi 'Alī and other texts which he does not appear to have known.

The MS. 2292 which is a copy of the original is in 181 folios of 270 × 180 mm, 19 lines to the page and contains 19 route books and nautical treatises by Ibn Mājid copied in the following order by a scribe who troubled little about chronology:

1. *Kitāb al-fawā'id fī nūṭ al-bahr wa l-fawā'id*, folio 1-88* (it is the text called *Fawā'id* by Sidi 'Alī). This work in prose, divided into xii. chapters, is dated 895 (1489/1490). The early pages deal with the legendary origins of navigation and of the magnetic needle. Ibn Mājid then deals with the 28 lunar mansions; the stars corresponding to the 32 rhumbs (*ḥann*, plur. *ahān*) of the compass; of the sea-routes of the Indian Ocean; the latitudes of a number of harbours in the Ocean and Western China Sea;

the landmarks (*'alāma, iḥḥāra*) formed by birds and the outline of the coast; the landfalls (*ṣawāḥiḥ, ʿāṣā*, *Ar. madāḥiḥ*) of the west coast of India; the ten famous large islands (Arabian Peninsula, island of Komr or Madagascar, Sumatra, Java, al-Ḡhūr or Formosa, Ceylon, Zanzibar, Bahrain, Ibn Ḡāwīn in the Persian Gulf and Socotora); monsoons favourable for the voyage with the date in the Persian computation of each monsoon. This treatise concludes with a description of the Red Sea which gives in detail its anchorages, shallows, banks and reefs. "The style of the work", says de Slane (*Catal.*, p. 401), "is very prolix and full of technical terms the meaning of which was only known to those who sailed the Indian Ocean". This is only partly true. The texts of MSS. 2292 and 2559 have been certainly prepared by sailors and for sailors. Technical terms abound in them, as might be expected, and the nautical vocabulary which they have yielded to me will be an important addition to the Arabic dictionaries (2).

II. *Hāwiya al-ibḥār fī ṣifl ilim al-ibḥār* (this is the text mentioned by Sidi 'Alī under the title *Hāwiya*) occupies ff. 88b-117a. The text in *rafiʿa* verse is divided into 11 sections (*ṣafḥ*). After a brief prose introduction of 20 lines the first section begins, dealing with signs of the proximity of land which pilots ought to know. The second section deals with the lunar mansions and rhumbs, the third with the knowledge of the years, Arabic, Coptic, Byzantine and Persian, the fourth with the knowledge of the *ḥāḍi* or correction to be made in the position of certain stars, the monsoons (*riʿ*) of the *ḥāḍi*, the months in which the stars appear, the fixed character of their latitudes, and their disappearance, the dates being represented in the Persian way; the fifth, the sea-routes on the coasts of Arabia, of the Hijāz, of Siam (i.e. in the language of Ibn Mājjid, the west coast of the Malay Peninsula which in those days all belonged to Siam), of the extremity of the land of the negroes (lit.: of the negro coast); the sixth, the sea routes on the coast of Western India, down to the countries situated below the wind (i.e. according to Ibn Mājjid, east of Cape Comorin), like the island of Billiton on the east coast of Sumatra, [the land of the] Maharāḍja = Sumatra (cf. ff. 101b-103b) and China, Formosa; the seventh, the sea-routes along the coast of the eastern islands, Sumatra, the Fil or Laccadines, Madagascar, Yemen, Abyssinia, the land of the Somāla, of al-Aḥwā in southern Arabia, and of Makrān; the eighth, the distance of the sea-ports of the Arabian coast from those of Western India; the ninth, the latitudes of the harbours of "the Surrounding Sea (*ḥaḥr al-muḥiṭ*) which runs deeply into the north, i.e. of the sea of Western India"; the tenth, on navigation in the strict sense of the word, on the knowledge of currents of deep seas and of "the Surrounding Sea which runs far in between the coasts of the land of the negroes, India and China", i.e. the Indian Ocean of our maps; the eleventh deals with nautical astronomy.

The *Hāwiya*, which is frequently cited in the preceding treatise (I) is thus dated on folio 116b: "this poem was finished in the month of the pilgrimage at Djulfār (in the S. W. of the Persian Gulf), the native land of the Lion of the Sea (surname of Ibn Mājjid), among countries on the day of the Ditch (*yamm al-Ḥadīr*) (2), the finest of days which is specially consecrated to good

works and to fasting, and it was, my friend, in the year 866 A. H.", i.e. 18 Dhū 'l-Hijja 866 = Sept. 13, 1462.

Folios 117b-123a are blank.

III. An *urfiyya* on the navigation of the Gulf of Berbera, the Gulf of Aden of our maps, from folio 123b-127a; it is dated 890 (=1485).

IV. A treatise in verse preceded by an introduction of 33 lines in prose entitled: "Book on the *ḥiḥla* of Islām for the whole world". This poem, says the author, has been prepared "especially for those towns which are near the sea and for towns frequented by travellers". It is dated 893 = 1488 and occupies ff. 128a-137a.

V. An *urfiyya* on navigation along the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf, fol. 137b-139b; n.d.

VI. An *urfiyya* on the Banāt *naḥḥ* (αβγδεζη of the Great and Little Bear), ff. 139b-145b; dated 900 = 1494-1495.

VII. An *urfiyya* entitled "The treasure of the *muḥallim* or masters of navigation and treasures of the science of unknown things about the sea, the stars, the planets, their names and their poles". This is not dated but from the context is before 1489, fol. 145b-147b.

VIII. An *urfiyya* dealing with the landfalls (1) on the west coast of India and the coast of Arabia from 25° N. to 60° N.; n.d.; ff. 147b-154b.

IX. An *urfiyya* rhymed in *m*, n.d., dealing with certain northern stars, ff. 154b-156b inclusive.

X. *Urfiyya muḥkammas* dealing with certain northern stars; n.d.; ff. 156b-157b.

XI. Poem in 13 lines rhymed in *n* on the Byzantine months; n.d. (before 1489).

XII. *Urfiyya* entitled *Ḥaribata 'l-dar'ib*, "The obligation of obligations" dealing with its utilisation of certain stars for navigation; n.d.; ff. 158a-163a.

XIII. *Urfiyya* entitled "Urfiyya attributed to the Commander of the Faithful 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, dealing with the knowledge of lunar mansions, their exact position in the heavens, their form, their number; a complete description"; before 1489; ff. 163a-165b.

XIV. Rhymed poem in *r* entitled "The Meccan poem" dealing with sea routes from Djedda to Cape Partak (South Arabia), Kalikut, Dābul, the Konkan, Gujarat (Western India); to al-Aḥwā, Hormuz...; n.d.; ff. 164b-169b.

XV. Rhymed *urfiyya* in *r* entitled *Nadīratu 'l-abbāl* "The Rarity of the Generous" or *al-Wāḥiḥ, Dhubbān* and *al-'Uyūḥ*; ff. 169b-171a (before 1489).

XVI. Poem rhymed in *k* entitled "The Golden Poem", ff. 171a-176a; before 1489. It deals with "the investigation of reefs, great depths and what one should do there and shallows; signs indicating land like birds and winds, land-falls on capes during the monsoon from the South-West, landfalls in wind from the West". It is mentioned folio 40², l. 10 and dated from the reign of the Mamlūk Sultan Ashraf Saif al-Din Ḳā'it Bey (873-901 = 1468-1495).

XVII. *Urfiyya* dealing with the observation of *al-Dafda*, "the Frog" = α of the Southern Pisces or β of the Whale according as it is the first or second Frog. This poem rhymes in *n*, and is called *al-Fa'ika*; it occupies ff. 176a-178a and was written before 1489.

XVIII. *Urfiyya* rhyming in *ḥ*, called *al-Balīḥa* "The eloquent", dealing with the observation of the stars Canopus and Arcturus; it occupies ff. 178a-179b, — n.d.

XIX. Nine brief sections (*fuṣūḥ*) in prose, not dated, dealing with soundings in different parts of the Indian Ocean; ff. 179^b–181^b and last.

The second MS. in the Arabic collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale, N^o 2559, is a small 4^o of 215 × 150 cm., 187 folios of 15 lines to a page; it contains the following treatise by Ibn Mājid:

XX. *Urḡūṣa* entitled *al-Saḥīḥa* (divided into seven sections) because it deals with seven branches of nautical lore; ff. 93^a–103^b; dated 888 (1483). At the end it is referred to as "the great *Urḡūṣa*". "The Golden poem" (cf. XVI above) is reproduced on ff. 103^b–109.

XXI. A *ḥaṣṣa* rhyming in *ḥ* dealing with astronomy; ff. 109^b–111^a; before 1489.

XXII. *Ḥaṣṣa* entitled "... .." (*sic*) observations regarding it and the stars which are useful for landfalls and the description of the landfall points and of the coasts from Dīn to Dābul; ff. 111^a–116^a. The proper title of this nautical poem is given on f. 116^a in the following verse: "I have called this *ḥaṣṣa* 'The good path of the *mu'allim* because it is faultless'. At the end he says: "End of the *ḥaṣṣa* called *al-Haṣṣa* (which directs into the good path)"; before 1489.

The first nautical treatise in prose (I) contains also quotations of verses taken from ten other treatises by Ibn Mājid which have not come down to us (XXIII–XXXII).

Chronologically these thirty two treatises may be thus classified:

- (a) 1462. *Hāṣiyya* (II).
- (b) 1483. *al-Saḥīḥa* (XX).
- (c) 1485. The poem on the Gulf of Aden (III).
- (d) 1488. The poem on the Kibla of Islām (IV).
- (e) 1489–1490. The Book of Useful Information (I).
- (f) 1494–1505. The *urḡūṣa* (VI).

The texts VI, XI, XIII, XVII, XXI–XXX are quoted in *z* and *a* which places them in the period before 1462. XV is earlier than XVI and XIV which refer to it. IX is earlier than XV and XVI and XII than XIV. VIII, X, XVIII and XIX contain no hint to enable one to date them, even approximately.

The period during which Ibn Mājid published his thirty nautical texts lies between an uncertain date before 1462 and 1489/90. The most important work of the celebrated *mu'allim*, for size as well as its practical nature is undoubtedly his Book of Useful Information (I). It contains 178 pages (folio 1^b–88^a with 48 bis) of 19 lines to the page, i.e. 3382 lines, to which are to be added marginal notes of one or several lines on 27 pages. Concluded in 1489/90 this book seems to be a compendium of the known knowledge of theoretical and practical navigation. It is therefore more and better than the result of personal experience and labour; we must regard it as a kind of synthesis of nautical science of the latter years of the middle ages. Ibn Mājid is at the same time the earliest of modern writers of nautical guides. His work is admirable. The description of the Red Sea, for example, has never been surpassed or even equalled, neglecting the inevitable errors in latitude, by any of the writers of nautical guides for sailing boats. The information given on the monsoons, local winds, routes and latitudes for crossing the whole Indian Ocean are as precise and detailed as could be expected at this period.

Indonesia is less well known to him than the continent and islands of the Indian Ocean. By an error, which is inexplicable, Java is placed lying north to south, contrary to its real orientation; and this same error appears again in the nautical texts of Sulaimān al-Mahri (MS. 2559) who lived in the first half of the xvth century, from which it passed into the Turkish translation of Sidi 'Alī. It is the only important rectification necessary.

MS. 2292 incidentally contains some biographical information about Ibn Mājid and his family. He was called Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Mājid b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Faḍl b. Buwāḥ b. Yūsuf b. Ḥasan b. Ḥusain b. Abi Ma'laḥ al-Sa'ādī b. Abi 'I-Rak'ib al-Nadīdī (f. 2^b, infra). He gives himself the title of "poet of the two Kibla's (Mecca and Jerusalem), who has performed the pilgrimage to the two noble sanctuaries, the descendant of the Lions" (f. 137^a, 65^a, 145^b and 147^b); "the Lion (*asad*) of the sea in fury (f. 88^a)." He also says on f. 117^a: "I, Aḥmad b. Mājid, am the Arab *mu'allim*".

According to certain passages in MS. 2292 the father and grandfather of Ibn Mājid were *mu'allim*, authors of nautical treatises and their son and grandson continued their work. "He who sails in the southern Red Sea on the route of the pilgrims to Mecca", he says on p. 78^a. "My grandfather knew it with accuracy and in detail; he yielded to no one in this respect. My father added the results of his revised personal experiences. His knowledge surpassed the knowledge of his father. When our hour came and when we had in our turn gone through these experiences for nearly 40 years, when we had corrected the scientific work of these two exceptional men, when we had put into writing the results of our own experience and our written observations, we saw appear facts and principles which no one had combined in our time and which are only found scattered through different writers".

My father, he tells us on p. 78^b, was called by the pilots, "the pilot of the two coasts" (of the Red Sea). He prepared the famous *urḡūṣa* called *al-Haṣṣa* containing over 1000 verses. We have corrected the errors we found in it and have completed it methodically". There is another reference to this poem on f. 81^a.

Regarding a reef on the eastern coast of the Red Sea, adjoining the island of Marmā which lies to the south of the 20° Lat., Ibn Mājid says (f. 87^a) that most people call it "Mājid's reef" because his father had moored his ship to it. This is evidence of his fame among seafaring people of his day.

On several occasions Ibn Mājid shows full confidence in statements made by his father, differing with the usual practice of the pilots of the xvth century. "I have owed my safety," he says on f. 84^a, "to the information given me by my father rather than to that of the pilots". Further on he shows by an actual incident that his confidence in his father's knowledge was justified. "When we were moored there (between Asmā and Masnad, two islands on the Arabian Coast of the Red Sea to the south of the 17°) in 890 A. H. (= 1485), he says on p. 84^b, the *ṣaḥāba* and the pilot were agreed upon passing between the islands of Asmā and Masnad, but I did not agree with their opinion because I had read in a poem compiled by my father that "there is no

passage in the neighbourhood of these islands; therefore (he advised) keep away, avoid these islands, there are only reefs there and there is only one passage two fathoms deep". We discussed the question with one another, Ibn Mājid continues, after quoting this from his father's book and I said to them "The best thing to do in my opinion is to send the *sunbūh* (a kind of skiff) to go a day in front of us". The *sunbūh* set out with the sounding lead and found two fathoms of water. The *sunbūh* confirmed what I had said and returned passing between Masnad and Sāṣīb. It found the passage and came back to us at the end of the day. And (the statements made in) my father's poem proved to be, in this place, the best part of my inheritance".

Regarding the legendary origins of navigation, the needle, the compass, the astrolabe, Ibn Mājid says: "The first to build a ship (f. 2 v. infra of MS. 2292) was Noah. He built it on the advice of the Angel Gabriel, who had been sent to instruct him by the Almighty Creator. The ark was built in the shape of the figure formed by the five (*sic*) stars of the Great Bear; the stern of the ark corresponds to the third star (f. 3^a), the keel to the fourth, fifth and sixth stars and the stern to the seventh. Even now [1489] the people of Zang (eastern coast of equatorial Africa), of Komr (Madagascar), of Mima (the African coast opposite Zanzibar) and of the land of Sofala call the fifth and sixth stars of the Great Bear *al-ḥirāb*, 'the keel of the ship'".

These two stars are observed for the determination of latitudes, at the moment of the culmination of *al-Ṣarfa* (β of Leo), in the absence of the *ṣarḥid* (β and γ of the Little Bear) because they have the form of the keel of the Ark of Noah. Traditionists differ as to the length and breadth of the Ark. It is said to have been 400 cubits long, 100 cubits broad and 100 cubits deep, not including the height of the masts. It had two oars (in the stern to act as rudder). When the ark was finished and the flood came, Noah embarked with those who were to accompany him. It carried them and saved them from the deluge and shipwreck. The Ark is said to have sailed seven times round the site where the Ka'ba of Mecca was later to stand. This place was then a region of red sand where nothing was built. The deluge did not reach it."

"When (f. 3^b) the Ark was built and men had learnt the art of navigating along the shores of the sea in all the climes [of the earth] which Allah divided among the children [of Noah]: Japhet, Sem and Ham [Son of Noah], who is the second Adam, each began to build ships in the maritime countries, the gulfs and shores of the sea surrounding the earth until the world reached the epoch of the 'Abbāsids (132 = 750) which dynasty had Baghdad as its capital in 'Irāq 'Arabi. All Khorāsān belonged to them. The road from Khorāsān to Baghdad is three or four months' journey in length."

"At this time (i.e. under the Abbāsids) there lived three famous men: Muhammad b. Shādhān, Sahl b. Abān and Laith b. Kahlān (not Ibn Kahlān). I have seen that written in a work [by Ima'ūn b. Huzayn b. Sahl b. Abān], the grandson [of Sahl], in a *rahmānī* (or *rahmānīy*, Pahlavi *rahmānīy* 'book of the route') (f. dated 580 A.H. (1184/1185)). They exerted all their efforts in composing this *rahmānī* which begins 'We have expounded to

these that...'. None of it is in verse and the subjects dealt with are not linked together, which is not the case with a well composed work. Their book has neither finality or authority. It can be added to or have parts cut out of it. These men were compilers and not original authors. They only sailed on the Red Sea from Sirāf to the coast of Makrān (f. 4^a). They went from Sirāf to Makrān in seven days, from Makrān to Khorāsān in 2 months. They shortened the way, for before their time, it was a journey of three months from Baghdad. They set themselves to enquire on every coast of the people of these coasts and they have left a narrative [of their voyage]".

"In their time among the celebrated *Mu'allim* were Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Ahmad al-Maghribi, Mūsā al-Kandārūnī, Maimūn b. Khalīl and, a thousand before them (*sic*), Ahmad b. Tabrīza [who had written nautical books]. They borrowed from the works of the latter and from those of the *Mu'allim* Khawāshir b. Yūsuf b. Sālḥ al-Afriki who had travelled in the year 400 (1009/1010) and the years adjacent to this date (and who had written a narrative) of what he had seen in travelling on the ship of Dabawkara the Indian. Among the famous *Nāḥiyyas* of their time were Ahmad b. Maḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abū 'l-Faḥl b. Abī 'l-Mughairi (or Mughiri). Their principal knowledge lay in the description of their coasts and their extent. The majority of the countries described formed part of the lands situated under the wind (i.e. lands east of Cape Comorin) and on the coast of China. Now these ports and towns (which they described) have disappeared. Even their names no longer exist. The indications given by them are no longer of any use for our period (xvth century), lacking as they do the solid basis of our modern knowledge and experience and our discoveries which are recorded in this book. For it is a book in which everything has been checked and verified by experience and there is nothing superior to experience. The point reached by the predecessors should be that from which their successors start and here we are increasing considerably their knowledge and their works. We have paid tribute to their work in saying 'I am the Fourth after the Three'. Sometimes in the work we have produced in what concerns the sea, there is a single leaf which contains more perfection, accuracy, utility, valuable advice than [all] they have composed" (f. 4^b).

"The Three borrowed their good points and their ability from the above mentioned individuals and others also. They took from each his knowledge of the coast and sea with which he was familiar; they made a story of it but they are compilers and not writers recording their own experiences, and I know no Fourth (who could be mentioned alongside of them) except myself. I honour them when I say: 'I am the Fourth [after these three famous authors]'. I have honoured them by taking into account the fact that they are before me in the era of the Hijra. Certainly after my death another will come and [there will be] men who will put each of us in our place. When I studied the work of my predecessors and found it feeble without reality or certainty, without order, I adopted what was worth keeping and recorded the discoveries I had made, my corrections and the results of my experience, year by year in the verses of the (nautical) poems and in this book [which has been published or finished] in the year 880 A.H. =

1475/1476 (?). Men experienced in nautical science have approved my work, used it and taken it as a basis to solve the difficulties presented to them, such as for example, the aspect of mountains, astronomical observations, names and knowledge of the stars, and the way to steer by them. The people of my time know very little more than what the ancients had handed down to them regarding, for example, the proper sea-routes, the *du fat* (co-efficient indicating the length of the route to be traversed to a given cape to obtain the same displacement in latitude as in the route to the north) and the *ruhūl*. As to distances they did not know them. We have already spoken of this in the commentary on the nautical poem entitled *al-Dhahbiya* (8) and we shall refer to them again."

"In reality, the people of the early ages had plenty of courage in their hearts, but they only sailed with the help of the sailors of the coasts who were endowed with considerable energy, while the others feared the sea and had an aversion for it. The sailors equipped their boats excellently; they never allowed [the favourable period of] the monsoon to pass; they did not load their ships above what was usually done. We however know more and have had more experience than they. Every improvement in seafaring matters had an inventor. The maker of the Ark was, as we have said, Noh. As to the lodestone to which one trusts oneself, the art of navigation was not complete without it. It was David who invented it; it is the stone with which he killed Goliath. As to the lunar mansions and the signs of the Zodiac, the prophet Daniel wrote on this a book which was completed by [Nasir al-Din] al-Tusi (d. 1261). But let us come back to our first subject, the stars [to which correspond] the thumbs of the compass. Their names are found in an old book earlier than the work of the Lions, our predecessors. But these thumbs and these *āḥ* (= 3 hours sailing) are not absolutely exact data (i.e. the direction of the courses which they give and their duration expressed in *āḥ* are only approximations and not certainties). As to the description of the comets (f. 5b) which we know from experience, we have written it with care and we only give it after repeated personal experience. Our description of the comet is better than that of our predecessors...."

"As to the making of the house of the needle with the lodestone (i.e. the compass) it is said that Daniel was its inventor for he knew how to make use of iron and the properties of this metal. Others say that it was al-Khidr (cf. AL-KHADR) who invented the compass, when he set out to look for the well of life, when he penetrated into the land of darkness and the sea of darkness and when he travelled to one of the poles up to the place where he no longer saw the sun. It is said he found his directions with the lodestone. Others say that he found his direction with the help of light. The lodestone (f. 6a) is a stone which attracts iron. This is the only thing that it attracts. It is said that the seven heavens and the earth are held in suspension by the lodestone and the omnipotence of Allah. Many other things are said on this subject."

"The first inventor of the *Kiṭāb* (or astronomical observation) with the astrolabe", Ibn Mājid goes on (f. 14a, l. 3 *infra*), "was Idris [q.v.]. He was the inventor of the astrolabe with degrees. [The ancients] changed these degrees into *ihū* (finger).

They have recorded it in the story of the City of Copper (9) and the astrolabe was included among instruments of navigation by others than the Three, Muhammad b. Shādhān and his (two) companions; for the ships sailed the ocean by steering by astronomical observation (with the astrolabe) in the time of the Prophets — on whom be peace! —. Our Three (predecessors) only lived in the time of the 'Abbāsids. Such is the story given in histories written by their hands."

Ibn Mājid pays a tribute to his predecessors, by saying on several occasions that he is the "fourth after the Three" or "the fourth of the Lions" but he does not fail to warn sailors against the gaps and errors in their works, with which he contrasts the extensive documentation of his own *Nautical Instructions*. "Canopus, he says (f. 31^b of MS. 2292), rises far from the south pole on the 22nd day of *Nirūz* at dawn and sets on the 40th day of *Nirūz*. If you ask a sailor, he will never know that; unless he has studied this book, he will not be able to answer the question, even if he had read for a hundred years the works of Muhammad b. Shādhān and his two companions". It seems from a passage in MS. 2559 (f. 126^b, l. 5 *app.*) that the works of the Ancients, i.e. of the Three, were still consulted in the first half of the xvth century.

According to the text of Ibn Mājid, the Three, Muhammad b. Shādhān, Sahl b. Abān and Laith b. Kahlān, were neither *mu'allim* nor masters of navigation nor sailors, but only learned authors of route-books and nautical instructions who had used for their works the stories of sea-voyages. The passage in question in the *Book of Useful Information* (1), besides, gives two definite statements. — The Three or at least Sahl b. Abān lived in the first half of the xiiith century A.D. and the above mentioned records of voyages contained more particularly the descriptions of the countries under the wind (East of Cape Comorin and of China). We can imagine that the works of the Three were based on records of travels in India, Transgangeitic India, Indonesia and China, like that of the merchant Sulaimān, published in 851 which was revised and expanded by Abū Zaid Ḥasan about 916 (10). An amateur of geographical science, the latter lived in Baghdad and there collected all the information he could find in manuscripts or gathered from the sailors of his time, and it seems that this is what the Three did, whose continuer Ibn Mājid calls himself, for he expressly points out that he differed from the others in writing of seafaring matters from a long personal experience.

According to Ibn Mājid, the works of the Three mentioned towns and seaports which had disappeared in the xvth century. This reference is to ancient place-names which would have been of great use to us in identifying the geographical names preserved in Chinese text and in Ptolemy's lists. But we have now lost this source of information it is nevertheless important to know that it once existed. Anything is possible in the east, — even the chance discovery of a manuscript of the Three, of Ahmad b. Tabrīz, or Khawāshir b. Yūsuf b. Salāh al-Afrīkī. The acquisition by the Bibliothèque Nationale of the MSS. 2292 and 2559 is a lucky chance which one can always hope may repeat itself.

The *Kiṭāb al-Fatāwā* (1), the importance of which can be seen from the résumé and extracts given

above seem to be the work of Ibn Mājid's ripe experience. We do not know the date of his birth. If he was 25 or 30 in 1462 when he wrote the *Hāriya* (II) he would be 52 or 57 when the *Book of Useful Information* appeared (I) and 53 or 63 at the time when he finished the poem (VI) which is dated 1494–1495. Three or four years later, in April 1498, Vasco da Gama arrived at Malindi where Ibn Mājid embarked as his pilot. We do not know the date of the mu'allim's death.

According to James Prinsep, the memory of Ibn Mājid was still alive in India and the Maldives in the first half of the sixteenth century.

"I endeavoured therefore, says Prinsep to procure an Arabic compass, but not one could be met with in all the vessels — at length my friend Saiyid Husain Stidi found a drawing of it in one of the practical works on navigation — called the *Mājid kitāb*, 'Book of Mājid' or, as my Maldivian friend facetiously expressed it, the '*John Hamilton kitāb of the Arabs*' — in possession of a nakhoda, and without ceremony tore out the leaf to show it to me, as the captain was afraid of parting with the volume, without which doubtless he would have been greatly at a loss on his return voyage" (*Note on the Nautical Instruments of the Arabs*, in *J.A.S.B.*, 1836, II, p. 788). The reference here is evidently to a nautical work analogous to MSS. 2292 and 2559, with the addition of plates showing the instruments used in navigation and perhaps charts; or perhaps it was even a copy of MS. 2292, whence it would have its name of *Mājid kitāb* or 'Book of Mājid'.

In his *First Steps in East Africa or an Exploration of Harar* (London 1856, p. 3–4), R. F. Burton says: On Sunday, the 29th October, 1854, our manifold impediments were pronounced complete. Friend S. threw the slipper of blessing at my back, and about 4 p.m. embarking from Maala Bunder (the part of the port of Aden reserved for native boats), we shook out our 'muslin', and sailed down the fiery harbour. Passing the guard-boat, we delivered our permit; before venturing into the open sea we repeated the Fatihah-prayer in honour of the Shaykh Majid (*sic*), inventor of the mariners' compass, and evening saw us dancing on the bright clear tide. . . . Burton adds in a note: "It would be wonderful if Orientals omitted to romance about the origin of such an invention as the Dayrah, or compass. Shaykh Majid is said to have been a Syrian saint, to whom Allāh gave the power of looking upon earth, as though it were a ball in his hand. Most Moslems agree in assigning this origin to the Dayrah, and the Fatihah in honor of the holy man, is still repeated by the pious mariner". There is every reason to believe that Shaykh Mājid is not a saint belonging to Syria but simply the mu'allim Ibn Mājid who has found a place in Muslim hagiography for the eminent services which his nautical works have rendered to navigators since the xvth century. The process is obvious and many similar cases are known.

In 1913 my regretted colleague and friend Paul Ottavi who lived for some fifteen years at Zanzibar and Mascot, had a search made in these seafaring centres for nautical texts by Ibn Mājid and Sulaimān al-Mahri, but the very names of these two mu'allims were unknown to the Arab sailors there.

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Notes: 1. There are numerous copies in Europe and in the East.

2. A second copy of MS. 2292 has just been accidentally discovered in Damascus and has found a home in the Arabic Academy; cf. *Revue de l'Académie Arabe*, Feb. 1921, Damascus, p. 33–35. Another copy but incomplete of MS. 2559 was found at Djeddah where our colleague Ahmad Zeki Pacha had kindly had enquiries made on my behalf.

3. The use of this specifically Shi'a expression in place of the ordinary Arabic word seems to show that the author was himself a Shi'i or at least had an inclination towards the partisans of 'Ali.

4. Land-fall is here to be taken in the special sense of reconnaissance of a cape or land to enable one to ascertain the route.

5. Play of words on the name of his predecessor, Laith b. Kahalān (*laith* = lion in Arabic).

6. On this very important term, cf. *J.A.*, 1924, 209–215.

7. The book in question is however dated in all cases 895 A.H.

8. This commentary has not come down to us.

9. On the legendary City of Copper, cf. M. Gaudelroy-Demombynes, *Les cent et un rois*, Paris 1911, p. 284–348 and the authors quoted.

10. Cf. *Relation des voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et à la Chine dans le IX^e siècle de l'ère chrétienne*, arabic text by Langlès, transl. and notes by Reinand, 1845. I have published a new translation entitled *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymān en Inde et en Chine rédigé en 851, suivi de remarques par Abū Zayd Harun (vers 916)*, Paris 1922.

(GABRIEL FERRAND)

AL-SHIHR, the name of a town and district on the coast of South Arabia, which is still known as the Shehrat coast. The learned Nāṣirī gives also al-Shahr as the dialectic pronunciation for al-Shīr, which latter he calls the correct form. This form is of interest because it recalls SARA, first suggested by A. Sprenger as the basis of the corrupt SARA in Theophrastus and Pliny; when the latter says the word means *myrrineus*, this recalls Ibn al-Muḍīḥ's derivation of the name Sahrā, which is applied to the Mahra people, from *shir* "magic". That SARA is the coast district now called al-Shīr, which classical and Arab authors know as the land where the frankincense tree flourishes, is in any case certain. The name Xagr and Xair given by the Portuguese to this region, recalls the apparently older pronunciation Shahr, which means "coast". To the Arab geographers the name al-Shahr is synonymous with Mahra, the strip of South Arabian coast, which, according to Ibn Hawḳal, is 400 parasangs long and about 5 broad, the eastern end of which is 200 parasangs from Maskat, while the western end is the same distance from 'Aden. Al-Ashghā and Samīm are given as old names of this territory, which was not reckoned a part of Ḥaḍramūt proper, and the names al-Ashghār and al-Ashghāf are also of frequent occurrence. That the inhabitants, as is still the case, spoke a peculiar, unintelligible dialect, was already known to the Arab geographers. The South Arabian expedition of the Vienna Akademie der Wissenschaften in 1899 studied this language thoroughly, and the comprehensive works of D. H. Müller and M. Bittner, also of W. Hein, A. Jahn and N. Rhodokanakis give as a complete survey of this peculiar idiom.

The coast of al-Shīr with its hinterland, has passed through various vicissitudes. At the beginning of the tenth century A.D., it was taken by Badr b. Tuwrik al-Kaḥḥīrī from the Ghassanid 'Amir b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, then later by the Portuguese who occupied the whole coast from 'Aden to Maskat. After holding this stretch of country for thirty-five years, the Portuguese were driven out by the Banī Kaḥḥān and all attempts to re-establish themselves failed. A fleet of twenty ships, sent to reconquer the lost territory, was sunk with every man on board, in a fearful hurricane. The Kaḥḥān ruled the country for fifty-five years, and then the coast was conquered by Muḥammad b. Ahmad b. 'Amir b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Himyari. Various owners held the much disputed coast in succession until in 1866 Sulṭān 'Uṭayb b. Muḥsin al-Kaḥḥīrī seized al-Shīr, but lost it the very next year to the Ka'ānī, who gradually won the whole coast.

The town of al-Shīr, which lies in the centre of a sandy desert, is surrounded by a clay wall, with square watch-towers and round forts. Formerly one of the most important ports of Ḥaḍramūt, from which were exported the precious frankincense and the amber known as 'anbar shāhī, and which conducted a busy trade with Mokhā, 'Aden, Maskat and al-Baḥra, it is now completely overshadowed by the much more favourably situated port of Makallā, as it only has an open roadstead for shipping. Remains of ancient civilisation and former prosperity are still to be found. The houses, now much ruined, as nothing is ever renovated, frequently show beautifully carved stonework in the doors and windows. The mosque has a very

picturesque situation, but has been much neglected; the minaret has a decided inclination to one side. The population is about 6000—10,000, and is mainly industrial. Dyed cottons are woven on primitive looms and loin-cloths, with gay and and pretty patterns. White cottons imported from India are dyed here with indigo and madder. Smiths make all kinds of weapons, notably strong knives, which have a particularly good reputation. Silversmiths, of whom there are many, find plenty of employment in decorating these arms with silver, according to the local custom, and making the ornaments beloved by the women. More elaborate articles are imported from India, notably valuable sword hilts. The bazaar of the town is quite insignificant. Coloured cottons and other goods of European origin like soap, candles, ironmongery, Indian cottons and silks, petroleum, matches, dried dates, rice, durra, wheat, coarse wheaten flour, imported from India, coffee and tobacco are also dealt in here. As the flesh of goats and sheep is relatively dear, the main food is the small sardine-like 'aid fish, which is also used as manure and to make oil. Al-Mukaddas, long ago emphasised the wealth of al-Shīr in fish, and he reports that fish in his time were exported to 'Omān, 'Aden and even al-Baḥra and the lands of Yemen. The 'aid fish is probably identical with the little fish called *merk*, which according to Ibn Hawḳal was the principal food of the inhabitants, and according to Idrīsī was dried and given to the camels as food, which Th. Bent also saw done in Ḥaḍramūt. At the present day, salted and dried shark is an esteemed article of export into the interior. The guild of merchants, however, has few wealthy members, and the foreign connections are mostly with India (Malabar), Central Africa and al-Baḥra. Gum-arabic and resin, especially frankincense are brought to the market by the Beduins and exported from here. The trade in these articles is, however, now quite insignificant, compared with what it was in antiquity.

In conclusion we may note that al-Aḥṣā' in al-Bakrī mentions a palace named al-Shīr in Ḥaḍramūt; how far this is correct cannot be ascertained. There is probably a confusion with the town on the coast, which however, as noted above, never belonged to Ḥaḍramūt proper.

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Geschichte Arabiens, Berlin 1890, II, p. 179; L. Hirsch, *Reisen in Süd-Arabien, Mahra-Land und Hadramut*, Leiden 1897, p. 5, 12-15, 22-25; Th. Bent, *Southern Arabia*, London 1900, p. 205, 206; C. Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, I, *Hydra-mout*, Leiden 1901, p. 157, 158; A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgbiet*, Vienna 1922, I, 127-130, 132, 133, 189; L. Massignou, *Annales du Monde musulman*, I, *E. M. M.*, 1922-1923, III, p. 59.

(ADOLF GROHMANN)

SHIKĀRI, a word formed from the Persian word *shikār* ('sport', in the sense of hunting or shooting) and meaning a hunter. There are many castes in India whose occupation is the snaring, trapping, tracking, or pursuit of birds and beasts, but the caste which has adopted or received the word *Shikāri* as its tribal name is found chiefly in Sind. A writer in 1822 said: "Shecarries are generally Hindoos of low caste, who gain their livelihood entirely by catching birds, hares, and all sorts of animals", but the *Shikāris* of Sind seem to have abandoned the occupation from which they take their name. They are described as outcast immigrants from Rājaputāna, found from Bangāl to the Panjāb, the origin of whose honourable appellation is unexplained, though they probably possessed, like other aboriginal races, a knowledge of wild animals and skill in tracking and were employed by the Musalmān nobility in quest of sport. They are now engaged in making baskets, and as sweepers and scavengers, and appear to correspond, in most points, to the *Bhangis* of Bangāl and Hindūstān. They eat carrion, and even when professing Islām, are considered unclean, and not allowed to enter a mosque, unless they undergo a ceremony of purification by fire, after which they are classed as *Micchīs*. Those whose occupation is the taking of life are naturally held in small esteem in a land which has been permeated by the principles of Buddhism, Jainism, and Brahmanism, but the purification ceremony demanded by Muslims before admitting *Shikāris* to their worship is an example of the extent to which Islām in India has been infected by the prejudices of Hinduism.

Bibliography: E. H. Aitken, *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, Karachi 1907; H. Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, new ed. by Wm. Crooke, London 1903; *Census Reports of the Government of India*, (T. W. HAIG)

SHIKĀRPŪR, a town of Sind, situated in 27° 57' N. and 68° 40' E., was founded in the seventeenth century by the Dādūputras, a tribe of warriors and weavers, who established their supremacy in Upper Sind and made their new town their capital. In 1701 it was captured by Yār Muḥammad Khān, the founder of the Kalhora dynasty, with the aid of the Sirāi or Tālpūr tribe of the Balūṭ, and became, in turn, his capital, but the district in which the town is situated remained in the hands of the Dādūputras until it was conquered in 1719 by Nūr Muḥammad, the son and successor of Yār Muḥammad.

In 1739 Thātha and Shikārpūr, with all that part of Sind lying to the west of the Indus, were ceded by Muḥammad Shāh of Dillī to Nādir Shāh, who in 1740 invaded Sind to punish Nūr Muḥammad Kalhora for concluding with Muḥammad Shāh's governor of the province an agreement which

infringed his sovereign rights. Nūr Muḥammad was obliged to surrender and to relinquish his possession of Shikārpūr and Sibi, which Nādir Shāh handed over to the Dādūputras, but in 1754 Muḥammad Murād Yār Khān was recognized as governor of the whole of Sind by Ahmad Shāh Durānī, to whom the province was tributary, and remained thereafter in the hands of the rulers of the province.

Shikārpūr has long been famous, both under British and under native rule, for the enterprise of its merchants, who carry on an extensive trade not only with other parts of India, but also with Persia and Central Asia, where many of them reside for long periods. The import trade of the Kirmān province of Persia, in tea, sugar, and other commodities is almost entirely in the hands of Shikārpūr merchants, who have taken advantage of the situation of the town on one of the great routes from Sind to Khurāsān via the Bolān Pass, but since the middle of the nineteenth century, it has lost much of its importance owing to the construction of the North-Western Railway and its extension to Khetta (Quetta). It is still, however, a considerable entrepôt. Its great covered bazar is famous throughout Asia, and is continued by a modern structure, the Stewartgandj market.

Bibliography: R. F. Burton, *Sinde Revisited*, London 1877; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, xlii, 389 (1908). (T. W. HAIG)

SHIKESTE. (See I, 391b.)

SHIKK 1. *Shikk* is the name of two diviners who lived shortly before the rise of Islām. According to the *Synopsis of Marvels*, *Shikk* the elder was the first diviner among the Arabs of 'Ariba. He is quite a fabulous personage. Like the Cyclops, he had only one eye in the middle of his forehead or a fire which split his forehead into two (*shakkā* to split). He is also mixed up with Dajjāl, Antichrist, or at least Dajjāl is of his family. He is said to have lived chained to a rock on an island where volcanic phenomena occurred. The second *Shikk* called al-Yashkari was the most famous of his time along with Sāṭib; he expounded a vision of Rabī'a son of Naṣr the Lakhmid prince of Yemen, foretelling the conquest of Yemen by the Abyssinians, its liberation by Ibn Uthi Yazzan and the coming of the Prophet.

2. According to Kaẓwini the *Shikk* are a kind of *Shaitān* forming part of the group of *Mutashayyina*; they are in the shape of half a man with one arm and one leg. The *Nasās*, other halves of men, are produced from *Shikk*s and whole men. These *Shaitāns* appear to travellers. It is said that 'Alqama b. Saḥwān b. Omayya met one of them one night near Hawmān and after an exchange of high words, the man and the *djinn* killed one another.

Bibliography: *L'Abrégé des Merveilles*, transl. Carra de Vaux, Paris 1898, p. 145 and 152; Maḥmūd, *Murūṣṣ*, ed. and transl. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, III, 364 and 395; al-Kazwini, *Adja'ib al-Makhluqāt*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1848-9, I, 371. — On the *Kāhīn* in general cf. *Chronique de Tadmor* (Be'ṣān), transl. H. Zotenberg, Paris 1867, II, 169. (B. CARRA DE VAUX)

SHILLUH (in Berber: masc. sg. *shilḥa*), the name given to the Berber speaking peoples of Sūs, of the High and Anti-Atlas (South of Morocco). This is the name they give themselves; the word is widely used in Morocco; it

is often used by Europeans as a synonym of Berber-speaking, and is applied by them to people of the Middle Atlas also, and among them it is taking the place of *amazigh*.

The language called *tashelhit*, like the Berber language generally, is found in the form of many local dialects closely connected with one another, none of which has risen to the level of a language of culture. These dialects are among the most conservative of the Berber dialects; in phonetics they are occlusive, with however a tendency in the dental to affrication (e.g. *lā gūnidi*); in morphology they show many clear traces of archaism (cf. the verbs of quality in particular). M. Lévi-Provençal has recently discovered an Arabic manuscript 800 years old containing a number of Berber expressions from this region. This valuable manuscript, in view of the scarcity of old Berber texts, gives confirmation of the stable character of these dialects.

This district, especially Sūs, is one of the most striking in Barbary from the literary point of view. The poets there are particularly renowned and one of them, who may however be quite a legendary individual, Sidi Hammu, has so to speak become the symbol of poetry and all the popular verses are attributed to him. This literature is mainly oral; there are however a few Berber manuscripts in the Arabic alphabet; this is one of the few districts in Barbary in which they are found.

This region has had no unity from the point of view of historical continuity. A few places are known from the part they have played at particular periods, e.g. Tinnel, Tazerwalt (cf. the separate articles).

Bibliography: a. Study of the language: there are a certain number of books all practically of the same period by H. Stumme. The chief one is *Handbuch des Schilphischen von Tazerwalt*, Leipzig 1899. M. Destaing has undertaken a study of the dialects of the Ida u Semlal in five volumes, one of the best enquiries into the Berber language — only the first volume has so far appeared: *Tashelhit du Soud, I, vocabulaire Français-Berber*, Paris 1920; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents d'Histoire Algérienne* (in the press).

b. Literature: Henri Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, Algiers 1920 (esp. p. 349 sqq.). (ANDRÉ BASPÉ)

SHĪN, thirteenth letter of the Arabic alphabet, whose numerical value is 300. It is distinguished from *sin* by three diacritical points, cf. I, 381 sqq. For linguistic particulars see *slN*.

SHINĀSĪ (derived from the Persian *shinās*, the verbal stem of *shināshān* 'to know'), poetical name or *takhalluṣ* of a number of Turkish poets (five in Hammer). See Index to Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry* and to Hammer, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*; cf. Rieu, *Catal. British Museum*, p. 101.

The best known of the writers bearing this name is İBRAHİM SHINĀSĪ EFENDİ, who is according to some the father and according to others one of the first pioneers of modern Turkish literature (given new life as a result of the *Tanzimat*). The son of an artillery captain, a native of Bolu, Shināsī was born at Constantinople in 1242 (1826—1827) and soon afterwards lost his father, who was killed in the Russo-Turkish war of 1828—1829. His mother who became an invalid had

him admitted as a clerk in the General Artillery Office (*Topkâna-i 'Amire*), where he attracted the attention of his superiors by his poems, *kasidas* in honour of the grand vizier Rashid Pasha and other statesmen and his chronograms (*ârifkâ*), more or less complicated (*âmm, müderrisler* and *müllemeler*), for tombstones, for fountains and other monuments. A French officer, the Count of Châteauneuf, who was later to become a Muslim under the name of Nûri Bey, taught him the elements of the French language. The young civil servant poet thus found himself chosen among the first students who were sent to France. In his petition addressed to Marshall Fathi Pasha (*Topkâna müdürü*) Shināsī asked to be sent to Paris in order to perfect himself in the study of the French language (*âdâb-ı 'asâb-ı ul-brâyân-ı frânsuvis*), and asked for a pension to be paid to his mother during his absence. The decision of the Council of Ministers (*meclis-i vukûlâ*), approved by Rashid Pasha, which gave him 5,000 piastres for his travelling expenses and a pension of 300 piastres monthly for his mother, is dated the end of the month Rabi' al-awwal 1265 (January 1849) but may have appeared after a certain delay. Tradition has it that Shināsī took an active part in the Revolution of 1848, hanging the Republican flag on the Pantheon, and that he associated with scholars and men of letters such as Silvestre de Sacy, Renan and Lamartine. He stayed abroad for five years.

On his return to Constantinople, Shināsī was appointed a member of the first Council of Public Instruction, created in accordance with the plan which he had brought back from Paris. He worked also on the Finance Commissions with the object of elaborating certain administrative reforms, but having lost his protector Mustafa Rashid Pasha (who died in 1274) and being in bad odour with the bureaucrats, who even reproached him for not wearing a beard, he quitted the government service and took up journalism.

He began by collaborating in the *Terâkümân-ı aḥwâl*, the first non-official Turkish newspaper, founded on the 6 Rabi' al-akhir, 1277 (October 22, 1860) by Agâh Efendi, *muhtasarî* of İsmîl. Shināsī was the chief editor of this organ. But soon afterwards he was able to found a journal under his own name, the *Taḥwîr-i Efkâr*, which, thanks to the energy of Shināsī's successors, Abu'l-Ziya Tawfîk and his son, was to survive with slight changes of title (*Taḥwîr-i efkâr, temhid-i efkâr*) until its recent suppression by the government of Angora (March 6, 1925). Shināsī's paper which, according to its sub-title, was an organ for information and public instruction appeared at first in a very modest and impersonal form; the first number alone contained a preface of several lines, signed by the author. Appearing twice weekly and printed on four pages, in a much reduced 'format' the *Taḥwîr-i efkâr* had four rubrics: Home news (*hâvâssîl-i dâkhiliye*) mostly official appointments, foreign news (*âkshârîye*), advertisements (*fânâr*) and a feuilleton (*tefrîfâ*). In these feuilletons were published the works of Subhî Bey (one of which is on numismatics), lectures by Ahmad Wafîk on the philosophy of history, and older works such as the *Mûmîn ul-hakik* of Kâzîb Çelebi. They also contained translations from Buffon, by Abu'l-Ghâzî (*Sâḡir-i tûrkî*). The *Taḥwîr* supported the

Courrier d'Orient (edited in French) by Pietri against the *Niswâne*, the supplement of the *Djerride-i şavvâs* in which Sa'îd Bey (the future grand-vizier Kâzım Sa'îd Paşa) wrote. Begun à propos of a sale of coal to the Admiralty the polemic took a literary character on the subject of an Arabic barbarism committed by Sa'îd Bey who had employed the expression *meclâ-i mîşâne 'anâ* (instead of *mîşâs 'anâ*) "the affair in question". It required the intervention of the Syrian Ahmad Fârî Shidyâk, the editor of the Arabic newspaper *Al-Djowâ'iz* to cause Shinâsî to triumph before the public.

Shinâsî also collaborated in the *Djerride-i askariya* "Journal Militaire" founded by the minister of War Fu'âd Paşa, and in the "Courrier d'Orient", whose editor Pietri he had got to know through the offices of a friend of his Paris days, the Albanian Sa'îd Sermedî Bey. After Sermedî had been arrested and exiled to St. Jean d'Acre because his ideas were thought to be too advanced, Shinâsî took fright and fled with the aid of Pietri, on board a French ship, in order to take refuge in Paris. He did not return to Turkey until after the death of the grand-vizier, who was hostile to him. He himself died in September 1871 in the prime of life.

Apart from his journalistic activity the literary activity of Shinâsî is not very extensive. Consisting mainly of scattered articles, it has not been collected into *kütübât* (complete works).

In 1859 he published a pamphlet entitled *Extraits de poésies et de prose traduits en vers du français en turc*, Constantinople, Eastern Press, 11 pages of French text and as many of Turkish text in 16° (contains short extracts and isolated verses of Racine, Lamartine, La Fontaine, Gilbert and Fencelon) — 2nd edition, press of the *Ta'vâr-i Esh'âr*, 1287 (1871/1872). — This small work is important because it was the first translation into Turkish of literary works of the West (practically all French works).

The poetical works of Shinâsî were published 1287 (1871/1872) in another little book entitled: *Müntekhabât-ı ekâr*, "Selection of Poems", by Abu 'l-Ziyâ Tawfîk (*Ta'vâr. Esh. Press*).

This selection of poems combined with the "Extracts" just mentioned above was reprinted by the same editor under the title of *Divân-ı Shinâsî* on the 14 Muharram 1303 (October 10, 1885), with the authority of Shinâsî's son and again later in 1310 (1892/1893), 118 pages in 16mo.

The poetical works of Shinâsî do not contain anything revolutionary nor do they give evidence of great poetical talent; they are panegyrics, chronograms, ghazels, satires, hymns (*ilâhî*) etc. But they include two or three rhymed fables and a bold innovation, confined however to two verses only; this is an attempt to write a poem with Turkish words only (*Sâs Türkçe*). Here is the meagre result of this attempt:

Gövi-mi erdi bağışın yer yüzüne gıdâm-ı se?
Var-ol baş bendiğilerin şifâ-i dâhîkân himet!

"Having come on this earth has my intellect soared to heaven?"

"Does there exist a man whose star is as ill-omened as mine?"

(It should be noted that the metre which has been adopted [*remet*] is still borrowed from the old prosody).

In dramatic art Shinâsî was also a pioneer writing the first comedy or rather the first Turkish vaudeville, under the title *Sâ'ir evlenme* "A Poet's Marriage". Feeble in itself, this work has independently of the merit of novelty, that of criticizing the old-fashioned matrimonial customs it deals with a fraudulent attempt to substitute in the place of a veiled bride, an uglier sister. It has been translated into German by Vambéry.

Shinâsî, besides, collected in 1268 (1851/1852) about 2,000 Turkish proverbs to which he added some Arabic, Persian and French equivalents. This collection appeared under the title of *Qurûb-ı emâli-i şimşirîye*, at the Ta'vâr. Esh. press in 1280 (1863) and in 1287 (1870—1871). Finally in 1301 (1883/1884) Abu 'l-Ziyâ brought out a third edition, which he enlarged by bringing it up to 4004 proverbs (cf. *J. A.*, 1863, II. 269, 143 and 1871, II. 147, 22).

The influence which Shinâsî exerted on the development of Turkish literary movements cannot be compared to that of his young rival and protégé Nâmîk Kemâl, but his part was considerable in the restoration of the language itself. He contributed a great deal to simplifying the language by bringing it nearer the spoken language and by combatting scholastic influence of Arabic and Persian so as to make Turkish a language adapted to the requirements of modern civilisation.

In the field of syntax, this reform consisted in writing shorter sentences. Kâzım Sa'îd Paşa (then President of the Senate) said in his *Gavâdî-i Lisân* (*Sabâh*, 1327 [1913], 144 pp. in 16mo) that the credit of having first used short sentences was not due to Shinâsî and that Raghib Paşa had done so in his youth, when he was *ameddâfî* "referendar", but afterwards came back to the old turgid style. The real initiative is said to have come from the *Furûd* or Greeks of the Phanar employed in the civil service by the Turks and this movement is said to have begun as early as 1245 (1829/1830). Sa'îd Paşa adds that this need not lessen the real credit of Shinâsî who was able to rid the Turkish language of obsolete lumber and rejuvenate it by contact with Western literature (*op. cit.*, p. 106—107).

A letter written by Shinâsî to his mother from Paris, dated 30th *Rûmân-ı sâni* 1269 (1853), is regarded as a model of the modernised style (reproduced by Abu 'l-Ziyâ Tawfîk in his *Nûmân-ı idbîyyât*).

'Abd al-Halîm Mamdûh also thought that Kemâl Bey and Abu 'l-Ziyâ had exaggerated the scope of the literary influence of Shinâsî. He thinks that he was not only surpassed by his immediate successors but was also preceded by important reformers like 'Akîf and Pertev Paşa. Shinâsî is nevertheless the founder of literary criticism in Turkey.

The writer of this article has sought in vain for traces of Shinâsî's stay in Paris. A lucky chance may one day make his researches more fruitful. An examination should also be made of the Turkish dictionary in thirteen volumes which Shinâsî is said to have left in manuscript — part in the National Library of Budapest and part in the Library at Vienna (cf. also 'Abd al-Halîm Mamdûh).

Bibliography. The best documentary study on Shinâsî is that of Vladimir Gordlevski, *Ölüm ve hayatı emînîye* (*Littérature*), Moscow 1912 (Russian); *Travaux de l'Institut Lazarev*, fascicule xxxix., 146 pages gr. in 8°. Cf. also

Abu 'I-Ziyā Tawfīq, Constantinople 1879, 2nd ed. 1886, *Nusṣan-i edebiyāt*, p. 253; 'Abd al-Falīm Mamūdī, *Tārīkh-i edebiyāt-i 'arabiyye*, Constantinople 1306, p. 93—99; Sa'īd Paṣhā (cf. above in the text of the article); *Makṣūṭāt* 'anṣ, pamphlets N^o. 23 and 24 of the collection *Kutub-khāne-i Eḥd-i-Ziyā*; Ahmad Rafīq, *Shināsīn berāyi taḥqīq Faris gītūnī*, *Tārīkh-i enṣānī medīyat*, of 1st May 1341 (1925), p. 215—216; Paul Horn, *Geschichte der türkischen Moderne*, Leipzig 1902, p. 10—12 (cf. p. 5, the bibliography of this work); L. Bouell, *Della lingua e letteratura turca contemporanea*, Venice 1892; Saḥar Bey, *A travers la littérature turque (II)*, *La Revue*, formerly *Revue des Revues*, 1st September 1907.

(J. DENVY)

SHINTARA (or Shantara), Arabic name of the modern Cintra, a little town in Portugal, at a height of 700 feet above sea-level, 16 miles N.W. of Lisbon. It was quite prosperous under Muslim rule and the Arab geographers remark on the fertility of the country round; its apples were universally famous. Cintra always shared the destinies of its great neighbour Lisbon as long as it was in the hands of the Muslims; it was reconquered in 1147 by Alfonso Henriques, king of Portugal. After it had become Christian again, it was the favourite residence of the Portuguese kings; it was in the palace of Cintra that Dom Sebastian decided in 1578 upon the expedition against Morocco which ended disastrously on the banks of the Wādī 'I-Makhāzin near al-Kaṣr al-Kabir.

The modern Cintra is dominated by the ruins of an old stronghold of the Muslim period. Of this fortress now called *Castello dos Mouros* built at a height of 1430 feet, there only remain two masses of masonry with the remains of a chapel and baths.

Bibliography: al-Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. Dory and de Goeje, text p. 175, transl. p. 211; Abu 'I-Fidā', *Takṣīṣ al-buldān*, ed. Reimund and de Slane, Paris 1840, p. 173; al-Makṣarī, *Nafḥ al-thīb*, *Analīṣ*, i. 102; David Lopes, *Os Arabes nas obras de Alexandre Herculano*, Lisbon 1911, p. 61—62.

(LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

SHIR. [See ARAB.]

SHIR (أ), poetry. The earliest literature of the Arabs is poetical but the most ancient poems are not older than 500 A.D. We know nothing about its origin. We are told the name of the man who made the first *ḥamīda*, but in matters historical the Arabs abhorred a vacuum. Throughout the pre-Islamic period poetry is governed by the same set of conventions, the stereotyped beginning, conventional epithets, stock similes, a limited and arbitrary choice of subjects. These suggest a long previous history. Indeed one poet complains that his predecessors have left him nothing to say. On the other hand, the words: "Let us weep as Abū Ḥumayr wept", suggest that the poet was following a new fashion in his art. It is obvious that poetry is closely connected with the rhymed prose (*saḥb*) of impassioned speech and it is probable that some of its measures had their origin in the song of the camel-driver or horseman. There was something uncanny about poetry, as the name shows. The poet was *shā'ir*, the man of extraordinary knowledge, who knew things hid from common men, was in the council of unseen powers, had a familiar

spirit. This comes out most clearly in the branch of the art called *siḥf*, commonly but badly translated satire. This was in origin a spiritual attack on one's enemies, supplementing the material assault of sword and lance, an attempt to destroy them by the use of supernatural powers. The declamation of such verse was accompanied by symbolic actions. This is another link with *saḥb*, the speech of soothsayers and wizards. Though in historical times the belief in the magical power of poetry was largely lost, yet verses that seem to us pointless had a shattering effect on those at whom they were directed.

Formally, Arabic poetry consists of metre and rhyme. With one exception, *radf*, all metres consist of a double line with the rhyme at the end only. Metre is quantitative and considerable freedom is allowed in the substitution of long for short syllables and *vice versa*. Indeed it is better to say that certain syllables are fixed long or short and the others are allowed to vary. In two metres the classic rule that two short syllables equal one long is followed. Pre-Islamic poets used 15 metres and another was added later. They did not use the *radf* for long poems. There was a feeling that it was doggerel not rising to the dignity of poetry and it was chiefly used in *extempore* verse. In addition to these, poets sometimes experimented with other metres but they did not find favour and are treated as irregularities. The rhyme may include as many as three syllables. Throughout a poem all the double lines have the same rhyme and the opening line has it also in the single line. Only one poetic form was known, the *ḥamīda*; a poem with one rhyme and one metre, from 30 to 120 lines long. No satisfactory explanation of this name is known. Many fragments of *ḥamīda* exist and it is probable that they were never more than fragments. At first the *ḥamīda* had no fixed plan save that it nearly always began in a deserted camping ground which the poet recognized as the scene of a passage of love with some fair one (the *maṭb*). On this may follow a description of his camel of a journey — preferably by night — through the desert, an antelope hunt or indeed almost anything the poet chooses. His own warlike prowess or that of his tribe is a common theme. Often it is hard to say that the poem has any purpose. The poet speaks because he must. Later the *ḥamīda* was bound by fixed rules. The regular sequence of subjects was the amatory prelude, the description of a camel, the journey and finally the main subject; usually the praise of some great man with a view to touching his pocket. Two aspects of life are shown. A frivolous side where men drink, gamble away their goods and give presents to the girl who fills the wine-cup and sings, thus upholding the fame of their tribe for generosity, and a serious side where the chief spends his substance in feeding the needy and all are ready to rush to arms to defend their honour. Although an Arab was always ready to fight, he was not necessarily in a hurry to be killed, and said so without shame. The poets were fond of commonplace moralizings on the uncertainty of life and the certainty of death. Arab theory recognised the elegy (*ruḥḥ*) as a special branch of the art but without sufficient reason. The form was the same but for the omission of the erotic introduction which was felt to be unsuitable. While but for the lamentation over the dead and the call

to vengeance (if he had died a violent death), the subject-matter is very like that of other poems. Very often women composed elegies; some poetesses were famous. It seems that religion had very little place in the life of the Arabs. A mild fatalism is the limit of their experience.

Each line of verse had to be complete in itself. So Arab poetry is essentially atomic; a string of isolated statements which might be accumulated but could not be combined. Sustained narrative and speculation are both alien to it. It is descriptive but the description is a thumbnail sketch; it is thoughtful but the result is aphoristic. The poet looks on the world through a microscope. Minute peculiarities of places and animals catch his attention and make his poetry versified geology and anatomy; untranslatable and dull. Forceful speech is his aim and the result is — to Western minds — often grotesque or even repulsive. The comparison of women's fingers to the twigs of a tree, or to caterpillars, are examples. There is little connexion between the lines or parts of a poem. The only bond of union is the personality of the poet. Indeed it is the poet rather than the poetry who is admired. A freeman among his peers, he enjoys life to the full, often coldly calculating, yet, when his narrow code of honour calls, ready to risk all for a friend or the stranger who has claimed his protection. Behind all is the constant shadow of starvation and death; but they cast no permanent gloom on the picture. Most of the poets so described were Bedouin but there were others known as town-dwellers. As a class they differed from the Bedouin type. They show signs of acquaintance with books, prefer other metres to the favourites of the Bedouin and their subject-matter includes fables and historical tradition. Their language, too, inclined more to prose; a sentence might run into two or even three lines of verse. The men of Medina were held to be the best of these poets. Both Jews and Christians were poets and their verses are often indistinguishable from the work of the pagans. The homes of the various Arab kingdoms — especially Hira — were centres of poetic activity. Thither came the Bedouins eager to get something from the patrons of literature. They also met at the several fairs where matches of rival poets took place.

Bedouin poetry was preserved by oral tradition. The poet declaimed his own verses and was followed by a professional reciter (*rāwī*) who learned and declaimed them. Many a poet began as *rāwī* of another. This raises the question of the genuineness of Arab poetry. It is generally assumed that it was not written down till one hundred years A.D. In that time the natural infirmity of human memory and the peculiar character of Arabic make great changes probable. The lack of connections inside a poem help. Often different versions of a poem exist and it is impossible to tell which is the original. We cannot be certain what were the exact words of a poem, all we can say is that the philologists who collected the remains of pre-Islamic literature during the second century read a certain text. We know too that there was at least some forgery. The conclusion is that the great mass of the poems are genuine or at least ancient, though it may not be possible to prove this conclusively for any one poem. (It has recently been argued that writing was much more common than is generally believed, that the poets were acquainted

with that art and that some variant readings can only be explained on the hypothesis of written copies.) A few dialectal variations are preserved but for the most part poets used one language throughout the peninsula. Possibly the wealth of vocabulary is due to the inclusion of words from the many dialects; though their origin is now forgotten. There are some signs that the language of everyday was dropping the inflections used in poetry; had begun the series of changes that produced the vernaculars of to-day. When scholars began to take an interest in poetry for its own sake they gathered the remnants into diwans "collected works" of individuals or tribes or in anthologies some of which contained complete poems and others fragments.

Islam made a great change; partly due to religion, for poetry was the devil's *Kur'ān*; but chiefly through the change of circumstances. The centre of interest had moved outside Arabia and desert life had not the same appeal. It is almost impossible for one who does not live the life of the desert to appreciate its poetry. Some kept up the old tradition, finishing their poems with praise of the caliph or some other great man whose patronage was desired. Some kept the satirical prelude and then went straight to the business in hand. Others broke from tradition and composed fragments (*ḥiṣ'a*, q. v.) treating of one subject only, it might be love, religion or philosophy. In some of the later poets we can admire the verbal skill that fills a volume with extravagant and sometimes blasphemous adulation, with scarcely a repetition; but the utter emptiness and lack of ideas is revolting. The rule of one poem one rhyme is still observed, no new form is invented. A mystical poem contains over 700 lines with the same rhyme. It took several centuries for these changes to be made. Another innovation was that the despised *rajaz* metre was used for long poems; the authors using all their skill in the handling of words to counterbalance the simplicity of the metre, with the result that they are often unintelligible. Tradition says that in the time of Hārūn a slave girl started the fashion of making verse (pedants did not consider it poetry) in the language of the people. This style was called *lāhī*. In Spain it was raised to literary rank in the *cajial*, a short poem in stanzas. A variety of this but in fully inflected speech was the *muwaththah*. At first this was a poem in four or five line stanzas the last line uniting the stanzas by a common rhyme. Each stanza had its own rhyme and one metre was used throughout. The next step was the use of more than one rhyme and metre in each stanza. Sometimes the bonding line was in *lāhī*. For the most part however Spanish poets followed the older custom; though they tried various experiments in rhyme. In subject-matter they broke away from tradition and their work is much more congenial to Europeans than that of the poets of Arabia. Perhaps the most interesting features are a conception of love that suggests the romances of chivalry and an almost modern sensibility to natural beauty.

The early poets knew nothing of the theory of metre. This was discovered by Khalīl b. Ahmad (q. v.). It is said that the idea came to him as he heard a smith working with his hammer. The critics hardly thought of a poem as a whole; for them it was a string of detached beauties. It is true

that poets were praised for their skill in certain branches of their art e.g. for the description of the ostrich; but as a rule criticism dealt with details and words only. It tended to be finicking. One is praised for his skill in managing the transition from the *nasīb* to the description of the camel and another is blamed for putting words of ill omen in the opening verse of a poem. In other ways also criticism ran wild. Some held that the pre-Islamic poets were — by that fact alone — raised high above all others. It was men of this type who denied to Mutanabbi and others the title of poet because they did not observe the early conventions. With no critical principles to guide and a tendency to imitate the old, modern Arabic poetry is not inviting; especially as it is written in what is essentially a dead language.

It would be absurd to attempt even an outline history of Persian poetry in the space available. The utmost possible is a description of the forms of verse. The Persians borrowed their metres from the Arabs though they have other favourites. They also borrowed the *qasida* and *ghazal*, about which it is not necessary to say more. The *ghazal* is really a *hifa* of a dozen lines or so with complete freedom in the choice and treatment of subject. It has less continuity and a looser connection of ideas than the *hifa*, though it is usually a love poem. Of native forms the chief are the *mathnawī* and *rubāʿī* or *du-bāit*. The former consists of two long lines in the metre named *ramal* trimeter catalectic rhyming at the end of the double verse, a sort of heroic couplet. It is the form used for long poems whatever their subject may be. The *du-bāit* is two long lines with the first second and fourth half-lines rhyming and occasionally the third. The metre used is one of the many variants of the *hazaj*. A *du-bāit* is always independent, they are never combined into a longer poem.

The same desire as was felt in the west produced variants of the monorhymed poem which are all classed as *masnawī*. These consist of stanzas of anything from four to ten lines in the same metre, each stanza having its own rhyme. Some forms have a refrain with a separate rhyme. The earliest Persian poetry dates from shortly after 900 A.D. and since then the language and the forms of verse have changed very little. Fashions have changed, now simplicity has been in vogue and now fantastic conceits, but the outward form remains the same.

Turkish and Urdu poetry are little more than imitations of the Persian. Urdu, however, does show some signs of Indian influence both in form and subject-matter; to a small extent in earlier times and to a much larger extent during the last few years.

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(A. S. TRITTON)

SHIR 'ALĪ, BĀKAZĀI, Amir of Afghanistan, was the third son of the Amir Dūst Muhammad and succeeded his father, in accordance with his will, on June 9, 1863. His overtures to the Government of India on his accession were, unfortunately, coldly received. The Amir found it necessary to march, almost immediately, into the Kurram district to compel his brother 'Azim Khān to swear allegiance to him and early in the following year both 'Azim Khān in Kurram and Afzal Khān, the eldest brother, in Balkh, rebelled. Muhammad Rafiq, the Amir's most able officer, defeated the former and compelled him to flee to India, and the latter submitted to Shir 'Alī and was pardoned and restored to his post, but his son, 'Abd al-Rahmān, fled to Bukhārā, whereupon Shir 'Alī imprisoned Afzal Khān. Early in 1865 Sharif Khān and Amin Khān, two other brothers, rose in rebellion at Kandahār and 'Azim Khān returned from India to Kurram. Muhammad Rafiq again expelled him and Shir 'Alī marched towards Kandahār. He met and defeated the rebels near Kalāt-i Ghilzai, but was stupefied with grief at the loss of his eldest son, Muhammad 'Alī, slain by Amin, who was also killed. He pardoned Sharif and was roused from his lethargy by the news that 'Abd al-Rahmān had returned from Bukhārā, corrupted the state officials in Balkh and Muhammad Rafiq, and, having been joined by 'Azim, entered Kabul on March 2, 1865. Shir 'Alī marched against him, but was defeated, and fled with no more than 500 horse. The governor of Ghazni refused to admit him, and released Afzal Khān, who joined his son and was proclaimed Amir in Kabul. The Government of India recognized him as ruler of Kabul, but he died almost immediately and was succeeded by his brother, 'Azim Khān. In January 1868, however, Shir 'Alī returned from Afghan Turkistan, entered Herāt, and in June was received as a deliverer in Kandahār. His army marched on Kabul and compelled 'Azim to flee once more to India, where he died in exile. In January, 1869, 'Abd al-Rahmān was defeated and expelled, and Shir 'Alī re-established himself as Amir of Afghanistan. In 1869 he met the Viceroy, Lord Mayo, at Ambāla, but received little beyond vague expressions of goodwill, instead of the offensive and defensive alliance which he sought. Again in 1873, alarmed by the Russian conquest of Khiva, he sought an alliance from the Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, and on receiving another rebuff rejected proffered subsidies and entered secretly into relations with Russia. In 1876 Lord Lytton was authorized to offer Shir 'Alī the alliance which he had sought, but the offer came too late. The Amir ostentatiously received a Russian envoy and, though warned that war would be the result, turned Sir Neville Chamberlain, who was accredited as British envoy, back from his frontier. On November 20, 1878, the British Government, after vainly awaiting an apology, declared war, and on February 21, 1879, Shir 'Alī

died, and was succeeded by his son, Ya'qūb Khān.

Bibliography: G. B. Malleson, *History of Afghanistan*, London 1878; *The Second Afghan War, 1878—1880, Abridged Official Account*, London 1908; *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1908. (T. W. HAYO)

SHIR SHAH, FARID AL-DIN, founder of the Śūr dynasty of Dihli, was the son of Hasan Khān, of the Śūr tribe of Afghāns [q. v.] who received from Sikandar Lodi the ſel of Sahsāram in Bihār. Shīr Khān pursued his studies assiduously at Džawnpūr, and afterwards, in the administration of his father's ſiefs, obtained a minute knowledge of all the details of revenue administration. He was presented to Bābur, but, alarmed by the instinctive dislike which the emperor conceived for him, fled from his court. His successes against the Sulṭān of Bengal rendered him virtually independent in Bihār, and though Humāyūn invaded Bihār and Bengal and seemed to have established his authority there, Shīr Khān was secure in Rohtās, and when Humāyūn was recalled from Bengal by the rebellion of his brother Hīndāl, followed him, and on June 26, 1539, inflicted a severe defeat on him at Čawsa, on the Ganges. Shīr Khān assumed the royal title in Bengal, and in the following year marched on Agra. Humāyūn met him at Kanawdī on May 17, 1540, but was again defeated, and, after a short stay in Agra, fled towards Lāhor, pursued by Shīr Khān, now Shīr Shāh. Humāyūn fled into Sind and his brother Kāmran to Kābul, and Shīr Shāh remained master of northern and eastern India. He secured his northern frontier by building in the Nandana hills a fortress which he named Rohtās, after his stronghold in Bihār, and then, marching into Bengal, distributed that province among petty ſef-holders, his own career having proved the danger of entrusting it to one powerful governor. In 1542 he established his authority in Mālwa and, leaving Shudjāt Khān there as governor, returned to Agra in 1543. In 1544 he attacked the Rājā of Jodhpūr, and defeated him, but by so narrow a margin that he remarked, alluding to the poverty of the soil, "that he had nearly lost the empire of India for a handful of millet". In 1545 he besieged a Hīndū chieftain in the strong fortress of Kāllindjar, and on May 22, as he was watching the effect of the bombardment, a live shell or grenade fell into the powder magazine by which he was standing and he was terribly scorched by the explosion. He lay in great agony, directing the assault in his intervals of consciousness, until he was informed that the fortress had fallen; and then died. He was succeeded by his son, Islām Shāh.

The sycophantic chroniclers of the Timurids have done scant justice to "Shīr Khān" as they call him, one of India's greatest rulers, and his fame is overshadowed by that of Akbar, to whom he was superior in some respects and inferior in few. On 1800 Indian leagues of road, from Sonārgāon to the Indus and from Agra to Māndū, he built 1800 caravanserais, each with a mosque and full establishment. Cooked and uncooked food were provided for Muslims and Hīndūs, post-horses were in readiness and fruit-trees planted beside the roads refreshed the traveller. Such was the order maintained by him "that an old woman with a basket of gold might sleep securely at night in the open plain without a guard". The historian Budḡoni thanks God that he was born

in the reign of so just a king, and to his subjects, as to himself, it was matter for regret "that he did not obtain his kingdom until the time of evening prayer".

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SHIRĀ, Sīrīus, Greek Σείριος, i.e. the brilliant, the brightest star in the constellation of Canis Major (*al-Kalb al-akbar*) known as a *Canis Majoris*. It shines with a white light and surpasses with magnitude 1.6 all other fixed stars in brightness. That the Arabic word Shīrā comes from the Greek Σείριος, has been proved by I. I. Hess (cf. I. I. Hess, *Über das präfigierte und infigierte ε im Arabischen*, in *Z. S.*, 1924) as *r* in a foreign word gives *ε* in Arabic. As further evidence that Shīrā is a foreign word in Arabic, Hess calls attention to the fact that this name of Sīrīus is unknown in the interior of Arabia; Beduins and settled Arabs alike call it *al-Mīrsam*, which is found in the Bihārī language as *Mīrdām*.

As might be expected, so striking a star plays an important part in Muslim astrology, and the possibilities of prophecy from the course of Sīrīus are exceedingly numerous. Its rising at the same time as the moon has always been a favourite conjunction with the astrologer. The moon may rise in any of the twelve zodiacal circles, but not so Sīrīus, on account of its fixed position with regard to the fixed stars. But its ascension may coincide in time with the risings of the moon just mentioned. We possess an astronomical writing by the celebrated Hīkīmī astronomer, Ibn Yūnus (d. 1009) entitled *Fi Aḥṣām al-Shīrā jamā'iyah* (Gotha, a., 1459).

[Hermes, the wise one says, "When the rising of the moon coincides with that of Sīrīus in the Ram, the changing fortunes of men will be good at the beginning of the year; they will be hale and healthy and free from bodily ills, but only until the fifth day before the entry (of the joint rising), then illnesses will come again; in that year all quadrupeds with young will miscarry, the dismissals and deposition of governors will be frequent and the King of Romans will die quite suddenly in that year on the 3rd of the month (H)atūr".]

(C. SCHVOY)

SHIRAZ, a town in Persia, capital of the province of Fārs in a vast plain to the south of Ispahān. It was conquered by Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī and 'Uthmān b. Abī 'I'āṣ at the end of the caliphate of 'Omar; it was rebuilt by Muḥammad b. al-Kāsim b. Muḥammad b. al-Hakam b. Abī 'Aḳīl al-Thakafī, cousin and lieutenant of al-Baḡdādī in the reign of the Caliph Walīd b. 'Abd al-Mallik on the ruins of an ancient city which belonged to the province of Andasht-Khurra, the capital of which was Gūr (Djūr), the modern Firūzābād. Its walls were built by the Bāyid Abū Kāḡdār Sulṭān al-Dawla, from 436 to 440 (1044—1048), who gave it twelve gates (Makdāssat, p. 430 only gives eight, with their names);

these walls were repaired in the middle of the ninth (tenth) century by Mahmūd Shāh Iḥṣān, the rival of the Muḥaffarids. In 795 (1393) Tīmūr arrived in front of the town and was attacked by Shāh Maṣṣūr the Muḥaffarid, who lost his life there. It was taken by the Afghāns in 1137 (1724). Kāsim Khān Zand [q. v.] made it his capital surrounded it with walls and ditches, paved its streets and erected fine buildings there, notably the great bazaar. It was laid in ruins by the earthquakes of 1813 and 1824. It had at one time an ancient citadel called Shāh-Mubādī (Iṣṭakhri, p. 116). In the early centuries of Islām it still retained two Zoroastrian fire-altars, one called Kārniyān and the other Hormuz; there was also a third outside its gates called Masbūn in the village of Bārkaṭ (Iṣṭakhri, p. 119).

The wine of Shirāz is famous; it comes from the village of Khullār or Khullār, also noted for its honey and its millstones. Water is brought to it by the Ruknābād canal, dug by Hāfiṣ and built by Rukn al-Dawla the Būyid, father of 'Aḍad al-Dawla and by the canal from the tomb of Sa'di. The city has three principal mosques: 1. Dāmi 'Atiq, built by 'Amr b. Laith in the second half of the third (ninth) century; 2. the new Mosque built by the Salghurid Atābeg Sa'd b. Zangī, in the second half of the fifth (eleventh) century; 3. Masjid Šonkor, built by the first Atābeg of the Salghurids. There are also many saints' tombs which have earned for this city the name of Burdj al-Awliya "citadel of the saints", notably that of the 'Alid Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Kāsim, and those of the mystic poets Sa'di and Hāfiṣ, to the north of the city. There are the gardens of Dilgūshā and Haftān. The city manufactures medicines called *ḥāṭam-kārī*, dress materials, gauze, brocades, silk-ross. It was the birthplace of the poets Athir called Shāfi'a, Ahlī, Boshāq (Abū Ishāq Hallāj), Hāfiṣ, Sa'di, 'Urfī, Bābā Fighānī, Mīnā, Majid al-Dīn Hamgar, and of the religious reformer 'Alī Muḥammad called the Rāb.

There is also a village of the same name north of Samarkand 4 parasangs, about 16 miles from it (Quatremère, *N. E.*, xiv. 490; *J. A.*, Jan. 1852, p. 83; Burnes, *Voyage à Boukhara*, iii. 207).

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 348 = Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 361; *Marāḥid al-Iḥṣān*, ii. 139; *B. G. A.* (Iṣṭakhri, p. 124; Ibn Hawqāl, p. 195; Muḥaddasī, p. 429); Dimashki, ed. Mehren, p. 240; Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, p. 388, 436; Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuḥat al-Kalīl*, ed. Le Strange, p. 114—117; transl. p. 112—114; Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārs-Nāma* (ed. Le Strange and Nicholson, *G. M. S.*, 1921), p. 132—134; E. G. Browne, *A year amongst the Persians*, p. 263 sqq.; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 249—251, 293; Šamī-Bey, *Kūnūs al-aṭam*, iv. 2895; J. Dieulafoy, *La Perse, Chaldée et la Susiane*, Paris 1887, p. 422 sqq.; 440 sqq.; Niebuhr, *Reise naar Arabien*, Amsterdam 1780, ii. p. 107 sqq. (CL. HUARY)

AL-SHIRAZI, ABU IḤSĀN IMRĀN B. 'ALĪ B. YUSUF AL-FIRAKHĀDĪ, a Shāfi'i jurist, born in Firākhād in 393 (1003). To study Fiqh he went to Shirāz in 410, then to Bāzra and in Shawwāl 415 (Dec. 1024) reached Baghdad, where he completed his studies in the *Uṣūl* with Abū Ḥatīm al-Kawwāl (d. 440) and in the *Furū'* with Abū 'I-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabari (d. 450). In 430 (1038/1039) he began to teach in Baghdad (Subki,

iii. 177); the fame of his learning soon became so great that students sat at his feet from all over the Muslim world. Many of his pupils held office as *Kādīs* and preachers in the east of the Caliph's empire. In 459 (1067) the vizier Niḥām al-Mulk appointed him to open the first public Madrese founded by him in Baghdad, the Niḥāmiye. But as Shirāz did not appear, it was opened by Ibn al-Sabbāḥ; when his pupils threatened to go over to the latter, he finally accepted the chair. Here he taught till his death (Ibn al-Sabī' in Ibn Khallikān, i. 304). When the dispute between Abū Naṣr b. al-Kushairī (d. 514) and the Hanbalis in Baghdad on the teachings of al-Ash'arī came to such a pitch that blood was shed, Shirāz energetically took the side of the Ash'arīs and persuaded the vizier to incarcerate the Hanbali Shāikh (Ibn al-Athīr, x. 71; Subki, iii. 98 sq.; iv. 251). His journey to Nishāpūr on a mission from the caliph in Dhū 'l-Hijja 475 (May 1083) is evidence of his great prestige; it was like a triumphal procession. At Nishāpūr the Imām al-Haramain came out to receive him and carried his cloak. He held disputations with him, in which the Imām al-Haramain recognised the superiority of his opponent. Shirāz died soon after his return to Baghdad on Jumādā II, 21, 476 (Nov. 5, 1083) and was buried in the cemetery at the Bāb Abraz with great honour — the caliph pronounced the burial prayer. The Niḥāmiya was closed for a whole year by its founder's command, as a sign of mourning. The vizier Tādī al-Mulk (d. 486) had a *tūrke* built and a madrasa near it (Ibn al-Athīr, x. 147).

His principal writings are: 1) *Kitāb al-Tawāṭiḥ fī 'l-Fiqh*, written in the year 452/453, ed. Juynboll, Leiden 1879, a legal compendium on which commentaries have been frequently written; 2) the comprehensive *Kitāb al-muḥḍarāt fī 'l-Madḥab*, composed in 455—469, still unpublished, cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, iii. 214; 3) *Kitāb Tadhkirat al-Ma'ālīm*, an *ikhtilāf*-work in several volumes on the teachings of the Hanafīs and Shāfi'īs which has apparently not survived, Hādidi Khalifa, No. 2848; 4) *Tabaqāt al-Fuḥalā*, short biographies of jurists of the first two centuries and of the four Madḥabīs down to his own day, a work often cited by the later biographers, e.g. al-Nawawī, al-Subki, Ibn Khallikān, al-Ḥarashī, as well as many times copied without mentioning the source (I am preparing an edition).

Bibliography: al-Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb G. M. S.*, xx. fol. 435v; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 349; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kūnūs*, x. 38, 71, 81 sq., 85; al-Nawawī, *Biograph. dictionary*, p. 646—649; Ibn Khallikān, *Wasayt*, i. 5 sq.; al-Subki, *Tabaqāt al-shāfi'ya al-kubrā*, Cairo 1324, iii. 88—111, 275—280; Wüstenfeld, *Schah'siten*, No. 452 (= *Abh. Gött. Ges. Wiss.*, xxxvii. [1891]); Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 387, cf. also i. 324, No. 2. (HEFFENING)

AL-SHIRAZI, ABU 'L-HUSAIN 'ABD AL-MALIK B. MUHAMMAD, a mathematician, who flourished about the middle of the twelfth century. He studied Greek mathematics and astronomy. In his time there was already available a good Arabic version of the *Conic Sections* (*ṣawwāḥ*) of Apollonius of Perga by Hilāl b. Abī Hilāl al-Himṣī (d. 883/884) and Thābit b. Kurra al-Harrānī (826—901). With the help of this he prepared a synopsis of the contents of the *ṣawwāḥ*, the Arabic version of which

is in Oxford (Bodl. 913, 987, 988). There is also attributed to him a compendious version (*Mahāṭṭar*) of the *Almagest* of Ptolemy, from which Ḳaṭib al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (1236–1311) [q.v.] prepared a Persian translation of the *Maḍīfī*. The Arabic versions of the *Conic Sections* of Apollonius are of great value for the history of mathematics because the three last of the seven books of this important work only survive in Arabic, while the eighth book of the *ḥawāṣṣ* (Arab. *Mahāvūṣūṭ*) had already disappeared from knowledge by the time of the Arab translator.

Bibliography: H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1900, p. 126, 158; L. M. Ludwig Nix, *Das fünfte Buch der Conica des Apollonius von Perga in der arabischen Übersetzung des Thābit ibn Qurrah*, Leipzig 1889, p. 3–7 (not free from typographical errors). (C. SCHÖY)

AL-SHIRAZI, ŠADR AL-DIN (d. 1640) is one of the great unknown men in the history of human thought. Holding a humble and poorly paid post as a teacher he found time and energy to build up his own philosophy, ordering and shaping the whole knowledge of his time from new points of view. The great problems, which the older philosophy handed down to his period were solved by him in his own way. His world-system is a theory of being. The real things of the world around us are "individuals of being", similarly limited sections of an endless primordial being, emanating from God as the primordial light like individual rays. From this fundamental principle, Shīrāzī thinks out the whole arrangement of reality in a new fashion: what we take for "entity" in things is the separation of the individual rays of the "being" and what we take for "existence" in them is the presence of this ray. This gives a new solution of the age-long great problem of being and existence, each being a different aspect and side of the same metaphysical reality.

The idea of the transmigration of souls was still quite alive in his time. He transformed it according to his own metaphysics of existence; according to its spirituality the soul of man attains to a higher stage of existence, likeness to God and union with God. The principle of this evolution is according to him gnosis, the higher form of knowledge which by the creation of its content in man supplies the defects and wants of his being and thus makes for perfection. The cognition of our mind is an act which is influenced by the active intelligence and possesses relationship in essence with the creative activity of God. God is not only the primordial being but also the centre of values. The reflection of these primordial values are the things of creation. If we therefore find in the world and its confusing multiplicity reflections of truth, goodness, beauty and loveliness, these are the reflection of God, which shines upon us and points the way to God. The path to ethical perfection is thus at the same time indicated.

The three great intellectual aspects of Islam converge in Shīrāzī for he is at once theologian, philosopher and mystic, taking up and equating the ideas of these movements. His special tendency however is the typical Persian mysticism of "illumination" (*ishrāq*) as Suhrawardī developed it, which he based on Aristotelian proofs through Ibn Sīnā and al-Fārābī; he developed the system further (in the doctrine of entities whose immu-

tability he disputes). The objections of the Indian monistic type of Muslim mysticism, he also overcomes by his thesis of the emanations of being. That philosophy did not die out in Islam after 1100 but still flourished at a late period is proved by the existence of Shīrāzī. He gathered together the higher culture of the brilliant epoch of Shāh 'Abbās into a synthesis planned on a large scale.

Bibliography: Horten, *Die Gottesbeweise bei Shīrāzī*, Bonn 1912; do., *Das philosophische System des Shīrāzī*, Strassburg 1913; do., *Die Philosophie des Islām*, Munich 1924, p. 93 sq., 124–126 et passim. (M. HORTEN)

AL-SHIRBĪNĪ, YUSUF b. MUHAMMAD b. 'ABD AL-DJAWAD b. KHUḌĀ, an Egyptian writer of the xivth (xvth) century and author of a work entitled *Ḥam al-Kuḥūf bi-Sharḥ ḥayāt Abi Shādūf*: "The tossing of heads in the commentary of the poem of Abū Shādūf". No biographer deserves a notice to him. Al-Shīrbīnī tells us incidentally that in 1075 (1664/1665) he was on the road from the Nile (Sa'īd) to al-Ḳuṣair (al-Ḳoṣēr) on the Red Sea (cf. the commentary on verse 13, *ya dandīf*, Bulāq, 1308, p. 152).

Among his teachers he mentions Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Salāma al-Kalyūbī (d. end of Shawwāl 1069/1069) and Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Sandūbī, who is said to have engaged him to compose the poem and to write a commentary on it afterwards (cf. p. 215).

In the first which is a kind of introduction, the author describes the *fallaḥ* (peasants) of the Nile valley and gives anecdotes in which he records their coarse customs, speaks of their food which no man to any degree civilised can smell or touch, describes the marriage ceremony among them etc. The first part ends in an *urjūn* in literary language in which he sums up the various customs of the *fallaḥ* which he has just described.

The second part is a poem of 47 verses (and not 42 or 52) in the Egyptian dialect attributed to an imaginary Abū Shādūf in which each verse is followed by a full commentary in the classical language, spiced with facetious digressions sometimes fairly long, anecdotes very often sarcastic, quotations in verse and prose of which those in the spoken language are more numerous than those in the literary language.

Al-Shīrbīnī, a moralist in his own way and a highly educated man as well as a poet (cf. his *Mawāḥib*, p. 193), describes from careful observation the customs, especially the bad ones, and particularly the vices not only of the peasants of the Nile valley but of his contemporaries in the cities; his gauloises suggest a comparison with Brantôme. His book has been lithographed in Cairo without indication of place and date and at Alexandria in 1289 and printed at Bulāq in 1274 and 1308 and Cairo in 1322.

Bibliography: Van Dyck, *Iḥṣā' al-ḥanūf*, Cairo 1313, p. 294; Vollers in *Z.D.M.G.*, 1887, li. 370 sq.; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, li. 278; C. Nallino, *L'Arabe parlato in Egitto*, Milan 1913, p. 482. (M. BEN CHENED)

SHIRK (also *ishrāk*, A.), association, especially associating a companion to God — honouring another besides God, polytheism. In the oldest *śūras* of the *Kur'ān*, during the so-called first Meccan period, the conceptions *ishrāk* and *mushrikūn* do not occur. Muḥammad was probably at first exclusively concerned with his own fate, being

completely under the ban of the imminent Last Judgment, and only with the increasing hostility on the part of the unbelievers did he begin to take an interest in them. In the latter parts of the *Qur'an* they are often mentioned, and regular disputations with the *Mushrikūn* sometimes occur; in particular they are continually threatened with the Last Judgment; the *mushrikūn* will then receive their punishment (*Sūra*, xxviii. 62 *sq.*). They think their idols will intercede for them with Allāh, but these cannot do this (*Sūra*, vi. 94; x. 19; xxx. 12; xxxix. 4 and 39); quite the contrary, for they will accuse their worshippers on the Last Day (*Sūra*, xix. 84 *sq.*; x. 29 *sq.*) and they will become fuel for hell with them (*Sūra*, xxi. 98 *sq.*). The *mushrikūn* are not grateful to God for saving them from the perils of the sea (*Sūra*, xxix. 65). The believers are to keep away from them and not to marry the *mushrikāt* (*Sūra*, ii. 220) but they are not to revile the unbelievers but endure them unless the latter in their turn attack Allāh (*Sūra*, vi. 108). In the year 9, however, Muhammad finally casts off the *mushrikūn* (*Sūra*, ix. 3, cf. however earlier *Sūra*, xv. 94 *sq.*); the *mushrikūn* are unclean (*Sūra*, ix. 28). The believers are not to pray for them, even if they are their nearest relatives (*Sūra*, ix. 114 *sq.*). Muhammad had already earlier expressly declared *shirk* to be the sin for which God has no forgiveness (*Sūra*, vi. 51, 116; xxxi. 12) and rejected it as absurd (*Sūra*, xxi. 22).

This development is very similar to that of the conception of the *kāfir* (q. v.) in the *Qur'an*. *Kāfir* is the most usual term for the unbelievers, and comprises both *mushrikūn* and the "people of a book". Thus *Sūra* xcii. 5, says "those who are unbelievers, the possessors of a scripture as well as the servants of idols will dwell eternally in Hell-fire". The commentators on this passage differ in their views. Some hold the view that the people of a book are to be included among the *mushrikūn* and that here we have the narrower term used first, and then the more comprehensive one. Other commentators have distinguished the people of a book from the idolaters in the narrower sense and this corresponds to the use of the phrase which later became predominant. But everywhere in the *Qur'an* *shirk* is used in direct contrast to the profession of the oneness of God, which has been given its most pregnant expression in *Sūra* cxlii. (*Sūrat al-Tawhīd* or *Sūrat al-Iḥdīd*) and according to one but rather artificial explanation, a definite variety of *shirk* is made impossible by each single verse of this *sūra*.

In the *Hadīth* literature, *shirk* has usually the same meaning of "an external obscuring the belief in the oneness of God". The *mushrikūn* are — as in the above mentioned *Qur'anic* passage — ungrateful to God and say in their vain boasting, "if we had not our dogs we would be robbed", and so on.

For the rest, the hostile feeling against the *mushrikūn* in the period of the great conquests is reflected in the rest of the *Hadīth* literature. Before the battle the *mushrikūn* received the demand to adopt Islam; on one occasion Muhammad even prays to God for right guidance for them; on another he curses them and calls down fire on their houses and tombs, and wishes for subsidences and earthquakes. According to one *hadīth* the believer very rarely falls before

the *shirk*, and the Prophet says, full of confidence, "Shirk is in my community more difficult to find than a black seed on a hard rock in the darkest night" — or he says to Abū Bakr, "I will tell a word to thee, the utterance of which protects thee against any *shirk*: O, God, I take refuge with Thee, lest I wittingly give thee a companion, and beseech Thy pardon if I have done it unwittingly".

In the *Fikh* books, *mushrik* is the proper legal term for unbeliever, although *kāfir* is often also found. The unbeliever according to the *Fikh* is in general regarded as an outlaw and of little value. Unbelievers, especially if hostile, can be killed without punishment, while on no account can a believer be put to death for the sake of an unbeliever. On this point in general, cf. the article *KAFIR* and on special points *ḤIMM* and *DAR AL-ḤAYAT* for the laws of warfare, and the articles *ḤIMMA*, *KHARĀJ* and *ḤIZYA* for the constitutional law. On some points the unbelievers are allowed to make legal arrangements among themselves, as for example in the law of marriage: — Unbelievers are at liberty to arrange the marriage of their children as they please; unbelievers can be witnesses at a marriage between believers; unbelieving husband and wife must be divorced if one of the two adopts Islam. Law of inheritance: — Bequests from one unbeliever to another, even of different religions are quite as valid as in the case when either the testator or legatee is a Muslim; but in no case can anything be bequeathed to an enemy unbeliever. The *Kāfi* has to prevent the appointment of an unbeliever as executor to a will. On the law of slaves cf. the articles *ABD* and *MUKĀTABA*; and the article *TAḤIYA* on the cases of urgent necessity in which a believer is permitted to conceal his faith.

The broadening of the Muslim outlook in the wars of conquest had naturally quite early brought about a recognition of the fact that all *mushrikūn* are not the same and are not to be treated alike. In the books on *Milal wa-Niḥal* we find more or less full accounts of the different foreign religious systems, which term includes also the philosophers, star-worshippers and atheists, and in the apologetic literature, we occasionally find systematic expositions of the various foreign religions. Attempts are not wanting which explain psychologically the origin of idolatry. From such considerations the conception of *shirk* came to be divided into many varieties, with which we cannot deal here. But these researches had a practical legal significance inasmuch as through them the oath came to be formulated, by which members of strange religions were sworn, to get a binding promise from them, especially in the case of recognition of the authority of Muslim State. An interesting collection of such formulas for oaths for the Mamlūk period is given by Kalkaschandi, *Subḥ al-Aḥdā*, xlii. 200 *sq.*

In the course of the dogmatic development of Islam the conception of *shirk* received a considerable extension through the circumstance that the adherents of many sects had no compunction about reproaching their Muslim opponents with *shirk*, as soon as they saw in them any obscuring of monotheism, although only in some particular respect specially emphasised by themselves, and in the later systematised dogmatic works, which, as a rule in connection with *tawḥīd*, go into its

opposite shirk, one can trace in almost any sentence what sectarian view is referred to or refuted, and then trace the path by which the present formulation has come about. Shirk nowadays is no longer simply a term for the unbelief prevailing outside of Islam, but has become a reproach hurled by one Muslim against another inside of Islam.

The Mu'tazilites, for example, called their opponents mushrikūn in as much as they, by adopting eternal attributes of the Deity, postulated their existence as eternal existence beside God. The attributes rather, they say, do not exist for themselves, but are inseparably one with God and not different from Him, and expressions like "God is all-knowing", "God is mighty", "God is living", simply mean "God is".

Quite in the same spirit, the Almohads, whose special programme was the *tawhīd*, accused their opponents of shirk, because they held the doctrine of the non-creation of the Qur'ān and their *tawhīd* includes the demand to recognise its oneness; only in this way is it possible to exclude the Qur'ān from being a second eternal being besides God. Mushrikūn to them also are the anthropomorphists who make God possess physical human qualities and thus affect his *maḥdūtiyya*. According to their strict view, they alone are professors of the oneness of God (*mu'ahhidūn*) in the true sense, the whole of the rest of the Muslim world is *mushrikūn* to them and the Christians *Ahl al-Kufr*. (The Ismā'īliya also were fond of calling themselves *mu'ahhidūn* but this was not a distinctive name for them; for them every one who associates another with his Imām, is like one who associates another with God or the Prophet, i. e. is unclean).

The shirk theory of the Wahhābīs went to the greatest extreme. Their hostility is directed against shirk which in their view infects the whole of orthodox Islam in the form of the cult of prophets, saints, and tombs. Besides, there have not been wanting in orthodox and elsewhere (cf. e. g. Goldziher, *Zakirten*, p. 189; cf. Strothmann, *Kultus der Zaiditen*, p. 67 sq.) those who condemn the cult of saints for reasons of *tawhīd*, and at bottom it is only tolerated as a concession to the overwhelming practice of the people. The Wahhābīs also consider themselves the only *mu'ahhidūn*, all other Muslims are mushrikūn and they alone are called to the *ḥay' al-sunna*. The old sunna and the picture of the character of the Prophet and therefore the very heart of Islam has indeed been falsified by the worship of saints. Therefore they attack the very holiest places of Islam of the Sunnis and Shī'īs, because these in their eyes are regular strongholds of idolatry.

According to the theorists of the Wahhābīs, they directed their opposition in detail against 1. *shirk al-ilm*: prophets and saints have no "ilm al-ghāib" except when it is revealed to them by God, who alone possesses it. It is shirk to credit or ascribe knowledge to them or to soothsayers, astrologers and interpreters of dreams. 2. *shirk al-ta'arruf* is the assumption that any one except God has power. Whoever then regards a saint as an intervener with God commits shirk, even if it only, he thinks, serves to bring him nearer to God. Any kind of intervention (*shaf'a*, q. v.) is therefore rejected on the authority of Sūra xxxix. 45; the Prophet himself will only receive from God permission to intervene on the Last Day and

not before. 3. *shirk al-'ikāda*: the reverencing of any created thing, the grave of the Prophet, the tomb of a saint, by prostration, circumambulation, giving of money, vows, fasting, pilgrimage, mentioning the name of a saint, praying at his grave, kissing certain stones, etc. 4. *shirk al-'ada*: superstitious customs like *isṭihāra*, belief in omens, in good or bad days, etc., in personal names like 'Abd al-Naḥī, asking soothsayers for advice, etc. 5. *shirk al-'adab*: swearing in the name of the Prophet, of 'Alī, of the Imāma, or Pirs.

Shirk has a special meaning in Muslim ethics, notably in al-Ghazālī. To the refined ethical conscience "every kind of worship of God which is not absolutely disinterested" is shirk. Thus the hypocritical practice of religion which is performed for the sake of reward, i. e. to gain the admiration or applause of men, is shirk, because it associates consideration for men with the thought of God. Similarly arrogance and egoism are a kind of shirk. Numerous grades of this shirk are further distinguished, and it is called also *shirk ṣaghīr* or *shirk aṭṭhar* in contrast to crude and obvious polytheism, *shirk 'aṭīm*; the ethical value of an action is based on the degree of admixture or omission that clouds the pure intention, *ihkāt* (q. v.).

Just as the term *ihkāt* for the Sūfīs now has the meaning "exclusive devotion to God", so shirk has for them come to have the meaning "being prevented by something from exclusive devotion to Him". For example the mere illusion of the soul (*nafs*) that it has something good in it and has a certain worth is a secret idolatry (*shirk ḥaṣṭī*). It is the same with the assertion "I know God", because here we have an admission of the duality between the subject, which knows and the object of knowledge. For the Sūfī seeking union with the deity, difference of rites and religions loses all significance, and this does not exclude Islam, and the following bold saying is ascribed to Tilim-shān, a pupil of Ibn 'Arabi, that "the Qur'ān is absolute shirk; profession of oneness is found only in our (i. e. Sūfī) speech" (Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p. 171).

Bibliography: Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, index s. v.; Muḥ. Aḥ., *Dict. of Tikh. Terms*, ii. 770 sqq.; Fagnan, *Additions*, p. 88; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qur'āns*, i. 129 f., 225, 229; Weitbrecht-Stanton, *The Teaching of the Qur'an*, index under Idolatry and Idols; Hamilton, *Hadaya*, index: Infidels; Abū Yūsuf, *Kit. al-Kharāj*, Būkhā, 1302, p. 73 sqq., 118 sqq.; *Il Muftazar a Sommaire del diritto malechito di Halit ibn Esḥāq*, transl. Guidi-Santillana, index: guerra santa, kitābi: "Corpus Iuris" di Zaid ibn 'Alī, ed. Griffini, index: Muḥrik; al-Nāṣi, *Kanṭir al-Khairāt*, i. 227, 331, 252, 289; Houtsma, *De Strijd over het Dogma in den Islam tot op el-Aḥ'ari*, p. 16 sqq.; Goldziher, *Materialien zur Kenntnis der Almohadenbewegung*, Z. D. M. G., xli. 68; Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*, s. v. Muḥrik, Shirk, Wahhābī; R. Hartmann, *al-Qashshā' Darstellung des Sūfismus*, p. 15 sqq., 59 and 77; H. Bauer, *Islamische Ethik*, i. p. 45 sqq., 64 sqq., 68 sqq.; Obermann, *Der ... Subjektivismus al-Ghazālī's*, p. 154 f., 263. (WALTHER BÖCKEMAN)

SHIRKA (or SHARINA; the former is according to al-Fāyūmī, *Miḥab* and the more usual form in the Turkish legal language). Shirka originally implied simply that a thing belonged to several

persons in common in such a way that each one had ownership in every smallest part of it in proportion to the share allotted to him. This idea seems to be a general Semitic one. It is found similarly in the Talmudic *מְצֻקָּה*, cf. L. Auerbach, *Jüd. Obligationenrecht*, § 45. Like this conception *shirka* was also later transferred to the different forms of trading companies. The jurists therefore understand primarily by *shirka* common property (*shirkat al-amlik*) which arises for example through inheritance, gift or indissoluble combination. One joint owner can only deal with his share with the approval of the others; the second kind of *shirka* is the company which is based on contract i.e. on offer and acceptance (*shirkat al-'uqud*).

The conditions for its foundation are ability to give and undertake a commission (*wakāla*) or money or goods representing it. The *shirka* is a trading company; the profits are divided either into equal parts or in proportion to the shares. The relation of companies to one another is a relation of confidence (*amāna*). The company is dissolved (1) by the declaration of the wish of a member (renuntiatio), (2) by secession from Islam or departure into the *Dār al-Harb* (cf. capitula diminutio) and (3) through death or mental disease (cf. Dig. 17, 2, 4; 17, 2, 63, 10; Basil., xii. 1, 4). The heir can only continue the company through a new contract of association (cf. Dig. 17, 2, 35, 36, 37 = Basil., xii. 1, 35, 36, 37).

The Hanafis know four kinds of companies: (1) *Shirkat al-Mufawafa*, when the shareholders are equal in respect of capital, right to disposal, shares in profit and loss, if every shareholder is not only "authorised agent" of the others but is also "surety" for them. *Mufawafa* with slaves and unbelievers is not permitted. The Malikis do not recognise this form; by *mufawafa* they understand a company in which the shareholders are only general agents for each other: profit and loss are divided among them in proportion to the amount of their shares. (2) *Shirkat al-'Inān*, capital and profits in indefinite shares; the quota of profit may be greater than the quota of capital in recompense for the work of management. Each member is responsible for his own transactions only and has only the right to demand from the other shareholders their share. This corresponds to what the Malikis call *mufawafa*, while by *'inān* they mean a company in which the right of the shareholders to dispose of the capital is limited. (3) *Shirkat al-Sanā'at* (or *Sh. al-'Abdān* or *Sh. al-Takābul*) when artisans combine on a common task. All the members are bound to carry out the work. Even if only one works, the others yet have a share in the profits. Among the Malikis however illness of some duration makes their contract invalid. (4) *Shirkat al-Wuḡūk* (or *Sh. al-Dhīmān* or *Sh. al-Mafā'ila*) only permitted among the Hanafis. The members work without capital and sell on credit.

The Shāfi'is only recognise the *Sh. al-'Inān* but they only allow this company in the case of indissolubly combined things (e.g. money, cereals) and allow the distribution of profit and loss only in proportion to the shares in the company. Historically it is probable that this *Sh. al-'Inān* is the older form; there is evidence of it in the pagan period from the poet al-Nābigha al-Dī'ālī. On the other hand the *Sh. al-Mufawafa* (societas

quaestus) seems to have been taken over from Roman-Byzantine law. It is vigorously condemned by al-Shāfi'ī (*Umm*, iv. 206) and disowned by Abū Hanīfa also; on the other hand it is recognised by Ibn Abī Lailā, al-Shābānī, and Abū Yūsuf. Sufyān al-Thawri (in Sarakhsi, *Madrīs*, xi. 153) is unique in making even a legacy to one of the shareholders become the property of the company (*lucrum ex fortuna*) which suggests the *societas omnium bonorum* (cf. Dig. 17, 2, 3, 1; Basil., xii. 1, 3, 1). The classification and doctrine of the Hanafis have been bodily adopted in the Turkish civil law (*Meşhure*, art. 1045, 1060 *app.*; 1329 *app.*).

On the other forms of companies see the separate articles: *MUḤARRABA*, *MUḤARRA'A*, *MUSAKKAT*.

Bibliography: The pertinent sections in the Fikḥ-book, especially: al-Kāshānī, *K. Bad' al-Sanā'at*, Cairo 1910, vi. 56-79; Khalil, *Mukhtasar*, transl. Santillana, Milan 1919, ii. 361-373; ed. Sachau, *Moh. Recht*, Berlin 1897, p. 415-420; v. Tornau, *Meislen. Recht*, Leipzig 1855, p. 115-118; Querry, *Droit musulman*, Paris 1871, i. 496-503.

(HEFFNER)

SHIRKŪH, ABU 'L-HĀRITH ASAD AL-DĪN, son of Shādhī, and brother of Aiyūb b. Shādhī, the father of Saladin. At first a general of Nūr al-Dīn, prince of Aleppo and of Damascus, he became vizier of the last Fātimid Caliph al-'Adil, and in the last capacity bore the honorary title of Malik Maṣṣūr.

We first meet with Shirkūh at Takrit, where his brother Aiyūb was governor in the name of the Abbāsid Caliph, and it was after a murder committed by Shirkūh that the whole family had to abandon the town, and offer its services to the prince of Aleppo, Zankī, who accepted them. Shirkūh remained at the court of the son of Zankī, Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, and at his command, went to take Damascus which his brother Aiyūb was defending in the name of the Burid princes. The matter was arranged without a blow being struck; Aiyūb kept Damascus, but on behalf of Nūr al-Dīn who gave the territory of Hims to Shirkūh as an appanage. Such was the origin of the Aiyūbid principality of Hims, which later passed to his descendants.

When in the year 558 (1163) Nūr al-Dīn was asked by Shāwar [q.v.] to assist him in gaining the vizierate, Shirkūh was put at the head of the Syrian expeditionary force. With an army very inferior in number to the forces gathered by the vizier Dirghām, Shāwar and Shirkūh obtained a brilliant victory near Tell Baṣṣa. Whatever may have been at first the designs of Shirkūh with respect to Shāwar, this battle marks an important point in the relations of the two men; Shirkūh seemed afraid of the spirit of intrigue which animated Shāwar. The assurance, verified in the result, which was given by Shāwar that he had means of information in the army of Dirghām was disturbing. With the installation of Shāwar in the vizierate the quarrel broke out openly; Shirkūh was unwilling to quit Egypt before the execution of the agreement concluded with Nūr al-Dīn. Fighting resulted on several occasions and the different encounters which took place in the suburbs of Cairo, went against Shirkūh, who appealed for help to the Franks. Shirkūh, besieged in Bilbais, had to capitulate. Before the end of the year 559 (Nov. 1164) he returned to Damascus.

In the year 562 (1167) Shirküh again invaded Egypt to fight Shāwar for a second time; the latter was still allied with the Franks. He won the battle of Būhain, which had been forced upon him by his adversaries. This very bloody victory did not lead to any final decision. Shirküh found a base at Alexandria which he occupied with ease and where he installed his nephew Saladin as governor. This whole effort proved useless, because Shāwar succeeded in recapturing the town after a long siege and brought about the departure of Shirküh.

He had to be recalled two years later by the Caliph al-ʿAdīd when the Franks besieged Cairo; the third invasion was to prove decisive. After the departure of the Franks, Shirküh threw in his lot with Egypt and refused to yield to the pressing appeals of Nūr al-Dīn, who was unwilling to be deprived of his services. After the assassination of Shāwar, he accepted the office of visier to the caliph al-ʿAdīd, but it is not known if in his heart he was considering a dynasty of his own. The contrary can be believed, and it may be supposed that the idea of it came to Nūr al-Dīn, who determined to strike a double blow, to bring back his officers to his allegiance and whilst bringing them back to the Sunna, to reign in Egypt, which he would annex to his Syrian kingdom. Because of his relationship with Saladin, the question ought to be raised in an article on Shirküh but there is nothing to indicate a definite attitude on the part of the latter.

His attainment of power coincided with a rising of the populace of Cairo, who pillaged even the offices of the visierate. Shirküh, who according to the account of William of Tyre was "viciis, patib de cors et mont gras" joined his nephew Saladin. Historians praise his ability; although a Sunni, he wisely allowed the Egyptians, to remain faithful to their own religious opinions. His power was, moreover, of too short a duration to give a new political system to the Empire. Shirküh died very suddenly after being visier for a little more than two months, on the 22 Djumādī II, 564 (March 23, 1169). He died, the victim of his violent appetite, which was the cause of frequent indigestion accompanied by suffocation; as is generally the case in the East, poison was also spoken of. In accordance with his expressed desire his remains were transported to Medina, but not until sixteen years later.

His successors included a certain number of Mamlūks, who were known at the beginning of the Aiyūbid régime under the name of *Asadiya*. The same *nishā* was used to name the madrasas which he had built at Aleppo and at Damascus.

Bibliography: Cf. the article *Asadids*, and also *SHAWAR*; Abū Shāma, i. 8, 10, 15, 46—48, 55, 58, 67, 81, 96, 107—109, 120, 122—124, 129—132, 137, 141—147, 154—162, 166—174, 178, 180, 210—211; ii. 67, 218; Ibn Shihna, *Taʾrikh ʿIṣṣāḥ*, p. 112, 119; Kamāl al-Dīn, *Hist. d'Alep*, transl. Blochet, p. 230; Dureau de Vaulx, *Oumra*, ii. Fr. part, index, p. 396; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Bulaq, i. 284—285, ii. 502; Yāqūt, *Irbid*, ed. Margoliouth, ii. 247; Kalkashandī, *Sukh al-dīk* iv. p. 112, x. 6, 80—90; Gaudsfrey-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, p. 76; Makrizi, *Khitat*, ii. 343; Abū l-Mahasin, *Nuḡm*, ed. Popper, iii. 56; Abū Fāḍ, *Khitat al-Jazīra*, i. 19; von Krenner in *S.B.A.K. Wien*, 1850, iv. 305, 308; Sauvaire, *Descr. de Damas*,

J.A. 1894, i. 304, 387—388, 451, 474; ii. 492; Heibig, *Al-Qaḍi al-Faḍl*, p. 55—56.

(G. WIET)

SHIRWÂN, also written Shirwān and Sharwān (e.g. in Yāqūt, iii. 282, according to al-Samʿānī, ed. Margoliouth, i. 333), a district on the western shore of the Caspian Sea, east of the Kura, originally a part of the ancient Albania or the Arrān [q. v.] of the early middle ages. According to Iṣṭakhri, p. 192 = Yāqūt, iii. 317, the road from Bardhaʿa [q. v.] led via Shirwān and Shamākhīya (in Yāqūt: Shamākh) to Derbend [q. v.]. The distance between Shamākhīya and "Sharwān", according to Iṣṭakhri, was three days' journey; in some MSS. and in Yāqūt we have "Shāberān" for "Sharwān"; in the anonymous *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam*, i. 33⁴, Shāberān (there written Shāwerān) is described as the capital (*ḥaṣa*) of Shirwān. This road as well as the towns on it did not lose their importance until the Transcaucasian railway had been built. Shāberān is still mentioned as a town as late as 1578 in the report of Turkish conquests of that year (v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, ii. 485). In the seventeenth century a new town Kuba or Kūba appears as the capital of the Khān of this region, about fifteen miles N. W. of Shāberān; by 1770 Gmelin only found "miserable" ruins in Shāberān of the old, now completely deserted town (S. G. Gmelin, *Reise durch Russland zur Untersuchung der dry Naturkräfte*, iii. 36); its importance as a trade centre had passed to Kuba. As late as 1851, the governor of Derbend, Wotontsow, travelled to Tiflis via Kuba, Shemakha and Gandia (*Arkhiv Knyazya Wotontsowa*, xi. 405).

Shamākhī, Russian Shemakha, the later capital of Shirwān, is said to have been founded in the Muslim period and to have taken its name (Balādhuri, p. 210) from Shamākh b. Shudīf, king of Shirwān, during the governorship of Saʿīd b. Salm (the contemporary of the Caliph Harūn al-Rashīd, cf. Yāqūt, *Taʾrikh*, ii. 517, 199, and al-Tabari, iii. 648). As the territory of the Shirwānshāh (see below) Shirwān included the lands from the Kura to Derbend; the same frontiers are given in the Mongol period for Shirwān (in Hamd Allāh Kāwint, *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 92, 7). The capital Shemakha was then as later of importance, especially as a centre of silk manufacture and of the silk trade.

After the abolition of the Shirwānshāhs by the Safawis, Shirwān formed a province of Persia and was usually governed by a Khān, who is often called Beylerbey or Emīr al-Umarāʾ. The inhabitants several times rebelled against the Shīʿi dynasty and as Sunnis appealed for help to the Sultān of Turkey. With other Caucasian lands Shirwān was taken by the Turks in 1578, held after a series of battles with varying results, and finally ceded to the Sultān by the peace of 1590. Under Turkish rule Shirwān was divided into fourteen sandjaks; it included Shakt in the north-west and Baku in the south-east, i.e. practically the whole of mediaeval Shirwān. Derbend, which had long been separated from Shirwān, formed a separate governorship. Persian rule was not definitive restored till 1607. In the seventeenth century, Kuba and Salyān were given as a separate principality to the Kaitak, who had migrated southwards (cf. i., p. 989, 29). In 1722 the Khān of Kuba, Hussain 'Ali, submitted to Peter the Great and was confirmed in his dignity. By the treaty between Russia

and Turkey of the year 1724, the coast territory with Baku, now occupied by the Russians, was for the first time politically separated from the rest of Shirwân, which was left to the Turks with Shemâkha as capital. This division was retained as regards administration even after both parts were reunited to Persia. By the treaties of 1732 the coast lands north of Kura still remained to the Russians and the other parts of Shirwân and Daghestân to the Turks; it was only after Nâdir Shâh had taken their conquests from the Turks by force of arms (capture of Shemâkha, Oct. 22, 1734) that the coast lands were ceded to him voluntarily by the Russians (treaty of Gandja, March 10/21, 1735). After the death of Nâdir Shâh, Persian rule could no longer be enforced in these regions; several independent principalities arose; the name Shirwân was now limited to the territory of the Khân of Shemâkha, which was later under Russian rule divided into three administrative districts (Shemâkha, Göktaï and Djawâd). Fath 'Alî Khân of Kuba (1758—1789) succeeded in bringing Derbend as well as Shemâkha under his sway, so that, as Dorn observes, "a true Shirwânshâh arose in him". During the last years of his reign, Fath 'Alî flattered himself with the idea of bringing Persia itself under his sway and ascending the throne of the rulers of Irân. When the Kâdjârs had succeeded in restoring the unity of Persia, the sons of the Khân were no more able to maintain their independence than the other Caucasian chiefs and had to choose between Russia and Persia. General Zubow, who had been despatched by Catherine II, had already reached the Kura below Djawâd (1796) when he and his army were recalled by the Emperor Paul. The Khân of Shirwân (Shemâkha), Mustafâ, who had already entered into negotiations with Zubow, submitted to the Russians in 1805, who occupied Derbend and Baku next year (1806), but soon afterwards he made overtures to the Persians and sought help from them. By the peace of Gullistan (October 12/24, 1813), Persia gave up all claim to Derbend, Kuba, Shirwân and Baku. Nevertheless Mustafâ continued to have secret dealings with Persia. It was not till 1820 that his territory was occupied by Russian troops; the Khân fled to Persia and Shemâkha was incorporated in Russian territory. The outbreak of hostilities again in 1826 was taken advantage of by Mustafâ and by an earlier Khân of Baku, Husain, for an attempt to stir up their subjects against Russia, but without success. Since 1840 the former territory of the Khân of Shirwân has been united with Kuba and Baku to form one administrative area (at first the "Caspian territory"; from 1846 the "government of Shemâkha"; from 1859, after the destruction of Shemâkha by one of the earthquakes frequent there, the "government of Baku"). At present the ancient Shirwân forms a part of the Soviet republic of Aذربâidjân with the capital Baku; the division into "governments" is abolished, but that into "circles" retained. The old capital of Shirwân, as late as the middle of the nineteenth century, had a larger population than Baku; according to Ritter's *Geographisch-Statistisches Lexikon*, 1864—1865, Shemâkha had 21,550 and Baku 10,600 inhabitants. In the eighties the relationship was reversed (E. Weidenbaum, *Putnam's* *go Kawkazu*, Tiflis 1888, p. 342 and 396; Baku 45,679, Shemâkha 28,545); Shemâkha is now quite a small town compared with

Baku (1917: Baku 231,000; Shemâkha 27,800).

Bibliography: See especially B. Dorn, *Geschichte Shirwân unter den Statthaltern und Chanen von 1538—1820* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der kaukasischen Länder und Völker, II. = *Mém. de l'Acad.*, etc., Ser. 6, *Science politique*, etc., v. 317—433). (W. BARTHOLO)

SHIRWÂNSHAH, a title of the rulers of Shirwân, probably dating from the pre-Muhammadan period (Balâdjuri, p. 196 *infra*). In the history of the conquest this ruler is called simply king (*malik*) or lord (*shâh*) of Shirwân (ibid., 204 and 209). Yazid b. Usaid al-Salamî, governor of Armenia under the Caliph Manûr, took possession of the naphtha-wells (*naffâfa*) and saltworks of Shirwân (*malîfâh*); the eastern part of the land was therefore at that date of greater importance than the western (cf. what is said above on Shâburân as the capital of Shirwân). The title Shirwânshâh is said to have been afterwards assumed by the descendants of the Arab governor Yazid b. Mazyad al-Shaibânî. Yazid himself died in 85 (801—802); when and why his descendants moved their residence to Shirwân is not known; according to a later source (Shahrîzâde, *Mata al-Tawârikh*, written in 1173 [1759], quoted in Dorn, *Shirwan-schahs*, p. 544, cf. now Brockelmann, II. 429) one of them, Haitham b. Khâlid, declared himself independent during the troubles that followed the death of the Caliph Mutawwakil in 247 (861) and assumed the title of Shirwânshâh. His dynasty (usually called Mazyadîd) is said by the same source to have ruled till 460 (1067/1068). Contrary to this, Mas'ûdî (*Murûf*, II. 69) says that in his time, i. e. shortly before 332 (943—944) after the death of the Shirwânshâh 'Alî b. Haitham, the Irânshâh (according to Marquart, *Erânshâh*, p. 119, this is the reading, i. e. "lord of Arrân in the narrow sense"; the manuscripts usually have Irânshâh) Muhammad b. Yazid, a descendant of the Sāsānids, seized the land of Shirwân and assumed the title of Shirwânshâh; he is said to have also held Derbend (*Murûf*, II. 5) and thus united the whole of the ancient Albania into a political unit once more. Contrary to what was stated above, i. p. 460 *sq.*, that Mas'ûdî's statements are confirmed by no other source, we can now quote the *Hudud al-'Alam* (written in 372 = 982—983), f. 33a, according to which the three lands Shirwân, Khurân and Irân were at that time under the rule of one sovereign who had the titles of Shirwânshâh, Khurânshâh (in Balâdjuri, p. 196 *infra*, called Djurânshâh, as king of the Laks, i. e. of the Lesgians, cf. above I. p. 887 *sq.*) and Irânshâh. His capital was the camp of his armies (*tegherhâ*), 1 farsakh from Shemâkha. The dynasty of the Kessrânids was probably founded by Muhammad b. Yazid (Banû Kessrân) and the centre of the principality transferred to Shemâkha, which later always appears as the capital of the Shirwânshâh. The rule of this house was perhaps interrupted for a short time by the Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Andî mentioned as Shirwânshâh by Ibn Hawkal (p. 250, 2 and 254, 12); in no other literary sources is this name mentioned, but it is found on undated coins which from the epigraphy must belong to the fourth (tenth) century.

The next historical references to the Kessrânids refer to their relations with the Seldjûk Sultâns (Houtsma, *Raoul des textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoudes*, II. 139 *sqq.*) In the reign of

Malikshāh (465—485 = 1072—1092) Fariburz is mentioned as king, lord of Shirwān (*al-Malik Sahib Sharmān*), and we still have coins struck by him. When Malikshāh was in Arrān, Fariburz after some resistance paid homage to him and pledged himself to pay a tribute of 70,000 dinārs; by later negotiations this tribute was reduced to 40,000 dinārs (the tribute which the above-mentioned Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Azdi had to pay the ruler of Adharbāydjān Marzbān b. Muhammad b. Musfir was a million dirhams). Under Sultān Mahmūd (511—525 = 1118—1131) Shirwān was occupied by the Sultān's troops; the Sultān was asked by the leaders to come there himself; after his arrival the Shirwānshāh (his name is not known) went to him and hoped to obtain justice from him but was imprisoned. The people of Shirwān with whom the prince was very popular tried to procure his release, but without success. This state of affairs encouraged the Georgians to invade Shirwān but they were driven out by Mahmūd. The population suffered very much from the occupation of their country and these events became known as the "devastation" (*takhrīb*) of Shirwān. The campaign took place in the first and last years of office of the vizier Shams al-Mulk, who was put to death by the Sultān's orders in Rabi' I, 517 (April 29—May 28, 1123) in Ballakān (probably on the way back to Persia from Shirwān).

The same campaign appears in quite another light in Ibn al-Athir, x. 433 *et seq.* (cf. above i., p. 943). The campaign is said to have been caused by the invasions of the Georgians and the complaints of the people, especially of the town of Derbend. Soon after the arrival of the Sultān in Shamākh a large Georgian army appeared before the town, which terrified the Sultān; soon afterwards however a quarrel broke out between the Georgians and their allies, the Kipčaks, as a result of which the enemy had to retire "as if defeated" (*dhābha 'amushimān*); they had therefore not actually been defeated. The Sultān remained for some time in Shirwān and returned in Djumādā II, 517 (July 27—Aug. 24, 1123) to Hamadān.

Neither the Muslim nor the Georgian sources (in Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I. 368) nor the coins give us definite information regarding the name of the Shirwānshāh concerned. According to Fariburz, the name of his son Manūčahr still appears on the coins under the Caliph Mustashir, i.e. before 512 (1118); the next ruler Afrīdūn, probably a brother of his predecessor (no coins of his are known), is said by Georgian sources to have fallen about 1120 in a war between Shirwān and Derbend; he is referred to as a "martyr" (*shāhid*) by the poet Khākāni. His son Manūčahr II was according to his coins a contemporary of the Caliph Muṭtafi (530—555 = 1136—1160) and is said by Khākāni (in Khanikow, *ML. Asiat.*, III. 122) to have reigned for thirty years, so that he cannot have been de throne in 517 (1123).

The dynasty's greatest period was under Manūčahr II and his successors. Manūčahr took the title not only of Shirwānshāh but also "Great Khākān" (*Khākān-i Kabir*); from this title is taken the *taḡhalluṣ* of his panegyrist Khākāni. But the Shirwānshāh continues to appear on his coins simply as a vassal of the Seldjūk of the 'Irāq; it is only after the death of the last of this dynasty (Toghrol b. Arslān, d. 590 = 1194) that we find on coins and inscriptions only the name of the

Caliph as suzerain mentioned in addition to the name of the Shirwānshāh (usually with high-sounding titles). Shirwān at that time was actually completely dependent on the Georgian kings, who took the title Shirwānshāh themselves. Matrimonial alliances were several times concluded between the Ksarids and the Georgian royal house. The son and successor of Manūčahr II, Akhūstān, no doubt owed to his powerful relative, ally and suzerain, king Georgius III, his victory over a Russian fleet at Bākū and the reconquest of Shirwān and Derbend [q. v.]. On the other hand the lands of Shakkī, Kābala and Mūkān, were later taken from the Shirwānshāh by the Georgians (Nasawi, *Sirat Sultān Djalāl al-Dīn*, ed. Houdas, p. 146 and 174). Political conditions in the first half of the thirteenth century are not quite clear; neither the Shirwānshāh Rashīd mentioned by Ibn al-Athir under the year 619 (xli. 264 *et seq.*) nor the Shirwānshāh Afrīdūn b. Fariburz mentioned by Nasawi (p. 175), under 622 A. H., are known from coins; in place of these we find on coins as contemporary of the Caliph Nāṣir (575—622 = 1180—1225) Fariburz b. Afrīdūn b. Manūčahr, and following him under the same Caliph Farrukhshāh b. Manūčahr and Garshasp b. Farrukhshāh. In contradiction to the above accounts Nasawi says that the Shirwānshāh paid Sultān Malikshāh a tribute of 100,000 dinārs; the Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn therefore demanded the same sum from the Shirwānshāh when he appeared in Adharbāydjān. According to Nasawi, the reply given him was that conditions were no longer the same as before, as a large part of the country was now in the possession of the Georgians. It was agreed to pay 50,000 dinārs, but even of this 20,000 were remitted. Shortly before the Khwārizmshāh had driven the officers of the Shirwānshāh out of the land of Gushkīstī at the junction of the Kura and Aras and farmed out this territory for 200,000 dinārs; on the other hand he restored to prince Sultān-Shāh, Mūkān, which had been ceded by his father to the Georgians (on the occasion of the marriage of the prince with a Georgian princess, daughter of Queen Rusudan, 1223—1227). After the subjection of Shirwān by the Mongols, coins were struck in the name of the Mongol Great Khān; the name of the Shirwānshāh also appears, but without a title. Under the rule of the Ilkhāns [q. v.] no coins were struck in Shirwān; the country belonged sometimes to their empire and sometimes to that of the Golden Horde; as a province in the empire of the Ilkhāns Shirwān brought the state treasury 11 *tūmāns* (the *tūmān* was 10,000 dinārs) and 3,000 dinārs (the *dīnār* was not now a gold coin but a silver coin of 3, later 2 *mishkal*); cf. W. Barthold, *Persische Münzen aus der Zeit der Anisakol und der Manut*, St. Petersburg 1911, p. 18 *et seq.* Gushkīstī had remained separate and paid 118,500 dinārs. The Ksarid dynasty remained in existence; under the successors of the Ilkhāns, the Shirwānshāh Kai Kāhād and his son Kāwus were again able to play the part of independent rulers (their coins were anonymous like the coins of several dynasties of this period); but soon afterwards Kāwus had to submit to the Qajarids [q. v.] and strike coins in their name. Kāwus is said to have died according to Faḡhī (in Dorn, p. 560) in 774 (1372—1373); his son Hūshang was murdered by his subjects after reigning ten years and with his death the dynasty of the

Kentāids came to an end. The rule passed to a remote connection of the dynasty, Shāhkh Ibrāhīm (1383—1417) of Derbend; in 1386 he had to submit to Tīmūr, after whose death he reigned as an independent ruler. The long reign of his successor Khālī Allāh (1417—1462) and Farrukh Yāsir (1462—1501) was a period of peace and prosperity for Shirwān. Great buildings arose in Shamākh and Bākū. Farrukh Yāsir was defeated and killed by Shāh Ismā'il, the founder of the modern kingdom of Persia. After this there reigned as vassals of the Persian Shāhs, Ibrāhīm II (1502—1524), Khālī Allāh (1524—1536), and Shāhrukh (1536—1538), after whom Shirwān was incorporated into Persia. A son of Khālī Allāh II, Burhān 'Alī Salṭān and his son Abū Bakr afterwards made an attempt to regain this kingdom with Turkish help, but without any lasting success.

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(W. BARTHOLD)

SHITH (Hebr. *שֵׁת*), Seth, the third son of Adam and Eve (*Gen.*, iv. 25, 26 and v. 3—8) was born when his father was 130 years of age, five years after the murder of Abel. When Adam died, he made him his heir and executor of his will. He taught him the hours of the day and of the night, told him of the Flood to come and taught him to worship the divinity in retirement at each hour of the day.

It is to him that we trace the genealogy of mankind, since Abel did not leave any heirs and Cain's heirs were lost in the Flood. It is said that he lived at Mecca performing the rites of pilgrimage until his death; that he collected the leaves revealed to Adam and to himself (numbering fifty) and regulated his conduct by them; that he built the Ka'ba of stone and clay. On his death he left as his successor his son Anūsh (Enoch); he was buried beside his parents in the cavern of Mount Abū-Kubais; he had attained the age of 912 years. According to Ibn Ishāq he married his sister Hadrat.

Later Traditions. Adam having fallen ill, desired to have olives and oil from Paradise; he sent Shith to Mount Sinai to ask God for them, and God told him to hold out his wooden bowl; it was filled in a moment, with what his father had asked for, and he rubbed his body with the oil, ate a few olives and was cured. Adam was beardless; Shith was the first to have a beard. He is also called the first *ariya* (a Syriac word signifying "teacher" [cf. Hebr. *רִי* "light, teaching"]). He was exactly like his father physically as well as morally. He was the favourite child. He spent the greater part of his life in Syria, where one tradition says that he was born. From his time man was divided into two categories; those who obeyed him and the others who followed the children of Cain. As a result of his counsels, a few of the latter entered into the right path, but the others persisted in their rebellion.

Maxims which are said to have been left by him are quoted (Mirkhond, *Ravdat al-Safa*, Bombay 1271, i. 12 sqq.).

Tабари, *Annales*, writes Shath and Shath (i. 153) and says that Shith is a Syriac form (*shirith*). The name signifies "in place of, gift of God" because he was given in place of Abel (*Gen.*, iv. 26).

Al-Mukanna' [q. v.] holds that the spirit of God was transferred from Adam to Seth (Mutahhar b. Tahir al-Makdisi, *Livre de la Création*, vi. 96). This idea comes from a Gnostic sect, the Sethites who were found in Egypt from the fourth century, and who possessed a "Paraphrase of Seth", to be more precise, seven books by this patriarch and seven others by his children, whom they called the "Strangers" (Epiphane, *Haer.*, xxxix. 5). The Gnostics possessed the books of Jaldabaoth, the Demiurge, attributed to Seth (Epiphane, *op. cit.*, xxvi. 8). The Sabi'an of Harran had several writings attributed to Seth, and the latter was associated with Adam by the Manichaeans (Prosper Alfaric, *Les Ecritures manichéennes*, Paris 1918, p. 6, 9, 10). Seth is always associated with Adam by the Druzes (Philipp Wolff, *Druzen*, Leipzig 1845, p. 151, 193, 372 sqq.).

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(CL. HUART)

SHIZ, the name of a very old Persian fire-temple, a place or district S.E. of Lake Urmia in Adharbāidjān, said to be the native place of Zoroaster. According to A. V. W. Jackson the name is said to be derived from the Avestan name of Lake Urmia, *Čačasta*; according to Yāqūt it is an Arabic corruption of *Djann* or *Gann* i. e. *Kanaka* or *Ganaka* of the classical writers or *Ganjak* of the Pehlevi texts. The older geographers consider the two names distinct. A comparison of the description given by Yāqūt from Mis'ar b. Mūhalhil (about 940) with the ruins which are now called *Takht-i Salāmān* shows the two places to be identical. According to Mis'ar the town lay among hills in which gold, quicksilver, lead, silver, arsenic and amethyst were found. Within the walled town was a pond of unfathomable depth, the water of which turned everything to stone. There was also a large ancient fire-temple there, which was held in great honour from which all the sacred fires in Persia were lit. The fire had already burned 700 years without leaving ashes. The Persian kings used to bestow gifts on the temple, so that it collected vast treasures. Mis'ar b. Mūhalhil went there specially to find hidden treasure. H. Rawlinson's photographs of *Takht-i Salāmān* show the pond in the centre of the walls and the ruins of the temple.

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(J. KUSKA)

SHORFĀ. This is the dialectic plural form used throughout the Maghrib in place of the classical *shurafā'*; the singular is *sharif* (class.

Sharif descended from Muhammad and the descendant of a celebrated *marabout* who was not necessarily himself a *sharif*. The *shorfa'* in spite of their numbers all enjoy the respect and the consideration of their compatriots. They do not all have sufficient means of livelihood; for the most part they engage in some manual labour in the towns, cultivate the soil in the country and there is nothing in their dress to distinguish them from the other inhabitants of the country.

All the *Shorfa'* of Morocco with the exception of two branches are of Hasanid nobility. They actually claim to be descended from al-Hasan, son of 'Ali, through the latter's grandson 'Abd Allāh al-Kāmil. This group of Hasanid branches comprises three main groups: — the Idrisids, the Kādīrids and the descendants of Muhammad al-Nafs al-Zakiya (Filāli and Sa'dian *Shorfa'*).

I. Idrisid branch. — Its principal ramifications are indicated in the genealogical table given opposite. It is the most important branch of the Hasanid group and therefore of all the *Shorfa'* of Morocco. The following are their main subdivisions.

a. *Shorfa' Dūtiyyūn*. Under this name are included all the descendants of al-Kāsim, son of Idris II. This al-Kāsim being dispossessed by his brother 'Umar had founded a monastery (*ribāṭ*) on the shores of the Atlantic near Arcila (Azila) and at his death left a son, Yahyā, who established himself in the town of Dūta in the Gharb on the Wādī Sahā. His descendants adopted his ethnic name which is still used by them as a surname. Among them are distinguished the Sh. 'Imrānīyyūn, the Sh. Talibīyyūn and Ghālibīyyūn, the Sh. Tashīriyyūn, and the Sh. Shābihiyyūn. After the decline of the little town of Dūta, al-Kāsim's descendants settled in various parts of Morocco, notably at Fās, in Mīknās and in the Djabal al-'Alam. Of all the subdivisions of the Dūtiyyūn the most important is that of the 'Imrānīyyūn which played an important part in politics in the second half of the ninth century, A. H. (xvth A. D.) in attempting to overthrow the Marinid dynasty in Fās. The Sultāns drove them out of Morocco and they took refuge in Tunis whence they returned to Morocco a few years later.

b. *Shorfa' Hammūdīyyūn*. These are the descendants of Idris through 'Umar. They lived at first in the Djabal al-'Alam, then settled in the region of Tlemcen.

c. *Shorfa' Dabbāḥīyyūn*. They are descended from 'Isā son of Idris. This group emigrated in the 14th century A. H. to Spain with al-Hasan b. Gannūn and settled in the region of Cordova. At the time of the Christian "reconquista" they returned to Morocco and settled first at Salé and later at Fās.

d. *Shorfa' Amghāriyyūn*. They are descended from 'Abd Allāh son of Idris. Settled first in the north of Morocco, they later went to the Atlantic coast, to the south of Azammūr where they established themselves.

e. *Shorfa' Kattānīyyūn*, the descendants of Idris II by his grandson Yahyā b. Muhammad. They lived in Mīknās down to the middle of the tenth century A. H. (xvth A. D.) and then settled in Fās where they were sometimes also called *Shorfa'* of the 'Akāshat Ibn Sawwāl from the name of the street in which they lived on their arrival in the town.

f. Descendants of 'Ali b. Muhammad b. Idris. They are divided into branches which are found throughout the northern part of Morocco; among them we may mention the Sh. Shaf-shawāntīyyūn whose ancestor 'Ali b. Rashīd founded the town of Shafshāwan (q.v.); the Sh. Liyā-nīyyūn and the *Shorfa' Warrānīyyūn* (on the activities of this important branch cf. the article WARRAN); the Sh. Raissūniyyūn and the Sh. Rahmānīyyūn.

II. Kādīrid branch. The Kādīrids of Morocco claim descent from Mūsā al-Djawn, son of 'Abd Allāh al-Kāmil through the intermediary of the celebrated 'Abd al-Kādir al-Djilānī. Their settlement in Morocco only dates from the end of the middle ages when they had to abandon Spain where they had hitherto lived. They finally settled in Fās at the end of the ninth century A. H. (xvth A. D.) and since then have been one of the most important Sharifi groups of the Moroccan capital.

III. Sa'dian and Filāli branches. These two branches each succeeded to power in Morocco after the fall of the old Berber dynasties. Both claim direct descent from Muhammad al-Nafs al-Zakiya son of 'Abd Allāh al-Kāmil. They had a common ancestry down to the thirteenth descendant of Muhammad al-Nafs al-Zakiya as may be seen from the following table:



For the circumstances of their accession to power see the article MOROCCO, History.

Hasanid Groups. Two Sharifi groups of Morocco, of much diminished importance claim descent from al-Hasan b. 'Ali through Mūsā b. Dja'far al-Sādiq b. Muhammad b. 'Ali b. Zayn al-'Abidin b. al-Husain. They are the *Shorfa' Saḥillīyyūn* (for *Sikillīyyūn* = Sicilians), who are descended from 'Ali al-Raḍī b. Mūsā al-Kāsim, and the *Shorfa' Trākiyyūn* who are descended from his brother Ibrāhīm al-Murjādā. They are found principally in Fās and some of them in the last century went and settled in Cairo.

If one realises the special importance of the Sharifi groups in the Maghrib, one will not be surprised to find that it has resulted in a special

literature dealing with genealogy and biography. The first notable works on these subjects were undertaken by a Kādīrid, Sharif of Fās, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Salām b. al-Taiyib al-Kādīrid, born in 1058/1648 and died in 1110/1698 (cf. the writer's *Histoire des Chorfā*, p. 276—399). In addition to three monographs on hagiology he wrote several works dealing with the Sharifi groups of Morocco, first a general study of Sharifism in the Moroccan capital, *al-Durr al-ṣanī fī ba'd man bi-Fās min ahl al-naṣab al-baṣanī*, which, in spite of its title, also includes the Husainid branches; on account of the period in which he was writing, he deliberately left out the Sa'diān, who in any case were to disappear very quickly for lack of descendants. This work was lithographed at Fās in 1303 and 1308 A.H. Al-Kādīrid's other treatises deal with a. the Kādīrid Shorfa' (*al-Urf al-ṣāfir fī man bi-Fās min ahl al-ḥaḥḥ* 'Abd al-Kādīrid'), and b. the Shorfa' Irākiyūn (*Maṭla' al-ḥarūf fī al-ḥarūf al-wāridin min al-Irāk*).

At the end of the 11th century and beginning of the 12th A.H. two other treatises on Sharifi genealogy were compiled in Morocco; one devoted to the 'Alawid Shorfa' of Sijilmāsa was written by Abū 'l-Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Sharifi al-Sijilmāsi, and entitled *al-Amwār al-nawī fī naṣbat man bi-Sijilmāsa min al-ḥarūf al-muḥammadiyya*; the other, entitled *Shuḥūr al-dhahab fī ḥair naṣab*, was the work of a sharif of the Djabal al-'Alam, al-Tihānt b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Rajmūn, who composed it in 1105/1603—1604.

In 1127/1715 a descendant of the marabout family of the aṣwīya of Dila', Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Masnāwī b. Aḥmad al-Dila'i (d. 1136/1721), composed a new treatise on the sharifism of the Kādīrids, *Natījat al-taḥḥīq fī ba'd ahl al-ḥarūf al-waṭānī* (publ. at Tunis in 1296 and Fās 1309, partially transl. by Weir, *The first part of the Natījat al-Tahqiq*, Edinburgh, 1903).

A monograph was a little later devoted to the Shorfa' Sīkīllīyūn of Fās by a Kādīrid, grandson of the author of the *al-Durr al-ṣanī*, Muḥammad b. al-Taiyib al-Kādīrid, d. 1187/1773; this is the *Lamḥat al-baḥḥat al-'āliya fī ba'd furū' al-ḥaḥḥ al-baṣaniyya al-sīkīllīya*. The Shorfa' of Wāṣṣān had also several historians in the xviii century; we may mention the *Tuḥfat al-ikḥwān bi-ba'd munāṣib ḥurafā' Wāṣṣān*, by Ḥamdūn al-Tāhīri al-Djūnī (d. 1191/1777), lithographed at Fās in 1324 A.H.

The composition of the *Kitāb al-taḥḥīq fī 'l-naṣab al-waṭānī*, which the genealogists of Fās consider apocryphal and attribute to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad 'Aḥmāwī al-Makki, also dates from the end of the xviii century: this work which deals only with the Sharifi branches that settled in Algeria was translated in 1906 by Père Giacobetti.

A specialist in Sharifi genealogy was Abū 'l-Raḥī Sulaimān b. Muḥammad al-Shaḥāwānī al-Hawwāt, borne 1160/1747, d. at Fās in 1231/1816. He left among other works a monograph on the Shorfa' Dabbāghīyūn, called also from their quarter in Fās Shorfa' al-'Uyūn; *Kurraṭ al-nyūn fī 'l-ḥurafā' al-ḥāṭimīn bi-'l-'Uyūn*, and a monograph on the Kādīrid Shorfa': *al-Sirr al-sāḥir*.

The Shorfa' Irākiyūn had their historiographer, 'Abd Allāh al-Walīd b. al-'Arabī al-Irākī, d. in 1263/1849; this work, published in Fās, is called *al-Durr al-naṣī fī man bi-Fās min banī Muḥammad b. Naṣī*.

Finally we may mention of modern works, in addition to the information collected in the valuable *Sahat al-Anfās* of Muḥammad b. Dja'far al-Katānī [see AL-KATTĀNĪ], two works relating to the Sharifi branches of Morocco. The first is the work of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥādīd al-Madani Caennā, died in 1302/1885, entitled *al-Durar al-maḥmūda fī 'naṣbat al-ḥarūf al-maḥmūda*; the other, more important, is entitled *al-Durar al-baḥḥa wa 'l-djowāḥir al-nabawiyya fī 'l-furū' al-baṣaniyya wa 'l-ḥusayniyya*, lithographed at Fās in 1314. This book which is the work of Abū 'l-'Alā Idrīs b. Aḥmad al-Fuḍāilī, died in 1316/1898—1899, is an excellent collection with much unpublished information, clearly presented.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

SHOTT, Arabic **SHATṬ** [q. v.]. The principal Shott are, on the high plateaus, the Tigrī Shott in Moroccan territory; the Shott Gharbi formed by two basins, the Shott of the Hamyan to the East and the Shott of Mahān to the West, and the Shott Sherki situated to the South of Saïda. In the central district between the Tell Atlas and the mountains of the Uled Na'il, the Zahr al-Sherki and the Zahr al-Gharbi; more to the East the Shott of the Hodna occupies the centre of the depression of the same name; other small Shotts form the bottom of the basin of El-Beida and of el-Tarf. Lastly to the South of the Sahara Atlas a string of Shotts runs from West to East from the meridian of Diskra as far as the Gulf of Gabes over a stretch of about 230 miles: Shott Melghir, entirely in Algerian territory; Shott Gharsa, on both sides of the Algerian-Tunis frontier; Shott el-Djerid, the largest of all those which is a continuation towards the East of the Shott el-Fedjodj. The two Shotts further West lie 70—100 feet below the level of the Mediterranean. This peculiarity which was believed to be common to the most eastern Shotts, had suggested about the year 1880, the idea that it might be possible to create to the South of Algeria and Tunisia an inland sea by piercing the shore of Gabes with the object of diverting into the Shott the waters of the Mediterranean. Further investigation showed that this project could not be realised and it was abandoned.

Bibliography: See the *Bibliography* to the article **SHARIFA**.

(G. YVER)

SHUAIB, a prophet mentioned in the Korān who, according to Sūra xi, 91, came later than Hūd, Ṣāliḥ and Lot; according to Sūra xxvi, 176—189, which belongs to the middle Meccan period he was sent to the "people of the thicket" (*al-Aika*) who are again mentioned in I, 13; xv, 78; xxviii, 12. In the later Meccan Sūras, xi, 85—98; xxix, 35 sq.; vii, 83—91, he appears

among the inhabitants of Madyan [q. v.] as their hunter. Only later commentators identify him with the unnamed father-in-law of Moses the Old Testament Jethro who lived in Madyan mentioned in xxviii, 21 sqq. (cf. v. 45), but there is no foundation for this in the *Karām*. From the passages mentioned, it is evident that Muhammad had no very clear conception of Shu'āib and it is not worth while enquiring whence he got the name, which does not occur elsewhere. What Muhammad tells of him follows the stereotyped scheme in his stories of the prophets and reflects his own experiences and struggles. Besides preaching monotheism he urges his countrymen mainly to honesty in weights and measures, and warns them against destroying the order restored in the land and against driving the believers who follow him from the path of Allah. But the notables among the people reject him and threaten to expel him and his followers; he had no prestige among them and if they had not had consideration for his family they would have stoned him (xi, 93). An earthquake overtakes them as a punishment, so that they are all found dead in their dwellings.

That much later tradition moves Shu'āib's grave to Ġarn Ĥatīn (see ĤATĪN) is perhaps to be explained by the confusion of the adjacent Khirbet Midyān, the ancient Madon with Madyan.

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SHUBĀṬ, the fifth month of the Syriac year. Its name is taken from the eleventh Jewish month, Shēbāt, with which it roughly coincides. It begins on Jan. 31 of the Roman calendar and has 28 days with an intercalated day every four years. In Shubāt the moon stations 10 and 11 set and 24 and 25 rise; the days on which one sets and the one a fortnight later rises are according to al-Bīrūnī the 6th and 16th or 4th and 17th according to al-Kāzwinī the 12th and 25th.

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AL-SHUDJĀ', the (water-)snake, Arabic name of the long constellation of the *Hydra*, which lies in the southern heavens near the ecliptic, between the constellations of the Scales, Virgin, Lion and Crab on the one side and runs from the Centaur to Procyon on the other. According to al-Kāzwinī 25 stars belong to the figure and two lie outside it. The head of the water-snake is on the southern pincers of the Crab between Procyon (*al-Shī'rā al-ḡunmatā'*, "Sirius the bear-eyed") and Regulus (*Kalb al-Aṣad*, "heart of the Lion"). The snake twists a little southwards from these two stars and then turns to the southeast. On its neck is a prominent star which the Arabs call *al-Fard*, the isolated (Alphard in our star-maps). It is also called *'Unḡ al-Shudjā'*, neck of the snake, *Faḡar al-Shudjā'*, backbone of the snake etc.

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SHUGHNĀN (SHUGHNĀN), a district on the upper Oxus (Pamir); the part on the left bank now belongs to Afghan Badakhshān [q. v.] and that on the right to the Russian Pamir. The districts of Ghārān and Rōshān, the one above and the other below Shughnān, are also divided into two by the political frontier. Afghan Shughnān has fifteen villages with four hundred houses and six thousand inhabitants, its administrative centre is at Yāward in the little valley of Udyar. Russian Shughnān consists mainly of the valley of Ghund and Shakh-dara on the western face of the Pamir. The Ghund rises in Lake Vezhul-kul but the territory of Shughnān only begins at the village of Sardim (below the junction of the Ghund and its left bank tributary the Tokur-bulak). The Shughnān range (with a pass 14,000 feet high) separates the valley of Ghund from its more southern tributary, Shakh-dara, which in its turn is separated from the Wakhān [q. v.] by another chain.

The cultivated lands of the Tadjiks begin near Sardim, at a height of about 10,500 feet. The lowest points in Shughnān (on the Pamir) are not below 6,000 feet. The population is industrious but remains poor and scattered. About 1896 it was not over 512 houses with 3,400 inhabitants, but the Afghan statistics of 1923 give 359 houses to Ghund and 340 to Shakh-dara. The administrative centre of Russian Shughnān is at Khārāgh (Khorog) near the confluence of the Ghund and Pamir.

The Iranian hillmen (Tadjiks) of Shughnān speak the Shighni dialect which belongs to the group of Iranian dialects of the Pamir and is more closely connected with the dialects of Rōshān, Yāghulām and Sarī-kol (Sarikol). This last valley is in China and on the sources of the Yarkand-daryā to the east of the Pamir. According to the traditions of the Sarī-kols collected in 1873 by the Forsyth mission (*Report on a Mission to Yarkand*, Calcutta 1875, p. 33, 223), their ancestors in the seventh generation had come from Shughnān, the territory of which seems to have been larger in the past. Like the majority of the Tadjiks of the Pamir, the people of Shughnān profess Shī' Ismā'īlī doctrines. Their *pirs* under whom are *khālifas* recognise H. H. the Aghā-Khān [q. v.] of Bombay as their head (cf. i. p. 180 and ii. p. 551). One of the striking features of the popular religion of the Ismā'īlīs of the Pamir is their belief in metempsychosis, including the passage of the soul into animals. A large number of Ismā'īlī manuscripts coming mainly from Shughnān are preserved in the Asiatic Museum in Leningrad (including *Umm al-Kitāb*, *Wadhī-i Dīn*, *Kalām-i Pir*, etc.). It is curious to note that the *Dabīstān* [q. v.] speaks of the 'Alī-Ilāhīs (Ismā'īlīs) living in the eastern mountains (*kūkhīstān-i mawrīd*) in proximity to (*mu-ḡāran*) the savage Umawīya or Yazīdīya Sunnis whose town is Shkwna. This name must correspond to Shughnān.

The Chinese writers call Shughnān She-k'i-ni or (E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. 152) "the kingdom of the five She-ni (gorges)" which seems to refer to all the region of the Pamir ("the five rivers"). According to Hiuen-Tsang (630-644) the kingdom of She-k'i-ni was 2,000 li in circumference (about 20 days' journey) while the circumference of the capital (K'ou-han?) was 5-6 li. The inhabitants were rough looking. The writing

resembled that of the Tokhārīs but "their spoken language was different". In 646 envoys from the She-k'i-ni visited the court of China. In 718 the brother of the king (yabghu) of Tokhāristān informed the Chinese that the suzerainty of the yabghu extended over, amongst others, the king of Shughnān who had 50,000 men at his command. In 747 the general Kao-sien-te crossed the land of She-ni, the inhabitants of which lived scattered among the gorges.

The Arab geographers refer to Shughnān by the names Shikīnān, Shikīnān, Shikīna and Shikīna. Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 37, and Ya'qūbī, p. 292, make Shughnān dependent on Tokhāristān, for in enumerating the revenues of this last district they say that Shikīnān paid 40,000 (24,000) dirhams in taxes and Wakhān 20,000 (10,000). This may explain an obscure passage in Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 178, where he speaks of a ford on the Dīshūn by which the merchants of Khuttalān (a district between the Pandj and the Wakhāhāh) entered "the land of the Turks (sic) which is called Shikīna". As the writer places the mouth of the Akshwa (the river of Kulāh, Kēi-Surkhāh?) below this ford, the Shikīna must have lived on the left bank of the Pandj above the Afghan Darwāz (cf. above i., p. 842). On the other hand according to Ya'qūbī (p. 292) Shikīnān and Badakhshān (lying between Khuttal and upper Tokhāristān) were separated by a large valley (that of the Pandj). The Arabs (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 173, Ibn Rusta, p. 89) further make the Indus (Mīhrān) rise in the mountain of Shikīnān. Al-Bīrūnī (ed. Sachau, p. 101) puts to the west of Kashmir, first the lands of the Bolor-shāh and then (those of) the Shikīnān-shāh (sic) and of the Wakhān-shāh which stretch to the frontier of Badakhshān. This order of enumeration suggests a direct contact between Shughnān and the lands of the upper Indus.

According to Ya'qūbī, p. 304, in the time of Harūn al-Rashīd the Barmecide Faḍl conquered Shikīnān. Al-Istakhrī however (p. 297) asserts that the people of this district as well as those of Karrān (Darwāz?) were non-Muslims.

Marco Polo (Yule and Cordier, I. 151) mentions the mountain of Syghīnān which produces "baies" rubies, but the ancient mines now abandoned are in the adjoining district of Ghānān.

The local historian of Shughnān begins with Chinese rule of which he quotes several memorials, for example a black stone in the valley Ghund bearing a Persian inscription *ba farman-i Khākān-i Ān*. Such monuments must certainly relate to later expeditions (cf. *Ta'rikh-i Rashīdī*, ed. Elias and Ross, 1895, p. 94, Yule in his preface to Wood, *Travels*, p. xxxix, mentions the Chinese expedition of 1759 to Badakhshān).

After the Chinese, the infidel "fire-worshippers" ruled over Shughnān. The inhabitants appear to identify these infidels with the "Siyāhpōsh" of Kāfristān [q. v.] to whom are attributed numerous buildings, especially at Wakhān (Olufsen, *Through the Unknown Pamir*, London 1904, p. 172-174). Sir Aurel Stein however (*Geogr. Journ.*, Aug.-Sept., 1916) does not believe that the Siyāhpōsh were capable of building these monuments and attributes their origin to the Indo-Scythic or Sāsānian period. It is probable that the "infidels" were simply local non-Muslims (cf. Grierson, *Jahāghnān, Dīshī and Yāghlāmī*, London 1920, p. 7). The principal centre of these "infidels" was

Wiyar on the left bank of the Pandj and their best known chief was Farhād Kāw.

He was overthrown by a certain Sayyid Shāh Malang sent from Khorāssān by the Grand-Master of the Ismā'īlīs. Shāh Malang was followed by another missionary Shāh Khāmūsh from Shīrāz. Forsyth puts his date at 665 = 1266. The descendants of these pirs governed Shughnān as hereditary mīras. Shāh Amir Beg has left an inscription at Khārāgh dated 1193 (1779). His son Shāh Wāndī Khān expelled all the non-Islāmīsts out of Shughnān and the "fire-worshippers" had to leave for Yarkand. According to Kuzhalki, p. 181, this prince had extended his sway up to Badakhshān and Cetrā. The son of Wāndī Khān, Kubād Khān, persecuted the Ismā'īlīs but was driven out by his brother, Yūsuf. 'Alī Shāh grandson of Kubād, ruled both banks of the Pandj but the Amir of Afghanistan, Shīr 'Alī Khān also tried to bring this area under his sway. In the reign of 'Abd al-Rahmān Khān the Afghāns, objecting to the hospitality given to the Russian traveller Regel by Yūsuf 'Alī, deported the latter to Kābul (c. 1300 = 1882) and established their rule over Shughnān (Kuzhalki, p. 182-186). The inhabitants sent envoys to Bukhārā and to the Russian authorities in Turkestan. After long pourparlers and an encounter between a Russian force under Colonel Ionow with the Afghāns near Yeshīl-Kul (in 1892), an exchange of views between the Russian and British governments took place in London on March 11, 1895. The Afghāns had to evacuate the right bank of the Pandj and the Amir of Bukhārā to give up his possessions on the left bank (Darwāz).

Eastern Shughnān was restored to Bukhārā but its administration gradually passed into the hands of the Russian authorities of the Pamir (the station of Khārāgh was created at Shughnān in 1895). In 1918-1920 the waves of Russian revolution reached even Shughnān. In November 1920 the Soviet forces re-occupied the Pamir and re-established all the military posts. (The following additions are due to the kindness of Mr. A. Semenow. The inhabitants of Shughnān call themselves Khughnōn. — Shughnān belongs at present to the soviet Republic of Tadzhikistan, which possesses self-government. The tomb of Shāh Khāmūsh is at Kālā-i Barpanjī (cf. Trotter in *Geogr. Magazine*, II, 1875, No. 10). Shāh Wāndī Khān died in 1214/1799. Yūsuf 'Alī Shāh's government was tyrannical, which was the cause of the conspiracy instigated by the Afghāns. The *Wāgh-i Dīn* has been published at Berlin (Kawiani-office, 1343), cf. Semenow, *K dogmatike pamirskogo ismailizma* (Tashkent 1926) where the latest works of the author are mentioned).

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(V. MINORSKY)

SHUL. 1. A country in China: According to Kādāma (ed. de Goeje, p. 264) Alexander the Great conquered it and built there two towns, Shul and Khumān. This latter has been identified (de Goeje, Tomashchek, Yule) with Si-ngan-fu. In Shul Marquart [*Osteuropäische Streifzüge* (Leipzig 1903) p. 90, and *Erwählr* (Berlin 1901) p. 316] sees the Turkish word *öl* which he translates by "sand" (desert?), seeing in it a translation of the Chinese *Sha-shu*, "sandy district". According to Bretschneider (*Medieval Researches*, II, 18) Sha-shu was founded in "sand-city" (Marco Polo: Sachin) was founded in 622 A.D. As an alternative, Marquart admits a misreading *Shul* instead of *Suk* = *Suk-ku* (Su-ku).

It remains to be ascertained if this Shul does not rather refer to some colony of the Sogdians (cf. the Sogdian *Šūlūk* from **Sughlūk*, Tibetan *Shūlūk*, R. Gauthiot, *Grammaire Sogdienne*, 1923, p. vi).

2. A tribe in Persia, see **SHULISTĀN**.

SHULISTĀN, "Country of the Shul", a district (*shulūk*) in the province of Fārs.

Three epochs must be distinguished in the history of the district: one before the arrival of the Shul, the period of their rule (from the viii/xiii centuries), and the period of its occupation by the Mamassani Lārs about the beginning of the xiii/xviii century.

During the Sāsānid period the district was included in the *kūra* of Shāpūr-khāra. The founding of its capital Nawbandān (Nawbandjān) is attributed to Shāpūr I. This important town situated on the road from Fārs to Khūzistān was taken by 'Uthmān b. Abi 'Alā in 23/643 (Ibn al-Athīr, III, 31); it is often mentioned by Arabic historians

and geographers. The district is watered by the river system which finally forms the river Zohra, which flows through Zaidūn and Hindiyān. In the old *Fārs-nāma* (p. 131) the river of Nawbandjān bears the name Khābādān. The river system is described in detail in *Fārs-nāma-yi Nādiri*, II, 326. The principal water-course comes from the direction of Ardakān and is now called Ab-i Fahliyan or Ab-i Shūr. The valley of Shūb-i Bawwān situated about ten miles to the north of Nawbandjān, is considered by the Muslims, on account of its climate and the richness of its vegetation, to be among the four earthly paradises (*Fārs-nāma*, p. 147; Bode, I, 233). Another notable feature of the district is the fortress Kal'a-i Safid, occupying (like Kālā-i Nādiri [q.v.] in Khūzistān) the extensive terrace (four miles in circumference) on the summit of an almost inaccessible mountain; the Persians identify the place with the Safid-diz mentioned in the *Sāsān-nāma* (Mohl, II, 92; Vullers, I, 448); it was taken by Timūr in 795 (1393).

Sometimes the district of Nawbandjān bears the name of Anburān, but the *Nushat al-Kulūk* makes the town of Anburān a dependency of Nawbandjān. Nawbandjān flourished until the interregnum which followed the fall of the Būyids [q.v.] when Abū Sa'd, the leader of a section of the Shābānkāra [q.v.], destroyed the town. It revived under the Atābeg Čā'ālī (died in 510) who governed Fārs on behalf of the Seldjūqs, but finally fell into ruins.

The description of Fārs (*Fārs-nāma*) composed in the life-time of Čā'ālī does not yet know the expression, *Shulistān*, that is to say "the country of the Shul". This last tribe at first inhabited Lūristān, of which the half was under its rule about 300 (912). The great chief (*pirān*) of the Shul was Saif al-Din Mākan Rūzbihān, whose ancestors had governed the district from the time of the Sāsānids. We may here mention that the Rūzbihān figure among the Lūr tribes. At the same time as this *pirān*, Hāmd Allāh Mustawfī mentions a governor (*hākīm*) of the *wilāyat* of the Shul, who was called Naḍīm al-Din. From the year 300 (1106) the Kurd tribes and others from Djabal al-Sammāk (in Syria) began to move into Lūristān. From these Kurds the dynasty of the Atābegs of the Great Lūr is sprung. Under the Atābeg Hadrūsp (600—650 = 1203—1252) the new comers drove the Shul back into Fārs.

Towards the end of the thirteenth century, Marco Polo (Yule-Cordier, I, 83—85) mentions amongst the eight "kingdoms" of Persia, *Suilestan*, which may refer to the new territory around Nawbandjān occupied by the Shul. The old Chinese map studied by Bretschneider (*Medieval Researches*, II, 127) marks a *Sho-la-tu* between Shīrān and Kāzrūn, which must correspond to Shulistān. Although the Muslim historians were ignorant of the Shul dynasty, the tribe in the time of Mustawfī had hereditary governors, the descendants (*nasabshāh*) of Naḍīm al-Din Akbar. A new administrative centre replaces Nawbandjān: during the campaign of 795 Timūr halted at Mālmīr-i Shul ("the estates" of the Antr of the Shul being thus distinguished from Mālmīr = *Idhād*); the position of this place between two water-courses, corresponds to Fahliyan which is now the capital of the district.

The Shul must form an ethnically distinct unit. The history of the Kurds by Sharaf al-Din only

mentions them incidentally perhaps because the author excluded them from his category of "Kurds". Ibn Battūta (Defremery, ii. 88), who in 748 (1347) met Shūl at Shirāz and on his first stage on the road from Shirāz to Kāsrūn (Daght-i Ardjān?) calls them "a Persian tribe (*min al-ʿāfīm*) inhabiting the desert and including devout people". The Persian dictionaries mention a peculiar dialect *Shūl* (Vulliers, ii. 481: "a kind of *Kāmanā* and *Shādr* which is spoken in Fārs"). Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmari (who died in 749/1348) states that the Shūl have very considerable affinities with the Shabānkāra (q. v.) and asserts their generosity and hospitality. Their warlike character is evident from the remark of Raghd al-Dīn, who in speaking of the Tāṭars, capable of killing one another "for a few words", compares them to the Kurds, the Shūl, and the Franks (Béretine, vii. 62). In 617 the Atābeg of Lūrīstān Ḥazārāp advised Maḥammad Khwārizmshāh to entrench himself behind the chain of Tang-i Tālū (Bālū: "oak") and to mobilise there against the Mongols, 100,000 Lārs, Shūl, the people of Fārs and Shabānkāra" (Djuwaini, Gibb Memorial, xvi/2, 114). Raghd al-Dīn (Quatremère, p. 380) mentions amongst the valiant defenders of Mawālī in 659 (1260): "the Kurds, the Turkomans and the Shūl".

Established on the great road, the Shūl nomads were themselves exposed to invasions; the Atābeg of Lūrīstān Yūsuf Shāh (673—687) attacked them and killed the brother of their chief Naḍīm al-Dīn (*Tarīkh-i Guzda*, p. 343); in 755 the Murāfirid Shujaʿ Shāh chastised them severely when they attacked Shirāz (ibid., p. 660); in 796 ʿUmar Shāhīq marching in the rear-guard of his father Tīmūr pillaged on his way all the un subdued "Lārs, Kurds and Shūl" (*Zafar-nāma*, p. 615).

The nomad (or semi-nomad) state and the warlike character of the Shūl, the similarity of their speech to Persian, the inroads of their neighbours, all these factors must have contributed on the one hand to the dispersion of the Shūl and on the other to their assimilation and final absorption. At the present day, traces of them are only found in the toponymy of the Fārs: *Shūl-i Gap*, a mountain to the north of Bāshīr; *Darshūl*, name of a section of the Turkish tribe Kāshkai (q. v.); *Sāul*, a village near Dālik and another village to the N. N. W. of Shirāz. This last Shūl, situated to the east and outside the *dulūk* of Shūlistān might represent the last bulwark of the tribe, which has disappeared. Hertfeld, who emphasizes the special character of the buildings of this village, says that its inhabitants are of Persian origin and seem to have kept the pure Persian type. According to Bode, the river Ab-i Shūr ("bitter water") is called also Shākar-āb ("sugared water"); this contradiction can only be explained by the confusion between the words *Shūr* and *Shākar*, and besides, one of the most important tributaries of this river is called *Rūdkhānmayi Shūl-i Kāmīrū* in *Fārs-nūmayi Nāpīri* (Wells: "the Sul stream").

At the time of the last Safawids (*Fārs-nūmayi Nāpīri*, ii. 302) or after the rise of Nādir (Bode, i. 266) Shūlistān was occupied by new invaders, the Mamassani Lārs, after whom the district is now called *bulūk-i Mamassani*. Its extent is now about 100 × 60 miles, between the following boundaries: to the east Kāmīrū and Ardakān; to the north and to the west Razgird and the

country of the Kūh-Galūʾi (Kūh-Gilāya) Lārs; to the south Kāsrūn and the mountain of Marz-Shigift (the northern slopes of the Marwān in Daght-i Ardjān). Of the six cantons of the district four (*dar-banīn*) bear the names of Mamassani clans: Bakesh, Dīkūsh, Doshmanziyārī and Rustam. In these cantons there are fifty-eight villages and five thousand families. The clans are governed by their hereditary *kāshān*'s. The Mamassani claim to possess the annals of their tribe and say they came from Sistān (J. Morier, *J. R. G. S.*, 1837, p. 232—242); this legend must have attached itself to the name of Rustam, the name of one of the four clans. The language of the Mamassani is a Lāri dialect.

Of the two other cantons: Kāhān (to the north) was bought by the Kāshkai Turks of the Kāshkai (q. v.) tribe and Fahliyān, with seven villages dependent on it, is still the administrative centre of the *bulūk*. In the time of the Safawids this town is said to have numbered five thousand houses of which in the year 1840 no more than sixty—seventy remained (of Persian Saiyids).

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SHURĀT (A., sg. *Shūrī*), the name which the extreme Khāridjīs (q. v.) give themselves. This name of a religious denomination is taken from the Kurʾān (iv. 76) and means, "those who sell their life to God" by vowing to fight to the death against his enemies.

The first Shurāt were exterminated by ʿAlī al

the battle of Nukhaila. The most celebrated of their martyrs was Abū Hūlā Mirdās b. Djawdar, of the Rabī'a tribe. They swore to fight, even when hope had gone, for the cause of justice "until only three amongst them should remain".

This state of extreme political feeling or *shūrā* is contrasted in Khāridjī terminology to the state of "triumph" (*qūṣūr*), of "defence" (*da'f*) and of "secret" (*kitmān*).

The name of *Shurāt* has been applied by extension to a group of Khāridjī jurists, natives of 'Uman, Sidjistan, Adharbāidjān, Shahrīr, and 'Okbar, like Dhubair b. Ghālib and Kartalū, who have written in justification of the attitude of *shūrā*.

The Malay custom of *amuk* sometimes takes the form of *shūrā* among Muslim Filipinos.

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SHURTA, police, police-officer. The word *shurta* (more rarely *shurafa*), in the plural *shuraf*, originally means "picked men who open the battle", "bodyguard" and then comes to be used in the sense of "police, gendarmerie"; an individual police officer is likewise called *shurta* or *shurfi* (*shurafi*). The title *shāhib al-shurta*, "commander of the bodyguard" was at first given to the governor of a province or a town who settled all questions, religious as well as secular, but in the 'Abbāsid period was reserved for a special official who was responsible for order and public security and whose duties therefore corresponded with those of our chief constables. Under the 'Abbāsids, the Spanish Umayyads, and the Fātimids in the Maghrib and Egypt the *shāhib al-shurta* had greater power than the *kādī*, inasmuch as he was empowered to take action on mere suspicion and to threaten any one with punishment even before proof was brought. Not all citizens however were under his power, but only the lower classes, particularly all suspicious individuals and those of evil repute. In Spain however a distinction was made between *al-shurfa al-kubrā* ("great *shurfa*") and *al-shurfa al-sughrā* ("little *shurfa*"); the representative of the former could take legal proceedings even against high officials, if they had been guilty of anything, while the latter dealt exclusively with the lower classes. In the time of Ibn Khaldūn, the *shāhib al-shurta* in Spain was called *shāhib al-madīna*, in Tunis *shāhim*, and among the Mamlūks of Egypt *wāll*.

From the meaning of "policeman", "constable", developed in Spanish Arabic that of "hangman" and in the *1001 Nights* we find *shurfi* used along with *qarṣat* in the meaning of "rogue, rascal" etc. In modern Egyptian *shurafi* means "pickpocket".

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SHUSHTAR. [See SHUSTER.]
SHUSHTARĪ, ABŪ 'ĀLI HANĀFĀLI B. 'ABDALLĀH, a mystic poet of Andalusia, a disciple of Ibn Sab'īn [q. v.], author of *muwashshahāt* in vulgar Arabic.

Born at Yodar near Gadir (Wādī 'Ash) about 600 (1203), he died at Tina near Damietta on 17th Safar 668 (October 16, 1269). Shushtarī first studied under Ibn Surāka of Jativa who expounded to him the *Asmārīf al-Mufarīf* of Suhrawardī al-Baghādādī; he seems at this period to have joined the Madaniya order. He then lived at Rabā and at Meknes (which he mentions in his poem: "A *shāikh* of the land of Meknes — Goes singing through the suk — What do men want with me? — What do I want with them?") and Fās. He then set out for the east. In 650 (1252) he was at Damascus with a remarkable poet, Naḍīm b. Isrā'īl (d. 676—1277) of the order of Rīfā'iya Hurītiya (*Dirwān* at Constantinople, Aya Sofia MS. N^o. 1644). Finally in 651 (1253) he settled in Mecca; there he met Ibn Sab'īn, already famous at the age of thirty-eight; although his senior, he became his pupil and received his *khirqa salāmiya* (of which we know from Ibn Taimiya that its *dhikr* was *lā ilāha illāllāh* and that its *tanāid* relied "on the authority of Hallāj among other impious men, e.g. Socrates"). When Ibn Sab'īn was persecuted and put under police surveillance, Shushtarī, taking his place at the head of the *mustafjarīdīn*, brought to Egypt, before he died, about 400 adepts including Abū Ya'qūb b. Mubashshir, the hermit of the Bab Zuwayla (Cairo).

Makḥārī enumerated five prose works by him; but there survives only a *Risāla baḥāthiyya* on the poverty (Escorial, MS. 168, ff. 75—78). If his name is still known, it is owing to his *Dirwān* or collection of *muwashshahāt* in vulgar Arabic; — short, poignant poems quite modern in tone, for which music was at once provided, according to Ibn 'Abbād Rundi. To this day to end the "ecstasy" in the seances of the Shādhiliya in Syria they sing his *"Alfḥam kabla lamāni, — wa-Hamḥam kurrat al-'aini..."* (which Ibn 'Adjiba annotated). — Shushtarī also wrote some *ḥaṣīdas* in the classical style; the best known is the *lamiya 'isawiya*, on which Nabulusi wrote a commentary.

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SHUSHTARĪ, SAYYID NŪR ALLĀH B. SHARIF MA'ARASHI, an original Shī'a writer who defended imāmism against Sunnī polemicists and at the same time mysticism against the anti-mysticism of the majority of the Imāmī doctors. Kādī of Lahore, he was condemned as a heretic by orders of Djalāingr and whipped to death in 1019 (1610). He is the third martyr (*shahād* *thālith*) of the Imāmī. He left two important works; in Persian the *Maḥallī al-Mu'minīn* (finished at Lahore in 1073=1604), a very fully documented biographical collection on the principal martyrs of Imāmī and mystic Iḥwān; and in Arabic the *Ḥikāḥ al-Hikāḥ*, a treatise on Imāmī apologetics.

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SHUSTER or **SHUPHTER**, among the Arabs TUSTAR, a town in the Persian province of 'Arabistān, the ancient Khūzistān, situated in

about 49° East Long. and 32° N. Lat. It stands on a cliff to the west of which runs the river Kārm [q. v.], the middle course of which begins a few miles north of the town. This position gives the town considerable commercial and strategic importance and has made possible the construction of various waterworks for which the town has long been famous. The main features of these constructions are: (1) the canal called Ab-i Gerger (in the middle ages Mārūkan) which is led from the left bank of the river about 600 yards north of the town; it runs southwards along the east side of the cliffs of Shuster and rejoins the Kārm at Band-i Kīr, the site of the ancient 'Askar Mūkrum; (2) the great barrage called Band-i Kaišar, which is thrown across the principal arm of the river (here called Shutsāf or Nahr-i Shuster) east of the town and is about 440 yards long; this barrage supports a bridge intended to connect the town with the west bank but now a considerable gap is broken in it; (3) the canal called Mināw (from Miyān-āb) which begins above the barrage in the form of a tunnel cut out of the rock on the western side of the town; the citadel is above this part; the Mināw turns southwards and is intended to irrigate the land south of the town.

Shuster along with these canals was already in existence in pre-Muhammadan times. Pliny knows a town called Sostra (xii. 78) and it appears as *Shustar* in the *Liste géographique des villes d'Iran*, publ. by Blochet (*Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et l'archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne*, 1895, xvii., N^o. 46); it is found in Syriac literature as a Nestorian bishopric (cf. Marquart, *Eranshahr*, p. 27). Persian tradition also regards Shuster as a very old town (e.g. Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud, p. 315). This tradition is found in the Arab historians and geographers and most fully in the *Ta'rikh-i Shustar* of 'Abd Allāh al-Shuštari (cf. *Bibliography*). The story goes that the town was founded by the mythical king Hūshang after the foundation of Shūsh (Susa). *Shuštār* is said to be comparative from Shūsh meaning "more beautiful" in reference to the site of the town (Marquart, *loc. cit.* also regards it as a derivative from Shūsh with the suffix *-tar* indicating direction). The Arabic form Tushtar is generally explained as an arabicization of Shūsh-tar (e.g. by Hamza al-Isfahāni and Yāqūt, i. 848). Several sources record that the town was built in the form of a horse. Tradition also says that the Mināw canal, formerly called Nahr-i Dāriyān, was built by Dārā the Great and that it was the Sāsānid Ardāshīr I who began to construct the barrage in the river below the mouth of the canal, after the latter had dried up because the bed of the river had sunk through erosion by the force of the current. The work was only completed however under Shāpūr II by his Roman prisoners under Valerian II (cf. also Tabari, i. 827 and Mas'ūdi, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, ii. 184). The Ab-i Gerger was first dug simply to divert the volume of water. The Band-i Kaišar was next constructed and called after the emperor and the bed of the river above the barrage was paved with huge slabs of stone bound with iron so as to prevent any further erosion. This paving was called Shādirwān, a term which was also applied to the barrage itself. Ultimately a new barrage is said to have been built across the Gerger.

From the xivth century the Ab-i Gerger was called Dū-Dānig and the Nahr-i Shuster Čahār-Dānig, because they contained respectively two- and four-sixths of the quantity of water in the Kārm. Muslim authors number these great waterworks among the wonders of the world (e.g. Hamza al-Isfahāni and Ibn Battūta). Although the authenticity of the tradition quoted could be for the most part disputed, it is not improbable that Roman prisoners of war took part in the construction of the barrage (cf. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, p. 37); local tradition further attributes to Roman colonists the introduction of a number of industries e.g. the manufacture of brocade (*dishāq*) and certain popular customs.

In the caliphate of 'Umar the town was conquered by al-Barā' b. Mālik, whose tomb used to be pointed out in the centuries following. Tradition also says that the coffin of the prophet Dāniyāl was found there, which later on was brought to Shūsh. In the Umayyad period the town became one of the strongholds of the Kharridjī; the Kharridjī Shubīb made it his capital but after his death al-Hadīdādī seized it; it was then that the great bridge over the barrage was destroyed. Under the Caliphs, Shuster was the capital of one of the seven provinces (sometimes a larger number is given, cf. Maqdīsī, p. 404), into which Khūzistān was divided. When Baghdad became the centre of the empire, Shuster gradually became influenced by its proximity to the capital. One quarter of Baghdad for example in the tenth century was called Mahallat al-Tustariyīn; it was the residence of the merchants and notables from Khūzistān. The oldest mosque was built under the 'Abbāsids; begun in the reign of al-Mu'tazz (866-869), it was only finished under the Caliph al-Mustashid (1118-1135). There was however a fire-altar at Shuster in the time of al-Hallādī (Massignon, *La passion d'al-Hallāq*, i. 92).

Shuster along with Ahwāz has always been the chief town in Khūzistān; Hamd 'Allāh Mustawfī calls it the capital of this province. It was conquered by Timūr and remained in the hands of the Timūrids till the year 820/1514, when it fell to a Shī'a dynasty of Saiyids under the suzerainty of the Safawids and became a centre of Shī'a propaganda. Several governors have founded little dynasties there. The town enjoyed most prosperity in the reign of Wāhshid Khān (1632-1667) whose descendants kept the governorship till the end of the Safawids. In the beginning of the sixteenth century it was among the provinces governed by Muḥammad 'Alī Mirzā, son of Fath 'Alī Shāh, who restored, for example, the barrage and the bridge. At this period it is said to have had a population of 45,000, but the number has certainly diminished a great deal since, for Rawlinson in 1836 puts it at 15,000 and Curzon in 1890 at 8,000. The area covered by the town is out of all proportion to the population. Sykes also calls Shuster the most ruined town in Persia; this description applies also to the water works. The houses are built of stone and brick; they contain cellars, here called *shewzān*, in which the inhabitants shelter in the excessive heat of summer.

As to the inhabitants themselves, they are a mixture of Arab and Iranian or proto-Iranian elements. In the middle of the sixteenth century there were still a considerable number of Mandaeans here; Layard counted 300-400 families of them

in 1840 (cf. also the description of them given by 'Abd Allāh al-Shuḥṭari on p. 24 of his local history). They have probably now disappeared. Modern travellers (Curson and Sykes) describe the character of the present inhabitants as disagreeable and fanatical. Among the Persians the devoutness of the inhabitants has earned the town the honorific title of *Dār al-Mu'minin*. On the other hand we find Shuster included among the Persian towns celebrated for the stupidity of its inhabitants (Christensen in *Acta Orientalia*, iii. 31). They live for the most part by commerce; the present state of the population seems however to justify the ancient tradition that Shuster is fated always to remain a poor town. Since the end of last century Shuster has succeeded Dīrful as the capital of 'Arabistan.

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For the extensive bibliography relating to the barrage and irrigation works of the article KARBUN and the bibliography given there.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

SHU'UBIYA. Sūra xlix. of the Kur'an teaches the brotherhood and equality of all Muslims and verse 13 reads, "and We made you *shu'ub* and *qabā'il* in order that ye may know" — "each know the other" explains Baiḍawī in loco (ed. Fleischer, ii. 276, 17), "not for prideful vying with one another in ancestors and tribes". Apparently *shu'ub* had been used in Arabic for non-Arab tribes (*al-ajām*) as distinguished from *qabā'il* for Arab tribes (*Liḥān*, i. 482, 13) and therefore this passage was used by those non-Arabs who objected to the pride of the Arabs towards them. The *Shu'ubiya*, then, was the sect which either so objected or which exalted the non-Arabs over the Arabs or which, in general, despised and depreciated the Arabs (*Liḥān*, i. 482, 13 sqq.; Lane, p. 1557). A member of this sect was a *shu'ubī*. This attitude showed itself in different forms. In the East on the part of the Persians and the Khuridjites it was dynastic and political, and for the Persians also religious, involving heresy and Zindicism. It connected with the *Shi'a* and other schisms. On the part of the Nabateans it was the old conflict of the cultivated soil and its peasantry against the desert. It was thus a more or less successful attempt on the part of the different subjected races to hold their own and to distinguish, at least, between Arabism and Islam. In Persia this meant even the restoration of Persian as the language of literature and the limitation of the use of Arabic to the theological sciences. In Spain, on the other hand, the *Shu'ubiya* accepted the whole Arabic civilization, prided itself on its command of Arabic (*al-'arabiya*) and on

its Islamic orthodoxy, but rejected the claims to superiority of the Arab race. The movement had therefore a certain kinship with the nationalism within Islam of the present day.

Bibliography: Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i. 147—216; *Die Shu'ubiya unter den Muhammedanern in Spanien*, in *Z.D.M.G.*, lili. 601—620. (J. B. MACDONALD)

SIAK SRI INDRAPURA, a self-governing district (Sultanate) belonging to the administrative area of Bēngkalis in the gouvernement "Oostkust van Sumatra", on the east coast of Central Sumatra and practically equivalent to the valley of the river Siak; a few islands off the coast also belong to it (the boundaries of the Sultan's territory are accurately defined in the agreement concluded in 1916 between the government of the Dutch East Indies and the native Government of Siak Sri Indrapura, published in the "Kroniek 1917 van het Oostkust van Sumatra-Instituut"). It consists of a very wide fertile alluvial strip of coast, swampy in places, intersected by many streams large and small; the ground rises only very gradually to the west and is for the most part still covered with forest. The most important river, the Siak (on which stands the capital Siak Sri Indrapura, with a large modern palace of the Sultan) is very deep for far into the interior and navigable at all seasons, and is therefore of great importance for the transit traffic (mainly in the hands of Chinese) from Singapore to the west coast of Sumatra. The country is only thinly populated and the inhabitants are neither industrious nor prosperous. They live mainly by fishing (from which they are however being ousted by the Chinese) and collecting forest products (the most important of these are the leaves of the *nipah* palm which are used as roofing material); they grow rice, almost exclusively on dry fields, but the harvest is far from sufficient even for their own needs; considerable quantities of rice are imported from Singapore and coconuts from Malacca; the Chinese alone grow vegetables.

Two main elements may be clearly distinguished in the population: (a) A few tribes who may be regarded as descendants of the original inhabitants of the east coast of Sumatra; (b) Another section usually given the name "Malays". To the first group belong: (1) The Orang Talang on the Mandau river and in the forest country between Siak and Kampar; they are divided into four groups and are said to be descendants of subjects of the once powerful kingdom of Gasip, which lay on the river of the same name and according to tradition was destroyed by the Atchinese; (2) The Orang Sakai on the upper Mandau and in the adjoining Rokan territory; (3) The Orang Akit, who are gradually dying out, also on the Mandau; (4) The Orang Utan and Orang Rawa, on the islands at the mouth of the Siak and Kampar rivers. These tribes are still very primitive. Physically they are different from the Malays and it is reported of the Orang Akit in particular that they have a negro type and show a striking similarity to the Sémang of the Malay Peninsula. Some still lead a more or less wandering life; agriculture is little or not at all pursued; they live by fishing and on all that the forest yields them. The Orang Talang and the Sakai are said to have adopted Islam; but

their knowledge of this religion is only very slight and like the other tribes already mentioned they are still strongly attached to heathen customs. In family law and law of inheritance they follow the Minangkabou patriarchal *adat*. The other portion of the population, the Malays, is now very mixed in composition. They are descended from immigrants from the west coast (in the greater part of the country Minangkabou is the vernacular) and from Djohor on the other side of the straits of Malacca. It was no doubt with them that Islam came to this region.

There are said to be very old relations between Siak and Minangkabou; at the beginning of the xviii century Siak was under the suzerainty of the Maharaja of Minangkabou who had however granted it as a fief to the Sultan of Djohor. Thus it came about that when in 1689 the Dutch East India Company opened a factory for the first time in this region, they did it on authority of a treaty with the latter Sultan. Siak may be said to have become independent in 1721 when Radja Kéjil (according to a chronicle a son of Sultan Mahmud of Djohor, according to another a Minangkabou adventurer) who, coming from Siak had at first succeeded in dethroning the reigning Sultan of Djohor, but was later forced to flee back to Siak where he was able to resist there against Djohor. Jangdipertuan Besar Sharif Késim 'Abd al-Djalil Saif al-Din who now (since 1915) rules the country under the suzerainty of the Dutch East India Company is an indirect descendant of this Radja Kéjil.

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(W. H. RASSERS)

SIAM. Islam has made no converts in Siam. The Siamese of Thai (i.e. the mass of the population), Laotian, Birman and Môn origin who were long ago converted to Buddhism have remained impervious to it. Unlike what has happened in Western Indonesia, it seems that in the valley of the Menam there is an incompatibility between the Buddhist faith and the doctrine preached by the prophet Muhammad.

The Muslims in Siam consist of Malays, immigrants from Java, Afghans and in larger numbers, Muslims from India. The majority live in Bangkok. The Malays are the descendants of prisoners of war taken in the north in course of numerous campaigns of the Thai in the Malay Peninsula. We know that the first expedition dates from the end of the xiii century and is recorded in the

famous inscription of Rama Kāpheng (cf. G. Coedès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, part I.: *Inscriptions de Sukhodaya*, Bangkok 1924, p. 48). Many expeditions followed and secured a considerable number of prisoners to the victors who had conquered the whole Malay Peninsula. A nautical Arabic text of the first half of the xvth century indeed tells us that "Singapore is the last land of Siam in the South" (cf. Gabriel Ferrand, *Instructions Nautiques et Routières Arabes et Portugaises des XVe et XVIe Siècles*, vol. II., Paris 1925, folio 71 recto, l. 6).

The Javanese, the Afghans and other Muslims from India came to Siam to trade. In 1870 the *Siam Directory* mentions an appreciable number of "Muslim merchants", which had considerably increased thirty years later (cf. *The Directory for Bangkok and Siam for 1898*). In addition to these foreign Muslims there are a few Arabs from Hajarumūt (on the latter see the standard work by L. W. C. van den Berg, *La Hadramout et les colonies arabes dans l'archipel indien*, Batavia 1886).

The Sunnis are in a minority. The majority of the Muslims in Siam follow the Shī'a. The procession of the 'Ashūrā' on the 10th Muharram, in commemoration of the death of Hasan and Husain is annually celebrated. The procession of the 'Ashūrā' is preceded, as in Persia, by representations during the first nine days of Muharram, recalling the events that preceded the death of Husain (cf. the articles 'ASHŪRĀ' and MUHARRAM). The place where these spectacles are presented is called as in India *imām-kūrā* [q.v.], "the enclosure of the Imām".

The Muslims settled in Siam fast or rather claim to fast during the month of Ramaḍān, but this fast is far from being as strict as in the lands of Islam. At Bangkok the main features are the rejoicings which take place each night starting at sunset. On these occasions dates are specially eaten in memory of the Prophet, whose favourite dish they are said to have been.

The festival of 'id al-*afṣr* or 'id al-*qashr* [q.v.] which closes the fast of Ramaḍān gives occasion for great feasts and rejoicings, the elements of which are borrowed from local customs. The 'id al-*qashr* or feast of sacrifices which takes place on the 10th Dhu l-Hijja (cf. 'ID AL-APHĀ) is also celebrated with great solemnity and numerous sacrifices of animals.

The mosque of Bangkok is of comparatively recent construction. It is small, badly equipped and situated in the low quarter of the town.

The Muslims who live in Siam — one cannot not talk of Muslim Siamese, since except for Malays from the Peninsula who are Siamese subjects, no one, as far as I know, has ever heard of the conversion of a Siamese Buddhist to Islam — the Siamese Muslims have become Siamesed so to speak, instead of having converted the Thai, Laotian, Birman and Môn among whom they live. In 1898, I happened to meet in Bangkok an envoy of the Shaikh al-Islām in Constantinople whose mission it was to visit all the Muslim communities of the Far East. It was the period of Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid's pan-Islamic policy and the Turkish Caliph wished to be exactly informed of the reception his plans for propaganda in Siam, Indo-China and China had received. The emissary arrived from China completely disillusioned and he did not conceal from me that his pretended

co-religionists in Bangkok were only Muslims in name. "Even those who profess to be Sunnis", he added, "are regular infidels". Indeed Islam has neither past nor present in Siam and probably no future.

The above notes are based on personal recollection and information kindly supplied me by two confreres, Messrs. C. Otto Blagden and B. O. Cartwright, teachers of Malay and Siamese respectively at the School of Oriental Studies. So far as I know, neither old narratives nor modern works make any reference to Muslims strictly Siamese. In a letter from Fernão Mendez Pinto addressed to the Fathers of the Company of Jesus in Portugal, written at Malacca and dated December 5, 1554, he says: "But, my dear brothers, there are in this city of Siao (= Siam, the reference is to Ayutthia, the old capital) seven mosques of which the ministrants (*caetés*) are Turks and Arabs and thirty thousand families (*trinta mil fogos*) of Muslims in the town which is a great shame on the soldiers of Christ" (cf. *Peregrinação* of Fernão Mendez Pinto, ed. J. J. de Brito Rebello, vol. iv., Lisbon 1910, p. 161). In vol. iii. of the same edition (1909, p. 37) there is also a reference to a certain Heredim Matamode, i. e. Khair al-Din Muhammad, a Turkish captain, who left Suez in 1538 on the Egyptian fleet sent against the Portuguese in the Indies, whose ship lost the way and landed in Tenasserim. Khair al-Din entered the Siamese service and was employed on the Lanhós (probably = Laos) frontier with an annual salary of 12,000 cruzaes. Both these are cases of foreign Muslims who had come to Siam. It is obvious that the figure of 30,000 Muslim families living in Ayutthia in the xvth century cannot be taken literally. We shall not deal here with the Muslims from the Malay Peninsula who belong from the ethnographic, linguistic and religious point of view, if not the political, to the Malay Federated States. They should therefore be dealt with along with the latter.

(GABRIEL FERREAND)

SIBAWAIHI was the pen-name of the prominent grammarian of the Basrian school whose proper name was Abū Bisr Amr b. 'Uthmān b. Kanbar; he was a client (*mawla*) of the Arab tribe of al-Hāarith b. Ka'b. This name is explained by Arabic philologists as meaning "scent of an apple", but we cannot accept this explanation as the name is never stated to have been pronounced with a duplicated *ṣ*, and from the analogy of many earlier names of Persians containing the end-syllable "oe" we may assert with much probability that the word was pronounced *Sibaw* and was a term of endearment meaning "little apple, Äpfelchen". There is a great amount of uncertainty in the chronology of his birth and death, as well as regarding the place where he was born and died. From the most trustworthy authorities it appears that he was born in al-Baidā, a place in the district of Shīrās in the province of Fārs. He came as a youth to al-Basra and studied under the chief scholars in that city among whom al-Khalil b. Ahmad was one of the most remarkable, a man whose value to Arabic science has hardly been realised to the present day. Al-Khalil died in the year 175/791 and the earliest date given for the death of Sibawaihi is the year 177 A. H., when he is said to have been only 33 years of age, so that it may be possible that he

enjoyed the teaching of al-Khalil during the last ten years of the latter's life. Ibn Khallikān and others however have a large array of other dates. Ibn Kānī gives a date as early as 166 which is impossible, while other dates are 188 and 180, and Ibn al-Djauzi gives the year 194 and fixes his age at 32 years, a date which is also impossible on account of the known date of the death of al-Khalil. As regards the place where he died also a certain amount of confusion prevails, but the best authorities name the town of Sāwah. According to the *Tarikh Baghdad* of al-Khalīb it is stated that Ibn Duraid asserted that he died at Shīrās and that his grave is there. As Ibn Duraid resided many years in Fārs and is by far the greatest transmitter of the sciences of the Basrians we may be safe to assume that his statement is the correct one. Sibawaihi is a most remarkable figure in Arabic learning if only for the simple reason that the work of a man who attained no great age should have been found such general acceptance, because Arabic scholars have always attached undue value to the works of men who have attained a great age. It must have been after the death of al-Khalil when Sibawaihi had his learned conference with al-Kisā'ī (q. v.) in the presence of the wazīr Yahyā b. Khalid al-Barmaki (d. 182) on the Zunburiya question in which al-Kisā'ī got the better of Sibawaihi through the judgment of a Beduin, who probably was suborned for the purpose by the unscrupulous opponent. Sibawaihi received a handsome present from Yahyā, but the mortification at his defeat in the dispute was so great that he returned to his native country and never came back to 'Irāq. He is said to have died of grief.

The result of his studies Sibawaihi laid down in a large work on Arabic grammar (estimated at a thousand leaves by early biographers) which is not only the largest work of its kind which has come down to us of the activity of the Basrian school, but has ever since been the basis of all native studies on the subject and is known by the honorific title of *al-Kitāb* "the Book". As stated Sibawaihi had studied under al-Khalil, but he also profited by the lectures of Yūnus b. Habib, 'Isā b. 'Umar and Abū 'L-Khaṭīb al-Akhfash. Further the grammarian Abū Zaid al-Anṣārī is said to have claimed that it is he whom Sibawaihi refers to when in his book he states that he learned a certain explanation from "a man on whom I can rely". General opinion however associates with this person generally al-Khalil, and we cannot but give this general opinion more credence than isolated statements to the contrary by biographers. It proves however that the most prominent scholars were only too anxious to have their name associated with the Book. It is also fairly certain that Sibawaihi had no opportunity of teaching from his own work nor of reading it to pupils. This task was left to his teacher al-Akhfash who after Sibawaihi's death undertook a thorough revision of the work. It was not alone among the Basrians that the Book was eagerly studied but we learn from a curious story that al-Djāhiz presented to the Wazīr Ibn al-Khalykī a copy, which was in the hand-writing of the Kāfi grammarian al-Farrā', compared by al-Kisā'ī and finally revised by the donor himself and was considered a priceless treasure. If Sibawaihi himself in speaking Arabic did so with a decided foreign accent his Book has

always been considered as a standard of good Arabic. As one of the earliest books in Arabic literature it is in its style frequently very redundant and tiring by its prolix arguments, but it is filled with innumerable examples taken from the Qur'an and contains over a thousand verses taken from ancient poetry, fifty of which are by unknown poets, but they figure in later grammatical works as valid proofs on the great authority of the Book. These verses found a capable commentator in the person of Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sirāfi (died 368 A.H.), who commented in a similar way on a number of the most celebrated works of the Basrian school. After this time the commentaries on the books become very numerous and there is hardly one among the scholars who followed the Basrian school who has not either commented or added to the contents of the work. It will suffice to mention here some of the names of prominent scholars who devoted their energies upon elucidating the work: al-Mubarrad (d. 284); 'Alī b. Sulaimān al-Akhfashī (d. 315); al-Rummānī (d. 384); Ibn al-Sarrājī (d. 316); al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538); Ibn al-Hādījī (d. 646); Abū 'l-'Ala' al-Ma'arrī (449); and many more. The Book was studied in Spain with much eagerness and the Spaniard Abū Bakr al-Zuhayrī (d. 379) composed a short work *al-Isṭiṣṣāh* on additions of grammatical forms omitted by Sibawaihi (edited by Guidi, Rome 1890); the commentary by al-A'lam has also been preserved. While in the East the Book was superseded by later and more compendious grammars, the study of Sibawaihi appears to have continued in the Maghrib and though some biographers of Maghribis tell us that al-Makkūnī (d. 801) was the last who taught the Book of Sibawaihi in Fās, there is evidence from the lithographed editions of grammatical works of later authors in Fās that the work was still eagerly studied there at a much later date and copies have been preserved in the libraries of the intellectual capital of the West.

We possess three printed editions of the work, besides fragments elucidated by European scholars, and a translation into German, of which the Cairo edition with the Commentaries of Sirāfi and al-A'lam is perhaps the best, as the edition of Derenbourg (*Le livre de Sibawaihi*, Paris 1883 *sqq.*), the Calcutta edition of 1887 and the German translation by Jahn, Berlin 1894 *sqq.*, are far from being free of errors.

Bibliography: Fihrist, p. 51; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1310, i. 385; Zubaidī, *Tahkikāt*; Anbāt, *Nuḥat*, p. 71—81; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, Cairo 1326, p. 366 and many other works of biography; Ḥādījī Khaliḥ, *Kaṣf al-Zunūn*, Constantinople, ii. 281—283 where many commentaries are enumerated as also in Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 100—102; Flügel, *Gramm. Schuln*, p. 42—45. (F. KEENKOW)

SIBIR WA-IBIR, a name for Siberia in the Mongol period; in this form in Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Omārī (cf. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 141), text in W. Tiesenhausen, *Sbornik materialov, otnosyashchiesya k istorii Zolotoi Ordii*, p. 217 at top; the same source has also *Rīṣāṣ Sibir* or *al-Sibir* (ibid., i. 6 and 221 below). More frequently Ith-Sibir; e. g. Rashīd al-Dīn, *Ḍiyā' al-Tawārīkh*, ed. Berzin, in *Traité de l'Hist. de l'Asie*, vii. 168 (Ith Sibir, mentioned in connection with the Kirgiz people and the river Angara) and the Chinese Yüan-

ghī (I-th-rh Si-bi-rh, quoted in Bretschneider, *Med. Researches* etc., ii. 88; cf. also ibid., p. 37). The same expression was heard in the beginning of the xvth century by Johann Schiltberger, who reproduces it in the form Bissibur or Bissibar (*Reise und Taveln*; Hakluyt Society, London 1879, p. 49, 174). The texts in which this expression occurs are collected by Quatremère (*Histoire des Mongols de la Perse par Rashid-ud-din*, p. 413 *sqq.*) who sees in it (probably wrongly) an echo of the old names of two peoples, the Abar (Avars) and Sahir (in Mas'ūdi, *Tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, p. 83, 16: Sahir; this is said to be the name the Khazars gave themselves). (W. BARTHOLO)

SIBT. (See IBN AL-DJAWZĪ, AL-MĀRĪDĪNĪ, AL-TA'ẒĪDĪ).

SICILY. In the history of Sicily is to be found in miniature the story of Western civilisation. It lies at the heart of the Mediterranean, and it lies likewise at the heart of medieval wars, commerce and culture. The great movements of Phoenician, Greek, Roman, and Muslim met and fought their battles there, and there all of them have perished. The earliest days are clouded in the fusion of Sicels and Sicans, in the settlements of the merchants of Phoenicia on the promontories and along the sea-coast. A new era dawns when the Greek City States stretch forth their hands for new territory and settle at Naxos (735 B.C.), Corcyra and Syracuse (734). The process of colonisation went steadily forward for centuries, and the Greek element in the island became strong. At the opening of the Peloponnesian War (427) it seemed that Athens' dream of Sicilian conquest was to be. The result, however, was neither the victory of Athens, nor the tyranny of Corinth, but the spread of classic culture. Meanwhile Hannibal was displaying his Phoenician prowess. In 409 he reduced Selinus and Himera and returned to his base at Carthage. Thus that rivalry began between Greece and Carthage, which alone was to signalise the story of the island for several centuries. Dionysius I and II, Dion, Timoleon and Agathocles, Pyrrhus and Hiero II, were all to rule under the constant terror of Semitic onslaughts, and not until Rome dealt the death-blow to African rivalry did Sicily enjoy peace. And yet through all this long period the genius of civilisation was displayed in the harbours of Syracuse, the armaments of Tauromenium, the temples of Selinus, and the bucolics of Theocritus. And even when Greece and Carthage had gone down before Rome, there still fed Sicily the Hellenic spirit. Although the yoke of Rome was not oppressive, yet the slave element in the island was so large, partly through her unique history and partly through the Roman demand for corn from her fields, that revolts broke out in 132 and 102. Rome, however, fell before Vandal and Goth, and Sicily was doomed to taste alike the barbarism of the one and the unexpected toleration of the other. Yet Belisarius was still to appear and restore Roman power and and the lethargy of Roman decadence.

Meantime a great movement had been afoot in Arabia, which, if heralded by religious cries, was no less the overflow of a racial basin, and the bursting of the banks of an ethnic river. Muḥammad died in 632 A.D., but his politico-religious crusade went on. In Syria under the sway of Mu'āwīya the Muslim arms penetrated to Alexandria, where the Byzantine navy was crushed (652), and maritime power was placed in Arab hands. In the same year

was launched the first attack on Sicily, and although no Arabic historian has recorded it, the testimony of Theophanes is enough. The Euxarch Olympius defended the island, but the plunderers secured their booty, and sailed off for Damascus, with ships laden with treasures of flesh and blood, silver and gold. They returned to taste the sweets of Syracuse, which they savaged and sacked. These, however, were merely sporadic efforts out of the plenitude of martial strength. There was nothing determined or political in them. The days of Umayyad strength passed and it was from another quarter than Syria that the power of Islam spoke; and yet the instincts of Arab and Berber found a new outlet in the islands of the Mediterranean. From the days of Musa onwards the Corsairs harassed all these parts, and cast a paralysing fear over the islanders of Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily. In 705 Syracuse was again plundered, this time by Africans, who time and again throughout the century returned to their quarry and made definite efforts on the island. So troublesome did these become that the patrician Gregory thought he did well in securing a treaty with the Saracens in 813 for ten years, which pact they honourably observed. But the prize was far too glittering. The request for help which came from Euphemius of Syracuse against Michael the Stammerer in 827 was a timely pretext for a thorough invasion. Ziyadat Allah, the Aghlabid of Kairawan, sent off his hundred vessels from Susa on the thirteenth of June, and the real conquest of Sicily began. Euphemius disappears from the scene, and the Saracen alone leads the pageant of the next few centuries.

Asad b. Turah commanded a motley expedition. The untameable spirits of the Kairawan court were drafted into squadrons drawn from Yemen and Khorasan, from Syria and Maghrib, soldiers of fortune all. They attacked and reduced the first town on the island, Mazara. Then they tested their strength against Syracuse, but pestilence wrought its havoc and robbed them even of their commander. Affairs at home were in real peril. No Khalid appeared among them to inspire victory. The siege had to be abandoned. Their gloom turned to despair, however, when they saw their escape cut off by the Greek fleet, and they had to make off for the mountains and fortify themselves in the town of Mineo. There they remained until a fleet of Spanish adventurers appeared and supplied them with provisions and the needs of war. But the court at Kairawan was now secure, and, still unsatisfied with conquest, sent off a great fleet of three hundred ships, with 20,000 men. Led by Asbagh, they besieged and captured Ghaluliyah, where plague again achieved what Sicilian arms found impossible. Other enterprises, however, succeeded on the island. A division concentrated on Palermo and brought it to surrender. This with many smaller towns marked a real advance in Muslim conquest. It gave a very important vantage point for further subjugation. It provided a seat for the Amir. It definitely established the hold of the Saracens over Sicily. Indeed it made the attackers feel so sure of their new possession that they turned to challenging themselves, and that story of Sicilian schism begins which haunts the Muslim administration to the very end. The Spanish and African elements in the adventure maintained a constant friction, and even this was vitiated by the distinction of Yemenite

and Umayyad, Persian and Berber. By 840 a third of the island was under Muslim rule. Soon Naples asked aid, and the Arabian war-cry echoed on the slopes of Vesuvius, the plains of Calabria and the waters of the Adriatic. In 846 even Rome was threatened by the squadrons of the Muslim, and its gates were menaced by plunderers, who, unable to penetrate, gave what remained without to the sword and violence and sacrilege. The churches of Saint Peter and Saint Paul were not only destroyed but desecrated. But another expedition was still to come from Kairawan. In 875 Dja'far led a well-equipped force against Syracuse, and after a three years' siege the great city, rich in human story and civilisation's past, fell to the invader. The same tale of pillage follows, and follows also the passion and the jealousy, the faction and the dissension. Yet this victory gave a new charter to the plunderer, nor were the dukes of Spoleto and Tuscany innocent of sharing in the spoil. So complete in fact was the mastery of the Aghlabid that Pope John VIII deemed it wisest to pay tribute for two years. The Crescent had indeed eclipsed the Cross.

There still remained a few towns that had not bowed the knee. Along the coast the power of the Saracens was unable to subdue every place, and even within the large centres such as Palermo rebellion raised its head. In 900 serious insurrections troubled the peace of the capital. But darker still were the signs within the Muslim camp. What before had only been loud murmurings or covert moves, became now civil wars. Ibrahim appeared himself in Sicily to vindicate his name, and under the spell of his presence Taormenum and Rametta fell (908), but his death only heralded another internecine strife and prevented the settlement of Eastern Sicily. It was with a sigh of relief that the Muslims completed their treaty with the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus in 956, and when they had retaken Taormenum in 963 and Rametta in 965, the race of the Muhammadan in Sicily had been run. For 138 years he had been struggling for the mastery of the island, and for 73 more he was to enjoy it. Throughout all this period there streamed into Sicilian minds and hearts the culture of the East, and blended there with the precious heritage of Greece and Rome. The clash of mind with mind produced a type of life unparalleled in history. There was here all the mysticism of the East, all the beauty of the Greek and all the urge and activity of the Latin. Toleration was the only path to peace, and the Sicilian march if along no other road was certainly along the path of toleration.

After seventeen years of quiet the enemy knocked again at Sicilian gates, but Otto II, with a Western Empire behind him, had to retire discomfited from the fight. Only when the Eastern Emperor Basil II called his scattered forces together in 1027, for a final sally on the harassing marauders of his domains, did success come within sight. Although he saw not the end of his work, his subordinate Maniaces carried forward the scheme of conquest. Profiting by the disaffection of Abu 'l-A'far, he carried victory at every step for four years, and by 1042 Messina, Syracuse and many other cities were under Christian overlordship. Recalled however to satisfy domestic fears, Maniaces had to leave his work uncompleted, and soon the Muslim had recovered ground. It seemed that the Empire could not rise

to the challenge of the invader. But in 1060 the hour struck and the man appeared. Messina still struggling against the doom of Saracenic capture, appealed to the Norman Count Roger of Hauteville. Strong in the possession of Italy, the Norman had been but waiting his time for seizing the island beyond. He responded to the call of the citizens, captured the city, and constituted it the capital of his kingdom. By 1071 Palermo had fallen, and in 1078 Taormenum was wrenched from Muslim hands. In 1085 Syracuse was won. Malta which had been taken by the Saracens in 870 was retaken by Roger in 1090, and thus was completed in a few years the whole conquest of Sicily. Norman rule prevailed over the whole island. Norman lords occupied the palaces, Norman troops commanded the forts. It seemed that all the glory that had been was gone.

And yet right at the heart of the Norman conquest the Arab culture found its life-blood. Hitherto in the welter of bloodshed and unchecked rapine, they had forgotten the finer arts of peace, but now when events drove them in upon themselves they discovered the treasures of their literature and poetry, their law and their science. Not only were they now freed from fighting; they were definitely protected by Roger, who, unprejudiced even in his Christianity, encouraged the men of Islam to cultivate their gifts if not to advance their faith. He was even accused of being a Muslim himself. Being himself uncultured he saw the greatness of Arabian genius and learning with unclouded eyes, and he refused to crush its spirit. He gave full liberty to the Muhammadans to follow their religion, and even prohibited Christians proselytising among them. Under the Norman feudal system he made the yoke rest lightly on their necks. He maintained the Muslim system of administration, and even the same Muslim officials continued to act under him. The merchants of Palermo are said to have been mainly Muhammadan under Norman domination, and his best financiers were certainly of that faith. The land was entirely under the cultivation of the Moors, who in Spain had shewn how skilfully they could make the land yield its best fruits. Papyrus, sugar-cane, flax, olives were all grown in abundance on the island. Where water was scarce great irrigating systems were laid down, and every part of the island utilised. It is said that in the Valley of Mazara no fewer than two million people lived at this period. The science of Medicine was cultivated also and the court of Roger was notable no less for the skill than for the number of its physicians. The Arabic language flourished there as the principal means of communication, and it was also the official tongue. There the Golden Odes and Romances, redolent of Arabian deserts, resounded with delight and charm in the ears of Greek and Norman. There the masterpieces of Plato and Aristotle were translated. There the Arab ideals of chivalry, permeating as they do every one of their romances, set Roger and his court along a new line of European adventure, destined to add lustre to his name and dynasty.

None saw more clearly than Roger the greatness of his Sicilian prize, and well did he guard it both from political intrigue and religious rivalry, but the day soon dawned when his sons despised their birthright, and gradually Muslim thought, language, science and culture sank into disrepute

and finally into oblivion. Yet so long as Greek and Saracen were protected and favoured, so long was Sicily the most brilliant of European kingdoms.

Bibliography: The best modern authority is Michele Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, 1854, 3 vols. and *Biblioteca arabo-sicula ossia raccolta di tutti i testi arabi che toccano la geografia, storia, biografia e la bibliografia della Sicilia*, 1857. — Consult also Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. vi, Library Edition; S. P. Scott, *History of the Moorish Empire in Europe*, 1904, 3 vols.; Idms, *Nefat al-Maghrib*, ed. and transl. by Dozy and de Goeje, 1866; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, ed. Tornberg and also; Fagnan's selection of the occidental passages; Ibn Battuta, Paris ed.

(T. CROUTHER GORDON)

AL-SID, Spanish *el-Cid*, the Cid, the name by which the most celebrated and the most popular of the heroes of Castilian chivalry is known; he played a preponderating political part in Muslim Spain of the second half of the eleventh century, and we can now gain an idea of his real personality by removing all the legendary matter that has grown up around his life and his exploits. It is to the Dutch scholar R. Jory, that the honour is due of having established, as a result of his examination in 1844 of the manuscript of the *Dhakhira* of Ibn Basim preserved in Gotha, that the story of the *Crónica General* of Alfonso the Wise relating to the Cid, which up till then had been considered a pure invention, is really translated from the Arabic, and probably from a work of the Valencian Muhammad b. Khalaf Ibn 'Alkama (428—509 = 1036/1037—1116) called *al-Bayān al-wāḍiḥ fī l-milām al-fāḍiḥ* (cf. also F. Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico*, p. 176, N^o 140) and that it is contemporary with the Cid. This historian was thus able to base his reconstruction of the biography of the Cid on solid and authentic foundations and to show, by a series of careful deductions, how all the romantic alterations in his story had arisen which had long been considered worthy of belief and had given birth to the legendary Cid of poetry and of the theatre.

This knight who was called Rodrigo Díaz da Vivar, was descended from a noble Castilian family and was born at Burgos during the first half of the xth century. It has not been possible to fix the exact year in which he was born; 1026 according to some, 1040 according to others. It is known that in 1064 he distinguished himself, on the side of Sancho II of Castile in a war which this sovereign waged against Sancho of Navarre. He defeated at this time a knight of Navarre in single combat and the success stood him in good stead in the Castilian army, whose commander-in-chief he became (or the "Standard-bearer of the King") with the title of Campeador

(Latin *campiator* written by the Arabs **الكنيتر** *al-kunaytir*, the equivalent of the Spanish Arabic *mudarris* or *barrān*, "the champion who comes out of the ranks, when two armies are ranged against one another, to challenge an enemy to single combat"). A short time afterwards thanks to the counsels of Rodrigo Díaz, Sancho II made himself master of the Kingdom of Léon by taking his own brother Alfonso prisoner at Burgos. The latter was able to flee to the Muslim king

of Toledo al-Ma'mūn, of the dynasty of the Banū Dhū l-Nūn. On October 7, 1072, Sancho of Castile was killed before Zamora which he was besieging. The principal Castilian knights then assembled at Burgos in order to elect a new sovereign. Reluctantly their choice fell upon Alfonso, King of León, the refugee at Toledo, but they determined to make him take an oath that he had had no share in the murder of Sancho. It was Rodrigo Díaz who took this oath from Alfonso VI in the Church of Santa Agueda or Gades of Burgos. The new king of Castile always secretly felt a grudge against him for the humiliation of this oath, but in order to conciliate the knight, then very influential, and to attach him to him he gave him his cousin Jimena (Chimene) Díaz, the daughter of the Count of Oviedo, in marriage (1074). Some years later Alfonso VI sent him to the 'Abbāsid dynast of Seville, al-Ma'tamid (see the article SEVILLE), in order to collect the tribute, which this Muslim prince paid in return for a nominal alliance with Castile. He was not able to prevent an encounter between the 'Abbāsid troops and those of the Zirid king of Granada 'Abd Allāh b. Bādīs; the battle took place at Cabra. Rodrigo took an effective part and made several Christian knights prisoners, allies of the Zirid prince, amongst them a prince of the blood, Count García Ordoñez, to whom soon after he restored his liberty. He himself returned to Castile, after successfully attaining the real aim of his mission, Alfonso VI, probably at the instigation of García Ordoñez, then accused Rodrigo Díaz of having appropriated a part of the presents which had been given to him at Seville to bring to the king, and he took advantage of the first opportunity — the expedition against the Muslims of Toledo undertaken without his consent — to disgrace him and to banish him from his dominions (1081).

It is from this time that the life of a "condottiere" led by the Castilian knight dates, that he began to fight, as occasion arose, the Muslims or his own co-religionists, on behalf of a third person or on his own behalf.

After an unsuccessful attempt to be taken into the service of the Count of Barcelona, Rodrigo Díaz offered his services to the Hūdīd dynast of Saragossa (q.v.), Aḥmad b. Sulaimān al-Muqtadir. The latter agreed to take him into his army with his mercenaries. He died in the same year and his son Yūsuf al-Mu'tamid succeeded him at Saragossa, while his other son al-Mundhir received Denia, Tortosa and Lerida. The two brothers lost no time in going to war with one another. Rodrigo Díaz continued in the service of al-Mu'tamid while al-Mundhir made an alliance with the King of Aragon, Sancho Ramírez, and with the Count of Barcelona, Ramon Berenguer II. Rodrigo Díaz soon won a great victory over the enemies of his master in spite of their numerical superiority, near the stronghold of Almenar, somewhat to the north-west of Lerida, took rich plunder and made prisoner the Count of Barcelona, whose liberty he generously restored soon after. He made a triumphal entry into Saragossa where the Hūdīd ruler overwhelmed him with presents and with honours. He had acquired at one stroke prestige and an ascendancy without parallel among his Muslim soldiers who from this time began to call him "my master", *sayyidī*, vulg. Sp. *señor*, which

was translated into Spanish in the form of *"mi Cid"* (the famous *Poem of the Cid* was originally called *"El Cantar de mi Cid"*); and soon this name prevailed (with or without the employment of the possessive). Rodrigo Díaz, thanks to his military talents, had become in the eyes of the Muslims of Spain a champion and an irresistible leader in war, el Cid Campeador.

In 1084, after an ephemeral reconciliation with Alfonso VI, the Cid covered himself with glory once more in Aragon in the service of al-Mu'tamid. When this prince died in the following year, he passed into the services of his son and successor Aḥmad al-Musta'in II and from that date he decided to conquer the Muslim kingdom of Valencia.

This independent principality which the grandson of the celebrated Ḥudūdī, al-Manṣūr, the 'Amīrīd 'Abd al-'Azīz, had founded on the fall of the Umayyad Caliphate of Cordova, had been united in 1065 to the kingdom of Toledo. When the Dhū l-Nūnīd prince Yahyā b. Isma'il al-Kādir in the year 1074 ascended the throne in succession to his grandfather al-Ma'mūn, he appointed Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-'Azīz governor of Valencia, who almost immediately declared his independence and allied himself with Alfonso II of Castile. But in the year 1085 the latter without scruple sold Valencia to al-Kādir who had been deprived of it ten years before and now gave his capital Toledo to the Christian king in exchange. The Muslim prince aided by a body of Castilian troops under the command of the General Alvar Fañez was able to make his entry into Valencia without striking a blow, but he very soon alienated the whole population of the town. When the Almoravid Sulṭān Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn landed in Spain to fight against the Christians and put them to rout at Zallūka (October 23, 1086) Alfonso VI recalled Alvar Fañez from Valencia; and al-Kādir before the repeated attacks of al-Mundhir, prince of Tortosa, had to appeal for help to the King of Castile, and to al-Musta'in of Saragossa. The latter saw in this a good opportunity to deprive al-Kādir of his kingdom, and secretly entered into an agreement with the Cid to seize the town, all the booty to go to the condottieri. But the latter, mindful of the gifts which al-Kādir had bestowed upon him, refused to touch the town and sent a new token of his vassalage to Alfonso. Thereafter with his army he made incursions into the whole district of Valencia, and in the year 1089, returned to Castile where he was received with honour by his sovereign. Then he regained the east of Andalusia with his army, numbering 7,000 men.

Profiting by the absence of the Cid, al-Musta'in of Saragossa had made an alliance with Berenguer of Barcelona, who was besieging Valencia. The Count of Barcelona retreated before the Cid, who promised al-Kādir, in return for a payment of ten thousand dinars a month, to defend his capital against all enemy attempts. A short time afterwards Alfonso asked the Cid to come to his assistance against Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn, and finding that his vassal did not hasten to join him, he quarrelled with him once more. Then the Cid, like a regular independent bandit chief, ravaged with fire and sword the whole eastern country from Orihuela to Játiva, marched against Tortosa, defeated the Count of Barcelona, and concluded a treaty with

him. Soon afterwards the Muslim princes of Tortosa once more sought his protection. He granted it in return for the payment of regular tribute. At this time, besides the sums which he received from the Count of Barcelona and the Muslim princes of Tortosa and Valencia, the Cid had also amongst his tributaries the Arab lords of Alharracín (al-Sahla), of Alpuente (al-Bunt), of Murviedro (Murbaitar today called Sagunto), of Segorba (Shubrub), of Jerica (Shāriḳa) and of Almonera.

However the quarrel between the Cid and Alfonso VI became more bitter and the King of Castile to put an end to the growing influence of his too powerful vassal, decided to deprive him of Valencia. Strong in the alliance of the Pisans and the Genoese, he came to besiege the town by land and by sea, while the Cid was engaged in helping the Muslim king of Saragossa against the Christian King of Aragon. Informed of what was taking place the Cid left Saragossa with his army and laid waste the county of Najera and of Calahorra, the particular fief of his sworn enemy García Ordoñez. The town of Logroño in the Rioja was completely destroyed by him and Alfonso VI had to raise the siege of Valencia without attaining any success.

During his absence, the Cid left at Valencia a Muslim lieutenant, Ibn al-Faradj, at the court of al-Kādir. The latter, in November 1092, was killed after a rising of the population incited by the *kādī* Ibn Djaḥhāf, who placed himself at the head of the city as president of the Valencian republic (*djama'at*), with a purely nominal representative of the Almoravid government at his side. Some months later, in July 1093, the Cid marched on the capital with the whole of his army, seized without difficulty the suburbs of Villanueva and of al-Rudya and agreed to make terms with Ibn Djaḥhāf, while maintaining a strict blockade of the town. Valencia now endured the most terrible privations and famine soon decimated the inhabitants. Compelled by these circumstances, the chief of the Valencian republic was forced to surrender the town to the Cid on the 15th June 1094. The Campador did no harm to the population, which gave him proof of the regard which it had for him, and showed a real respect for its new master. But the latter did not hesitate to burn alive a short time after the former president, Ibn Djaḥhāf, as a punishment.

From this time the Cid was absolute master of Valencia. After having, by a decisive sortie, put an end to an attempted siege by an Almoravid army, he henceforth thought only of extending his domains. In the year 1098 he had conquered Almonera and Murviedro. But he was growing old and felt that his career was coming to an end. He could hardly desire anything more. He had turned into a church the great mosque of Valencia and restored the bishopric of the town, which he gave to Jerome of Perigord. At last he was quite reconciled to his suzerain Alfonso of Castile, and he was allied to two royal houses of the Peninsula, through the marriages of his daughters, Maria with Ramon Berenguer III, and Christina with the son of Navarre Ramiro. He then tried to take Játiva (Shāḥiḥa, q. v.) from the Almoravids but his army was routed. The Cid full of wrath and broken-hearted by this disaster succumbed not long after in the middle of 1099.

After the death of the Cid, his widow Jimena

resisted, for about two years, the incessant attacks of the Almoravids. Valencia was besieged at the end of the year 1101 by the Lantúni general al-Mandali. It sustained the siege for seven months but on the advice of Alfonso VI, who had come to relieve it, Jimena decided to evacuate Valencia, which she ordered to be burned on her departure. When the Almoravid troops entered it, on the 5th May 1102, they found nothing but ruins. Jimena transported the body of the Cid to Castile; it was buried near Burgos, in the convent of San Pedro of Cardena. Jimena was herself buried there when she died five years later in the year 1104.

Bibliography: As has been already noted, the essential work on the life and historical careers of the Cid is that of R. Dozy, *Le Cid d'après de nouveaux documents*, Leiden 1860, reprinted in his *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le moyen-âge*, Paris—Leiden 1881 (3rd ed.), II, p. 1—233. The following Arab authors deal at more or less length with the Cid: Ibn Bazzām, *Djaḥhāf*, iii. (Gotha MS. 266), Arabic text and transl. in Dozy, *op. cit.*, p. 8—28 and iii.—xviii.; Ibn al-Kardabbā, *K. al-Iktifā'*, *ibid.*, p. xviii.—xxvii.; Ibn al-Abḥār, *al-Fullat al-Siyarā'*, *ibid.*, p. xxv.—xxxi.; al-Maḥḥārī, *Nuṣṣa al-Thi, Analecta*, ..., II, p. 754 and *ibid.*, p. xxxi.—xxxii.; *Fragment anonyme inédit*, dans Ibn al-Iḥārī, *al-Rayān al-Muḥarib*, vol. III, ed. and transl. E. Lévi-Provençal (in press), Appendix I. (chapter on Ibn Djaḥhāf). Cf. also Dozy's work: *Revue Hispanique*, 1909, xz., 316—428, 1910, xxiii., 424—476, *Bulletin Hispanique*, 1914, xvi., 80—86. A complete European bibliography of the Cid is found in B. Sanchez Alonso, *Fuentes de la Historia española*, Madrid 1919, Nos. 648 to 683. Cf. also the recent work of A. Gonzalez Palencia, *Historia de la España musulmana*, Barcelona 1925, p. 75—77.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-SIDDĪQ (probably the Aramaic *saddiq*), surname of the first caliph Abū Bakr, means "the eminently veracious" and "he who always accepts, or confirms, the truth".

According to Ibn Ishāq, Abū Bakr received this surname because when the Muslims' faith in Muḥammad had been shaken by his account of the *mī'rāj*, Abū Bakr testified that the Prophet's description of Jerusalem was strictly truthful, thereby restoring their belief in him. Another tradition relates that Muḥammad had complained to Gabriel of his people's lack of faith; the Archangel replied: "Abū Bakr believes in thee (*yaqḍidhuka*), for he is *al-siddiq*".

The saying: *wa-'lladhī dja'a bi-'l-siddiq wa-qadaḥa bihi*, in Sūra xxxix. 35, which has been rendered: "But he who brought the truth and he who accepted it as the truth", is referred, in a tradition attributed to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, to Muḥammad and Abū Bakr respectively; this explanation seems to owe something to the latter's surname.

In the Qur'ān the epithet *al-siddiq* is given only to Joseph (xii. 46), in the sense of veracious. *Siddiq*, in conjunction with *nabī*, is applied to Idrīs (xix. 57) and Abraham (xix. 42); the virgin Mary is called *siddīqa* (v. 79), and true believers in general are called *al-siddīqūn* (lviii. 18 and iv. 18).

Those who claim descent from Abū Bakr are usually styled *al-Bakrī al-Siddiqī*; when only one

of these *ansūb* is used for brevity's sake, al-Siddiq is preferred.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 264; Tabari, ed. de Goeje, i. 2133; Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, iii. 1, v.; Lane, *Lexicon*, iv. 1667, a and 1668, a, c; Barbier de Meynard, *Surnoms et sobriquets dans la littérature arabe*, in *J. A.*, series 10, x. 62; J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin and Leipzig 1926, p. 49; Fränkel, *De vocabulis in ant. coran. arab. et in Corano peregrinis*, Leyden 1880, p. 20.

(V. VACCA)

SIDDĪQ ḤASAN KHĀN, AL-KANNAWĪJ, SA'YID, ABU 'L-TAYYIB, Nawwāb Amir al-Mulk walā Dīār Bahār, an Indian scholar, born at Barāh (Barailly) U.P. on Sunday, 19th Jumādā I, 1248 (14th October 1832), the youngest son of Saiyid Aẓīd Ḥasan Khān of Kannaẓ U.P. and his wife Naḍīb al-Nisā' of Barāh. He was a descendant of Djalāl al-Dīn Dīshānīyān Dīshāngasht (d. 785 = 1384) whose grandfather Saiyid Djalāl Gularkh came to India from Bukhārā in 653 (1255). Siddiq Ḥasan studied mainly in Dehli. When a young man he entered the Civil Service of Bhōpāl and married the daughter of the then Minister of Bhōpāl, Djamāl al-Dīn Khān (1861); he became the second husband of the Begum of Bhōpāl (1870) and took part in the government of the State. He was active in furthering Arabic and Muslim studies and published a large number of works. His son Nawwāb Saiyid 'Alī Ḥasan Khān published a full biography of the scholar entitled *Ma'āthir-i Siddiqi* in which (Part iv., appendix) he gives a list of 222 works (74 in Arabic, 45 in Persian, 103 in Urdu); they include 25 not yet published. Van Dyke's attack on him is not justified. Siddiq Ḥasan died in Bhōpāl on the 20th February 1890.

Bibliography: Ed. van Dyke and Muhammad 'Alī al-Bihlāwī, *Ikhtisār al-Kunūf bi-mā kuwa maḥṣūn*, Cairo 1896, p. 106, 118, 313, 496, 497; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, p. 503 and p. 418; Clément Huart, *History of Arabic Literature*, London 1903, p. 432—433, 434; 'Alī Ḥasan Khān, *Ma'āthir-i Siddiqi*, Lakhnā' 1924—1925; Rahmān 'Alī, *Tadhkirat-i 'Ulamā-i Hind*, Lakhnā' 1924. (A. SIDDIQI)

SIDJILL, a mysterious word in the Qur'an, Sūra xi. 84, xv. 74, cv. 4, derived from the Persian سنگ and گل, stone and clay, and

meaning stones like lumps of dry or baked clay; this is corroborated by Sūra li. 33—34: "To throw on them stones of clay, marked by thy Lord." Commentators add that these stones had been baked in hell-fire, and interpret "marked by thy Lord" (xi. 84 and li. 34) to mean that on the stones were inscribed the names of the persons for whom they were destined.

Other interpretations, not generally admitted, of *siddiqit* are: what has been written or decreed (clearly derived from its likeness to *siddiq*, q.v.), Hell or the lowest Heaven (the word being considered in this case another form of *siddiqit*, q.v.). It has also been associated with adjectives derived from the root *s-d-j-l*.

Bibliography: Lane, *Lexicon*; al-Tabari, *Tafsir*, Cairo 1328, xii. p. 57; al-Suyūṭī, *K. al-Itḥān*, Cairo 1318, i. 139; A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klass. Ara-*

bisch, Göttingen 1919, p. 73; J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin and Leipzig 1926, p. 11. — On the hypothesis that in Sūra cv. these stones represent an epidemic of smallpox, see Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, i. Introduction, p. 147, and Fernandes y Gonsales, *La aparición de la viruela en Arabia* (Revista de ciencias históricas, v. 1887, 201—216). (V. VACCA)

SIDJILIN, one of the mysterious words of the Qur'an, lxxiii. 7 and 8: "Verily the register of the wicked is surely in *siddjilin*. And what shall make thee understand what is *siddjilin*? A book written". Explained by commentators as a place where a record of the deeds of the wicked is kept, and also as that record itself. It is said to be a valley in Hell: the seventh and lowest earth, where Iblis is chained; a rock beneath the earth or the seventh earth; a place beneath Iblis, where the spirits of the wicked are; a register comprising the deeds of the wicked, of the *ḡinn* and of mankind, or of the devils and the unbelievers. Without the article it is a proper name of hell-fire. Also said to mean anything hard, vehement, severe, lasting, everlasting (interpretations influenced by the word's likeness to *siddjil*, q.v., erroneously connected with the root *s-d-j-l*).

Though the *Itḥān* classes it among non-Arabic words, no acceptable etymology is supplied, and Dvořák does not admit it among his *Fremdwörter*; on the other hand lexicographers give it as a synonym of *siddjil*, prison, and this last word has evidently influenced the prevailing interpretation of *siddjilin* by Muslim commentators as a place where the record of the wicked is kept, rather than as that record itself. The text of the Qur'an admits of both interpretations, and most European translators, following Marracci, have preferred the latter.

Bibliography: Lane, *Lexicon*; al-Tabari, *Tafsir*, Cairo 1328, xxx. p. 60; al-Suyūṭī, *K. al-Itḥān*, Cairo 1318, i. 139; Marracci, *Refutatio Alcorani*, 1698, p. 787. (V. VACCA)

SIDJILL, one of the mysterious words of the Qur'an, Sūra xx. 104: "The day in which we shall fold the sky as *al-siddjill* to the books". Derived from *sigillum* through *seyḡḡḡ*, the word is used in Arabic for written statements of contracts, records of a *ḡāfi* in which his sentences are written, and, in general, writing, scroll or roll for writing upon or written upon. Lexicographers and commentators of the Qur'an, while recognising the word as foreign, have ascribed it either to Abyssinian or to Persian, one or both of these languages being usually made responsible for such like strange words; they have also tried to deduct its meaning from the Qur'anic context, thus interpreting it as the name of an angel, who folds the written statements of men's works, or of a scribe of Muhammad's, or meaning *man* in general in the Abyssinian language. Such scribes or angels, al-Tabari observes, are not mentioned anywhere, while *siddjill* in the sense of written document is well known in Arabic. The words that follow: *li 'l-kutub*, stand, according to al-Tabari, for *'ala 'l-kutub*.

Bibliography: Lane, *Lexicon*; al-Tabari, *Tafsir*, Cairo 1328, ed. i., xvii. p. 78; al-Suyūṭī, *K. al-Itḥān*, Cairo 1318, ed. i., p. 139; Du Cange, *Glossarium magnum et infimus Latinitatis*, s.v. *sigillum*; Fränkel, *De vocabulis in ant. coran. arab. et in Corano peregrinis*, Leyden 1880, p. 17. (V. VACCA)

SIDJILMĀSA (the forms *Saǧǧal* and *-māssa* are also found), an ancient town of Morocco now in ruins, which was the capital of Tafilālet. It was built about 200 miles S.S.E. of Fās, on the outskirts of the *Ṣaḥrā*, on the left bank of the *Wādī Ziz*, 34° 80' N. Latitude N. and 7° 31' West Long.

Sidjilmāsa was probably founded in ancient times. It is not however necessary to heed the local tradition recorded by Leo Africanus, according to which the town was founded by Alexander (= *Dhu l-Karnain*) as a home for the sick and crippled in his army. But the same author has preserved another tradition attributing its foundation to a Roman general who, starting from Mauritania, conquered the whole of Numidia and pushed on as far as Māssa, a town of *Sūs* on the Atlantic; it was at this time that he founded the town of *Sigillum mēre* (= *Massae*), thus called because it was the seal of his victory. In this legend we have a distant memory of the Roman expeditions of Suetonius Paulinus and of Hæmidius Geta (in the year 41 A. D. to the South of the Moroccan Atlas).

Be that as it may, even if the town had actually an earlier existence it was completely in ruins at the time of the arrival of the Muslims, since al-Bakrī tells us that Sidjilmāsa was founded in the year 140 (757—758) and that its development brought about the decline of the neighbouring towns of Tūdgha and of Ziz. Its foundation was the work of the rebel Miknāsa Berbers who had adopted the heterodox customs of the *Ṣūfiya* [q. v.] and had made themselves independent of the Arab governors of al-Kairawān.

Beginning with 155 (771—772), the town and its territory were governed by the Miknāsa dynasty of the Banū Midrār; the latter attained its apogee with Muhammad b. al-Fath b. Maimūn b. Midrār, surnamed al-Shakīr li 'lāh who returned to orthodoxy, took the title of *Amir al-Mu'minin*, and had coins struck in his own name (H. Lavoix, *Cat. des Monn. Musulm. de la Bibl. Nat.*, 1891, p. 401—402). He was made prisoner by the 'Ubaydī general Qjawhar, when in the year 347 (958—959) the latter besieged and captured Sidjilmāsa. In the course of time other Banū Midrār regained the government of the town, but in the year 366 (976—977) they were finally dispossessed by Khazrūn b. Falfal al-Maghrawī who, at the head of the Zanāta Berbers, was fighting on behalf of the Umayyad sovereign of Cordova.

Khazrūn and after him his descendants were at first simply the governors of Sidjilmāsa on behalf of the Umayyads of Cordova; then after the downfall of the latter they declared themselves independent and founded the dynasty of the Banū Khazrūn. But their tyranny and their impiety forced the inhabitants of the town to call to their aid 'Abd Allāh b. Yāsin, the promoter of the Almoravid movement, who in the year 447 (1055—1056) seized Sidjilmāsa; where he massacred all the Maghrawa whom he found there.

This was the end of the independence of Sidjilmāsa and henceforth the town and its territory were always, theoretically at least, a dependency of the empire of Morocco; but on account of its eccentric situation on the edge of the desert, it was at all times a hotbed of sedition and of revolts provoked, sometimes by the local governments desirous of making themselves independent,

sometimes by the turbulent Arab tribes of the neighbourhood, sometimes even by the inhabitants wearied by the exactions of the central power and always ready to support its enemies, the kings of Tlemcen or pretenders belonging to the reigning family.

In 541 (1146—1147) on the fall of the Almoravid dynasty, the inhabitants of Sidjilmāsa took the side of the agitator Muhammad b. Hūd al-Hādī who had already stirred up the *Sūs* and the *Dar'a*; but he was crushed by the Almohad chief Abū Ḥafṣ who then took possession of the town.

In the year 640 (1243—1243) the Almohad governor of Sidjilmāsa, 'Abd Allāh b. Zakariyā al-Kharraǧī delivered over the town to the Ḥafṣid prince Abū Zakariyā, who had just seized Tlemcen, but the Almohad Sulṭān 'Alī al-Sa'id recaptured the place.

In the year 653 (1255—1256) the Marinid prince Abū Yahyā b. 'Abd al-Hakḥ took possession of Sidjilmāsa. But as early as 655 (1257—1258) a section of the inhabitants asked the 'Abd al-Wādī of Tlemcen, Yaghmurāsan to come and occupy it. Abū Yahyā, warned in time, came and took possession of the place which Yaghmurāsan could only besiege without result.

In the year 657 (1258—1259) the Marinid governor al-Kīrīnī made himself independent; but the people rebelled against him and appealed to the Almohads.

In the year 660 (1261—1262) the Marinid troops came to besiege Sidjilmāsa without success. Later under the pressure of the Arab tribe of the Munabbāt, the inhabitants recognised the authority of Yaghmurāsan. But when the Sulṭān Ya'qūb b. 'Abd al-Hakḥ had won the whole of the Maghrib for the Marinids he went to attack Sidjilmāsa, at the siege of which artillery was employed for the first time in Morocco; the town was taken in *Ṣafar* 673 (August-September 1274). The 'Abd al-Wādī governors, the garrison as well as the chiefs of the Munabbāt, were massacred and the inhabitants reduced to slavery.

From this event dates the decline of Sidjilmāsa. Its name is often found mentioned in the history of the civil wars of Morocco and it seems to have had to suffer greatly from the oppression of the neighbouring Arab tribes, especially those of the *Ahlāf* Ibn Baṭṭūta, who visited Sidjilmāsa in 752 (1351—1352) says that it is amongst the most beautiful of towns. But Leo Africanus, who spent six months in this district in the first part of the xvth century says that after a rising of the people, who had killed their governor, the town was entirely destroyed and the inhabitants retreated into the country or into castles (*ḥūr*) where they lived, some of them independent, others tributaries of the Arabs. Thus we must not be led astray by modern Moroccan historians who frequently use Sidjilmāsa for the 'district of Sidjilmāsa' or of 'Tafilālet'.

For the last time Sidjilmāsa appeared in history when in the first half of the xvth century on account of the fall of the Sharfī dynasty of the Sādians, the *Shurafa'* made themselves independent and founded the present dynasty of the 'Alawīs or *Filāla* (cf. *FILĀLA*, *EDOUX*).

The Arab geographers have given us a glowing picture of the Sidjilmāsa of the Middle-Ages. Situated in the middle of a plain, fertile because

well watered, it was surrounded by gardens and orchards which stretched along the Wādī Zīr for more than four parasangs from the town. There there grow in abundance the most delicious varieties of grapes and dates which alone furnished the bulk of the food of the inhabitants; cereals grew very well there and gave harvests for three consecutive years without the necessity of sowing. The crops of the neighbourhood included in addition cotton, cumin, caraway, and beans which were exported into the whole of the Maghrib. As peculiar to the town, the Arab authors point out that flies are not found there, but dogs are eaten as well as a kind of fat lizard (*hirghann*) and that the inhabitants for the most part suffered from ophthalmia. The only notable industry was the preparation of a magnificent material made from a very fine wool which the women excel in knitting. The town, well peopled and very extensive, was composed of strong castles, buildings and of houses each built in the middle of a garden.

Its situation at the gate of the *Ṣaharā* made Sidjilmāsa a very suitable starting point for caravans going to the land of the negroes, especially to Ghāna or returning from there. Dates were the principal article of export; slaves were brought from the Sūdān, gold dust, ivory and hides.

The people of the town did not content themselves with doing a thriving trade at home; they went themselves to the Sūdān and showed great hardihood in their journeys. From Sidjilmāsa several routes led to the chief centres of North Africa, Darfa, Aghmār Warika, Fās, Tīlahrit (part of the Nadruma district), Ujdja, Tlemcen and even to Cairo, by the desert and Bahmāsa.

Sidjilmāsa with Fās was one of the two great centres for Moroccan pilgrims to assemble, going to the Hīdžāz and their inhabitants often supplied the *amir rikāb al-ḥanāḍī*. This is how it came about that one of them, at the beginning of the Marinid dynasty, having had occasion to go in this capacity several times to the Hīdžāz became acquainted with the Sayyid al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlīm at Yanbūʿ al-Nakhīl, a Hasanid sharif, whom he asked to return with him to Sidjilmāsa so that by the help of his *ḥaraka* the fruit of the palm-trees of the town could attain maturity. The sharif accepted, arrived at Sidjilmāsa in 664 (1265–1266) and became the ancestor of the *Sharfā* [q. v.] *sidjilmāsiyyūn*, who gave Morocco the dynasty which reigned from 1075 (1664).

At the present day the ruins of Sidjilmāsa, visited by René Caillé in 1828, then by Rohlfs in 1864 and by W. Harris in 1893–1894, are euphemistically called by the natives *al-madīna l-nāma*, 'the inhabited town', and lie along the east bank of the Wādī Zīr for about 5 miles; there is nothing left but one minaret still standing, in a bridge across the Zīr, and enormous masses of clay walls everywhere somewhat ruined.

Bibliography: — Arab authors: see the indices to the editions of al-Bakrī, al-Idrīsī, Abū l-Fida, al-Dimashqī, al-Masʿūdī, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa; of *Rawḍat al-Nisrīn*, al-Dahhrat al-saniya, ed. Ben Chench; of al-Zaylānī, ed. Houdas; of al-Ifrānī, ed. Houdas; of Aḥmad al-Nāṣirī, *Kirāb al-tiḡāṣ*, partly transl. in *A. M.*, t. x., xxxi, xxxi, the *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, transl. E. Fagnan, 1924; Waṣf Shāh, *Abriq*, p. 104; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s. v.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Iber*, index to the French transl. by de Slane;

Leo Africanus, ed. Schefer, vol. iii., p. 221, 223, 227–230.

European authors: Gerhard Rohlfs, *Fahrt durch Marokko*, Bremen 1868, p. 61; W. B. Harris, *Tafel*, 1895, pp. 229, 261–267, 273–275, 283–285; E. Mercier, *Sidjilmāsa selon les auteurs arabes*, R. A., 1867, p. 233, 274; (Georges S. COLIN)

SIDON, the celebrated town of ancient Phoenicia, the name of which is found as early as the Tell Amarna tablets in the form *Sidānu*, played only a modest part in the Muslim world. The Arabs call it *Ṣaydā*. According to Balādhuri, it was taken without difficulty by Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān; the future Caliph Muʿāwīya commanding the advance-guard on this occasion. This must have been about 637 A.D. The Arab geographers tell us very little about *Ṣaydā*. They mention that it belonged to the administrative district of Damascus; Kudāma observes that it was the military harbour of this region and Muḥaddas also mentions that it was fortified. Ibn Khordādhbih says that the road from Antioch to Gaza touched the town. According to Ibn al-Fakīh, *Ṣaydā* was one of the most marvellous towns and noble provinces; this verdict is probably based entirely on literary tradition. Muḥaddas condemns the language of the inhabitants as particularly 'barbarous'.

The town only became a little more prominent in the Crusading period. Among the Crusaders the name appears as *Sagitta* (*Sagette*, *Sayette*), a translation of the Arabic *Ṣaydā*. According to Yāqūt, the town was also called *ṭrīb*. The histories of the Crusaders record that the siege of the town was raised in 1107 on payment of a sum of money. According to the Arab version Baldwin retreated in 501 (1107/1108) when his fleet was defeated by the Egyptians and a Muslim army was approaching from Damascus to relieve it. According to the French accounts, the town was taken on December 19, 1111 (Ibn al-Athīr gives 20th Djumādā I, 504, which corresponds to December 4, 1110). The siege lasted forty-seven days; sixty Frank ships (Norman and Venetian) surrounded the town on the sea side, and Baldwin advanced by land from Jerusalem. The town surrendered under favourable conditions, which were observed at first, but Baldwin later levied an indemnity of 20,000 dinars on the inhabitants, who remained in the town, which destroyed its prosperity. In 1187, Saladin occupied Sidon (according to Ibn al-Athīr on 21st Djumādā 583, i. e. July 30, 1187); the Crusaders had left it without striking a blow and Saladin had most of the fortifications destroyed. In October 1197 (Ibn al-Hidjra 593, A.H.), there was a fierce encounter at *Ṣaydā* between Crusaders and Muslims, which lasted into the night and remained undecided. Al-Malik al-ʿAdil then had the remains of the defences destroyed. In 625 (1228) *Ṣaydā* was taken by the Crusaders and again fortified. In 1249, it was taken by Aiyūb, in 1253 occupied and fortified by Louis IX of France, in 1260 sacked by the Mongols, in the same year taken by the Templars, who remained here till 1291 in which year it was taken by the Muslims for the last time and its defences razed by al-Ashraf. At a later period a great deal was done for the town by the Druse ruler Fakhr al-Dīn (1595–1634). His castle is now in ruins but the market erected by him for the European traders still exists as

the Khān Fransi. Unfortunately his fear lest the Turkish fleet might choose Šaidā as a base induced him to make the Southern (the so-called Egyptian) harbour useless. In 1791 Džazār Paša banished the French merchants from the town. In 1840 it was bombarded by English and Austrian warships.

The modern town occupies the site of the ancient Sidon, but it stretches a little farther inland. A peninsula runs out from the shore under the shelter of which is the large south harbour, now useless, and the smaller north harbour still used by small ships. The latter is also protected by a ledge of rocks against the waves. Near the entrance is a little island, the Ka'at al-Bahr, which is connected with the mainland by a stone bridge. Farther north-west is a larger island opposite the mainland, called el-Djerr. South of the town, on an artificial mound is the citadel Ka'at al-Mu'azza. The chief mosque was once the Church of the Knights of St. John and the mosque of Abū Nakhlār, a church of St. Michael. On the little island are the ruins of the Château de St. Louis which was partially destroyed in the bombardment of 1840. The town has about 12,000 inhabitants including 7,000 Muslims and Metāwile, 2,000 Greek Catholics and Maronites and 600 Jews.

The Roman Catholic Church, the American Mission and the Alliance Israélite maintain schools here. Large gardens surround the town on the land side. Oranges, lemons, pomegranates, figs, almonds and pears flourish here. The commercial importance of the town is small. Grapes, corn, cotton and gall-apples are however exported.

It is evidence of the intellectual life of the town that in 1921 the epistemology of the Arab philosopher al-Fārābī, the *Kiṣāṣ ʾIḥṣāʾ al-ʿUlūm*, was first published in the columns of a newspaper, the *ʿIrṣān*.

The Šaidā mentioned in Nābiḡha al-Dhubayṭī (ed. Ahlwardt, i. 6) has been sought in the Hawrān.

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(P. SCHWARZ)

ŠIFA does not occur in the Qurʾān but the infinitive *waṣf* is used once and the impf. of the I. stem 13 times in the meanings: 'to ascribe or assert as a description, to attribute' and always with an implication of falsehood. Thus of Allāh in Qurʾān vi. 100; xxiii. 93; xxxvii. 159, 180; xliii. 82 — all similar, fixed phrases; this standing implication is used in the *Mufradāt* of Rāghib al-Iṣḥāqī (p. 546, s. v.) to suggest that all descriptions of Allāh are unsound. (a) In grammar *šifa* means an epithet noun (on the epithet noun as opposed to the adjective noun see Lumsden's *Arabic Grammar*, pp. 266 sqq.) and is defined in the *Alfiya* (ed. Dieterici, p. 225, 3) as 'a thing which indicates an idea (*maʿnā*) along with an essence or substance (*dhāt*)' and in the *Mufaṣṣal* (ed. Broch, p. 46, 5) as 'a noun which indicates one of the "states" (*ahwāl*) of a *ḡāʾ*'. At the widest it covers the active and passive participles, the epithets assimilated to these (*al-ṣifāt al-muḥabbaba*;

Wright², i. 133 sqq.; *Mufaṣṣal*², 101, s. 109), the *afʿāl* of comparison and, dubiously, the *nisba*; on the last see *Mufaṣṣal*², p. 46, 17. When the active participle loses its temporary character and hardens into a substantive it becomes a *šifa ḡāʾiyya* (Balḡāwī on Kur. xxvii. 77; ed. Fleischer, ii. 74, 9). In syntax the qualifying clause to which the antecedent is undetermined and with which no relative is used, is not regarded by the native grammarians as a *šifa* but only as a descriptive, a *šifa*. (b) On the doctrine of the logical analysis of qualities and descriptives in philosophy and scholastic theology there is an elaborate discussion in the *Dict. of techn. terms*, pp. 1489–96 (under *waṣf*), giving classifications according to different orthodox and heretical schools. (c) The *ṣifāt* of Allāh are to be distinguished from his Names (*asmāʾ*). The Names are the epithets, like the *ṣifāt* above, applied to him as descriptives in the Qurʾān, following the wide use of such epithets in the old poetry. On these Names see especially al-Ghazālī, *Al-maḥḥal al-asmāʾ*. But his *ṣifāt* are strictly the abstract qualities which lie behind these epithets, as *ḡadrā* behind *ḡadr* and *ʿilm* behind *ʿalim*. A very important problem in theology is the relation of these *ṣifāt* to his *dhāt*. The resultant orthodox statement, after long controversy, is that they are eternal, subsisting in his essence, and that they are not He, nor are they other than He (*lā ḡayru mā-lā ḡayrūhū*); see Taftāzānī on Nasafī's *ʿAḡāʾid* with super-commentaries, Cairo 1321, pp. 67 sqq. and the commentary of Džurjānī on the *Mawāḥiṣ* of al-Jāḥi, BULAK 1266, pp. 479 sqq. The struggle was, in part, to maintain the internal unity of the personality of Allāh; in part, to do justice to the Qurʾānic descriptives of him; in part, to determine what were primary and necessary of these and what could be regarded as merely relations and connectives of these with the material world. It was a struggle with unbelieving philosophers, with Muʿtazilite heretics and, within orthodox Islam, between Ashʿarites and Māturidites; see Louis Massignon, *La Passion d'al-Hallaj*, pp. 568, 571 and especially 645 sqq. and the translations from Nasafī and Faḡālī in Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology*, pp. 309, 319 sqq. Also Sanli's *Prolégomènes Théologiques*, ed. and transl. by Luciani, pp. 162–216. Through it all ran the position of the *Mufradāt* [see above] that descriptions of Allāh must be, at the best, inadequate and misleading, and, at the worst, impossible. On Allāh's mystical manifestation of himself by means of his *ṣifāt* see Massignon, p. 514 and R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, pp. 90, 98.

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(D. B. MACDONALD)

ŠIFFIN, in Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 347: *Sapphin*, in a Syriac inscription of the beginning of the ninth century *ʿi*² (Chabot in *J. A.*, 1900, p. 285), a place not far from the right bank of the Euphrates, west of Raḡḡa, between it and Balis, separated from the river by a strip of marshland an arrowshot broad (according to *B.G.A.*, vii. 22, 15: 500 ell) and two parassangs long, overgrown with dense willows and Euphrates palms, full of waterholes, through which a single paved road led to the Euphrates. The place was made famous by the great battle fought there in 37 (657) between ʿAlī and Muʿāwīya. When ʿAlī arrived here on his march from Kūfa, the Syrians

were already encamped in the ruins of the city, which dated from the Roman period, and a detachment of troops under Abu 'l-A'war held the road to the Euphrates. In spite of his representations and his insistence that he had not come to fight but to come to an arrangement with Mu'awiya, the latter did not give way, although his wise councillor 'Amr b. al-'As advised him to do so. 'Ali then ordered his troops to attack and they succeeded in driving back the Syrians in spite of the reinforcements sent them, and gained the approach to the river; 'Ali then gave a new proof of his chivalry by allowing the Syrian water-carriers to get water alongside of his own men, which resulted in the latter fraternising in harmless fashion with the Syrians. Some time was spent in negotiations, which came to nothing, as Mu'awiya stubbornly insisted that the Caliph should hand over the assassins of 'Uthman, which he neither would nor could do. The negotiations were however continued and when a quarrel threatened to break out, the peace-lovers on either side managed to prevent it. According to Dinawari, p. 180 *sq.*, this state of things lasted throughout the two months Rabi' II and Jumada I of the year 36. This would however give much too long a time for the preliminaries of the battle which, according to Ya'qubi (*Tamkik*, p. 295; *Tarikh*, ii. 219), began at the beginning of Safar and is corrected by Ya'qubi's statement that the battle for the approach to the water took place in Dhu 'l-Hijja. It is probably also wrong when Tabari, i. 3272 says that 'Ali and Mu'awiya in this month repeatedly — sometimes twice a day — sent out prominent men with foot-soldiers and horsemen to fight each other, which however did not result in a general battle, as both parties were afraid of the fatal consequences of it. As Wellhausen suggests, we must here have a duplication of the fighting that took place later. To keep open every possibility of coming to terms, it was agreed to observe a truce in the traditional sacred month of peace, Muharram of the year 37 (June 19—July 18, 657). But even this did not succeed, and war was finally declared at the beginning of Safar and the battle of Siffin began. To obtain a clear idea of its course is not easy, as the narrators record a mass of single combats which do not give a general survey and serve only to glorify the individual tribes. They also give very divergent figures for the size of the armies and the positions of the divisions and their leaders. The fighting was conducted in accordance with ancient custom and each tribe operated for itself, so that it was a clever move on 'Ali's part to place the parts of the various tribes in his army so that they were opposite their fellow-tribesmen. The fighting, which was continually renewed and increased in extent, was by all accounts bloody and various notable men met their death in it, such as on 'Ali's side 'Ammar b. Yasar and Hashim b. 'Utha, on Mu'awiya's side Umar's son 'Ubadallah (cf. the lament on him in Ya'qut, iii. 403). 'Ali had great assistance from the brave and experienced al-Ashtar [q. v.] who had procured the Iraq troops free access to the water and now distinguished himself in several hand-to-hand fights.

The following is the account given of the issue of the battle. After fighting had gone on for a time without a decision being reached, al-Ashtar

succeeded in the night known as *lailat al-karir* (from *karra*, 'to whine', cf. Ya'qut, iv. 970) i.e. the night before Friday 10th Safar = July 28 (see Ahlwardt's *Assyriac Chronicle*, p. 349, 2; according to Tabari, ii. 727, 1, the night before the Thursday) and on the following morning in driving the Syrians into such straits that Mu'awiya lost heart and thought of flight, from which he was restrained by the memory of certain lines by Ibn al-Ja'na (cf. *Asma'i*, ed. Wright, p. 53, 573; Tabari, i. 3300, 12). In this dangerous position, the wily 'Amr b. al-'As advised him to fasten a few manuscripts of the Kur'an to lance-heads to express symbolically that the fighting should cease and the decision be left to the book of Allah, in contrast to 'Ali who sought Allah's verdict in the outcome of the battle (Tabari, i. 3322 *sq.*). 'Amr's calculation that this proposal would produce a split among 'Ali's followers proved correct. A considerable number of them declared that such an appeal to the decision of Allah could not be rejected; and thus 'Ali, who thought he had already won, was forced to call back al-Ashtar vigorously protesting, whereupon the battle ceased. The majority in his army also agreed to Mu'awiya's proposal that each of the contending parties should choose one of two arbitrators, who were to meet a later date and come to a verdict according to the words of the Kur'an. The Syrians chose 'Amr, as was to be expected, while the Caliph had forced upon him Abu Mithab [q. v.] who was not favourably disposed to him. The agreement was signed, according to Tabari, i. 3340 on the 13th Safar 37 (July 31, 657), according to Dinawari, p. 210, 3, not till the 17th Safar and 'Ali remembering Muhammad's example of self-restraint at Hudaibiya refrained from signing as Caliph. The armies then separated and went home, 'Ali's troops in deep dejection so that although undefeated they gave the impression of having suffered a reverse.

However attractive this story, with its good points and its sharp characterisation of the persons appearing in it, may be, it is doubtful whether it can be considered historical without further examination. All the accounts at our disposal betray a preference for 'Ali and an antipathy to Mu'awiya and particularly to 'Amr, who is readily credited with everything wicked; and we therefore very much feel the want of an account of the battle from the other side, which could be used as a check. But even without this we can indicate several points, which make it probable that there is a certain amount of bias present, as is certainly the case with the story of the arbitration in Adh-rum [q. v.] and particularly that much too important a part is credited to Mu'awiya's evil genius, 'Amr. Even if we assume that it was he who proposed the demonstration with the Kur'an, and that the necessary number of manuscripts was available in the Syrian army — according to Dinawari, p. 201, even the standard text of the Kur'an (cf. *qur'an*) kept in Damascus was one of them which was carried by five men on five lance-heads — it is evident that this means could only be effective if there was a receptive spirit present, so that it only gave expression to what many felt in their hearts. That this was actually the case is evident from several hints. Not only had 'Ali endeavoured to avoid the fatal war, in which believers fought one another and

members of the same tribe, even near relatives like father and son (Dinawari, p. 184), but the majority of the troops felt that it was unnatural and disastrous. This was why it was so long before the fighting actually began and why as a last resource they concluded a truce in Muharram. In this connection Dinawari records several features which supplement Mikhnaf's story in Tabari on essential points. While in the latter the *Kur'ān*, *Kur'ān*-reciters form a separate body with their own leaders fighting ardently (Tabari, i. 3273, 2; 3283, 2; 3289, 2; 3292, 16; 3298, 2; 3304, 20 and 3323, 2) and there is very little reference to *Kur'ān*-reciters in the Syrian army (3312, 2), in Dinawari these devout men (cf. Goldziher, *Verhungen, über den Islam*, p. 189) are eager advocates of peace who on one occasion succeed in stopping a battle which is about to begin (Dinawari, p. 181, 2 299). They were at once prepared to proceed to the appeal to the *Kur'ān*; and it was mainly owing to their influence that the fighting was stopped so quickly (ibid., p. 204) and when they were agreed on the appeal to the *Kur'ān*, they negotiated with the Syrian *Kur'ān*-reciters before the two armies and recommended the choice of two referees (ibid., p. 205). If 'Amr really proposed the demonstration of the *Kur'ān* (a similar use of the *Kur'ān* is recorded in the battle of the Camel, Tabari, i. 3186, 3188 29) he was only expressing an idea that was shared by many and therefore found ready support. It is also very possible that the striking point in the tradition, that 'Alī had already the victory in his hands, when 'Amr deprived him of it by his diabolic plan, is one of the embellishments with which admirers of 'Alī later explained the unsuccessful issue of the battle. But on the other hand it is quite evident that Mu'awiya had everything to gain by the appeal to the *Kur'ān*, while it meant a severe blow for 'Alī, so that it was no wonder that far-seeing men like him and 'Amr were eager for it, especially if they were afraid that the battle might result unfavourably for them. We must in particular remember that the battle had nothing to do with the question which of the two opponents should become Caliph. That Mu'awiya cherished far-reaching ambitions is very possible, but he was much too wise to let them be revealed at so early a stage. He kept strictly to his role as the avenger of 'Uthmān and declared himself ready to pay homage to 'Alī if he would hand over the murderers of the Caliph. This made him seem to be on the side of right and morality and, at the same time, as 'Alī could not satisfy his demands, it was a good means of preventing the conclusion of a peace. For 'Alī the appeal to the *Kur'ān* was absolutely annihilating; for the sacred book was to be consulted to ascertain whether his action in regard to the assassination of 'Uthmān made him unworthy of being Caliph so that he was de facto deposed at least for the time, while Mu'awiya's position was left unaffected by the result of the verdict. Finally we have to remember that from several indications, 'Alī's position among his own followers in spite of all personal sympathy for him had become rather weak, as the serious charges brought against him had made an impression, even on people favourably disposed to him, so that they must have come to wish that some higher authority should clear up the question. If right and wrong

had been so simply and clearly apportioned between the two opponents, as the narratives make it appear, the sons of Abū Bakr and 'Umar would hardly have kept on good terms with Mu'awiya.

The view we put forward is confirmed in a welcome fashion by a very temperate tradition which goes back to al-Zuhri in Ibn Sa'd (iv. 3), in which we are told that the two armies were tired of war and reluctant to shed more blood, which induced 'Amr to propose to Mu'awiya to have the *Kur'ān* displayed, and to summon the *Ukālā* to the book of Allāh, and thus effect a split among them. When 'Alī saw the apathy of his followers, he acceded to the demand of Mu'awiya and it was in reply to his question who was to decide by the *Kur'ān*, that Mu'awiya proposed the choice of two referees. The dramatic section in the usual story is completely lacking here.

It was quite to be expected that apart from the role credited to 'Amr, an explanation of the unsuccessful turn the battle took for 'Alī should also be found in the assertion that treachery was committed. The charge was made against al-Ash'ath [q. v.] whose past might certainly lend some support to the suggestion. All sources agree that he interceded vigorously for the appeal. According to Dinawari (p. 201) he feared that a continuation of the fighting might result in the enemies of the Arab empire invading it on all sides, a view supported by Mu'awiya when he heard of it. According to Tabari, i. 3332 29, he offered to go to Mu'awiya to ascertain his further proposals and 'Alī approved. On the other hand Ya'qūbī says (ii. 220) that Mu'awiya corresponded with him to bring him over to his side and that he threatened to abandon 'Alī if the latter rejected the appeal, whereby the Caliph was forced to accede, as all al-Ash'ath's Yamani fellow-tribesmen declared their readiness to follow him. After all that has been recorded above, such an explanation of what happened is superfluous and the fact that al-Ash'ath remained continually in 'Alī's service is decisive against it.

How far some could go in their efforts to explain the unfortunate result of the battle for 'Alī is seen from Tabari, i. 3346 29, where 'Alī is made to stop the fighting because he did not dare to risk the lives of the two grandsons of the Prophet.

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AL-SIFR (أ), the empty, translation of the Sanskrit *śūnya* in Hindu-Arabic arithmetic, the name for zero, and the origin of the western words *cipher*, *cifra*, *ziffer*, *chiffre* and *zero* with their derivatives (*decipher*, etc.). The question of the introduction or invention of the figures and of the zero has in spite of all palaeographical

research and study of the history of mathematics not yet been satisfactorily explained. In the oldest documents known to us, the Arabs, when they do not write out the numbers in full, use Greek numerals. Only at a later date do we find the "Arabic" numerals coming into use. The Arab mathematicians were made acquainted with the Hindu numerals and method of counting in the time of al-Ma'mūn by the Eastern Persian Muhammad b. Mūsā al-Khwarizmi [q.v.]; the earliest Arabic zero is found in the date 266 of a papyrus document (= 873/874 A.D.). The oldest absolutely certain reference to Hindu arithmetic with the 9 numerals was found by F. Nau in the Syrian Severus Saboklit (c. 662). It should not be concluded therefrom that the zero, that fundamental advance in numerical notation, was not then in use, for even later the nine numerals which we now call ciphers are distinguished from the special signs for showing that a space is left blank; we further know that Brahmagupta, the Indian astronomer (born 598), expressly prepared rules for calculating with the zero. On the connections with the abacus and the feud between the abacists and algorithmists cf. the literature mentioned below. The form of the zero is a circle among Hindus and Western Arabs, among eastern Arabs a point, presumably also in the Perso-Hindu tradition. The subscript zeroes like dia-critical points in the *Fihrist*, I. 18 sq. are remarkable.

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SIFR, glamour, magic. In the vexed folklore question of the relation between magic and religion the verdict of Islam is undoubtedly with the position of R. R. Marett that "religion and magic are two forms of a social phenomenon originally one and indivisible; primitive man had an institution which dealt with the supernatural, and in this institution were the germs of both magic and religion, which were gradually differentiated; magic and religion differ in respectability; religion is always the higher, the accepted cult; but between what is definitely religious and what is definitely magical lies a mass of indeterminate elements, such as "white-magic", which do not attain to the public recognition of religion, nor suffer the condemnation meted out to the indisputably magical" (*Enc. Britannica*, ed. xi, xvii, 3056). This holds exactly of the masses in Islam and of what may be broadly called orthodox Islam. Islam is a system of frank supernaturalism; for it there is our material world of the senses and behind that a world of spirits, into relation with which we can enter by means of either magic or religion. When we attempt to define the exact nature of that world of spirits, theories appear and bring the split between magic and religion. What is the origin and nature of these spirits? How do they differ among themselves? What is their independence of action? In what way can they be reached and controlled? Does such intercourse with them affect our relation to Allāh

and imperil our eternal salvation? For in Islam, orthodox and heretical, everything centres round Allāh and our relation to him.

So in the Arabia of Muhammad's time, the original habitat of Islam, if we leave out the elements affected by Christianity and Judaism, the spirit-world consisted of Allāh, the tribal gods and the djinn; and the links between men and it were *Sihr*'s (cf. above, II. 624 sq.), magicians and soothsayers, poets and madmen; the theory as to all these being one of unlimited "possession" by different kinds of spirits, in the sense of that term in modern spiritism. "Magic", therefore, as a term of modern folk-lore is distinctly broader than the Arabic *sifr*, literally "glamour", when *sifr* is exactly limited; but clarity as to the facts of the case requires us to take *sifr* in the broad sense, and Islam itself has very often, indeed generally, done the same. Murtazā al-Zabidī in his commentary on the *Lihyā* (I. 217 foot) quotes Tadhī al-Dīn al-Suhbī as saying, "*Sifr* and *ḥakīm* and astrology and *simiya* are all of the same *wādī*". Further, when Islam spread out of Arabia it entered into contacts with all the supernatural beliefs and magical arts and rituals of the different races and countries which it conquered; these were blended with the Qur'anic and Arabian conceptions and usages and formed an amalgam of the most heterogeneous character as to vocabulary, ritual, attitudes and even fundamental conceptions. This was thoroughly recognized by the Muslims themselves who, as we shall see, traced different kinds of magic to different races. And the confusion worked in two directions: (i.) the superstitions and nomenclature of Arabia were imposed on non-Arab and even non-Semitic peoples and (ii.) even fundamental Islam was deeply affected by completely alien beliefs. On all this see above the articles *BUDUH*, *ḤAFR*, *ḤADWAL*, *DJINN*, *FA'L*, *ḤAKĪMA*, *ḤUḤ*, *ḤAKĪM* and *MĀRŪT*, *IFRIT*, *KĪHĪN* and bibliographies to these.

But *sifr* in its exact etymology suggests the limited form of magic called "glamour". The lexicons assert that it is the turning (*ṣarf*) of a thing from its true nature (*ḥaqīqa*) or form (*ṣūra*) to something else which is unreal or a mere appearance (*ḥayāl*); *ṭahkīl* is often applied to this, based on Qur. xx. 69, and it might be what we now call "hypnotism"; but the more rationalistic tried to reduce it to simple jugglery (*ḥakīm*, *ḥakīm*), cheating the eye (*al-taḥkīl* *wa* 'ṭaḥkīl *bi* 'l-'ayn) by lightness of hand and flowery speech. So it comes to suggest the subtlety of working in nature, as of food in the body (this is traced even to Imr al-Qais in *Lisān*, vi. 12 foot, but the meaning there seems more the fundamental *ṣarf*), and beauty of utterance, as we speak of the magic of words (*ṣiḥḥ*, s.v.; *Mufradāt* of Rāghib al-Iṣṭihānī, p. 224 sq.; *Lisān*, vi. 11—13; *Lam*, 1316 sq.). In the Qur'ān, however, the references are much too definite to yield to such treatment. For the mind of Muhammad and for his environment *sifr* was a real thing, although the message given in and through it might, in great part, be false. On the psychological side, the first-hand phenomena strongly suggest hypnotism and, on the religious, the attitude of Muhammad was almost exactly that of the modern Roman Church towards spiritism. In the Qur'anic situation the background was the spirit-world of the *djinn* and the *ghaḥḥ*'s — evidently unbelieving and evil

djinn. By far the most important Qur'anic verse for the whole subject is ii. 96, which may be rendered: — "And they [unbelievers in general and Jews in particular] followed what the *shayṭān's* used to recite in the reign of Sulaimān [or against the reign of Sulaimān] — and Sulaimān never was an unbeliever but the *shayṭān's* were unbelievers — teaching mankind magic (*sihr*); and [they followed] what was revealed to [er by means of] the two angels in Bāḥil, Hārūt and Mārūt; and they do not teach any one until they say to him: We are only a temptation (*fita*); so do not disbelieve. So they [the learners] learn from the two that by which they may divide a man from his wife, but they do not harm by it any one except by the permission of Allāh. They learn that which harms them and does not aid them, having knowledge, indeed, that he who purchases it has no portion in the world to come. Evil, indeed, is that for which they sell themselves, if they had known it". The construction of this passage is very loose and there are several points in the translation which are uncertain; more than indicated here. In spite of Baldawi's compact style his exposition occupies more than a page (Fleischer's ed., i. 76, —77, 7) and there is a page and a half in the *Kashshaf* of al-Zamakhshari (Lees' ed., i. 93—95). In the greater commentaries it is treated at length as the *locus classicus* on magic; thus Tabari's *Tafsir*, i. 334—353 and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Mafātīḥ*, i. 427—440, in ed. Cairo 1307. But the general drift is unmistakable. The *shayṭān's*, say these commentators, are the source of magic; they listened at the walls of heaven (see below) and added lies to what they heard there; they brought this to the *ḥāḥim's* and made books of it; they taught these books to mankind, reciting them. This was widespread in the time of Sulaimān, to such an extent that it was said to have been the source of his knowledge and of his control over nature and the *djinn*. The Jews even said that Sulaimān was not a prophet but a magician (Rāzī, p. 428). This verse is an answer to them. For Hārūt and Mārūt see article above and also more below. Elsewhere in the Qur'ān (xxxvii. 6; xli. 12; lxxvii. 5; lxxxi. 8, 9) we are told that the *djinn* used to sit beside (*ḥunna naẓidu*) the nearer sky (*al-samā' al-dunya*) and listen (*istawā'a, istarāḥa al-samā'*) there to the Heavenly Host (*al-mala' al-a'la*) and that they are chased away from it by lamps (*maḥabbāt, ḥabbāt*) set in it for adornment but thrown at them as missiles (*ruḥūm*) by the angels on guard (*ḥaraz, raḥad, ḥifz*). They used to listen thus regularly but now (*al-ḥāḥim*, lxxii. 9) — apparently since Muḥammad was sent — they have found the angels especially vigilant against them. See a full discussion in the *Kashshaf* (p. 1535) on lxxii. 9, where old verses are quoted and traditions cited on the ideas of the Arabs on this in the *Djāhiliyya*. These Arabs had known such shooting-stars and had their own views about them. But with the birth of Muḥammad the vigilance of the angels was greatly increased. Yet this could have been only for a time; for the whole after history of magic represents the *djinn* as continuing to listen and to bring information to the *ḥāḥim's* and magicians. Further, the *djinn* (xxiv. 13) do not know the Unseen (*al-ghayb*), at least accurately, although evil *djinn* inspire and lead astray the enemies of the prophets (vi. 112). In Qur'ān xxvi. 221—225 is a significant passage telling how the *shayṭān's*

come down (*tanazzala*) to every great liar (*affāḥ*) and that these receive what the *shayṭān's* have heard and that the most of them (the great liars of mankind or of the *shayṭān's*) are liars, or that the most of the information is lies. The straying poets, too, follow them (apparently the *shayṭān's*), wandering in every *wādī* and never doing what they say. This is connected by the commentators (Baldawi, ii. 61, 43—62, 7; even fuller and better in the *Kashshaf*, ii. 1012—1014), and evidently rightly, with the *djinn* listening to the talk of the angels, perverting it and mixing it with lies and bringing it down to the *ḥāḥim's* and false prophets and poets. On poetry as thus inspired by the *djinn* see Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arab. Philologie*, i., pp. 1—121 and on this passage especially, p. 27, note 2.

It is only in Qur'ān ii. 96 that the word *sihr* occurs in connection with Sulaimān, but there are several passages (xxi. 81, 82; xxvii. 15—43; xxxiv. 11—13; xxxviii. 29—39) which deal at length with his wisdom, knowledge and control of the world and later Islām traced all licit, or "white", magic back to him. The other occurrences of *sihr* and its cognates are connected with the stories of Mūsā, 'Isā and Muḥammad himself. To the story of Mūsā and his contests with the magicians of Pharaoh belong almost all references in certain Sūras. Thus vii. 110, 113, 117, 129; x. 77, 78, 80, 81 (but verse 2 of Muḥammad); xvii. 103 (but v. 50 of Muḥammad); xx. 59, 60, 66, 69, 72—74; xxvi. 33, 34, 36, 37, 39, 40, 45, 48 (but verses 153, 185 of Muḥammad); xxvii. 13; xxviii. 36, 48; xl. 25; xliii. 48 (but v. 29 of Muḥammad); li. 39. Only in v. 110 is magic connected with 'Isā. With Muḥammad it is connected in vi. 7; x. 2; xi. 10; xv. 15; xvii. 50; xxi. 3 *sq.*; xxiii. 91; xxv. 9; xxvi. 153, 185; xxxiv. 42; xxxvii. 15; xxxviii. 3; xliii. 29; xlvi. 6; lii. 15; liv. 2; lxi. 6; lxxiv. 24. There are certain significant phrases and usages: *sihr* is opposed to *al-ḥaqq*, "reality", in xx. 77, 78; xliii. 29; xlvi. 6 and to the reality of Hell (*al-nār*) in lii. 15. — "In the Fire they will be asked: 'Is this glamour'?" eyes are enchanted in vii. 113 (Mūsā) and similarly in xv. 15, "our looks (*abṣārūna*) are made drunken (*shakkarat*) and we are an enchanted (*maḥḥūr*) people", i.e. we are glamourised, hypnotised (of Meccans); Muḥammad is "a man enchanted" (xvii. 50; xxv. 9) and Mūsā (xvii. 103); Muḥammad is "deeply enchanted" (*mutaḥḥar*) in xxvi. 153, 185; in the story of Mūsā an appearance is produced (*ḥaiyala*) by *sihr* (xx. 69); in xxi. 3 *sq.* various accusations are brought against Muḥammad — that his message is *sihr*; that it is "bundles of dreams" (*afḥāṭh aḥlām*), i.e. confused and untrue dreams; that he invented it (*iftarāḥu*); that he is a poet (*shā'ir*); he is required to produce a sign (*āya*) like the former prophets; in xxxviii. 3 Muḥammad is a "lying magician" (*shā'ir kadhib*) and Mūsā is the same in xl. 25; in li. 39 Mūsā is a *shā'ir* and a *magiḥim*, possessed of a *ḥimā*; *sihr* is called "plain" (*muḥin*) very often, *muḥṭarā*, "invented", in xxviii. 36 and *mustawir*, "enduring, firm" or "continuous, consecutive" or "fleeting" in liv. 2; in lxxiv. 24 (quite the oldest occurrence in the Qur'ān) the message of Muḥammad is called *sihr yuṭṭar*, "a magic derived or learned" from some one else; in xxvi. 36 *shāḥḥār* seems to mean an "expert, professional magician" (story of Mūsā).

The passages connecting magic with Muhammad will bear closer examination and throw much light upon the ideas of his time and upon his own situation in it. The traditional interpretation of lxiv. 24 in the *Sira* (see Wüstenfeld's *Ibn Hisham*, p. 171 *sq.*; Baidāwī, ed. Fleischer, ii. 308, 13 *sq.*; *Kashshaf*, ed. Lees, ii. 1548 *sq.*) labours to distinguish between the *kāhīn*, the *muḥṣin*, the *ṣāḥir* and the *sāḥir*, evidently using for the definition of *sāḥir*, *Kur.* ii. 96; but it is plain from the actual Qur'anic usages that such distinctions are impossible and that these four classes were closely connected *quo* links between the spirit-world and our world. *Kāhīm* occurs only twice in the Qur'an, in both places applied by the Meccans to Muhammad, once (lii. 29) joined with *muḥṣin* and once (lxix. 42) joined with *ṣāḥir*. Muhammad is called a *sāḥir* in x. 2, xxi. 3 *sqq.* and xxxviii. 3; he is "enchanted" (*maḥṣūr*) in xvii. 50 and xxv. 9 and "deeply enchanted" (*muḥṣar*) in xxvi. 153, 185. The two last expressions as used of Muhammad were evidently disliked, for the commentators give alternate meanings, "one possessing lungs", i.e. an ordinary human being. Several times the Qur'an, its message and proofs are called magic — xi. 10; xxxiv. 42; xliii. 29; xlv. 6; liv. 2; lxi. 6; lxxiv. 4. And Muhammad did not show any other signs of being a magician. He was not a wonder-worker like Mūsā, Sulaimān and 'Isā. In xxv. 9 he is only "a man enchanted"; no angel is sent to go with him, nor is a treasury (*kanz*) thrown to him, nor has he a magic garden of which he can eat, i.e. objectively existing. In xxi. 3 *sqq.* he does not work an *āya* in this sense. In vi. 7 if an actual book on *ḥirfīs* which could be handled had been sent to him they would have called even it *sāḥir*, i.e. there was no such sign. In the case of two passages in this context of magic (x. 2; xxxvii. 15) the commentators, e.g. Zamakhshari and Baidāwī, are quite sure that the reference is to miracles (*muwīd* *ḥurūf* *li* 'l-*āda*), but the whole drift of the Qur'an and even the passages themselves show that the reference is to the revelations which the Meccans thought proceeded from magic. The *sāḥir* in the case, then, must have been connected with the way in which the revelations came. In xxi. 3 the Meccans assert that they are confused and untrue dreams; and there are passages in the Qur'an which show that they, at least sometimes, came in what we now call "automatic speech". In xx. 113 and lxxv. 16 the Prophet is warned that he must not try to hasten the utterance of the Qur'an when it is being revealed by consciously moving his tongue; i.e. he must completely yield his speech-organ to it and let it come at its own speed (cf. *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī, part ix., p. 152 *sq.* of ed. Bullāq 1315 — *Kināḥ al-awḥād*). In v. 101 the bystanders and listeners when revelation is coming through are warned not to throw in sudden questions to the Prophet, as though he were an ordinary soothsayer. Being in the state of automatic speech he will certainly answer them, and truly, and they may not like the answers. See a mass of traditions bearing on this in Tabarī's *Tafsīr*, vii. 48—52 and a very clear statement in Baidāwī, i. 275 nlt. to p. 276, 11; the more rationalistic commentators, such as Zamakhshari and Rāzī, evidently did not like the subject. For automatic speech in later Islām see article *ṢIKHSA* above and references there; Islām

has fully accepted and described the phenomenon.

From all this it is plain that to understand these passages in the Qur'an we must combine the evident meaning of the text with what we know now of abnormal psychology. The phenomena above can be abundantly verified by any one in contact with a case of the very common automatism, "automatic writing", and they hold exactly of the much rarer automatic speech. But it was necessary for the early Muslim interpreters to make as firm a distinction as possible between the phenomena of Muhammad and those of the other links with the spirit-world. This they did by emphasizing revelation through *Ḥubrīl* as opposed to automatic speech through a possessing spirit. Probably many other references exist in the Qur'an, as undoubtedly in the Old Testament, to such phenomena, which have been similarly obscured. *Sāḥir*, then, on one side, was glamour and unreal, but, on another, it was very real. For Muhammad it was *heathen revelation*, coming from the spirit-world and in so far real, but perverted and amplified by its intermediaries, spirit and human, and in so far false. In the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, part viii. pp. 229—231 of ed. of Constantinople 1333 (*Kināḥ al-Zuhd*, trad. 73), there is a long story of a heathen king, his magician (*sāḥir*), an ascetic (*rāḥib*) and a *ghaṭīm*. The point is that heathenism is *sāḥir* and *kufr*, just as Baidāwī on Qur'an ii. 96 (i. 76, 7) equates *sāḥir* and *kufr* and lumps them in with *kāhīna*.

In the traditions on the subject it is impossible to say what goes back to Muhammad and what arose in later controversy; much seems incompatible with his usual strong common sense. Reference may be made to a most miscellaneous farrago in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim (*Kināḥ al-salām*), part vii., pp. 13—41, on medicine (*ḥibb*) and spells (*rukya*) lawful and unlawful, magic, poison, *shāṭiṣ* 's, *ḡāṣi* 's, *kāhīna*, *ṭaira*, *ṣaṭ*, all jumbled together. In part i., p. 59, if any one says, *muḥṣin* *bi-naw'i* *kaḥḥā*, "we receive rain by such a star", he is an unbeliever, and on pp. 136—138 the 70,000 Muslims who will enter Paradise without reckoning or punishment are those who have put their trust in Allāh and have not used cautery or spells or observed the flight of birds. Medicine, etc., is dealt with in Bukhārī, chapter *Tibb*, part vii. 122—140, and the interpretation of dreams, *Ta'ḥrīr al-Rūyā*, etc., in part ix. 29 *sqq.* On seeing the Prophet in dreams and on dreaming generally see Muslim, part vii. 50 *sqq.* All these subjects were, and are, in close association in the Muslim mind.

But though Muhammad was perfectly assured as to the reality of these phenomena, whether as glamour or as perverted revelation from unbelieving spirits, the early rationalistic theologians (*al-Mu'tazila*, *ahl-kalām*; see article above, ii. 670 *sqq.*) had many doubts. This comes out very clearly in the book of Ibn Kutaiba (i. 276—289) *Muḥṣatāṭif al-ḥadīth* (Cairo 1326, p. 220—235); see on it Goldziher, *Mos. Stud.*, ii. 136 *sqq.* The Mu'tazilites attacked, on grounds of reason and reflection (*ʿaql*, *naẓar*), the traditions which tell that Muhammad was bewitched; that was impossible in a prophet who was under the protection of Allāh (*ma'jūn*). Also, the magic spoken of in the Qur'an e.g. in the story of Mūsā, was nothing but juggling (*taḥḥīl*); the two angels in Qur'an ii. 96 were two men called Malik and the verse was to be understood differently. Against

that, Ibn Katalha brings the universal testimony of all Scriptures and prophets and the unanimous belief in magic of the most diverse peoples; also the explicit testimony of Qur'an *caii.*, *caiv.* — the two *Mu'awwidhat*; also certain farther traditions, especially a curious story about a woman who went to Bāhil to learn magic from Hārūt and Mārūt, thereafter sought the Prophet at al-Madīna in repentance, found him dead and made confession to 'Ā'isha, telling her the whole story. It is a very strange story with folk-lore elements about the preparation of magic *awāḥ* reminding of the Arabian Nights "Story of Badr Bāsim" and the *Khurāṣī* of Muḥammad b. Salama (*The Earlier History of the Arabian Nights*, in *J. R. A. S.*, July 1924, p. 374—379). A fuller form of the same tradition is in the *Taṣfir* of Ṭabarī (d. 310 = 923), i. 347, 23 to 348, 25; also in the *Kitāb al-anbiyā'* of Tha'labī (d. 427 = 1036), p. 30, 26 *agg.* of ed. Cairo 1314; in the *Mafāḥ* of Rūnī (d. 606 = 1209), vol. p. 434, 19—21 there is a much sophisticated and philosophized form of the same story. And, otherwise, all the narratives vary greatly; the different forms were evidently adjusted to the magic known to each writer and current in his time. Sharrāḥ [q. v.] tells it, too, in his commentary on the *Maḥāwāt* of Ḥariri, i. 211 of ed. Cairo 1314. Yet it does not seem to have been accepted in tradition. Of the great, old, collections only the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241), ii. 134, has anything on Hārūt and Mārūt and this story is not there (letter from A. J. Wensinck).

In the *Fihrist* (written between 377 and 400 = 987—1010) we find the magical system fully developed and with a rich literature behind it. The principal passage is in the Second *Fann* of the Eighth *Mabāḥ* (ed. Flügel, p. 308 *agg.*). The position of Muḥammad b. Ishāq, the author, who was apparently a Shī'ite and, therefore, at least tinged with Mu'tazilism (cf. *KALAM*, vol. ii., p. 673 above), appears in his statement. Magicians, he says, licit and illicit, all assert that magic is worked by the obedience of spirits to the magician. Licit magicians, whom he calls *mu'azzizūn* (from *ʿazzama*, "spell"; the word is not in the Qur'an, nor the root in this connection), assert that they constrain the spirits by obeying and supplicating Allāh, by abandoning fleshly lusts and practicing devotion and by bringing adjurations by Allāh to bear upon the spirits; the spirits then obey, either out of obedience to Allāh, because of the adjurations, or out of fear, because in the peculiar property (*ḥikma*) of the divine Names there is something which subdues them. Illicit magicians, whom he calls *ṣāḥarā* (pl. of *ṣāḥir*), assert that they enslave the spirits by offerings (*ḥarāḥ*) and by evil deeds, displeasing to Allāh, either omission of the ritual law or actual forbidden actions, such as shedding of blood, marriage with near kin, etc. This is openly practised (*ṣāḥir*) in Egypt and the adjoining countries, and there are many books existing upon it. The Bāhil of the magicians is in Egypt; Ibn Ishāq had been told of it by one who had been there and had seen actual survivors (*ḥāḥir*), magicians male and female, there. It is to be remembered that he was probably writing in Baghdad; this is still the attitude of the rest of the Muslim East towards Egypt. All these, licit and illicit, assert that they use seals (*ḥawāṣim*), various kinds of spells

(*ḥawāṣim*, *ruḥā*, *ḥiṣāḥ*), magic circles (*manāḥil*), fumigation (*ḍaḥḥan*), etc. A party of the philosophers and star-worshippers assert, he goes on, that they make talismans for all manner of purposes by watching the stars; these are engraved on stones, gems, stones in rings (*ḥawāṣim*). This is a widely spread science among philosophers; Indians believe in it and do wonderful things by it; the Chinese have artifices (*ḥiyā'*) and a magic of their own; the Indians have especially "hypnotism" (*ʿilm al-tawakkum*; cf. *J. R. A. S.*, for Oct. 1922, *Wahn in Arabic and its Cognates*, p. 516), Indian books on which have been translated into Arabic; the Turks have a science of magic and Ibn Ishāq had been assured by a trustworthy person that they did wonderful things of a physical kind, defeating armies, slaying enemies, passing over rivers, going great distances in a short time, etc. The talismans in Egypt and Syria are numerous and plain for all to see; but the working has been annulled by the passage of time.

Licit magic, which the *Fihrist* calls "the praiseworthy method" (*al-ṭarīqa al-maḥmūda*), is traced back to Sulaimān b. Dawūd who was the first to enslave the spirits (*al-ḥayāt wa 'l-ḥayātūn*) and make them serve him; the same is said for Persian magic of Djamshīd. On Djamshīd as a founder of knowledge and a controller of the *ḥayāt* see *Fihrist*, p. 12, 21 *agg.*, p. 238, 20 and for a fuller account of his place in Persian myth and of his confusion with Solomon see especially E. G. Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, i. 112—14. There was evidently an extensive magical literature ascribed to Sulaimān in Hebrew and Persian and due to that confusion; the names of three of his secretaries who compiled the books are given and there are further details on the names of these books in the long quotation from Djawbarī's *Kitāb fī ḥaḥ al-ṣarā'* (first half of viiith cent. A.H.), *Z.D.M.G.*, xx. 486 *agg.*, in de Goeje's article on the same, *Gaubarī's "entdeckte Geheimnisse"*; cf. also Fleischer in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxi. 274. A small part of this text was printed at Cairo (32 pp.; no year; *Maḥabāt al-naḥḥ*), omitting the introduction and extending only to Bāb iv. in *Faḥl* iv., evidently with other omissions. [There is also a complete edition, no printer or place but dated Djamshīd II, 1302. Cf., further, the technical, non-philological study of the book, based on a printed text and several MSS. by E. Wiedemann in *Beitr. zur Gesch. der Naturwissenschaften*, xxv., p. 206—232]. The *Fihrist* then gives a list of 70 names of spirits (*afārīt*) who entered the presence of Sulaimān and upon whom he imposed covenants (*ʿahūd*, *miḥāḥ*) using the Names of Allāh. These *ʿahūd* continue to play a great part. A tiny, undated, Cairene lithograph of 16 pp. has them as an amulet; *Ḥiḥḥ al-ṣarā'* *ʿahūd al-sulaimāniya li-ṣayyidnā Sulaimān b. Dawūd*. Another list of seven is also given, especially connected with the days of the week. This can be expanded from the account given in Kāzwinī's *Aḥḥ al-naḥḥ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, pp. 371 *agg.*, which also puts the *ḥayāt* under Sulaimān's control. Further lists and descriptions are in Damir's *Ḥayāt al-ḥayātūn*, ed. Cairo 1313, i. 177—187; Jayakār's translation, i. 448—480. The *Fihrist* then gives the names of some individual magicians and titles of their works, from the Greeks down to his own time. This can be controlled and expanded in some points from Djawbarī's list. All of these, even the

Greek Arios son of Stephanos, assertedly connected themselves with the Sulaimanic system and controlled spirits by means of his treaties with these. The last is an Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān b. Abī Raṣṣa, a man of high reputation among his fellows, the author of many books and the doer of wonderful works, whom Ibn Ishāq had personally known and to whom he said once: "I wish you were clear of having anything to do with this affair" (*ana unashihuka 'an al-ṣārruq li-kūfā 'l-ṭān*); to which the magician: "For 80 odd years if I had not known that this was real I would have abandoned it; but I have no doubts", and Ibn Ishāq could only reply: "By Allāh, mayest thou not prosper!" — apparently in his magic.

Illicit magic, "the blameworthy method" (*al-fariṣa al-maḍhmūma*), or the method of the *ṣūfara*, is traced similarly to Ishāq through his daughter or his son's daughter, Baidhakh (see BUDĪH, above). She has a throne (*'arṣa*) upon the water (*'ala l-mā'*); cf. the *'arṣa* of Ishāq upon *al-baḥr* in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, ed. Constantinople, part viii, p. 199, and the *'arṣa* of Allāh, *'ala l-mā'* in Kur'ān xi. 9, with the tradition in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī, ed. Bulāq 1315, part ix., p. 124. When the postulant in magic (*murid*), as though he were a Sūfi neophyte, has done for her whatever she wills, he reaches her and she makes to serve him whomsoever he wills and accomplishes his needs, and he is not separated from her by any barrier (*ḥidāḥ*), whoever makes sacrifices to her, animal and human, although he abandons the absolute requirements of the canon law and practises what is rationally abominable. [The disjointed character of this statement is probably due to Ibn Ishāq's having thrown together several statements made to him]. Others say that Baidhakh is Ishāq himself. Others that she sits upon her throne and that the *murid* is brought to her to obey her and that he worships her. One of these *ṣūfara* had said to Ibn Ishāq that he, when asleep had seen her sitting as he had seen her when awake and that he saw round her people like the Nabateans of the Sawād, bare-footed and with cloven heels (*muṣṣakhkhiḥ 'l-ṣūḥūḥ*); he even recognized a certain individual among them. He (Ibn Ishāq's informant apparently) was one of the greatest of the *ṣūfara*, of recent date, and used to speak from underneath a basin (*kūna yunāḥiqun min taḥṭi l-faṣṭ*; cf. *kūna munāḥiqan*, p. 310, 18). Names of individuals follow and of some books by them; one is a Yamanite who professed to derive from a certain witch al-Zarkā (the Yamanite princess Tarīfa; cf. above, li. 625^b, foot); another is Ibn Wahshiya (see article above, li. 427) who professed to connect with ancient Chaldean magic and certainly did so with Nabatean. The *Fihrist* calls him a Sūfi and says he claimed to be a *ṣāḥib*, working with *ḥāsmāt*. A section follows (p. 312, 11-16) on simple jugglery (*al-shaḥādūḥa*). Then there is a return to magic, taking in Callisthenes, Apollonius of Tyana, Horus, Hermes, and representatives of the magic of India. For the meaning of "artifices" (*ḥiyal*) above, the section on mathematicians and engineers may be consulted (p. 265, 16; p. 271, 1). Further books on magic, mostly anonymous, are given in the *Fann* of miscellanies; p. 314, 7-18; p. 317, 13; p. 318, 4. As Isḥām has always ascribed a great part of illicit magic and astrology to Chaldean tradition the first *Fann* of the ninth *Maḥalla* (p. 318 100.)

on the Harrānian Chaldeans who called themselves al-Sābi'ūn is of importance in the history of magic, and especially the story of the head which answered questions as to the future (p. 321, 22 100.). The same holds of the tenth *Maḥalla* on alchemy where we again find a long notice of Ibn Wahshiya (p. 358) and his fellows. As Ibn Khaldūn pointed out long after, Shīsm, Sūfism, philosophy, astrology, alchemy, magic, all touch one another; cf. in the *Fihrist* (p. 354 100.) the different ascriptions as to Dīḥār b. Ḥaiyān, the names given to him and the affiliations ascribed to him (article upon him above, i. 987).

If the author of the *Fihrist* was in evident doubt as to there being any real magic and simply recorded biographical and bibliographical facts as he found them, al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) had no such doubts. The spirit-world was very real to him; throughout the *Iḥyā'* he enters on full details as to the *ḥinn* and the *ḥaḥīn* and their activities (Macdonald, *Religious Attitude... in Islam*, p. 274 100.); in his *Munqidh* (ed. Cairo 1303, p. 46) he gives the magic square *Budūḥ* as of tested efficacy and it has since been culled by his name; he wrote on the interpretation of dreams (*al-taḥṣīr fī 'ilm al-ta'wīr*, Aleppo, *Matba'at al-Baḥā'*, 1328, 30 pages). Ḥazwī in his *Aḥṣar al-ḥilāl* (ed. Wittenfeld, p. 272) records that he prevailed on a celebrated occultist, al-Tabasī (d. 482 = 1089; *G. A. L.*, i. 496), to raise the *ḥinn* for him. He saw them like shadows on a wall and when he desired to speak with them al-Tabasī replied that that was the limit of possibility for him — al-Ghazālī. See, further, for this side of al-Ghazālī and for its development in legend Goldziher's introduction to his *Lehrbuch der Theosophie*, Alger 1903, p. 15 100. This means that his philosophical pragmatism led him to accept all those workings in nature and in man for which he found good evidence. The *Budūḥ* square had "worked"; therefore he accepted it and all that it implied. The world was full of mystery and this was only a bit of it. But as a moral philosopher he had to consider and classify the practitioner of magic. This he does early in the *Iḥyā'* (ed. Cairo 1334, i. 15, 26; ed. with commentary of Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, who d. 1205 = 1791, i. 146, 216 100.). On p. 15 he is considering the moral classification of the sciences (*al-ʿulūm*); they either go back to the prophets or they do not. Those that do not (derived from reason, experiment, or picked up from hearing, as language) are either praiseworthy (*maḥmūd*) or blameworthy (*maḍhmūm*) or allowable (*muṣṣaḥ*); and the example of the blameworthy is the twin sciences of magic, including talismans, and juggling. On p. 26 he enters upon further details to explain how a "science" can be blameworthy, seeing that it (*ʿilm*) is knowledge of a thing as it is and is one of the qualities (*ḥifẓ*) of Allāh. It is blameworthy, he explains, not for itself (*li 'ainihi*) but with respect to men for one or other of three causes: (i) it leads to hurt either in the practitioner of it or in some one else — example, magic; (ii.) it is mostly (*fī ḡalib al-amr*) hurtful magic; (iii.) it is mostly (*fī ḡalib al-amr*) hurtful magic; (ii.) it is mostly (*fī ḡalib al-amr*) hurtful magic; (iii.) if he who busies himself with it can not draw any real scientific advantage from it — example, scholastic theology or medicine to one who is a layman in these sciences. This is evidently the basis of that Muslim utilitarianism to which even so widely interested an investigator as Ibn Khaldūn

fell a victim (*Religious Attitude*, p. 119 sqq.). It is based on the tradition: "It is part of the beauty of a man's *islām* to let alone what does not concern him" (*Min ḥusn islām al-mar'ī tarḥūku wāḥidun la ya'nihi*; Goldziher, *Muk. Stud.*, ii. 157). Magic, then, though it is real (*ḥaqīq*), as both *Qur'ān* and traditions show, should be let alone. Further, al-Ghazālī describes magic as a science which makes use of the properties of substances (*ḡawāḥir*) and numbers under certain astrological conditions; it makes of the substances a magical figure (*ḥaiḥal*; cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii. 775^b); the word seems to indicate Jewish origin for this form of magic) in the form of the person to be enchanted; an astrological situation is awaited and words, evil and involving unbelief (*kufr*), are pronounced over it, by which the assistance of *shayṭān's* is secured; from all this there result strange effects (*ahwāl ḡarībā*) on the person to be enchanted "by Allāh's influencing the custom of things" (*bi-ḥukm iḡrā' il-lāhī 'l-āda*). The commentary of Muṭaḥṣin al-Zabīdī on this is worth consulting. His great authority is evidently Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī whom he scholasticizes still further. He quotes from his *Mulakhḥḥat* and his *Sirr al-mukhtam* which are still in MS. (*G.A.L.*, i. 507), also from Maṣlama al-Maḡirīṭī (d. 398 = 1007; *G.A.L.*, i. 243), *Ḥāyat* (or *Nikāyat*) *al-ḥakīm* which also is still in MS. But however even al-Ghazālī, with all the weight of his influence, might draw up a strict scheme of life to purify and safeguard the soul — his *ḥyā* is constructed entirely from that point of view, the masses of *islām* would have none of it. The position, which is quite clear in the *Fihrist*, of licit and illicit magic, was left unchanged and licit magicians could protest that their art, derived from Sulaimān, the Prophet of Allāh, was orthodox and even pious. The boundary lines, too, between the licit and the illicit were, and are, very vague; as vague as the status of spirits in *islām* (article *ḡINN* above, i. 1045), in which a mass of the *ḡinn* are "believers", the relation of the *shayṭān's* to the *ḡinn* is uncertain, and there is even record of a believing descendant of Iblīs. Further, even the scholastics found difficulty in the Ghazālīan position. It was pointed out that, on the one hand, it was only the practice of magic for evil purposes which could be called blameworthy, and, on another, that a knowledge of magic was essential to any one who had to distinguish between the results of magic and the evidentiary miracles (*mu'ḡīzāt*) of prophets and, still more, the *ḡaḡḡ*, *ḡarūmūt* [see article above] of the saints (Ḥalḡawī, ed. Fleischer, i. 76; Rāzī, *Maḡātib*, Cairo 1307, i. 434, 7 from below, 199.)

The only printed materials we have for the position of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606 = 1209), apart from such stray references as by Muṭaḥṣin al-Zabīdī above, are in his *Qur'ān* commentary, *Maḡātib al-ḡaḡib*, where he treats the subject at length in dealing with the *Qur'ānic locus classicus*, ii. 96. He had been strongly affected by Mu'tazilite positions and had come to accept some of them, retaining in the end Sannite orthodoxy, coloured with scholastic intellectualism and a fondness for analyzed, systematic statements (Goldziher in *Der Islam*, iii. pp. 238 sqq.; *Koranauslegung*, pp. 123, 203 and by index under *Maḡātib*). His essential position upon magic is shown by his treatment of the story of the woman who went to Hārūt and Mārūt in Bāḡl to learn magic from them. After her "faith"

(*īmān*) has gone visibly forth from her and ascended to the heavens, they say to her: "You will never will a thing so as to picture it in your imagination but it will happen" (*Mā turīdūna ḡā'an fa-ḡuḡaw-wiriki fi wahmiki illā ḡān*; *Maḡātib*, i. 434, 66). Magic, therefore, is essentially a psychical working with physical effects; whatever the magician images to himself in his *wahm* comes about. On pp. 429—434 Rāzī enumerates eight categories (*na'w*) to which the term *sihr* has been applied. (i.) Ancient Chaldean magic, based on the worship and influence of the stars. To this is added a statement and a refutation of the Mu'tazilite position on magic. (ii.) Psychical magic (*sihr aḡḡāb al-awḡān wa 'l-nafūs al-ḡawāya* or *aḡḡāb al-rubb*). This is defended by the influence of the human *na'f* on its own body and on other bodies; seven illustrations of this are given and the possibility of contact with the celestial spirits (*al-arwāḡ al-samāwiya wa 'l-nafūs al-salakiya*) and the magical use of these are discussed. (iii.) The same by means of the earth-spirits (*al-arwāḡ al-arḡiya*), i.e. the *ḡinn*. This kind, see the licit magic of the *Fihrist* above, is called *al-wāḡim wa-amal taḡḡir al-ḡinn*. (iv.) Juggling by holding and directing the eyes of the onlookers (*al-taḡḡayyulāt wa 'l-shuḡḡ bi 'l-ayn*). (v.) Wonderful operations by means of machines, automata and various scientific devices. (vi.) Using properties of drugs and perfumes to stupefy. (vii.) Gaining the foolish by large claims of possessing the Most Great Name and commanding the *ḡinn*. (viii.) By slander (*namima*) and secret exciting of discord. In the statement in the *Dictionary of technical terms* — a modern compilation — pp. 648—653, which is based almost entirely on Rāzī, only the first four of these are given, and it is said that the Mu'tazilites rejected all but the fourth. In the Cairo text of Rāzī (p. 434, 4 sqq.) the Mu'tazilites are said to have rejected all but iv., vi., viii. Did they deny v. and vii.?

In Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808 = 1406) the psychical position of Rāzī is still further developed and clarified until it practically coincides with the modern psychological doctrine of automatism; thus he is the first to give a full description of the rationale of crystal-gazing, or "scrying", essentially in modern terms (*Muḡaddima*, ed. Quatremère, i. 191—195). With Ibn Khaldūn's descriptions and explanations should be taken Theodore Besterman's *Crystal-Gazing: a study in the history, distribution, theory and practice of scrying*, London 1924; also W. H. Worrel, *Ink, oil and mirror gazing ceremonies in modern Egypt*, in *J.A.O.S.*, xxxvi. 37—53. So Ibn Khaldūn had moved far beyond Rāzī as to Rāzī's second and third classes of magic. But although a devout Muslim, holding by *Qur'ān* and *Sunna*, he went strictly by what he had himself experienced and tested. Soothsayers and magicians of various kinds he had known, tried and accepted; he had dreams and found them valid; of the miracles of the saints he was firmly convinced. But he had never known either *ḡinn* or individual angels, although he felt compelled to admit the existence of a vague Heavenly Host (*al-mala al-a'la*) with celestial — and satanic — influences upon the souls of men. So he entered all the *Qur'ānic* references which gave him trouble, either intellectually or because he had no experience of the facts to which they referred, among the *mutaḡḡḡihāt* verses, those of obscure interpretation, opposed to the *muḡḡamūl*

verses, those of firmly fixed meaning, following one interpretation of Qur'an iii. 5 which asserts that no one but Allah knows the meaning of these (ed. Quatremère, iii. 47; article KALAM above, li. 673b). Thus the essential force of magic lay in the *nafs* of the magician; a magician was born not made. He might aid his own power by drawing on mysterious powers outside, whether powers in the properties of things or of numbers or in other spiritual, non-material existences. For philosophers, says Ibn Khaldūn, the difference between pure magic and the art of talismans is that pure magic is worked by the soul of the magician without any helper (*ma'in*) but in talismans he draws upon the help of the spiritualities of the stars and the secrets of numbers and the properties of substances and the situations of the celestial sphere which affect the world of the elements — our world (ed. Quatremère, iii. 133). Apparently Ibn Khaldūn himself was in broad accord with this distinction, so far as he could control it by the facts he had himself known (Quatremère, iii. 129 *sqq.*). But he also considered that the apparatus of magic, as in geomancy in which the operator makes dots and lines in sand and constructs figures out of these, to divine the future, are simply a means of producing an hypnotic state in the magician in which the physical senses are blurred and the spiritual world is directly reached. If the magician does not show signs of such an hypnotic state he is an impostor (Quatremère, i. 209). Further an attempt had been made by al-Būnī (d. 622 = 1225; see article above), following the methods of some extreme Sūfī's (*al-ghulāt, ahl al-ta'arruf*), to draw up a system of licit magic, based on the powers of the letters in divine names and constructing from these magic squares and talismans. This was called *Simiyā'*, *ḥuṣṣā* (Dozy, *Suppl.*, i. 708b), like the Jewish Kabbala of the alphabetic and thaumaturgic type connected with the Divine Names (cf. C. D. Ginsburg, *The Kabbalah*, ii. ed., London 1920, p. 127 *sqq.*) but in Ibn Khaldūn's opinion it was simply magic, because it professed to derive its forces from natural powers and not from Allah, although using his names, and so came under the condemnation of magic (ed. Quatremère, iii. 137 *sqq.*, especially p. 143 *sqq.*). The great book of this al-Būnī, *Shams al-ma'arif* (G.A.L., i. 497), is the *grimoire* of all the numberless Muslims at the present day who study magic. The two other authorities on magic to whom Ibn Khaldūn refers are Djābir b. Ḥaiyān and Maslama al-Madījī; on both see above.

It is plain from Ibn Khaldūn's theory that he was faced by the necessity of distinguishing, not only legally but also psychologically, between the working of magic and that of the powers inhering in saints and prophets. What was the difference between the prophetic, the saintly and the magical *nafs*? It was easy to rule, as he did (ed. Quatremère, iii. 134, 140), that the one is worked by a good man for good purposes and the other by an evil man for evil purposes, with an essential kinship between the *nafs* and this external power which aided it — that was the old legal distinction; see Baiḍawī on Qur'an ii. 96, vol. i., p. 76, &c. Also that the saint in his wonders and the prophet in his evidentiary miracles did everything in and by the assistance of Allah alone, without recourse to any other helper — whether spirit or natural

force. But there were the extreme Sūfīs who claimed control of the natural world; descendants, apparently, of the thaumaturgic wing of the neo-Platonists. And there was the great multitude of folk-lore saints, really animists, who, under a Muslim disguise, continued the divining and miracle-working of the old faiths and magics. This held, and holds, especially of Morocco with its hereditary sainthood. His own theory, too, of the magical *nafs* brought back the confusion of old Arabia between the *ṣāḥib* and the *nabī*. Thus the way was open for the continuance among orthodox Muslims of the study and even the practice of magic and for the very complete confusion which exists at the present day between licit and illicit magic.

For further details on Ibn Khaldūn's attitude to religion and magic, reference may be made to the present writer's *Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, lectures ii.—vi. For saints and magic in Islam see E. Doutié, *Les Marabouts*, Paris 1900, *Les Aïssous*, Châlons 1900, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Alger 1909 (the basal treatise on magic in modern Islam); E. Westermarck, *The Moorish conception of holiness*, Helsingfors 1916; T. H. Weir, *The Shukhs of Morocco*, Edinburgh 1904; Emily, *Shareefa of Wazan, My Life Story*, London 1911. Another of the means by which magic has survived among the Muslim masses has lain in the numerous popular stories in which unbelieving *ijfīs* and the magic and talismans of unbelieving magicians are overcome by the stronger talismans handed down from the early prophets. Two good examples of this type of story have been translated by Weil, from a Gotha MS., in his later recasting of his *Tausend und Eine Nacht — Adventures of Ali and Zahir of Damascus and Adventures of the Fisherman Djander*, vol. iv. of ed. Bonn 1897, p. 194—312. The *Strat Salf A. Dhi Yazan* is also of this type. By these stories, perhaps above all else, the equation, *sihr* = *kufr*, has been stamped on the Muslim mind, with a loop-hole left by the fact that the orthodox talismans are, in essence, as much *sihr* as those of the unbelievers. Again, another of these means lies in the popular classification of philosophers as magicians. This universal tendency has been very strong in Islam and especially so in the case of Ibn Sīnā [q. v.]. There is in wide circulation an apocryphal *Life* of him as a magician (*Hikāyat Abū 'Alī ibn Sīnā*, Ottoman Turkish lithograph, A.H. 1215 [1]; Azarbājdjāni, *Kurān* 1881; Arabic from the Turkish by Muṣṭafā Efendi Mukhīār, Cairo 1305 and other dates; cf. Petsch in *Katalog der türk. Hss. in Berlin*, p. 466; Chauvin, *Bibl. ar.*, v. 143). In consequence there exists under his name (Cairo *Matba'at al-ma'ārif*, no date, p. 32) a little magical treatise on the *simiyā'* side, *Al-ham al-ma'ārif* ma 'l-sirr al-ma'ārif, professing to be the result of his studies in the enchanted cave in the Maghrib which the apocryphal *Life* describes.

Thus in Qur'an and *Sunnah*, in orthodox theology, in mystical theology of all phases stretching to pantheistic theosophy, in philosophy and natural science of all kinds from almost experimental psychology to the speculations of the pseudo-Ibn Sīnā, in primitive animistic devotion, the existence of magic as a reality, though it may be a dangerous one, has been perpetuated.

The present status of magic in the Muslim world

can be illustrated by a little magical library formed by the present writer in Egypt in 1908 and supplemented since. — (1) The foundation is still the *Shams al-Ma'rif* of al-Būnī (large lithograph in 4 parts and 442 pp., written by Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Shirāzī, various dates from 1322 to 1324), recommended to me as such a foundation by a native scholar, professor in a government training college for teachers, who had been a pupil of Iḥmāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [q.v.]. (2) Another universal treatise is the *Mafūḥ al-ḥādī*, in 7 *ḥaḍīd* (Cairo 1327 = 1909; pp. 232), by Aḥmad Mūsā al-Zarkāwī. This book by a contemporary magician was published by subscription with an imposing list of subscribers; it covers the whole field from astronomy and astrology to geomancy, magic squares and werying. The author has embraced the position that the earth moves, which he knows as the Pythagorean, and has proved it from the *Ḥarān*. In this and in other ways he is far beyond the childish *ṣūfiyā* of al-Būnī. I have also a small calendar (*naḥḥa*) by him in its tenth year, for 1326 = 1908, with astrological and magical supplements. (3) Two treatises on *ṣūfiyā* of the *muḥṣar-rabāt*, "tested", type were published together, Cairo 1324 = 1906; *Kitāb al-malik al-maḥṣid* by Aḥmad al-Dairabī (d. 1151 = 1738; *G. A. L.*, ii. 323) and *Al-muḥṣar-rabāt* by Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892 = 1486; *G. A. L.*, ii. 252). The first of these must be very popular for I have also two editions of it separately, Cairo 1323, 1325. (4) Also of the *ṣūfiyā* type is *Kitāb al-fawā'id*, Cairo 1321, by Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Latif al-Sharjī al-Yamānī (d. 812 = 1410; *G. A. L.*, ii. 190) — a very popular book in a third edition. (5) A more practical and picturesque and less verbosely pious book is *Shumūs al-annūr wa 'l-ḥanūz al-arṣār* (at least two editions, Cairo 1322, 1325) by Ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Tilimsānī (d. 737 = 1336; *G. A. L.*, ii. 83; cf. Goldziher in *Z. D. P. V.*, xvii. 115—122). (6) Two books by a certain Muḥammad al-Rahawī (?), *Al-ḥikma al-manḥūm fi 'ulūm al-falāḥiyya wa 'l-muḥṣin* and *Ghāyat al-amān fi 'ulūm al-rūḥānī*, Cairo, no date, are of the same cabalistic type and the author names as his predecessors al-Ḥisālī, al-Būnī, Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 638 = 1240; *G. A. L.*, i. 441 *egg.*; cf. for this side of Ibn al-'Arabī the study of his *Kleinere Schriften* by H. S. Nyberg, Leiden 1919), Shihāb al-Dīn al-Kalāyī (d. 1037) and al-Sha'rānī [q.v.]. (7) Another contemporary Egyptian magician has three little treatises. He is Yūsuf Muḥammad al-Awghānī (d. al-Afghānī ?), known as al-Hindī, of the island of Shandawī in the Sa'īl, but giving as a Cairo address the abode (*manzil*) of 'Alī Efendi al-Naḥḥī, N° 8 Darb al-Duhūdā, in the Atfal al-Shaikh Murshid, over against the Mosque of al-Sha'rānī. There he is, or was, prepared to instruct in his art and to give permission to exercise it to those who, after being tested, prove worthy. His books are: *Al-dawḥar al-ghālī fi ḥawāṣṣ al-muḥallāṭ al-ḥisālī* (see above on the Ḥisālīan magic square); *Al-arṣār al-rūḥānīya fi taḥkīl al-arṣār al-rūḥānīya* (on the subjugating of the *ḥinn*); *Al-inḥiyat al-rūḥānīya fi muḥāḥadat al-arṣār al-rūḥānīya* (on the same subject). Only the last book has a date, 1325 = 1907. (8) *Kitāb al-fa'id al-muḥallāṭ*, Cairo, no date, is another treatise on the Ḥisālīan square by Aḥmad al-Damāḥī (d. 1192 = 1778; *G. A. L.*, ii. 371, under the title *Ḥad al-farā'id*). (9) Muḥammad

Ibrāhīm al-Bannān al-Zakāfī, *Al-arṣār al-ḥikma fi 'l-farā'id wa 'l-ḥawāṣṣ al-rūḥānīya*, Menāḥ 1323 (10) Al-Ḥajjāj Sa dān al-Zandī, *Al-arṣār al-rūḥānī fi 'ulūm al-rūḥānī*, Menāḥ, no date. (11) Al-Ḥajjāj Sa dān b. al-Ḥajjāj 'Abd al-Kādir al-Ḥanawī, *Al-fa'id al-rūḥānī fi 'ulūm al-rūḥānī*, Cairo, no date. (12) Al-sharī al-sharī bi 'l-Ḥadḥād, *Bahjat al-ḥinn fi taḥkīl muḥallāṭ al-ḥinn adīmān*, Cairo, no date; professes to be a very ancient book by a very famous magician about whom I know nothing. (13) Al-fa'il al-Yunānī al-ḥalīm Hermes, *Kitāb al-sa'ḥawāk al-ḥinn*, Cairo, no date, astrology; cf. *Fikrīn*, p. 239, 1 *egg.*; 267, 22 *egg.*; 353, 9 *egg.* and notes. (14) Abū Ma'shar [Djāfar b. Muḥammad] al-Balkhī, *Kitāb al-fa'id al-muḥallāṭ fi 'l-rūḥānī wa 'l-nisā' ala 'l-ḥawāṣṣ wa 'l-fawā'id*, *ala 'l-ḥalūḥat waḥḥā*, Cairo, no date, d. 272 = 885, *G. A. L.*, i. 221; article above, vol. i., p. 99; on Albumazar cf. *Fikrīn*, p. 277 and by index and notes; this title is not there; has curious conventionalized pictures of the Signs of the Zodiac. Another book of similar subject — the influence on the nature, dispositions and fortunes of men and women exerted by their birth-Signs of the Zodiac, combined with arithmetical calculations and suitable amulets — asserted by the same author, *Ḥikma kitāb . . . al-Yunānī al-fa'il al-sharī al-sharī al-sharī al-fa'il al-sharī* (Cairo, *Maḥṣar al-ḥinn*, no date; in Brill's Cat. N° 80. So there is a copy of this work [N° 33], dated Cairo 1288); another printer and publisher but has the same pictures of the Signs of the Zodiac; on p. 2 professes to give *ḥikma ramīya* but, if so, they are quite different from the usual geomantic figures as in the next book. (15) Muḥammad al-Zandī, *Kitāb al-fa'id fi 'ulūm al-raml*, Cairo, no date; on this author and on his art see Ibn Khaldūn, ed. Quatremère, i., p. 204—209; transl. de Slane, i. 233—241 and note; also J. Payne, *Aladdin and the enchanted lamp*, p. 199—201; cf. also *J. R. A. S.*, for Jan. 1906, p. 121 *egg.*; *Z. D. M. G.*, xviii. 177; xxv. 410; xxxi. 762, the geomancy of this book is essentially the same as that of modern western occultists, e. g. Franz Hartmann, *Principles of astrological geomancy*, London 1889. (16) An undated and anonymous *fa'id*-book described under *FA'ID* [q.v.]. Another very simple little luck-book is *Bahjat al-ḥinn* by Markūs Djirdjīs. A calendar, *Taḥwīn al-arṣār al-ḥafīya*, for 1326, has more elaborate fortune-telling additions with political outlook. (17) Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911 = 1505), *Kitāb al-rahma fi 'l-fa'id wa 'l-hikma*, Cairo 1324, *G. A. L.*, ii. 155, N° 238, a compound of *ṣūfiyā* and folk-medicine in 195 sections. (18) 'Abd al-Rahmān Ismā'il, *Tibb al-rikka* (2 parts; Cairo 1310, 1312); a counter-blast to all the above with much curious information on popular superstitions, especially medical; the author is a graduate of the Kayr al-'Aini medical school and writes with the indignation of the qualified medical practitioner.

Bibliography: In the nature of the case it must be enormous; the following is a mere suggestive selection. In Hastings, *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics* there are six cognate articles: Carra de Vaux, *Achens (Muhammadan)* in vol. i., p. 289—292; Theodor Noldeke, *Arabs (ancient)*, vol. i., p. 659—673; Carra de Vaux, *Charm and Amulets (Muhammadan)*, vol. iii., p. 457—461; Gaudetroy-Demombynes, *Demon and Spirits (Muslim)*, vol. iv., pp. 615—619.

D. S. Margoliouth, *Disquisition (Muslim)*, vol. iv., p. 816—818; D. S. Margoliouth, *Magie (Arabian and Muslim)*, vol. viii., p. 252—253; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, the sections on *Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften*; A. H. Frost, *Magie Squares*, in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ed. xi., xvii. 310—313; Lynn Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science during the first thirteen centuries of our Era*, 2 vols., New York 1933; J. Ruska, *Arabische Alchemisten*; G. v. Violen, *Über Geister und Dämonen in W.Z.K.M.*, vii. 169 sq.; Reinsaul, *Description des monuments musulmans du cabinet de M. le duc de Blois*, 2 vols. and many plates of amulets, etc., Paris 1828. Also on amulets are the following: C. G. von Murr, *Beiträge zur arabischen Literatur*, Erlangen 1803, p. 32—37; von Hammer-Purgstall, *Die Geisterlehre der Muslimen*, Vienna 1852; Rudolf Krehl, *Der Talisman James Richardson's erklärt*, Leipzig 1865; D. B. Macdonald, *Description of a silver amulet*, *Z. A.*, xxvi. 267—269; W. B. Stevenson, *Some specimens of Muslim charms*, Glasgow University Oriental Society *Studia Scientiæ et Orientalis*, Glasgow 1920, p. 84—114; cf. further bibliography in *ibid.* xlii. 360 sq. and article by Bergsträsser, p. 227 sq.; Emile Mauchamp, *La Sorcellerie au Maroc*, Paris, Darbani-Alain, no date. On haunting spirits in modern Islam and how to exorcise them: Sophia Poole, *Englishwoman in Egypt*, London 1844, Letters iv., xiv., xvii.; Bayle St. John, *Two Years Residence in a Levantine Family*, London 1856, chap. xx.; J. S. Willmore, *Spoken Arabic of Egypt*, ii. ed., London 1905, p. 369—374 (with use of *khafaf* here in connection with the *djinn*, cf. Kur'an ii. 276 and the commentators thereon; also Ibn Khaldûn, ed. Quatremère, i. 195; *khafaf* is thus the Arabic equivalent for "raps" in western spiritism). The only occurrence of the spiritist "cabinet" for materialisations which I have so far found is in Doutte's *Magie et Religion*, p. 384 sqq. In Cairo 1908, a case of automatic writing was reported to me from Upper Egypt; otherwise it does not seem to occur. Rescher, *Studien über den Inhalt von 1001 Nacht*, in *Islam*, ix. 1—24. Richard Hartmann, *Eine islamische Apokalypse*, in *Schriften der Königsberger gelehrten Gesellschaft*, i. 3. A. Goodrich-Freest (Mrs. Hans Spoer), *The Occult in the Near East*, a series of articles by a practised folk-loreist in *Occult Review*, 1905—1906; also in *Folk Lore*, vols. xv., xviii., xxii. The classical authority in Arabic on the *djinn* is: Muhammad b. 'Abd Allâh al-Shiblî (d. 769 = 1367; *G. A. L.*, ii. 75), *Alâm al-marjân fî ahkâm al-ijân*, Cairo 1326, reviews by Nöldeke, *Z. D. M. G.*, lxi. 439 sqq. and O. Rescher in *W. Z. K. M.*, xxviii. 241—252. On the interpretation of dreams Muhammad b. Sirin (d. 110 = 728; *G. A. L.*, i. 66; Ibn Khallikân, de Sîrân's transl. ii. 586; ed. Cairo 1310, i. 453) is the oldest stated authority. Asserted by him, *Ta'îr al-nu'ûn*, Cairo 1320, 56 pages, and *Muntahab al-halâm fî tafsîr al-ahâm*, a much more extensive treatise — neither of these in Brockelmann — on the margin of the first vol. of the following: 'Abd al-Ghâni al-Nâimî (d. 1143 = 1731; *G. A. L.*, ii. 345, n^o. 28), *Ta'îr al-nu'ûn fî ta'îr al-manâm*, Cairo 1320, 2 vols., but another publisher. On the margin of the second vol. is *Al-ijârât fî*

ilm al-ihârât by Khalfî b. Shâhin al-Zâhiri (d. 872 = 1468; *G. A. L.*, ii. 135). On the whole subject cf. N. Bland, *On the Muslim Interpretation of Dreams* in *J. N. A. S.*, xvi. 153 sqq. (D. B. MACDONALD).

SIHYAWN. 1. The Arabic name for Zion, Hebrew Sîyon, the Arabic form coming from the Aramaic Šehyôn. Yâkût tells us that it is a famous place in Jerusalem, a quarter in which stands the Šihyawn church. In Muslim legend the mosque on the hill of Šihyawn is regarded as the place in which Mary, the mother of Jesus, and Joseph served in their youth in the sanctuary. Šihyawn is mentioned as early as the poet al-Ash'arî (Maimûn b. Kaïs) as a power which perhaps raises an army against the Arabs; the commentators explain this to refer to Byzantium. — Šahyûn is, according to Bakri, the name of a tribe but Ibn Duraid does not mention it.

2. The name of a fortress in Northern Syria: According to Yâkût, it is a stronghold near the Mediterranean Sea but not immediately on the coast in the administrative district of H.S.N. (without article, perhaps Hims is meant). According to Ibn al-Athîr and Yâkût the fortress was surrounded on all sides by deep ravines except for a narrow approach from the north, which was about sixty ells broad, but had been strengthened by a deep ditch made by the hand of man. Three walls surrounded the buildings, two protected the outer town and one the fortress. Ibn al-Athîr speaks of five walls. During the Crusades the fortress was for a considerable time in the possession of the French. In 584 (1188) Saladin began to bombard it soon after the 27th Jumâdâ I and took the fortress soon after the 2nd Jumâdâ II (24th and 29th July). It corresponds to the Sahian of the Crusaders and to the modern Šahyûn, about sixteen miles as the crow flies east of the seaport of Ladhîkiya.

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SIKANDAR. [See **IKANDAR**.]

SIKHS. The term "Sikh" literally means a "learner", a "disciple". The name was for the first time given to the followers of Nānak, the founder of the Sikh faith in the Punjab in the xvth century.

History

Sikhism was founded, like Buddhism, as a protest against the spiritual despotism of the Brahmans and as a revolt against the restrictions of the caste system and the exaggeration of Hindu ritual. It aimed at teaching social equality and universal brotherhood, abolishing sectarianism and denouncing superstition. Nānak, the founder of the creed, was born of Khatri parentage in 1469 at Talwandi (now called after him Nankāna), a small town not far from Lahore. He did not receive much school education, yet he was from his early youth given to meditation and original thinking, and was, like the Arabian prophet, gifted by nature with strong common sense. He showed an aversion to all sorts of worldly pursuits and it was with some difficulty that he was persuaded by his father to go to Saltānpur (at present in the Kapūthala state) to enter the private service of Nawāb Dawlat

Khan Lodi, the governor of the province. The Nawab appointed him storekeeper to his household, and he performed his official duties for several years to the satisfaction of his employer. In his leisure hours he retired to the jungles for meditation, and tradition says that in one of these devotional excursions he was taken in a vision to the Divine Presence and there received his mission to preach to the world that "there is but one God whose name is True, the Creator, devoid of fear and enmity, immortal, unborn, self-existent, great and bountiful". Nanak now left the service of the Nawab and became (at the age of 30) a public preacher. He began a series of tours in the course of which he visited all parts of India, particularly the sacred places of the Hindus and shrines of Muslim saints. Wherever he went he held controversies with priests and shaikhs, demonstrated the fallacy of their belief in dogmas and rituals, and taught the necessity of self-denial, morality and truth. He is also said to have travelled through Persia and to have visited Mecca and Baghdad. In Persia and Afghanistan he gained converts and even established dioceses (*manjils*), notably at Bushahr and Kabul (Sewaram Singh, *Life of Guru Nanak*, p. 73). It is not stated, however, whether he knew enough Persian or Arabic to be able to preach to the people of these Islamic countries. The statement of the *Siyar al-Muta'akkinin* that Nanak studied Persian and Muslim theology with one Saliyid Hasan has been rejected by the modern Hindu and Sikh critics. "This", says one of them, "seems to be an effort on the part of a Muslim writer to give the credit of Nanak's subsequent greatness to the teachings of Islam" (G. C. Narang, *The Transformation of Sikhism*, p. 9). Macauliffe, however, is inclined to accept that Nanak was "a fair Persian scholar" (*The Sikh Religion*, i. 15), but does not mention the source whence he received his instruction in that language.

For the last ten years of his life Nanak settled at Kartarpur, a village founded in his honour by a millionaire on the bank of the Ravi, where he continued to preach his new religion to the numerous visitors whom his piety attracted from far and wide. He died at the age of 70 in 1539, leaving behind him a fairly large number of disciples (*sikhs*) and two sons, one of whom named Sri Chand founded the Udās sect (*see infra*).

Shortly before his death, Nanak nominated one of his devoted followers named Angad (a *Khatral* like himself) to succeed him as *guru* (apostle) of the Sikhs. After performing the ceremony of nomination he declared that Angad was as himself and that his own spirit would dwell in him. Nanak had already preached the doctrine of metempsychosis, but this particular declaration gave rise to the belief among the Sikhs that the spirit of Nanak was transmitted to each succeeding *guru* in turn, and this is why all of them adopted *Nanak* as their *nom de plume* in their compositions. Guru Angad occupied the office of apostle for 13 years until his death in 1552. Tradition ascribes to him the invention of the Gurmukhi characters in which the sacred writings of the Sikhs have been preserved, but it has been pointed out, notably by Grierson and Rose, that the Gurmukhi script is of a different and earlier origin (*J.R.A.S.*, 1916, p. 677; *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab*, i. 677). The tradition may have arisen from the fact that Guru Angad adopted

the script in recording the life and compositions of Nanak.

Amar Das, the third *guru* of the Sikhs, was nominated by Angad himself. His ministry lasted 22 years (1552-1574), and is marked by his taking the first steps towards a religious and social organization of the Sikhs. Missionary work was undertaken by him in a systematic manner; over twenty dioceses (*manjils*) were established in various parts of the country, where some of his zealous disciples preached the gospel of Sikhism. In order to promote feelings of equality and brotherhood among the increasing number of Sikhs, he maintained a public refectory (*langar*) where all ate together without distinction of caste or creed. Amar Das cultivated friendly relations with the Emperor Akbar who visited him at his own residence in Goindwal (on the Beas) and granted him a large estate. This very much enhanced his prestige and helped to increase the number of fresh converts. He kept up the spirit of Nanak in his own ethical teachings, denounced the superstitious customs of the Hindus, particularly the practice of widow-burning (*sati*), and enjoined re-marriage of widows.

Amar Das was succeeded by his favourite disciple and son-in-law Ram Das, who propagated the tenets of Sikhism with a still larger measure of success. He had the good fortune to find in the Emperor Akbar a warm admirer who was ever keen to do him favour. The Emperor granted him (in 1577) a large plot of land in which he began the excavation of the sacred tank (meant for the devotional ablutions of the Sikhs) which was afterwards named *amrit sar* "the pool of nectar". Around the tank the Guru founded a small town which he called after himself Ramdaspur and which subsequently grew into the now flourishing city of Amritsar. The construction of the tank was completed by his son Arjan the 5th *guru*, who, in the midst of it, founded the *Har Mandir* — the temple dedicated to God — as a common place of worship for the Sikhs. To Europeans it is now known as "the Golden Temple of Amritsar". The Guru declared that "by bathing in the tank of Ram Das, all the sins that man committeth shall be done away, and he shall become pure by his ablutions" (Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, iii. 13). Thus was created a Mecca for the Sikhs — a centre for their national life.

Arjan succeeded his father in 1581, and henceforward the office of Guru became hereditary. Arjan took further steps to organise the Sikhs as a community. The greatest service that he rendered to the cause of Sikhism was the compilation of the *Granth*, the bible of the Sikhs. Guru Angad had already committed to writing the life and compositions of Nanak; Arjan carried the work further and added thereto the hymns of the next three Gurus, which he carefully collected. To these he added his own numerous compositions along with considerable extracts from the writings of several Hindu and Mahammedan saints anterior to Nanak. "It was one of the Guru's objects to show the world that there was no superstition in the Sikh religion, and that every good man, no matter of what caste or creed, was worthy of honour and reverence" (Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, iii. 61). The volume thus compiled by Guru Arjan (completed in 1604 after some years of labour) is called the *Adi Granth* ("the ancient scripture"), as

distinguished from the *Dasm Granth* or the *Granth of the tenth Guru* (see below).

Ardjan was an ambitious and enterprising leader. He combined business with spiritual guidance and deputed *Maranis* (collectors or agents) to various districts of the country to realise the Guru's dues, which so far were only voluntarily offered by the disciples. This brought him wealth and with it pomp and show. He styled himself *raja padshah* "the true King", which clearly marks his ambition for political power. He encouraged commercial enterprise among his disciples and sent them not only to various parts of India but also to Afghanistan and Central Asia for purposes of trade and propagation of the Sikh faith. In 1606, Ardjan financially helped Prince Khusrav who had rebelled against his father, the Emperor Djahangir. After the defeat of the Prince, the Guru was imprisoned, by the Emperor's command, at Lahore where he shortly afterwards died.

During the Guruship of Ardjan's son and successor Hargovind (1606-1645), Sikhism made a great advance. The first four Gurus were peaceful teachers of quietism and self-denial, but Ardjan initiated the policy of secular aggrandisement, while Hargovind openly adopted active resistance, which marks the beginning of the military career of the Sikhs. He was by nature a soldier, passionately devoted to the chase and manly games. Systematic collection of tithes and offerings had made him extremely rich and he was not slow to assume kingly authority. He cherished a hatred of Djahangir to whom he ascribed the death of his father; a desire for revenge was certainly one of the causes of his resorting to arms. He enlisted in his service a number of outlaws, malcontents and freebooters, "built the stronghold of Hargovindpur on the Beas and thence harried the plains. He had a stable of 800 horses; three hundred mounted followers were constantly in attendance upon him, and a guard of sixty match-lock-men secured the safety of his person" (Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, p. 56). The alarming reports of the Guru's military organisation reached the Emperor, who summoned him to his court and ordered his internment in the fort of Gwalior. He was released after some time, but the imprisonment gave him a further cause of resentment. Soon after the death of Djahangir and the accession to the throne of the Emperor Shah-djahan, Hargovind assumed a defiant attitude and took up arms against the government. In the course of six years he thrice defeated the troops sent against him by the governor of Lahore. But he feared vengeance on the part of Shah-djahan and retired to the hills where he lived unmolested until his death in 1645.

Under Hargovind the Sikh faith was greatly transformed. They ceased to be mere recluses, and their Guru was no longer a mere spiritual guide, but a military leader as well. They felt their strength and saw the possibility of future political power.

Hargovind was succeeded by his grandson Har Rai, who was, unlike his grandfather, of a retiring nature. He had intimate friendly relations with Durs Shikoh, the eldest son of Shah-djahan, and in 1658 when Durs wandered in exile pursued by the hostile troops of his younger brother Aurangzeb, Har Rai assisted him in crossing the Beas and teaching a comparatively safe locality. Of course he incurred the displeasure of Aurang-

zeb who summoned him to Delhi to answer for this affront. He sent on his own behalf his son Ram Rai who was detained at the imperial court as a hostage to insure the peaceful conduct of his father. Har Rai died in 1661 and his younger son Har Kishan (a child of six) succeeded him. His right to the Guruship was disputed by Ram Rai who laid his own case before Aurangzeb. The infant apostle was invited to Delhi to settle the dispute with his brother. There he was attacked with small-pox and died (1664).

There followed a struggle for succession after the death of Har Kishan, and it was after much opposition that Tegh Bahadur, son of Hargovind, was acknowledged as Guru from among a score of candidates for the pontifical throne. His opponents continued to assert their claims, and some of them were even set up as rival Gurus. Tegh Bahadur retired, in some bitterness to the Swatiks and there founded Anandpur, a town which played a part of some importance in the subsequent annals of the Sikhs. Further, he set out on an extensive tour in India, visiting the Deccan and the Eastern Beagal where bishoprics of the Sikh Church already existed. In the course of his travels he resided for some time at Patna, the seat of one of the arch-bishoprics (*satgats*), where his son Govind Rai, the future Guru and the real founder of the political power of the Sikhs, was born (1666). Tegh Bahadur's influence as Guru extended as far as Ceylon in the south and Assam in the east. After a time he returned to the Punjab where he "maintained himself and his disciples by plunder". He "gave a ready asylum to all fugitives and his power interfered with the prosperity of the country" (Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 64). The imperial troops marched against him and he was made prisoner and brought to Delhi where he was put to death by the order of Aurangzeb (1675). The popular story is related in the Gurmukhi chronicles that while in the presence of the Emperor, the Guru prophesied the coming of the English and destruction of the Mughal power at their hands. The words uttered by him on this occasion "became the battle-cry of the Sikhs in the assault on Delhi in 1857 under General John Nicholson and thus the prophecy of the 9th Guru was gloriously fulfilled" (Macauliffe, iv. 381).

The figure of Tegh Bahadur's son Govind Rai, who was saluted as Guru after the execution of his father in 1675, is perhaps the most prominent in the history of the Sikhs. He succeeded to the apostleship as a mere boy, but ended his career by completely transforming a community of mere devotees into a nation of warriors who were destined to rule the Punjab for nearly a century. The violent death of his father seems to have left a lasting impression on his young mind, and he cherished a bitter hatred towards Aurangzeb. But the power of the latter was too great to allow the possibility of revenge. He was therefore compelled to retire to the hills in order to be left in peace and receive the training necessary to befit him for the task of leadership. For twenty years he lived there, occupying himself in hunting and acquiring a knowledge of the sacred languages of the Muhammadans and Hindus and their religions. He nurtured his feeling of vengeance and formed his plans for the future with a view to destroying the power of the Mughals. He set about the task of uniting the Sikhs into a

nation by promoting amongst them feelings of democratic equality. He admitted both high and low into his fold and conducted a vigorous war against the caste system. In order to create uniformity in spirit as well as in form, he instituted the ceremony of initiation or baptism called *pahul* to be performed in the following manner:

"The initiate, after bathing and donning clean clothes, sits in the midst of an assembly generally summoned for the purpose, some sugar is mixed with water in an iron basin and five Sikhs in turn stir it with a double-edged dagger chanting certain verses of the Granth. After this, some of the solution is sprinkled over the hair and body of the initiate and some of it is given him to drink. The *raht* or rules of Sikh conduct are also explained to him. The solution is called *amrit* (nectar) which is supposed to confer immortality on the initiate, to make him a "Singh" (lion) and a true *Kshatriya*" (Rose, *Trials and Castles of the Punjab*, I, 696). After receiving the *pahul*, every Sikh was to leave his locks unshorn, to wear by way of uniform the 5 K's, i.e. 5 things whose name begin with a K, viz.: (1) *Kakhi* or short drawers, (2) *Kirpan*, a dagger, (3) *Kara*, an iron bracelet, (4) *Kesh*, long hair, and (5) *Kangha*, a comb. The suffix "Singh" was to be added to the name of every baptised Sikh, the Guru himself to be called in future Govind Singh. He denominated his initiated disciples the *Khalifa* (the pure, elect, liberated) or *Khalisa* (from the Arabic root *khala* - to purify or liberate). Govind Singh struck the key-note of his policy by thus addressing the Sikhs:

"Since the time of Baba Nanak *taranpahul* hath been customary. Men drank the water in which the Gurus had washed their feet, a custom which led to great humility; but the *Khalisa* can now only be maintained as a nation by bravery and skill in arms. Therefore I now institute the custom of baptism by water stirred with a dagger, and change my followers from Sikhs to Singhs or lions. They who accept the nectar of the *pahul* shall be changed before your very eyes from jackals into lions and shall obtain empire in this world and bliss hereafter" (Macauliffe, v. 93). "Abolition of caste, equality of privileges with one another and with the Guru, common worship, common baptism for all classes, and lastly, common external appearance — these were the means, besides common leadership and community of aspirations, which Govind employed to bring about unity among his followers, and by which he bound them together into a compact mass before they were hurled against the legions of the great Moghals" (Narang, *op. cit.*, p. 82).

By his prolonged residence in the hills, Govind Singh wanted, besides carrying on his proselytising activities uninterrupted, to secure the assistance of the numerous hill chiefs against what he called the tyranny of the Muhammadan rule. But in these objects he entirely failed, for the hill *rājās* whose dynasties had ruled independently since time immemorial, generally resented the principles of democracy being taught to their subjects and they unanimously resisted the religious propaganda of Govind. Failing to secure their alliance by friendly means, he tried the experiment of force. From his retreat at Anandpur he led marauding expeditions into their territories carrying away all that he could lay his hands on. The *Rājput* chiefs of Billopur, Katol, Handar, Djasrota and Nalagarh

united to attack the Guru with an army of 10,000. He opposed them at the head of 2,000 of his followers, including 500 Pathans whom he kept in his service, and won his victory at Bhangsal chiefly through the help of Saiyid Budh Shah, chief of Sādhora. Govind's power now increased; he had a number of retreats in the hills and his depredations in the adjoining territories grew more frequent and violent. The *Rājās* jointly appealed for help to Awrangzeb, who despatched orders to the governor of Sarhind to effect an alliance with them and attack the Guru. In the battle that ensued he was defeated and took refuge in the fortress of Anandpur (1701). Here he was besieged by the imperial forces and the siege was prolonged. Provisions ran short and his followers deserted him. His family, including his mother, wives and young boys effected their escape to Sarhind where they were betrayed and the two children were put to death. Govind himself escaped in disguise, and with a few faithful followers fled to the fortress of Camkaur (in the present district of Amballa) hotly pursued by the enemy. He was forced to leave Camkaur and again fly for his life. He wandered in disguise from place to place until he reached the wastes of Bhatinda, halfway between Ferozepur and Delhi. "His disciples again rallied round him and he succeeded in repulsing his pursuers at a place since called "Muktan" or the Pool of Salvation", constructed in commemoration of the Sikhs who fell in the action. For some time he settled at a place called Damdama "halfway between Hansi and Ferozepur", where he occupied himself in preaching and composing the *Darshan Granth* (see below), which is regarded by the Sikhs as supplement to the *Adi Granth* compiled by Guru Arjan. Meanwhile Awrangzeb died and was succeeded by his son Bahādur Shāh, who, contrary to the policy of his father, sought to conciliate the Guru. He conferred upon him the military command of the Deccan whither he proceeded to assume his charge. But shortly after his arrival there, he was stabbed by one of his Afghan servants for some private grievance, and he died at Nānder on the banks of the Godāwari (Oct. 1708). On his deathbed he refused to nominate anyone to succeed him, but enjoined upon his disciples to look upon the Granth as their future Guru, and upon God as their sole protector, thus putting an end to the apostolic succession. Govind's end came before his object had been achieved, "but his spirit survived to animate the Sikhs with courage."

Govind Singh was succeeded, not as a Guru but as a military leader of the Sikhs, by Banda, a *Rājput* of Kashmir belonging to the Bairāgi order. Meeting Govind in the Deccan, he was converted to Sikhism and styled himself "Banda" or "slave" (of the Guru). Banda was charged by Govind to return to the Punjab and urge the Sikhs to avenge the murder of his children and unite to destroy the Muhammadan despotism. The Sikhs "flocked to him, ready to fight and die under his banner". At heart Banda was ambitious, and under the pretext of carrying out the orders of the Guru he sought to attain to political power. He began his operations in the Punjab by committing highway robberies, freely distributing the spoils among his adherents. This attracted many criminals — scavengers, leather-dressers and such like persons who were very numerous among the Sikhs — to his person. The Moghul power, after

the death of Aurangzib, was fast declining; constant struggle among his sons and grandsons for the throne left the Sikhs free to increase their power, and the criminal activities of Banda went unchecked. He proceeded, with an army of lawless freebooters, from town to town in the very neighbourhood of Delhi, plundering and mercilessly slaughtering the Muhammadans in thousands. Prospects of plunder and the sacred duty of avenging the death of the Guru's children swelled the number of Banda's followers. The accursed town of Sarhind, where the children were done to death, was stormed by them in May 1710 and freely given to plunder. The Sikhs perpetrated horrible atrocities on the Muslim inhabitants of the town, whom they butchered without distinction of age or sex. They extended their destructive activities to the very walls of Delhi. The Emperor Bahadur Shah, who was away in the Deccan, was alarmed on hearing the reports of these outrages and forthwith hastened to the Punjab to make redress. The imperial troops defeated Banda, but he escaped to the adjoining hills. The death of Bahadur Shah in 1712 was followed by a war of succession between his sons, from which Dzhahān-dār Shah came out successful. He was however murdered, after a short reign of eleven months, by his nephew Farrukhsiyar who now ascended the degraded throne of Delhi. 'These commotions were favourable to the Sikhs', who once more began to ravage the country under the notorious Banda. Farrukhsiyar charged 'Abd al-Samad Khān, governor of the Punjab, to put a stop to the atrocities of the Sikhs. With a large army he pursued Banda who was at last besieged in the fortress of Gurdāpur on the Rāwī. Finally he was seized, made prisoner and brought to Delhi where he was tortured to death (1716).

Banda's character is by no means amiable. Even from the Sikh standpoint, he does not deserve reverence, for his motives were selfish and his means unscrupulous. Besides assuming sovereign authority, he aimed at creating a distinct sect of his own, and contrary to the dying injunctions of Govind Singh, he claimed to be acknowledged as the eleventh Guru. Moreover, he made certain other alterations in the Sikh beliefs and rituals — facts which led the more ardent followers of Govind Singh to revolt against his authority. However, there is no doubt that the stormy career through which the Sikhs passed under his leadership gave them a good deal of martial training.

The defeat and death of Banda was followed by a period of reaction and a severe persecution of the Sikhs in the reign of Farrukhsiyar. They were declared outlaws; many of them abandoned their faith, but the more loyal among them were forced to take shelter in the hills and forests. Successive governors of the Punjab, notably the Mu'in al-Mulk, better known as Mir Mannū, carried out the repressive policy of Farrukhsiyar, and for a time it seemed that the Sikh nation would become extinct. But the Moghul power was rapidly decaying, and in the Punjab it was more notably weakened by the frequent invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdālī. The distracted state of the province was favourable to the Sikhs who began gradually to reappear and reorganise themselves. They built several fortresses and acquired wealth by freely plundering the defenceless towns. The centre of their national activities was Amritsar, which they

greatly enriched and fortified. Prince Timūr, who governed the Punjab in the name of his father Ahmad Shāh Durrānī was hostile to the Sikhs. In 1756, he attacked Amritsar, demolished the Har Mandir and filled the sacred tank with the debris. The Sikhs mobilised in large numbers to avenge this outrage and succeeded in driving the Prince out of Lahore, which they temporarily occupied. Their military leader Djasāl Singh Kalāl (the 'brewer') struck coin in his own name with a Persian inscription. But the advent of the Mahrattas under Raghubar (in 1758) made them retire from Lahore, and brought the ferocious Ahmad Shāh for the fifth time to the Punjab. He inflicted a crushing defeat on the Mahrattas in the memorable battle of Pānīpat (1761). The Sikhs became active as soon as he left the Punjab and regained their lost power. He therefore came back with the definite object of breaking their power and recover his territories. In a desperate battle fought near Ludhiāna (1762) he totally defeated them with heavy carnage, but he had soon to leave the Punjab in order to suppress a rebellion at Kandahār. The Sikhs recovered soon and in 1763 they defeated Zain Khān, the Afghan governor of Sarhind, which they sacked and destroyed. Once more they took possession of Lahore, and this time their hold was more permanent. They assembled at Amritsar and proclaimed the regime of the Khālṣa as supreme in the Punjab (1764). The sovereign authority was vested in a national council called the *Guru-matta*. The coin of the Sikh commonwealth bore the Persian inscription:

*Dig u tigh u fath u nuqrat bi dirang
Yāst at Nānak Gurū Govind Singh*

*Guru Govind Singh received from Nānak

The Sword, the Bowl and Victory unfailing"

(Khazān Singh, *History of the Sikh Religion*, p. 264).

Now that the common danger which confronted the Sikhs was removed, they became disunited and divided into a number of states or confederacies called *Misals*. These *Misals* were 12 in number, governed independently of each other by their respective chiefs (*Sardār*, q. v.), who were under no supreme authority and had nothing in common with one another except their religion. "They were almost constantly engaged in civil war, grouping and regrouping in the struggle for pre-eminence". They were "loosely organised and varied from time to time in power and even in designation". After thirty years of this variable rule in the Punjab, there appeared on the scene a strong man who united these jarring confederacies into a compact sovereignty. This was Randjit Singh.

Randjit Singh's father Mahā Singh was the chief of the Sakerchakia *Misal* with its headquarters at Gadhrānwala, 40 miles to the north of Lahore. At the age of 12 (in 1792) he succeeded to the barony of his father. He gradually rose to power through his personal character and genius with which he was gifted by nature. In 1799 he acquired possession of Lahore through a royal investiture granted to him by Zamān Shāh (grandson of Ahmad Shāh Abdālī), who was still looked upon as virtual owner of the Punjab. Amritsar was reduced by Randjit Singh in 1802. The possession of Lahore and Amritsar, the two most important towns of the Punjab, made his personality conspicuous and enlarged his prestige. He assumed the title of Maharādja and continued to

extend his possessions until gradually he annexed all the *Misals* to his dominions. With the English, whose territories now extended to the Sutlej, Randjit Singh had friendly relations. A treaty of alliance was concluded between the two powers in 1809 which Randjit Singh very faithfully observed. He organised a powerful military force trained by some of the European generals, notably French, who had previously served under Napoleon, and after Waterloo came to the Punjab to enter the service of the Maharaja. With this force he was able to reduce the whole of the Punjab, annex Kashmir (in 1819) and Peshawar (in 1834). He died in 1839, leaving behind him a consolidated kingdom extending from the Sutlej to the Hindu Kush, but no one among his heirs was capable enough to manage it. Three of his sons ascended the throne in rapid succession; conspiracies were rife and led to assassinations, civil war and enormous bloodshed. The army had become uncontrollable and spread terror throughout the country. The court at last found an outlet for its activities by inciting the army leaders to cross the Sutlej and invade the British territory. This led to the first Sikh war (Dec. 1845), in the course of which the Sikhs were defeated by the English general Sir Hugh (afterwards Lord) Gough in four successive battles fought at Ferozshah and Madki (in the present district of Ferozepur) and Aliwal and Sobroon near Ludhiana (Jan.-Febr. 1846). "The victory opened the way to Lahore which was promptly occupied by the Governor-General" (Sir Henry Hardinge). The Sikh Durbār accepted the British resident (Sir Henry Lawrence) to act as President of the Council of Regency to the minor Maharaja Dalip Singh, son of Randjit Singh. The revolt of Diwan Mubārāj, governor of Multan, against the government at Lahore (in 1848) tempted the Sikhs again to take up arms against the English. War was consequently declared and Lord Gough inflicted two heavy defeats on the Sikh army, first at Chillianwala and then at Gujrat (early 1849). The Punjab was declared annexed to the British dominions and the Sikh rule came to an end.

Religion

Sikhism aimed at purifying the religious beliefs of the Hindus. The teachings of its founder were therefore mainly negative. He strongly protested against caste restrictions and superstitious beliefs. He preached absolute equality of mankind; he taught that mechanical worship and pilgrimages do not elevate the human soul; that spirit and not the form of devotion was the real thing. No salvation is possible without a true love of God and good deeds in this world. Sikhism, like Islam, condemns idolatry and teaches strict monotheism. Its God is the God of all mankind and of all religions, "whose name is true, the Creator, immortal, unborn, self-existent, great and beneficent" (*Qisṣṭi of Guru Nanak*).

Reverence for the Gurus is much emphasized, for although "God is with man, but can only be seen by means of the Gurus" (Macauliffe, II. 347). Sikhism also believes in the doctrine of Karma and Metempsychosis.

The theology of Nanak was not formal; his sole object was to bring about a social and moral reform. Sikhism remained a pacific and tolerant cult until the social tyranny of the Hindus and political

friction with Muhammadans transformed it into a militant creed. Govind Singh made Sikh theology more formal and prescribed rules for guidance in private and social affairs. He forbade the use of tobacco and wine, though the latter is now more freely indulged in by the Sikhs.

The sacred book of the Sikhs is the *Granth*, which is held by them in great reverence. The first portion of it, called the *Adi Granth* was compiled, as mentioned above, by the fifth Guru Arjan. It includes the hymns of the first five Gurus together with selections from the compositions of saints and reformers anterior to Nanak, notably Kabir, Namdev, Daj Dev, Rāmānand and Sheikh Farid. The *Granth* is composed wholly in verse with different metres. The bulk of it is in archaic Hindi written in Gurmukhi characters; other portions are in various other Indian dialects and languages including Sanskrit, together with a few verses and tales in Persian (written in Gurmukhi script). The second portion, called the *Dasam Granth* (or *Granth of the 10th Guru*) was compiled by Govind Singh and includes, in the main, his own writings. The major part of it consists, like the *Adi Granth*, of hymns in praise of God, but it also comprises the autobiography of Govind Singh, called the *Vachitra Natak* ("the wonderful drama") along with other miscellaneous compositions by the Hindi poets whom he kept in his service. The entire *Granth* usually forms a quarto volume of about 1,200 pages. Some of its chapters are used by the Sikhs as Divine Services and are repeated by them privately in the morning, evening, and at bed-time. Such are: (1) the *Dhāpdi* by Guru Nanak (see Macauliffe, I. 195-217); (2) *Asa Ki Vār* by the same (*ibid.*, pp. 218-249); (3) the *Dhāpdi* by Guru Govind (*op. cit.*, v. 261); (4) the *Rahitnā* (*op. cit.*, i. 250-257); (5) *Sohila* (*ibid.*, 258-260) and (6) the *Sukhmani* by Guru Arjan (*op. cit.*, III. 197-199). They are also recited at the administration of the *pahul* or baptism.

The cosmopolitan views of Nanak were acceptable to both Hindus and Muhammadans; moreover, he did not prescribe any particular forms of worship, hence it is not surprising that he gained converts from both religions. But it was undoubtedly Hinduism — the faith of his own parents — whose social system he wanted to reform, therefore naturally his teachings were addressed to the Hindus rather than the Muhammadans. The majority of his disciples was derived from the Dīkt, Arora and Khatri castes; to the last of them belonged all the Gurus including Nanak himself. To the Brahmins and Rājputs, whose social status was very high, the democratic tenets of Sikhism were less acceptable.

The sects and sub-sects of the Sikhs are numerous, but the main divisions are two: (1) the *Keshdhāris*, otherwise called "Singhs", and (2) the *Sahjdhāris*. The former represent the baptized and therefore more orthodox followers of Guru Govind Singh, while the latter were originally those who refused to accept his baptism and join the militant *Keshdhāris*. Other important sects are: (1) *Nanakpanthis*, "known roughly as Sikhs who are not Singhs, followers of the earlier Gurus, who do not think it necessary to follow the ceremonial and social observances inculcated by Guru Govind Singh. Their characteristics are, therefore, mainly negative; they do not forbid smoking; they do not insist on long hair; they are not

baptized with the *pahul* and so forth". In other words, they belong to the *Sahjdhāri* division. (2) *Udāsīs* (the renouncers) are also, like the *Nānakpanthīs*, included in the *Sahjdhāri* division. They represent the ascetic order founded by Sri Čand, son of Nānak. They remain celibate and their tenets are very much tinged with the Hindu ascetic beliefs. (3) the *Akālīs* (worshippers of Akāl, the Immortal, Timeless God) differ essentially from all other Sikh orders in being a militant organization founded by Govind Singh. They are more orthodox than most of the Sikhs and still retain their characteristic militant spirit. (4) the *Bandās* or *Bandāpanthīs* i.e. those who accepted Banda as the eleventh Guru, while the *Dīas Khālās* are strict adherents to the doctrines of Govind in opposition to the innovations of Banda. (5) the *Machhīs* (pron. *Maichīs*) represent members of the scavenger class converted to Sikhism by taking the *pahul*, while the name *Kāndīs* (followers of Guru Rām Dās, by whom they were first converted) is applied to *Čanāris* (leather-dressers) who have taken the *pahul*. The Sikh shrines are scattered over the greater part of the Punjab, but the better known among them are to be found in the districts of Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Ferozepur — the holiest of them being the Golden Temple of Amritsar and Nankāna Šāhīb (near Lahore) the birthplace of Nānak, where annual fairs, attended by a very large number of Sikhs, are held.

According to the census returns of 1921, the total Sikh population is 3,238,803; of which 3,110,000 (all but 4/5) are in the Punjab, the chief centres being the districts of Amritsar, Ludhiana and Ferozepur, and the native states Patiala, Nabha, Dīnd and Faridkot. The strength of the chief sects is as follows:

Keshdhāris	2,876,320
Sahjdhāris	228,600
Dīas Khālās	531,300
Nānakpanthīs	22,500

Ever since the English conquest of the Punjab (in 1849) the Sikhs have remained loyal subjects of the British Crown. As a community they are prosperous; physically they are superior to the rest of the Punjabīs. Military service is one of their favourite occupations and they are justly looked upon as among the finest soldiers of the East. Sikh regiments rendered excellent service to the cause of the Allies in the great European war.

The Sikhs have made considerable progress during the last 40 years. There now exist several organized bodies working systematically for their social and educational advancement. The "Singh Sabha" was founded 30 years ago with the object of propagating the religious doctrines of the Khālās with its headquarters at Amritsar. Another body, called "the Chief Khālās Dīwān" has undertaken the work of social reformation and spread of education. It has its branches in all districts and Sikh states. The "Sharomant Guradwārā Parbandhak Committee" is another institution very recently established with the purpose of taking into their hands the management of the Sikh shrines which were formerly controlled by hereditary Hindu *mahānts*. "The Committee chiefly represents the Akālī sects but has received support from Sikhs in its campaign for the control of shrines in which it has attained a considerable measure of success".

The Sikhs now form a distinct community entirely separate from the Hindus. Their ceremonies of birth, marriage and death are no longer presided over by the Brahmans, but by the Gṛāms, the professional interpreters of the Granth. Like Hindus they burn their dead, but unlike them they marry late and their widows freely re-marry. The Sikhs are also progressing numerically owing partially to the influx of converts from the Hindu depressed classes. The centre of all religious and social activities of the Sikhs is Amritsar where they maintain a large educational institution called the Khālās College affiliated to the University of Lahore. Another similar institution exists at Gujranwālā, while their communal schools are scattered over the whole province.

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SIKKA (A., from *sakk*), die, coinage, currency, coin in general; *dar al-sikka* = mint. In the coin-legends of the Sulṭāns of Dehli of the

thirteenth (sixth) century, *al-sikka* is used only of the gold coins, the corresponding word on the silver coins being *al-ṣidda*. From 1320 to 1328, after which the formula was no longer used, *sikka* is applied to both gold and silver. Except for a sporadic occurrence of the denomination *sikka murādī* on a rare coin of Humayūn, the noun is not found again till the reign of the Mughal Shāh 'Alam Bahādur (1707—1712 = 1119—1124), who introduced on his coins the formula, *sikka* or *sikka mubārak* followed by his titles, which remained usual till the end of the dynasty. The Persian verb *sikka* *sad* however regularly occurs in the couplets of the Emperors from Dīlshāhir onwards. The word *sikka* (*sica*) came for some reason not quite certain quite early in the xviii century A. D. to be particularly associated with the rupee by the English in India and was applied to a recently struck rupee, not yet liable to discount for depreciation. The new rupee, issued by the East India Co. in 1793 to abolish the monetary confusion then existing, was known as the '19 sun sikka' because it was dated in the 19th year of Shāh 'Alam II and remained the unit of British Indian currency for 40 years.

Through Egypt and Italy (*sechino*) the Arabic *sikka* has given us the word "sequin", which found its way also into the Anglo-Indian vocabulary in the forms "chicken" and "chick". (J. ALLAN)

SILĀH-DĀR (A. P., "bearer of arms"), an officer of the Mamlūk court, each of whom carried one of the pieces of the Sultān's equipment and presented it to him when he required it. There were several of them; their chief, called the *amir silāh* was in charge of the arsenal (*silāh-khānā*) and of all that was used in it, or went in or out of it. He ranked among the amirs of a hundred (*amir mi'a*) and had the title *ḡā-nāh karīm 'ālī*.

The Ottoman Turks retained the same title under its Persian form *silāh-dār*. The *silāh-dār-aghā* and the *ṣeḥā-dār-aghā* were the two chief officials in the Sultān's chamber; at the mosque they thrice presented him with rose-water and perfume of wood of aloes. At the ceremony of *ḡharḡā-s ṡarīf* [q. v.] the *silāh-dār-aghā* stood beside the relic; each time that it was kissed, he wiped it with a muslin handkerchief which he then presented to the individual who had just kissed it. Beside him stood an official in charge of all these handkerchiefs. On the last day of Ramaḡān, after the midday prayer, the Sultān went to the apartments of this official and from a raised block witnessed the sport of *ṡomāḡ* (tilting).

The *silāhdārs* were a cavalry corps as old as the Janissaries; they numbered 8,000 men under Mohammad II and 12,000 under Ahmad III. Its chief was called the *silāh-dār-aghā* like the Sultān's sword-bearer, but did not enjoy the same privileges.

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SILIWAN. (See MAIYAFARIKIN)

SILVES, in Arabic *ḡulm* (ethnic: *ḡilbi*), a small town in southern Portugal, the former capital of the province of Algarve (Ar. *al-ḡharā*) and important metropolis of the ḡharb al-Andalus under Arab rule. It was part of the district of al-Shiḡhān, in the time of al-Iḡrā. It was surrounded by gardens and orchards, and

there were many water-mills. It had a harbour on the river, with timber-yards, where the wood of the forests of the region was prepared for exportation. Its figs were renowned. Its population, which claimed to be of Yaman origin, talked a very pure Arabic and had a reputation for its taste in literature and in poetry. The town was celebrated by a poem of the 'Abbāḡid dynast, al-Mu'tamid (cf. R. Dozy, *Script. Ar. loci de Alḡbād*, i, p. 391).

After the downfall of the 'Umayyad caliphate of Spain, Silves, like many of the small capitals of the Peninsula, became the capital of a very small independent state, under the ephemeral dynasty of the Banū Muzāin, on which the recent discovery of a fragment of history has enabled definite facts to be produced for the first time. In 440 (1048—1049) the *kaḡī* of the town declared himself an independent sovereign; he named himself Abu 'l-Aḡbāḡ 'Isā b. Abi Bakr Muḡammad b. Sa'īd b. Djamīl b. Sa'īd (author of a commentary on the *Mawāḡi* of Mālik b. Anas) b. Ibrāhīm b. Abi Naḡr Muḡammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Abi 'l-Djūd Muzāin. He took the honorary title of al-Muḡaffar and organised his state with a watchful eye on his powerful neighbour, the prince of Seville al-Mu'taḡid [q. v.] of the dynasty of the 'Abbāḡids. But this sovereign did not hesitate to attack him and ended by killing him in the course of a battle, at the end of 445 (April 1053). The son of Abu 'l-Aḡbāḡ, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḡammad, succeeded him, with the honorific title of al-Nāḡir; he made himself loved by his subjects and died in Raḡī II 450 (June 1058) leaving the throne to his son 'Isā al-Muḡaffar II. He, like his grandfather, was without delay attacked by al-Mu'taḡid, who blockaded him in Silves and cut off every means of communication. The town was besieged and its ramparts destroyed by means of siege-artillery and saps. The prince of Silves was beheaded by the victor in his own palace in Shawwāl 455 (October 1063). The little dynasty of the Banū Muzāin was extinguished with him, after maintaining itself for only fifteen years.

At the end of the Almoravid dynasty, Silves was the starting point of two revolts: that of Abu 'l-Kāsim Ahmad b. al-ḡassān Ibn Kisīy (Kast) and that of Abu 'l-Walīd Muḡammad b. 'Umar Ibn al-Mundhir. At last in 586 (1190) the king of Portugal, Sancho I, seized Silves, which was retaken a little later by the Almohad Abū Yūsuf Ya'ḡūb. Some years afterwards, it passed definitely under Portuguese rule.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-SIMĀK, "the prominent", the name of the brightest star in the constellation of the Virgin (magnitude 1.2). Virgo (*al-ʿaḥḥā*) has from early times been represented as a woman holding an ear of corn (*sumbala*) in the left hand. The constellation is also often called *Sumbala*. **Al-Simāk** (Greek *σπίς*, Latin *spica*) is close to her right hand. The Arabic word *al-Simāk* was corrupted in the west to *Asimach*, or *Eltamach*. As it was thought that *al-Simāk* was connected with *Arcturus* in *Bootes* by being placed opposite it, a distinction was made between *al-Simāk al-ʿaḥḥā* (the unarmed *Simāk* = *spica*) and *al-Simāk al-ʿarḥmī* (the *Simāk* with the lance = *Arcturus* [magnitude 1.2]). From the adjective part of the Arabic name for *Arcturus*, *al-ʿarḥmī*, came the *Aramē* of the west. The dual forms *al-Simākān* and *al-Anḥarān* (the day-light and the rain-bringing) occur as general name of both stars. **Al-Simāk** is the fourteenth moon-station.

Our constellation of Virgo was represented in Babylonian by the ideogram **AB.SIM** (= *Šarū*, corn standing in the stalk). *Spica* alone had the same ideogram. The stars ξ , ν , β Virginis were allotted by the Babylonians to *Leo*. The constellation of the Virgin belonged to the Goddess *Shala* (wife of the weather-god *Adad*) along with *Shubultu* (ear of corn).

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SIMANCAS, a small town in Northern Spain, situated eight miles south-east of Valladolid and now famous for its castle where are preserved the archives of the kingdom of Spain. The name is transcribed in Arabic *Šamt Māntar* in the *Kitāb al-Iḥār* of Ibn Khaldūn. It was near Simancas that in 327 (939) the armies of the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Rahmān III were severely defeated by the Christian King Ramiro II. This battle itself was only the prelude to a still more bloody encounter, the "battle of the ditch" (*waḡat al-ḥandaḡ*), or battle of Alhandega, which took place soon after to the south of Salamanca, on the banks of the river Tormes.

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(E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL)

SIMAW, a town in Asia Minor, 85 miles S. E. of Kutahya, 110 miles south of Brussa, the residence of a *ḡā'im-maḥḥān*, capital of the *ḡāḍ* of the same name. Simaw has now about 6,000 inhabitants mainly Muslims, and has a neglected appearance. It played a considerable part at an

earlier period. It is the *Sōmas* of the ancients, of which many traces still exist (ruins, inscriptions etc.). In the Byzantine period, Simaw was the see of a bishop. In 783 (1381/1382) Simaw was conquered by Murād I and incorporated in the Ottoman Empire; cf. 'Ashkharatade, *Ta'rikh*, Istanbul 1332, p. 57; Simaw, which possesses nine large and three small mosques, four medreses and a dervish monastery was the birthplace of several men of importance in the history of the Muslim religion, e. g. Shaikh 'Abd Allāh Ilāhī (d. 896 A. H.), Kara Shams al-Dīn (cf. Ewliya, *Siyāhatnāme*, iii, 377) and notably Shaikh Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd famous for his rebellion, the "Son of the ḡāḍ of Simaw" (cf. Ibn Kāḍī Simawna, p. 416; F. Babinger in *Ill.*, xi, 1921, p. 129; xii, 1922, p. 103 sqq.). Simaw has been visited and described in modern times by various European travellers, such as W. J. Hamilton, A. D. Mordtmann Sen., K. Buresch, Th. Wiegand, A. Philippson etc. The remains of the old defences of which, in addition to the citadel commanding the town which was afterwards transformed, there are still ruins on a low mound not far from the town, would be worthy of fuller investigation, as well as the ancient inscriptions built into the mosques. Simaw which now lies off the line of traffic, will soon be opened up by the Balikesir-Uşak (wrongly 'Uşahak') railway. Near it is the Simaw-Gölü, or Lake of Simaw.

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SIMIYĀ, in form like *ḥibriyā*, belongs to old Arabic beside *simā*, *imā* (Kur'an, xlviii, 29 etc.; Haidkwi, ed. Fleischer, i, 326, 14, 15), in the sense "mark, sign, badge" (Lane, p. 1476; *Ṣaḥāḥ*, s.v., ii, 200 of ed. Bull. 1282; *Ḥamān*, ed. Freytag, p. 696; *Lisān*, v, 205). But the word, as a name for certain departments of magic, had a quite different derivation; in that sense it is from *ḥimā*, through the Syriac *ܚܡܐ* and means "signs, letters of the alphabet" (Dozy, *Suppl.*, i, 708^b and references there; Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, ii, col. 2614). In the Syriac-Arabic lexicons the Syriac word is regularly rendered by the Arabic *ḥimā*; *simiyā* was taken over, apparently, in a technical sense. Payne Smith, following apparently Bruns, gives as the predominant technical meaning "chiromancy"; in Bochart, *Dictionnaire françois-arabe* (i, 154^b), under *Chiromancie*, *simiyā* is given as one of three Arabic renderings. By Barthelemy (d. 685/1286) the Syriac and Arabic forms are used together (*Chiron. Syr.*, ed. Paris, p. 14, 1; *Muḥḥatāt*, ed. Pococke, p. 33); according to these passages the science (*ilm*) was "invented" in the time of Moses by a certain *ܡܡܝܝܐ*,

ܡܡܝܝܐ, which Bruns and Kirsch rendered "Eunumius", but he seems to be quite unknown. The *Muḥḥatāt* (ii, 1032^b) suggests a derivation from *ܡܡܝܐ*, "name of Allāh", and the Names of Allāh certainly play a large part in *simiyā* (Douté, *Magie et Religion*, p. 344, who also suggests, p.

102 that the form of the word has been affected by *simiyā*; but see above).

The term, apart from the dubious "chiromancy", has been and is applied to two quite different branches of magic; there is no evidence which of these, if either, Barhebraeus had in mind. (1) It is very widely applied at the present day to what is often called "natural magic", but is evidently hypnotism. Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḥadditha*, ed. Quatremère, iii. 126) gives this as the third division of magic (*siḥr*) in his arrangement and says that the philosophers (*al-falāsifa*) call it *ḥa'madha* and *ḥa'badha*; cf. Lane on these words p. 1559², where it is instructive to notice his struggles, in a pre-hypnotic age, to render the idea of hypnotism. Ibn Khaldūn expresses it very clearly as a working of the *nafs* of the magician on the imagination of his subject, conveying certain ideas and forms which are then transferred to the senses of the subject and objectify themselves externally in appearances which have no external reality. Well described cases of this will be found in Lane's *Arabian Nights*, chap. i., note 15, ii. *Modern Egyptians*, chap. xii.; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Paris ed., iii. 452 sq.; iv. 277 sq.; Noldeke, *Docteur and Garib*, p. 5 and passim. Cf. also Doutté, pp. 102 and 345 sq.; he calls it also *nirandj*; *Muḥib*, ii. 1032²; Chauvin, *Bibl. ar.*, part vii., p. 102 and references there.

(2) The second is dealt with at length by Ibn Khaldūn in a special section (ed. Quatremère, iii. 137 sqq.; de Slane's transl., iii. 188 sqq.; Bulaḡ, folio ed. of 1274, p. 242 sqq.; Bulaḡ, quarto, p. 420 sqq.; not in Beyrout editions). In Ibn Khaldūn's time (d. 808/1405) it was called distinctively *simiyā* and at the present day many treatises on it are in print and are widely studied. For some of these see Nos. 1, 3, 4 in the list of magical books, article *siḥr* above, but all books on licit magic are affected by it and the *Zā'irifa* [q.v.] is a specially complicated form of it. Ibn Khaldūn prefers to call it the Science of the secret powers of Letters (*ḥurūf*) because *simiyā* was originally a broader term applied to the whole science of talismans and this limited one only originated in the extremist school of Sūfis who professed to be able to control (*taṣarrufa*) the material world by means of these letters and the names and figures compounded from them. It was thus considered a possible study and practice for pious Muslims. But the Sūfis who took it up were of the speculative and pantheistic school and claimed control of the elemental world and power to invade its order (*ḥawāṭir al-'āḍa*) and asserted that all existence descended in a certain sequence from a Unity (the Neoplatonic Chain); for this they constructed a system of technical terms and on it compiled treatises. In their system the entelechy (*ḥamāl*) of the Divine Names proceeds from the help of the spirits of the spheres and of the stars, and the natures and secret powers of the letters circulate in the Names built out of them. Then they circulate similarly in the changes of transient becoming (*al-'awān*) in this world and these *'awān* pass from the first initial creation (*al-'ibḍā*) into the different phases of that creation and express clearly its secrets. This seems to mean that letters contain the primal secrets of creation and the secret powers which still circulate in the *'awān* and that the Divine Names and Allocutions (*kalimat*; [q.v.]) are produced from letters; therefore

the elemental world and the *'awān* in it can be controlled by these names and allocutions when used by spiritual souls (*nufūs rabbāniya*). That is the doctrine of al-Būnī [q.v.], Ibn 'Arabī [q.v.] and their followers. As to the nature and origin of this secret power in letters there is dispute. Some assign it to an elemental nature or constitution (*ḥaṣṣ*) and divide letters into four classes according to the four elements. Others ascribe it to a numerical relationship (*nisba 'adaḍiya*) based on the value of the letters as numbers (*abjad*). Ibn Khaldūn admits that there does exist such control of the material world but it is by divine grace in the *ḥaramāt* [q.v.] of the *awān* [q.v.] and when those who lack that divine grace and insight endeavour to exert the same control by means of these names and allocutions they are in the same class as the workers of magic by means of talismans, except that they have not the scientific training and system of these magicians. They may produce effects through the influence of the human *nafs* and purpose (*ḥimma*) — which for Ibn Khaldūn is the basis of all such working, licit and illicit — but these effects are contemptible beside those of the professional magicians. Ibn Khaldūn, therefore, disapproves of this attempt by al-Būnī and others to produce a pious and licit magic; but there is no question that al-Būnī has imposed his system upon Islam. There are many examples of this form of magic in Muslim literature; e.g. several references in the longer recension of "The Forty Vezirs", transl. by Petis de la Croix (*Histoire de la Sultane de Perse et des Vezirs*), see especially an extended exposition, p. 186 sqq. of ed. Amsterdam, 1707. The best description and a sympathetic exposition of this state of mind which sees in letters relations to the universe and a science of the universe is in Louis Massignou's *Al-Hallaj*, p. 588 sqq.; cf., too, Doutté, p. 172 sqq. It is evident that this is a sister phase of thought to the Jewish Kabbala of the alphabetic and theurgic type connected with the divine names, teaching that the science of letters is the science of the essences of things and that by letters God created and controls the world and that men by suitable knowledge of these can control material things (cf. C. D. Ginsburg, *The Kabbalah*, p. 127 sqq.; article *KABBALA* by H. Loewe in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Rel. and Ethics*, vii. 622-628).

Bibliography has been given in the article.

(D. B. MACDONALD)

SĪMURGH (P.), a mythical bird. The word is a composition of *murgā* (bird) with (the modern-Persian equivalent of) Pahlawi *sin* (Avestan *saēna*, the name of a great bird of prey, probably the eagle). Cognate with the Iranian word is Skt. *syena* (a falcon); whether Armenian *cin* (a kite) and Greek *ἰσθίος* may be compared, is doubtful. The Avestan word occurs once in company of the word *mērēdga* (bird), and once without it (cf. Bartholomae, *Air. Wk.*, col. 1548); in Pahlawi *sin* as well as *simurgā* are found. The Avestan information about *saēna* is scanty: once, the Ised Wēdēthragha is compared with it (*Yasht*, xiv. 41), and in the 17th paragraph of the late and not very original *Yasht*, xii., in an invocation of the Ised Rāšnū, there is made mention of the tree of the *saēna*, which stands in the midst of the sea Wōnrukasha. This tree is called Waspōbish (= "having all healing powers"), and it contains

the seed of all plants. It cannot be established from the Avestan text, what precisely is the relation of the *salma* to the tree; it may be, that, as in the Pahlavi *Mēnkī-kērat*, there is implied, that the dwelling-place of the bird is on that tree (comp. *Sacred Books of the East*, v., p. 89, note 1). In any case, in this *Yāst*, the *salma* must be a mythical figure. The *Bundahishn* states, that the *sem* of two kinds (i. e. aspects, *āwēnāh*) was the first of birds, but she is not chief (*raf*) of birds, for that dignity belongs to the *harāgīst*-bird (*Pahlavi Text Series*, iii. 121). The Persian epic gives a more vivid notion of the Simurgh, less affected by Zoroastrian theology and cosmology. In the heroic tradition of Irān there are found two Simurghs, viz. the bird-shaped guardian genius of Zal and Rustam, and, secondly, a monstrous bird, killed by Isfandiyār. The first Simurgh, according to the *Sāhnamā*, lives on the mountain Alburs, far from the dwelling-places of men; its nest has columns of ebony and sandalwood; aloe-wood also belongs to the materials of this building. The nest is once even called *āghā*; to the impressive bird (*haihat-i murgh*) the awful nest (*hawā-i kunūm*) is suited. When the Simurgh comes near, the air is darkened; the bird is like a cloud "whose rain are corals". Zal, the son of Sām, who was after his birth exposed by order of his father, was found by the Simurgh, who bore him to her nest; where she educated the child. A heavenly voice announced to the bird the future glory of the race of Zal. The Simurgh has the gift of speech, like men; so she could teach the young Zal to speak. Later on, the bird delivered the youth to his father Sām. She had given to Zal the name Dastān-i Zand. When parting, the Simurgh gave the young man one of her feathers; if he should happen to want the bird's help in times of distress and peril, he had only to burn (part of) it, to see the glorious being approach (*bīhāt ham anīdar zamīn farr-i man*). Afterwards, the Simurgh, being called by that feather-magic, gave counsel at the occasion of the birth of Zal's son, the famous Rustam, to the effect that the mother should be intoxicated and her side opened; she mentioned also the herb, which, mixed up with milk and musk, would cure the wound; after that, the scar had to be rubbed with a feather of the bird. The second and last time the Simurgh was called upon, was on the occasion of the fight of Rustam with Isfandiyār; the bird extracted the arrows from the bodies of Rustam and his horse, Rakhsh, and cured his wounds, this time also by means of her feathers. Then she warned the hero, that whoever should kill Isfandiyār, must be miserable in this world and the next. Rustam, however, insisted upon obtaining the means to conquer his antagonist. So the Simurgh conveyed him within the space of a single night to the place, where the fatal tree grew, from a branch of which the arrow was to be made, with which Isfandiyār could be slain (*Sāhnamā*, ed. Vullers-Landauer, pp. 133, etc.; 222 sq.; 1703 etc.). In contradistinction to this good Simurgh, which is called *haihat-i murghān* (cp. *lit.*, 139, 191) and *farmūn-ravā* (222, 166; 1706, 1707), and which knows the mystery of fate (*rāz-i zīghr*, viz. the fact, that he, who slays Isfandiyār, will be damned: 1705, 1691 etc.), the other Simurgh, killed by Isfandiyār in the course of his seven adventures,

is a noxious monster. It lives on a mountain, and resembles a flying mountain or a black cloud; with its claw it can lift crocodiles, panthers, even an elephant. It has two young ones, as large as itself; if they fly, they cast an enormous shadow. Isfandiyār slew this being by a stratagem, using a kind of chariot (*gardāw*), which was all set over with sharp weapons. The corpse of the monster covered a whole plain (*Sāhnamā*, ed. Vullers-Landauer, p. 1597, etc.). Once, also this bird is called *farmūn-ravā* (1598, 1705).

Except the name, there is no great resemblance between the Avestan *salma* and the Simurgh of the epic, although they have some features in common. Both dwell far from the inhabited world [on the relation of the Wourukasha to the Alburs see s. v. *gāh* (ii. 659, col. 8)]; with the healing power of the epic bird, the relation of the *salma* to the medicinal tree may be compared; in turn, the Simurgh itself has a connection with the fatal, far-off tree at the sea of Ām, where the baneful twig grows, which can slay Isfandiyār. Feather-magic is known to the Avesta, but not in connection with the *salma*. *Yāst*, xiv. 34 etc. a feather-magic is taught against enemies: it consists of rubbing the body with a feather of the bird of prey *uštānīgaw*; the wearing of such a feather as an amulet is also mentioned. In the same *Yāst* (45 and 46), to ensure victory in battle, it is recommended to let fly four feathers, while uttering an appropriate spell, which helps also in mortal dangers. The difference here is great: the feathers are not those of the *salma*, they are not burned, and the procedure does not aim at summoning some one. The Avestan bird belongs to the good (non-Ahrimanic) creation, although it is no chief (*raf*) of birds. That the epic Simurgh is called *haihat-i murghān* is nothing but a poetical conception. The Simurgh, which appears in the story of Zal and his son may be considered as a kind of good genius (comp. also Nöldeke, *Das Iranische Nationalepos*, p. 10, 59). If the malignant Simurgh in the adventure of Isfandiyār is not merely an addition to the older epic tradition (for it is supposed, with much reason, that the series of Isfandiyār's adventures is an imitation of Rustam's seven exploits), perhaps the statement of the *Bundahishn*, that this bird is of two aspects (kinds) could be compared, so that also in Zoroastrian lore there would have been a difference between two kinds of *salma* (*sin*). The Pahlavi statement, however, is too indistinct, to be made use of in this respect.

The rôle of the Simurgh as a guardian genius of heroes (on a possible parallel in Achaemenian dynastic tradition comp. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 4) is not reflected in the Avesta. As it is very probable, that the cycle of Rustam and his family originally did not belong to Zoroastrian tradition (Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 9 etc.), this principal feature of the epic Simurgh must also be due to a non-Zoroastrian origin. It may be then, that two different mythical conceptions have been subsumed under one name. The Avestan *salma* may, originally, correspond to one of the bird-shaped beings of Aryan mythology. We may, however, suppose, that it has lost most of its characteristics in being accommodated to Zoroastrian cosmology. There are a few resemblances between the Iranian conceptions and some features of Indian bird-mythology: the *salma* lives far off on the tree in the sea Wourukasha, and a king of birds (*pakīrāf*, is

Garuda meant) lives also far off in the *varja* Hiraṃyama (*Mahābhārata*, vi/viii, 547). The *śin*, according to the *Mittāḥi-Āṣṭa*, when alighting at his nest, breaks off thousand twigs of the medicinal tree, and the story of Garuḍa, tearing off and bearing away a branch of the Rauhipa-tree is well known (*Mahābh.*, i/xix, 39, etc.; cf. E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 21). One might also consider the fact, that, as the *śin* stands in a certain relation to the healing herbs, so Garuḍa to the *amṛta*, the drink of immortality, and the *cyrena*, mentioned in *Rigveda*, iv. 26 and 27, to the Soma. But these faint resemblances may be due to accident at any rate, they are insufficient to justify a comparison between Iranian and Indian myth in this case. On a possible explanation of the *śin* as a sun-bird comp. A. J. Wensinck, *Tree and Bird as Cosmological Symbols in Western Asia*, 1921, p. 42.

On the other hand, the principal characteristic of the epic Simurgh is its protection of the exposed child Zal and Rostam. Its function as tutelary genius of Zal and Rostam. It must therefore be classed with the various guardian-animals we meet in the stories of the youth of some historical or mythical heroes, as Cyrus, Romulus, etc. It is however true, that this Simurgh shows also features of a more fierce kind.

Tha'libi, in his history of the Persian kings, renders the word Simurgh by 'Anfā [q. v.]. In non-epic Persian literature, the dwelling-place of the Simurgh is the fabulous mountain Kāf (which originally may be the same as the Alburz; on this question comp. s.v. KAF, ii, p. 659; Wensinck, l. c.). A more rationalistic view is e.g. that of Hamdallah Mustawfi (*Nuḥāt*, ed. Le Strange, i. 232; ii. 225) who says that on the isle of Rāmu (Samarat?) the nest of the Simurgh is found.

In mystical literature, the Simurgh as a symbol of the deity, is well-known from 'Aṭṭār's *Manṣūḥ al-Qaṣr*. The name of the bird, moreover, appears in Persian literature, very often in poetical similes. A few instances out of many are: Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, ed. Nicholson, i. vs. 1441; 2755; 2962; Rückert, *Grammatik, Rhetorik und Poetik der Perser*, p. 20; Arāḳī as quoted in 'Awfi, *Lubāb*, ii. 89, where the synonym 'anfā is used.

(V. F. BÜCHNER)

SIN, twelfth letter of the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical value 60. For palaeographical details see above i. 390 and ARABIA, plate 1. Sin corresponds to: a) aethiopic ṣāṭ, Assyrian ṣā, Hebrew and Aramaic ש, whereas šin corresponds to Aeth. šmēt, to Hebrew שׁ and Aramaic ܫ to Hebrew שׁ and Aramaic ܫ.

Bibliography: W. Wright, *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, Cambridge 1890, p. 57 sqq.; C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergl. Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, Berlin 1908, i. 128 sqq.

SINAI [See ai-ṭūs].

SINÂN, usually called KODJA MİRÂN SINÂN, the greatest architect of the Ottomans. Sinân came from Kaṭariya [q. v.] in Anatolia where he was born on the 9th Raddjāh 895 (April 15, 1589) the son of Christian Greeks. His father was later called 'Abd al-Mennān but his real name is not known. His non-Turkish origin (*mühtedi*) is beyond question and is never in dispute, either among his contemporaries or among all serious

Turkish scholars. The young Sinân came into the Serai in Stambul with the levy of youths (*devşirme*, q. v.), became a Janissary, distinguished himself in the campaigns against Belgrade (1521) and Rhodes (1522) by his bravery and was promoted to be *senberberdji başı*, i. e. chief firework-operator. In the Persian war (1534) he showed special ingenuity, when he devised ferries for crossing Lake Van, which proved particularly effective. He continued to rise in rank and was ultimately appointed *Sudāşî* (police magistrate). When Selim I advanced on Wallachia, Sinân was in his train. He built a bridge across the Danube, which aroused further admiration and laid the foundations of his fame. Henceforth he was exclusively engaged in building mosques and palaces, commissions from the Sultān and grandees of the Empire. That, as is often stated, he began the building of the Selimiye immediately after Selim I's death, — the mosque which stands on the top of the fifth hill in Stambul and which was finished in 1522, — is impossible even on chronological grounds; in dazzlingly rapid succession from the end of the thirties arose the further creations of this master, which were built in parts all of the empire, mainly by command of Selim II the Great. Only the largest mosques can be mentioned here: in 1539 the Mosque of Roxelane (*Khaṣṣeki Khurram*), in 1548 the Princes' Mosque, in 1550/1556 the Soleimāniya, in 1551/1574 the Selimiye at Adrianople, built by order of Selim II. These are his finest efforts. In addition he built a countless number of small mosques, palaces, schools, bridges, baths, etc. The poet, Muṣṭafā Ḥā'ī, his biographer, gives 81 mosques, 30 chapels, 55 schools, 7 Ḳur'ān schools, 16 poor-kitchens (*imāret*), 3 infirmaries, 7 aqueducts, 8 bridges, 34 palaces, 13 rest-houses, 3 store-houses, 33 baths, 19 domed tombs (*türbe*), in all 343 buildings. Sinân was working for three-quarters of a century everywhere from Bosnia to Mecca. As Corn. Gurlitt points out, Sinân displayed an incomparable lightness of touch in his use of the dome. On a square, hexagonal or octagonal base he developed his interiors, always striving at the effect of a great ceremonial hall, a uniform architecture enclosing the worshipping rulers and their hosts. He is predominantly concerned with the interior and readily neglects the exterior for it. But everywhere, Gurlitt says, appears the peculiarity of the Turkish character, everywhere he creates models which are as little Byzantine as they are Persian, as little Syrian as they are Seldjūk, but are all the more Turkish (cf. C. Gurlitt, *Konstantinopel*, Berlin 1909, p. 94). Sinân had numerous pupils to assist him, including Ahmad Agha, Kamāl al-Dīn, Dā'ūd Agha, who was executed for free-thinking (cf. *Hadīqat al-Djūmūd*, i. 198), Yattm Baba 'Alī, Yūsuf and the younger Sinân, who is frequently confused with him, and to distinguish him from the latter he was later called *bağsa* the "old". Yūsuf, his favourite pupil, is said to have been the architect of the palaces in Lahore, Delhi, and Agra, which were built by the Emperor Akbar. This Michael Angelo of the Turks died when nearly 90 (herein also resembling him) on the 12th Djumādā I, 986 (July 17, 1578). He was buried behind his masterpiece, the Soleimān Mosque, close to the offices of the Shaikh al-Islām, beside a chapel, school, and well, built and endowed by him. The chronogram (*ta'rīkh*) gives the year of his death without any possibility of doubt as 986 (cf.

İlham, ix. 247 ff., where the sources are collected) but it is supposed by Ahmed Raîk Bey, *Âlimler ve Sanatkarlar*, Stambul 1924, p. 33 note, that in the *te'rîkâ* the vowel *i* was allotted the value 10 so that the year of death would be 996 (1588), which seems also to be added in figures. As the *te'rîkâ* was composed by Mustafa Sâî (d. 1004 = 1595; cf. Rûhî, *Tedkîkât*, 51), a famous *mağâzî* of his time, this error in the most important line seems odd, to say the least.

The following is an exact list of all Sinân's buildings based on the statements of Mustafa Sâî (d. 1595):

I. MOSQUES (*Djami*):

1) Suleimâniya, Stambul; 2) Shâh-zâde-Mosque, Stambul; 3) M. of Khayrî Khurram, Stambul; 4) M. of princess Mihr-u-Mâh, at the Adrianople gate, Stambul; 5) M. of the mother of 'Othmân Shâh, Ak Serai, Stambul; 6) M. of the daughter of Bâyezîd II, Yenî Baghçe, Stambul; 7) M. of Ahmad Pasha, Topkapu, Stambul; 8) M. of Rustam Pasha, Taht al-kâ'a, Stambul; 9) M. of Mehmed Pasha, Kadirgha limani, Stambul; 10) M. of Ibrahim Pasha, at the Siliwri-gate, Stambul; 11) M. of Pîrîle Pasha, Stambul; 12) M. of 'Abd al-Rahmân Çelebi, at Mollâ Kuvânî, Stambul; 13) M. of Mahmûd Agha, Stambul; 14) M. of Oda bashî, at Yenî kapu, Stambul; 15) M. of Khodja Khosraw, at Kodja Mustafa Pasha, Stambul; 16) M. of Hammâmî Khâjûn, Şahî Monastir, Stambul; 17) M. of Defterdâr Sulaimân Çelebi, Çukûlâ Çeşmesi, Stambul; 18) M. of Farrah K'aya, Balat, Stambul; 19) M. of Dragoman Vûnus Bey, Balat; 20) M. of Khurram Çaugh, at Yenî Baghçe, Stambul; 21) M. of Sinân Agha, at Kâdî Çeşmesi, Stambul; 22) M. of Akhi Çelebi, Izmir iskelesi, Stambul; 23) M. of Sulaimân subashi, at Un kapu, Stambul; 24) M. of Zâl Pasha, Aiyûb; 25) M. of Shâh Sulân, Aiyûb; 26) M. of Nâhândji bashî, Aiyûb; 27) M. of Amir-i Bukhârî, at the Adrianople gate, Stambul; 28) M. of Merkez Efendi, at Yenî kapu, Stambul; 29) M. of Çaugh bashî, Sütlüdjé, Stambul; 30) M. of Nûr Shâikh-zâde Hussain Çelebi, at Kiremidlik; 31) M. of Kâsim Pasha, at the Anenai, Stambul; 32) M. of Mehmed Pasha, at the 'Azâblar kapusu, Stambul; 33) M. of Kîlîdî 'Alî Pasha, at Top-khâna, Stambul; 34) M. of Muhyî ed-Din Çelebi, at Top-khâna; 35) M. of Mollâ Çelebi, between Top-khâna and Bashîk Tash; 36) M. of Abu'l-Faql, at Top-khâna; 37) M. of Prince Djihângîr, Top-khâna; 38) M. of Sinân Pasha, Bashîk Tash; 39) M. of the Sultana, Skutari; 40) M. of Shemai Ahmad Pasha, Skutari; 41) M. of Iskander Pasha; 42) M. of Mustafa Pasha, in Gebize; 43) M. of Pertev Pasha, in Izmid; 44) M. of Rustam Pasha, in Sabandja; 45) M. of Rustam Pasha, Şamanlı; 46) M. of Mustafa Pasha, Boli; 47) M. of Farhâd Pasha, in Boli; 48) M. of Mehmed Beg, in Izmid; 49) M. of 'Othmân Pasha, in Kaşaniya; 50) M. of Hâdîdî Pasha, in Kaşaniya; 51) M. of Djanâbî Ahmad Pasha, in Angora; 52) M. of Mustafa Pasha, in Ezerum; 53) M. of Sulân 'Alî ed-Din, in Çorum; 54) M. of 'Abd es-Salâm, Izmid; 55) M. of Sulân Sulaimân, in Izmit (built

out of a Byzantine church which had been destroyed by fire); 56) M. of Khosraw Pasha, in Halab; 57) the domes of the sanctuary in Mekka; 58) M. of Sulân Murâd Khân (III), in Maghâra; 59) restoration of the M. of Orkhan (Ghâzi, Kutahya); 60) M. of Rustam Pasha, Bulawadin; 61) M. of Hussain Pasha, Kutahya; 62) M. of Sulân Selim (II), Kara Buğar; 63) M. of Sulân Sulaimân on the Gök maddân in Damascus; 64) M. of Sulân Selim (II), in Adrianople; 65) M. Tashîk for Mahmûd Pasha, in Adrianople; 66) M. of the Defterdâr Mustafa Pasha, in Adrianople; 67) M. of 'Alî Pasha, in Baba eskî; 68) M. of Mehmed Pasha, in Hafsa; 69) M. of Mehmed Pasha, in Lüle Burghâ; 70) M. of 'Alî Pasha, in Ereğli; 71) M. of the Bosnian Mehmed Pasha, in Sofia; 72) M. of Süfi Mehmed Pasha, in Herzegovina; 73) M. of Farhâd Pasha, in Çataldja; 74) M. of the executed Mustafa Pasha, in Ofen (Budapest); 75) M. of Firdûs Bey, in Isbarta, Asia Minor; 76) M. of Memî k'aya, in Ulaş; 77) M. of Tatar Khân, in Gâzeve; 78) M. of Rustam Pasha, in Rusuk; 79) M. of the Wazir 'Othmân Pasha, in Trikala, Thessaly; 80) M. of Khayrî Khurram, in Adrianople; 81) M. of the Sulân wâlîde, in Scutari.

II. SMALL MOSQUES (*Masjid*):

1) Chapel of Rustam Pasha, Yenî Baghçe, Stambul; 2) Ch. of Ibrahim Pasha, on the 'Isâ kapu, Stambul; 3) Ch. of Muftî Ciwîzâde, at the Topkapu, Stambul; 4) Ch. of Amîr 'Alî, beside the custom-house (*gömrük-khâna*), Stambul; 5) Ch. of the architect Sinân, beside the offices of the Shâikh al-Islâm; 6) Ch. of the chief huntsman (*avâzî bashî*), beside the custom-house, Stambul; 7) Ch. of Defterdâr Sharîfzâde Efendi, in Stambul; 8) Ch. of Defterdâr Mehmed Çelebi, in Stambul; 9) Ch. of Hâfîz Mustafa Efendi, at Yenî Baghçe, Stambul; 10) Ch. of Simkash bashî, at the bazar of Lutfî Pasha, Stambul; 11) Ch. of Khodja-zâde, at the *titime* of the mosque of Mehmed II, Stambul; 12) Ch. of the Çaugh, at the Siliwri-gate, Stambul; 13) Ch. of the daughter of Ciwîzâde, Dâ'ud Pasha, Stambul; 14) Ch. of Taqiyâdjî Ahmad, ibid.; 15) Ch. of Şary Hâdîdjî Nâşûh, in Stambul; 16) Ch. of the slaughterer (*şakşâb*) Hâdîdjî Iwâd (properly 'Awâd), in Stambul; 17) Ch. of the cook (*tashkâb*) Hâdîdjî Hasan, at Agha çairi, Stambul; 18) Ch. of Hâdîdjî Hasan; 19) Ch. of Ibrahim Pasha, Hâdîdjî Hasan; 20) Ch. of Bairam Çelebi, Wlango, Stambul; 21) Ch. of Shâikh Farhâd, ibid.; 22) Ch. of Şurâdjî bashî (commander of the rowers), before the Küm kapu, Stambul; 23) Ch. of the workshop (*kâr-khâna*) of the damask-makers (*zâmkâr-şâhîlar*), in Stambul; 24) Ch. of the workshop of the goldsmiths (*hâyyun-şâhîlar*), in Stambul; 25) Ch. on the Hersek-Hippodrome (*Hersek-bödrümü*), near the Aya Sofia, Stambul; 26) Ch. of *yaya bashî*, on the Fenâr kapu, Stambul; 27) Ch. of 'Abdî subashi, in the Sulân-Selim-quarter, Stambul; 28) Ch. of Hâdîdjî İlyâs, at the bath of 'Alî Pasha; 29) Ch. of Hussain Çelebi, at the Selimye, Stambul; 30) Ch. of Dûkkân-zâde, at Kâdî Mustafa Pasha, Stambul; 31) Ch. of Kâdîzâde, at the Çukur hammâmî, Stambul; 32) Ch.

of *Muṣṭāfā Hāmid Efendi*, at 'Azālar hammāmı, Stambul; 33) Ch. at the tüfenk-khāna, outside the walls (*ḡār*); 34) Ch. of Serai-āghası, at the Adrianople gate, Stambul; 35) Ch. of the superintendent of the metalcasters (*dökmedjilar bahşı*), in Aiyûb, Stambul; 36) Ch. of the arpađı bahşı, Aiyûb; 37) Ch. of the physician Kâsımîzâde, in Sütlüce, Stambul; 38) Ch. of the snow seller (*ḡarđıf*) Sulaimân, in Aiyûb; 39) Ch. of the snow seller (*ḡarđıf*) Sulaimân, in Stambul; 40) Ch. of Aḡmad Celebi, in Kırımlik; 41) Ch. of Yahyâ k'aya, in the Kâsım Paşa quarter, Stambul; 42) Ch. of *ḡahr emini* (supervisor of the city) Hasan Celebi, ibid.; 43) Ch. of Sahil Bey, Topkhāna, Stambul; 44) Ch. of İlyâsîzâde, ibid.; 45) Ch. of *bazır bahşı* Memîk'aya, in Scutari; 46) Ch. of Mehmed Paşa, ibid.; 47) Ch. of Hâdjî Paşa, in Scutari; 48) Ch. of İzzetî khāna, in Khâsköi, Stambul; 49) Ch. of the çarraf, outside the Topkapu, Stambul; 50) Ch. of the *ruḡnîmodjî* 'Abdî Celebi in Şulu monastir.

III. SCHOOLS (*Madrasa*):

1) Sch. of Sulṭān Sulaimân, in Mekka; 2) Six schools, built by command of Sulṭān Sulaimân, in Stambul; 3) Sch. of Sulṭān Selim I (?) beside the Köşk of the *ḡarđıfilar* (carpet-makers); 4) Sch. of Sulṭān Selim II, Adrianople; 5) Sch. of Sulṭān Selim II, in Corla; 6) Sch. of Prince Mehmed, in Stambul; 7) Sch. of Khaṣṣeki Khurram, on the women's market (*Savrat bazarı*), Stambul; 8) the school called *Kahriya* of the Khaṣṣeki Khurram, in Sulṭān Selim, Stambul; 9) Sch. of the Sulṭān-mother, in Scutari; 10) Sch. of Princess Mihr-u Mâh, in Scutari; 11) Sch. of Princess Mihr-u Mâh, at the Adrianople gate, Stambul; 12) Sch. of Mehmed Paşa, Kadyrga limanı; 13) Sch. of Mehmed Paşa, in Aiyûb; 14) Sch. of the mother of 'Oḡmân Shâh, Ak serai, Stambul; 15) Sch. of Rustam Paşa, Stambul; 16) Sch. of 'Alî Paşa, Stambul; 17) Sch. of the executed Mehmed Paşa, Topkapu, Stambul; 18) Sch. of Süfi Mehmed Paşa, Stambul; 19) Sch. of İbrahim Paşa, Stambul; 20) Sch. of Sinân Paşa, in Stambul; 21) Sch. of Iskandar Paşa, in Stambul(?); 22) Sch. of 'Alî Paşa, in Baba eskisi; 23) Sch. of the Egyptian Muṣṭafâ Paşa, in Gebise; 24) Sch. of Aḡmad Paşa, in İmîd; 25) Sch. of Kâsım Paşa, in Stambul(?); 26) Sch. of İbrahim Paşa, at the İsm-Gate, Stambul; 27) Sch. of Şamîsî Aḡmad Paşa, in Scutari; 28) Sch. of *kapu aghası* Dja'far Agha, in Stambul(?); 29) Sch. of the Agha of the Gate Mahmud Agha, in Stambul(?); 30) Sch. of the *Mo'villâde* Amir Efendi, in Stambul(?); 31) the School called Umm wafad, in Stambul(?); 32) Sch. of the chief huntsman (*emvîlî bahşı*), in Stambul(?); 33) Sch. of the *Muṣṭāfā Hāmid Efendi*, in Stambul(?); 34) Sch. of the military judge Fîrûs Agha (?), in Stambul; 35) Sch. of Khodjagîzâde, at Sulṭān Mehmed, Stambul; 36) Sch. of Aghazâde, in Stambul(?); 37) Sch. of Yahyâ Efendi, in Stambul; 38) Sch. of the *Defterdâr* 'Abd es-Salâm Bey, in Stambul; 39) Sch. of Tûṭî kâdi, in Stambul; 40) Sch. of the physician Mehmed Celebi, in Stambul; 41) Sch. of Husain Celebi, in Stambul; 42) Sch. of

Amir Sinân Efendi, in Stambul; 43) Sch. of Shâh-kuli, in Stambul; 44) Sch. of the Dragoman Yunus Bey, in Stambul; 45) Sch. of the snow seller (*ḡarđıf*) Sulaimân Bey, in Stambul; 46) Sch. of Hâdjî Khâṭun, in Stambul; 47) Sch. of the *Defterdâr* Sharîfzâde, in Stambul; 48) Sch. of the judge Hâkim Celebi; 49) Sch. of Baba Celebi, in Stambul; 50) Sch. of Kirmasî (?) Celebi, renovated; 51) Sch. of *seghan* 'Alî Bey at the custom-house, in Stambul; 52) Sch. of the *nîḡândjî* Mehmed Bey, at Alî mermer; 53) Sch. of *İsmâîl kâḡkudâsî* Husain Celebi, in Stambul; 54) Sch. of Gâffar Khâṭun, in Scutari; 55) Sch. of Khoaraw k'aya, in Angora.

IV. KUR'ÂN-READING SCHOOLS (*Dâr al-Kur'ân*):

1) K. of Sulṭān Sulaimân, Stambul; 2) K. of the Walide Sulṭān, Scutari; 3) K. of Khoaraw k'aya, Stambul; 4) K. of Mehmed Paşa, Aiyûb, Stambul; 5) K. of the *Muṣṭāfā Sa'id* Celebi, Kûçuk Qaraman, Stambul; 6) K. of the Bosnian Mehmed Paşa, Stambul; 7) K. of the *Muṣṭāfā Kâḡîzâde* Efendi, Stambul.

V. TOMB CHAPELS (*Türbe*):

1) T. C. of Sulṭān Sulaimân Khân, Stambul; 2) T. C. of Sulṭān Selim (II.) Khân, Stambul; 3) T. C. of Prince Mehmed, Stambul; 4) T. C. of the Princess, Stambul; 5) T. C. of Rustam Paşa, Shâhîzâde bahşı, Stambul; 6) T. C. of Khoaraw Paşa, Stambul; 7) T. C. of Aḡmad Paşa, Topkapu, Stambul; 8) T. C. Mehmed Paşa, Aiyûb, Stambul; 9) of the sons of Siyâwush Paşa, Aiyûb, Stambul; 10) T. C. of Zâi Mahmud Paşa, Aiyûb, Stambul; 11) T. C. of Khair ed-Din Barbarossa, Bahşik Tash, Stambul; 12) T. C. of Yahyâ Efendi, Bahşik Tash, Stambul; 13) T. C. of Şamîsî Aḡmad Paşa, Scutari; 14) T. C. of the Beylerbeyi of Cyprus 'Arab Aḡmad Bey, Stambul; 15) T. C. of Kylydjî 'Alî Paşa, Aiyûb, Stambul; 16) T. C. of Pertew Paşa, Aiyûb, Stambul; 17) T. C. of Princess Shâh Khobân, wife of Luṭfi Paşa, Yeñi Baghçe, Stambul; 18) T. C. of Hâdjî Paşa, Scutari; 19) T. C. of Aḡmad Paşa, at the Adrianople gate, Stambul.

VI. HOSPITALS (*Tîmâr-khāna, Tab-khāna*):

1) H. of Sulṭān Sulaimân, Stambul; 2) H. of Khaṣṣeki Khurram, Stambul; 3) H. of Sulṭān Walide, in Scutari.

VII. AQUEDUCTS (*Kemer*):

1) Derbend kemer; 2) Uzun kemer; 3) Mu'allâk kemer; 4) Göründje kemer; 5) Aqueducts at Mûderris köyi; 6) Reservoirs (*hammî*); 7) Rebuilding of Uzun kemer.

VIII. BRIDGES:

1) Br. at Büyük Çekmedje; 2) Br. at Siliwri; 3) Br. of Muṣṭafâ Paşa across the Maritzza; 4) Br. of Mehmed Paşa, in Mermere; 5) Br. of Oda bahşı, Halkalı; 6) Br. of the Agha of the Gate (*kapu aghası*), Harâmî deresi; 7) Br. of Mehmed Paşa, in Sinânlı; 8) Br. of the grandvizier Mehmed Paşa at Viçegrad, Boonia (cf. M. Hoernes, *Dramatische Wanderungen*, Vienna 1888, p. 245).

IX. POOR-KITCHENS (*Zindat*):

1) K. of Sültân Sulaimân, Stambul, built 962 (beg. Nov. 26, 1554); 2) K. of Khayrî Khurram, in Mekka, near the Ka'ba; 3) K. of Sültân Selim, Kara Buğra; 4) K. of Prince Sulaimân, Stambul; 5) K. of Sültân Sulaimân, Çorlu; 6) K. of Princess Mihr-u Mâh, in Scutari; 7) K. of Sültân Walide, in Scutari; 8) K. of Sültân Murâd III, Maghnia; 9) K. of Rustam Pasha, in Ruskuk; 10) K. of Rustam Pasha, in Şabandja; 11) K. of Mehmed Pasha, in Burghas; 12) K. of Mehmed Pasha, in Hafsa; 13) K. of Mustafa Pasha, in Gebze; 14) K. of Mehmed Pasha, in Serajevo (Bosna Serali); 15) K. of Mustafa Pasha, in Kivetin (?); 16) K. of Sültân Sulaimân, in Damascus; 17) K. of the bridgehead of Mustafa Pasha köprüsü.

X. WAREHOUSES (*Makhan*):

1) W. in Galata; 2) W. at the Imperial Arsenal, Stambul; 3) W. in the Serali, Stambul.

XI. REST-HOUSES (*Karavânserai*):

1) Caravanserai of Sültân Sulaimân, Stambul; 2) C. of Sültân Sulaimân, in Büyük Çekmedje; 3) C. of Rustam Pasha, in Tekfur dağı (Rodosto); 4) C. of Rustam Pasha, on the market (*bit bazari*) in Scutari; 5) C. of Rustam Pasha, in Galata; 6) C. of 'Ali Pasha, on the market in Scutari; 7) C. of Pertew Pasha, on the place Abu'l-Wafa, Stambul; 8) C. of Mustafa Pasha, in Ilgın, Anatolia; 9) C. of Rustam Pasha, in Ak biyik, Anatolia; 10) C. of Rustam Pasha, in Şamanlı; 11) C. of Rustam Pasha, in Şabandja; 12) C. of Rustam Pasha, in Ereğli (Qaraman); 13) C. of Rustam Pasha, in Karişdiran, Bulgaria; 14) C. of Khosraw k'aya, Ipsala; 15) C. of Mehmed Pasha, in Burghas; 16) C. of Rustam Pasha, in Adrianople; 17) C. of 'Ali Pasha, in Adrianople; 18) C. of Mehmed Pasha, in Hafsa.

XII. PALACES (*Serali*):

1) Rebuilding of the old Serali, Stambul; 2) New Serali, Stambul; 3) S. in Scutari; 4) S. in Galata; 5) Rebuilding of the S. on the At mejdân, Stambul; 6) S. on the Ye'ni kapu, Stambul; 7) S. in Kandilli; 8) S. at Fener baghçe, Stambul; 9) S. in the garden of Iskandar Çelebi, in Scutari; 10) S. in Halkalı at Stambul; 11) S. of Rustam Pasha, Kadyrga limân, Stambul; 12) S. of Mehmed Pasha, at Aya Sofya, Stambul; 13) S. of Mehmed Pasha, Scutari; 14) S. of Rustam Pasha, in Scutari; 15) First S. of Siyâwush Pasha, in Scutari; 16) Second S. of Siyâwush Pasha, in Scutari; 17) S. of Siyâwush Pasha, in Stambul; 18) S. of 'Ali Pasha, in Stambul; 19) S. of Ahmad Pasha, on the At mejdân, Stambul; 20) S. of Farhad Pasha, Sültân Bâyardı quarter, Stambul; 21) S. of Pertew Pasha, on the place Abu'l-Wafa, Stambul; 22) S. of Sinân Pasha, on the At mejdân, Stambul; 23) S. of Süfi Mehmed Pasha, Kodja (Mustafa) Pasha quarter, Stambul; 24) S. of Mahmûd Agha, Ye'ni Baghçe, Stambul; 25) S. of Mehmed Pasha, in Halkalı at Stambul; 26) S. of Princess Şâh Khobân, wife of Lutfi Pasha, in the Kasim Pasha quarter,

near Kasim Çehmesi, Stambul; 27) S. of Pertew Pasha, before Şihâzade, Stambul; 28) S. of Ahmad Pasha, on the domain (*iflık*); 29) First S. of 'Ali Pasha, Aiyûb; 30) Second S. of 'Ali Pasha, Aiyûb; 31) S. of Mehmed Pasha, on the estate (*iflık*) of Rustam Pasha; 32) S. of Mehmed Pasha, in Serajevo (Bosna Serali); 33) S. of Rustam Pasha, on the estate of Iskandar Çelebi.

XIII. BATHS (*Hammâm*):

1) B. of Sültân Sulaimân, Stambul; 2) Three baths in the Imperial Palace; 3) B. of Sültân Sulaimân, Kaffa, Krim; 4) Three b. in the palace at Scutari; 5) B. of Khayrî Khurram, at the Aya Sofya, Stambul; 6) B. of Khayrî Khurram, in the Jewish quarter (*Yeküdlar*), Stambul; 7) B. of Walide Sültân, in Scutari; 8) Sultan's-Bath (*sulân-hammâm*), Kara Buğra; 9) B. of Walide Sültân, at Djubba 'Ali (usually: *Djubbali*), Stambul; 10) B. of Princess Mihr-u Mâh, at the Adrianople gate, Stambul; 11) B. of Lutfi Pasha, ibid.; 12) B. of Mehmed Pasha, Galata, Stambul; 13) B. of Mehmed Pasha, in Adrianople; 14) B. of Ibrahim Pasha, at the Siliwri-Gate, Stambul; 15) B. of the Agha of the Gate (*kapu aghasi*), Sulu Monastir; 16) B. of Kodja Mustafa Pasha, Ye'ni Baghçe, Stambul; 17) B. of Sinân Pasha, in Bashik Tash, Stambul; 18) B. of Molla Çelebi, in Fündükli, Stambul; 19) B. of Admiral 'Ali Pasha, Top-khâna, Stambul; 20) B. of the same, Fener kapu, Stambul; 21) Bath of the Mufti, in the druggists' market (*ma'djündji carhanesi*), Stambul; 22) B. Mehmed Pasha, in Hafsa; 23) B. of Markas Efendi, Ye'ni kapu, Stambul; 24) B. of Nihândji Bashî, Aiyûb, Stambul; 25) B. of Khosraw Pasha, Orta köy; 26) a bath in Izmid; 27) B. in Cataldja; 28) B. of Rustam Pasha, in Şabandja; 29) B. of Husain Bey, in Karişirya; 30) B. of Şary kürsî (Şari gürel, cf. above p. 171b), Stambul; 31) B. of Khair al-Din Pasha, at the custom-house (*gömrük-khâna*), Stambul; 32) B. of Khair al-Din, in Zairak; 33) B. of Ya'kûb Agha, Top-khâna, Stambul.

Bibliography: No monograph dealing exhaustively with the life and artistic activities of Sinân has yet appeared nor is there any architectural survey of his buildings yet in existence. The main source so far is Mustafa Sâ'i's work, *Tadhkirat al-Bünyân-i hüda minâr Sinân*, of which there are two editions: one without date and place of publication (Stambul, middle of the sixteenth century), 16 p., small 8°, entitled *Tadhkirat al-Abdiya*; the second, Stambul 1315, Ikdam press, 72 p., 8°. The two editions give lists of Sinân's buildings which differ from one another in many points. Ewliya Çelebi, *Siyâhatnâme*, seems to have known Sâ'i's work. The following are references to Sinân in Ewliya Çelebi: i. 140 (*Travels*, i. 1, p. 69); i. 147, 148 (*Tr.*, i. 1, p. 73); i. 150 (*Tr.*, i. 1, p. 75); i. 155 (*Tr.*, i. 1, p. 79, 80); i. 159 (*Tr.*, i. 1, p. 81); i. 163 (*Tr.*, i. 1, p. 82, 84); i. 307 (lacking in *Tr.*); i. 308 (*Tr.*, i. 1, p. 167); i. 309 (*Tr.*, i. 1, p. 168); i. 310 (*Tr.*, i. 1, p. 169); i. 311 (*Tr.*, i. 1, p. 169); i. 312 (*Tr.*, i. 1, p. 169); a list of all his mosques in Constantinople is given on i. p. 313, 17 (*Tr.*, i. 1, p. 170, 171); building

in Brussa (Caravanserai of 'Alî Pasha; not in Mustafa); ii. 19; buildings in Iamîd: ii. 64 = *Travels*, ii. 1, p. 31. — Almost all the Constantinople mosques built by Sinân are fully described in *Hikâsî Husain Efendi of Aivânserai* (flourished in the second half of the xviii century), *Gardens of the Mosques* (*Hikâsî al-Dîwânî*), with additions by 'Alî Sâî, printed at Stambul 1281; Extracts from it were given by J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, Pesth 1833, ix., p. 47—144 (Mosques), p. 148 *seq.* (Schools, Medreses); *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Orients*, ed. by H. Grothe, Halle 1914, vol. xi., p. 67 *seq.* (F. Babinger); *Ill.*, Strassburg 1919, vol. ix., p. 247 *seq.* (F. Babinger); *Yeni madîmûsâ*, Stambul 1917, vol. 13, p. 249—252 and vol. 14, p. 269—279 (Ahmad Rafîk Bey; with pictures). On Sinân's pupils, cf. *Quellen zur arabischen Künstlergeschichte in Jahrbuch der deutschen Kunst*, Leipzig 1924, I., p. 35 *seq.* — The two above-mentioned *Tadhkirat* are as MSS. in Cairo, National Library (cf. 'Alî Efendi Hilmi al-Dîghestîni, *Fihrist* [Cairo 1306], 231 [united in an old *madîmûsâ*]).

(FRANZ BABINGER)

SINÂN PASHA, name of several viziers of the Ottoman empire, mostly of Christian origin (as the name Sinân [al-Dîn Yûsuf] suggests; cf. *Ill.*, xi. 20, note 1 and J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. 536, note a). The most important are:

1. **Khodja Sinân Pasha**, vizier under Mehmed II the Conqueror. Molla Sinân al-Dîn Yûsuf Pasha was a son of the famous Molla Khidr Beg, who, a son of the kâdî of Siwri Hîsâr Djalâl al-Dîn, traced his descent to the celebrated Khodja Nasr al-Dîn. His father who died in 863 (1458/1459) was the first kâdî of Stambul (cf. the art. KIDRÛ BEG). Sinân Pasha was born in Brussa probably about 1438, was taught in his youth by his father, afterwards entered the train of Mehmed II whose teacher and councillor he became. According to one story, probably erroneous, after the second deposition of the famous grand-vizier Mahmûd Pasha [q. v.] he succeeded him but fell into disfavour about 881 (1476/1477) and was only later appointed *mudarris* in Siwri Hîsâr and in Adrianople after a remarkable cure which the Sultan made him take (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. 241). Sultan Bâyard who had taken a fancy to him granted him an ample allowance. In 887 (1482/1483) he retired, but a year later we find him acting as *mudarris* of Gallipoli. He died on Şafar 24, 891 (March 1, 1486) at Gallipoli where he was buried in a *türbe* restored by Mahmûd II in 1247/1248 (1831). His two brothers also earned the title of Pasha, namely Ahmad Pasha and Vakûb Pasha (cf. Tashköprüzâde-Maddî, I. 196, 197). Molla Sinân Pasha, called simply Khodja Pasha by his contemporaries, was an important scholar and the author of several works on mathematics, metaphysics, astronomy, ethics and legends of the saints. He wrote a commentary on the astronomical works of Çaghatî (Şarh-i Çaghatî), and a commentary on al-Jâzî's *Manâzîf fî 'Ilm al-Kalâm*. His *Ma'rifet-i Sinân* deals with ethics and under the title *Tadhkirat al-Awliyâ* he wrote a 'legends of the saints' (original manuscript in the Nûr-i 'Othmânîya library at Stambul). A discourse on prayer from his pen entitled *Menâzîf* was printed at Stambul (Abu 'l-Dîyâ Press).

Bibliography: Tashköprüzâde-Maddî, *al-Shaj'at al-nu'maniya*, I. 193—195, Stambul 1269; following him 'Alî, *Kunh al-Ahbar* (part not yet printed) and Sa'd al-Dîn, *Taqû al-Tawarîkh*, ii. 498—500; Brusaî Mehmed Tahir, *Othmânî Mu'ellifleri*, ii. 223 *seq.* (thorough); *Sigill-i 'othmânî*, iii. 303 *seq.*; *Salmâne* of Edirne of 1310; regarding the tomb of Sinân Pasha there are two different statements. The tomb (*türbe*) is however still in existence in Gallipoli, according to J. H. Montmann; cf. also Ewliya, *Siyâhatnâme*, v. 418 (monastery, *tekke*), 419 (poor-kitchen, *imâret*), 420 (tomb), but see Brusaî Mehmed Tahir, *op. cit.*, ii. 224, note 1.

II. **Khâdim Sinân Pasha**, grand vizier under Selim I. Sinân al-Dîn Yûsuf Pasha was probably of Christian descent; he was first of all governor of Rumelia and then of Anatolia. In the battle of Çaldîran (Aug. 23, 1514), he commanded with success the right wing of the victorious Ottoman army and when Hersekoghlu Ahmad Pasha, four times grand vizier, was suddenly dismissed on Ramadan 9, 920 (October 28, 1514) he became his successor. *Pei fa Barra Sinan un suo ichiavo qual era imirahor* (e.g. *emirahor*, master of the horse) *e uoca 7 aspri addi, e il biglierbeg di Natolia nuova*, reports the Venetian Bailo Antonio Giustinian, under date March 1, 1516. In the campaign against Syria and Egypt, Sinân Pasha was made commander-in-chief. On 29th Dhu 'l-Hijja 923 (January 23, 1517) he commanded the Anatolian troops in the battle of Ridâniya, but was killed in personal combat with Sultan Tûmân Bâi. His successor in the grand-vizierate was Yûnus Pasha [q. v.].

Bibliography: J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. 421, 462, 492, 496, 562; *Sigill-i 'othmânî*, I. 105; the Italian sources mentioned in Jorga, *G. O. R.*, ii. 330, note 1; *Hikâsî al-Wusârî*, 212.

III. **Kodja Sinân Pasha**, five times grand vizier of the Ottoman empire. Sinân Pasha was of Albanian descent; he was the son of a peasant in Dihra (Deir) or according to others in Delvino (cf. Jorga, *G. O. R.*, iii. 170, no authority given; *nato vicino a Delvino all'incontro di Corfu*, according to Bailo Matteo Zane in 1594; cf. E. Aliberti, *Relazioni*, iii. 3, p. 420, Florence 1855). He entered the Serai through the levy of youths (*davushirmar*; q. v.), under Sulaimin became *îshuqâr bîrî*, chief cup-bearer, was later promoted to be *mir-i ñuâ* of Malatya, Kaşamânî, Ghazza, Tarabûlûs (Tripolis in Syria), Erzerum and Halab, and in the spring of 1568 became governor of Egypt (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii. 551). From here he undertook campaigns against the Yemen, which he conquered for the Ottoman empire. The Ottoman poet Nihâlî celebrated this event in a poem entitled *Fethnâme Yemen* (MS., perhaps autograph in the Vienna National Library, cf. G. Flügel, *Catalogue*, I. 640 *seq.*) and the Arab historian Mahmûd Kâth al-Dîn al-Makkî describes fully in prose this and the following campaigns in a work dedicated to Sinân and entitled *al-Bark al-Yemânî fî 'l-Fath al-'Othmânî* (cf. S. de Sacy, *N. E.*, iv. 473; part ed. with Portuguese translation by D. Lopez, Lisbon 1892). For further panegyrics of Sinân Pasha, cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii. 560, 779 from 'Alî, *Kunh al-Ahbar*. In 979 (1571/1572) Sinân Pasha was again appointed governor of Egypt, and in the spring of 1574 in the campaign against Tunis he was given supreme command

of the Ottoman land forces. Golotha (Hall al-Wadī) was stormed after a month's siege and Tunis incorporated in the Ottoman empire. Sinân Pasha who had become sixth vizier in 980 (1572/1573) was promoted two years later to be vizier of the cupola (*hâkim-i vestîrî*). In the spring of 1580 he led the Ottoman army against Georgia and on the 14th Radjab 988 (August 25, 1580) he was appointed grand vizier in succession to Ahmad Pasha who had died. Georgia was conquered but not subdued so that almost immediately after the conclusion of the campaign, difficulties arose which resulted on the 20th Dhî'l Ka'da 990 (December 5, 1582) in Sinân Pasha's dismissal and banishment to Dimetoka, later to Malghara (L. c. *Maryâde Kapod*) (cf. Selliniki, *Ta'rih*, p. 170; Gio. Tom. Minadoli da Rovigo, *Historia della guerra fra Turchi et Persiani*, Turin 1588 and Venice 1594, in which the writer describes fully the Persian campaign from his own experience). Through harem influence and a present of 100,000 ducats, however, he soon succeeded in exchanging his exile in Malghara for the governorship of Damascus (cf. Selliniki, p. 215; *G. O. R.*, iv, 185), from which he returned to Constantinople in Djumâdâ II, 997 (April 1589) as grand vizier. The vast wealth which he already possessed and which later assumed fabulous proportions, enabled him to make remarkable gifts (e.g. a grand-admiral's flagship and seven galleys) and to erect splendid buildings. The handsomely fitted köşk of the Serai on the shore of the Golden Horn which bore his name and was not destroyed till 1827 (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iv, 187 note d), owed its origin to him. He also took up the old plan of connecting the Black Sea with the Gulf of Nicomedia by digging a canal from the Sea of Şahandja [q. v.] to the Gulf of Nicomedia for which he hoped to utilise the skill of Sinân the architect [q. v.]. This great undertaking seems to have fallen through as a result of the wars (cf. also Hâdîdî Khalîfa, *Djîhân-Namâ*, p. 666 and the literature quoted under ŞAHANDJA). On the 11th Shawwâl 999 (August 3, 1591) Sinân Pasha again fell from favour and was dismissed, but by the 25th Rabi' II, 1001 (January 29, 1593) a rising of the Janissaries caused him to be sent for to fill the grandvizierate for a third time. Henceforth all his energies were concentrated on winning military laurels in the west, especially in Hungary. In the spring of 1593, he therefore assumed in person supreme command of the army in the Hungarian campaign, which he concluded with the capture of numerous castles and strongholds. A month after the death of Murâd III on the 6th Djumâdâ II, 1003 (February 16, 1595), he had again to surrender the imperial seal and go into exile at Malghara, only for a few months however. On the 29th Shawwâl 1003 (July 7, 1595) he replaced his rival and relative Ferhâd Pasha and a few weeks later began a campaign against Wallachia, which had rebelled. The rather inglorious course of this campaign and the loss of Gran, which was ascribed to the inactivity of his son Mehmed Pasha, Beglerbeg of Rumelia (cf. the documents mentioned in J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iv, 645 sq.), brought about his dismissal and banishment to Malghara on the 16th Rabi' I, 1004 (November 19, 1595). But when his successor İsmâ Mehmed Pasha died on the third day after his appointment, the imperial seal was again for a fifth time entrusted to Sinân Pasha. He

was just engaged on plans for conquering Eria in Hungary when he died on the 4th Şahbân 1004 (April 3, 1596). He was buried in his own türbe in the Sofiler quarter of Stambul. — Sinân Pasha was an unusually cruel, stubborn, selfish, and at the same time ignorant, man as to whose character Ottoman (notably 'Alî) and western chroniclers are entirely in agreement. He was feared among the European envoys at the Porte. Not all of them dared reply so sharply and to the point as the Austrian envoy Dr. Barthold Pezzen (cf. *Des Freyherrn von Wratislaw merkwürdige Gesandtschaftsreise nach Constantinopel*, Leipzig 1787, p. 138; Engl. ed., London 1862, ed. by A. H. Wratislaw). The Venetian *bailli* all agree in their descriptions of this powerful man, for example: Constant. Garzoni (1573, in *Alberici, Relazioni*, iii, 1, p. 411), Antonio Tiepolo (1576, in *Alberici, op. cit.*, iii, 2, p. 153 sq.), Lor. Bernardo (1592, in *Alberici, op. cit.*, iii, 2, p. 358: *fu fatto massu* [e.g. *ma'zûl*, deposed] *per causa della calcedin* [e.g. *Kaya Akaşun*]), Paolo Contarini (1583, in *Alberici, op. cit.*, iii, 3, p. 240), Giov. Moro (1590, in *Alberici, op. cit.*, iii, 3, p. 329, 372 sq.), Matteo Zane (1594, in *Alberici, op. cit.*, iii, 3, p. 420 sq.). He is described (1573) as "a strong young man with a thick black beard" (in St. Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, Frankfurt on/M. 1674, p. 31, 109; cf. also C. Garzoni, *op. cit.*, iii, 1, p. 411: *non molto grande di persona, con barba lunga, castagna, di bella e grata presenza*). Sinân Pasha was immensely rich; his estate is fully described in H. F. v. Dietz, *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien*, Berlin 1811, part 1, p. 101 sq.; cf. Pertsch, *Türk. Hist. Berlin*, p. 79; MS. 39, fol. 105, also J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iv, 258 sq. A brother of Sinân Pasha was the Beglerbeg Ayâs Pasha (d. 975 = 1568) executed by order of Sulaimân the Great, who left two sons Mahmûd Pasha (cf. *Sijill-i 'othmânî*, iv, 314) and Muştâfâ Pasha (*ibid.*, iv, 380). On Ayâs Pasha, not to be confused with the grand vizier of the same name, who also was an Albanian (from Valona) cf. *Sijill-i 'othmânî*, i, 447.

Bibliography (in addition to works already mentioned): the Ottoman historians most of whom have been used by J. von Hammer, also *Hadîkat al-Wizârâ*, p. 35 sq.; Hâdîdî Khalîfa, *Fethîkete*, i, 76 sq., followed word for word in *Sijill-i 'othmânî*, iii, 103 sq. — An Arabic biography of Sinân Pasha is in the MS. *Wetstein* 409 (Ahlwardt, vii, No. 8471) on fol. 135b. — On Sinân's son, the Beglerbeg Mehmed Pasha, cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, x, 527 below (Index s.v.) and *Sijill-i 'othmânî*, iv, 139; he died in Djumâdâ I, 1014 (September-October 1605). Among Sinân Pasha's relatives was the grand vizier Ferhâd Pasha, who again was related to Pertew Pasha (cf. Marcantonio Domini [1562] in *Alberici, Relazioni*, iii, 3, p. 188 at the top: *questo Pertaw pasha gli anni 55: è albanese e parente del magnifico Ferrat basso, essendo maritato nella madre di sua moglie*).

(FRANZ RABINGER)

SIND, consists of the lower valley and delta of the river Indus (Sindhu) from which the province takes its name, and lies between 20° 35' and 28° 39' N. and 66° 40' and 71° 10' E.

The Aryans were settled on the Indus before 1000 B.C. and about 500 B.C. Darius Hystaspes conquered the valley, but Persian rule in Sind had passed away when Alexander the Great traversed

the country in 325 B.C. After his departure it was included first in the Mauryan empire and then in that of the Bactrian Greeks. From the first century before, until the seventh century after, Christ India was invaded by various hordes from Central Asia, of whom the Ephthalites, or White Huns, settled in Sind and established the Rai dynasty, which was terminated by the usurpation of the Brāhman minister Caṭ, whose son Dāhir was reigning when Sind was invaded by the Arabs. In A.D. 711 Muḥammad b. Qāsim Sākifī, invaded the country, by the order of the Khalifa al-Walid, in order to avenge the maltreatment of some Muslim merchants who had failed to obtain redress, captured the seaport of Daihul, the town of Nerankot (the modern Haidarābād), and Rāwar, where he defeated and slew Dāhir, and finally took the capital, Aror or Alor, and, in 713, Multān, where much treasure fell into his hands. He had barely had time to organize his conquest when he was superseded by Sulaimān, who succeeded al-Walid in 715, and, as a protégé of al-Ḥadīdjādī, whose cruelty had made many enemies, was put to death with torture at Wasit, on the Tigris.

A succession of Muslim governors ruled Sind, leaving the administration chiefly in the hands of the natives, who enjoyed the free exercise of their religion; but the hold of the Khalifas on the province gradually weakened, and in 871 was entirely relaxed. Two Arab chiefs founded independent states at Multān and Mansūra, but when Maḥmūd of Ghazni led his raids into India, Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Dā'ūd, governor of Multān and Sind, still maintained the fiction of allegiance to the Khalifa. His adherence to the Karmatian heresy cost him his throne, and Maḥmūd placed a governor of his own in Multān. In 1053 the Sumras, a Rājput tribe, cast off the yoke of Farrukhshāh and established their authority in Lower Sind, but the upper province remained subject to the Ghaznawids and was conquered, with the rest of their dominions, by Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sam. His lieutenant, Naṣir al-Dīn Kaḥāṭa, submitted to Kaṭb al-Dīn Aibak of Dihli, but was defeated by Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish, whose authority he refused to recognize. At the beginning of the fourteenth century the troops of 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaldīr overthrew the Sumras and destroyed their capital, but in 1333 the Sammās, a Rājput tribe converted to Islām, seized the reins of government, and set up a ruler of their own with the title of Dīlām. Muḥammad b. Tughlak of Dihli died in March, 1351, on the banks of the Indus, while in pursuit of a rebel whom the Sammās had harboured, and Sind contended successfully with the imperial arms until the Sammās were reduced to obedience and a vassalage by Firūz, Muḥammad's successor. With the decline of the power of Dihli that of the Sammās revived, the greatest of their line being Dīlām Nanda, or Nizām al-Dīn, who reigned for forty-six years and died in 1509. In 1520 Sind was invaded by Shāh Beg Arghūn who, having been driven from Kandahār by Bābur, succeeded in establishing himself in Sind. Dīlām Firūz, the last of the Sammās, was driven into Gujjarāt, where he died. Humāyūn, expelled from Hindūstān by Shīr Shāh, made two abortive attempts to conquer Sind, during the second of which his son Akbar was born at Umārkot in 1542, but was compelled to flee into Persia. On the death of Shāh Ḥasan, the last of the Arghūns, in 1554,

the Tarkhāns, another short lived dynasty, became rulers of Sind, and witnessed the sack of Thatha by the Portuguese in 1555, but in 1592 Akbar defeated Mirzā Dīnī Beg Tarkhān, and annexed Sind, which was incorporated in the *sulṭa* of Multān. The province was a part of the empire, but owing to its remoteness local affairs remained much in native hands. The Dādputras were powerful in Lower Sind in the seventeenth century, and were succeeded by the Kalhoras, who in 1701 ousted them from Shikārpūr and obtained from Awrangzib a large grant of land. For the next forty years the Kalhoras increased their power, but in 1740 Nūr Muḥammad Kalhora incurred the displeasure of Nādir Shāh, to whom that part of Sind lying to the west of the Indus had been ceded, and was compelled to surrender Shikārpūr and Sibt and to pay a heavy tribute. In 1754 Ahmad Shāh Durrānī (Abdālī), to whom Sind had passed on the death of Nādir Shāh, drove Nūr Muḥammad to Dajsalmer, where he died, but his son, Muḥammad Murād Yār Khān, appeased the Afghān and retained the kingdom. In 1768 his brother and successor, Ghulām Shāh, founded Haidarābād on the site of Nerankot. The relations of the Kalhoras with the English East India Company, which in 1772 opened a factory at Thatha, were the reverse of friendly, and the factory was closed in 1775. Some years later Mir Bidjar, a chief of the Tālpūr tribe of the Balūṭ, rose in rebellion, and the Kalhora compromised the matter by appointing him minister, but he was assassinated in 1781 after defeating an Afghān army near Shikārpūr, and his son 'Abd-Allāh Khān Tālpūr drove 'Abd al-Nabī, the last of the Kalhoras, to Kalāt. 'Abd al-Nabī regained his throne and put 'Abd Allāh to death, but the latter's kinsman, Mir Faṭḥ 'Alī, defeated him and finally compelled him to take refuge in Diodhpūr, where his descendants still hold distinguished rank. In 1783 Faṭḥ 'Alī, the first of the Tālpūr Mirs, established himself as Rā's of Sind. The history of the country under its new rulers is bewildering, owing to its partition among different members of the family — (1) the Haidarābād or Shāhdādpūr branch, ruling in Central Sind, (2) the Mirpūr or Manikānī branch, seated at Mirpūr, and (3) the Suhrābādī branch, ruling at Khairpūr.

The early relations of the English East India Company with the Mirs of Sind were unsatisfactory, and difficulties in connection with the passage of British troops through the province on the outbreak of the first Afghān war in 1838 led to the introduction of some degree of British control. The Mirs were now amenable, but their army rose against the British, and in 1843 was defeated by Sir Charles Napier at Miani. Mir 'Alī Murād, of the Suhrābādī branch, remained faithful to the British, and was permitted to retain his principality of Khairpūr, but the rest of Sind was annexed, and has since been a British province. Under the administration of Sir Bartle Frere it remained tranquil during the Mutiny of 1857, and the only British regiment in the province was set free for the suppression of the revolt elsewhere.

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SINDIBĀD-NĀME (Syntipas), a widely known collection of stories, which since the time of Pétis de la Croix has been much studied by folklorists. The general theme is as follows: A king entrusts the education of his son to the sage Sindibād. The prince is ordered by his tutor to keep silence for seven days; during this time he is calumniated by the favourite queen and the king is on the point of putting him to death. Seven viziers, by each telling one or two stories succeed in postponing his execution and on the eighth day the prince, who has recovered the use of his speech, is proved innocent. This cycle is also known as the history of the seven viziers. In another cycle (the history of the ten viziers, *Bakhtiyār-nāma*), ten viziers accuse a prince whom they wish to ruin in the eyes of the king and the prince defends himself by relating these stories. The *Tātī-Nāma* studied by Pertuch is another similar collection.

The book of Sindibād is referred to by Mas'ūdī (tenth cent.) alongside of *The Thousand and One Nights*; at a later date it became incorporated in the *1001 Nights*, but also retained an independent existence. It is found in the Oriental literatures, Syriac, Hebrew, Greek, Pehlevi, Persian, Arabic, Turkish and it entered the mediaeval literatures of the West; French, Latin, Italian, Catalan, Slavonic, Armenian and German versions are known. India has stories of the same genre and Benfey has attempted to derive the Syntipas from an Indian prototype *Siddhapath*, which we do not however possess; its Indian descent has however not been rigorously established. It may be noted on the other hand that the moral of these stories and characteristic feature of the trial by silence would rather recall Pythagorean tradition.

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SINDJĀBĪ (SINDJĀH), a Kurd tribe in the Persian province of Kirmānshāh. In summer the Sindjābī pitch their tents in the plain of Māhdisht and in the district of Dīwānūr; in winter they move to the lands south of the Alwand (in Kurdish: Halawān from the older Hulwān, cf. SARPUL), a left bank tributary of the Diyāl which it joins near Khānīqīn. Here the

pastures of the Sindjābī stretch from Sarpul to the mountains of Agh-dāgh, Bāghē and Kafār (south of Khānīqīn) and in the south stretch as far as Kālā-nāst. The delimitation of the Turco-Persian frontier in 1913 left a part of those winter-quarters of the tribe on the Turkish side but the inconvenience of this division was officially recognised. On the left bank of the Alwand the Sindjābī occupy a narrow strip to the north and west of Kaṣr-i Shīrīn [q. v.] up to the present frontier between Persia and the 'Irāq; they have some ten villages there.

The tribe consists of twelve clans (Čalabī, Daliyān, Selmenewend, Surkhewend, Haḡḡ-Nazar-khānī, etc.). The number of families cannot be over 2,500, of which not more than 500 are pure Sindjābī; the remainder consists of incorporated clans: Lārs (Arkawāzī) Wātkawend, Dīf Kurds (Barāz) and Gūrān (Tufangēr). About 1,500 families of the Sindjābī agglomeration winter on the Alwand. According to Soane they speak *Kurdī*, i. e. the dialect which does not belong to the Kurmāndjī group.

The chiefs of the Sindjābī have often acted as governors of the frontier district of Kaṣr-i Shīrīn. The tribe provided the government with a contingent of 200 irregular horsemen.

The *Shīrīf-nāma* does not mention the Sindjābī. According to themselves they once lived in Bayāt near Shīrīn whence their chief Bakhtiyār Khān brought them into the province of Kirmānshāh where they lived with the Gūrān for some time. This may explain their conversion to the religion of the Ahl-i Haḡḡ (cf. 'AHL-I LĀNĪ) although they often profess themselves outwardly "Twelve Shī'is" (*iḡwā'-aḡharī*). Under Ḥasan Khān Čalabī, son of Bakhtiyār Khān, the Sindjābī formed themselves into a separate tribe. The son of Ḥasan Khān, Shīr Khān Saḡām al-Mamālik, became chief in 1905 and died an octogenarian in 1915. His sons Kāsim Khān, 'Alī Abkar Khān etc. played a certain part in the military operations of 1916—1918; being on the side of the Turks, they adopted a hostile attitude to the English and Russians.

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SINDJĀR, the name of the capital of a district in Diyār Rab'ā [q. v.] (Balad Sindjār) and of the ranges running north of it (Djabal Sindjār). The town, which is identical with the ancient Singara is situated a very little east of 42° East Long. (Greenwich) and in 36° 22' N. Lat. in a valley of the Tawḡ (now pronounced Tōḡ) range which is south of and parallel to the Djabal Sindjār, through which the Nahr Tharthār enters the steppes on the south. On the alleged navigability of the river in the middle ages cf. Sarre-Hersfeld (*Bibl.*), i. 193 sq. As the walls show, the town was at one time much larger than now. It was bound to be prosperous from its favourable geographical situation and the fact that it lay on a fertile slope surrounded by desert. According to Ibn Hawḡal it was partly irrigated artificially so that all kinds of fruits grew there. As a stage on one of the two great roads from Mōḡal to Beled (Balat, Eski Mōḡal, see ESKI), to Khābūr [q. v.]

and on to Ra's al-'Ain, Sindjār was able to carry on an extensive trade in its own products. Now the conditions are entirely changed. Sarre and Herzfeld point out especially that in contrast to what the geographers say, namely that date-palms were extensively cultivated in Sindjār, there is not a single palm-tree there now and the limit of fruit bearing by the date-palm lies much farther south. Sachau (*Bibl.*) however talks of fertile fields in the neighbourhood of the town. — The people of the Djabal Sindjār and of the town are Kurds, who belong to the sect of the Yazidis. The district was already Yazidi in the middle ages.

Bibliography: The ancient history of Singara is outlined in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, 1911 *sqq.*, I. 203. The statements of the mediaeval geographers are collected in Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 1905, p. 98 *sq.*; all the necessary references to the sources are given there and in Sarre-Herzfeld, I. 204. For the history of the town under Islam what is said under SARUJ holds good. Al-Sam'āni, (*G. M. S.*, xx., 1912), f. 312a—b, gives a few bearers of the *nisha* Sindjār. Modern conditions in Djabal and B. Sindjār are fully described by E. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, 1883, p. 322 *sqq.* and there are a number of notes in M. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, 1899 (Index s. v. Beled [does not distinguish the different places of this name] and Gebel Singar). The above account is mainly based on the full description of the mountains, towns and monuments (with sources and bibliography) in Sarre-Herzfeld, Index s. v. Djabal Sindjār, Nahr Tharthār and Sindjār (in the quotations from vol. II/I. 355, 7) where further references are given. — Maps in the works just mentioned. General view of the town in Sarre-Herzfeld, III., plate lxxiv. — On the Yazidis of Sindjār cf. Pognon, *Sur les Yézides du Sindgar*, R. O. C., x., 1915/1917, part 3 (reference by Strothmann in *Isl.*, xiii., 1923, p. 371); Pauly-Wlasowa, *Realenc.*, s. v. Singara and *Endspaz.* (M. PLESSNER)

ŠINF (A.), pl. *sināf*; — synonyms *ḥirfa*; *kār*, pl. *kārūt*; *ḥanta* in Morocco.

Historical. The organisation of labour and the grouping of workers into corporations in Muslim cities dates from the ninth century of our era and is closely connected with a movement half religious and half social, socialistic in origin, that of the Karmatians [q. v.]. At this period, industrial development and the growth of urban populations produced serious crises under the 'Abbasid Caliphs. The servile war of the Zindj [q. v.] at Baṣra, riots in Baghdad in the first thirty years of the tenth century and lastly the anti-Arab nationalist (Shu'ubiya, q. v.) reaction in the provinces.

The custom, Karmatian in origin, of organising into guilds attained its zenith in the Muslim countries subjected to the new state which arose as a result of the propaganda of the Karmatians, namely the Fātimid caliphate of Cairo (tenth-eleventh century). Then, in 1171, the reconquest of Egypt for Sunnī orthodoxy affected it seriously. The guilds were subjected to strict police control and gradually lost all their privileges. Their organisation survived in very humble forms especially in the Ottoman empire, in the Pāndjāb, in Persia

and in Turkeṣtān, down to the last years of the sixteenth century (Kudai described those of Damascus in 1883).

Since 1917 the ancient Muslim guilds have tended to become *nağhāt* or syndicates for the new professions, dependent on the Third International (Moscow). This change was noticed in Java in 1920, then in Bukhārā, at Teherān, in Egypt and finally in Tunis since 1924.

Organisation. The earliest sketch of the organisation of the Muslim guild is found — unfortunately in too concise form — in the eighth of the *Raṣā'il al-ḥikmān al-Safā* (eleventh century) mixed with Hellenistic conceptions which suggest that they are Byzantine survivals.

From the xvth century we have (in manuscripts) a series of catechisms of initiation into the guild, called *ḥatub al-futuwwa* (q. v.; in Turkish *futuwwat-nāme*; in Persian *ḥarb-nāme*). They enable us to construct the hierarchy of the grades — *nağīb* (syn. *ḥir*, 'arīf, amīn). They describe the ceremony of initiation (*ḥadd*; q. v.); but they do not give any details regarding the regular working of the guild tribunal and the degree of its competence. We can only gather these details from historical and legal texts and from the narratives of travellers like Ibn Djabair and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.

The master-craftsman is called *mu'allim*, his journeyman *ḥalīfa*, the apprentice *muṭa'allim*, the labourer *ḥanf*. The members of each guild are pledged to guard the secrets of manufacture and to supply good work at a fair price; the whole body of traditional customs of the guild, orally transmitted, is called *dustūr*, a word which has become well-known since 1908 with the meaning "political constitution" and has been in use among the artisans from a remote period.

Since the ninth century the following have been organised into guilds, the islamised clients (*ma-wālī*), enfranchised and converted, but not the Arab conquerors nor their mercenaries, nor their slaves. Alongside of the clients there have been constituted under their aegis, certain Jewish and Christian corporations, since it is to them alone that Muslim states permit trading in and working in precious metals and drugs.

Since, for ten centuries, there has been no revolution in the technical processes employed by the Muslim artisans, the study of the distribution of the different guilds in the Muslim cities, Fez or Baghdad, Damascus or Cairo, shows that as a general principle there was a fixed topographical distribution of the trade guilds in any particular Muslim city. The principal fixed points were the offices of the money-changers beside the mint, the public market and the tribunal of the *muftasid*: the *ḥaṣṣariya* [q. v.] at once general shops and the piece-goods exchange; the thread market; lastly the university, organised into a corporation from its origin (Karmatian propaganda). We know of other centres, economic in origin, the specialised markets for the sale of goods brought to the town from the country or from abroad — the great caravanserais (*ḥān*, *ṣūla*, etc.).

A certain number of conditions, specifically Muslim in origin, affect labour in practice, the distribution of tools and the recruiting of labourers. Firstly there is the institution of *ḥubūs* or *awḥāf*, inalienable public property such as irrigation, canals, mills, baths, gardens, bridges, drains; the administration of the *ḥubūs* also affects the guilds,

through the shops, nearly all the fixtures of which are *ḥudūd*. Then there is the institution of the *ḥisba* or control of the markets entrusted to a *muḥtashib*. This institution, purely canonical in the early centuries, and fallen into disuse in the tenth to twelfth centuries in the great period of liberty for the gilds, was revived by the state from the twelfth century as a police office with the object of keeping a close watch on the gilds, which were suspected, especially in Egypt, Syria and Turkey, of Karmanian and revolutionary sympathies. The manuals for the *ḥisba* by Nibrawi and others show this; in Morocco, for example, the *muḥtashib* ultimately established a compulsory weekly court, when, according to Muslim law, he ought on the contrary to have prohibited the gilds from fixing compulsory rates (*taʿīr*) for provisions.

There arose a whole collection of moral problems in connection with the gilds. Muslim literature is rich in documents referring to the gilds of charlatans, forgers, immoral and criminal associations, and the theologians and jurists have handed down to us collections of cases of conscience and mental reservations (*hiyal*), the importance of which has recently been shown by Schacht.

Bibliography: There is a general bibliography of the history of labour in the Muslim world in ch. 3 of vol. lviii. of the *R. M. M.* and a summary chronology in vol. liii., p. 19-21.

The connections with the Third International have been exposed in the same *Revue*, vol. li, lii. and lviii.

Additional reference will be found in the Bibliography to the article *SHADD*.

(LOUIS MASSIGNON)

SINGAPORE (from the Sanskrit *Sinhapura*, "the lion city") is the name of an island and a city thereon, situated in 1° 17' N., 103° 50' E. (Gr.), at the southern end of the Malay Peninsula, from which it is separated by a narrow strait recently bridged by a causeway which carries the line of railway running to Bangkok. In the Middle Ages Singapore was a port of call for the trade between India and China, and its native name *Tēmasik* is recorded in Chinese, Javanese and Malay sources. Originally part of the South Sumatran empire of Śrī Viḍḍaya (Palembang), it enjoyed a brief period of practical independence (from circa 1250). In the early part of the 14th century it was unsuccessfully besieged by the Siamese. It is claimed in the Javanese poem *Nāgarakṛtāgama* (1365) under the name of *Tumasik* as a vassal of the Javanese empire of Maḍjapahit, and was destroyed by the Javanese circa 1377. After that event it was superseded by Malacca, and dwindled into a comparatively unimportant place, though still occasionally visited by passing ships for wood, water and other provisions, and having a *ḥukūmdār* (port officer) under the Muslim Sultans of Malacca (down to 1511) and subsequently under their successors, the Sultans of Johor. On February 6, 1819 a British settlement was founded at Singapore by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles on behalf of the East India Company. It was on the site of the old medieval port town and included only a small part of the island; but by a treaty made in 1824 the whole island with its adjacent islets was ceded to Great Britain in full sovereignty.

At the time of the British occupation the inhabitants numbered only a few hundred, partly

Muslims (Malays) and partly wandering sea gypsies (Orang Laut) living mainly in their boats. The growth of the town was rapid. The trade is mainly in the hands of European and Chinese merchants, though other races, such as Indians and Arabs, also share in it. Three-fourths of the inhabitants are Chinese. In 1921 the population within municipal limits was 350,355, that of the island generally 418,358. Of this last number about 64,000 to 65,000 were Muslims, the bulk, viz. 33,595, being classed as Malays (though this latter figure included only 33,184 real Malays, 13,328 Javanese, 6,582 Boyanese, 1,142 Bugis and 349 Banjarese, and a few others). The remaining Muslims comprised some 9,000 Indians and about 1,200 Arabs. The great majority are Sunnis of the school of Shāfiʿī. Being in touch with the Muslims of Arabia and India on the one hand and with those of the Malay Peninsula and the Dutch East Indies on the other, Singapore, though mainly non-Muslim in population, is an important link in the chain of Muslim propaganda and in the pilgrim traffic to Mecca.

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SIN-I KALĀN (literally Great China), Arabic and Persian name (the Arabic *sin* is of course for the Persian *zin*) for the seaport of Canton in the Mongol period; it is known especially from the travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [q.v.] (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iv. 271 sq.) but is used by other Muslim (Rashid al-Din, Waṣṣaf) and also by Western writers (Odon de Pordenone, Marignolli, also in the *Carta Catalana*; cf. the quotations in Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, London 1866, p. 105, and Rashid al-Din, *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, ed. Blochet, 1911, p. 493). For *Sin-i Kalān* Ibn Baṭṭūṭa also has *Sin al-Sin*; this latter name is according to Yule, taken from Idrisi [q.v.] who describes in the extreme east of the Chinese empire a large trading town under the name *Sinīya al-Sin* (*Geographia d'Edrisi*, transl. A. Jaubert, Paris 1836-1840, i. 193 sq.). (W. BARTHOLO)

SINUB, a town and seaport on the north coast of Asia Minor between the mouths of the Sakariya [q.v.] and the Kizil İrmak [q.v.] and about equidistant from the ports of Samsun and İnebolu, 75 miles N.E. of Kaşamuni [q.v.]. It is the celebrated *Sinū* of the ancients and has retained this name. Muḥammadan authors know it by the name of *Sinūb* (Abu ʿl-Fidaʾ, p. 392 and Ibo Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmari, *Masālik al-Aḥṣār*, N.E., xiii. 361), *Sanūb* (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii. 348), *Sināb* (Anon. Gliese, p. 34; Urudj Beg, ed. Babinger, p. 73), *Sinūb* (ʿAshik Paṣha Zāde, and, following him, all the Turkish historians and other writers). The town lies on an isthmus running N.E. from the mainland to

which it joins the peninsula of Bor Tepe Adaı. This position gives the town two harbours but only that on the south, the safer of the two, has remained in use since ancient times. The strip of coast behind Sinöb is bounded by the great range, which borders the Central Anatolian plateau, and is particularly difficult to cross directly south of the town.

The history of Sinöpe goes back to a remote period. It was already an important port for trade with caravans from Mesopotamia and Cilicia, before it became a Greek colony of Milesians, in the eighth century B.C. Herodotus, Xenophon and Strabo describe it, but in the time of the latter it was no longer the great terminal port for continental trade (cf. Ramsay, *Historical Topography of Asia Minor*, London 1890, p. 27). The town however retained its importance; in the second century B.C., it was the capital of Mithridates of Pontus and after its capture by Lucullus in 70 B.C., it knew several centuries of prosperity as a Roman colony under the name of Colonia Julia Felix. When, under the Byzantine empire, the interior of Asia Minor gradually lost its Hellenism, Sinöpe remained a commercial city of the first rank. The invasion of Asia Minor by the Saracens in 832 had as one result that Theophobos, commander of the "Persian" auxiliary troops of the emperor, was proclaimed king of Sinöpe for a brief period; this episode is related by the Byzantine sources, Symeon Magister and Theophanes Continuatus.

As the conquest of Asia Minor by the Seldjüks was confined for the first century to the interior of the peninsula, Sinöpe remained Byzantine, but also served as a port for the merchants of the Seldjük empire, who embarked there for the Crimea (Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, I, 298). At the beginning of the thirteenth century the town passed into the hands of the empire of the Comnenoi of Trebizond. The Seldjük Sultan 'Izz al-Din Kalkabādī took the town from them. Ibn Bibi, who gives a detailed account of its capture (*Recueil des historiens des Seldjoukides*, ed. Houtama, IV, 54 sqq.) gives as the date of the capture the 26th Djumādā II, 611, corresponding to the Nov. 2, 1214 (this day was a Sunday while Ibn Bibi talks of a Saturday). The Seldjük Sultan had taken advantage of the discord between the two Greek empires, but the immediate pretext for attacking the town was the raids which the lord of Sinöpe (in Ibn Bibi and Barhebraeus, *Chronicon*, ed. Bedjan, p. 429, called Kir Aleks, i.e. Kyr Alexis Comnenos, cf. Fallmerayer, *Gesch. des Kaiserthums Trapezunt*, Munich 1827, p. 94) had made into Turkish territory. Abu 'l-Fidā seems also to allude to this conquest (*Tarikh*, Constantinople 1286, III, 122 under 611 A.H., cf. Fallmerayer, *op. cit.*, p. 96); in any case Barhebraeus is wrong in saying that Alexis was killed by the Seldjüks. The Byzantine historians do not mention the taking of Sinöpe.

The town was given a Seldjük garrison and the church turned into a mosque. Some time afterwards, the town was given as a hereditary fief to the celebrated vizier Mu'ın al-Din Sulaimān Perwāne, who built a fine mosque there which is described by Ibn Battūta. It was about the same time that William of Rubruck passed through the town, which he calls Sinopola, on his way to Russia. According to Müneddjim Bāshī (III, 31)

Perwāne was succeeded at Sinöb by his son Mu'ın al-Din Muhammad (676—696) then by his other son Muḥammad al-Din Mas'ūd, on whose death in 700 A.H. his lands passed to the lords of Kaştanın. But another authority (Ali, *Kunh al-Ashbār*, v, 22, quoting Rūḥi) says that after the deposition of the Sultan 'Alā al-Din (in 1307) Ghāzī Khān granted all the lands in the north and northwest of Asia Minor to Ghāzī Celebi, son of the Seldjük Sultan Mas'ūd. This Ghāzī Celebi is well known in history especially for his bravery in his acts of piracy (for example he dived under the water to destroy the keels of enemy vessels) which he committed against the Genoese and the Greeks of Trebizond, whose ally he had sometimes been. Ibn Battūta (*loc. cit.*) and probably Abu 'l-Fidā (*Takwīm al-Buldan*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 393) however make Ghāzī Celebi a descendant of Perwāne. After his death, Sinöb was taken by Shādī' al-Din Sulaimān Pasha, lord of Kaştanın (cf. İsfendiyār Oghlū); it was shortly after this event that Ibn Battūta visited the town (c. 1340). During the thirteenth century, the town retained its importance as a commercial port, connected with the interior by a road to Izmit and Brusa (Taschner, *Der anatolische Wegweis*, I, 196). Trade was mainly in the hands of the Genoese, who probably had a consulate there since 1351; there was also a Genoese colony (Heyd, *op. cit.*, I, 550). Sinöb was the last refuge of the İsfendiyār Oghlū, when the Ottoman Sultan Bāyazīd I had attacked them and in the end they abandoned the town to him in 797 (1394—1395), according to the old Ottoman chroniclers (Ashīf Pasha Zade, p. 72; Anon. *Giese*, p. 34). After the restoration of this dynasty by Tīmūr in 805 A.H. Sinöb again passed under their rule; it was the seaport by which the rebels against the Ottomans, like Shaikh Badr al-Din (cf. Bahinger, in *lit.*, XI, 60) were able to escape under the protection of the İsfendiyār Oghlū. It was however only in the year 1458 that Muḥammad II definitely incorporated the town in his territory by a treaty with the İsfendiyār Oghlū İsmā'il Beg, who received in exchange fiefs in Rūm III. This event is recorded by all the Turkish historians and by the Byzantine Ducas and Chalkondylas; the latter mention the formidable defences, that had been erected in the town.

Under Ottoman rule the town never again became a seaport of importance. In 1614, it suffered from an invasion of the Don Cossacks (Na'imā, I, 298), which resulted in energetic measures of defence being taken. Ewliyā Celebi (II, 73) says that it was forbidden to the commandant to go more than a cannon-shot from the citadel and that the attacks of the Cossacks stopped in the reign of Murād IV. The only serious event since that date was the naval battle fought on Nov. 30, 1853 between the Russians and a Turkish fleet in the roadstead of Sinöb; the Turks were completely defeated and the town was partly destroyed by the bombardment. This event was one of the immediate causes of the Crimean war (von Rosen, *Geschichte der Türkei*, Leipzig 1867, II, 194).

Under the administrative reforms in the Turkish Empire, Sinöb became the capital of a *sandjak* and of a *merkez paşa* in the *sandjak*, in the wilāyet of Kaştanın; the other *paşa* of the *sandjak* are Boyābād and İsfenān. Cuiwet gives the population of the town as 9,749 of whom

3,041 are Muslims. From the description the town has barely changed in the last few centuries. The citadel is in the west part of the town and is surrounded by enormous walls of the Byzantine period; seen from the peninsula of Boz Tepe, the citadel looks like the bridge of a ship, according to Ewliya. Cuinet mentions other remains of older edifices. The quarters inhabited by the Greek Christians were outside the walls of the town, on the Boz Tepe side. It was this part that suffered most in the bombardment of 1853. Among the mosques Ewliya gives pride of place to the Sultan 'Alī al-Dīn Dīlāmī; he gives a detailed description of the *minbar* which was a marvel of art built of marble. According to Hādījī Khālifa, Sulaimān I wanted to transport the *minbar* to Constantinople for the Sulaimāniya Mosque but when they attempted to move it, it cracked so that the Sultan abandoned his plan. The town has many other old mosques and türbes (including that of Saliyid Ibrahim Ballal and that of Sulān Khātūn), the study of which will throw much light on the history of the town. The industry for which Sinub is more particularly noted is that of goldsmiths' work (especially filigree work). The yards of Sinub used to build the large Turkish warships of wood from the mountains to the south. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the traffic at the port of Sinub was less important than that of Şimsin and Ineboli. An attempt to revive the trade of the town has been made by building a road for vehicular traffic from Sinub to Amasia, but it is only finished as far as Boyabdd.

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SIPĀH, SIPĀHI, SIPĀH SĀLĀR. [See *SEPOY*]. **SIPĪHR**, "celestial sphere", nom de plume (*taḥalluṣ*) of the Persian historian and man of letters, Mirzā Muḥammad Taqī of Kāghān. After a studious youth spent in his native town he settled definitely in Tihirān, where he found a patron in the poet-laureate (*malik al-ḥuʾarāʾ*) of Fath 'Alī Khān. On his accession (1250 = 1834) Muḥammad Shāh appointed him his private panegyrist (*maddūh-i khāṣṣ*) and secretary and accountant in the treasury (*manqāsh wa-muḥasab-i dawla*). The same Shāh entrusted him with the composition of a universal history. Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh also encouraged him in this enterprise and in 1272 (1853) conferred on him the title of *Lisān al-Mulk* ("Tongue of the State"). Sipīhr died about 1296 (1878). Gobineau who had known him, speaks of his "gravité docte et administrative" in contrast to the "façons légères et riantes" of his colleague Rida Kuli Khān Hādīyat.

The book entitled *Barāhīn al-ʿAdām* finished by Sipīhr in 1251 deals with Persian prosody; it is illustrated by examples from the Persian classical poets. The *Dīwān* of Sipīhr does not seem to have been published; his verses quoted in antho-

logies (*Madjmaʿ al-Fuḥūṣ*) while showing technical skill lack originality and taste. Sipīhr's history, with the pretentious title of *Nāṣiḥ al-Tawārīkh* ("Effacement of the Chronicles") according to the Indian catalogues, consists of fourteen volumes of which the last stops at the period of the fifth Shīʿi Imām Muḥammad Bāqir (d. 113 = 731). Its style is evidently appreciated in India where extracts from it have been published, as texts for examinations in Persian, but the present-day Persians criticise it severely and say it is full of inaccuracies and anachronisms. Of more importance is volume v. (I) which, anticipating the full scope of the work contains the official history of the Qājār [q. v.] dynasty. It consists of three parts coming down to 1267 (1851) with a later supplement dealing with events down to 1273 (1857). This chronicle has been much used by the historians of the Bābī movement [q. v.], Gobineau, Kazembek and Browne. The latter pays a tribute to Sipīhr's candour and accuracy ("scarcely surpassed by the witty and sarcastic de Gobineau") with which he depicts on the one hand the faults of certain representative Persian officials and on the other the courage and heroism of the adepts of the sect.

Bibliography: *Barāhīn al-ʿAdām* fi *Kawānīn al-Madīyat*, 8°, 165 p., Tihirān 1272; *Nāṣiḥ al-Tawārīkh*, vol. i., parts 1 and 2, folio, Tihirān 1285; the *Mirʿat al-Buldān* of Sanʿ al-Dawla, iii., 98, among the events of the year 1287 announced the printing of volume v. of *Nāṣiḥ al-Tawārīkh*; all 14 volumes were to be published in Tihirān. Vol. ii., part 6 (martyrdom of Himsā), appeared at Bombay 1309, folio 24-552; *Intihābat-i Nāṣiḥ al-Tawārīkh*, Lahore 1904, 200 p.; Gobineau, *Trois ans en Asie*, Paris 1859, p. 454, 461-462; do., *Les religions et les philosophies*, Paris 1866, p. 157; Rida Kuli Khān, *Madjmaʿ al-Fuḥūṣ*, Tihirān 1295, ii., 156-181; E. G. Browne, *A Traveller's Narrative*, Cambridge 1891, ii., 173-184; do., *A History of Pers. Liter. in Modern Times*, Cambridge 1924, p. 326, 344, 413; Rieu, *Supplément to the Catalogue of the Pers. MSS.*, London 1895, p. 89; E. Blochet, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Persans*, Paris 1905, ii., 255-256; E. Edwards, *A Catalogue of the Persian Printed Books*, in the *B. M.*, London 1922, p. 527.

(V. MINORSKY)

SIRA (A.), the traditional biography of Muḥammad. The word seems to be used for the first time as the name of a separate branch of study in the title of Ibn Hishām's work (ed. Wustenfeld, p. 3, 4: *ḥadīṣ kitāb sirat rasūl 'Uṣṣ*) but there is other testimony to its use to mean biography of Muḥammad; it is already found in this sense in al-Wāḥidī (Ibn Saʿd, *Tabaqāt*, iii., 18, *man raʾi 'Isra*) and in his pupil Ibn Saʿd (*Ibid.*, iii., 152; *ḥadīṣ 'al-ʿAlam* bi *l-sirat wa l-maghāzī min ḥadīṣ*). Besides, the word *sira* at this time had already the sense of biography in general; it is known that a *Sirat Muʿawīya wa-Band Umāyia* by 'Awāna al-Kalbī (d. 147 or 158 A. H.) or by Mirdjāb b. al-Ḥarith (al-Tamīmī, d. 231) existed (*Fihrist*, p. 91, 18).

The meaning of "biography" comes in its turn from that of "conduct", "manner of living", which the word *sira* has and which is a natural development from the root *s-y-r* to "betake oneself", to "travel" (*sira* is found in the Qurʾān, xx., 22) in the meaning of "manner of being", "form". It

seems that at first the plural form, *siyar*, was used by preference in connection with the biography of the Prophet, having been probably applied to the narratives of the life of Muhammad in the style of the *siyar al-mulūk* of Pehlevi origin, with which the Arabs were acquainted at the rise of Islām (cf. Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Perser u. Araber*, p. xiv.-xviii.). This term *siyar*, in the majority of references which we possess to the early productions of Arab literature relating to the biography of Muhammad, is constantly found associated with the term *magāzī* "military expeditions" (cf. A. Fischer, in Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. d. Corān*, II, 221) and the association of these two words helps to enlighten us as to the composite origin of the *Sira*.

1.

The Origin and Character of the *Sira*.

The idea of piecing together into a consecutive and organic narrative the story of the life of the Prophet from his birth to his death was neither an early nor a spontaneous one in the community of Islām. If it is natural that the deeds and sayings of the founder of the new faith should have at once attracted the interest of and have recommended themselves to the memory of his contemporaries and still more to the believers of the second generation, it is none the less true that the character of this interest was anything but historical, in the sense in which we understand the word. It was rather concerned, on the one hand with fixing the regular practice of worship and religious law according to the teaching and example of the Prophet and on the other with celebrating, after the fashion of pre-Islamic Arabia, the warlike exploits of the Muslims under the conduct of their chief, who was regarded by the majority of his followers as an amir, whose wisdom and bravery, favoured by divine assistance, had gained him the most dazzling successes but who did not differ markedly in character from the amirs of the Džihillya. It was the former of these two motives which, as we know, gave the stimulus to the process of formation of the sunna, under the typical form of the narrative *ḥadīth* (II, 200-206), which, although presented as a collection of biographical data, in reality is quite different in aim and character. The second motif, in its turn, has given rise to an abundant crop of stories relating to the Medinese period in the career of Muhammad, completely filled with military exploits. These narratives are simply the continuation or development of the literature of the *ayūm al-ʿArab* (I, 230-231), the characteristic features of which had already become fixed at a period antecedent to Islām: they have in common with the latter the naive freshness of style, the tendency to break up the narrative into a number of episodes only very slightly connected with one another, and the abundance of poetical quotations (cf. J. Horowitz in *Islamica*, II, 1926, p. 308-312), which often must have actually formed the kernel around which the prose story later established itself. One cannot deny to this kind of production a historiographical character, but one must remember that we are not here dealing with history placed in a chronological framework nor arranged on any definite plan. We have rather to deal with a series of "war memoirs" in which the faithful reproduction (although often subjective) and the realistic description of one episode are

found alongside of an inaccurate and distorted description of another, and in which, in particular, the linking up of incidents and a synthetic survey of the course of events are completely lacking.

Of quite another kind are the origins of the biography of the Prophet properly so called. The latter owes its origin to the transformation undergone by the personality of Muhammad in the religious consciousness of Islām and to the decisive influence which certain heterogeneous elements have exercised on this transformation. It was above all contact with Judaism and Christianity and the desire to set up in successful contrast to the figures of the founders of these two religions, that of the founder of Islām which encouraged the development of the legend with which the person of Muhammad has been surrounded and which has completely transformed and altered the nature of his character from his childhood (or even before his birth) to his death. The Prophet, who had so definitely declared during his mortal career, that he only considered himself a man like others ultimately came to represent the visible manifestation of divine perfections: his life, becoming a kind of copy of those of Moses and of Christ, was given the stamp of the supernatural in its smallest details (cf. the fundamental work of T. Andrieu, *Die Person Muhammads in Lehre und Glaube seiner Gemeinde*, Stockholm 1918 [*Archives d'Études Orientales*, xvi.], especially ch. i.).

How are we to conceive the elaboration of this process, which appears completed in its main lines barely a century after the death of Muhammad? Does the actual narrative, which is its result, contain alongside of elements the fictitious and fabulous character of which cannot be doubted, statements which are based on a tradition more worthy of credence, in which the tendencies, corruptions and the panegyristic amplifications may perhaps contain a kernel of historical fact? Here we have a problem of historical criticism which, first raised by the great European students of Islām in the second half of the last century, is still far from a definite solution, and one which, besides, belongs rather to the study of the personality of Muhammad and of the origins of Islām, than to that of the origins and editing in literary form of the *Sira* which forms the subject of this article. It will be sufficient to recall here that the influence of Jewish and Christian tradition (either in the form of imitations of stories from the Old and New Testament or in that of borrowings from the *midrash* and *haggada* on the one hand, and the apocryphal gospels and Christian hagiography on the other) was long ago suspected by Sprenger, and that Nöldeke (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1898, III, 16-33) was the first to point out, by analysing the stories of the conversion of the first believers, that very often the *Sira*, far from reflecting an authentic tradition only represents an anticipation, presented with a show of a historical documentation, of a state of affairs much later than the events related. The history of the beginnings of Islām was adapted and idealised for the greater glory of the families and individuals who played the leading parts in the history of the Arab empire. It was however Goldziher's brilliant essay on the character of the narrative *ḥadīth* (*Mus. Stud.*, II, 1) that marked a decisive turning-point in the critical study of the *Sira*. It was recognised that the *Sira* in the literary form, in which it

has come down to us is simply a collection of narrative *hadiths* which do not differ substantially in their mode of formation from the more strictly doctrinal *hadiths*. In the one case as in the other, the *isnād* gives no guarantee of authenticity in its remoter links. In the one as in the other, the text contains a formulation of doctrine or a polemical point rather than a historical statement (cf. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, i. 28-58). The analysis of the literary processes that formed the *Sira* has been carried to its extreme by Père H. Lammens in a series of articles in which the learned Jesuit has set out to prove that the whole structure of Muslim tradition regarding the life of the Prophet, at least for the phase preceding the Hijra, is quite without foundation. Every incident related by the *Sira*, each alleged historical detail is only the result of a subjective exegesis of a verse of the *Kur'ān*, out of which the Medina school (where religious zeal for the memory of the Prophet was maintained with the greatest vigour) deduced by a process of "pious fraud" with the use of all sorts of learned combinations and foreign elements, the course which the life of Muhammad "must have taken" without the existence of any support in historical tradition for the reality of the incidents related. The *Sira* would thus be in substance only a great "Kūfānic midrash", completely fabricated with the object of glorifying the Prophet and sustaining this or that other religious or political thesis. The radicalism of Caetani and of Lammens, which extends even to the apparently most insignificant details of the life of Muhammad, including his name and parentage, has seemed extreme to many scholars (cf. de Goeje, in *Centenario Amari*, Palermo 1910, i. 151-158; Noldeke, in *W.Z.K.M.*, 1906, xxi. 297-312; *Id.*, 1913, iv. 205-212; 1914, v. 160-170; Becker, in *Id.*, 1913, iv. 263-269; *Islamstudien*, Leipzig 1924, i. 520-527; a popular account of the question in my *Storia e religione dell' Oriente arabo*, Rome 1924, p. 111-137); nevertheless, if they have not succeeded in definitely triumphing over the views of those who think that even in that part of the *Sira* which relates to the life of Muhammad before the Hijra a certain number of statements retain a historical value, the cardinal principle which has guided them has proved extremely fertile. Detailed investigation has revealed from particular passages of the *Sira*, the midrash-like method which governed its formation (cf. especially Schrieke, in *Id.*, 1915, vi. 1-30; Devan, in *Beihfte zur Zeitschr. f. alttest. Wiss.*, 1914, xxvii. 51-61; Horowitz, in *Id.*, 1914, v. 41-53; 1919, ix. 159-183; 1922, xii. 184-189); it may even be said that the character of learned combination seems to extend if not to the whole story of the Medina period at least to some of its episodes (cf. Horowitz in *Id.*, 1922, xii. 178-183; Vacca, in *R.S.O.*, 1923, x, p. 87-109).

The formation of the *Sira* down to the period of its reduction to its "canonical" form seems to have taken place along the following lines: — the continually increasing veneration for the person of Muhammad provoked the growth around his figure of a legend of hagiographical character in which alongside of more or less corrupt historical memories there gathered episodes modelled on Jewish or Christian religious tradition (perhaps also Iranian, although to a much less degree).

This material became organised and systematised in the schools of the Medina *maḥaddithūn*, through a midrash, subtle and full of combinations, of passages from the *Kur'ān* in which exegesis had delighted to discover allusions to very definite events in the life of the Prophet. It was in this way that the history of the Medina period was formed. Religious pragmatism also seized upon stories relating to the Medina period and modified their character, often quite profoundly, but in this field it encountered more precise historical statements, which had already been elaborated after the custom and style of dealing with stories relating to pre-Islāmic military expeditions. From the combination of these varied elements resulted the *Sira* in its vulgate form, which we find already fixed in its essential features by the beginning of the second century of the Hijra.

II.

The Reduction of the *Sira* to its Literary Form.

It was the *ḥawāṣī*, the professional story-tellers found throughout the Muslim world immediately after the first Arab conquests (cf. Goldziher, *Muhammed Studien*, ii. 161-166) who were the first to compose and disseminate stories of the life of Muhammad, which they compiled probably on the model of the Biblical legends and stories of Iranian origin, which formed the bulk of their repertoire. From this there grew up a kind of literature, which belonged to the historical novel rather than to history. A specimen of this sort of literature was the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* of Waḥb b. Munabbih (34-110 A.H.), the fame of which is due particularly to works relating to Biblical and South Arabian history. But it was especially at Medina, as we have already seen, that the study of the *Sira* was cultivated in deliberate fashion alongside of religious tradition. The oldest author of a book on the biography of Muhammad, 'Urwa b. al-Zuhair (23-94), is as well known as a jurist as a historian. The son of the famous companion of the Prophet took only a very slight part in the political activity of his brothers 'Abdallāh and Maṣ'ab; early reconciled to the victorious Umayyads, he sent to the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik, at the latter's request, numerous explanatory notes on points relative to the beginnings of Islām (quotations in Tabari, cf. Caetani, *Annali*, i., index to vols. I and II; Fück [see Bibliography], p. 8, note 22). His biographical activity was however not confined to this correspondence for he also communicated to his pupils some information collected by him, according to the practice of oral transmission guaranteed by the *isnād*, which henceforth constituted the method of the *Sira* as well as of *Hadith*.

We see that the same rule was adopted by a contemporary of 'Urwa, Abūn b. 'Uthmān (23-105), the son of the Caliph, who also was settled at Mecca; his teaching regarding the life of the Prophet was collected into a book by his pupil 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Mughira (d. before 125). These earliest literary productions (to the two names just mentioned may be added that of Shurahbil b. Sa'd (d. 122) whose influence seems to have been slight) are given the name *maghāzī*, which, as we have seen, remained classical till a late date and suggests (as

can also be deduced from the fragments that survive) that their contents referred mainly to the public life of the Prophet. This name *maghāzī* is also regularly borne by the works of the second and third generation of historians: we may mention besides 'Ā'im b. 'Umar b. Kaṭāda (d. between 119 and 129), the more illustrious names of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri (51—124) and of Mūsā b. 'Ukha (d. 141) who had a very marked influence on all later tradition. A fragment of the *maghāzī* of Mūsā published as a separate work has come down to us and was edited by Sachau (*S. B. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1904) but it is not extensive enough to enable us to judge of the character and arrangement of this work any better than we can from passages preserved in the works of later writers.

At the same period the *'ilm al-maghāzī* was also cultivated outside of Medina (Sulaimān b. Tarkhān [44—143] at Buṣrā, Ma'mar b. Rāshid [d. 152] at Ṣan'a'); but such success as these works attained was eclipsed by that of Muḥammad b. Ishāq's (d. 150 or 151; cf. ii, p. 389 sq.) book which also marks the end of the development of the Medina tradition and the starting-point of a new conception of the Sira. While his predecessors seemed to have considered the history of the Prophet as an isolated, although grandiose, phenomenon, Ibn Ishāq was the first to place Islām and its founder in the scheme of universal history. The rise of Islām, according to him, is the continuation and conclusion of Jewish and Christian "sacred history" as it arises out of the divine work of creation and of the preaching of the prophets before Muḥammad, but the latter appears at the same time as the most glorious representative of Arabism through whom the age of Arab domination in the world is to be opened. This characterisation of the work of Ibn Ishāq is not of course taken from any explicit formulation of principles: his work is limited, like that of his predecessors, to the collection and arrangement of other documentary material but the very different titles by which his work is referred to (*muḥaddaṭ al-khalk*, *al-muḥadda wa-khawāṣṣ al-anbiyā'*, *al-maghāzī wa 'l-muḥaddaṭh wa-muḥadda al-khalk*, *al-maghāzī wa 'l-riyā'*, *al-sira wa 'l-muḥaddaṭh wa 'l-maghāzī*, *kitāb al-khulafā'*) clearly show his plan, whether these titles refer to different parts of a single work, a regular exposé of universal history or whether, as is more probable, they do not represent the titles of one or several works published *in extenso* by the author himself but, in keeping with the character of Arabic literary production at the time of Ibn Ishāq, that is essentially the putting in writing of oral teaching, they indicate in summary fashion the entire historiographical activity of Ibn Ishāq, whose different pupils edited and separately transmitted one or other part. This explains the present existence of a "Sira of Ibn Ishāq" separate from the rest of his work in the well-known recension of Ibn Hishām (ii. 387) which, as is now generally recognised, has preserved for us almost intact the primitive text of Ibn Ishāq. The same good fortune has not fallen to the other sections of his works, the *K. al-Muḥaddaṭh* and the *K. al-Khulafā'*, which we only possess in fragments preserved by later writers, notably al-Ṭabarī.

Ibn Ishāq thus wished to compile a work of greater scope than the *maghāzī* of his predecessors.

This explains why in his work the use of the *isnād* was corrupted in such a way that the scholastic tradition of the *'ilm al-hadīth* was deeply shocked by it and unanimously refused him the title of a *muḥaddith*, worthy of credence (cf. the texts collected by Wüstenfeld, Ibn Hishām II, introduction). This verdict (which was pronounced even in the lifetime of Ibn Ishāq by no other than the great jurist Mālik b. Anas and as a result of which Ibn Ishāq found himself forced to give up teaching in Medina and to settle in the 'Irāk) is all the more important as it marks the clear separation between historical, and purely doctrinal *hadīth*. It goes without saying that, in the collection of *hadīth* in the strict sense like those of al-Bukhārī, Muslim, etc., we find biographical information of the first order (especially in the books devoted to the *maghāzī* and to the *munāzil*) but the fact of containing material in common only serves to accentuate still more the difference between the two literary genres.

The abundance and the variety of material collected by Ibn Ishāq forced him to enlarge the circle of his authorities and to accept a number of insufficiently supported traditions. He even takes care to give the source, not always particularly clear, of some of his information, especially when, as is often the case, it goes back to Jewish or Christian sources. He does not neglect, contrary to what seems to have been the case with his predecessors, to use poetry to supplement his sources (he has even been accused of having collected a number of apocryphal verses) and he precedes the narrative of the life of the Prophet with abundant genealogical and antiquarian notes. To sum up, the character of Ibn Ishāq in comparison with the authors who preceded him is that of a real historian and in him we have the final fusion of biography of the religious type of the *muḥaddithūn* with that of the epic-legendary type of the *ḥuṣṣā'*. It is this original and personal character of the work of Ibn Ishāq, which, while it explains the hostility of the schools of tradition, justifies the immense success which it has enjoyed through the centuries, a success which has not only overshadowed similar previous works and some which closely followed him (like the *maghāzī* of Abū Ma'shar [d. 170] [ii. 106] and of Yahyā b. Sa'īd b. Abīn, d. 194) but made him a decisive influence on the future development of the Sira. In addition to Ibn Hishām's recension, Ibn Ishāq's biography was reproduced for the most part by al-Ṭabarī in his two great compilations, the *Ta'rikh* and the *Ta'fīr* and through the intermediary of these two writers it has become the principle source of later historiography.

Only one other writer has a position alongside of Ibn Ishāq of hardly less importance, namely Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāḳidī (130—207) whose work as a biographer of the Prophet has come down to us by three different channels, the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* (abridged translation by Wellhausen, Berlin 1882: unfortunately we do not yet possess a complete edition of the text) which was transmitted by Muḥammad b. Shu'ayb al-Thalabī (181—261): the *sira* which precedes the *Tabaqāt* of his pupil and secretary Muḥammad b. Sa'd (d. 230) (Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, vol. I. and II.) in which, along with traditions going back to al-Wāḳidī, we have others of different origin; lastly the *Tabaqāt* themselves, especially in vols. III. and

iv. for all that deals with the relations of Muḥammad with his companions and with the part the latter played in the history of Islām before the death of the Prophet. With al-Wāḳidī the *Sira* loses this unity and this combination with universal history which Ibn Ishāq had given it, although he also, after the model of the latter no doubt, composed a *Kitāb al-Ta'rikh wa 'l-Mabūd wa 'l-Maghāzī* (*Fihrist*, 98 end): it rather assumes the form of a collection of detached monographs, of which the most elaborate are those devoted to the public life of Muḥammad, his expeditions, his correspondence, the embassies which he received or sent. In comparison with Ibn Ishāq, al-Wāḳidī shows little taste for poetry. On the contrary he had a great talent for chronology, the systematic treatment of which, as we know, goes back to him. On the other hand, in collecting the statements of tradition regarding the companions of the Prophet, al-Wāḳidī founded through Ibn Sa'd, who arranged and added to the material supplied by his master, a new branch of the study subsidiary to the *ilm al-hadīth*, the development of which has been quite extraordinary viz. the *ilm al-riḍāl*, the biography and criticism of the traditionists.

After al-Wāḳidī (the regular source with Ibn Ishāq of successive historians beginning with al-Balādhuri [q. v.]) whose *Sira* incorporated in his *Asnād al-Ashraf* goes back almost in its entirety to him (cf. de Goeje in *Z. D. G. M.*, xxxviii, 1884, p. 387—390), the *sira* is no longer dealt with for some centuries in works of great importance (we know relatively little about those which al-Madā'inī, the famous historian [d. 225], devoted to it, *Fihrist*, p. 101). The attention of the historians became attracted to the *daḥīl al-nubawwā* and to the *ḥamā'il* (cf. Andrae, *Die Person Muḥammad*, p. 57 sqq.), a branch which broke off from the *Sira* to assume a development of its own, while historical biography is restored, following the example of Tabari and in general after him, to the great works on universal history. The countless collections of biographies of the companions of the Prophet sometimes contain historical references to the *Sira* differing from those that are taken from the well known sources of Ibn Ishāq and al-Wāḳidī and some of which go back to a remote antiquity. A study, which has still to be undertaken of such works as the *Jat'id* of Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, the *Uṣd al-Gāba* of Ibn al-Athir, the *Iḡāṣ* of Ibn Hadjar, etc., aiming at identifying and collecting these statements might yield appreciable results; but in any case we have only scattered and fragmentary material. Still more meagre is the spoil that might be obtained in the commentaries on the *Sira* of Ibn Hišām of which the best known is the *Rawf* of al-Shāhī (508—581; cf. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 135, 413). The colossal compilations of more recent date supply an incredible mass of notices, which their authors, urged by their scholarly zeal to exhaust in the completest manner possible all the sources to which they had access, have laboriously piled up; as regards matter they give no more than is contained in Ibn Ishāq and al-Wāḳidī; the most that one finds in them is only some legend of late origin, the importance of which is no doubt considerable for the history of the formation and development of the cult of the personality of Muḥammad, but the value of which for his actual life-story is absolutely nothing; or they are simply variants of

stories already known. Among these compilations, a list of which would immeasurably prolong this article it is sufficient to mention the *Uyūn al-Athar* of Ibn Saiyid al-Nās (661 or 671—734; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 71), the *al-Mawāhib al-laduniya* by al-Kastallānī (851—923; Brockelmann, ii. 73), the *al-Sirat al-Shāmiya* by Shams al-Dīn al-Shāmi (d. 942 or 974; Brockelmann, ii. 304), the *al-Sirat al-Halabiya* of Nūr al-Dīn al-Halabī (975—1044; Brockelmann, ii. 307) and the commentaries on the two first works *Nūr al-Nibrās* by Sibī Ibn al-Adjamī (d. 841; Brockelmann, ii. 67) and *Sharḥ al-Mawāhib* by al-Zarkānī (d. 1122; Brockelmann, ii. 319). The résumés and the versifications of the *Sira*, in which Arabic literature is so rich, are of course of no historical value.

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(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

SIRĀD] AL-KUTRUB (A.), "the gnome's lamp" or according to Idrisi, "the glow-worm's lamp", (for other meanings of *kuṭrub* see Lane, vii. 2543), the name for the mandragora (*mandragora officinalis*, L.), one of the *Solanaceae* indigenous to the whole Mediterranean area, with a turnip-shaped root often in two parts, thickly covered with root-fibres, bearing a clump of large, egg-shaped, sinuate leaves, between which grow the axillary petiolated bell-shaped flowers. The fruit is a reddish yellow berry about the size of a cherry which from ancient times has been used for medicinal and magical purposes, as a poison, narcotic or love potion, as early, for example, as the Old Testament under the name *dūdā'im* (Gen. xxx. 14). According to al-Tamīmī, the plant is also called *yabrūḥ al-waḥūd* and *ḥaḍjarat al-panam*. It is the queen of the seven mandragora and according to Hermes the herb which Solomon wore under his signet which gave him power over the djinn. The plant is therefore also valuable against all illnesses caused by evil spirits, such as lameness, cramps, epilepsy, loss of memory, etc. According to Ibn Sīnā mandragora is given to a patient to destroy his sensitiveness to pain during severe operations. The most important for magical purposes are the roots known as *al-raḥme*, about the digging of which curious stories are told even in classical authors (Plinius, *Hist. nat.*, xxv. 94; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, vii. 6).

Bibliography: Abū Maṣṣūr Muwaffaq, transl. of Achundow in Koberts, *Hist. Sind. u. d. pharm. Inst. d. K. Univ. Dorpat*, iii, 1893, s. v. *Luffah*, p. 266, 402; al-Karwini, *Aḥḥādīṣ al-Mashhūrāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 297, s. v. *Luffah*; Ibn al-Baitār, transl. of Leclerc, ii, 246; I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, iii, 363—368. Numerous pictures in von Hovorka and Kronfeld, *Vergleichende Volksmedizin*, i, 14 199; A. Schmidt, *Drogen u. Drogenhandel im Altertum*, Leipzig 1924, p. 53, 73. (J. RUSKA)

SIRĀF, a town in Persia, on the Persian Gulf, once a commercial port of great importance (16th/17th century). The houses in several stories were built of teak and other woods brought from Zangbar; it was supplied with water from springs tapped in the mountain of Djam which dominates it from close at hand. The creation of an emporium on the island of Kās [q. v.] ruined it by taking away its Indian trade. It had not a harbour properly speaking and the ships used to moor in an arm of the sea eight miles off, to be sheltered from the wind. The sailors who set out from it went to Maskat, Kulam, the Nicobar Islands, and as far as Kalah in the Malay Peninsula, whence they reached Canton in a month. The trade consisted mainly in the exportation of striped cloth for bath-towels (*ḥawāṣ*), pearls, silks, balances, and in the exportation of *berberis* (Indian spices, *B. G. A.*, iv, 187). The inhabitants were engaged in sea-trade and were sometimes absent for years; they had amassed great wealth by dealing in spices and other merchants. They had built sumptuous houses but they were noted for their voluptuousness and lack of serious thought. It was also the warmest place in the district, so hot that one could not take a siesta there. Under the 'Abbāsids it was the principal town of the district of Ardashir-Khurra; it began to decline under the Būyids; destroyed by an earthquake which lasted seven days in 366 or 367 (977) it was afterwards rebuilt. Its ruins may be seen at Bandar Tāhīrī (Le Strange, transl. of *Nuzhat*, p. 116, n. 2).

A legend says that the mythical king Kai-Kā's when he tried to ascend to heaven, fell down in this country and asked for water and milk to be brought him; this story has been invented to justify a popular etymology (Pers. *shir*, "milk", *āb*, "water"). According to Yāqūt, the merchants pronounced its name *shirāw*, which is connected with the above etymology. Mention is also made of a spring of fresh water here at the bottom of the sea.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii, 211 = Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 331; *B. G. A.*, *Istakhrī*, p. 34, 106, 127, 138; Ibn Ḥawqāl, p. 39, 198; Muḥaddasī, p. 34, 36, 258, 426; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, fol. 321 v^o; Abū 'l-Fidā', *Geography*, i, 326; Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 117; transl. p. 116; Sāmī-bey, *Kāmus al-'Alām*, iv, 2747; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 258, 259, 293, 296. (CL. HUERT)

SIRĀFĪ, Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Maṣṣūrān was born before the year 290 (903) in the small town of Sirāf [q. v.] on the Persian Gulf; the waṣīr 'Alī b. 'Iṣṭ gave the year 280 as the exact date (Yāqūt, *Iṣṭād*, iii, 123). He made his first studies in grammar and law in his native town, but before he was twenty he crossed

the sea to 'Omān where he devoted his time to Hanafī law. Later he returned to Sirāf and went from there to al-Mu'askar, where he studied Arabic grammar under Maḥmūd (cf. Zubaidī, *Tabaqāt*, N^o 44; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 74). Later he went to Baghdad and studied there principally under Abū Bakr Ibn Duraid and became one of the principal pupils of this eminent scholar and propagator of his works. However he did not confine himself to linguistic studies but became an authority in all branches of learning then practised. He studied the sciences of the Qur'ān under Abū Bakr b. Muḥḥabīh, grammar under Abū Bakr b. al-Sarrāj and mathematics under Maḥmūd, mentioned above, tradition under Abū Bakr b. Ziyād al-Nāshūrī and Muḥammad b. Abī 'l-Azhar. He was reputed to have been a Mu'tazilī, but this cannot be proved from his writings. For over forty years he gave legal advice (*fatwā*) in the Ruṣāfa mosque at Baghdad and the Chief Judge Abū Muḥammad b. Ma'rūf appointed him on more than one occasion his lieutenant on the Eastern side of the city of Baghdad. He was also invited to assume a post in the Secretariat of State, but declined the offer. Most biographers describe him as a very pious man, devoting his time to prayers and fasting, refusing any gifts from the great, and we are told that he used to copy each day ten leaves of manuscript which he sold for ten dirhems which sufficed for his livelihood. Against this Yāqūt tells us that he was accused of borrowing valuable manuscripts from two booksellers and, being too mean or too poor, he caused his pupils to make copies of them. At the end of these he wrote that the work had been read over to him, and such copies later commanded a higher price than the originals, on account of the reputation of al-Sirāfī. Though a lawyer of the Hanafī school his personal opinion was highly valued and the account of such a personal advice on intoxicating drink is given by Yāqūt; and though against some of the accepted principals of Hanafī law the words quoted on the subject are sound advice for any creed. His reputation as a scholar was so great that he frequently received letters from monarchs and ministers from various parts of the Muslim world. The Sāmānī prince Nūḥ b. Naṣr sent him a letter containing over 400 questions and addressed him as Imām, while the ruler of Dālam in a similar letter called him Shaikh al-Islām; other letters were from the Egyptian waṣīr Ibn Khināṣa etc. Of the ten works which are named by title by his biographers only his commentary on the "Book" of Sibawaihi is easily accessible, but this work enjoyed a great reputation even during his life-time and his contemporary Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī, also an eminent scholar of the Baṣrian school, displayed his envy openly. He and his followers tried for a long time to get possession of a copy with the intention of finding in it errors which they could point out publicly. When Abū 'Alī in the year 368 was able to buy a copy for two thousand dirhem he did not find the errors he had wished and it was too late to meet Sirāfī, as he died the same year on Monday the 2nd of Raddj in Baghdad and was buried in the Khairurān cemetery. As stated above, his biographers attribute to him ten separate works: 1) A commentary on the "Book" of Sibawaihi which has been printed in Cairo 1317 and used for the translation of the "Book" by Jahn (Berlin 1894);

2) Commentary on the poem of Ibn Duraid called *al-Mahjara*; 3) *Alifāt al-Kat' wa 'l-Waṣf*; 4) *al-Ḥunā fī 'l-Naḥw*, a grammatical work which he did not complete but which was finished by his son Yūsuf. The latter declared that his father had made the science of grammar too easy by this work; 5) *Shawāhid Sibawaihi*, explanations of the verses cited in the "Book" of Sibawaihi; 6) *al-Madhḥat (al-Mudhḥat?) ilā Kitāb Sibawaihi*, introduction to the "Book" of Sibawaihi; 7) *al-Waṣf wa 'l-Ibtidā'*, probably a work on the correct reading of the *Kur'ān*; 8) *San'at al-Shi'r wa 'l-Balaghā*, an exposition of the correct composition of poetry and prose; 9) *Akhbār al-Nuḥāt al-Baṣriyyin*, biographies of grammarians of the Basrian school or rather anecdotes about them with accounts of their literary disputes, as can be gleaned from extracts quoted by Yāqūt and other authors. This book has been preserved and a good manuscript is in Constantinople and Suyūṭi tells us that he used a copy which formed a large fascicule; 10) *Kitāb Djaṣirat al-'Arab*, a geographical book which has been extracted by Yāqūt for his geographical lexicon. Not mentioned by the biographers is the Commentary on the verses quoted by Ibn Duraid in his large dictionary, the *Djamhara*; having collated the whole of the Leyden manuscript of this work, my estimate is that about a third of the second and third volume of the *Djamhara* is occupied by the commentary on the many verses quoted. (The first volume of the same manuscript does not contain this commentary). The method is most pedantic. Every word is explained, seldom is there a reference to the historical background, but in very many cases it is evident that Sirāfi had diligently asked Ibn Duraid for an explanation and the whole commentary gives the impression that his only share in the work has been to write down these additional explanations which are not found in the other manuscripts of the *Djamhara*. In addition Sirāfi is credited with some mediocre verses, and also is the subject of a satire by his greater contemporary Abū 'l-Farāj al-Iṣṭihānī with whom he had had a quarrel.

Biographies of Sirāfi are found in all works dealing with the lives of grammarians, traditionists and Ḥanafī lawyers. The principal ones are: *Fihrist*, p. 62; *Anḥār*, *Nuḥat al-Aḥbāb*, p. 379; Suyūṭi, *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*, p. 221; Yāqūt, *Iṣṭihād*, iii, 84—125; *Djāwāhir al-Mu'āḥ*, ed. Haidarābād, i, 196; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Liṣān al-Miṣbāḥ*, ii, 218; Ibn Khallikān, *Cairo* 1310, i, 130; Flügel, *Klassen der hanafitischen Rechtsgelahrten*, p. 107; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i, 113 etc.

3) Yūsuf b. al-Ḥasan al-Sirāfi, the son of the former, succeeded his father as a teacher after the latter's death and completed his grammatical work, the *Ḥunā*. He did not enjoy the reputation of his father, but three works of his, similar in nature to those of his father, are recorded: 1) a commentary on the verses quoted in the "Book" of Sibawaihi; 2) a commentary on the verses quoted in the *Iṣṭihād* of Ibn al-Sikkīt, and 3) a commentary on the verses found in the *Ḥarīb al-Muḥannaf* of Abū 'Ubaid al-Qāsim b. Sallām. He resided in Baghdad and died there in Rabi' I, 385 A. H. at the age of 55 years (cf. *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*, p. 421). (F. KRENKOW)

SIRAT 'ANTAR, the romance of 'Antar, rightly considered the model of the Arabic romance of chivalry. This *sira* surveys five hundred years

of Arab history and includes a wealth of older traditions. The story, in the *Kitāb al-Aghāni* of bow 'Antar, the son of a slave-girl, was adopted into the tribe of Banū 'Abs for saving them at a time of great crisis already bears the stamp of a flourishing but already legendary tradition. The *Sirat 'Antar* far transcends the unconscious development of a legend. By a bold stroke 'Antar, the solitary hero, is raised to be the representative of all that is Arab, 'Antar the pagan is made the champion of Islām. The romance thus comes to reflect the vicissitudes of the Arabs and Islām through half a millenium; the tribal feuds of the old Arabs; the wars against Ethiopia rule in Arabia; the subjection of Arabia and especially of 'Irāk to Persian suzerainty; the victories of the rising Islām over Persia; the remarkable historical position of the Jews in Arabia down to the seventh century; the conquests from Christianity by the Arabs, especially in Syria; the continuous wars of the Persian and later of the Muslim East against Byzantium; the victorious advance of Islām in North Africa and in Europe; the influence of the Crusades is also undeniable. The contacts between East and West are numerous. The romance is written in smooth rhymed prose into which have been interwoven some 10,000 verses. The editions printed in the East since 1286 A. H. divide the *Sira* into 32 little volumes, none of which, like the separate nights of the *1001 Nights*, ever ends at the conclusion of a tale.

Contents. The romance brings us through numerous legendary stories from early times down to the period when King Zuhair is ruling over the Banū 'Abs. The 'Abṣi hero Shaddād on a raid captures the negro slave-girl Zabiba (not till the xviiith book do we get the denouement that she is a king's daughter, who had been carried off from the Sūdān), who becomes the mother of 'Antar. As an infant, 'Antar tears the strongest swaddling clothes, at two years old pulls down the tent, at four slays a large dog, at nine a wolf and as a young shepherd a lion. Soon he comes to the rescue of his oppressed tribe, for which he is acknowledged by his father and adopted into his tribe. He seeks 'Abia, his uncle's daughter, in marriage; the latter promises her to him in an hour of need; but after 'Antar has averted the danger, he imposes the most dangerous conditions to be carried out before the marriage. 'Antar fulfils them all but is only allowed to marry 'Abia after ten volumes of wonderful exploits. The area of his exploits widens continually. In his own tribe 'Antar has first to overcome the resistance of his father, then the hostility of 'Abia's relatives, to win over his rivals including the poet 'Urwā b. al-Ward, to put an end to the feuds of the Banū Ziyād, Rabi' and 'Umāra. In the feuds between the sister-tribes of 'Abs and Fadhāra, 'Antar proves himself the saviour of the Banū 'Abs; outside of his tribe, he fights and overthrows the strongest heroes and makes them his friends; such are Duraid b. al-Ṣimma, Mu'ammār, Ḥanī' b. Ma'sūd, the victor over the Persians at Dhū Kār, 'Amr b. Ma'dikarib, 'Amir b. al-Tufail, 'Amr b. Wudd, the knight of the Ḥarām, Rabi'a b. Muqaddam, the pattern of Arab chivalry and many others. He fastens up his *mu'allaka* in the Ḥaram of Mecca after defeating the other *mu'allaka*-poets in a competition, overcoming all his rivals in duels and passing an examination in

Arab synonyms from Amr b. 'Al-Qais. From Mecca he goes to Khaalbar and destroys the town of the Jews. But 'Antar is also taken beyond the bounds of Arabia. The *Sira* does not lack reasons for this. 'Abila's father demands asfir-camels as a bridal gift, which are only bred by Mundhir, King of Hira. This takes 'Antar to the 'Irāk. From there he is summoned to Persia to fight the Greek champion Badramūt. Next we find him in constant association with the kings of the 'Irāk, Mundhir, Nu'mān, Aswad, 'Amr b. Hind, Iyās b. Kābisa and their viziers notably 'Amr b. Buḳaila. He has also constant dealings with the Shāhs, Khusrāw Anūsharwān, Khudāwand (no shāh of this name is found in Sāsānian history), Kawādī (probably Kawādī Shīroo) sometimes as a dreaded opponent, sometimes as a most welcome ally. The son of the king of Syria woos the promised bride of a friend of 'Antar. The latter goes to Syria, kills his friend's rival, defeats King Hārith al-Wahhāb (Aretas), but becomes his friend and after the death of Aretas at the request of the princess Ḥalima becomes guardian of the new king 'Amr b. Hārith, who is still a minor, and as such ruler of Syria. Here 'Antar comes into contact with the Franks, sometimes as an enemy and sometimes as their ally against the Persians. Syria is under Byzantine suzerainty. For the services which 'Antar renders the Christians here, he is invited to Constantinople and entertained and honoured. Lailamān, the king of the Franks, objects to this and demands that the emperor should hand over 'Antar to him. 'Antar along with Heraclius, the emperor's son, then leads the Byzantine army into the land of the Franks, subjects them to the emperor, reaches Spain, defeats King Santiago, pursues his victorious march through his provinces in North Africa from Morocco to Egypt. When he returns from these conquests on behalf of Byzantium to Constantinople, an equestrian statue of him is erected out of gratitude; the statue of his two brothers, who had accompanied him to Byzantium, are placed on either side of his. Shortly before his death, 'Antar comes to Rome. The king of Rome, Balām b. Markas is hard pressed by Bohemund; 'Antar kills Bohemund and liberates Rome. On a campaign of reprisal against the Sūdīnese, 'Antar goes from kingdom to kingdom deeper into Africa till he reaches the land of the Negus. Here he discovers in the Negus the grandfather of his mother Zabība. Even more fantastic are the campaigns against Hind-Sind, against the Christian king Lailamān in the land of Balā, in the land of the demons. 'Antar's death is brought about by Wizr b. Djabir called Asad al-Rahis. 'Antar had repeatedly defeated him and taken him prisoner but always set him free again. Wizr feels humiliated by this magnanimity and continually renews his attack. Finally 'Antar blinds him. Though blinded, Wizr learns to shoot birds and gazelles with bow and arrow from their sound. 'Antar is struck by one of his poisoned arrows, but Wizr dies before 'Antar under the delusion that he has missed. While dying, and indeed when dead, still sitting on his steed Abḍar, 'Antar still wards the enemy off from his people. 'Antar's marriage with 'Abila was childless but from his secret marriages and love-affairs, several children were born including two Christians, and indeed Crusaders, Ghadanfar, Coenr-de-Lion, son of 'Antar and the sister of the king of Rome

whom 'Antar had married in Rome and left in Constantinople, and Djufrān (i.e. Geoffroi, Godfrey), the son of 'Antar and a Frankish princess. 'Antar's children avenge and lament the death of their heroic father. Ghadanfar and Djufrān then return to Europe. 'Abs becomes a convert to Islām.

Analysis. The following are the main elements that have contributed to the growth of the *Sira*:

1. Arab paganism; 2. Islām; 3. Persian history and epic; 4. The Crusades. 1. To Arab paganism it owes the chivalrous and knightly Bedouin spirit of the work, the majority of the characters in it, who often have historical features, the feuds between the sister tribes of 'Abs and Fadḥāra; in connection with the race between Dāhis and Ghābra, the most powerful of the Ahbār al-'Arab, like king Zuhair's marriage with Tumādīr, Zuhair's death, Mālik b. Zuhair's death, Hārith and Lubna, Dajida and Khālid, anecdotes of Ḥatīm Taiyī, the splendid figure of Rabī'a b. Muḥaddam etc. 2. To Islām belong the introduction with a long midrash of Abraham, repeated legends of Muḥammad and 'Alī, the conclusion of the work which forms a transition to Islām; the tendency of the book, to make 'Antar really prepare the way for Islām; 'Antar's victorious campaigns through Arabia, Persia, Syria, North Africa and Spain are modelled on the conquests of Islām. Certain details give the *Sira* a slightly Shi'a colouring. 3. Persian influence is found in the knowledge of Persian history and the Persian epic, in places of the Persian language, in the conception of kingship by grace of God, in the knowledge of Persian court life and ceremonial (throne, crowns, imperial carpet), court-hunts (falcons, cheetahs), pigeon-post, Persian offices and ranks (vizier, mōbedān, mōbed, marzpan, pehlwān, eyes and ears of the Shāh) even the *zakāriya* (écuyers tranchants). 4. Christianity and the Crusades. The *Sira* knows of Christians in the Syria of the Sāsānians, in Byzantium and among the Franks. The Franks appear as Crusaders (the romance even mentions the cross worn on the breast), fighting for Shiloe and Jerusalem. Djufrān (Godfrey) besieges Damascus and sends troops against Antioch. The *Sira* mentions the cross, the dress of the priests and friars, the girdle of the order (which in the *Sira* is the most important symbol of Christianity next to the cross), the crozier, the bell (clapper), incense, holy water, prayers for the dead, unction, sacrament and of holy-days, Christmas, Palm-Sunday, is aware that among the Franks the clergy are first in Church and state, that marriages between cousins are illegal, seems also to know of excommunication and describes a Spanish place of pilgrimage and day of pilgrimage. The Christians swear by Jesus, Mary, the Gospels, John the Baptist (Māri Hanna al-Ma'madān, Yūkhna), by Luke (Lūka), Thomas (Mar Tōma) and Simon. The Emperor Rājīm rules in Byzantium and his son is called Heraclius; Balām b. Markas is king of Rome. The Christian rulers of North Africa have names which end with the -i, common in Greek and Latin, e.g. Martos, Kardus, Hermes, Ibn al-'Urūs, Kindaryas b. Kirmās, Sindaris, Theodoros. The king of Spain is called Santiago; of the names of Frankish kings and princes that of Bohemund alone is certain. The names of his brothers Mūbert, Sūbert, Kūbert and that of the prince 'Shūbert of the Sea" show what is perhaps the commonest ending

in personal names in Old French. 'Antar's son by the Frankish princess is called *Djufrān*, which conceals the old French form (*Jofroi*, *Jefroi*, *Geffroi*) of the name of Godfrey of Bouillon. As the romance of 'Antar knows nothing of Europe, but a good deal about Europeans, the author must have become acquainted with them outside of Europe, of course at the period of the Crusades; Bohemund is slain by 'Antar. Godfrey is the son of 'Antar, who comes as a Crusader to Asia, learns his paternity there, avenges the death of his father and then returns to Europe. Even the name 'Tafur' of the king of the beggars in the army of Peter of Armenia, seems to be preserved in the *Sira*: 'Tafūr' is the name of the usurper who drives the infant prince 'Amr from the throne of Syria but is overthrown by 'Antar. In regard to intelligent sympathy with and toleration of Christianity, the picture we get from the *Sirat 'Antar* is far in advance of that which the mediaeval Christian epic reveals of Islam, where the Muslims are made to worship idols, like Apollo, Cahu, Gomeliu, Jupiter, Margot, Malquedant, Tervagant etc. The romance of 'Antar regards the Crusades not without sympathy and admiration. It is true that Crusaders are mentioned, who go to the Holy Land to seek plunder and to escape punishment; but the Franks are fighting for God the Father, for the Son and for the spread of religion.

Folk-lore and literary parallels. There is remarkably little folk-lore in the *Sirat 'Antar* but it includes several noteworthy features: a splendid witches' kitchen, fine examples of allegorical speech, of omens, life-token. Most of the agreements with other narrative poetry may be regarded as commonplaces of the epic; the strength and growth of the hero, his exploits, the killing of a lion, *mu'ammarrū* (longevity is as common in the 'Antar as in the *Sūdā-nūma*), dreams, visions, Amazons, fights between father and son, the Gudrun motif of the bride's fidelity, the motif of the stupid man. There are very few borrowings: Nu'mān's lucky and unlucky day, Khuraw's bell of justice (the motif of the legend of the Emperor Charles and the snake), a flight to heaven in a box borne by eagles, several African traditions (probably taken from geographical works on Africa). There are also links with European legends. The marvellous signs at the birth of Charlemagne (in Pseudo-Turpin) resemble those recorded in our romance at the birth of Muḥammad, but Pseudo-Turpin undoubtedly borrowed from an older source. Artificial birds made of metal, which sing in various tunes by means of bells and organ pipes are described in French and German epics and also in the *Sirat 'Antar*. But here we have to deal with the historical marvel of the Chrysotriklinium in Constantinople, and with a similar thing in the Ctesiphon of the Sāsānids and also in the capital of the Tatar Khāns. Some coincidences are very striking. Hārith al-Zālim beats his sword *Dhu l-Hiyāt* against a rock, so that it may not fall into the enemy's hands; the rock is broken but the sword is uninjured, just as in the case with Roland's Durandal. 'Antar instructs his son Ghadhān, who wishes to slay Khuraw and seize the power for himself, on the subject of kingship by God's grace just as, Girard de Viane does his nephew Aimeri who wants to kill Charlemagne. 'Antar's horse Abdjār takes flight to the desert after 'Antar's death, so

that he may not serve another master, just as Renaud de Montauban's Baiart escapes to the forests of the Ardennes. Very remarkable is the parallel between the duel between Roland and Oliver and that of 'Antar and Rabī'a b. Muḥaddam; the sword of the one combatant breaks in two and his magnanimous opponent gets him another; the duellists are reconciled and become brothers-in-law. But such poetical developments have their origin in a similar chivalrous outlook, the relations of the knight to his sword, to his horse, to his overlord and to his opponent.

Chivalry in the *Sirat 'Antar*. The *Sira* is rightly recognised to be a romance of chivalry. In the pagan period among the Arabs the ideal of masculine virtue was *murawwā*, *futūwwa*; alongside of this we have more frequently in the *Sirat 'Antar* *furūdiyya* along with *farāḥa* and *tawfarrāḥa*. The knight is called *fāris*. 'Antar is called 'a father of knights', *Abū l-Famūris*, sometimes *Abū l-Fursān*, *Alā l-Fursān*, *Fāris al-Fursān*, *Afrān*. Not everyone who rides a horse is a knight. The knight's qualities are courage, fidelity, love of truth, protection of widows, orphans, and the poor ('Antar arranges special meals for them), magnanimity, reverence for women ('Antar begins and ends his heroic career protecting women; he swears by 'Abla, by 'Abla's eye, conquers in 'Abla's name), liberality, especially to poets. The knights are also poets, especially poets of the *Hijāz*, who are found in hundreds in the *Sirat 'Antar*. The *Sira* also knows the institutions of chivalry. We meet pages and squires, not only the *sahārīdja* of Ctesiphon; 'Antar himself trains several thousand squires. The *Sira* even describes tournaments on a great scale, in the *Hijāz*, in *Utra*, in Ctesiphon, the most splendid in Byzantium where 'Antar's lance strikes the ring 476 times. These tournaments have many features in common with those of Europe, fighting with blunted weapons, tilting at the ring, decorating and beflagging the lists, the presence of ladies and girls. These agreements have been explained in the most diverse ways. On the one hand Delécluse saw in 'Antar the model of the European knight, in the *Sirat 'Antar*, the source from which Europe had obtained all its ideas of chivalry, while on the other hand Reinand simply found European ideas, customs and institutions imitated in the *Sira* (*J. A.*, 1833, i. 102-105). In this some have seen the starting point for the study of the question of the origin of the *Sirat 'Antar*.

Origin. The *Sirat 'Antar* itself frequently and readily talks about itself and its origin. It professes to have been composed by al-Aṣma'ī in the time of the Caliph Hārūn al-Raṣīd at his court in Baghdad; Aṣma'ī lived for 670 years, of which 400 were in the *Djāhiliyya*; he was personally acquainted with 'Antar and his contemporaries, concluded the composition in the year 473 (1080) and recorded traditions from the mouths of 'Antar, Ḥamza, Abū Ṭalīb, Ḥatīm Ṭalīb, Amrū l-Kais, Ḥanī' b. Mas'ūd, Ḥāzim of Mecca, 'Ubaida, 'Amr b. Wudd, Duraid b. al-Ṣimma, 'Amir b. al-Ṭufail. In fact we have a regular romance regarding the origin of the romance. The repeatedly mentioned *raṣa*, *nāḥil*, *muḥannif*, *ṣūhūb al-idārat*, Aṣma'ī and other authorities have the same significance for the *Sirat 'Antar* as the *Dihkane*, Pehlwi books and the hoary authorities in Firdawsī, or as the chronicles of St. Denis for the French epic. It is

simply fiction, when the *Sirat 'Antar* tells us that it exists in two versions, one for the Hǫǫǫǫ and the other for the 'Irāk. The invention of a Hǫǫǫǫ recension is intended to make it believed that Aṣma' collected the information in the Hǫǫǫǫ from 'Antar and his companions, which was utilised in the romance. The Hǫǫǫǫ as the home of the romance is a pure invention. On the other hand 'Irāk may really have made a considerable contribution to the composition of the *Sirat 'Antar*. For the date of origin of the *Sirat 'Antar* we have the following clues: 1. In a religious dialogue between a monk and a Muslim (*Das Religionsgespräch von Jerusalem um 800 A.D. aus dem Arabischen überliefert von K. Vollers, Ztschr. f. Kirchengeschichte*, xxix, 49) the monk mentions the exploits of 'Antar. 2. About the middle of the xiith century the Jew Samaw'al b. Yahyā al-Maghribī, a convert to Islām, describes his career and mentions that in his youth he was fond of long tales like that of 'Antar (*M.G.W.F.*, 1898, alii, 127, 418). 3. The evidence contained in the book itself. The appearance of Bohemund, Djufrān (Godfrey of Bouillon), perhaps also of the king of the beggars, Tāsur, brings us to the period after the first Crusade, that is at the earliest in the first half of the xiith century. The composition of histories of 'Antar must therefore have already been begun in the viiith century — on the evidence of the religious dialogue above mentioned. According to Samaw'al b. Yahyā a book of 'Antar of considerable size was actually in existence in the middle of the xiith century and if Bohemund and Djufrān already appeared in it, it must have been completed at the beginning of the xiith century. At the same time the meddala may have continued to add a great deal to it and in particular continued its Islāmisation. The midrash of Abraham which is quite an inorganic addition and the legends of Muḥammad and 'Alī could belong to any period. An original 'Antar can be reconstructed with philological probability. In vol. xxxi, the dying 'Antar reviews his heroic career in his swan-song. He proudly recalls his victories in Arabia, 'Irāk, Persia and Syria. But he mentions neither Byzantium nor Spain, nor Fez, Tunis, Barka, nor Egypt, nor Hind-Sind, the Sūdān nor Ethiopia. This original 'Antar may have arisen in the 'Irāk (under Persian influence or perhaps in emulation of Persian epic poetry). The swan-song makes no mention of children, and knows of only one love of 'Antar's. This original 'Antar therefore should be called 'Antar and 'Abī. Following a genealogical stimulus, the later epic made royal ancestors be found in the Sūdān and royal descendants in Arabia, Byzantium, Rome and the land of the Franks. The Crusades next found an echo and a reaction in the 'Antar. The Crusaders came from the land of the Franks via Byzantium to Syria. 'Antar goes in a kind of reversed crusade from Syria via Byzantium to the land of the Franks and brings about the victory, if not yet of Islām, at least of Arab ideals and culture over European Christianity. The whole geographical area and historical range of the novel is filled with the exploits of 'Antar.

The romance of 'Antar seems to be first mentioned in Europe in 1777 in the *Bibliothèque Universelle des Romans* (J. A., 1834, xiii, 256); it was first introduced to European scholarship in 1819 by Hammer-Purgstall and to comparative

literature in 1851 by Dunlop-Liebrecht (*Geschichte der Prosadichtungen*, xiii.—xvi.). The study of the problem of scholarship raised by the *Sirat 'Antar* was begun by Goldziher (mainly in his Hungarian works). The *Sirat 'Antar* was for long a favourite subject of study in France. In the *Journal Asiatique* the work was often discussed and partly translated. Lamartine went into raptures of admiration and enthusiasm for 'Antar (*Voyages en Orient: Vie des grands hommes* I. *Premières Méditations Poétiques*, Première Préface). Taine places 'Antar beside the greatest epic heroes — Siegfried, Roland, the Cid, Rustam, Odysseus and Achilles (*Philosophie de l'Art*, II, 297). These tributes are not unmerited. The *Sirat 'Antar* unfolds before us the ever changing, glowing panorama of a particularly attractive period with an extravagant power of imagination, a skill in narration which never palls throughout the 32 volumes, and a poetical style of inexhaustible richness.

Bibliography: A very full collection of references to the manuscripts, editions, translations of and treatises on the *Sirat 'Antar* is given in V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes*, etc., iii.; *Loumāne et les fabliaux*. Barham 'Antar et les Romans de chevalerie, Lüttich-Leipzig 1898, p. 113—126. Cf. also: I. Goldziher, *Der arabische Held 'Antar in der geographischen Nomenclatur* (Globus, 1893, lxiv., No. 4, p. 65—67); do., *Ein orientalisches Ritterroman*, Preter Lloyd, Mai 18, 1918; B. Heller, *Der arabische 'Antarroman*, *Ungarische Rundschau*, v. 83—107; do., *Arab 'Antarroman*, Budapest 1918; do., *Der arabische 'Antarroman, ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, Hanover 1925.

(BRENNARD HELLER)

SĪR-DARYĀ, a large river in Central Asia, flowing like its sister stream, the Amū-Daryā [q. v.], into the Sea of Aral [q. v.]. European geographers now regard its source as the Nārīn which flows through the territory of Džail-Su (formerly Semirčēye) and the north-eastern part of Farghāna [q. v.]; the native population has always (in the middle ages and at the present day) considered the Kārā-Daryā in the southern part of Farghāna as the upper course of the Sīr-Daryā. After the junction of the two rivers which form it, the Kārā-Kuldja and the Tar, the Kārā-Daryā flows past the town (now a mere village) of Ūgend, whence it is sometimes called 'river of Ūgend'. The district between the Kārā-Daryā and the Nārīn is called in Persian Miyān-Rūdān, in Turkish İki-Şu-Arası. The length of the Sīr-Daryā from the confluence of the Kārā-Daryā and the Nārīn is over 1,750 miles. In Farghāna it runs southwest at first and then for the most part northwest. Numerous tributaries flow to the Sīr-Daryā, both from east and west (in Farghāna north and south) from the neighbouring mountains of which only three now reach the main stream (the Čirčik, Keles and Arfs). The Arab geographers mention further tributaries in Farghāna, which now for the most part enter the great Shah-rūd Khān canal which runs south of the Sīr-Daryā; this canal was only led from the Kārā-Daryā like the Vangi-Arfs from the Nārīn in the sixth century. Whether any canals of any size were led in the middle ages out of the Sīr-Daryā itself to water, for example, the so-called 'Hungry Steppes'

between Cīnā and Dīnk cannot be ascertained. Mukaddas's mention (only in the Constantinople manuscript, *B.G.A.*, iii, 22 m) of an arm or canal (*khāṣṣ*) said to be 140 farsakhs long, between Khodjand and Ustūghana, is not confirmed by any other sources. The tributaries of the Sīr-Daryā have always been of incomparably greater importance than the main stream. Nor, unlike the Amū-Daryā, has the Sīr-Daryā — at least in the historical period — had any oasis of importance in its delta.

In Western Europe the Sīr-Daryā is still frequently called by its old Greek name of Jaxartes; a Pahlavi form *Jakḥārt* is assumed and explained by J. Marquart (*Die Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften*, Leipzig 1898, p. 6) as *yakḥāra arta* "true, genuine pearl". Against this explanation is the fact that in the numerous personal and geographical names compounded with *arta*, this component is always found at the beginning of the word. Yet the word *yakḥāra* "pearl" seems actually to be contained in the name; the Chinese (*Cin-tu-ho*) and Old Turkish (*Yin-ti-ūgus*) names of the river have the same meaning. The Chinese transcription of the native name is given as *Yao-ia* (E. Bretschneider, *Med. Researches from Eastern As. Sources*, London 1888, i, 75), *Yao-ia* (F. Hirth, *Nachrichten zur Inschrift des Tadjuk*, p. 81, in W. Radloff, *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei*, second Series, St. Petersburg 1899) or *Yo-ia* (E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Toukhie Turcs occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903). In the Muslim period the initial "y" seems to have disappeared in the land itself; the Arabic (*Kānūn Mas'ūdī* of Birūnī, in A. Sprenger, *Post- und Reiserouten*, etc., Leipzig 1864, p. 32) and Persian (*Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, MS. of the Asiatic Museum, i, 24^b) manuscripts have *Khāḥart*: this form and not as Marquart assumes (*Die Chronologie*, etc., p. 5), *Yakḥārt* was probably in the Khordādhbih, *B.G.A.*, vi, text, 178. The name *Sīr* mentioned by Pliny, 6, 16, 18 (cf. A. Forbiger, *Handbuch der alten Geographie*, Hamburg 1877, ii, p. 77) is connected with the word *sr* although this latter, a Turkish name, cannot be found before the xvth century. Ibn Khordādhbih (*B.G.A.*, vi, 178, 1) mentions the name *Kankar* which also appears in Chinese transcription (*K'ank'it*) and was used probably on the central course of the river only; cf. *Daryā-i Gang* from Firdawsī in *G. J. P.*, ii, 445. The Arabs introduced the name *Saiḥān* for the Sīr-Daryā like *Djāiḥān* for the Amū-Daryā (cf. the names *Djāiḥān* and *Saiḥān* in the south-eastern frontiers of Asia Minor). In the *Nuḥāt al-Kulūb* of Ḥamd Allāh Kāzwinī (ed. Le Strange, 217, 16, transl. and note *ibid.*, ii, 210) appears the *Gul Zaryān* which seems to occur nowhere else. Blochet explains this word (in Le Strange, *l.c.*) as the Mongol *gul zerikūn* = "cold river", probably wrongly, as the order of words should be reversed. The river is usually called in Arabic and Persian sources after towns and districts on its banks, most frequently "river of Khodjand" (Khodjand is now the only town situated immediately on the bank of the Sīr-Daryā). This name also was adopted by the Mongols (E. Bretschneider, *Med. Researches*, loc. cit., in Chinese transcriptions *Hoshan-mu-līn*, for Mongol *mūrān*, "river"). Other names: river of Banāket, or Fanāket (in Yāqūt, *Ma'ādī*, i, 740: Banākit) after the town

on the right bank near the mouth of the Angren said to have been destroyed by Čingiz Khān (this destruction is not recorded by contemporaries); river of Shāhrukhīya after the town built by Timūr in 794 (1392) on the site of the destroyed Banāket (*Zafar-Nāma*, Calcutta ed. 1888, ii, 636); river of Akḥākat (*ibid.*, i, 441) or Akḥīkāt (*q.v.*); river of Čač or Shāh, after the great oasis of Čorčik. The last town on the Sīr-Daryā, Arabic al-Karyat al-Haditha, Persian Dīb-i Naw (Gardizi in Barthold, *Öljet o poleubie v Srednyuyu Aziyu*, p. 83), Turkish Yangikent, later sometimes Shahr-kent in historical works (*Tārīkh-i Djāhān Guṣṣā*, i, 69 below) and on coins, was one farsakh from the bank of the river and two days' journey from its mouth (now the ruins of Djanakent). The ruins were explored in 1867 by P. Lerch and the coins found there are of the viith (xvth) century. The river is said to have altered its course about this time and no longer entered the Sea of Aral but according to some was lost in the desert, or to others joined the Amū-Daryā; on these stories cf. above i, p. 341 sq., 419; on the other hand Abu 'l-Ḥāzī in the xith (xvth) century calls the Sea of Aral the "Sea of Sīr" (Sīr Feñiz) and knows nothing of the river ever having not reached the sea.

In the ivth (xth) century the Sīr-Daryā is mentioned as a navigable river along with the Amū-Daryā (*B.G.A.*, iii, 323, 1); in "times of peace or of truce", food supplies were brought to Karyat al-Haditha by water (*ibid.*, ii, 393, 1). Navigation is now interrupted by the rapids of Begowat which begin at the village of Kōsh-Tegermen, fifteen miles below Khodjand; these rapids seem to be nowhere mentioned in Muslim sources; Djuwainī's story (*Tārīkh-i Djāhān Guṣṣā*, i, 71 sq.) of the siege of Khodjand by the Mongols in 1220, and the adventurous flight of the commander Timūr Malik presupposes an uninterrupted passage by water from Khodjand to the towns on the lower course of the Sīr-Daryā (cf. e.g. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, i, 225 sq.). After the foundation of Russian rule on the lower course of the Sīr-Daryā (since 1847) an attempt was made to introduce steam navigation on the river; the steamers of the Aral fleet went up the Sīr-Daryā also and had their most important anchorage at the town of Kazalinsk founded by the Russians. After this service ceased in 1882, no further such attempts have been made, although several times proposed; traffic on the Sīr-Daryā is maintained solely by boats of native construction (*kayik*).

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AL-SĪRDJĀN, a town in Persia, in the province of Kirmān, near the Fārs frontier; it used to be called al-Kāsrānī, "the two castles",

and was the capital of Kirmān. The streets are broad, the gardens well irrigated, the climate healthy and temperate. The palace and mosque were built by the Būyid 'Aḡud al-Dawla. The canals which water it were dug by the Ṣaffārids 'Amr and Ṭāhir b. Laith. Wood being scarce, all the houses are covered with brick vaulting. It had eight gates, two markets, the old and the new, with the mosque between the two. The minaret was surmounted by a lampholder of carved wood built by 'Aḡud al-Dawla who had also built a palace near the Bāb Ḥakīm gate. Corn was grown, cotton and dates, cotton manufactured and *kursi* desks as at Kumm, but not so fine.

It was the capital of Kirmān in the time of the 'Abbāsids down to the period of the Būyids, when the Būyid governor moved his residence to Bardasir (the modern Kirmān). Owned by the Muṣaffarids at the beginning of the eighth (xivth) century, it did not recognise the authority of Ṭimūr and was unsuccessfully besieged by 'Umar Shaikh in 796 (1394); but, under pressure of famine, it surrendered at the end of two years. Since then it has been in ruins, and the site is still marked by the debris discovered in 1900 at Kul'a-i Sang by Sir Percy Sykes (*Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, London 1902, p. 431), at 5 miles east of Sa'id Abād, the modern capital.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 263 (cf. 106 and 265) = Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 333; *B.G.A.* (Iṣṭakhrī *Sāirajān*), p. 167; Ibn Ḥawqāl (*Sirajān*), p. 223; Mukaddasī, p. 464; Sam'ani, *Ansāb*, i^o 322 r^o; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Geographie*, i. 336; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nashat al-Kulūb*, p. 141; transl. Le Strange, p. 119; Sāmi-bey, *Kāmus al-'Alām*, iv. 2751; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 300—302, 311, 320. (CL. HUART)

SIRHĀN, Wādī, the name of a valley in North Arabia, which runs from the south end of the Hawrān southwards for a length of 160 miles with a breadth of two to twelve miles. Its north end is marked by the fort of al-Azrak and its southern extremity by the wells of Maikā'. The whole valley is very rich in water and suitable for settlement. At al-Azrak, there is even a large permanent pond, the only one in the whole of North Arabia. If the life and property of the inhabitants are secured, the ten large and small villages in this wādī, which are still inhabited, may be further increased. But under present conditions the inhabitants suffer a great deal from the nomads, for Wādī Sirhān is their natural road to Syria. The trading caravans, which used to go from Gerrha and Babylon to Syria, used the road through this valley, the history of which as a caravan route can be traced back still further; for the Assyrian kings had tried to control this important trade route and even found themselves occasionally forced to use armed force. The army of King Assarhaddon undertook a campaign against the Bāra and Khazī who lived in Wādī Sirhān, the Bāra and Hāzā of the Bible (*Gen.* xxii. 21 sq.; *Job* xxii. 2; *Jer.* xxv. 23) whose oases are still recalled by the place-names Bīṭ and Ḥoḡowya. In the Nabataean period Wādī Sirhān formed the eastern frontier between the Nabataeans and the nomads and was called "Syrmaion pedion". In the Muslim period the Wādī Sirhān was the much contested frontier between

the tribes of al-Khazī and Kalb and was called Baṭn al-Sirr and was also used as the natural route of communication between al-Hira or al-Kūfa and Syria. The pilgrim-caravans followed it and came to Medina via Taimā'. The Sirhān Wādī now belongs to the tribe of Rawala of the 'Anaze and forms the boundary between their lands and those of the Ahl al-Shemāl (Banū Ṣakhr and Ḥwātāt b. Dīd). By section i. of the treaty of Hadda of November 1925, almost four fifths of the Wādī Sirhān fell to the Sulṭān of Naǧd, while the northeast corner fell to Transjordan.

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SIRWĀH, the name of two ruined towns in South Arabia.

1. A large ruined site in the land of the Beni Dī'abr (Khawlān), a day's journey west of Mārib in the Wādī Wākifa. The castle of this town, which E. Glaser considered the oldest foundation of the Sabaeans, is mentioned in the Sabaean inscription Bibl. Nat., No. 2, along with the two ancient castles of Salhān and Ghundān. The town of Sirwāh (*ḡagarān Sirwāh*) is mentioned in the inscriptions Glaser, 904, 15, 1571, 4; there is also a reference to it in the late Sabaean inscription on the bursting of the dam of Mārib (Glaser, 618, 20) so that it must still have been of some importance in the fifth century A.D. although it could no longer have rivalled Mārib. The most important building among the ruins is the great temple of Almakah built by the priest-king Yada'il Dhārīh, which like that of Mārib is elliptical in shape. In the centre of the temple stands a stone prism seventy feet long, 35 inches high and eighteen inches thick, the two larger surfaces of which are covered with the famous Sabaean inscription, Glaser No. 1,000, over 1,000 words in length. J. Halévy, when he visited the ruined site, still found numerous monolithic pillars, some upright and others overthrown bearing long inscriptions. The main group of columns like that at Mārib is now called 'Arḡ Bīlīh (throne of Bīlīs). Opposite the temple ruins on a mound is the old citadel of Sirwāh, part of which still existed in al-Ḥamḍānī's time. A large number of legends have grown up around it. It is said that the djinn built it for Dhū Bata'; others say it was built by command of Solomon by the demons

for Bilqis, the queen of Saba. According to the learned South Arabian, Naghwan al-Himyari, 'Amr Dhū Sirwāh al-Malik b. al-Hārith b. Malik b. Zaid b. Sadad b. Himyar al-Ayghar, one of the eight princes, built it. But this is probably mere speculation by South Arabian genealogists. The Arab philologists connected the name Sirwāh with *ṣarḥ*, "high, commanding building", and interpreted it as "castle, palace". E. Osiander and following him H. v. Kremer correctly connected it with the Ethiopic *ṣarḥ* "citadel". At Sirwāh there were gold-washings, which were still being worked when Halévy visited them. Al-Ḥamdānī already knew that gold was found there.

2. A ruined site in the land of the Beni Arḥab, N.E. of Na'it in the vicinity of Maḍr, West of the Djebel Etwa. The best preserved of the ruins is the old temple which is now known as the *masjid* (mosque) and stands in the centre of the extensive area of ruins, 27 paces long and 19 broad. The walls of the temple run from south-east to north-east and are 4 feet thick. The outer wall has however fallen in and only survives to a height of 3 to 5 feet. The stones are very carefully hewn. This enclosing wall is pierced by two gateways, one 3 feet broad in the west front and another, 5 feet broad, in the east front. On the south side a niche 5 feet wide has been left in the outside of the wall, corresponding to a somewhat smaller niche in the inner side of the north wall. A sanctuary enclosed by pillars fills the inner chamber in the upper half and there is a basin also surrounded by pillars in front of it. The pillars of the sanctuary are all destroyed except two. These are 8 feet high, 16 sided, thickening at the top; the capital consists of six parts and is rounded off, and fluted in keeping with the shaft of the column. The pillars around the cistern are octagonal and are also destroyed. To the west of the temple the old town probably lay. Mounds of ruins 20 to 24 feet high now lie there out of which rise great walls forming chambers. The ruins, called *Ḥaḡḡar Arḥab* by the Beduins, form the gathering place of the whole tribe of Arḥab for the discussion and decision of important matters. This custom may be a memory of ancient times in which the temple probably played an important part in the worship and legislation of the people.

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SIRWĀL (A), trousers. Trousers are not originally an Arab garment but were introduced, probably from Persia. From quite early times, other people have copied the thing and the name from the Persians and it almost looks as if Persia were the original home of trousers (cf. Noldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, p. 136²). The Greek *σαρβάρα* or *σαρβάρα*, Latin *sarabala* (perhaps also Aramaic *sarballin*, Daniel iii. 21; cf. Syriac *ṣarballin*) and the Arabic *sirwāl* are all derived from old Persian *sarawāra*, the modern Persian *shirwār* (which is explained as from *shir* = leg, with a suffix *-wār*); to *sirwāl* in turn may be traced the corresponding word among the Hungarians, Poles, Russians, Tartars, Siberians and Kalmyks in the east and the Spanish and Portuguese in the west. The form *sirwāl* has probably been influenced by the word *sirḡāl* meaning garment in general (explained as a development of the root *ṣ-b-l* and an originally Semitic word). This occurs in the early Arabic poetry and in the *Kur'ān*, but not *sirwāl*.

The Arab grammarians retained a memory of the Persian origin of the word. As frequently with loanwords, *sirwāl* shows several formations in Arabic, sing.: *sirwāl(a)*, *sirwāl(a)*, *sirwāl*, dialectic *shirwāl*, modern also *ṣarwāl* and the question is continually discussed whether it is triptote or diptote; plur.: *sarwāl* and double pl. *sarwāllāt* both also with *shin* and dialectic *sarwālin*, diptote only but usually (like the word from trousers in many other languages) used with singular meaning and varying in sex between masc. and fem.; dimin. *sirwāyil*, plur. *sirwāyilāt*; (*ta*)*sarwala* has been formed as a denominative verb.

When the word entered Arabic and the thing was adopted by Muslims is not exactly known,

but the Mualims must have become acquainted with trousers in the very early days of Islām, at the latest during the conquest of Persia. Tradition usually traces them to the Prophet Muḥammad and even credits pre-Islamic prophets with wearing them. A ḥadīth says: "the first to wear trousers was the prophet Abraham, wherefore he will be the first to be clothed on the day of judgment". Another ḥadīth tells us that Moses was wearing trousers of wool on the day on which God spoke with him. It is related in one tradition of the Prophet Muḥammad that he bought trousers from the linen-drappers, but it is uncertain whether he actually wore them; on one occasion he replied to the question whether he wore them: "Yes, when travelling and at home, by day and night; I was commanded to cover myself and I know no covering really better than these". According to another ḥadīth, he recommends the wearing of trousers in the words: "be different from the people of the book, who do wear neither trousers nor *izār*". But other stories deny positively that he wore them and it is also disputed whether the Caliph 'Othmān wore them. The intermediate view is that it is permitted to wear trousers, *ubīḥā, lā ba'ṣa biki*.

In contrast to the men, to whom all that has been said so far applies, the wearing of trousers is recommended for women in all ḥadīths. It is said for example: "Put on trousers, for they are the garments that cover one best and protect your women with them when they go out" or "God has mercy upon the women who wear trousers" (*yarḥamū 'ilāhu 'l-mutaṣawwila min al-nisā'*) — or "a woman came past riding one day and fell off. The Prophet turned aside in order not to see her and was only put at his ease when he was told that she was *mutasawwila*". Other ḥadīths fix the length of the trousers: — to the ankles, not longer; as a concession, as a protection against insects, they may be a little longer but must not trail on the ground.

The *muḥrim* is forbidden to wear trousers (along with certain other garments). But even the *qalāt* in trousers was *mukribā* according to the strictest view and must be repeated; trousers are also considered unfitting for the *mu'adhḥin*.

In actual practice, little attention has been paid to all such restrictions, and numerous passages in historical and geographical literature, in books of travel and in *adab*-books show that trousers have probably been worn in most Muslim lands since the early centuries of the Hijra. It is quite exceptional to find the statement that in one region a so-called *fūṭa* was worn in place of trousers (e.g. in India). The word *fūṭa* is of Indian origin and means a simple cloth without a seam, which was fastened in front and behind to the girdle. A *fūṭa* of this kind — these from the Yemen were particularly noted — was also worn in regions, where trousers were usually worn by women in negligé, in the house instead of trousers (cf. Ibn al-Hādīd, *Kitāb al-Muḥḥal*, Cairo 1320, i. 118).

Oriental trousers differ very much in different countries. They are of all possible widths, from wide pantaloons, which are only drawn together at the bottom over the feet, to close-fitting shapes which look more like drawers and indeed are so-called by European travellers. They are also of very different lengths, from knee-breeches, especially for soldiers, to long trousers coming to below the

feet. Colours were dependent not only on fashion (sometimes only natural colours were considered the thing, as a rule artificial colours never) but also on political considerations; the 'Abbāsīd colour for example was black and that of the Fatimids white. As regards material, a famous Persian speciality was silken trousers; in Egypt and the adjoining lands the white Egyptian linen was popular, trousers of red leather are mentioned as the dress of the women in the market of lights of Cairo, and so on.

In contrast to the European fashion, trousers in the east are worn next the bare body under the other garments (cf. Djāhiz, *Kitāb al-Taḥf*, ed. Zeki Paşa, p. 154 below: the shirt and the trousers are *ihfār*, the other garments *dihār* are worn above) and are supported not by braces but by a special girdle tied round the body, called the *tikka* (modern *dikka*). Although the *tikka* were covered by the other garments and could not be seen they were the objects of a particular extravagance, being adorned with inscriptions, usually of an erotic nature; the most famous and valuable were the *tikka* made in Armenia of Persian silk. The prohibition against wearing them issued by the *fukhā* had scarcely any effect. A thousand pairs of trousers of brocade with a thousand trouser bands of silk from Armenia (*alf sarwīl dāibāḥiya bi-alf tikka ḥarīr armēnī*) were, according to Makrīzī, ii. 4, part of the estate of an Egyptian noble (cf. Ibn Khallikān, *Bulāḥ* 1299, i. 110); a thousand jewelled *tikka*'s were given to the daughter of Khumārāwāh b. Aḥmad b. Ṭullūn on her wedding; the *tikka* was also used as a love-token sent by a lady to her admirer.

For practical reasons, trousers formed part of a soldier's dress. Tabari records that even the Umayyad soldiers already wore *sarwīl* made of a coarse cloth called *miṣḥ*. Under the latter, they wore very short drawers called *tubbān*, which were made of hair. When Islām adopted the old Oriental custom of granting robes of honour, trousers were included among them; indeed they were sometimes regarded as the most valuable part of the gift, which, it has been suggested, is connected with the phallic worship of paganism. Originally the garments of honour given were not new, but had been worn by the donor; he ought to have worn them at least once.

As a kind of uniform and a garment of honour, the trousers play a very special part in the Muslim *futuwwa* organisations. In the ceremonial reception of a new member into the guild, an essential feature of the initiation ceremony (*shadda*, q. v.) is the putting on of the *sarwīl al-futuwwa*, often briefly called *futuwwa*. Here also stress is laid on the point that the *kāfir* must have either previously worn them himself or at least gone into far enough to touch them with his knees. The *sarwīl* had occasionally a similar importance for the *fityān*, like the *khirqa* [q. v.] for the Sūfīs. An oath was taken on the *sarwīl* (this oath is however invalid according to Ibn Taimiya); they could also be put on a coat of arms with a cup *ku'*.

The putting on of the *sarwīl al-futuwwa* acquired a certain political significance under the "reformer of the *futuwwa*", the 'Abbāsīd Caliph Nāsir, about whose grants of *sarwīl*, a few stories have been preserved by the historians. He sent embassies to the petty dynasts of Syria, Persia and India with the demand that they and

their nobles should put on the *sarwāl al-futuwwa* for the Caliph. This was done with solemn ceremonial and they thereby placed themselves under the protection of the Caliph as overlord of the *ḡayn*. The same Nāṣir seems to have limited the right of investiture to a very few and his successors also claimed the right for themselves. But others did it, for example the Sulṭān Ashraf of Egypt two centuries after Nāṣir.

When the *futuwwa*-gilds declined, other organisations with political or other aims adopted their external ceremonies, and laid special stress on the putting on of trousers. The gild of thieves in Baghdad for example under Muktafi and a secret Sunni association in Damascus called the *Nahawiya* with anti-Shi'a tendencies, mentioned by Ibn Djubair. But with the disappearance of the *futuwwa*, the original significance of the *sarwāl* as a badge of chivalry was no longer understood and they became combined with the *ḡirḡa* of the Sūfīs into the *ḡirḡat al-futuwwa*.

For the expression *sarwāl al-futuwwa* we also find *libās al-futuwwa* with the same meaning "trousers" and in Egyptian Arabic, *libās* (cf. Lane) acquired the general meaning of "drawers" (i.e. for men; for those of women there is a new foreign word *ḡintiyān*). This circumstance is a criterion for ascertaining the Egyptian texts in the 1001 Nights; they replace the word *sarwāl* of the non-Egyptian texts without exception by *libās*.

In many expressions *sirwāl* is used metaphorically. Thus, *mutarwāl* is a pigeon with feathered legs, a horse with white legs or a tree with branches down on the trunk. *ḡirwāl al-ḡirḡ* "rogue's trousers" and *sarwāl al-ḡirḡ* (cuckoo-trousers) (*linaria elatini*) are the names of plants (on the other hand *sarwāl* or *serwāl* or *serwāl* for "cypress" is formed of the well known word *sarw* with the article behind it and has nothing to do with *sirwāl*).

Bibliography: In addition to the general dictionaries see Dory, *Suppl.*, s. v. *Sirwāl* and *Futuwwa*; do, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements*, s. v. *Sirwāl*, *Libās*, *Tikka*, *Pūja*, cf. also M'far, Tubhān, Djaḡshir, Hizza, Hūkw, Sūḡān, ḡintiyān, Nuḡba, Kaḡsa and Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, s. v. *srbl*; Ibn Sida, *Muḡḡat*, iv. 85. — Philology and hadiths: see the special work on the subject *Muntahab al-Aḡwāl fi-mā yata'allaf bi-l-Sarwāl* by Dja'far b. Idris al-Katīfī, 10 pp. lith., Fās n. d. Bukhārī has a *Bāḡ al-Sarwāl*, ed. Krehl, iv. 77; also Suyūṭī wrote a book *fi-l-Sarwāl*, cf. the Berlin MS. Ahlwardt, N^o 5455. — References from historians and geographers have been collected by Dory, *Vit.* and by Mez, *Renaissance*, p. 96, 314, 368 sq., 399, 436. — On inscriptions on Tikak = al-Wahabī, *K. al-Zarf wa-l-Zarfā*, Cairo 1324, p. 102, 141. — On the different colours of clothing, see al-Ṭabarī, *K. Maḡārim al-Aḡlāḡ*, Cairo 1311, p. 35. — Military: N. Fries, *Das Heerwesen der Araber zur Zeit der Omajjaden*, Kieler Diss., 1921, p. 30. — *Futuwwa*: Thurnio, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der islamischen Vereinswesen*, p. 49 sq., 162, 187, 198 sq., 204 sq.; Blochet, *Histoire d'Égypte de Makrisi*, p. 297. — Modern Egypt: Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 1860, p. 28–29. — Mecca: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekkanische Sprichwörter*, N^o 57 (also *Verspr. Geschieden*, v. 84 sq.). — Morocco: L. Brunot,

Noms des vêtements masculins à Rabat, in *Mélanges René Basset*, Paris 1923, I, p. 87 sq.; esp. p. 95, 107. — Pictures: A. Rosenberg, *Geschichte des Kostüms*, table 296, 374 sq.; Tilke, *Orientalische Kostüme in Schnitt und Farbe*, Berlin 1923; cf. also Tilke, *Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des orientalischen Kostüms*, Berlin 1923, p. 25, 32.

(WALTHER BJÖRKMAN)

SIS, a town in Asia Minor, also called *Sisiya*, (middle-)Latin *Sisia* and *Sis*; in French sources of the Middle Ages, besides the usual forms, also *Aasis* and *Oussis* are found. The most obvious explanation of these last mentioned forms would be from *al* (the Arabic article) + *Sis*: however, attention must be paid to the fact that in the Arabic sources the name seems to occur more often without the article, than accompanied by it (for another explanation of these forms see *Rev. des Hist. des Croisades*, Doc. Arm., ii, p. xii). *Sis* is the ancient capital of the Cilician-Armenian kingdom, 65 K.M. N. E. from Adana, 290 M. above sea-level. The town lies against the slope of an isolated mountain, which belongs to the Taurus-system. The river of *Sis* rises in the Antitaurus; after uniting with another water-course, the Deli Şu, it falls in the Djālūn (Pyramus).

Before the Middle-Ages, nothing is known about this town; the attempted identifications with antique localities (some have thought of Flavia, others of Pindenissus) are very doubtful.

In the Byzantine period we hear of the Arabs besieging in vain *ῥῆ Σισίου κάστρου* in Cilicia, in the 6th year of the reign of the emperor Tiberius III Apsimaros = 703 (Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, i. 372). In the Latin text of Anastasius' *Chronographia Tripartita* (Theophanes, ed. de Boor, ii. 237) we find *expugnansque Sini castrum*, where the form of the name of the locality is to be noted, as also the fact, that *expugnans* is a wrong interpretation for the word *πελοπελάς* in the text of Theophanes.

In 'Abbāsid time, however, *Sis* belonged to the Muslim empire: it was reckoned among the *ḡazā'ir al-Shāmiya*. It was rebuilt during the reign of al-Mutawakkil, under the direction of 'Alī b. Yahyā al-Armani, but afterwards laid waste by the Byzantines (al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 170). There is also a tradition, going back to al-Wāḡidī, of an emigration of the inhabitants of *Sis* to the *al-Fā al-Rūm* in the years 194 or 193 (809/810 or 808/809), which event may stand in relation to the loss of the locality by the Greeks, in the interval between the times of Apsimaros and al-Mutawakkil (al-Balādhuri, *loc. cit.*; cf. Yāḡūt, *Muḡjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 217, where the years erroneously are given as 94 or 93). A further mention of *Sis* is found during the wars of the Hamdānid Saif al-Dawla [q.v.] with the Byzantines. That prince, after rebuilding 'Ain Zarba (Anazarba), sent his *ḡadib* with an army, which ravaged the Byzantine territory; the Greeks, in revenge, then took the stronghold of *Sis* (*ḡin Sisiya*), in the year 351 (962) (Ibn al-Aṡṡir, ed. Thurnberg, viii. 404). It appears, then, that in the early Middle Ages *Sis* has been a fortified frontier-town.

The continuous history of *Sis* begins about the end of the xiith century of the Christian era, when it had become the royal residence of the Armenian kings of Cilicia (the Rubenids and the

Lusignans). But already before that time it is sometimes mentioned in the annals of the Cilician kingdom. It is numbered among the places, conquered by the Armenian princes Thoros and Stephanos (Chronicle of Kirakos of Ganjak under 562 Armenian aera = 1113/1114); moreover, Sis belonged to the towns which suffered from the earthquake of the year 1114 (Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa under 563 Armenian aera). Nerses of Lambron, writing in the year 1177, complains, that in the royal residence (*ishkhananik*) Sis, there is no bishop, nor are there suitable churches. It is surprising to find the town mentioned as a royal residence as early as 1177, for it must have been Leo II (1187—1219), who transferred the royal residence for strategical and political reasons, from Anazarba to Sis. Since the time of this ruler, the kingdom of Cilicia is called, by Muslim authors, not only *bilad al-Arman*, but also *bilad Sis*; an Armenian geographer (xiiith century) cited by Saint Martin, ii. 436 *sq.* also identifies the names Cilicia and Sis.

Leo II caused many new buildings to be erected in the town. The chronicle of the *connétable* Sēmbat speaks already under the year 624 Armenian aera = 1175/1176 of the new-built (*neraghin*) town of Sis, in connection with the murder of the Rubenid prince Meh (dated in Hethum's Chronicle, erroneously under 613 Armenian aera = 1164; Sis is also here mentioned as the place, where that event did happen). If the, tolerably late, chronicle of Sēmbat is right in using the term "new-built" here, then there must already have been extensive renovations before the time of Leo II.

This prince, who in 1198 was crowned king (he himself before, and the older Rubenids only wore the title of baron) transferred, as stated above, the royal residence to Sis. His coronation must have been at Tarsus (a later chronicler, Jehan Dardel, erroneously pretends that it was at Sis), but the town of Sis is already called the "metropolis" of Leo in a poem on the taking of Jerusalem by Salih al-Din, written by the Katholikos Grigor IV († 1189; in this poem the form, *Sisuan* is to be noted: *Rev. des Hist. des Croisades; Doc. Arm.*, I. 301). In the year 1212 it was at Sis, that the coronation of Leo's grand-nephew and co-regent Ruben took place. This ceremony was witnessed by Wilbrand of Oldenburg, who in his *Peregrinatio* gives a short account of the town: "It was the capital of the king (*capitanea civitas domini regis*), with many and rich inhabitants. It had no walls, *unde potius tam villam quam civitatem nuncuparim*. But there was an Armenian archbishop, and also a Greek patriarch. Then the traveller mentions the stronghold of Sis (*castrum... super et situm in monte valde munitum*); the town rises amphitheatrically against the mountain. The locality belonged in ancient time to Darius, who was vanquished by Alexander". This singular item may be due to a reminiscence of Alexander's victory at the (Cilician) Issus. It is remarkable, that in the elegy of Grigor, cited above, after the mention of Sis, it is said that on that spot also the warriors of Alexander defeated Darius. In the neighbourhood of the town, Wilbrand continues, the king had caused a pleasure garden of indescribable beauty to be laid out.

It is surprising that the town had no wall; it seems that the stronghold was deemed sufficient

for defence. Still in 1375, when Sis was taken by the Egyptians, there was no town-wall: the royal palace, together with some other buildings, were enclosed with a wall; it seems to be this complex which is called by Jehan Dardel the "bourg", and it must be distinguished from the castle on the mountain.

The kings of Cilicia, moreover, had a summer-residence in the Taurus, to the North of Sis, Barjberd, which was also their treasure-house. Likewise, in modern times, the inhabitants of Sis, during the summer, leave the unhealthy town, to take summer habitations (*yaylak*) in the mountains.

The political history of Sis is, of course, intimately connected with the general history of the Cilician-Armenian kingdom. The chief feature of that history consists in the struggle for existence which that kingdom had to carry on against the sultanate of Egypt; it is therefore not surprising, that the chief events connected with the town are attacks of the Mamluk armies and ravages wrought by them. Other foes were of minor consequence: an attack of a Turkoman chief in the year of the accession of Leo II (1187) was repelled by that prince, but the Turkomans during the reign of the following kings remained a menace to the Cilician kingdom. These nomads, whenever a strong government was lacking, availed themselves of the opportunity to seize on pasture-grounds: we shall find them in the actual possession of the territory of Sis in the first half of the sixth century. On the occasion of the Egyptian attack of 1266, the town of Sis, with its cathedral, was burnt down and the royal tombs were desecrated. Other Egyptian incursions in the district of Sis occurred in the years 1275, 1276, 1298 and 1303: in the last named year, the city itself was plundered by the enemy. In 1321 the environs again suffered from hostile attack; this time it was the Mongol governor of Rüm, Timurtaş, who, on the instigation, as it seems, of the Egyptian sultan al-Malik al-Nasir, carried his ravages in the district of Sis. A similar incursion was made by the then officiating governor of Aleppo, by order of the same sultan in the year 1340; the incursions from the north of Aleppo were repeated in 1359 and 1369; both times the town was taken. In the meantime, Sis had suffered from the great epidemic, which in Europe, during that same time, is known under the name of the "Black Death" (1348).

However, the end of the Cilician kingdom was imminent. The last king, Leo VI (de Lusignan) was reduced to his capital, Sis; after the retreat of the Egyptians, the Turkomans fell upon the land; then, in the years 1374 and 1375 came the catastrophe. The sieges of Sis during these years by the Egyptians, and the final taking of the town, wherein the enemy was assisted by the treason of some nobles and of the Katholikos, are described in detail in the chronicle of Jehan Dardel, who had been chaplain to king Leo VI since 1377. Leo being then a prisoner at Cairo.

From the ecclesiastical history of Sis during the time of the Cilician kingdom, the following facts may be mentioned. Soon after the time when Nerses of Lambron complained about the desolate state of spiritual affairs in the town, we find Sis (since 1198, when the first archbishop is mentioned) an archbishopric, but depending on the see of Anazarba. There had also been some

church-councils at Sis, e.g. in 1238, under the reign of Hethum I, when the dogma of the processum Spiritus Sancti according to the Greek doctrine was accepted; in 1307 (March 19) another council aimed at unification with Rome, but obedience to its resolutions could only be compelled within the limits of the town of Sis itself. Two years later (1309) another church-council, not summoned by the king, was convened at Sis, to take stand against the innovations of 1307, but the king Awahin dispersed it, and had the ecclesiastics who had been convened, imprisoned. Another synod was held at Sis in 1342, under the reign of Constantine IV.

The patriarchs of the Cilician-Armenian kingdom fixed their seat at Sis in 1292. On June 29 of that year, Rūm Kāl'a, which was the former seat of this patriarchate, had been taken by the Egyptians; so the new patriarch (Grigor VII) came to reside at Sis. There his successors have remained even after the fall of the kingdom, and after the renovation of the patriarchal see of Edjmiacin (1441), which caused, of course, a schism in the Armenian church. The chief relic preserved by the patriarchs of Sis was the right hand of St. Grigor, the apostle of the Armenians, which, in 1292, was redeemed, with other relics, from the infidels by king Hethum II.

After the Egyptian conquest, the patriarchs, at first, had no fixed residence; they came only to the town of Sis to perform some ecclesiastical duties, e.g. the benediction of the sacred oil (*myron*). Under the rule of the Rubenids and Lusignans the habitation of the patriarchs had been within the circumvallation of the royal dwellings. After the period of their wandering about, the patriarchs obtained from the Egyptian government permission to reside in the town. First, this residence of the patriarch was an ordinary house; in 1734, long after the Turkish conquest, a monastery was founded by the patriarch Lucas, which seems to have been the seat of the patriarchate until 1810, when the patriarch Kirakos founded another monastery, in which the patriarchate was established when V. Langlois visited Sis (1853). A little before 1874, the patriarch was expelled from Sis, and migrated to 'Ain Tab.

But if the ecclesiastical history of the town continued until modern times, politically Sis soon became insignificant. Immediately after the Egyptian conquest, Sis remained the capital of a new province, which included Ayās, Tarsus, Adana, Manjisa and Ramadaniya, the whole being dependent on Aleppo. In 893 (1488) Sis was taken by the Osmanlis, during the war between Bāyazid II and Egypt. Afterwards, the town belonged to the realm of the Turkoman dynasty of the Ramaḍānoghlu, whose members, however, since the time of the fifth prince, Khalil b. Maḥmūd, were vassals to the Porte. Hādjdj Khalifa, in the *Djihadnammā* contrasts the once flourishing condition of the district of Sis with its uncultivated state in his time.

Under Ottoman administration, Sis belonged to the *vilāyet* Adana, and the *sandjak* of Kozan. When Langlois visited the locality, he found it to be a village, consisting of \pm 200 houses, inhabited by Turks and Armenians. There was a *masjid* and a *hasar*; the Turkoman beg of the Kozanoghlu tribe was virtually the ruler, for the *pasha* of Adana had no authority whatever in Sis. The village moreover paid no tribute to the

Porte. There were several remains of old times, but the palace of the Cilician-Armenian kings was ruined; on its site was the monastery, where the patriarch resided. The church, belonging to that monastery, is consecrated to St. Grigor Illuminator and the Descensus Filii Unigeniti; the treasure of that church contains among other relics the right hand of St. Grigor, and two Gospels from the sixth century of the Christian aera. The archives and the library of the patriarchate, Langlois found to be in a deplorable state. Other churches of Sis, partly restored after the Middle-Ages, are consecrated to St. Sophia (the *Çaḡl kilsesi*), to St. Sergius, to St. Peter and Paul (wholly ruined), to the Holy Virgin, to St. James (ruined). The mountain-stronghold of Sis, built by Leo II (Sis *Kal'a-si*) was in a tolerable state of preservation.

According to a statement of 1894 (Sāmi Bey Frasheri) Sis then had \pm 3,500 inhabitants, 2 *masjids*, 3 churches and 3 *medreses*. Its territory, though fertile, is insufficiently cultivated, but in its neighbourhood there are many gardens.

Bibliography: Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x. 597, 621 sq., 916; xix. 67—96; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 141; J. Saint Martin, *Mémoires hist. et géogr. sur l'Arménie*, 1818/1819, i. 198, 200, 390, 392, 397, 400 etc., 446; ii. 436 sq.; V. Langlois, *Voyage dans la Cilicie*, 1861, p. 380 etc.; C. Favre and B. Mandrot, *Voyage en Cilicie* [*Bulletin de la Soc. de Géographie*, 1878, série 6, tome 15], p. 116 etc.; *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Documents arméniens*, index; J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. des osmanischen Reiches*, ii. 292, 298, 601; iii. 70 sq.; *Peregrinationes Moldi anni quatuor*, rec. J. C. M. Laurent, Leipzig 1864, p. 177, 179; Hamdallāh Mustawfī, *Nuḥat al-Kulūb*, ed. Le Strange, i. 100, 264; ii. 100, 258; Hādjdj Khalifa, *Djihadnammā*, p. 602; Sāmi Bey Frasheri, *Kümüle al-A'lām*, iv. 2759. (V. F. BÜCHNER)

SISAM. [See SAMOS].

SISAR, a town in Persian Kurdistan, bounded by Hamadān, Dinawar and Adharbājdjān. The Arab geographers place Sisar on the Dinawar-Marāgha road 20—22 *farsakhs* (3 stages) north of Dinawar (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 119—121; Kūḍāma, p. 212; Muḥaddasī, p. 382). According to Balādhuri (ed. de Goeje, p. 310), Sisar occupied a depression (*ḥiṣṣa*) surrounded by 30 mounds, whence its Persian name "30 summits". For greater accuracy it was called Sisar of Sadkhāniya (*waḥāna Sisar tud'a Sisar Sadkhāniya*) which Balādhuri correctly explains as Sisar of the hundred springs: *Khāni* in Persian (*kāni* in Kurd) does mean spring; on the other hand the geographers (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 175; Ibn Rusta, p. 89) locate the sources of the Safid-rūd (Kizil-uzān) "at the gate" or "in the ravine" (*ḥiṣṣa*) of Sisar (Mas'ūdi, *Kit. al-Tanbih*, p. 62: in the *nāhiya* of S.). Finally Mas'ūdi (*ibid.*, p. 53), speaking of the Diyāla (q.v.), makes it come from the mountains of Armenia (?) and talks of Sisar as belonging to Adharbājdjān.

These quotations show that the site of Sisar lay near the watershed between the Kizil-Uzān (southern arm) and the Gikwarid (Diyāla) i.e. near the col of Kargāhād, where numerous streams rise flowing in different directions. According to the ingenious hypothesis of G. Hoffmann, the name of the town of Senna [q.v.] might be a contraction of the old form Sadkhāniya. There is

not sufficient evidence however to show that the site of the modern Senna is identical with that of the town of Sisar.

It should be noted that while Ibn Khurdādhbih and Qudāma give the distance between Dinawar and Sisar as 20—22 farsakhs, the whole distance between Dinawar and Marāgha is put sometimes at 50—52 farsakh (same writers), sometimes at 60 farsakh (Mukaddasi, p. 384; Isṭakhri, p. 194). If an error of 8—10 farsakhs could be made on the stretch Dinawar-Sisar, the latter place might be put further north on the line of the watershed between the northern waters of the Sirwān (Diyāla) and those of the Kizil-Uzun; at the present day names like Chihil-Chashma ("mountain of the 40 springs"), Hazār-kāniān ("village of the 1,000 springs") are common in this district.

In the district of Sisar (Balādhuri, p. 130), there were at first only the grazing-grounds of the Caliph Maḥdī (151—169). This intermediate zone (*ḥadd*) between three great provinces soon became a refuge for outlaws (*al-qāṣṣ* *wa* *l-dhū* *ʿar*) and the Caliph ordered his superintendents to build a town. The estates formed a separate district (*ḥīra*) which was extended by the addition of the following cantons (*rustāḥ*): 1. Māipahradj, detached from Dinawar; 2. Djuḥma (?), detached from the *ḥīra* of Barra in Āḥarḥādījān and 3. Khāndījar (?). Ḥārūn al-Rashīd stationed a garrison of 1,000 men at Sisar. Sisar was later the scene of battles between a certain Murra al-Rudānī al-Idīlī and the Khirīdīs under 'Uthmān al-Awdī (Yāqūt, iii. 216). The Caliph al-Ma'mūn made Humām b. Hānī al-'Abdī governor of Sisar.

In the viiith (xiiith) century Yāqūt is able to add very little to the information given by Balādhuri. In the viiith (xivth) century Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī no longer mentions Sisar. On the other hand he talks of the "mountain of Sina" forming the boundary of Āḥarḥādījān and the "pass of Sina" in the mountains of Kurdistan in which was the source of the Taghatū. The *Djihan-namā*, while marking correctly on the map the exact site and correct name of Taghatū, gives in the text the wrong reading *ḥ-f-t-w* which Norberg in his translation (Lund 1818, i. 547) renders by Neftū. Quatremère introduced the reading Naghatū found in an edition of Mirḥond. G. Hoffmann admits the identity of this river with the Khorkhōra (a right bank tributary of the Djaghātū). But there is no proof of the actual existence of the name Naghatū and the text of Mustawfī may simply indicate that in his day the frontier between Āḥarḥādījān and Sina was marked by the watershed between the Taghatū (cf. *sāwaj* *bulāḡ*) and Bāna. This last district had long been a dependency of Senna. In this way since the viiith (xivth) century the name Sina (Sinnā, Sina) has become substituted for that of Sisar and its later history will be found in the article *ḤAMNA*. As to the date of origin of this town, it may be noted that in 1630 Khuraw Pasha destroyed Hasanbād which was the capital of the princes of Ardīlān (von Hammer, *G.O.R.* 2, 1840, iii. 87). Only forty years later, Tavernier (*Les Six Voyages*, Paris 1692, i. 197) speaks of his visits to Sulaimān Khān at *Sacine* (= Senna).

The name Simar on Haussknecht's map (G. Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 256) has nothing to do with Sisar; it refers to the pass to the south of Sina, the real Kurd name of which is Sīm-sā

("wearing out shoes"). There is at the present time a village of Sisar near Sardasht and another south of Bāna, on the slopes of Sirkēw (cf. *sāwaj* *bulāḡ*). This only shows how frequent such names are, and explains why the Arabs were obliged to define their Sisar by the addition of *Ṣadkhāniya*.

It may be added that the popular etymology of Sisar ("30 mounds", according to Balādhuri) does not preclude the identification of Sisar (or of one of the Sisar) with *Šisirtu* (*Šisiri*) of the Assyrian period. *Šisirtu* was a fortress of the land of Kharkhar (cf. the name of the river Khorkhōra to the north of Senna) on the frontier of the land of Ellipi. There are considerable differences in the identification of all these names proposed by Hillerbeck, *Das Sandeschah Salimania*, Leipzig 1898, p. 127, 133, 158; Justi, *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, ii., p. 404; de Morgan, *Mission scientifique*, iv., p. 404; Streck, *Z. A.*, xiv. 138—139; xv. 349, 379; Thureau-Dangin, *La huitième campagne de Sargon*, Paris 1912, map; Forrer, *Die Provinzialverteilung d. assyrischen Reiche*, Leipzig 1921, p. 90, 92—93, 95, 102, 120. The identification of *Šisirtu* with the capital of the Mannaens Isirtu (Streck, xiv., p. 139) is still only a hypothesis. In principle there is no difficulty in the equation *Šisirtu*-Sisar, which would give Assyriologists a fixed point in a region, where all is still uncertain.

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(V. MINORSKY)

SISTĀN, or **SIDJISTĀN** (from *Sakastāna*, land of the Sakae, cf. its classical name *Sakastāne*), also called *Nimrūs* ["midday" = south-land, scil. south of Khurāsān; this name occurs often in the *Šāh-nāma*, and also on the coins of the Kayānī chiefs (*malik*) of Sistān, cf. *J.R.A.S.*, 1904, p. 669], border district between Persia and Afghānistān. Its area covers ± 7,006 square miles, 3,847 of them being Persian, and 4,159 Afghān territory; its population being about 205,000 persons (for 1906, cf. MacMahon in *Geogr. Journal*, xxviii. 213).

The land is divided between the two countries by the (theoretical) boundary-line fixed by the Sistān Mission of 1872; this line runs "from the Band-i Sistān on the Helmand to the Kūh-i Malik Siyāh, a hill to the West of the Gawd-i Zarīh" (Yate, *Khurāsān and Sistān*, p. 92). F. J. Goldsmid, the head of the Mission, distinguished "Sistān Proper" from "Outer Sistān"; the first may be said to correspond to the part, belonging to Persia. It is the more important portion of Sistān; its boundaries are according to Goldsmid: on the North and the West the Nairār and the Hāmūn; on the East, the old course of the Helmand, and on the South a line which includes the portion watered by the main Sistān canal. So, this country is enclosed by water on three sides, and can, to a certain extent, be called a

peninsula. The depressions (Hāmūn) in which the rivers discharge themselves, may be described as follows: there are two lagoons, formed respectively by the Harūd Rūd and the Farāh Rūd (both coming from the North) and by the Hēlmand and the Khāshrūd (coming resp. from the South and the East). To the South of these lakes extends the Naizār, a tract of country, covered with reeds. At the time when the Hēlmand is in flood, the two lagoons become united, and the inundation covers the Naizār also. A tract, stretching from North to South, reckoned from the Western of the two lagoons (the Hāmūn-i Farāh), then also becomes overflowed, so that a great lake is formed, which, lastly, discharges its redundant water through a course, called the Shēla, in a third depression, the Gāwd-i Zarīh (the vocalisation of Zarīh is not altogether sure, modern travellers write also Zīrah. In the *Shāhnāma* (ed. Vullers-Landauer, 1373, 1971) the name rhymes with girīh). Cf. the articles *AFGHANISTĀN* (i. 156), *HĀMŪN* and *HĒLMAND*, and specially Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, p. 364 etc.

The water-supply, and, in consequence, the cultivation of Sistān, depends chiefly on the Hēlmand. Therefore, the distribution of its water has been, from ancient times, regulated by a system of dams and canals. The river has altered its course several times: this, and the fact that during Timūr's invasion of Sistān many dams and canals must have been ruined (e.g. the Band-i Rūstām is reported to have been destroyed by him), explain the reason why there are found in Sistān so many ruined localities, towns and villages, now deserted because cultivation has ceased in their environs. The principal hydraulic work of later times is the great Band-i Sistān (or Band-i Amīr), a permanent construction, near Kūhāk. The amīr of Kā'in, under whose authority the governor of Persian Sistān stood, had ordered this dam to be built, some six or seven years before the time when Goldāmīd was in Sistān. A description of this dam is given in *Eastern Persia*, i. 281 sq.

The soil of Sistān is alluvial, and consists chiefly of sand, mixed with clay. A part of the surface shows moving sands; the land is flat, but there are some low hills. The highest elevation of the soil is the Kūh-i Khwādja (± 400 feet high), which lies in the tract between the Hāmūn-i Farāh and the Gāwd-i Zarīh; at times of complete inundation the hill lies in the midst of the water. It bears this name because the sanctuary of a local saint is situated at the Northern end of its flat surface. At the vernal equinox (*Nawrūz*) the population celebrates a primitive feast, to the honour, as it seems, of this Khwādja; Sykes thinks, that in its ceremonies there are preserved pre-Muhammadan rites. The Kūh-i Khwādja is fortified.

Sistān is fertilised by the deposit, left by the inundations of the Hēlmand and the canal system. The most important production of the land is grain, but also beans, cotton, oil-seeds and melons grow there. There is plenty of fodder for the cattle; in Sistān cows are bred in large numbers as well as horses, though the country is notorious for horse-diseases and poisonous flies. Of wild-growing plants, the tamarisk is to be mentioned: the banks of one of the canals, the Mādar-i Āb, are covered with it in abundance; Sykes says of it: "one of the few jungles I have seen in Persia".

There are not many trees in Sistān, except in

the Miyan Kāngī, the district between the Rūd-i Pārīyān (the main bed through which the Hēlmand discharges itself into the Hāmūn) and the Siksar (a tributary stream to the Rūd-i Pārīyān; cf. the map of Sistān belonging to MacMahon's articles in the *Geogr. Journ.*, xxviii.).

In former times, the date-tree, which is no longer found, must have existed in Sistān (Yate, *Khurasan and Sistān*, p. 94). On the kinds of serpents (for the frequency of vipers in Sistān cf. also al-Halāqūnī, ed. de Goeje, p. 400, 402) and birds to be met with in this country, cf. *Eastern Persia*, i. 273. Of the climate not much good has been said by European travellers. The winter is cold, but not unhealthy; then, between March and August, there blows a North-Western wind, the so-called *šād-i qad u šīr rū* (the wind of 120 days), which clears the air from the miasma, produced by the stagnating marsh-water, which in the other seasons cause fevers. Summer is hot and disagreeable. Rawlinson says, in respect to the climate, that "Sistān is, in its present aspect, a wretchedly unhealthy country, only habitable for a few months in the year".

The population of Sistān consists chiefly of Tadjiks; there are also Balōchis and Kā'ins, who have established themselves in the land; moreover, Nādir Shāh forced some nomad tribes of Shīrāz to emigrate to Sistān. Genealogical data about some Sistāni families (e.g. the historical important Kayānis who claimed descent from the mythical Iranian kings), and some Balōchi-clans resident in Sistān are to be found in *Eastern Persia*, i. 415 sqq.

The Šaiyāds (fishermen and fowlers), who live to the South of the Hāmūn and the Naizār, and speak a language of their own, are considered, by some authors, to belong to the aborigines of the country. They earn their livelihood on the lake, by fishing during the summer, and by catching wild fowl during the winter. To each group of families of them (*maḥalla*), a piece of water is assigned (Yate, *Khurasan and Sistān*, p. 80). In their neighbourhood, but distinct from them, there is a class of men called *Gāwādār's* (cow-keepers). Sykes (*Ten Thousand Miles*, p. 367) supposes, that one Sistāni tribe, that of the Sarbandis is connected with the Brahōi, and therefore may be aboriginal; but, first, the question of the racial constitution of the Brahōi is a very complicated one (cf. the article *BALŪCHISTĀN*, i. 655 sqq.), and, secondly, there is reason to assume, that the Sarbandis (as also the Shahrakīs) are immigrants from Western Iran.

The language of Sistān is described as "a species of debased Persian, somewhat similar to that spoken in Khurāsān" (*Eastern Persia*, i. 259). On local names, important from a linguistic point of view cf. Bellew, *From the Indus to the Tigris*, p. 269 sq. The people lives in a state of economic misery, all land and water belonging to the Government; as regards trade, it is chiefly carried on by caravans, which are sent by the different villages in common to Quetta and Bender 'Abbās, and bring back in return articles lacking in Sistān, such as tea, indigo, sugar, etc. (cf. Yate, *Khurasan and Sistān*, p. 83 etc.).

The original chief town of Persian Sistān, Sīhkūha, is cast into the shadow by Naḡrat-Šād (built ± 1870). Sīhkūha is said to have contained (1872) $\pm 1,300$ mud huts, of which Curzon,

in the year 1892, found no more than half the number inhabited. The town of Nūsrābād (which, in Goldsmid's time, was called Nūsrābād) was founded by the amir of Kā'in, there being wanted a residence for the Persian Government in Sistān. The "new city" (*Shahr-i naw*) of the town, has gradually shut in the village of Husainābād, near which the building of Nūsrābād begun. The "new town" is populated by Kā'ins and people from Khurāsān, but Husainābād retains its original Sistāni inhabitants. The fort of Nūsrābād is called *Shahr-i qadīm* ("the old city"). The town has a garrison, and it is the administrative centre of Sistān. Another name for Nūsrābād is *Shahr-i Sistān*; this name is used almost exclusively among the inhabitants themselves. The remaining villages of Sistān are of little importance. The land, in the second half of the sixteenth century, was governed by a deputy of the amir of Kā'in, the title of the governor of (Persian) Sistān being *Hajmat al-Mulk*. He was responsible to the Government for a payment of 12,000 *tūmān*'s, while the revenue of Sistān (mostly in kind) was fixed at 24,000 *kharrār*'s (a 649 lb.) of grain a year, in addition to which, 2,600 *tūmān*'s extra (in cash) were levied (Yate, *Khurāsān and Sistān*, p. 83).

Afghān Sistān, with its capital Khākānsūr on the Khahbrūd, comprises the land on the right bank of the Helmand, and East to the more eastern of the two lagoons (Hāmūn-i Pūza) up to the district of Djuwain in the North. Also, the tract extending from the left bank of the Helmand to the boundary of Balūchistān belongs to Afghān Sistān. In this part of the country lies the Gawd-i Zarih. Cultivation is found in the district of Khākānsūr and along the banks of the Helmand. The population here is similar to that of Persian Sistān, except that there are here, of course, also Afghāns among them. In the tracts east of the Helmand, Mac Mahon found a great number of ruins, and also traces of ancient canal-systems and river-beds. He supposes, that "this must have been, not only a former delta of the Helmand, but the delta, used by the Helmand in, as far as existing ruins testify, one of the most prosperous times of Sistān history" (*Geogr. Journ.*, xxviii. 219). For all detail there should be made reference to MacMahon's paper itself.

Historical outline. In antiquity, the land at the lower course of the Helmand (Etymandros) was known as Drangiana. This word has been compared with the old Iranian word for "lake, sea", Avestan *zrayah*, old-Persian *z(ə)rayah*, but, as this etymology is not entirely certain, we can only say that the land has its name from the people of the Drangai [other forms: Zarangai, Zarangaiol, Sarangai; old-Persian: *Z(ə)ra(n)ka-*]. The name Sakastane (or Paraitakene), belongs, according to Isidorus of Charax, to the borderland of the middle-course of the Helmand. It must be remembered, that the word Sakastane is not found before the time of Isidorus, and it is generally accepted, that this name has risen from the fact, that the Sakai conquered this land about 128 B. C. F. W. Thomas (*J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 181 *seq.*) has attempted to show, that the Sakai were found in these tracts already in Achaemenian times, and that the late occurrence of the name Sakastane is to be explained by their becoming politically powerful not before the

Parthian epoch (cf. the articles DRANGAI, SAKAI, SAKASTANE, CARCOE in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz.* 2; Bartholomae, *Altir. Wörterbuch*, s.v. *zra(n)ka-*).

The Avesta knows the Helmand under the form *Haitumant-* ("abounding in dams"), and also the lake *Kasaea-*, which is formed by that river. This lake, therefore, must be the Hāmūn-system. In it, according to Zoroastrian tradition, the seed of Zoroaster lies concealed, from which in the future three sons will be born, the third of whom will be the saviour (pahl. *sahešān*). It is also in the environs of this lake, that tradition places the origin of the mythical Kawa-dynasty (Kayānids). All this leads us to suppose, that Sistān, in antiquity, was a principal seat of the Zoroastrian religion. On its relation to Iranian epic tradition see below.

For the ancient history of the Sakai cf. the article AFGHĀNISTĀN (i. 168 *seq.*) and the articles SAKAI and SAKASTANE in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realenz.* 2.

The name Sakastane (Sakastān, Sidjistān), in ancient and mediaeval times, denoted a greater area than the modern districts of Persian and Afghān Sistān (cf. al-Tabari, i. 2705: *fa-kūmat Sidjistān d'jam min Khurāsān*); this is already evident from the fact, that the name originally signifies the Saka-state on the middle-Helmand. It is not possible, to define exactly, which tracts at various times have been assigned to Sistān. It seems that a great area to the East, up to Kandahār, was sometimes included under the name also.

Ardashir, the founder of the Sāsānian dynasty, among his other conquests, subjugated Sakastān. The tie to the Persian empire cannot have been very firm, for the Sakai appear in the history of the Sāsānian epoch rather as allies as than subjects. We find, accordingly, a second conquest of the land by Bahrām II, who appointed his son, the future king Bahrām III, governor of the district with the royal title of *Sagānshāh*. But during the reign of Shāpūr II, the Sakai once more appear as allies, not as subjects. In the Sāsānian period Christianity, in its Nestorian form, had made progress in Sakastān, which even became the see of a bishop (Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz.* 2, i.A. 1812). At the time of the Muslim conquest of Persia, Yazdijird III, after having been driven away from Kirmān, turned to Sakastān, whose king at first accorded to him his protection, but the Sāsānian having tactlessly alluded to arrears of taxation, the king withdrew his protection from him (al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 315). It is, however, not possible to find out whether the "king" of Sakastān at that time was a Sāsānian governor with the title *Sagā*, or a national ruler, who only owed tribute to the Persian government.

The Arab conquest of Sistān began in 23 (643/644), when 'Asim b. 'Amr and 'Abdallāh b. 'Umayr made an incursion into the land and besieged Zaranj (the old capital of Sistān, now ruined); finally the Sistānis concluded a treaty with the Arabs, to the effect that they should pay the *kharrāj*. In the year 30 (650/651), the commander of a Muslim army, encamped in Kirmān, sent al-Rabi' b. Ziyād al-Hārithi to Sistān. Al-Rabi' traversed the desert between Kirmān and Sistān (the *Daigh-i Laf*) and reached Zalik, which is described as a fortress, 5 *farasāh* distant from the frontiers of Sistān; the stronghold was taken,

and on his further march, al-Rabīf reduced two other localities, Karkūya and قيسون (or, acc. to Yāqūt: قيسون — vocalisation uncertain), without bloodshed. After returning to Zālīk, he set out anew to take Zaranj. Before reaching that town, some minor localities, Zūht, Nāshrūdī and Sharwādī were taken with much fighting; the *marzbān* Aparwēz, who commanded at Zaranj, defended the town vigorously, but at last was obliged to surrender it to the Muslims. However, the city of Zaranj proved to be no secure possession to the conquerors, as two years after its capture, the inhabitants drove out the Arab garrison. The town was retaken by the new governor of Sistān, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Samura. This general also reduced Bust (which during the Middle Ages was included in Sistān), and Zābul. At the end of the khalifate of 'Uthmān, when 'Abd al-Rahmān was replaced by another governor, a new rebellion of Zaranj took place. During the khalifate of 'Alī, the condition of Sistān remained turbulent; thereupon, in the reign of Mu'āwiya, the governor of Baṣra sent 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Samura to Sistān once more. This energetic general subdued the land, and penetrated as far as Kābul; he subjugated also Zābulistān, which had revolted. This achievement caused the khalifa to appoint 'Abd al-Rahmān as his immediate lieutenant in Sistān; he remained there, till Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān nominated al-Rabīf b. Ziyād al-Hārithī in his stead. 'Abd al-Rahmān died at al-Baṣra in 50 (670). After leaving Sistān, the king of Kābul drove the Muslims out of his land, and the new governor of Sistān had to make head against the Irānian prince Rutbil (this is no proper name, but a title, like *kābulī*, and the like) who conquered Zābulistān and Rukhkhādī (then included in Sistān), and penetrated as far as Bust; there he was defeated by al-Rabīf. This latter being also deposed by Ziyād b. Sufyān, the following governor of Sistān made peace with Rutbil. But this prince remained a turbulent element till his death, which occurred while 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amīr was *waṭīl* of Sistān. Another Rutbil (son of the former?) held his own against the Muslims in Sistān and Zābulistān, from the time of the khalifate of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān till the reign of al-Manṣūr. Sometimes, however, the Irānian paid tribute, which payment he stopped altogether during the last years of the Umayyad rule. In the reign of al-Manṣūr the Muslim government adopted rigorous measures against him; but the princes of Sistān paid, as it seems, none the less, their tribute to the *waṭīl*s of al-Mahdī and al-Rashīd, though rather irregularly.

Under al-Ma'mūn the tribute (*ṭiṣṭa*) was doubled; during his khalifate the king of Kābul embraced Islam, and, also in al-Ma'mūn's reign, Kābul (and of course also Sistān) obtained connection with the governmental post-routes. (For the history of the conquest, and the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid governors of Sistān cf. al-Tabarī, i. 2705 ff.; al-Balādhurī, p. 392 etc.).

In the Middle Ages, Sistān in a wider sense included also the districts of Zābulistān, Dāwar and Rukhkhādī. Among its cities were Farāh [q.v.], Djuwain [q.v.], Bust [q.v.], and Ghazna [q.v.]. The boundary to the East cannot be precisely defined; to the North it bordered on Khurāsān, to the West on Kūhistan and the great desert of Kirmān, to the South on Makrān. But the name does not always

imply this greater area: al-Muḥaddas, e.g. says that some authorities include Bust and Ghazna under the name Kābulistān, not assigning them to Sistān. Amongst the localities of Sistān, al-Muḥaddas cites Zaranj, Kūwain, Zanbūk, Kārnīn, Karwādīkan, etc. The capital was Zaranj, near the Sanfrūd canal, an important city, containing not only buildings of the two first Saffārid princes, Ya'qūb and 'Amr, but also of the Sāsānians Ardashīr and Khusrāw I (al-Muḥaddas, p. 306). Zaranj was taken and destroyed by Timūr (785/1383), and has remained ruined ever since (cf. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 335, note 1).

The only time Sistān has played an important part in medieval history has been during the reign of the Saffārid dynasty, whose founder, Ya'qūb b. Laith was himself a Sistānī (born at Kārnīn). Sistān was, of course, the central land of this dynasty (cf. SAFFĀRID, 'AMR B. AL-LĀITH). After the downfall of the Saffārids, Sistān belonged successively to the empire of the Sāmānids and the Ghaznawids (coins of Sabuktigin and Mahmūd have been found in Sistān, cf. *J. R. A. S.*, 1904, p. 681). The land had, however, its own native rulers (*malik*) under the suzerainty of the greater dynasties. By the Sāmānid Naṣr b. Aḥmad the Saffārid (?) Aḥmad was appointed governor of his native country, Sistān (309 = 921/922). Aḥmad was succeeded by his son Khālaf, who was dispossessed from Sistān by Mahmūd the Ghaznawid, who conferred the land on his (Mahmūd's) brother Naṣr. Afterwards, during the Saljuq epoch, a descendant of Khālaf, named Tāhir, obtained the rulership of Sistān from the Saljuq government. It is this Tāhir, whom the *Tabaqāt-i Nāṣiri* seem to reckon as the first Kayānī *malik* of Sistān. For this text says: "These Malika claimed descent from the race of Kai Kā'ūs".

It is, however, doubtful, whether they are from the same stock as the Kayānī-family which ruled in Sistān during the epoch of the Saffārids, and later. The relation in which the Saffārid family stands to these medieval Sistānī-kings is also very obscure; it is very doubtful whether if the line from which Tāhir descends, really originates from al-Laith, the father of the great Ya'qūb. Tāhir died in 480 (1087). The following list of his successors, up to the time of the invasion of the hordes of Čingizkhān, is given after the *Tabaqāt-i Nāṣiri*. The chronology is very doubtful and rather improbable; for all detail reference should be made to the *Tabaqāt* themselves:

Tādī al-Dīn I Abū Ṭ-Faṭḥ 480/1087 — 559/1163.
Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad 559/1163 — ?
Tādī al-Dīn II al-Malik al-Sa'īd —
612/1215 (cf. the article *GHĀZNA*, ii. 171b).
Bahrām Shāh al-Malik al-Ghāsi 612/1215 —
618/1221.

After Bahrām's death, his sons Rukn al-Dīn and Nuṣrat al-Dīn contended for the kingdom. At last, the former was victorious, but both brothers perished in the massacres wrought by the Mongols. It appears, then, that the *Tārīkh-i Djuwain Guṣṣā* (i. 118), uses a less appropriate phraseology, when it seems to imply that the Mongol invasion did not afflict Sistān as much as other countries, but that the Mongol ravages reached only the frontiers of the land. Djuwain, which in the Middle Ages was included in Sistān, the author of the *Tārīkh-i*

Djahān Gushā explicitly states to have been taken by the Moogols (*loc. cit.*); the *Tabaṭṭaʾ-i Nāṣiri* (transl. by Raverty, p. 198) say that Sistān was ravaged by them in a barbarous manner. This is not to be wondered at, as the Sistāni ruler Bahrām Shāh was an ally of the Khwārizm Shāh.

After the departure of the Moogols from Sistān, its history becomes confused. Several persons strove for the supremacy; finally we find the land included in the estates of the Harawi ruler Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Kurt. But there have been, also in the later Middle Ages, native Sistāni princes (on their coins, cf. *J. R. A. S.*, 1904, p. 669. There exists a genealogy of them in manuscript, the *Shahjārat al-Mulūk*).

After suffering from an invasion of the Čaġhatāi (700 = 1300/1301), Sistān once more sustained fearful damages at the hand of Timūr. It was this conqueror who ruined Zaranj and took prisoner the *malik* Kutb al-Dīn Kayāni (785/1383); he destroyed also the canal system of the country. But up to the epoch of the Šafawis Sistān had its indigenous rulers, and also a turbulent nobility; the *malik* Muʾizz al-Dīn Husain, for instance, was murdered by the aristocracy (859/1455).

The Šafawid Shāh Ismāʿil conquered Sistān in the year 914 (1508/1509), and the princes of Sistān remained vassals to the Persian empire, till the Afghān invasion of Mir Mahmūd, about 1134 (1722). The Kayāni Muḥammad, by means of an disloyal treaty with the Afghān, secured for himself the possession of Sistān and part of Khurāsān, and in consequence thereof dethroned the reigning king, his kinsman Asad Allāh Kayāni. Nādir Kuli Khān, the general of Shāh Tahmāsp, put to death Muḥammad, but permitted the succession of the former king, Asad Allāh, to the throne of Sistān. This *malik* however died very soon, and was succeeded by his son Husain. This latter revolted against Nādir, whose forces besieged him and his brothers Faṭṭḥ ʿAlī and Luṭf ʿAlī for several years in the fortress of the Kūh-i Khwādjā. After their submission, they remained vassals to Nādir. This last, still being in the service of Shāh Tahmāsp, was by that monarch formally placed in the possession of Sistān, together with Khurāsān, Mazandārān and Kirmān (1143/1730). After the death of Nādir (since 1148/1736 Shāh of Persia), Sistān came under the suzerainty of Ahmad Shāh, the Durrāni ruler of Afghānistān. This prince married the daughter of the then reigning Sistāni *malik* Sulaimān Kayāni, son and successor of Husain. Sulaimān's successor, Bahrām, vexed by the Sarbandi and Shahraki-tribes, which Nādir had imported from Persia in Sistān as colonists, called to his aid a Balōči chieftain; these doings caused Timūr Shāh, the successor of Ahmad Shāh, to depose the Kayāni, and to appoint a Shahraki chieftain as ruler in Sistān. This man being killed (about 1191/1777), Bahrām was restored to the government, but under the control of the Afghān governor of Lāsh. Troubles went on in Sistān without ceasing. The last Kayāni who had some power was Bahrām's successor Djalāl al-Dīn. This latter was expelled by the Sarbandis (1838). The authority in Sistān since then was exercised by the local chiefs, and the land became a bone of contention between Herāt and Kandahār, until the Sarbandi chief ʿAlī Khān allied himself with the Persian government, hoisted the Persian flag on the fortress of Sikkūha and sent his sons as hostages to Mashhad (1853).

ʿAlī became in fact a Persian governor in Sistān; his rule was, however, disliked by the Sistānis who revolted. ʿAlī Khān perished on the occasion of a night attack on Sikkūha, and was succeeded by his nephew Tādj Muḥammad, who ruled at first independently of Persia (1858). Soon, however, he made overtures to the Persian government, and 1862 he declared himself a Persian subject, being in fear of the progress of the amir of Afghānistān, Dost Muḥammad Khān, in the direction of Herāt. Dost Muḥammad Khān died 1863 and was succeeded by Shēr ʿAlī Khān. With the beginning of this reign coincides a disagreement between Tādj Muḥammad the Sistāni and the officers, the Persian government had sent from Tahrān; this caused the Sistāni nobles to incline towards Afghānistān. But as Shēr ʿAlī had enough to do with his own affairs, and could not lend effectual aid to the people of Sistān, Tādj Muḥammad again applied to Persia. Finally, the Shāh's army took possession of Sistān (1865); two years later, Tādj Muḥammad was deposed, and Sistān was placed under the authority of a Persian governor with the title of *Hāshmat al-Mulūk*. These complications between Persia and Afghānistān finally led to the British arbitration and the delimitation of the border by the Sistān-Commission of 1872, which was conducted by Sir Frederick J. Goldsmid. The Persian forces, in consequence of this regulation, evacuated the part of Sistān they had occupied on the right bank of the Helmand, and the borders were fixed, leaving what was called "Sistān Proper" to Persia. As the whole border was not marked off entirely, the border-work had to be completed by the MacMahon Mission (1903—1905).

Sistān in Iranian epic tradition. Sistān is the home of the greatest Iranian epic hero, Rostam, and of his family. Originally, Rostam does not belong to the cycle of Avestan heroic legend; but he is connected with it by an artificially composed genealogy, which makes his father Zāl descend, through the medium of Avestan heroes, from Djamshid (Yima). This theory, put forth by Noldeke, *Das Iranische Nationalepos*², p. 9 sqq. is more probable, than the opposite view, which identifies Rostam with the Avestan hero Kərəsāspa (cf. G. Hüsing, *Krasaspa im Schlangenteufel*, p. 2, and the authorities cited there), and would accordingly include him in the Avestan cycle. The legend of Rostam might belong to the old inhabitants of Drangiana, not to the Sakae (if, indeed, that people did not appear in the Hāmān-country before 128 n. c.); cf. Noldeke, *loc. cit.* The *Shāhnāma* (ed. Vullers-Landauer, p. 1637, 2495) represents Rostam as reigning in Zabulistān, Bust, Ghazna and Kābulistān, i. e. in Sistān in its widest sense. He refuses obedience to the Iranian king Gushtāsp, whom he regards as an upstart (*Shāhnāma*, p. 1637, 2495 etc.). But he is not, in Firdawsi's epic, represented as being an infidel, this idea only occurring in al-Dīnawari, and seemingly representing a rationalistic view of the old tradition, which only knows of a contest between Rostam and the special champion of Zoroastrian faith, Isfandiār.

Already in early times, we find names and facts of the Rostam legend localised in Sistān. The Arab conquerors found in the locality al-Karyātān the stable of the horse of Rostam (al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 394); in Karkūya, north of Zaranj,

in medieval times there was a fire temple, whose cupola's were said to have been built by Rustam (Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz.* 2, s. v. CARCOL). Such data are of more value for the history of epic tradition, than those of the same kind, noted by modern travellers, as these latter suppose a tradition among the people, in most cases not differing from the actual one extant in the *Shāhnāma*; indeed, these localizations are very likely to have been borrowed from the *Shāhnāma* itself. Among these are, e. g., the fact, that the Sistanis call the Kūh-i Khwādja by another name Kūh-i Rustam, and identify its fortress with the stronghold of the robber-knight Kuk-i Kūhād, which castle, according to a spurious episode of the *Shāhnāma*, was taken by Rustam (Yate, *Khorasan and Sistan*, p. 86; Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, p. 378 sq.). This would even suppose a tradition borrowed from an interpolated recension of the *Shāhnāma*. A ruined fortress Kal'a-i Sām exists between Dawlatābād and Sihkūha (Sykes, *op. cit.*, p. 380): Sām is the grandfather of Rustam, but belongs to the artificial genealogy of this latter, which the *Shāhnāma* traces. There was also a dam made by Garshāsp, and later on destroyed by the order of Shāhrukh, the son of Timūr (*Eastern Persia*, i. 286). Garshāsp (the Avestan Kərəšāspa) is also a forefather of Rustam, but, again, belonging to the artificial genealogy. Localizations of this kind, therefore, can tell us nothing of an earlier form of the legend than that which is known by literary tradition. The following case, however, seems to be an exception: the locality Hawd-i dār "is said to be the spot, where the dead body of Firāmūr, the son of Rustam, was impaled upon a stake by his enemy Bahrām (read: Bahman), the son of Isfandiār" (*Eastern Persia*, i. 256). Here is a difference with the tradition preserved in the *Shāhnāma*, for according to that text, Firāmūr was taken prisoner, hung upside down and killed with arrows (1753, 93 etc.), but later on, the king (Bahman) permitted his body to be buried (1755, 118).

Finally, regarding topographical matters in general, there may be noted, that the *Shāhnāma* seems to know the Gawd-i Zarīh: Kai Khusrāw crosses the *Ab-i Zarīh*, when pursuing Afrāsiyāh, but it appears, that Firdawsī, or rather his source, had no notion whatever of the real state of things, as Khusrāw, according to the text, has to sail on it for several months (1373, 191 etc.). For the rest, the *Shāhnāma* also knows the Helmand (under the form *Hirmand*: 1750, 36).

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SITT AL-MULK or SAIVIDAT AL-MULK, "Lady of the Empire", the Princess Royal, sister of al-Hākim bi-Amrīllāh, viii. Fātimid Caliph. Historians also refer to her as Sitt al-Mulk and Sitt al-Nasr. She was a very clever woman and an exceedingly capable ruler as was seen during the short period of her regency. Slanderous tongues have attacked her honour and even imputed to her the assassination of her brother the Caliph. According to the popular account, al-Hākim was in the habit, during his journeys throughout his kingdom, of receiving from his subjects written petitions which he afterwards considered at his leisure. The Egyptians were not slow to take advantage of this in order to send him secretly scurrilous verses and slanderous accusations. Thus, on one occasion in Miṣr, he received a paper containing a shameful denunciation of his unmarried sister Sitt al-Mulk and her alleged gallantries. On reading this the Caliph became enraged, laid siege to the city, and went to the extent of threatening his sister with death unless definite proof were forthcoming that she was *virgo intacta*. In this extremity Sitt al-Mulk is said to have conspired with one of the chiefs of the Kitama Berbers, Yūsuf Saif al-Dawla b. Dawwās, whom she visited one evening alone and disguised. She pointed out their common danger; her brother's insane conduct; his impiety and tyranny. Their only hope of safety lay in getting rid of him and placing his son on the throne. She is said to have promised him that if their scheme succeeded he would be made commander-in-chief of the Army with complete control over the young Caliph. He consented. Two men were hired to do the deed. One night (27th Shawwāl, 411 = Feb. 13, 1021) when al-Hākim retired on his grey ass with a servant lad to the Djabal Muḳattam in order to worship Saturn and hold intercourse with Satan, he was set upon by these hirelings and murdered. Thereafter his mutilated remains were secretly brought to Sitt al-Mulk and buried in her palace grounds. When the hue and cry arose, she then denounced Ibn Dawwās and the two hirelings as the guilty ones, and they were promptly put to death (de Sacy, *Exposé de la Religion des Druses*, i., p. ccccxliii., note).

This, at any rate, is the popular account of the crime, but the true story seems to be the one told by Makrīzī (*al-Aḥbāt*, i. 354) that in the month of Muḥarram, 415 A. H. a man was apprehended who confessed that he alone was guilty, and as a proof produced a portion of al-Hākim's head and a fragment of the mad Caliph's head-dress. He declared that he had killed him "out of zeal for God and Religion", and when asked in what manner he did it, he drew a poignard and stabbed himself to the heart, saying, "I killed him thus". Al-Hākim's son who succeeded him, al-Zāhir, was a youth of sixteen. His amnt, Sitt al-Mulk, accordingly became regent. During her four years' regency

she brought back stability and order to the state, filled the treasury and organised the army. Her rule was severe but salutary, and she won the respect of her subjects. Unscrupulous state officials were impartially punished and she was swift to quench any outbursts of sedition in Egypt or in the provinces. By intrigue she captured 'Abd al-Rahmān, the rebellious governor of Damascus, whom al-Hākim had appointed as his successor (*Wali 'l-'Ahd*). She had him imprisoned in Cairo. Then when she became ill and knew there was no hope of recovery she ordered him to be slain. Three days later she died (415 A.H.).

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SIWA, a group of oases in the north of the desert of Libya. From its situation at the intersection of the two great western roads of the Libyan desert, Siwa is the key to Egypt. To the south the line of oases Bahariya, Farāfra, Dakhla, Kharga, connects it with the ancient Thebes. To the north, a track now taken by automobiles puts it in rapid communication with the Mediterranean coast, at Marsā Matrūḥ, the *Parosithonium* of the ancients. It is the central stage in the desert route from Awdjila to Egypt via Jalo, Djaghbūb on the one side, Maghāra and Kerdāsa on the other. It is 200 miles from the sea, 260 from Awdjila, 80 from Djaghbūb, 270 from the Delta and 200 from Bahariya. Siwa marks the limit of Egypt on the west and the beginning of Barbary.

Siwa and the various oases grouped together under this name occupy the bottom of a depression running from west to east 60 feet above sea level, 35 miles in the length from Maghāra to Zaytūn, its bounds are not well defined except on the south where the Marmaric cliff marks the geological boundary. The sand invades it on the south, below it begins the Libyan Erg, the largest of the known *ergs*. The bottom of the basin is not uniformly level; *gārs* like islands rise out from among the palm groves. Two of them shelter the *ḡūr's* at present inhabited, Siwa and Aghurmi, which lie two miles apart.

Barely a quarter of the depression is cultivated. The remainder is desert or occupied by salt lakes. The two largest lie, one to the west of Siwa and the other to the east of Aghurmi. Magnesians or sulphurous water, perfectly limpid is abundantly supplied by numerous springs fed by a deep subterranean pool. The most important, *al-n-tawīl*, which seems to have been dug by the Romans still shows beautifully worked stones around it. The soil, strongly impregnated with salt, nourishes a prickly plant, *afsur*; the *alfa* grows in the sands.

The total number of inhabitants scattered among

the oases or collected in the *ḡūr* of Siwa and Aghurmi is estimated at about 4,000. This includes the people of Gars, *Umm al-ḡāḡār*, the "Mother of the Little Ones", the name of a wretched village which is regularly included in the Siwa group although it lies some 65 miles to the east. Siwa itself has over 3,000 including the many Sūdānese, who are mainly occupied in agriculture.

The town of Siwa, for the most part in ruins, is built on a long and narrow *ḡūra* lying along the line of the Marmaric. The walls of its houses, built along the cliff, make a rampart of red earth, which has a very picturesque effect, rising to a height of 200 feet at the east end and partly demolished on the northern front. The interior is a labyrinth of narrow tortuous dark streets often covered by a roof of palm tree trunks, which is used as a foundation for erections above them. Almost entirely abandoned by the present Kāṣirians who are building other more accessible dwellings at the foot of the cliff and near the gardens, the high town recalls the not very remote period when the prime consideration of building was defensibility.

Aghurmi, closely built on a rocky plateau, dominates the palms on all sides. The little village has retained its Berber name: *aghrem* or *ighrem* means a *ḡūr*, a town and the diminutive *ighrem* common among Moroccan Berbers, means a stronghold, a fortress, a country-house defended by towers at the corners, with walls pierced with loopholes. Aghurmi contains all that is left of a temple of Jupiter-Ammon, a few pieces of walls of huge stones incorporated in the miserable native houses.

The Kāṣirians of Siwa, who are settled and are gardeners, live in houses, as a rule roomy with flat roofs and made of the salt clay, rarely of stone. There are several types, from the cave made habitable to the modern country house and the oldest houses, several stories high. The ground floor is used as a stable, the first a granary and the second contains the living rooms. The feature of the architecture is the pyramidal appearance of all the buildings, broad at the base and narrower at the top.

The chief object of cultivation is the date-palm. There are over 160,000 of them. The dates are harvested in October and they are spread out in a kind of granary in the open air, called *ḡawwā*, of which each farmer has a share in proportion to the importance of his crop. The ground is tilled with the hoe. The Kāṣirians are not acquainted with the use of the spade; they use the ass which is of a fine breed and not the camel, which is rare in the country.

The date is the basis of their food supply together with bread made of barley-flower. They also eat rice, *cactus* on feast days, camel-meat, and exceptionally mutton. Tea which they call *ḡāḡā* is their favourite beverage and palm-wine of which they drink a great deal on days of festivals and cleaning of wells. Barley is subject to a kind of tabu. Every year in October they spend a week in the gardens; during the first few days, they live almost entirely on garlic but they do not eat it for the rest of the year.

Industry is of the most rudimentary nature. The men make baskets, mats, other woven articles of alfa and palm leaves with designs in colour. The negroes make a valued oil with the help of mills and crushers. A woman at Aghurmi makes

pottery and decorates it in black and red by the archaic process still in use in the Berber world as far as Tangier. The women weave, but little, a few blouses with designs in colour, coloured *dhubb*, which form the essential part of the native dress.

The other parts of the dress the *baïk*, *afaram* and the double white and red shirts come from Tripoli; the trousers and shoes from Alexandria. The women also wear trousers, a black blouse (*akhar*) trimmed with coloured embroidery and a long veil of cotton, in which they wrap themselves up completely when they go out. The most curious of their silver jewellery is a heavy collar (*aghras*) which young women wear up to their marriage day and to which there used formerly to be attached a little round ornament called "the disc of virginity". The women are not tattooed, they do not load themselves with anklets — these are worn only by little girls — nor do they hang a ring or button on the nose like the Nubians and the Beduins of the coast. They use henna less than the Maghribis but, use a great deal of *kahl* and *sukh* to brighten their lips and vermilion to colour their cheeks.

The Islam of the people of Siwa seems somewhat barbarous and sectarian. Some are attached to the Sanūsīya and others to the Medāni sect. They hold their local saints in great esteem; they celebrate them every year in the course of ceremonies called *mūled*, the most important of which is that of Sidi Slimān the patron saint of the town. This individual is said to have lived at Siwa in the xvth century but was originally a member of the tribe of the Banū Salīm of the Hijāz. The importance of the ceremony is shown by the belief that the worst calamities would fall upon the country if it were not celebrated every year with great splendour. It is of an undoubtedly agrarian and even in origin at least of a licentious character. It is celebrated at the end of the harvest, lasts three days and takes place partly beside the tomb of Sidi Slimān. The fellāhs eat on the treshing floors of the gardens a sheep, whose throat has been cut the night before in the *fiar* and intoxicate themselves on palm-wine. They go there in groups to the sound of flutes escorting a young boy dressed as a girl. They return in the evening by torchlight after submitting to ritual aspersions at the spring of Tmūssi.

The two canonical feasts are celebrated at Siwa as throughout the whole of Islām. The rich alone kill on their roof the sheep of 'Id Kabīr, the skin of which they eat chopped into minute pieces. Following a custom observed everywhere in Barbary they retain — contrary to orthodox rites — a part of the victim which they eat at 'Ashūra'. The last festival, the most popular of the year perpetuates the ancient festival of the summer solstice. On this day the houses are covered with long palms. The children go about singing all the night with lighted torches and little erections (*beḥaya*) ornamented with rags soaked in oil.

The different events in family life, birth, circumcision, marriage, and funeral, are accompanied by rites which are magical in their origin. The third and seventh days after the birth of a child are marked by important ceremonies. The seventh in particular is the day of purification and for giving a name. The hair is cut for the first time immediately if the child is the first born.

The girls are married, before they reach the age of puberty, at 8 or 9 years of age. The amount of the dowry in no case exceeds 120 Egyptian piastres but the fiancé is bound to give to his future wife, jewels and clothes, the number and value of which are the subject of bargaining during the preliminaries of marriage. On the marriage day at sunset the bride is led in great pomp to the Tmūssi spring, into which formerly she threw the disk of virginity which hung on her heavy silver collar. She is then taken back to her home where a professional hairdresser attends to her nuptial toilet. Next morning at dawn the women friends and relatives of the bride come for her and pretend to fight with the members of her family after which she is taken to her new home carried on the shoulder of a negress. Polygamy is nominally unknown but the men divorce their wives with such ease and so frequently in the course of their lives that there is not a clearly marked line between marriage and prostitution.

It is the custom for all the men to have to attend the funeral of every dead man. While they are at the cemetery, the women take the widow to the spring of the Tmūssi where they wash her and clothe her in mourning dress. They then shut her up in her house. She is then regarded a *ghāla* or ogress. No one except her nearest relatives can go near her during the legal period of her retirement. On the evening of the last day, the public crier announces the *ghāla* intends to go out. He also indicates the route she will take to go to the spring which is the goal of her first visit. For fear of meeting her, the men go to the gardens and do not come back till the evening. Cleansed by her bath of all the evils that attached to her, she resumes her place in society and may re-marry at once, if the opportunity occurs.

The Kāfirians have beliefs about treasures hidden in the caves and in towns buried in the lakes or sand of the desert. They people the subterranean world with *djinn*, with *afrits*, who sometimes assume the forms of men or animals or disappear in whirlwinds of dust. They attribute to the evil eye all the ills that befall them, their cattle and their crops. They preserve themselves from it by covering themselves with amulets and hanging asses' bones or pots blackened in the fire to the walls of their houses and to the trunks of their palm-trees. They say that the ostrich understands human speech. They also think that when a dog howls at the moon or the owl hoots it means that a death is imminent.

Language: Like their brethren the Tuŕeg, Kabyls or Berāber, the popular literature consisting of stories, legends and songs written in Berber is so far only known from very few specimens. Arabic is in practice the language spoken and understood in the oasis along with Berber which is still the native tongue. Berber is spoken not only at Siwa, Aghurmi and Gāra but also at Maḥshyat al-'Aḡūza, in the oasis of Bahariya, which marks the extreme eastern limit of Berber territory.

The words and the few phrases recorded by travellers who have visited Siwa in the last century are not sufficient to enable us to characterise the dialect of Siwa.

The Orientalists, Hanoteau, Stumme and notably R. Basset who have studied them have been able to connect a certain number with Berber roots

still in use, Horneman was the first European to identify them with the language of the Tuāreg and of the people of Twāi, i.e. Berber. But the Arab writers, al-Maḥḥrī first of all, had already remarked the Berber origin of the people of Sentiya and even connected their dialect with the Zenete group.

The arabisation of the dialect, unknown to an equal degree in any other Berber dialect, constitutes the most marked characteristic of the dialect. The vocabulary is very much affected. It would be difficult to quote several hundred Berber words from it. Even the morphology seems in some cases to have been affected. The phonetics on the other hand, have remained Berber in their essential features and offer points of resemblance to the dialects of Tripolitania and Southern Tunisia.

Certain grammatical forms and syntactical peculiarities regarded as common to most dialects can no longer be found in Siwa. There is no longer any trace of the participial form or of the passive in *t*, nor of the particles *d* and *n*. The feminine forms of the imperative and aorist, except that of the third person singular, have also disappeared. Negation does not effect any vocalic modification in certain verbal roots conjugated in the preterite and does not attract the pronouns direct and indirect. The latter remain in all cases a definite place following the verb. The initial vowel of the noun undergoes no modification whether the noun be governed by a preposition or be the subject of a verb and placed after it.

The study of the dialect of Siwa on account of its so marked arabisation is of obvious interest; but it is clear that it can only be made by a comparison with the dialects which offered a stronger resistance to the Arabic invasion. One can foresee its disappearance at no remote period. The establishment of a school where the teaching is given in Arabic by Egyptian masters on modern methods can only precipitate its extinction.

History: Siwa is the historical centre of the Eastern Sahara. The Egyptians called it *Sefer-imis*, "the camp of the palm-trees", the Greek and Romans, *Ammonium*, the early Arab writers *Sentiya*. The present name seems to correspond to the *Sua* of al-Ya'qūbī and the *Tirwa* of Ibn Khaldūn, both derived from the name of the Berber tribe of Banu 'l-Waswa, who according to al-Maḥḥrī were Luwāta of the province of Maṣīf.

The ancient Siwa owed its extraordinary prosperity to a ram-headed deity Ammon, whom the Egyptians identified with their great Theban deity Ammon-Ra, when at a comparatively late date in the middle of the sixth century B.C. they effectively occupied the Libyan oases. By this time the fame of the Libyan Ammon was solidly established. For nearly a thousand years, people of note came from all parts of the ancient world to consult him. He was an oracular deity who unveiled the future. In 331 B.C. Alexander the Great landed at Paroethonium with an army, which was saved from thirst by a shower that fell unexpectedly in the desert, thus learned with satisfaction that he was really the son of Zeus. The colonists of Cyrene and the Greeks of Athens held him in great veneration. They assimilated him to Zeus just as they had assimilated the king of gods, the Theban Ammon, to their great divinity. The Phoenician and Carthaginian colonies also gave him a place in their Pantheon, very soon identi-

fying him with their own Ba'al Hammon as a result of a quite fortuitous resemblance of name, according to M. Gaell. It is to the oracular god of the Great Oasis that the Romans refer, when they speak of Jupiter Ammon.

As to the original nature of the Libyan Ammon we are reduced to conjectures. Oric Bates thinks that the primitive oracle was an oracle of the dead. It is however almost certain that the ram was in ancient times a deity protecting the Libyan herds, whose character may have developed in course of time. He had solar attributes at the period when he first appears in history. The cult with which he was honoured and the manner in which he uttered the oracles were at this time essentially Egyptian.

Relics of these days still exist; besides the ruins of Aghurmi, there are the remains of another little temple situated a few hundred yards from the modern village and called by the natives *Omm al-bida*; they consist of a piece of wall standing in the midst of an area covered with large stones, completely covered with cartouches, hieroglyphs and figures of the gods of Egypt. As far as one can judge the monument belongs to the Ptolemaic-Roman period. Farther south the hills of Takrūr are riddled with tombs regularly cut out of the chalk; some still have the fine framework of stone of the same period which marked the entrance. The adjoining girs and the flanks of the Marmaric also contain such tombs by hundreds. Siwa was a vast necropolis. One of its girs even has a half-Arabic half-Berber name of *ḡīr al-mutā*, "the hill of the dead", and thousands of bones still litter the soil there.

The Romans occupied the Great Oasis. Under Augustus they made it a place of banishment for political prisoners. About the fourth century, Christianity reached the oasis. A little later, no doubt, its inhabitants joined with the Mazikes of the coast (Imāighen) in attacking the Byzantine world which was everywhere threatened. When about 640, Egypt was invaded by the Muslim armies, the people of Siwa seem to have been free and independent.

It is not known how the Muslims conquered the Libyan oases. The Arab historians and geographers on this subject only record stories or legends of no great interest. Siwa was too remote from the main route of invasion which led the conquering armies and migrating tribes to Maghrib al-Aḡḡā. We may suppose that small hordes of Arabs came and settled in the oasis and then became mixed with the population, which has remained Berber to our day.

In the beginning of the xviiith century civil war broke out between the Qharbiyūn or "people of the west" and the Sharḡiyyūn or "people of the east". These feuds which are barely settled to-day led in 1820 to the occupation of the country by the Turks.

European travellers began to visit Siwa at the end of the xviiith century and especially at the beginning of the xixth. The first was Brown in 1792; Horneman followed six years later, Cailliand in 1829, Bricchetti-Robecchi, Baron de Minutoli, in 1820-1821, then Scholz, Bayle St. John, Pascho, Hamilton in 1852 etc. All or almost all complain of the hostile attitude of the people towards them.

About 1838 Muḥammad al-Sanūsī made a stay

of several months at Siwa. He preached his doctrine there and made several converts. The cave which he used as an oratory is still shown at Qsar al-Hajina.

In the course of the Great War, Siwa and the line of oases regained their strategic importance. The chief of the Sanūsīs, Saiyid Ahmad, went to war with the Anglo-Egyptian forces. In 1915 he occupied Sellūm which the English had evacuated, but defeated before Matruh he took refuge in Siwa, from which he organised a new line of attack on Egypt, at Dakhla and Kharga. He returned to Siwa in the early days of 1917. His last forces were surprised at Girba by English troops brought up in motor cars. He was then forced to take to flight. He reached the coast with difficulty whence a submarine took him to Constantinople. His cousin Sidi Muhammad Idrīs, grandson of the great Sanūsī succeeded him and with his accession peace reigned once more in the Libyan Desert.

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SIWAS, Turkish wilāyet, was, up to the new administrative partition of Turkey, the largest wilāyet of Anatolia (Sami Bey Fräsheri, *Kamūs al-A'lam*, iv. 2794). Situated between 38° 30' and 41° N., 35° 30' and 39° E., it corresponds to part of ancient Cappadocia; on the N. its boundaries are the wilāyets of Kastamūnī and Trebizond, on the E. those of Erzerūm and Ma'mūret al-'Aziz, on the S. those of Aleppo and Adana, on the W. those of Angora and Kastamūnī.

Its entire surface covered about 30,600 square miles, its population, at the end of the sixth century, 11,086,015, divided as follows: 839,514 Muslims, 279,834 of whom were Shi'a, especially Kizil-bash; 129,523 Gregorian Armenians; 30,433 Protestant Armenians; 10,477 Catholics; 76,068 Orthodox Greeks.

The wilāyet was divided in 4 sandjaks: Siwās, Tokad (q. v.), Amāsiya (q. v.), Kara Hisar Sharḳī, subdivided into *hasar* and *nāhiyas*; its capital was the town of Siwās (Sebaste).

The territory of the old Siwās wilāyet is crossed by chains of mountains; that of the Anti-Taurus penetrates it from the S. in a N.E. direction with one of its branches; another chain embraces the wilāyet to the N. in an E.-NW. direction, towards Trebizond. Amongst the highest peaks are the Kara Bel, which reaches 10,910 feet, the Yildiz Dag 8,300 feet.

The region is rich in rivers; among the most important is the Kizil Irmaḳ (q. v.; Iris of the ancients), which has its source in the Kizil Dag in the Siwās sandjak, and flows into the Black Sea N. of Bafra; its chief tributary, the Yildiz Irmaḳ, originates from the Yildiz Dag mountain. The Yeshil Irmaḳ (Halys of the ancients) has its source near Erzinjan, passes through Keldik, after which it assumes the name of Keldik Irmaḳ, flows through the Siwās and Trebizond wilāyets, and into the Black Sea E. of Samsun; it receives the Çekerek Irmaḳ, swollen by the waters of the Tozanli Su.

This wilāyet, poor as to communications, is however fertile; its chief crops being wheat and barley. Tokad has a flourishing carpet industry, and copper from the Arghana mines is worked. The climate is exceedingly warm in summer, especially in Amāsiya, and cold in winter in the northern mountain region.

The present Siwās wilāyet corresponds to the old sandjak of the same name, comprising the following nine *ḫazas*: Haḫk (Koç Hisar, q. v.), Zāra, Diwrighi, Çherun, Darende, Kankal, Şehir Kishla (Temim), Yeñi Khān (Yildiz Eli), 'Arziye. It is rich in mines: copper at Haḫk, antimony, copper and argentiferous lead at Zāra; 16 salt mines, with an annual output of 410,300 Turkish pounds.

The new reduced wilāyet has now (1925) 377,570 inhabitants on 13,000 square miles; 60,043 inhabit the capital, Siwās. There are 100 public schools with 6,790 regular pupils (*Türk Dümhürüyeti Salnāmesi*, 1925—1926, Constantinople 1926, p. 654).

The region was islāmized under the Seljūks, when Siwās reached its greatest splendour, its population increasing to 200,000. It passed subsequently in the hands of Turkoman dynasts, and for a certain time under the domination of Kādī Burhān al-Dīn, from whom it was taken by Yildirim Bayazid I (the year is not certain; from 794 to 799 according to different historians, from 'Ashik Pasha Zāde, Constantinople edition and *Tawāriḫ-i Aḫī 'Oḡmān*, ed. Giese, p. 47, to Khōdja Sa'd al-Dīn, i. 133 sqq.; Münāddijim Bashī, iii. 308; Hammer, *G. O. R.* 2, i. 189 says 1392, Yorga, i. 308, about 1398).

Taken and sacked by Tamerlane (Ertoğrul son of Bayazid fell in the defence of Siwās in 1401), it was recaptured by the Ottomans, but never regained its former splendour, albeit Ewliya Çelebi, who travelled through the region in 1060 (beg. January 4, 1650) celebrates the country's prosperity. The Siwās *ayāla* was then governed by a pasha, who lived in the fortress of the city of Siwās, and comprised 48 *zi'amas* and 928 timars; it was divided into 7 sandjaks: Amāsiya, Çorum, Bor Oḡ, Diwrighi, Djanik, Arabghir, Siwās.

The region was often laid waste in the warfare against rebel chieftains, and again at the end of the sixteenth century, during the campaigns against Çapan Oghli.

A new epoch of progress will dawn with the construction of the Angora-Siwas and Samsun-Siwas railways, already progressing thanks to the Kemal Republic's government.

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SIWRI HIŞAR, also written **SIRKI HIŞAR**, i.e. strong castle (cf. Ahmed Wefik, *Lehisi Otumant*, p. 459), the name of two places in Asia Minor.

1. A little town lying in the centre of the plateau bounded on south and east by the upper course of the Sakariya and in the north by the Pursak, c. 85 miles southwest of Angora. Siwri Hişar is on the northern slope of the Güneş Dağı; the citadel of the town was built on this mountain. The town does not date beyond the Seldjuk period and has no remains of archaeological interest. But it was already known as a strong place to Kazwini (*Geography*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 359) and to Hamd Allah Mustawfi (ed. Le Strange, p. 99). In the xvth century it formed part of the possessions of the Karamito-oghlu, who occupied it again after Timur's conquest. The latter had his headquarters there for a time. But under Muhammad I, Siwri Hişar was annexed to the Ottoman dominions (cf. e.g. 'Ashik Pasha Zade, *Tamarkih-i Âl-i 'Otumant*, ed. Giese and 'Ali, *Kunh al-Akbar*, v. 177). In the xvith century the town belonged to the sandjak of Khudawendigar (Haidjdi Khalifa, *Dihân-namâ*, p. 656) but in the new system of administrative division, it became the capital of a *kaşa* in the sandjak of Angora. Towards the end of the xixth century it had about 11,000 inhabitants of whom 4,000 were Armenians (Sâmi). There is a mosque there attributed to the Seldjuk vizier Amin al-Din Misk'îl, with a library of 1,500 volumes. The principal industries are goldsmith's work and weaving.

Siwri Hişar does not lie on any of the main routes of Anatolia — but since the construction of the railway to Angora which runs along the Pursak, the north part of the *kaşa* has received a new economic stimulus — but near it there are relics of important centres of classical and Byzantine times. These are the ruins of Pessinus, near the village of Balla Hişar, four hours S.E. of Siwri Hişar (Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure*, ii., pl. lxiii.); and towards the south, on the other bank of the Sakariya, near Haidjdi Hamza, the remains of the Byzantine town of Amorium, known to Orientals as 'Ammuriya (cf. AMORIUM).

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2. A little town on the shore of the Gulf of Kish Adas (Scalanova), South of Vurla. It is now the capital of a *kaşa* in the sandjak of Lemn. Under Bayazid II, it was the refuge of the pirate Kara Tumluk (von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. 346). Ewliya Çelebi passed through it in 1670 (according to Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz*, ii. 39). Sâmi (*Kâmûs al-A'lân*, iv. 2582) gives the population as 3,640.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

SIYALKÛT, officially spelt **Sülköt**, is a town in the Paundjab situated in 32° 30' N. and 74° 32' E., the foundation of which is attributed by legend to Râdjâ Sîla, the uncle of the Pandawas, and its restoration to Râdjâ Saliwahan, in the time of Wikramaditya. Saliwahan had two sons, Pûran, killed by the instrumentality of a wicked step-mother, and thrown into a well, still the resort of pilgrims, near the town, and Raadlu, the mythical hero of Paundjab folk-tales, who is said to have reigned at Siyalkût. In A. D. 790 the fort and city were destroyed by Râdjâ Naraw with the help of the Ghandaurs of the Yûsafai country, and the fort was not restored until it was rebuilt by Mu'izz al-Din Muhammad b. Sam to overawe the turbulent Khokars, who preferred the feeble rule of the later Ghaznawids to the more energetic domination of their conquerors. Under Akbar Siyalkût became the headquarters of a *sarkâr*, or fiscal district, and in the middle of the seventeenth century it fell into the hands of the Râjdput princes of Djamnû. The mound in the centre of the town, crowned with the ruins of a fort, is popularly supposed to mark the site of Saliwahan's stronghold, but it is in fact all that is left of the fort of Muhammad b. Sam. Siyalkût also contains the shrine of Bâbâ Nûrak, the first Sikh guru, where an annual fair is held. In 1849 the district passed, with the rest of the Paundjab, into the hands of the British, and the old fort, now dismantled, was gallantly defended by a handful of Europeans in the Munity of 1857.

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(T. W. HAHO)

SKANDERBEG is the name by which the national hero of Albania is generally known in Europe. It is based on an Italianised or Latinised form of the name Iskandar Beg, which was given him in his youth when he was serving at the Ottoman court; the name contains an allusion to that of Alexander the Great. His real name was George Kastriot, of the family of the Kastriotas of Serbian origin, who had once ruled Epirus and Southern Albania. Born about 1404, he and his three elder brothers were given as hostages to Sultan Murad II, so that he was brought up in the Muslim religion as *il oghlan*. His ability won him the office of *sandjak beg* at quite an early age. He played no part in the campaigns of 1435 and 1436 when the Ottoman generals 'Ali and Turakhan effected a partial submission of the Albanians. From this time Skanderbeg lived at Dibra in Central Albania and showed himself a more or less faithful vassal of the Turks, although he was already negotiating with the Venetians and Hungarians. His first rebellion against Turkish rule took place in 1443 after the defeat suffered by the Turks at the hands of the Hungarians at Nish; he captured Kroya (Turkish Akça Hişar) by a ruse; it is in the mountains not far from the coast between Durazzo and Alessio. It was here that the Albanian chiefs of clans came to join him and he made it the centre of his power. He had by now returned to

Christianity and this marked a very definite change of attitude to the Turks. A Turkish army under Isâ Beg failed to take the town. Skanderbeg also attacked the Venetian possessions on the coast but in 1448 a peace was concluded between him, the Sultân and Venice but it did not last long. Murâd II commanded in person the expeditions against Albania in 1449 and 1450. The Turks took Dibra and Setigrad among other places. Skanderbeg was able to hold out, however, thanks to the mountainous nature of the country and in spite of the temporary desertion of his nephew Hamza who had joined the Turks during this period. He made an alliance with the king of Naples whose suzerainty he recognised. He was also supported by the Pope and by the Hungarians so that when hostilities again broke out in 1455, he was usually able to resist the Turkish generals. In 1460 however, Muhammad II forced Skanderbeg to conclude a truce by which he agreed to pay a tribute. The Albanian chief then went to Italy where he fought for the King of Naples. Soon afterwards he returned to his native land where, supported by Venice and other Christian powers, he resumed a guerilla warfare against the Turks. At last in 1466 Muhammad II began his second Albanian campaign. He succeeded in subduing the country and built in its centre the fortified town of Ilbasan (*il bəsan*, i.e. "dominating the country"). Next year Skanderbeg died at Alessio (Jan. 18, 1467).

The history of Skanderbeg has been much studied in Europe since the very circumstantial but not always reliable biography written by Barlesio of Scodra in the second half of the xvth century. Other sources are the Byzantine historians Chalcocondylas, Phrantzes and Critoboulos, and Venetian documents (publ. by Ijubić in *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum Meridionalium* at Zagreb). The Turkish sources on the other hand, the chroniclers of the early period (e.g. 'Ashîk Paşha Zâde, p. 124, 133, 169 and the *Tawârîkh al-i 'Othmân*, ed. Giese, p. 66, 70, 73, 113) and the later historians (e.g. Münâzidjîm Bâşî, iii. 352, 361, 383) are not at all explicit and, as to dates, they do not agree with the western sources. The Turkish histories only mention the first revolt of the Khâ'in Iskandar in 846 (1442/1443), the campaign of Sultân Murâd in 851 (1447/1448) and the last campaign of Muhammad II in 871 (1466/1467).

Within ten years of the death of Skanderbeg, all Albania was subjected to Muhammad II. Nevertheless the memory of the greatest national hero of the Albanians has remained alive among Turks as well as Albanians. It is after him that the Turks called Scodra Iskenderiya. Towards the end of the xixth century the Albanian Muslim Na'im Beg Frâshert (brother of Sâmi Beg, q. v.) devoted a great Albanian epic to him entitled *Skander Beg*, publ. at Bucharest in 1898.

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(J. H. KRAMERS)

SKUTARË. [See *ÛSKUDÂN*.]

SLAVS. The Arabic word for "Slav", *Ṣaḥlāb*, more rarely *Ṣaḥlūb* (also *Saḥlūb*) or *Ṣiḥlūb*, pl. *Ṣaḥlābiya* is probably taken from the Greek (*Σαλαβία*, *Σαλαβία*). Slav mercenaries had been settled in the eastern frontier provinces of the Byzantine empire in the seventh century A.D., so that the Arabs must have made the acquaintance of the Slavs in their very earliest battles with the Byzantines. During his campaign against Constantinople (715—717) Maslama is said to have taken a "town of the Slavs" (*madīnat al-Ṣaḥlābiya*) immediately after crossing the Byzantine border (*Fragm. hist. Arab.*, ed. de Goeje, i. 25, 4). The Arabs found other Slavs settled in the kingdom of the Khazars (between the Caucasus and the lower course of the Volga). During the reign of the Caliph Hishām (724—743) Marwān b. Muḥammad (afterwards the Caliph Marwān II) is said to have transported 20,000 Slavs from the land of the Khazars and settled them in Kakhketia (*Khakhū*); there "they killed their emir and fled, whereupon he (Marwān) pursued and slew them" (*Balādhuri*, p. 208 at the top); but these Slavs are still mentioned under the Caliph Manṣūr (754—775) among the colonists settled on the Byzantine frontier in Cilicia (*ibid.*, p. 166). The red (or reddish) hair and complexion of the Slavs is always emphasised, for example as early as the first century A.D. in the *Divân* of Akhtai [q. v.], ed. Ṣāḥūnt, Bairūt 1891, p. 18, 3. In spite of this physical characteristic, the Slavs were classed with the Turks as descendants of Japhet (Arab: *Yafath*). Each of the three sons of Noah is said to have had three sons in their turn; Wāḥ b. Munabbih (in *Ṭabari*, i. 211, 13) gives as the sons of Japhet, Turk, Gog and Magog, while soon afterwards, Sa'īd b. Musayyib (d. 95 = 713/714) gives the descendants of Japhet as the Turks and Slavs and Gog and Magog united into one people (al-Bakri in Kunik and Rosen, i. 18), as do Ibn Ishāq (*Ṭabari*, i. 211 sq.) and Gardīzi (in Barthold, *Ort.*, etc., p. 80) on the authority of Ibn al-Muqaffa' [q. v.]. Sa'īd b. Musayyib adds that all three sons of Shem (the ancestors of the Arabs, Persians and Greeks) were well brought up while those of Japhet and of Ham were good for nothing. The anonymous author of the *Mufaḥḥis al-Tawârîkh*, who wrote under Turkish rule in the viith (xiiith) century (text in Barthold, *Turkestan*, etc., i. 19) makes an exception for Turk and Khazar among the sons of Japhet. They were intelligent but there was nothing good about their brothers. According to a story told by Ibn al-Muqaffa', Japhet's son Ṣaḥlāb was brought up on bitch's milk; this is connected with a Persian etymology *ark*, dog, *leh*, lip (Gardīzi in Barthold, *Ort.*, p. 85). In the same source (*ibid.*, p. 86) the Kirgiz are described as descendants of the Slavs on account of their "red hair and white skin". The ruler of the Bulghār on the Volga is called "King of the Slavs" by Ibn Fadlān [q. v.] not

only in Yāqūt (*Muʿdjam*, i. 723, si), but, as is now certain, also in the original *Riḥla* (*Bulletin de l'Acad.*, etc., 1924, p. 244); the story of the raids of the Khazars on Bulgars and Slavs in Ibn Hawqal (*B.G.A.*, ii. 281, 23) is to be similarly explained. It is also probable that these Slavs were subjects of the king of the Bulgars. It is perhaps to the same ruler that Yaʿqūbī's (ed. Houtama, p. 398) story of the "lord" (*ṣāḥib*) of the Slavs refers, for whose assistance a Caucasian people appealed against the Arabs about 240 (854/855) at the same time asking for the help of the "ruler of the Greeks" and the "ruler of the Khazars" (another explanation in J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, p. 200). On the other hand Tabari's story (iii. 2152) under 283 (896) of the campaign of the "King of the Slavs" against Constantinople refers to the war between the Czar of the Danube Bulgars Simeon (890—927) and the Emperor Leo VI in 893. The name "Slavs" for the people of the modern Southern Russia has been gradually ousted by that of "Russians". The Don, the course of which was thought to be an arm of the Volga was first called "River of the Slavs" (*Nahr al-Saqlabiya*, *B.G.A.*, v. 271, 3; vi. 154, 12) and later "River of the Russians" (*Nahr al-Rūs*) (*ibid.*, ii., p. 276, 16) and also by the anonymous author of the Persian *Hudūd al-ʿAlam*, cf. *Zap.*, x. 137).

The connection between the Slavs and the peoples of the west seems to have been first noticed by Ibn al-Kalbi (Hiḥām b. Muḥammad, cf. ii., p. 689). According to Yāqūt (*Muʿdjam*, iii. 405, s) he describes the Slavs as brothers of the Armenians, Greeks and Franks and descendants of Yūnān b. Yāfath, giving his father as his authority. More accurate information regarding the Slavs as neighbours of the Greeks seems to have been contained in the works of Muslim b. Abi Muslim al-Djarrī who was released in 845 after being eight years a prisoner among the Byzantines; on the authority of Muslim, Ibn Khordādhbeh (*B.G.A.*, vi. 105, 15) mentions a "land of the Slavs" (*Bilād al-Saqlabiya*) west of Macedonia. In Masʿūdī (*Murūj*, iii. 66) the Franks, Slavs, Longobards, Spaniards, Gog, Magog, Turks, Khazars, Burdjān (q.v.), Alans and the (Spanish) Djalālika (Galicians) appear as descendants of Yāfath. In another passage (iv. 38 sq.) the lands of these peoples are dealt with in geographical succession from east to west; the land (*amāl*) of the Slavs is placed between that of the Burdjān and the land of the Greeks. A reddish colour (*shubra*) is mentioned as the characteristic feature of the Slavs and Greeks (iii. 133). The Bulgars and Slavs for the most part adopted Christianity and submitted to the lord (*ṣāḥib*) of Rome, the capital of the Franks (*B.G.A.*, viii. 181 sq.). The banks of the Danube are mentioned as the abode of a large section of these peoples (*ibid.*, p. 183 infra: cf. the still more obscure passages in the *Hudūd al-ʿAlam*; in the manuscript we have *Dunā* not *Rūs* as in *Zap.*, x. 133 sq.). The Greeks, Romans, Slavs, Franks and their neighbours on the north spoke a common language and formed a joint empire (*B.G.A.*, viii. 83, 9). The fullest notices of the Slavs in Europe are found in the travels of the Spanish Jew Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿqūb in 965, transcribed by al-Bakrī (cf. i., p. 606 sq.); in it Slavs are mentioned on the Adriatic Sea, as well as in the frontierland of the Slavs, in the northeast, the

land of the Polish prince Mieszko (*Mashk*) about 900—992, the neighbour of the Russians and Prussians. On the other hand, Idriši only mentions a land of the Slavs (*Bilād al-Saqlabiya*) on the Balkan Peninsula in connection with Venice (*Géographie d'Idriši*, transl. A. Jaubert, Paris 1836—1840, ii. 286); in the description of the Slav lands from Bohemia to Poland (*op. cit.*, ii., p. 375 sq.) no reference is made to the common Slav origin of the population of these lands. From that date the words *Saqlab* and *Saqlabiya* gradually disappear from Muslim literature and are used only in quotations from older works. The word "Slavs" for example never occurs in Djuwainī's (*G.M.S.*, xvi. 224 sq.) and Rashid al-Dīn's (*ibid.*, xviii. 43 sq.) accounts of the European campaigns of the Mongols. The modern Turkish *Sllav* is borrowed from modern European scientific usage, probably from the French.

Like the Turks, the Slavs were sometimes introduced into Muslim lands as slaves, especially as white eunuchs (cf. *B.G.A.*, iii. 242, 3; v. 84, 1; vi. 92, 3). Special regiments were formed of Slav troops, as of Turks, and their leaders were sometimes able under favourable circumstances to rise to found dynasties. On Slavs in the service of the Fātimids in Egypt cf. e.g. K. Inostrancev in *Zap.*, xvii. 29 and 86; on Slavs in Spain, e.g. Dozy, *Recherches*, etc., Paris-Leiden 1881, i. 227 sq. (Prince Khairān of Almería, cf. i., p. 313 sq.) and 235 sq. (the Slavs as allies of the Arabs against the Berbers).

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AL-SĀWĪ (or AL-SĀLĀWĪ), SHUHAB AL-DIN ABU L-'ABBĀS AHMAD B. KHĀLID B. HAMMĀD AL-NĀSIRĪ, a Moroccan historian born at Salé (Slā) on 22nd Dhū l-Hijja 1250 (April 20, 1835), died in the same town on 16th Djumādā I, 1315 (October 13, 1897). The genealogy of this writer can be traced in a direct line to the founder of the Moroccan brotherhood of the Nāṣiriyya, Ahmad b. Nāṣir, who was buried in his *maṣbi'a* at Tāmgrūt in the valley of the Wādī Dar'a (Drā). He studied in his native town, which had in those days some reputation as a centre of learning, and was a minor rival of Fās, the intellectual capital of the country. His principal teachers were Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Aziz Maḥbūba and the ḥafīd Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad 'Awwād; without neglecting theological and legal studies, he acquired a profound knowledge of profane Arab literature. At the age of about 40, Ahmad al-Nāṣirī al-Sāwī entered the legal branch of the Sharīf government's service as a notary or superintendent of the State domains. He held more or less important posts from time to time in this service. He was

stationed at first at al-Dār al-baiḥḥa' (Casablanca) from 1292—1293 (1875—1876) and made two stays at Marrākush, where he was employed in the financial administration of the imperial household. He then lived some time at al-Djadida (Mazagan) where he was attached to the customs service. He next spent some time in Tangier and Fās and towards the end of his life returned to his native town where he devoted himself to teaching. On his death he was buried in the cemetery at Salé outside of the Bab Ma'allika Gate. Al-Nāṣiri al-Slāwī was a minor civil servant who was also a man of letters and a historian. In addition to his historical work, which gained him a certain reputation even outside of Morocco, he left other works which would alone have sufficed to attract attention to him and secure him an honourable position among modern Maghribi men of letters. These are, in addition to the six little books detailed in my *Historiens des Chérifs* (p. 353, note 1): 1. A commentary on the *Shamaḥ-maḥiya*, a poem by Ibn al-Wannān which he called *Zahr al-Afnān min Ḥadīṣat Ibn al-Wannān* (lith. at Fās in 1314 A.H., vols. 2); 2. A survey of the heresies and schisms in Islām entitled *Taḥṣīl al-Minna bi-Nuṣrat al-Sunna* (Rabat MSS., N° 66; cf. my *Catalogue*, i., p. 23); 3. A monograph on the family of the Nāṣiriya to which he himself belonged: *Tafat al-nuḥṭari* & *'l-Nasab al-dīfari* (lith. at Fās, 2 vols., a French synopsis has been given by M. Bodin, *La Zouia de Tamgrout*, in *Archives Berbères*, 1918). This work, which the author finished in 1309 (1881), is a good history of the Zāwiya of Tamgrūt, with much interesting information, which compensates for all the discussions in which the historian tries to prove the authenticity of his family genealogy with the help of somewhat unconvincing arguments.

Aḥmad al-Nāṣiri al-Slāwī's great work is the *Kitāb al-Istiqṣā li-Aḥbār Duwal al-Maghrib al-aḥḡā*. Its publication was an event unparalleled in Maghribi historiography. The author produced not a limited chronicle but a general history of his country. Welcomed by European orientalists on its publication, it was not long in attracting the attention of the historians of North Africa, for whose work it became a much consulted document, especially as a French translation in the *Archives Marocaines* soon made the last quarter — the history of the 'Alawid dynasty — accessible even to non-Arabs.

It was soon recognised that this chronicle was like all the other products of western Arab historiography: it was only a compilation, the most appreciable merit of which was to have collected in a continuous narrative, items of political history scattered about the chronicles or biographical collections written in the country. But it must be confessed that al-Slāwī was the first of his compatriots to attempt to exhaust a subject of which his predecessors had only dealt with parts. But this was not his primary object: I have shown elsewhere (*op. cit.*, p. 357—360) that the starting point in the compilation of the *Kitāb al-Istiqṣā* was a work of some length on the Marinid dynasty of Morocco, based mainly on the historical works of Ibn Abi Zar' and Ibn Khaldūn, to which he had given the title of *Kaṣf al-Aṣnā fi Luyūṭ al-Baṣṣa*. His residences in the different capitals of Morocco, having enabled him to get access to

sources for other dynasties also, he had the idea of composing a complete history of Morocco. He finished his work on 15th Djumādī II, 1298 (May, 15, 1881) before the end of the reign of the 'Alawid Sultan Mawlay al-Ḥasan to whom he dedicated it. But he was poorly recompensed for this act. On the death of this ruler, the author decided to have his chronicle printed in Cairo, after continuing it down to the year of accession of Sultan Mawlay 'Abd al-Aziz. The *Istiqṣā* thus appeared in Cairo in 4 volumes in 1312 (1894).

The reader may be referred to the work quoted above for an examination of the Arabic sources of the history of al-Nāṣiri al-Slāwī, and for a list of works from which he adopted or quoted textually passages. Here we shall simply point out that the chronicler was the first Moroccan writer to use European as well as Arabic sources; he only learned of them by chance; these were the history of Mazagan (Ar. al-Djadida) under Portuguese rule entitled *Memorias para a historia da praça de Mazagao*, by Luis Maria do Conto da Albuquerque da Cunha, Lisbon 1864; and the *Descripción historica de Marruecos y breve reseña de sus dinastias*, by Manuel P. Castellanos, Santiago 1878; Orihuela 1884; Tangier 1898.

In the arrangement of his chronicle al-Slāwī does not differ from the other historians of his country. But he sometimes gives evidence of a critical sense; we have a feeling that he is a historian by accident and a literary man by vocation. He sometimes gives evidence of considerable independence of spirit and of some breadth of view. As to his style, it is clear and chastened and only rarely resorts to metaphors and rhymed prose. The writer seems to be the modern Moroccan historian who writes with most facility and elegance.

Vol. iv. of the Arabic edition of the *Istiqṣā* was translated by E. Fumey under the title *Chronique de la dynastie 'alawite au Maroc* in *Archives Marocaines*, Paris 1906—1907, vol. ix. and x. Vol. i. has just been translated in the same journal, vols. xxx. and xxxi., Paris 1923 and 1925 by A. Graulle and G. S. Colin.

Bibliography: A full study of the life and work of al-Nāṣiri al-Slāwī has been made by E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chérifs: essai sur la littérature historique et biographique au Maroc du XV^e au XX^e siècle*, Paris 1923, pp. 350—368. The full bibliography of this author is given in the notes.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

SMALA, 1. French form for *smāla*, in the Algerian dialect of Arabic, "camp of a tribe or of an important personage, containing his family and his servants, as well as the beasts of burden". The word passed into the French language as a result of the fame of the *smala* of 'Abd al-Kādir b. Muḥyi Ḍ-Ḍin [q. v.] the capture of which made a great stir in 1843.

2. In Algeria under Turkish rule, the name *smāla* (plur. *smāl*) was given to some tribes forming a kind of mounted police (cf. the articles *ḡwāḡ* and *zmāla*).

(G. S. COLIN)

SMYRNA. [See *ISMIR*.]

SOFALA, a district and town in East Africa in the southern part of the Portuguese colony of Mozambique. — The name *Sofala* is generally connected with the Arabic root *safala* "to be low-lying" and in support of this etymology the pas-

sage in Mas'ūdī (*Murūj*, i. 331—332) is quoted, where it is stated that "wherever a mountain stretches for some distance below the sea, it is given in the Mediterranean the name *al-safala*". Apart from the question of a submarine mountain this interpretation is not untenable; the district of Sofāla as a matter of fact consists of low-lying ground. But it should not be forgotten that the name of the ancient Indian port of Surparaka, near Bombay, has likewise become *Sofāla* in Arabic and that there is no question of low-lying ground here. It is therefore not impossible that Sofāla may represent an original Bantu place-name, which however has not been recorded in Oriental texts or in western travellers. As the Arab geographers know two ports of Sofāla both situated in the Indian Ocean and relatively close to one another, according to the Ptolemaic conception of the Indian Ocean which they had adopted, they were differentiated as Sofāla of India, the ancient Surparaka and Sofāla of Zeng (Zandj) or "golden" Sofāla, its homonym on the east coast of Africa.

Mas'ūdī (943) tells us in the *Murūj*, i. 233, that this land of Sofāla lies at the utmost end of the land of Zeng (cf. Zandj) and is the lowest (i.e. most southerly) parts of the sea of Zeng. It adjoins the country of Wākwā. In vol. iii. of the same work (p. 6) we are told that the Zengs were settled in Eastern Africa as far as Sofāla, which is the extreme limit of the territory they inhabit and the limit of navigation for ships from 'Omān and Sirāf. The sea of Zeng ends at the land of Sofāla and of Wākwā. It is a land which produces gold in abundance and other marvels. The climate is warm and the soil fertile. It was there that the Zengs built their capital; then they chose a king whom they called *waḳīlīmī* [read "whose name is in their language *wafalemi*, "kings", in the singular *mfalemi*"] — the text has wrongly *وَقْلِيمِي*

for *وَقْلِيمِي* or rather *مَقْلِيمِي* — which shows that in the tenth century the eastern coast of Africa south of the equator was already inhabited by Bantu negroes].

In his *Book of the Wonders of India*, the sea-captain Buzurg b. Shariyār of Rām-Hurmuz tells how a captain of 'Omān called Ismā'īlawāh was twice driven by the tempest to Sofāla of Zeng (the first occasion in 310 = 922; the second a few years later), which was inhabited by cannibal negroes (p. 51 sq., 177). There are in this land birds which seize beasts in their beaks, or claws, carry them off in the air and then let them fall to kill and crush them (p. 64, evidently an allusion to the gigantic bird, the *robbākā*); one man said he had seen there an animal in the shape of a lizard the male of which had two penes and the female two vaginas; its bite was incurable; snakes and vipers swarm there (p. 173). In 334 (945) the Wākwā (sic) plundered many towns and villages of Sofāla of Zeng (p. 175). A bird of the country the name of which Buzurg's informant could not remember captured and tore to pieces an elephant which he was busy devouring when captured (p. 178). The story also recalls the legend of the *robbākā*.

"I thought" says al-Bīrūnī (c. 1030 A.D.) in his *India* (ed. and transl. Sachau p. 100 of the text and vol. i., p. 204 of the transl.) "that the *gajaka* was the same animal as the *karḥadann* (rhinoceros, from the Sanskrit *kāṇḍadanta*, "word-

toothed") until some one who had visited Sofāla of Zeng told me that the *karḥ* (or *karḥadann*), the horn of which is used to make knife-handles better answers the description. In the language of Zeng (i.e. Bantu) the *karḥadann* is called *impela* (more accurate *mpela*; cf. Swahili *pera*, Makua *pele*)".

On p. 135 of the text (i. 270 of the transl.) we are told that one cannot sail on the sea which is beyond Sofāla of Zeng. No one that ever tried this foolish venture has ever returned to tell what he had seen. Farther on (p. 253 of the text ii. 104 of the transl.) al-Bīrūnī says that if Somanāth in Kathiawar has become so celebrated it is because it is much frequented by sailors and is the starting-point for those who make frequent voyages between Sofāla of Zeng and China.

According to Idrisi (1154) there are in the land of Sofāla famous iron mines, and gold is found in abundance there (transl. Jaubert, i. 65, 66, 78 and 79). Among the towns of this region the Sicilian geographer mentions those of Djabasta and Daghūla but the readings are not certain and they have not been identified.

According to Yāqūt (*Muḥallan*, iii. 96) Sofāla is the last known town of the Zeng. The same stories are told of it as of the land of gold of the southern Maghrib. Merchants bring their goods there and leave them. They then go away a short distance, wait a certain time and come back. The natives have in the meanwhile put beside each article its equivalent in the products of the country (this is the practice known as secret trading, which is known among many peoples). The gold of Sofāla is known to the merchants who trade to Zeng.

Manuscript 2234 of the Arabic collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris is entitled: "The Book collected and arranged by 'Alī b. Sa'īd al-Maghribī al-Andalusī of the Book of the Geography (of Ptolemy), in seven climes and he has added the exact latitudes and longitudes from the Book of Ibn Faṭīma". Ibn Sa'īd (xiiith century) says that the names of the towns of Sofāla are not known. The capital is Sayūna (it is undoubtedly the *Chiona* of Barros, Dec. ii., Bk. I., Ch. ii., p. 22 [1777] which the Portuguese historian locates between Malindi and Monbasa), which is 99° Long. and 2° 30' Lat. in the sixth section of the inhabited world, below the equator.

"In this town dwells the king of the Sofālans. They and the Zengs worship idols and statues which they anoint with the fat of large fish. Their principal resources are gold and iron. They wear the skins of panthers. Horses do not live in their country. Their army consists of foot-soldiers". Farther on in the same section the writer says "at the foot of the mountain of Repentance (*Djabal al-Nadāma*) on the north coast and in the channel of Komr (Mozambique Straits) is the town of Daghūla. It is the last town of Sofāla and the last of the inhabited places in the lands adjacent to this Indian Sea. It is in 109° Long. and 12° Lat. (South) (cf. *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turks relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient*, ii., Paris 1914, p. 325 and 327)".

In his *Kitaḥ al-Bilād al-Bilād* (p. 29) Kaḥwāl (1203—1283) records that Sofāla is the last known town of the land of Zeng, that there are mines of gold there and secret trading is practised. He mentioned a bird called the *ḥawāy*, which speaks

better than the parrot and does not live more than a year (on p. 20 of the same book at the end of the notice of Zābag [wrongly written Zānag] i.e. Samatra there is a reference to the same bird on the authority of Zakariyā² b. Muḥammad b. Khakān, the name of which is written *ḥawūrī*, "smaller than the pigeon, with a white belly, black wings, red claws, and a yellow beak, it speaks better than the parrot"). He also mentions white, red (or yellow) and green parrots. Muḥammad b. al-Dīshām says on the subject of Sofāla, "I have seen men eating flies, they believe that that prevents ophthalmia and as a matter of fact they are not at all affected by diseases of the eyes".

Abū 'l-Fidā' (1273—1331) only devotes a few lines to Sofāla. "According to the *Kānūn al-Ma'ādī* of al-Bīrūnī", he says, "it lies in 50° Long. and 20° Lat. south of the equator, Sofāla is in the land of Zeng. According to the author of the *Kānūn*, the people, who inhabit it, are Muslims". Abū 'l-Fidā' also gives some information taken from Mas'ūdī and Ibn Sa'īd and ends by saying, "I may note that Sofāla is also a country in India" (*Geography of Abū 'l-Fidā'*, 11/1. 222—223).

Shihāb al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad al-Dimishqī (c. 1325) three times mentions Sofāla. In chapter ii., sect. 4, which deals with precious stones, he gives the following, citing Aristotle as his authority, "The oil stone is red with a bluish light; touched by oil, it is changed for the worse, the oil going right to the centre. It comes from Sofāla of Zeng. When it is rubbed over a garment stained with oil, it completely removes all trace".

In his *Nuṣṣat al-Kuṭub*, Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī records that there is in Sofāla of Zeng a cavern measuring nearly 500 parasangs in every direction. On account of the mass of shifting sands in this country and the heat and aridity, it is not thickly inhabited (Cl. Huart, *Documents persans sur l'Afrique in Recueil de mémoires orientaux publiés par les professeurs de l'École des langues orientales à l'occasion du XIV^e congrès international des orientalistes réuni à Alger*, Paris 1905, p. 95—95. This passage is not found in the edition and translation of this Persian text by Guy Le Strange, *G. M. S.*, vol. xxiii. 1 and 2).

"Golden Sofāla", says Ibn al-Wardī (c. 1340) (Cairo 1328, p. 51 infra), "adjoins the land of Zeng. It is a vast country with mountains containing deposits of iron which the people of the country work. The Indians come to them and buy the iron at a high price, although they have iron-mines in their own country; but the iron of the mines of Sofāla is better, purer and more malleable. The Indians smelt this iron and make steel of it (with which they make tools and weapons with fine cutting edges). It is in this country (India) that Indian swords and other things are made in abundance. One of the wonders of the land of Sofāla is that there are found under the soil, nuggets of gold in great numbers; the weight of each is 2 or 3 mithkāl or even more. In spite of this the people of the country only wear ornaments of copper which they esteem more highly than gold. The land of Sofāla adjoins that of Wāk-wāk". Ibn Battūṭa (c. 1355, *Rihla*, ii. 192) only says that the town of Sofāla is situated half a month's journey south of Kilwa (read Kilwa).

Ibn Khaldūn (c. 1375) in his *Prolegomena* (i. 119 of translation) is hardly more explicit: "Farther

to the east (= south) of Moḥadlāḥū (Mayadoxo) is the land of Sofāla which lies on the southern (western) shore of the sea of India, in the seventh section of the first climate. Then to the east (= south) of Sofāla on the same southern (= western) shore is the land of Wāk-wāk".

According to Bākuwī (beginning of the xvth century, in *N. E.*, 1789, ii., p. 401), Sofāla is a town of the land of Zeng, famous for its gold mines. The gold of this country is much sought after by merchants. There is a kind of bird that speaks better than a parrot (it is the *ḥawūrī* mentioned above in the extract from Khawānī).

In his *al-Umdat al-maḥriya fī Qaṣṣ al-'Uṭūm al-baḥriya* (Gabriel Ferrand, *Instructions nautiques et ventiers arabes et portugais des XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, vol. ii.: *Le pilote des mers de l'Inde, de la Chine et de l'Indonésie*, Paris 1925, f. 29 verso), the *mu'allim* or sailing-master Sulaimān al-Mahri (first half of the xvth century) places the harbour of Sofāla, 6 *lyās* from the Great Bear or about 18° south — the exact latitude is 18° 15' — but, which is peculiar, the text says that Sofāla is opposite the Timor islands of Indonesia which are 10° further north.

About 1490 Sofāla was visited by Pedro da Covilhā. But he was not the first European traveller to visit south-eastern Africa, for the *mu'allim* Ibn Maḥjīd definitely says in two verses of a nautical treatise dated 18th Dhū 'l-Hijja 866 = September 13, 1462, "It is said that in former days the ships of the Franks came to Madagascar and to the coast of Zeng and Western India, according to what the Franks say". These two verses seem to allude to the voyage of Pseudo-Brocardus (who is probably the Dominican William Adam) in the first half of the xvth century. It was actually recorded in this monk's narrative that at this time "mercatores vero et homines fide digni passim ultra versus meridiem procedebant, usque ad loca ubi asserebant polum antaricum quinquaginta [read: triginta] quatuor gradibus elevari". But the question will be treated in detail later (vide infra ZENG).

On May 18, 1506, Pero d'Anhaya or da Nhaya left Lisbon with six ships to go and build a fortress at Sofāla. Castanbēda (Bk. ii., Ch. x., p. 34 of the edition 1833) gives an account of the reception which was given him by the king Čufe (= Vlsuf). But this ruler belonged to the royal family of Kilwa and his entourage consisted of Moors, i.e. Muslims, which tells us nothing of the natives of the country.

Barros (Dec. i., Bk. x., Ch. i., p. 372—388) says that the great kingdom of Sofāla lies on an island between the two arms of the river Kuama and the sea and is over 650 leagues in circumference. It is so thickly populated that the elephants are leaving it. The natives say that every year 4 or 5,000 die, which explains why so great a quantity of ivory is sent to India. The nearest gold mines are at Manica which is about 50 leagues west of Sofāla. The gold which is gathered there is gold dust (or nuggets) which is found at 6 or 7 palms' depth (c. 5—6 feet). The most distant mines are 100—200 leagues from Sofāla. There are others also in the land of Toroa which is also called the kingdom of Butua. There is a fortress built of hewa stones, very well built of stones of astonishing size, joined without cement. The wall of the fortress is over 28 palms (23

feet) thick and its height is not proportionate to its width. On the gate of this building is an inscription which several educated Muslim merchants have seen, but they could not read it, nor say in what alphabet it was written (this is probably not accurate as no inscriptions have been discovered in this region). Around this building on eminences are others built in similar fashion; on one of them is a tower of over 12 stories. All these erections are called by the natives *zimbalwe* (read *zimbalwe*) which they say means court (royal residence: *zimba-bwe* literally means stone house and in eastern Bantu this name is given to any house of the king or chief).

In the xvth century, Sofala was the only port in this region that exported gold. Gradually the merchants began to go north to Quelimane, north of the Zambesi, and about the middle of the xvth century, the annual exports from Sofala amounted to only 500 *pastas* (c. 350 lbs) while that of Quelimane was over 3,000 *pastas* (c. 2050 lbs). A century later Sofala had practically ceased to exist.

The early Portuguese narratives and certain European scholars located at Sofala the Biblical Ophir from which the fleets of Solomon and of Hiram brought back every three years cargoes of gold, silver, ivory, apes and peacocks (I Kings, x. 22; II Chronicles, ix. 21). In a short but solid study, Sylvain Lévi (*Autour du Bâvru-jâtaka*, in *Annuaire de l'École pratique des Hautes-Études*, Paris 1913-1914) has shown that Ophir is not to be sought in India. Nothing so far makes it likely that it can possibly be located at Sofala.

The old town of Sofala seems to have been very important, if we may judge by its ruins of commodious houses which are evidence of the wealth of its inhabitants in the xvth century. It was abandoned later and rebuilt in the vicinity. The new Sofala was described as a little town in 1764. It lay in 20° 13' Lat. and 34° 45' Long. It was 252 fathoms long, 60 broad and included 35 houses, one of stone and lime and 2 of wood with tiled roofs and 32 of wood covered with thatched roofs. The famous mediaeval emporium lost its importance at the end of the xvth century. In 1883 João de Andrade Corvo speaks of the old kingdom of Sofala which was so rich under Arab rule. In 1889 the authors of the *Elementos para um dicionário chorographico da provincia de Moçambique* write the melancholy words: "The district of Sofala, so rich in historical memories, is now poverty-stricken and abandoned".

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(GABRIEL FERRAND)

SOFTA, a popular pronunciation of the pers. *sūfta* from the Persian verb *sūftan*, to burn, to set on fire; literally then one afire, in flames, i.e. consumed by the love of God or learning. *Softa* in Turkish is particularly applied to students (Ar. *ṭālib*), especially the beginner in the sciences or in theology. After his first courses, the student is usually called *dānīshmand*. Risings of the *Softa*'s, who used to rebel en masse have repeatedly played a dangerous part in Ottoman history.

Bibliography: The dictionaries and J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, ii. 338; iv. 346; cf. also his *Des osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung*, ii, Vienna 1815, p. 402; Murād Efendi (= Franz v. Werner), *Türkische Sitten*, Leipzig 1877, vol. 2, p. 90 sqq. (FRANZ BARINGER)

SOGHD, **AL-SOHD** or **AL-SOHD**, a district in Central Asia. The same name (Old. Pers. *Sugda*, late Avestan *Sughda*, Greek *Sogdion* or *Sogdiano* [the people] and *Sogdiane* [the country]) was applied in ancient times to a people of Iranian origin subject to the Persians (at least from the time of Darius I, 522—486 B.C.) whose lands stretched from the Oxus (cf. *AMU-DARYA*) to the Yaxartes (cf. *SIR-DARYA*), according to the Greek sources. The language and especially the terms relating to the calendar and festivals of the Soghdian Zoroastrians are very fully dealt with in the Muslim period by al-Birūnī in his *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, ed. Sachau, Leipzig 1878, cf. p. 46 sq., 233 sqq. and transl. London 1879, p. 56 sq., 220 sqq. From al-Birūnī's information, modern Iranists (notably F. C. Andreas and F. W. K. Müller) have been able to identify as Soghdian the language of numerous fragments of manuscripts found in Chinese Turkestan (commercial documents, Buddhist, Manichaean and Christian texts).

As in classical times the Soghdians still appear in al-Birūnī (*op. cit.*, p. 45, 21) along with the Khwarizmians as an indigenous people with a Zoroastrian civilisation in MA WAR' al-Nahr. References to pre-Muhammadan Soghdian colonies in remote regions are found, not only in Chinese, but also in Muslim sources, cf. *Hudūd al-'Alam* (unique Tumansky MS. now in the Asiatic Museum in Leningrad) in W. Barthold, *Die historische Bedeutung der alttürkischen Inschriften*, p. 4, note 1, appendix to W. Radloff, *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei*, New Series, St. Petersburg 1897, on the Soghdians in the land of the Tughughus (cf. *ghuz*) and Mahmūd Kāshgharī (*Divān Lughāt al-Turk*, Constantinople 1333, i. 31 and 391 sq.) on the Soghdian settlers (Sughdāy, as in the Orkhon inscription) in Bīlāsaghūn [q.v.] who had adopted "Turkish dress and customs" and on the Soghdian and Turkish speaking peoples from Bīlāsaghūn to Ishdīb or Sairīm (on the name of "white town" given to the latter, cf. *ibid.*, iii. 132 sq.). The fact proved by R. Gauthiot that the Uighurs borrowed their alphabet from the Soghdians seems to have been known in Muslim times, cf. Fakhr al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh (beginning of the 15th/16th century) in E. D. Ross in *Adfān Nāma*, *A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, p. 405. Turkish *Kent* meaning "village, town" is already described as a Soghdian loan-word in the *Gandīya* (text in W. Barthold, *Turkestan v. epochu mongolskogo nachestviya*, I, Petersburg 1898, p. 48).

As the name of a country Soghd had a much

narrower application in the Muslim period than in antiquity. According to Istakhri (*B.G.A.*, i. 316) Soghd proper comprised the lands east of Bukhārā from Dabusiya to Samarkand; he also says that others also included Bukhārā, Kāshghar (Kash, q.v.) and Neseif in Soghd. Kash sometimes appears as the capital of Soghd, e.g. *B.G.A.*, vii. 299, 14 (Ya'qubi); it is possible that the oldest Chinese name for the region of Kash, *Sa-hai* (old pronunciation *Sugit*) is a reproduction of the name Soghd; it is so taken by J. Marquart, *Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften*, Leipzig 1898, p. 57. In another passage (*B.G.A.*, vii. 293) Ya'qubi describes Samarkand as the capital of Soghd; Kash and Neseif are included in Soghd but Bukhārā is separated. It is not known what geographical connotation Soghd had for al-Birūnī; whenever he associates a Soghdian festival with a particular district, it is always some village in the territory of Bukhārā. Nerzhakhi (ed. Schefer, p. 47) quotes a few expressions in the dialect of Bukhārā and these are explained as Soghdian by F. Rosenberg (*Prat. Linguistique, asarwanie J. Badovinowi de Courtney*, Cracow 1921, p. 94 sqq.). According to Istakhri (p. 314) Soghdian was spoken in Bukhārā. According to Mahmūd Kāshgharī (i. 391 sq.), Soghd is the land between Bukhārā and Samarkand. In modern native topography Soghd is only a part of the territory of Samarkand and a distinction is made between "Half-Soghd" (Nim Sughd) on the island between the two arms of the Zarafshān (Ak Daryā and Kara Daryā), and "Great Sughd" (Sughd-i Kallīn) north of the Ak Daryā. The language of the Soghdians seems to have disappeared earlier than that of the Khwarizmians, ousted like other Iranian dialects, partly by the Persian literary language and partly (especially in the colonies) by Turkish. The language called "Middle Soghdian" by F. C. Andreas still survives in a single modern Soghdian dialect, the isolated Yaghinobi (cf. *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, i, Pt. II, p. 291).

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(W. BARTHOLD)

SÖGÜD, a little town, capital of a *kāḍa* of the same name in the sandjak of Ertogrul, belonging to the wilāyet of Khudawendigar in Asia Minor. It lies to the south of Sakariya between Lefke and Esli Shehir and is a day's journey from each of these places (*Djihad-numā*). Sögüd lies at the mouth of a mountain gorge, very deep and very narrow, and is built in an amphitheatre. The country round the town forms part of the fertile region which forms the transition between the Central Plain of Anatolia on the

south and the lands on either side of the lower course of the Sakariya to the north. It was the country of Sultān Özü, and is famous in Ottoman history as having been the cradle of power of the Ottoman dynasty. According to the unanimous tradition of the Turkish historians, Ertogrul, father of 'Othmān received this district as a fief from the Saldjūk Sultān 'Alā' al-Dīn; the mountains of Tūmtūdī and Erment were the *yailā* of the tribe of Ertogrul and Söğüd was their *yurt* ('Ashk Pasha Zade, p. 4 and Urudj Bey, ed. Babinger, p. 7, 83). The *türbe* of Ertogrul is at Söğüd; this tomb has a little cupola and lies two leagues from the town, a little to the left of the road to Lefke. Tradition still tells that one of the brothers of 'Othmān, Sarıyāl or Sawdā is buried beside his father; 'Othmān himself is also said to be buried in this *türbe* and not at Brussa (Ritter).

As regards the pre-Ottoman period we find in the *Ta'wīm al-Tawārikh* of Hādījī Khalifa the legend that the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd conquered Söğüd in 181 (797). The name Söğüd is pure Turkish and means "willow"; the oldest form seems to have been Söğüddjūk or Söğütdjūk (thus *Tawārikh 'Alī 'Othmān*, ed. Giese, Urudj Bey, and as late as the xviiith century, Mehmed Edih, cf. also Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz*, I. 101). The modern pronunciation is rather Söwilt.

One of the four *djāms* of Söğüd is attributed to Ertogrul and another to Sultān Muḥammad I. After the capture of Constantinople the town was situated on the main route of pilgrimage to Mecca. It was never large; in the xviiith century Ewliyā counted 700 Turkish houses there and at the beginning of the xixth century the number had hardly risen (cf. the traveller's records in Ritter). Towards the end of this century Sāmi gives 5,000 as the population. The product for which the country round Söğüd has always been noted is a preserve made of grapes cut up and steeped in vinegar (*isām turşusu*). Silkworms are also grown and there is some weaving in the town.

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(J. H. KRAMERS)

ŞOHĀR. [See ŞUHĀR.]

ŞOKOLLI, MUHAMMAD PASHA, surnamed "Tall", "the Tall", one of the most famous of Turkish grand viziers. He was born in the early years of the xvth century in the village of Sokol in Bosnia. His family was called Sokolewitsch, of which Şokolli is the Turkish form. According to a panegyric biography written about 1570 entitled *Djirwāhīr al-Manāhīh* (cf. *T. O. E. M.*, No. 29, p. 257 sqq.), which is regarded as the best authority for the youth of Şokolli, Sokol means "falcon's nest". He was the eldest son and was taken from his parents under the *dewchirme* in the early years of Sulaimān I's reign. His remarkable abilities gained him important posts on the staff of the Serāy where he finally reached and held for a long time the responsible post of *Kapudjī Kāyāsī*. At this period he brought his parents to Constantinople and his two brothers, who died soon afterwards, and also a cousin who later became Muḥaffā Pasha, Beglerbeg of Budin.

In 953 (1546) Şokolli left the Serāy to become *Kapudān Pasha* in succession to Khair al-Dīn Pasha Barbarossa, which was an exceptional promotion. In this capacity he conducted expeditions into Tripolitania. Three years later he was appointed Beglerbeg of Rūm-ili. He there took part in several campaigns. In 959 (1552) he took Temesvár in Hungary. In 961 (1554) he accompanied Sultān Sulaimān in his campaign against Persia (capture of Nakhcewan) after which he obtained the rank of *wazīr-i shāhī*. When the struggle began between the two princes, Selim and Bāyazīd, in 1559, Şokolli was in command of the troops assisting Selim against his brother. Henceforth he was associated by close ties with Selim whose daughter Esmeikhān he married in 969 (1562); she was 40 years his junior. After being *wazīr-i shāhī*, he was finally appointed grand vizier in June 1568 on the death of Aḥmad Pasha.

Şokolli held this office till his death in 1579 so that he was grand vizier for the last 15 months of Sulaimān's reign, the whole of that of Selim II, and the first four years of Murād III. For the greater part of this period Şokolli was the real ruler of the empire (*pādīshāh-i ma'nawī*, cf. Pečewi, I. 44) especially during the reign of Selim II [q.v.] who hardly took any interest in affairs of state. By his experience and sagacity, Şokolli was the obvious man to consolidate the glorious traditions of the time of Sulaimān. His efforts were mainly directed to the maintenance of peace abroad and order at home. Although we know of nothing very brilliant done by him, he was nevertheless the moving spirit in all the great events of his time. Very characteristic of him was the manner in which he kept secret the death of Sulaimān before Sigeth until the new sovereign had had time to reach the army, and again when Selim II refused to give the accession gifts, against Şokolli's advice, the latter only intervened at the last moment to pacify the mutinous Janissaries. After his return from the Sigeth campaign the grand vizier took no further part in military expeditions. The documents of his time however show that he was active in all branches of administration. During his grand vizierate the empire and especially the capital, passed through the richest and most glorious period in its history, while the old simple traditions were still strong enough to check the moral decadence, which was already beginning to appear. The only opposition that Şokolli encountered in his domestic and foreign policy was that of the coterie led by the Jew Yūsuf Nāsī, the favourite of Selim II and by the latter's Jewish favourite. The Jewish bankers had control of the customs and had a grip on the whole economic life of the state and Şokolli was not able completely to counteract their influence, which showed itself for example in the deterioration of the coinage.

In the foreign policy of Şokolli we have probably to recognize a pan-Islamic tendency. Up to the last year of his grand vizierate, the peace with Persia (concluded at Amasia in 961 = 1554) was not broken, while the empire endeavoured to assist Muslim rulers in India and Further India against Portuguese attacks (on the expedition to Atchah cf. *T. O. E. M.*, No. 10) and the Khāns of Transoxiana against the Russians. Şokolli's European policy was likewise peaceful; he was con-

tinuously on his guard against Russia under Ivan the Terrible, against Austria and Spain, and he hoped to hold these powers in check with the support of the friendship of France and Poland. He was however unable to prevent the expedition against Cyprus and the naval war with Venice and the other powers which resulted from it. The occupation of Cyprus was mainly due to the influence of Yüsus Nâsi and his friends with the Sultan. But once the decision had been taken, the grand vizier did his utmost to secure the success of the expedition. It was likewise entirely due to his energy that a new fleet was built in less than a year after the destruction of the Turkish fleet in the battle of Lepanto (Oct. 7, 1571). Şokolli was less fortunate in other more peaceful enterprises, like the digging of a canal between the Volga and Don and the piercing of the isthmus of Suez. He was further very skilled in the field of diplomatic negotiations, which he conducted with courtesy (he had his portrait painted for a Venetian ambassador, which later was in the collection of the Archduke Ferdinand) and finesse but sometimes with harshness. The peace concluded with Venice (March 7, 1573) left the island of Cyprus to Turkey; it was as if the battle of Lepanto had never been fought.

The personal position of Şokolli was remarkable. He was neither unusually popular with the people, nor a particular favourite of the Sultan, but every one respected him. In keeping with his character, he was not a patron of literature and poetry (Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, iii. 7); nevertheless the poet Bâkî celebrates him in his *şâhidat*. In his palace in Stambul (later bought by Ahmed I to build a mosque on the site) Şokolli maintained a vast suite. Through his great influence he was able to rid himself of his enemies, without, however, having any real friends. He was able to prevent difficulties that might have arisen from other influential men of his time like Lala Mustafa Pasha and Sinân Pasha (q. v.). His most intimate confidants were his secretary Feridân Bey (q. v.), later *Re'is al-Kutub* and his *Kiâya* Dja'far Agha. Şokolli is further depicted as a religious and incorruptible man. The latter quality did not prevent him from accepting huge presents, which, added to his own income, made him one of the richest of men. Western sources accuse him of avarice, but he built many public buildings in the provinces, especially *karaânserây*s, besides two mosques in the capital, a mosque and *tekke* in the Kaifirgha quarter and a mosque and *medrese* at Azab Kapu (cf. *Hadikat al-Djâwâmi'*, i. 193). He is also accused with some justice of having favoured too much his numerous relations and compatriots whom he brought from Bosnia, many of whom occupied important positions. The historian Pečewî İbrâhîm was the son of a female cousin of Şokolli.

After the accession of Murâd II, Şokolli's great influence began to diminish. The favourites of the new Sultan, like Şamî Pasha obtained the offices from which Şokolli's proteges were dismissed. But before the dismissal of the grand vizier himself — which seemed to have become inevitable — Şokolli was murdered on Oct. 11, 1579. An individual, disguised as a beggar, came up to him as he was leaving the *divân* and stabbed him. He was buried in a *türbe* which he had built at Aiyûb (cf. Ewliya Çelebi, *Siyahatnâme*, i. 408).

Bibliography. The principal sources for

the life of Şokolli are the *Ta'rikk*'s of Pečewî, Selânikî and of 'Alî (*Kanûn al-Akhhâr*, part still unprinted) and the *Tuhfat al-Kibâr* of Hâdîdî Khalîfa. There are other biographies of him in Mûnâddîm Bâhî, *Şahîf al-Akhhâr*, iii. 332 sqq.; 'Othmân Zâde, *Hadikat al-muwarrâ*, Constantinople 1271, p. 32 sqq.; Thureiyâ Efendi, *Sijill-i 'Othmânî*, iv. 122; Hâfiz Husain al-Awânserâyî, *Hadikat al-Djâwâmi'*, Constantinople 1281, i. 193. Among western contemporary sources the most important are the *Tagebuch* of Gerlach, Frankfurt 1674, and the *Relationi* of the Venetian Alberti. All these sources have been used by the modern historians like von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii. and iv.; Jorga, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, iii. (especially p. 165 sqq.); Brosch, *Geschichten aus den Leben dreier Grosswesiers*, Gotha 1899; Ahmad Refik, *Şokolli*, Constantinople 1924 (an important appreciation of Şokolli and his period partly based on original documents, the provenance of which however is rarely mentioned). On the *genre* of Şokolli, cf. von Kraelitz-Greifenhorn in *Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte*, 1923-1926, ii., p. 261. (J. H. KRAMERS)

SOKOTO or **SAKATU** is the name of a town in the western part of the Hausa country, situated on a left bank tributary of the Niger called Gulbi-n-Sokoto, which means in Hausa the river of Sokoto. The town seems to have been of little importance before the sixteenth century; in any case it was much less known than the other towns of the Hausa, such as Zaria, Guber or Tessaawa, Katsena, Zinder, Kano and Zegzeg or Zaria. It formed part of the kingdom of Guber, which like the other Hausa states then contained very few Muhammadans, almost all foreigners. There were a few colonies of Ful or Fulbe among the native population, which, as at the present day, lived mainly by agriculture and commerce. It was in 1801 or 1802 that Sokoto became the capital of a kind of empire founded by a Tuculor *shaikh* from Futa-Tora (Senegal) belonging to the Törödo caste (singular Törödo). This conqueror was called Usmânu ('Uthmân) and was the son of a certain Muhammad surnamed Fodjo, i. e. "the wise, the jurist". The *Shaikh* Usmânu having left his native land to go on the pilgrimage to Mecca was in Guber, where he was preaching Islam in 1801 when he received a deputation from the Fulbe, seeking his protection against the king of Tessaawa, against whom some shepherds had a complaint. Usmânu, who was only waiting a pretext to declare a holy war, took up the cause of these men, whom he regarded as compatriots because Fulbe and Tuculor, although of very different stocks, spoke the same language. Having collected an army of followers, he took the field against Yunfa, the king of Tessaawa, and conquered him. Continuing his conquests, he was not long in becoming master of several other Hausa provinces (Liptako, Kebbi, Yauri, Nupe, Kororofa, Bautshi, Adamawa), imposing Islam on the inhabitants by force and placing at the head of each kingdom or province a kind of governor called *amir*, chosen from the members of his family or caste. Thus there was created for the benefit of a small Tuculor aristocracy of the Törödo caste, an empire, military in character, including almost all the lands to the south of the Sahara between the eastern course of the Niger (which it reached in the west also in Liptako),

Benu, Logone, and Chad, with the exception however of Bornu, which, although invaded in its turn by Usmanu's hands, succeeded in recovering its independence in 1810. The general name of empire of Sokoto is given to these conquests because it was in the eastern quarter of Sokoto, at Wurno, that Shaikh Usmanu took up his permanent residence, and his successors lived.

But on the death of Usmanu (1816 or 1818) the empire broke up into three allied states: in the west that of Gando, including the Kebbi, the Yanri, the Nupe and Liptako; in the east that of Yola, comprising Kororofa and Adamawa and in the centre that of Sokoto including all the Hausa country and Bautshi. Abdullahi, brother of Usmanu, became king of Gando, Modibba Adama of Yola, which he gave his name (Adamawa) and Muhammad Bello, son of Usmanu, succeeded his father at Sokoto where he reigned from 1816 or 1818 to 1837.

He had a difficult task to maintain his authority. The natives everywhere abjured Islam and rebelled, supported in their rebellion by the Tuareg and the Sultan of Bornu. After suffering several reverses, Muhammad Bello's troops finally established him in power. A rather poor soldier, reluctant to take part personally in battle, this prince was on the other hand a distinguished writer. In Arabic he composed a considerable number of works in prose and verse, one of them a history of the Sudan which is not without value. He was the patron of men of letters, gave a good reception to the explorer Clapperton (1828) and exercised a strict control over the doings of his judges, who feared his enquiries and censure.

His brother and successor Atiku (1837—1847) claimed to be a reformer of morals and made himself very unpopular by prohibiting music and dancing. His puritanism did not prevent his governors committing all kinds of excesses and depredations, which resulted in the rebellion of the provinces of Gober and Katsena.

In the reign of Aliyu, son of Muhammad Bello (1843—1860) who received the explorers Overweg (1851) and Barth (1852 and 1854) at Sokoto, civil troubles and risings increased in extent. Gradually the authority of the emperor was lost and usurped by various *amirs* of the provinces. The five last sovereigns of the Tōro dynasty — Ahmadu, son of Atiku (1860—1866), Aliyu-Karami, son of Bello (1866—1867), Ahmadu-Rafaye (1867—1872), Abubakari (1872—1877) and Moyasu (1877—1904) — showed themselves incapable of efficiently governing an empire, which was too large and too badly organised, and collapsed at once in 1904, simply on the entry of Sir Frederick Lugard's troops into Sokoto.

At the present day the town of Sokoto forms part of the British colony of Nigeria, while the rest of Gober and his capital Tessaawa are included in the French colony of the Niger.

(MAURICE DELAFOSSE)

SOKOTRĀ (Socotra), an island in the Indian Ocean on the east side of the Gulf of Aden, about 150 miles from Rās 'Asir (Cape Guardafui) forms with the smaller islands of the group, notably 'Abd al-Kūr, the "brethren", Semha and Dersi, and Sambūya (Sambūniya; Saboyna of the older maps since Wellsted) and the Farūn rocks, the geographical and geological continuation of the coast of North Somaliland. It is 75 miles

long (from Rās Shoab in the west to Rās Redreese in the east), and has a maximum breadth of 20 miles and an area of 1,520 square miles. The elongated shape of its horizontal section gives it its characteristic configuration (the figure "about 240 miles" for the distance from Cape Guardafui in Theodore Bent, *Southern Arabia*, London 1900, p. 345, who gives the length and breadth of the island correctly as 72 and 22 miles, is a misprint). Sokotrā was known in classical antiquity as the island of Dioscorides, *ἵσος*, *ἡ Διοσκορίδου καλουμένη* in the *Periplus maris Erythraei*, 30 (the MS. has *Διοσκορίδα*; C. Müller, *Geographi Graeci minores*, i. 280 has in the text *Διοσκορίδον*, but see his note; Fabricius in his edition, Leipzig 1883, gives *Διοσκορίδου*) after the mention of the Saccalic Sea (coast of Shehr, east of Rās al-Kelb) and of the promontory of Syagros (Rās al-Farak), it is mentioned as a territory of the king of the land of frankincense, *Eleazar*, who lived in *Σάββατα* (Shabwat) (27; on the genitive form of the name *Ἐλεάζου*, found in manuscripts, of the king known from inscriptions as Il'azz, which Fabricius, wrongly following C. Müller on § 26, altered to *Ἐλεάζου*, see the articles *ELEAZOR* and *ELIAR* in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyklopädie der class. Altertumswiss.* [henceforth quoted as *R.E.*]), also *Διοσκορίδου ἵσος* in Ptolemaeus, viii. 22, 17 and *Διοσκορίδον ἡ πόλις*, vi. 7, 45 (var. *Διοσκορίδου πόλις*), the oldest and the only classical reference to the capital of Sokotrā, *ἡ ἵσος ἡ καλουμένη Διοσκορίδου* in Cosmas Indicopleustes, p. 178 (for the form of the name cf. *Διοσκορίδης* in Stephanus Byzantinus).

The island is called by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vi. 153: "*ciara* (insula) in Azanio mari Dioscurida" (similarly also Amm. Marc., xliii. 6, 47) and is referred to by ecclesiastical historians (see below). Agatharchides (§ 103) (preserved in extracts in Diodorus and Photius; see the article *SABA*, p. 7) refers to the whole group; after describing the land of Saba he remarks that near the coast lie the *ἵσος νῆσος*, the earliest reference to Sokotrā and the adjoining islands, which he considers to belong to South Arabia. It may be assumed that Sokotrā is included among the frankincense islands of Arabia mentioned by Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.*, ix. 4, 10. On the identity of the island of Dioscorides with Sokotrā cf. Ritter, *Erdbunde*, Berlin 1845, xii. 64, 336 (following Vincent, etc.); C. Müller, *op. cit.*, 190 etc. Bochart (*Geographia sacra*, Leiden 1692, i/l. 436) had already derived the name, which is found in the form *Sukutrā* among the Arabs (Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, quotes besides the regular form, iii. 101 also *Sukutrā*, i. 543; also *Sukūṭarā*), Ibn Rosta, *B. G. A.*, vii. 82, *Sukūṭ(a)ra*; on the other form *Uskutrā*, see *Kāmil*, i. 381 and *Ta'df al-'Arūṣ*, iii. 273) from the Sanskrit *svipa inkhatara*, "fortunate isle" and this explanation of the name which agrees best with the name in Agatharchides (cf. *Ἰνδαλμυ Ἀραβία*) has been adopted by Bohlen, *Das alte Indien*, Königsberg 1830, ii. 139; Benfey in Erich-Gruber's *Encyklopädie*, sect. ii., vol. vii., p. 30; C. Müller, *op. cit.*, i. 280 (cf. Ritter, *op. cit.*) and more recent writers (Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 391 was not acquainted with the literature before Schweinfurth). The Greek name arose, like many other Greek corruptions of Oriental names by a popular etymology, connecting the foreign name with some mythological figure familiar to the Greek circle of ideas. The

name *Διοσκύρων λιμήν* (Ptolemy, iv. 7, 5) a harbour on the west coast of the Red Sea, is similar in origin. This corruption was all the easier in this case as it was facilitated by the Greek idea that the appearance of the constellation of the Dioscuri (Gemini) was a good omen for navigators. The Indian origin of the name is supported by the statement in the *Periplus* (30) that the island included Indians amongst its inhabitants (there are still Hindus on Sokotra), that sailors from India land there bringing rice, a cereal that does not grow on the islands, Indian cotton and slave-girls and receiving turtles (31) and by the note of Agatharchides (Diodorus, iii. 47) that Indian merchants traded with the *ἄρου ὑδάριονες*. In ancient times Sokotra, specially noted for its frankincense was of importance as a centre of sea commerce between India, Arabia and East Africa (Atania, the coast between Ras 'Asir and Zanzibar), as a result of its situation at the entrance to the Red Sea and in spite of its lack of proper harbours. Bent's idea (*op. cit.*, p. 391) that Sūḷ (the name still survives for the ruined site of the ancient capital) the Zoko of the 15th century Portuguese, is a survival of the original Sanskrit form of the name, has little to commend it. Sprenger's suggestion (*Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, p. 88) that the name Sokotra is perhaps derived from *ḥāfir*, the popular name for the resin of the dragon-blood tree, is untenable on philological grounds. F. Hommel's assumption (*Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients*, Munich 1904, p. 212, note 2), that Sokotra is in some way connected with Skudra = Thrace and that the island might have received its name from Graeco-Thracian colonists, cannot be defended at all.

W. Golenishchew connected with Sokotra the magic island of A-a-penenka or Pa-anch (island of the genius) the abode of the king of the frankincense country, of which we are told in the old Egyptian fairy tale in a papyrus in St. Petersburg (French translation by Golenishchew in the *Verhandlungen d. V. Orientalistenkongresses*, Berlin 1882) of the period of the middle kingdom (about the beginning of the second millennium B.C.). G. Schweinfurth agreed with this on the whole acceptable identification first in a lecture to the 56. Versammlung deutscher Naturforscher at Freiburg i. B. (*Ein Besuch auf Sokotra*, Freib. i. B. 1884), then in *Erinnerungen von einer Fahrt nach Sokotra* (s. Westermann's *Monatshefte*, 1891, xxxiv., p. 603 sqq., xxxv. 29 sqq.); cf. also E. Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, Berlin 1890, ii. 182 sq., and *Das Weihrauchland und Sokotra*, reprint from the addition to the *Allgemeinen Zeitung*, No. [1] 120 and 121, Munich 1899, p. 4, 11, Hommel [s. below]. Glaser (*Weihrauchland*, p. 4 and *Punt*, *M. V. A. G.*, iv., 1899, p. 43) said that the island of *Ἰακχάια* (also called *Ἰεπά*) described by Diodorus, v. 41 sq. (from Euhemerus) was identical with the frankincense island of Pa-anch, and therefore with Sokotra. Ritter, *op. cit.*, p. 364 had previously discussed the possibility that the legendary frankincense island of Panchaia, mentioned by Strabo, Pliny, Roman poets and others, should be located in the vicinity of Sokotra. The similarity of the names Panchaia and Pa-anch is certainly worthy of note; the plants mentioned in the fairy tale are in keeping with the flora of Sokotra (cf. Glaser, *Weihrauchland*, p. 3 sq.). But Glaser's hypothesis

(*ibid.*, p. 20 sq., 23) that the old Egyptian name of Sokotra was really not Pa-anch but Panach or Pōnech, i. e. "the Punic island" and that this is the root meaning of Panchaia, is untenable, as is his effort to support it by his main thesis that the original inhabitants of South Arabia and Sokotra were Phoenicians and Habbashis (*ibid.*, p. 12 sq.), the South Arabian and Sokotran no less than the African were direct descendants of the Phoenicians or of the people of Punt (cf. his *Skizze*, ii., p. 250, 297 sq.; *Punt*, p. 1, 31, 65) and that the language of Sokotra was Habbashi, a descendant of Phoenician. In spite of the fictitious character of the story of Euhemerus about Panchaia, there is no doubt that a definite island forms a real background for the scenery. Among the common features in the various descriptions of the islands is further the fact that Diodorus, v. 41, speaks of the wealth of Panchaia in frankincense, myrrh trees of excellent quality and all other kinds of spices, which agrees with modern reports on Sokotra. Diodorus, v. 43 (vi. 1) speaks highly of the rich vegetation of Panchaia (on the peculiar charms of the flora of Sokotra see Wellsted, *Report* [see below], p. 145 sq.; Schweinfurth, *op. cit.*, p. 614, 620 sqq., 38, 42 sqq.; Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 367 sqq.; on the multitude of palm-trees, Yāḡū, *op. cit.*, iii. 102; quoting Hamdāni [Sīfat, p. 53; see below], *Tādī*, loc. cit.). Among the features common to the various ramifications of the traditions about the island, which, taken together, form an important factor in the varying identifications, is the fact that according to the *Periplus* 30 there are very many snakes on the island of Dioscorides and the Egyptian story makes the royal genius of the magic islands assume the form of a snake. Pliny, vi. 169 (also Mela, iii. 8) mentions among the people of Trogydite the *Panchari*, *quos Ophiophages vocant, serpentibus vesci aduerti*, a people who bore the same name as the inhabitants of Panchaia. In the legendary description of the two islands adjoining Panchaia (Diodorus, v. 41 sq.) the reference is to the islands near Sokotra, similar to Agatharchides' statement on the *ἄρου ὑδάριονες*. Hommel, who made use of the Greek idea of Panchaia for his *Die Insel der Seligen* (Munich 1901), which deals with the history of the idea of the island of the blessed in the different literatures of antiquity (p. 1, 14 sq., 32) identified (p. 15) "the small rocky island 150 feet high" described by Schweinfurth with the little island 7 stadia from Panchaia described by Diodorus. As Panchaia as a legendary duplicate of the island of Dioscorides gradually became separated from the latter in the geography of the ancients, it is no wonder that many writers like Diodorus and Pliny mention them as two separate islands. The identification recommended by Glaser, *Skizze*, p. 337, 432; *Weihrauchland*, p. 11 and Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 345 of Sokotra with the *Iskuduru* of the Naḫṣ-i Rustam inscription of Darius has nothing to recommend it, but a similarity of name. There is no real evidence that the *Isur* (often read *to-Nuter* "land of the gods") of the ancient Egyptian monuments, a name of the land of Punt, rich in spices and usually referred to South Arabia, can refer to Sokotra, as Mariette Bey (in Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 343) thought, although it may be granted that the island was already known to the ancient Egyptians as a land of frankincense. The identification of Sokotra with *Yakchia* in

Pausanias, vi. 26, 9 (Hommel, *Grundriss [Ethnologie]*, Munich 1926, p. 650), lacks any sound foundation.

Among the names in literature for the legendary fortunate frankincense island, Hommel (*op. cit.*) included also the island of the Phaeaceans of the Odyssey and (p. 23 *sq.*) the land of the blessed in the x. and xi. book of the Babylonian epic of Gilgamesh. While very much in what he says about the part played by Sokotrā as an island of Paradise in the very earliest mythology among Babylonians and Egyptians (see his *Glossen und Exkurse*, iv., *Neue kirchl. Zeits.*, II, 1892, p. 881 *sqq.*, 899 *sq.*) can only be described as fanciful hypothesis, including his etymology identifying the Egyptian name of the "Island of the Spirits", 'i per-ne-ke with *ḥabak*, from *ḥab-i-ka*), his suggestion of the similarity of the real name of the island of the Phaeaceans *Ἐξῆρα* to *Shihir* [q. v.] (Sāhil), the old name of the Hadramawt frankincense coast is worthy of serious consideration, especially as *Ἐξῆρα* cannot be satisfactorily explained as regards form and meaning from the Greek. Continuing this line of research, I have sought in Pauly Wissowa, *R. E.*, s. v. *SABA*, col. 1405 *sqq.* by quoting the etymological meaning of the name Sokotrā, which is in keeping with the fundamental idea of the poetical conception of the island of the Phaeaceans, and to the agreement in substance of almost every sentence of the Egyptian fairy story, of the sailor thrown upon the island of the spirits and the mythical matter of the adventure of Odysseus on the island of the Phaeaceans, to make it probable that Sokotrā was the real prototype which supplied the local features of the epic idea of the island of the Phaeaceans, later developed by legend and poetry, which, as is well known, shows Oriental colouring.

Among Arab geographers, al-Hamdānī, *Sifat Djazīrat al-'Arab* (ed. D. H. Müller, Leiden 1884, p. 53) gives brief notes on the nationality and religion of the people of Sokotrā, saying that on the island there are representatives of all the Mahra tribes and the number of men able to bear arms is about 10,000; they were Christians; Kisrā (Kharaw) transplanted a number of Byzantines there; Mahra tribes then settled beside them, of whom some adopted Christianity. Vākūt, *Mu'jam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), III, 102, 3 gives a similar story (word for word the same as Hamdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 52, 45—53, 1; cf. al-Kazwīnī, *Kosmographie*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848, II, 54), but, agreeing with the opinion held by the people of 'Aden, that no Byzantines came to the island, he considers the people of Sokotrā to be Greeks of the time of Alexander the Great, who lived without marrying after the introduction of Christianity and died out, whereupon Mahra tribes took their places. With these statements on the origin of the people of the island may be compared the older story in the *Periplus* (30) that the few inhabitants of the island were immigrants, a mixture of Arabs, Indians and Greeks who came there to trade, the similar statement in Diodoros v. 42, that on the island of Panchaia there were Indians, Scythians and Cretans (Greeks) in addition to the natives and what Agatharchides (103) says about the sea-trade to the *νῆσος ῥιζαίμωνος*, Persia, Caramania and the rest of the adjoining mainland. At the present day Sokotrā still has a mixed population, which on the north coast includes besides native Arabs,

Somālī, Swāhili and Indian elements. According to the above mentioned passage in Cosmos, who rightly traces the Hellenism of Sokotrā to colonisation by the Ptolemies, the Greeks had retained their language and were Christians, who got their priests from Persia. Glaser's suggestion, *Silber*, p. 184 (138) that one or other of the three Greek cities of Arabia, Arcthusa, Larisa, Chalkis, mentioned by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 159, should be sought on Sokotrā is without foundation. Idrisi, who knew about the traffic by sea between Sokotrā and the Mahra coast, connects (I, 48, Jaubert, Paris 1836) the story of Alexander's campaign into Arabia on account of its wealth of frankincense, with Sokotrā, which was colonised with Greeks on the advice of Aristotle on account of the excellent aloes growing there (similarly in *Ta'aj al-'Arās*, *loc. cit.*). The Christianisation of the island may have been effected by the Abyssinian rulers who conquered Arabia for a time. On the notices of Christianity there in Africanus, Theodoret, al-Mas'ūdī, Abu 'l-Fida' and his contemporary Marco Polo, see Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 344. When Persian civilisation gained the upper hand in Arabia and after it Islām, Christianity was gradually driven out of the island. The final disappearance of the church was comparatively late; the last traces are found in the beginning of the xviii. century (according to the Carmelite monk Vincenzo; cf. Bent, p. 355).

It is significant for the conditions of navigation to Sokotrā that al-Hamdānī, *op. cit.* (cf. Vākūt, *op. cit.*), says that one who sails from 'Aden to the land of al-Zindj (opposite the Zanzibar coast, the land of the Sawāhili) first shapes his course for 'Omān and leaves the island of Sokotrā on his right and then sails around it into the sea of al-Zindj, until he has the island behind him. Sprenger (p. 87) rightly observes that this circuit is caused by the prevalence of south winds on the East African coast, and not as al-Hamdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 52, thought, by the fact that the Gulf of 'Aden is enclosed by a barrier of the seas of al-Zindj (on this see also Vākūt, *op. cit.*). According to the *Kānūn* and the *Ta'aj*, *loc. cit.*, Sokotrā is on the left on the voyage from al-Zindj. He who wishes to go to Sokotrā from 'Aden sails to Kās al-Fartak along the Arabian coast (Sprenger, *op. cit.*). This may be the reason why, in ancient times, the position of the island was defined with respect to this cape, as in the *Periplus*, 30, according to which the island lay between Syagros and the African cape Aromata (Cape Guardafui) but nearer the former (in reality the contrary is true) and in Pliny, vi. 153, who gives the distance of Sokotrā from the "promontorium Syagros" fairly correctly at 280 miles. The direction of the sailing route eastwards round the island may explain the fact that it seems to be placed in Ptolemy's map too far west of the promontory of Syagros. The calculation given in the *Ta'aj*, *loc. cit.*, is based on a direct voyage, according to which Sokotrā is three days and nights distant from Mokha. The length of the island is given too long in Ptolemy (cf. Sprenger, *op. cit.*) and also in al-Hamdānī, at 80 parasangs; it is barely a third of that.

Among the statements in Greek literature about the island of Sokotrā which have been confirmed and explained by modern research is that of the *Periplus* 30, that the few inhabitants of the island are to be found on the north side; even at the

present day, the largest and most numerous settlements, including the capital Tamarida ("date-town"; the native name is: Hadibo) are on the north coast; the west coast is less accessible and the other coasts are also thinly populated. The white cattle mentioned in Agatharchides (103) whose cows have no horns are explained as zebu (Ritter, *op. cit.*, xii., p. 249; cf. Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 367 for humpless cows).

The first more accurate information about Sokoträ was obtained on the voyage of the ship *Palinurus* from the South Arabian coast to the island in 1834 under Captain Haines, who was sent by the East Indian Company to survey the coast and collect material for a chart. Lt. J. R. Wellsted produced the first topographical account of the interior, which was naturally very incomplete. He published the geographical and scientific results of his exploration of the island in his *Report on the Island of Socotra*, *J. A. S. B.*, iv., 1835, p. 138 *sqq.*, *Memoir on the Island of Socotra*, *J. R. G. S.*, v., London 1835, p. 129 *sqq.* and in shorter form in *Travels to the City of the Caliphs*, ii., London 1840. The island, which as even this first report showed, seemed a promising field for the natural historian, was studied from the botanical, zoological, and geological point of view by J. B. Balfour (*On the Island of Socotra*, *Rept. Brit. Assoc. for the Advancement of Science*, 1881, p. 486 *sqq.*); and the petrographical material brought back by him was published by T. G. Bonney, *On a Collection of Rock Specimens from the Island of Socotra*, *Philos. Transactions of the Roy. Soc.*, clxiv., London 1883, p. 273 *sqq.* In 1881 the Riebeck expedition, one of its members being G. Schweinfurth (see *Das Volk von Sokotra*, *Unsere Zeit*, 1813, his lecture of 1883 already mentioned and his *Erinnerungen* [cf. p. 477^a]), explored the country round Tamarida for about five weeks (cf. the picture in *Western. Monatsh.*, xxxv., p. 33, and p. 41 and 49) and the adjoining parts of the Hageher hills. Schweinfurth's botanical notes were worked up by Balfour (cf. his *Botany of Socotra*, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, xxxi., 1888), and his geological by Sauer (cf. *Zeitschr. d. deutschen geol. Gesellsch.*, xl, 1888, p. 138 *sqq.*). In the winter of 1897 Th. Bent spent two months on the island with his wife, devoting his observations mainly to archaeology. His *Travels*, published by his wife after his death, includes a good map of Sokoträ. His companion, the zoologist Bennett was, we believe, the first to ascend the summit of Hageher (being followed in 1899 by the two Viennese, O. Simony and F. Kossmat). In November 1898, the Vienna Academy of Sciences sent out an expedition on the Swedish steamer *Gottfried*, to investigate the archaeology, ethnology and natural history of South Arabia and Sokoträ. The expedition (Landberg, D. H. Müller, Simony, Kossmat, Jahn and Panlay) were joined in 'Aden by W. A. Bury and H. O. Forbes and W. R. Ogilvie-Grant, who were to collect botanical and zoological specimens for the Liverpool and British Museum. After the unexpected break-down of the expedition in South Arabia, the majority of the Vienna explorers went to Sokoträ in January 1899 where they spent two months, investigating the hitherto insufficiently known south and west of the island; in January they also went to Semha and 'Abd al-Kürî. The scientific results were published in vol. lxi. of

the *Denkschriften der Akad. Wien, math.-naturwiss. Klasse*, 1907 (see *Bibliography*) and in H. O. Forbes, *The Natural History of Socotra and 'Abd el-Kürî*, Liverpool 1903. D. H. Müller published specimens of the language taken down from the lips of natives in *Die Mehr- und Sokotri Sprache*, *Schriften der sudarabischen Expedition*, *Ak. Wien*, vol. iv., vi., vii., 1902, 1905 and 1907. Bent gives a small vocabulary (*op. cit.*, p. 440 *sqq.*). These researches filled numerous gaps in our knowledge of Sokoträ and corrected many old mistakes. For example, the old doubts about the occurrence of frankincense on Sokoträ were removed and Ritter's statement (*op. cit.*, xii. 362) shown to be wrong, that Theophrastus' verdict on the high quality of the frankincense of this island is refuted by Juba who said that no frankincense is found on the island (Pliny, xii. 32). Theophrastus is thus confirmed (cf. previously Glaser, *Stäbe*, p. 183), and Bent also speaks (*op. cit.*, 344) of three excellent kinds of frankincense, several varieties of myrrh etc., and (p. 380 *sqq.*) of valleys of frankincense, myrrh and other spices, while Glaser, *Weihrauchland*, p. 4, had said "Sokoträ has no myrrh". Ch. I. Cruttenden's statement (*Narrative of a Journey from Mokha to San'a*, *J. R. G. S.*, viii., 1838, p. 278 *sq.*) about the occurrence of the frankincense tree in Sokoträ was obscure because he called it *zabbur* or *zabbur* but this (*zabur* [q.v.], *zabr*) means "aloe". Diodorus' remark (see above, p. 477^b) about the quantity of frankincense on Panchala thus becomes intelligible. According to the authorities, Sokoträ has only two kinds of frankincense trees, *Bortellia Socotrina* and *Bortellia Ameyri* Balfour *fl.* (For details of the localities where they are found, see Vierhapper in the article quoted below in the *Bibliography*, p. 374 *sq.* of the collected volume already mentioned). The Sokoträn name for frankincense is *shere hom di-jäher*. Al-Hamdānī speaks (*op. cit.*, p. 51; 53) of the Sokoträn species of myrrh as does Muḥaddasi, *B.G.A.*, iii. 98 (cf. Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 380, 384). Al-Hamdānī reports that the aloe is plentiful (p. 53); the Sokoträn kind is said to be the best of all and was a special article of commerce (cf. also *Kāmus* and *Täff*, s.v.; on similar testimony of al-Nuwairi, Ibn Sina, etc., cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, *S.B.F.M.S. Erl.*, 1916, xlviii., p. 20). The native name for the aloe *socotrina* according to Wellsted is *hayof*, more correctly *tuif* in Bent, p. 381; *tuif* in Glaser, *Weihrauchland*, p. 4, i. e. *tuif* according to D. H. Müller, the Arabic *rubal*. Bent saw a very fine quality in great quantities (p. 344, 377; cf. Wellsted, *Report*, p. 143; etc.). On localities where the aloe *Perryi* Bak. grows, see Vierhapper, *op. cit.*, p. 336; on the method of getting the resin Bent, p. 381 (cf. Wiedemann from al-Nuwairi, *op. cit.*). Aloes are still exported from Sokoträ, although not to so great an extent as before (Bent, *op. cit.*; cf. Wellsted, *op. cit.*, p. 143; Schweinfurth, *op. cit.*, p. 42; A. Grohmann, *Sudarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, Vienna 1922, p. 163 *sq.*; cf. also C. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 284). — The finding on Sokoträ of the dragon-tree, *Draco Kinnabari*, from the resin of which dragon's blood is obtained, as is mentioned by Pliny (13, 7; 33, 115 *sq.*), recalls the testimony of the *Periplus*, p. 30, that on the island, the so-called Indian dragon's blood (καυκάριον τε λεγόμενον ὕδρον) flourishes, which is collected on the trees in the

form of tears. On the dragon's blood in Sokoträ, which is mentioned for example by al-Hamdäni, p. 53 (also the *Kämūs* and *Täǧī*), see Wellsted, *Report*, p. 144; Cruttenden, *op. cit.*; Schweinfurth, p. 624, 38; Bent, p. 344, 379, 384 (see the picture at p. 387); Glaser, *Wehrtauchland*, p. 4; especially accurate in Vierhapper, p. 336 *sqq.* with illustration. The Arabic name for the resin is *dam al-ahwāl* (*ahwāl*, see *Kämūs*); we also have (vulgar, according to Sprenger, p. 88) *šāfir* (*al-šāfir al-makki* is given in the *Täǧī*), the Sokoträn *edah* (*aida*); Wellsted, *loc. cit.* [who gives *dam khaheil* as the Arabic name]; Bent, p. 379; cf. al-Hamdäni, p. 53), i. e. *idiḥak* in Müller and al-Hamdäni, vi., p. 34 *sq.*; on further names in Nuwairi, see Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 22. The description "tear of an Indian tree" from Abū Ḥanifa al-Dinawari (*ibid.*) recalls the *δάκρυον* of the *Periplus* (see above) and the *δάκρυον* of the frankincense on Panchala in Diodorus, v. 21 (cf. Dioscorides, i. 23). On the gathering of the resin, see Bent, p. 381 *sq.* The export of dragon's blood from Sokoträ (on which see also the *Kämūs* and the *Täǧī*) has decreased very much in modern times, as it is found also in India and Hadramawt (see the summary of the earlier notices in Grohmann, *op. cit.*, p. 121).

The population of Sokoträ is estimated at 13,000 Muhammadans. The people along the coast on the north devote some attention to agriculture; the *Periplus*, 30, records that there is no corn and no wine-grapes on the island; Wellsted, *op. cit.*, p. 146 and Schweinfurth, *op. cit.*, p. 620 mention only wild grapes on Sokoträ. With Hamdäni's story (p. 53) that 'anbar is washed upon the coast of Sokoträ, may be compared the account of the gathering of 'anbar in al-Mas'ūdī and in Marco Polo (see Bent p. 344) (on amber on Sokoträ cf. Wellsted, *op. cit.*, p. 160; D. H. Müller, *op. cit.*, vi., 109 *sq.*). Of the three towns mentioned in the *Täǧī*, Minša (described as the residence of the king of al-Zindj) can be found on the maps (Minsha in Bent). Bent describes the customs of the natives (p. 347 *sqq.*). That trade relations existed in early times is evident from the scanty reference in classical authors (*Periplus* and Agatharchides; see above) and the references in the *Kämūs* and *Täǧī*. Bent (p. 346, 357) mentions that Sokoträn butter, now almost the only article of export, is esteemed in the markets of the Arabian coast (Maskat) and East Africa (Zanzibar). We have already mentioned that the export of spices has declined. One obstacle to traffic is the fact that the island, which is exposed to the monsoons, has no bay which would form a safe anchorage all the year round. For this reason and in consequence of its general situation, Sokoträ is shut off from the main traffic-routes of the world and is only used for provisioning by Indian traders and whale-fishers. Tamarida has still the best roadstead; east of it is Bender Dešša. The east of the island is better watered and has a more vigorous vegetation. It is to this part that the statement refers in the *Periplus*, that the island is rich in water and has (perennial) rivers. In the *Täǧī* also the existence of streams is mentioned. Ruins in the east, e.g. at Räs Momi show that there was once a higher culture here.

The Sokoträ language occupies a singular position, a result of the ethnological mixture in the population and is not easy to fit into a linguistic

genealogical table. The statement of Philostorgius (Glaser, *Wehrtauchland*, p. 25) that the people of Sokoträ speak Syriac is due to an intelligible misunderstanding, and has nothing to do with the fact that Sokoträ has phonetical analogies with Aramaic. It is connected on the one hand with the two other Mahra languages Mehri and Shihauri and on the other with the Yemen Arabic but is also markedly different from both. Ibn al-Mudjāwir says that the Mahra used to live in Sokoträ and had a language of their own, which no foreigner would understand (Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 91). The contacts with Ethiopic are noteworthy (cf. Hommel, *Grundriss*, p. 153; Glaser, *Wehrtauchland*, p. 18). Glaser's suggestions, already mentioned (p. 477^b) according to which the language is *Habashi (*op. cit.*, p. 12), a hypothesis first put forward by him, which means to him sometimes a single language and sometimes a group of languages, are untenable. He even mentions the possibility (p. 24) that the Minaean, Sabaeans and Katabanians may be descendants of the Phoenicians and explains the Habashi language alleged to survive in Sokoträ as a direct descendant of Phoenician. The language of the Habashat is quite unknown to us. D. H. Müller's explanation that Mehri and Sokoträ are descendants of the old Minaean Sabaeans, attacked by Glaser (p. 18) or that Sokoträ has evolved from Mehri (*op. cit.*, vi., p. 372) certainly requires modification. There is a wealth of linguistic material in M. Bittner's monographs: *Charakteristik der Sprache der Insel Sokotra*, in *Ann. Wien*, 1918, N^o. viii.; *Vorstudien zur Grammatik und zum Wörterbuch der Sokoträ-Sprache*, I., S. B. A. K., Wien, cxxxiii, 4, 193; II., *ibid.*, cxxxvi, 4, 1918; (also studies on Mehri and Shihauri, *ibid.*, cxxxii, 1909 *sqq.* [in greater detail in his *Charakteristik*, p. 48, note 2]). He characterises Sokoträ as a sister of the two other Mahra languages (cf. D. H. Müller, *op. cit.*, vi., p. x.). Sokoträ, as spoken by the Beduins, who have lived among the hills from early times, may be the form in which the dialect of the original inhabitants has survived, which, probably coming from South Arabia, was related to the contemporary forms of Mehri and Shihauri and formed a linguistic group with these alongside of which may be placed the Minaean-Sabaeans as a sister language in South Arabia. The combination of original elements, of the strictly Sokoträn with the Mehri and Arabic to form a single language, may also however be interpreted as an isolated trace of the migration of an old language of South Arabia to Abyssinia.

Small fragments of inscriptions had already been noticed by Wellsted; Riebeck and Schweinfurth (in his diary) had copied some (those of Eriqah) (see Glaser, *Seizer*, p. 184). A rock inscription at Kalansiya was said by Bent (p. 351) to be late Himyar or Ethiopic; the reproduction of his copy (Pl. (v. of the "Appendices") clearly shows Sabaeans forms of letters. The script of the graffiti at Eriqah, which Riebeck had thought Greek is, according to Bent (p. 354), Ethiopic. The camel-brands which he copied (also reproduced in the Appendix) are obviously Sabaeans.

Geographically Sokoträ belongs to North East Africa, but politically it has always gone with Arabia. In this respect the island has changed little in the course of centuries (Bent, p. 345, 392). The linguistic conditions suggest close connections

with Mahra. In the time of the *Periplus* (see SABA, p. 9) it was dependent on the king of Hadramawt, the lord of the land of frankincense (see above, p. 496b). Sabothia, his capital (= Shabwat) was wrongly explained by C. Landberg, *Arabica*, Leiden 1898, v., p. 239, as Saba in the Wadi Djerdan; M. Hartmann's assertion (*Die arabische Frage*, in *Der islamische Orient*, ii., Berlin 1900, p. 434): "The statement in § 31 of the *Periplus* that Sokoträ, like Azania, is subject to Charibael is significant", is incorrect as the unambiguous language of the *Periplus* shows in what respect the dependence of Azania on Charibael is compared with the dependence of Sokoträ on Eleazos. C. Müller was also wrong in his note on Sokoträ (map xi. and xiii. of his *Atlas to the Geographi Graeci Minores*): "Charibaeli subjecta". On the relation of Eleazos to the Sabaeo-Himyär kingdom, it may be deduced from the *Periplus* that Eleazos reigned independently in Hadramawt, the kingdom adjoining Saba. In modern times it has again been erroneously deduced from the statements of Pliny, vi. 154; xii. 32, supported by an erroneous textual emendation, Saba for Saba in Pliny (cf. SABA, p. 6) that Hadramawt, which according to the inscriptions of Saba was independent, soon lost its independence; for in Pliny the Atramitae (i. e. Hadramütiae) are described as a province of the Sabaeans. The truth is just the reverse. From the time of Juba, Hadramawt was liberated from Sabaeo suzerainty and in the *Periplus* Hadramawt is under its own king, who acted independently, on equality with the king of the Himyars (cf. the article SABA in R. E., col. 1475). Eleazos had, according to *Periplus* 31, farmed out the revenues of the island and placed a garrison on it, perhaps against the Himyars (Glaser, *Skizze*, p. 186).

Arab merchants are still, as in the days of the *Periplus*, busy on Sokoträ and also in Zanzibar. Yāqūt like the *Periplus*, talks of Arab predominance in the island, and we can say the island was under the influence of Arabian culture down to the sixteenth century. The island was little known down to modern times on account of its position and lack of harbours. In the middle ages, it was notorious as a nest of pirates (cf. also Ibn Battūta quoted in Bent, p. 344). The first contact with Europe was the Portuguese occupation in 1507 but this was not permanent. The Imām of Maskat for a long period extended his suzerainty over the island and later the Sultān of Kishm. In the xviii century Christian missionaries were working there. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the Wahhābī movement swept over the peaceful island also. As late as 1834, E. Roberts (*Embassy to the Eastern Courts* etc., New York, 1837, p. 361) agreeing with Wellsted, *Travels*, i., p. 51, testifies to the political and economic dependence of Sokoträ on the Imām of 'Omān. In 1835 English influence was felt for a short period when the East India Company erected a coaling-station here. This was abandoned when the English occupied 'Aden in 1838. In 1876 for political reasons, English interest in the island was revived and the British government made a treaty with the amir of the island, the Sultān of Kishm, securing it as a sphere of influence. The Sultān living on the island was a relative of the Sultān of Kishm. In 1886, Sokoträ became an English protectorate as a dependency of 'Aden and belongs to the Indian province of Bombay.

Bibliography: The names of the principal books and pamphlets (Wellsted, Bent, Schweinfath, D. H. Müller, Glaser, Bittner, Kossmat, Forbes) are, along with the scattered references in the Arabic geographers and lexicons, given with detailed references in the text of the article. There is also for the earliest information: Yule, *Mario Polo*, 1903, p. 406 sq.; for the Portuguese period *Commentarios de grande Afonso d'Albuquerque* [1557]; (*Commentaries... translated* by W. de G. Birch, London 1875—1884, passim; for the period at the beginning of the xviii century, the account of the French expedition to Yemen in 1708 in *Viaggio nell' Arabia Felice*, Venice 1721 (J. de la Rocque, *Voyage de l'Arabie heureuse*, Paris 1716, p. 222 sq.). A good bibliography down to his day is given by J. Jackson, *Socotra, Notes bibliographiques*, Paris 1892. We may also mention the section Νῆκος σόδαρον of the article SABA in Pauly-Wissowa, R. E., s. v., col. 1402 sq., and in addition to the purely geological literature: F. Kossmat, *Vorläufiger Bericht der geologischen Untersuchungen in Sokotra*, S. B. Ak. Wien, mathem.-naturw. Kl., cxxxix. 9, 1894, p. 73 sq.; H. O. Forbes, *The English Expedition to Socotra*, in *The Geogr. Journal*, London 1899, xiii. 6, p. 633 sq.; I. W. Gregory, *A Note on the Geology of Socotra*, in *Geol. Magazine*, London 1899, vol. vi., p. 529 sq. — Of the already mentioned collected volume lxxi. of the *Denkschriften Ak. Wien* (presented 1901—1906) the following articles deal with Sokoträ, F. Kossmat, *Geologie der Insel Sokotra*, p. 1 sq. (with map, the topography of which is based on the Admiralty chart founded on Haines' and Wellsted's observations and Balfour's map, but the orography of which is based on the author's own observations); A. Pellkn, *Petrographische Untersuchungen*, p. 63 sq.; L. Steiner, *Bestimmung der auf Sokotra... gefundenen Flechten*, p. 93 sq.; F. Kohl, *Hymenopteren auf Sokotra*, p. 123 sq.; F. Vierhapper, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Flora Südarabien und der Inseln Sokotra, Semha und Abd el-Kuri*, p. 321 sq. In this connection may be mentioned Wettstein in *Vegetationbilder*, ser. 3, part v., Jena 1906. The article SOKOTRÄ in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, ed. 11, 1911, with special reference to physical, geological, climatological, zoological and botanical conditions is based for the most part on Forbes. — *The Pilot of the Gulf of Aden* contains accurate geographical details (on it and on A. Jahn's *Itinerary*, see Kossmat, *op. cit.*, p. 9). Finally see also the article MAHRA.

(J. TEATICH)

ŞOLAK was the name, in the old military organisation of the Ottoman Empire, of the archers of the Sultān's bodyguard. The word şolak is an old Turkish word meaning "left-handed". The relation of this meaning to that of archer is not quite clear. The şolaks belonged to the Janissaries, of which they formed four *orta*'s (60th-63rd), each of 100 men under the command of a Şolak Başlı, and two lieutenants (*rikab şolaks*). They were, however, used exclusively as bodyguards, a duty they shared with the *şahi*'s [q. v.]. They had the same uniform as the Janissaries, except that they wore a cap (*şak*) with a long plume on the top. The şolaks always went on foot and surrounded the sovereign whom they also accompanied to war.

Bibliography: d'Osson, *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1820, III, p. 90, 291; von Hammer, *Des Osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna 1815, II, 30, 210; Ricaut, *Histoire de l'Etat de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1670, p. 345; Ahmad Djawid, *Tarikh-i 'Asâr-i 'Othmânî*, Constantinople 1897; A. H. Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Sulaiman the Magnificent*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1913, p. 129.

(J. H. KRAMER)

SOLAKZÂDE, an Ottoman historian. His real name was Mehmed and his *mablağ* Hemdani. He seems to have been the son of a *çolak* and was born in Istanbul. Not much is known of his life. He probably adopted an official career. He is said to have died in 1068 (1657/1658). On account of his musical abilities he was called *nişâhî* (also *nişâhîlî*) from *nişâh*, *nişâhîlî* (a kind of shepherd's pipe); cf. Ewliya, *Siyâhatnâme*, I, 446, 509, 636 (passages, of which the second at least must refer to the historian).

Mehmed Solakzâde was the author of a condensed history of the Ottoman empire, which he wrote during the reign of Sultan Mehmed IV. The existing manuscripts as a rule come down to 1054. The work was originally called *Fihrist-i Şâhân*. It had a wide circulation on account of its succinct and very lucid style and is still a popular book. It cannot however claim to be valuable as an independent historical source, except for the reign of Murâd IV. Continuations were made by Sirri Efendi (d. 1142 = 1729) and by Mamî Pasha. The book was printed at Istanbul in 1297 (1880), 6 + 12 + 773 p., 8°. An earlier lithographed edition (1271 = 1854) was never completed. On the manuscripts of the work see F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen* (Leipzig 1927), p. 203 ff.

Bibliography: J. v. Hammer, *G. O. D.*, III, 424 (Hemdani); Djemâl al-Din, *Asâr-i Zarfân*, p. 35 sq.; *Sijîl-i 'Othmânî*, IV, 171; Brunsell Mehmed Tahir, *Othmanî Mu'allifleri*, III, 80; F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen*, Leipzig 1927, p. 203 ff.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

SOLIMAN. [See SULAIMÂN.]

SÖMÄI, a Kurdish district in Persia near the Turkish frontier. In Kurdish, *sömäi* means "view" (cf. in Persian *süma*, "terminus, finis, scopus", Vullers, II, 352). To the north Sömäi is separated from the basin of the Zola-çai (Shepirin, Salmâs, q.v.) by the mountains of Bere-öt, Undjalk and Aghwân; on the east the canton of Anzal separates it from Lake Urmia; to the south-east lies the Shakh-Bârd range, to the south the canton of Brâdost; to the S.W. the peak of Kotül; towards the west the ravine of Bânegâ runs into the interior of Turkish territory (the Turkish cantons of Bâsîrgâ and Gewer). Sömäi is sometimes used to include the cantons of Shepirin and Anzal-i Bêlâ.

Sömäi is watered by the northern tributaries of the Nâzu-çai, several of which drain the main valley and one (Hasan, Berdük) comes from the ravine of Bânegâ. They unite east of Berdük, flow towards Brâdost, where they are joined by the tributary from the valley of Bâsîrgâ and then, joining the Nâzu-çai, enter the lake north-east of the plain of Urmia (q.v.).

According to the *Sharaf-nâme*, Sömäi and Brâdost were at first governed by scions of the Kurd

Hasanöya dynasty (Hasanwâliids) who had taken refuge in the north after the defeat which the Bayid Shams al-Dawla had inflicted in 405 (1014) on Illak b. Bâdî (q.v.). At the beginning of the xvth century, the *Sharaf-nâme* mentions a member of the family, Ghâzi-Khân b. Sulâm Ahmad, who for his exploits was granted by Shâh Ismâ'il the cantons of Sömäi, Tergewer and Döl but later went over to Sulâm Selim. His descendants, who were under the wall of Wân, broke up into various branches. The last mir of Sömäi mentioned by the *Sharaf-nâme* is Awliya Beg (from 985 = 1577).

When in 1065 (1654) Ewliya Çelebi (q.v.) visited the country between Wân and Urmia, the strong castle of Ghâzi-Khân still stood on a cliff commanding the plain of Urmia, while the western part of Sömäi was occupied by the Pinyânish tribe (which now lives in Turkish territory in the kâdes of Gewer and Alhak). The lord of Berdük was called Çolak ("the one-armed"). Mir 'Aiz; the strong castle stood some distance below (*ast-aghâ*) Kâfâ-i Pinyânish, which may be identified with Bânegâ (3—4 miles above Berdük).

It is not very clear whether the mirs of Sömäi who, shortly after the visit of Ewliya Çelebi, erected several curious monuments were of the same tribe of Pinyânish. At Berdük is a mosque of white and black stone and a cemetery with the tomb of Nûzar Beg, son of Ghâzi Beg (d. 1071 = 1660). His son Sulâm Takî Sulâm, whose title shows that he had consolidated the power — for *cafi-kullî* means a hief for which one has received investiture — built the very imposing and picturesque castle near Bânegâ. A reconstruction of the old Kâfâ-i Pinyânish probably also dates from his time (1078 = 1667). On a rock at the entrance to the tower can still be seen the remains of a rudely carved inscription *shih mülk — Sulâm Murâd bin Sulâm* — (?). Below the fort is an "Mâdât-Khânâ built by a certain Zâl-i 'Adil (1103 = 1691) and a mosque. The style of these buildings recalls that of the castle of Mahmûdi (Khothâb) east of Wân (cf. Bânder, p. 126—128). — In 1136 (1736) the hereditary chief of the sanjak of Sömäi, Khâtim Khân, as a reward for his services, received from the Ottoman government the adjacent cantons of Salmâs (q.v.), Kerdâzân (?), Karabâgh and Anzal (cf. v. Hammer, *G. O. D.*, IV, 211).

In the sixth century the Shakhâb (q.v.), encouraged by the Persians gradually occupied Sömäi. According to Dürwâsh Pasha, Bânegâ was destroyed by 'Alî Aghâ-Shakhâb (about 1257 = 1841).

In 1851 Çirîkow was still able to speak of a "hereditary ruler of Sömäi", Parrow Khân, who had also seized Brâdost. In 1893 the Shakhâb killed at Gunbad the last representative of the family of mirs, a certain Kîlû-Khân.

Among the antiquities of Sömäi may be mentioned: 1. the citadel of Zanju-Kâfâ (between Sömäi and Salmâs, q.v.) which must correspond to the "Shadlâdi" building of Kâfâ-yârlî, mentioned by Ewliya Çelebi (IV, 281) the name of which (*altas Farhâd-kaya*) is found in Blau, *Petersen. Mitt.*, 1863, p. 201—210; 2. a chamber carved out of the rock on Mount Kotül; 3. similar chambers where the Nâzu-çai enters the plain of Urmia. All these monuments must date from the Vannic period (cf. Minorsky, *Kelashin*, in the *Zapiski*, 1917, XXIV, p. 190).

Bibliography: Sharaf-nūma, I. 296—300; Ewliya Celebi, *Siyāhet-nāme*, Stambul 1315, IV. 277—283; Derwisch Pasha, *Rapport officiel du commissaire pour la délimitation turco-persane en 1260/1852*, publ. without title, Stambul, Matba'a-i 'Amire, 1286, reprint, Stambul 1321; Cirkow, *Putewoy Journal*, St. Petersburg 1875, p. 573—575; H. Binder, *Aus Kordofan*, Patz 1287, p. 108—112; V. Minorsky, *Materialy po Wostoku*, II. 477. (V. MINORSKY)

SOMALILAND, a large country in East Africa inhabited by the Somali.

a) *Geographical outline.* Somaliland comprises the borders of the Ethiopian plateau declining eastward to the Gulf of Aden and southward to the Indian Ocean.

In the basin of the Gulf of Aden in front of the eastern edge of the plateau at a short distance from the shore there is a range of rocky and barren hills (the highest elevation of the range seems to be about 6,000 feet); among them the characteristic Būr Nāso Hablūd "girl's breasts hills" and the Hadattimo. This range running in a line almost parallel to the coast of the Gulf of Aden drops into the Indian Ocean at the promontories of Guardafui (Ras 'Asir) and Hāfūn. Beyond this range of hills it rises gradually to the Ethiopian plateau, which further is in its southern portion furrowed by the upper valleys of the Shabilla and Djub rivers. The country, owing to its features, is divided by the natives into three regions: the *guban* (literally: burnt land) that is the region of the sand-banks and dunes on the coast with a torrid climate, only fit for pasturage for a few months during and after the rains; the *āgo* (literally: upper land) that is the region of the aforesaid hills with a more temperate climate, but still of little value for agricultural purposes; the region of the *teg* ("torrents") that is the valley between the hills and the plateau, into which flow the streams springing from both sides of the depression and form thus northward the Tog Dīr "the deep torrent" and southwards the Tog Nūgāl. This is the best zone of Northern Somaliland particularly fit for cattle and horse-rearing. Even more to the interior, westwards of the *teg* zone, the Somali portion of the Ethiopian plateau is inhabited by the Ogaḍen, a tribe whose name probably means etymologically "those of the plateau". On the side of the Indian Ocean, however, the country is very different from the northern regions; the plateau in its southern portion does not fall rapidly towards the sea but slopes gradually and its furthest spurs are 200—300 miles from the coast; then its waters do not form short torrents but great rivers which flow, not only in some seasons, but throughout the whole year although with a variable level.

The Somali natives distinguish here four regions, which are found in the following order by the traveller going from the coast of the Ocean to the interior: firstly the movable sandbanks (Somali: *ḥaḥal*) on the shore; then the hills or short plains of white and hardly consolidated sand (Somali: *'arra 'al* "white land"); next the stony red sand covered with jungle, in the most part of acacia-trees (Somali: *'arra gūlad* "red land"); then along the rivers the strip of alluvial ground (Somali: *'arra mād* "black land"), comparatively rich in fertile humus, a country particularly suitable for agriculture.

In the region between the Djub and the great lower bend of the Shabilla there is, after the aforesaid "black land", another vast zone of "red land", called by the natives *ādy*, which is the most rich in pasturages in Southern Somaliland. Across the *ādy* from North East to South West runs a range of granitic hills which from the borders of the Shabilla's basin reaches at Būr Meidāḥ to the borders of Djub's valley. Beyond the *ādy*, even more in the inland, are found the "black land" regions of Būr Hakkaba and the Baidowa plateau (11,000 feet). Thence the ground rises gradually as far as the zone of Bokkol wells near the boundaries of Ogaḍen.

River system. The high flood of both Somali great rivers and the average volume of their waters depend closely on the rains falling on Ethiopian plateau and are only very slightly influenced by local rains of Somaliland. High floods take place twice in the year according to the light and heavy rainy seasons in southern Abyssinia. This is a favourable circumstance to agriculture, because Abyssinian heavy rains fall during the months June 15—September 15, which are on the contrary the most severe dry seasons in Somaliland; and in this way the high flood and sometimes the overflowing of the rivers can be considered, at least by some tribes, as a compensation for the damages of the Somali summer.

The river known as Juba in European maps and as Djub by the Arabs is called by the Somali *Webi Gūmā*, which is really a double name, as *gūmā* or *gūnd* means precisely river in Galla Borana dialects and in some Sidama languages (the name is grammatically a plural according to the common rule of Kuschitic languages that all the names of liquid substances may be used only as plural).

The other Somali river, called Shebelle in European maps, is known by the neighbouring natives as *Webi-ga* "the river". The name Shebelle is given to this river probably because the Ogaḍen natives designated it to the first travellers coming from the coast of the Gulf of Aden as *Webi Shabilla* "the river of the Shabilla region" that is the river passing through Shabilla, the most wealthy and best known country crossed by this river in its upper valley. Then the usual translation of the name "the river of the leopards" must be corrected to "the river of the leopards' country" (Shabilla means literally "where there are leopards").

The most common kind of vegetation is the jungle of thorny acacias, less dense in white lands than in red lands; high trees, especially sycamores, are found on the rivers and form sometimes little forests in a stretch of about one mile on both sides of the rivers. Sorghum *dura* (Somali: *miingo*) and Indian corn (*gallay*) are cultivated in black lands; date, millet (*ḥūmba*) in red and white lands; sesame and in a few districts sweet (American) potatoes (Somali: *ḥaḥa*) and manioc (Somali: *maḥḥ*); cotton and sugar-cane in European settlements (the most important of those are the S.A.I.S. settlements founded by H. R. H. the Duke of the Abruzzi, Luigi of Savoy and the Djinnilla settlements established by Count De Vecchi). The general physical formation of Somaliland described above has been in past times very useful to defend the natives against foreign invaders, because one must pass, before reaching the only zone economically

valuable, that is the black lands, through the sandy desert of the coast and then the jungle of the red lands, where the characteristic Bedouin skin-mishig by amish and ruse is strongly helped by the same natural feature of the ground.

b) Political divisions. Somaliland is now divided into:

I. French Somaliland, officially known as Côte Française des Somalis (5,790 square miles; 65,000 inhabitants), is administered by a civil governor. Its boundaries are determined: with Italian Eritrea under the Franco-Italian protocols of January 24, 1900 and July 10, 1901; with British Somaliland by the Anglo-French agreement of February 2 and 9, 1888; with Abyssinia by the Franco-Abyssinian convention of March 20, 1897. In spite of its name only the southern portion of the Colony is inhabited by Somali, the northern regions being inhabited by Dursk. The capital is Djibuti (8,500 inhabitants), a port of considerable traffic, especially on account of the French railway Djibuti-Addis-Ababa.

II. British Somaliland Protectorate (68,000 square miles; 300,000 inhabitants) administered by a civil Governor. Its boundaries are determined: with French Somaliland by the aforesaid agreement; with Abyssinia by the British-Abyssinian protocols of May 14 and June 4, 1897; with Italian Somaliland by the Anglo-Italian arrangement of May 5, 1894. The capital is Berbera (30,000 inhabitants).

III. Italian Somaliland (140,000 square miles; 650,000 inhabitants). The Colony, administered by a civil Governor, is divided into: Northern Italian Somaliland, viz. the protectorates of the two Somali sultanates of the Madjertén and Hobya, and southern Somaliland, formerly known as Banadir. The boundaries with British Somaliland are determined by the aforesaid agreement; with Abyssinia by the Italo-Ethiopian treaty of May 16, 1908; with Italian Oltre-Giuba by the river Djub. The capital is Maqdishu (21,000 inhabitants).

IV. Italian Oltre-Giuba, "Beyond the Djub" (25,000 square miles; 90,000 inhabitants). This is the territory granted by Great Britain to Italy under the treaty of July 15, 1924. The capital is Kismayu (12,000 inhabitants). But this territory has now been annexed wholly to the Colony of Italian Somaliland and has been administered by the same governor since June 30, 1926.

V. Abyssinian Somaliland, that is Ogaden. It is divided in two fiefs: the former comprises the upper valley of the Shabëlla and depends on the feudatory of Harar (who is actually Räs Tafari, the Heir Apparent of the Abyssinian throne); the latter comprises the basin of the Djub and depends on the feudatory of Konso territory, who actually is Fitwra Hahsa Giyorgis.

VI. Kenya Colony: The districts of Tanaland and Northern Frontier and that portion of the late Jubaland that has not been granted to Italy have a Somali nomadic population of shepherds.

c) Ethnography. The Somali may be divided in three groups: Northern Somali, who are called by the others Edji; Hawiya; Sab.

The northern Somali, the greatest group, are divided in: Isak, Dir, Darsid. The Dir, who according to some tradition should be the first Northern Somali group immigrated in the region actually called Somaliland, are now dispersed in the whole Somali territory, probably as they were driven out by subsequent invaders. The Dir

have sent forth to the following tribes: the Isak in French Somaliland, the Rimal in Italian Somaliland, the Fakr Muhammad in the middle valley of the Shabëlla near the boundaries between Italian Somaliland and Ogaden. Besides those tribes, little groups of Dir families living with more numerous tribes of other origin are found in Ogaden, in Italian Northern Somaliland, in Oltre-Giuba.

The Isak inhabit the western portion of British Somaliland and the market-places on that coast: Zeila (Arabic: Zalla; Somali: Awdal; Galla: Adali), Berbera and Bulabur. Their principal tribes are the Halar Aawal, Halar Yūsū, Halar Dja'lo, Halar Garhajis. Isak groups live also in Oltre-Giuba, especially retired clerks of the British colonial Administration with their families; another larger Isak group is in 'Aden, where they are for the most part workmen or boatmen in the port.

The Darsid, traditionally enemies of the Isak, are the most numerous Somali group. They inhabit the eastern portion of British Somaliland; northern Italian Somaliland; "Oltre-Giuba"; the Somali districts in Kenya Colony, and almost the whole Somali zone of the Ethiopian plateau. The principal Darsid groups are: 1) the Kabbalah, who are divided into Komba and Kūmala. The Komba comprise the Geri Komba tribe, living in the neighbourhood of Harar, and the ancient federation of the Harti tribes that is the Madjertén, who inhabit the whole Northern Italian Somaliland; the Warangali, and the Dullahanta, who occupy the eastern portion of British Somaliland, and the Dushleha, who live with the Madjertén. The Kūmala comprise, besides the little group Galmes, Waites, Bal'ad and Isidwuk, the great tribe of Ogaden, and then occupy the most part of Abyssinian Somaliland and the central regions of Oltre-Giuba. 2) Another Darsid group is the Sudda, whose principal tribe is the Marrehān inhabiting a portion of Northern Italian Somaliland and the northern regions of Oltre-Giuba. Darsid families (Madjertén) have occupied the little islands of Bakī and Abū Gubbā in Italian Dunkalia (Eritrea).

The Hawiya inhabit the whole valley of the Shabëlla, in Italian and Abyssinian Somaliland. According to the local tradition, the Hawiya were preceded in their present territory by the Adjura, a tribe of kindred origin, who probably were the first group to migrate towards the river. The Adjura are now dispersed and divided into four principal groups: the first living with their freedmen at the boundaries between Italian and Abyssinian Somaliland; the second in the low valley of the Shabëlla, South of Afgōy; the third near the Djub in the territory of Bārdēra; the fourth in Kenya Colony, Northern Frontier district. The region inhabited by the first group is called Shabëlla (see above); as the Adjura are there proportionately few in number the most part of the tribe being former slaves or freedmen, the Ogaden often call this group the Addōn, viz. the slaves, who have been incorrectly considered by some ethnologists as a Bantu tribe or a Bantu-speaking people. The other principal Hawiya groups are: the Guggundabe, who comprise the tribes Djidla, Dja'jale, Baal, 'Adda, Galdja'el, who inhabit South of Shabëlla region as far as Mahadlay in Italian Southern Somaliland; the Gurgate, who comprise the tribes Halar Gidir, Abgāl (a very numerous group of tribes, as the Wa'eda, the Da'ad, the 'Eli, the Mantān, the

Yäuf, the Agon-yar, the Warsangali Abgal), the Möllän, the Wa'dän, the Hillibi; they occupy the zone from the southern boundaries of Gaggäbäbe as far as the Ocean and the Sab territory.

The Sab who inhabit the territory between Hawiyya territory and the Djib are divided into Rahanwän and another group which took the name of Digil, who was probably the common ancestor of both. The Digil comprise the following principal tribes: Djiddu, Tunni, 'Irrola, Dabarra. The Rahanwän comprise two groups of tribes: the Siyyöd ("the eight") and the Sagäl ("the nine"); the principal tribes are the Eläy, the Lisän, the Haryän, the Hadämo, the Lubäy, the Galadi, the Gädilä. While the other Somali tribes are formed on the principle of a common origin from the same ancestor, whose name is generally the name of the tribe, the Rahanwän tribes are formed, besides a very small group of descendants of Rahanwän, by families or sections of different origin federated under a common name. Besides these great groups and some tribes of uncertain origin, viz.: Garga, living separately in Southern Somaliland, in Kenya Colony (Northern Frontier district) and in Abyssinian Somaliland (it is to be noted that the two last groups at quite a recent date spoke both Somali and Galla), we must mention: the freedmen, the outcast groups and the population of the towns on the coast. The slaves, for the most part of Bantu origin but now entirely somalized, delivered or escaped from their masters, have formed in some regions tribes like the Shidä in the middle valley of Shabäla; the Eläy freedmen on the plateau of Baljowa, independent from their late masters living in the black lands of Büi Hakkaba; and the so-called Wagösha in the low valley of the Djib. The outcast groups, that is the groups considered as impure on account of their trades, live with the high caste tribes to whom they are subjected. In Northern Somaliland the low castes have the general name of Sab, which, as we have seen above, is on the contrary in Southern Somaliland the name of a group of tribes. They comprise: the Vihir, magicians; the Midgan, hunters; the Tumal, smiths. Among the Hawiyya the low castes have the general name of Bon, which is really the name of a Bantu population in Kenya Colony; and comprise: the Eila, hunters; the Madarräla and the Gaggäb, tanners; the Dardow, weavers; the Yahar, magicians; the Tumäl and Kälmashuba, smiths. By the Sab the low castes are: the Rihä, hunters; the Waraboy, smiths.

The towns on the coast are inhabited by groups of the Somali tribes of the inland and by families now somalized but of the most varied origin, for the most part Arab immigrants to Somaliland or Bantu; some families would claim Persian origin and there are traditions on the origin from Madagascar of other few families.

a) Language. Somali is a language belonging to the Kuschitic family, to the group called by Keinitich "low Kuschitic" and thus akin to Saho-Afar, Be'dawiye and Galla languages. Somali, which during its history has been less influenced than Galla by non-Kuschitic languages, has not received in its phonetic system the typical consonantic sounds followed by glottal occlusion, the true consonantic diphthongs which are common to Galla, to some Sidäma dialects and have been admitted — although in a different measure — in the modern

Semitic languages of Abyssinia. *ḫ* is therefore in Somali a velar explosive pronounced as in Arabic; *ḡ* is praecacuminalis and is dialectically liable to be changed into *r*. It is also to be remarked that there is in Somali a very wide tendency to palatalisation from the influence not only of the vowels *e* *i* but also of the liquid *l* as in the case of the feminine article *-da* and the suffix of the reflexive form *-i*, which are palatalised in *-da* *-i*, when preceded by *l* final of the nouns or verbs (*lida*, *lidi* being successively changed in *lida*, *lidi* by assimilation). While other Somali dialects have kept the laryngals *ḡ* *ḫ*, the Sab dialect has changed *ḡ* in *ḡ* and *ḫ* in *ḫ*. As to morphology there are found in Somali both kinds of conjugations used in Kuschitic, viz. by praefixes and suffixes or by suffixes only, while on the contrary Galla has kept only the second kind. But on the other side it appears by comparing Somali and Afur-Saho that in the latter language the conjugation by prefixes and suffixes is more frequent than the other (perhaps on account of the strong influence of the neighbouring Semitic languages), while Somali has kept typically the aforesaid conjugation by prefixes and suffixes only in five verbs (which, however, express the most common ideas) that is: to be, to be there, to know, to come, to say. It is noteworthy that already in Hawiyya and Sab dialects two of those verbs are found used in both kinds of conjugation. Somali syntax (as there is not a declension of the nouns and especially on account of the use of the prepositions which are not placed before or after the noun, but are all put before the verb at the end of the phrase) gives to the language peculiar characters and causes it to be in some degree difficult to foreigners. For instance our phrase: "the camel and the horse were bound with this rope" is translated: *kareggan rattiga iyya faraska ḡ la gu ka la peray*, that is literally: "this rope the camel and the horse they were with-from-by bound" (the group *from-by* expressing the idea that the two animals were not bound together, but every one with a bit of the rope in question). The genitive case, which is translated in Saho-Afar by placing the word meaning the possessed thing before the word meaning the possessor and in Galla, on the contrary, by placing the word meaning the possessor before that meaning the possessed thing, is translated in Somali by the same way as in Galla or more frequently by placing before firstly the name of the thing followed by the master's name with the possessive adjective; for instance: "Umar's house" may be translated literally: "the house 'Umar' or 'Umar his house'".

The Somali dialects are distinguished, according to the ethnic divisions, in the groups Isäb, Därd, Hawiyya, Sab. Isäb dialects have kept the originary *ḡ* praecacuminalis; they form the durative verbs with the suffix *-ay*; they distinguish in the pronouns two first plural persons: "we" inclusive (that is: who speaks and who hears) and "we" exclusive (that is: who speaks and another person). Därd dialects change *ḡ* praecacuminalis when placed between two vowels in *r* (Ogadda dialect) or *+* (Madjertän dialect); their durative verbs are formed with the suffix *-ay*; they have also kept the aforesaid two "we". Hawiyya dialects change *ḡ* intercalic in *r*; they form their durative verbs with the infinitive mood followed by the verb *ay*; they have not

the double "wa". Sab dialects have changed, as we have said above, \int into k and 'in into 'a ; they have kept the *modus relativus* in $-wa$, which has been changed in the jussive in $-a$ in other Somali dialects; the negative imperative is formed by the prefix $-la-$ followed by the verb with the suffix $-ay$ (in the other dialects it is used in this case the prefix $la-$ followed by the verb with the suffix $-in$).

As to vocabulary, Somali has been very little influenced by Arabic, and even Arabic loan-words, when received, have been wholly assimilated according to Somali phonetical rules; neither had Galla, if we consider the common origin, a great influence on Somali, except perhaps Sab dialects; we may, however, find in the Somali lexicon some evidence that the Somali and the Sidāma were neighbours before the great Galla invasion.

c) History. Although the native legends may have islamized Somali history by tracing their origin from 'Aḥl b. Abī Ṭālib, cousin of the Prophet, and whatever may be thought — on the other side — about the question whether Hamitic populations may have come in Africa from Asia, there is however no doubt that the Somali occupied their present territory by various and subsequent invasions of groups following and pushing on one each other, but all starting from the African coast of the Gulf of 'Aden. Thence came the Dir, expelled by other Somali invaders, and a portion of them through Ogadēn and the region between Djub and Shabēlla reached the low valley of the latter river giving origin to the Bimāl tribe. From the Gulf of 'Aden came the Sab, who went first to the valley of the Djub and going down from the plateau along the valley of the Wēb advanced abruptly to East from the neighbourhood of Mārīlla and invaded their present countries, fighting against the Wardīy that is a Galla tribe. From the aforesaid Northern coast departed Isāk and Dīrōd to conquer their seats by driving away the Dir and the Galla. From northern regions came the Hawiya, who at first stopped North of Mārēg; while their brothers Adjūra subdued the Shabēlla's valley against Galla and Djiddū; but then the same Hawiya advanced to the river and scattered the Adjūra. Therefore we may distinguish in the history of the occupation of the Somali territory two periods: the wars against the Galla, and then the wars among the Somali groups themselves fighting one other to conquer the best lands. But a most interesting written tradition (of which I have been able to get a MS. in Arabic) tells of the war that was fought before those told in Somali legends; that is the war between the Galla invaders and the Zandj (viz. the Bantu populations) inhabiting the basin of the Djub. The series of the occupiers of Somaliland may be, of course, thus traced: Negroes (Bantu) then Kushites Galla; then Kushites Somali.

While these tribes successively occupied the interior, the zone along the seashore has been many centuries in close commercial relations with Arabia; this trade, which had already begun with the commercial colonies of the South Arabic kingdom (see GIMYAR) became even more intensive in the Muslim period. Results of this Arabic colonisation were the two little states of Zaila and Maḥdishū, formed and ruled generally by local dynasties of somalized Arabs or Somali strongly influenced by Arabic culture. The kingdom

of Zaila which was prospering from the xvth century A.D. could live and thrive on account of the trade of the inland, where it was supported by the many Muslim states of the Southern Abyssinia, till its strength was exhausted during the great war fought against Abyssinia under the command of Grēṣ (q.v.; cf. also ABYSSINIA; HARAR; ZAILA). Maḥdishū, however, had only a short period of prosperity in the xvth century A.D.; then almost rapidly began its decline, as its population was not able to overcome the resistance of the Somali Bedonins inhabiting the interior. Through various vicissitudes Maḥdishū continued to be independent under the dynasty of the Muḥaffar till the xvth century; in the xvth century it was occupied by the Imām of 'Omān, who after few years left the whole coast called Banādir with Maḥdishū to its inhabitants, insisting only that they recognize him as their sovereign. When the state of Maḥsh was divided into the Sultanate of 'Omān and the Sultanate of Zanzibār (that is at the beginnings of the xixth century), Maḥdishū was allotted to Zanzibār, and then the Sultāns tried to get a more real dominion there by establishing a wall with garrisons of soldiers in Maḥdishū, Marka, Brāwā; but after a short period of rule (sixty years about) Zanzibār sold those towns to Italy.

Nevertheless in the interior the Somali tribes had during many centuries enjoyed a full independence. Somali traditions have not kept any remembrance of the great Galla invasion in Abyssinia, which divided in the xvth century the Somali from the Sidāma and separated them from those little centres of culture. There is however to be considered the hypothesis that vestiges of a culture superior to the present Somali culture which are found in some inland regions and are referred by the natives to the Adjūra or the Madīne, may have been rather the work of Somali already in close touch with the Arabs of the Southern coast rather than of natives influenced by the culture of the Sidāma states of the North.

The interior of Somaliland remained thus independent till the end of the sixteenth century, when France (in 1884), Britain (in 1884), and Italy (in 1889) occupied their present Colonies.

f) Islām. The Somali are all Muslims and follow the *madhhab* of Shāfi'. Neither the Imām of Maḥsh nor the Sultāns of Zanzibār during their short rule on the Somali coast had in any way propagated their Ibādite views among Somali peoples; therefore since the Sultān's *wālī* retired from Somaliland there has not been any vestige of Ibādism. Among the Arabs recently migrated to Somaliland as soldiers (*askari*) or workmen in European settlements there may be found a few Zaidites, who, however, generally do not publicly profess their faith.

The diversity of formation and historical vicissitudes between the populations of the seashore and those of the interior has caused also a different influence of Islām on them. The towns on the coast many centuries in touch with the Arabian centres of Muslim culture and organised as communities of tradesmen, bound together by ties of citizenship and not by tribal relations, have been naturally more easily islamized than the tribes of the interior independent, hostile and distrustful of the populations of the seashore, and firmly united in their large territory with the bond of the common origin; Islāmic propaganda has been

obliged to struggle there against the ancient paganism and the customary law of the tribes. In this state of affairs the principal support of the diffusion of Islam in the inland has been the organisation of religious brotherhoods. We must then give some information about those three elements of the Somali religious culture: the remains of ancient paganism in the inland, the Islamic culture on the coast, the religious brotherhoods.

As a remainder of paganism may be regarded the ceremony of the *sār*, perhaps an ancient sacred dance. Natives crowd in a circle and the chorus begins to sing on a special rhythm. One or many among the singers fall fainting away to the ground. The others "beat the *sār*" by singing and striking the hands or clattering with the feet or striking drums and kettle drums. Then the person who has fainted rises little by little from the ground, takes in his hands a dagger, and dances in the circle with the dagger drawn out, till he falls again in a faint; but immediately rises fully recovered. The *sār* is danced also with a burning brand instead of the dagger; among the Sab the dancer goes out of the circle, runs in the jungle near and then comes back showing with loud cries his dagger sprinkled with blood, which is said to be the blood of the genius he has killed. See also the article *zān*.

Another heathen ceremony is the Somali feast of the New Year's day. The Somali have a solar year of 365 days; 7 years form a cycle; every year has the name of a day of the week; every cycle has the name of the most important event happened during it: thus the Hawiya quote *iminta orrah mado* the year Monday of the Black Sun (certainly thus named on account of an eclipse); the Sab mention *sahāi faranji* the year Saturday of the European, alluding to the travels of Captain Bottego in their territory. Then the first day of the New Year is celebrated with the *dabshid* a familiar and very popular festival. Every family kindles a bonfire near their hut and the paterfamilias crosses the fire by jumping from one side to another, or hurls his spear through it. Then follow public dances and processions of singing young men and sacrifices.

We must mention here the popular belief in continuation of the material life after death and the necessity of providing food and clothes for the dead by making sacrifices of cattle near the tomb and distributing meat and calicoes to the poor who are said "to cause the food to reach" the dead. Thence arises the custom of fixing in testaments a large share of the inheritance to celebrate those ceremonies ("what one is buried with"); and the affectionate care of the sons and relatives "to sweep the tomb" that is to make those sacrifices from time to time. Other traces of heathen ideas are found in the magical powers of the tribe's hereditary chief, whose eye is to him what the sun was to the ancient Heaven-God of the heathen Kushites. The "hot eye" of the chief gives or takes away cattle's fecundity, causes death, cures or causes sickness. Ancient heathen magicians have been replaced by Muslim scholars, although they have kept their name *maḥūd* and may be also applied to magical practices. Propitiatory blessing is given as in paganism by spitting. The head, the belly and the paws of slaughtered animals are regarded in Somali Islam as impure meat according to heathen Kushitic beliefs.

The Somali names of the Heaven-God (*Ebba* and *Wāḥ*) are now applied to Allah; even the heathen genius' name (*gāl*; Gallat; *ḡālā*; Amharic: *ḡāl*) is used in modern dialects to mean "fortune".

An even more strong resistance has been opposed to Islam by Somali customary law, which is based on a social stage very similar to pre-Islamic Arabian life and is therefore often in evident contrast to the Muslim law. We may quote here the characteristic precepts about the levirate and the price to be paid by the widow to the late husband's relatives if she desires to marry again with a man other than the brothers of the dead (it is, however, to be remarked that, by the Somali, the sons of the second husband, brother of the dead, are not considered as sons of the first and continuation of his progeny as is the case with the Semites; but on the contrary the first husband's offspring is regarded as sons of the second); the marriage by rape; the blood-money conceived in the Somali mind as a price of redemption of the killer from a right that the crime causes the killed man's relatives to have on the killer's person *ex delicto*; the women excluded from hereditary rights; the outcast groups into which one cannot marry or come in any way in contact with, as they are said to be in a perpetual condition of ritual impurity (*nigāṭa*) (note the skilful Islamisation of the ancient custom); exogamy, which may be still found in Northern tribes and the remarkable traces of marriages concluded between two tribes rather than single persons.

On the coast, however, in the centres of Muslim culture, particularly after the recent increase of trade in the second half of the 19th century, Muslim scholars' works formed a little local literature written in Arabic specially on mystic subjects. The principal printed works are: *al-Maḥmūd al-Mubāraka* by Shaikh 'Abdullāh b. Yūsuf, a native of the Shēkhāl group, who has had his work printed in Cairo; and the *Maḥmūd al-Kaṣīd* by Shaikh Kāsim b. Muḥyi 'l-Dīn, a native of Brava (Barāwa). The latter work is only a collection of poems of many Somali authors; *al-Maḥmūd al-Mubāraka* however is formed by five treatises by Shaikh 'Abdullāh about the *taḥawwuf*; but its real interest is placed in the third and fourth treatise entitled the former *al-Sikḥ al-ḡalīḥa 'ala 'l-Kiṭāb al-nabīḥa*, "the knife that slaughters the barking dogs", and the latter *Naqṣ al-Mu'minin 'ala 'l-Marād al-Mulḥidīn*, "Victory of the believers on the rebellion of the heretics", which contain violent polemics against the Tariqa Ṣālihiya. Another distinguished Somali scholar was Shaikh Awīs [Uways] Muḥammad al-Barāwī, who besides two poems published in the aforesaid *Maḥmūd al-Kaṣīd* composed five poems in Somali language which he was the only one to write in the Arabic alphabet; one of those poems is directed against the Mad Mulla's followers. We must also mention Shaikh 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Zailā', who wrote many mystic poems in Arabic (the most diffuse is the *Sirāḡ al-Uḡūl* or *'l-Sarīr fī 'l-Tawāwuf bi-Shaikh 'Abd al-Kādir*, "Lamp of the minds and the secrets in mystic progress through Shaikh 'Abd al-Kādir [al-Gilānī]"). Another Somali scholar is Shaikh 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abdullāh a native of the Shēnshia group in Maḡdishū and commonly known as Shaikh Sufī; he is the author of the *Shāfi'at al-Yaḥyā*, "the tree of the certitude" or *al-Nubḥa*

al-yaḥṣān fī Ma'āḍi al-Bariyya, "the certain portion of the miracles of the Best among the creatures", published in *al-Madīna al-Mubāraka* and very popular in Somali schools of mysticism.

A MS. found in Brawa contains a translation of the *Ḥamāṣya* by al-Buḥārī in Suahili verses. It is very probable that further researches may cause other more ancient MS. or Arabo-Somali documents to be found.

Four Muslim brotherhoods are found in Somaliland: the *Qādiriyya* (see 'ARAB AL-QADIR AL-MULI or QILANI); the *Aḥmadiyya*, that is the followers of the mystic rule of Aḥmad b. Idrīs, died in the first half of the sixteenth century at Šabya in 'Asir; the *Šālihiyya*, which is a more recent branch of the *Aḥmadiyya* (its founder and leader was Muḥammad Šāliḥ, who had his seat in Makka and had been a disciple of the Sudanese mystic Ibrāhīm al-Raḥḥīdī, disciple of Aḥmad b. Idrīs); the *Rifa'iyya* following the precepts of Sayid Aḥmad al-Rifa'i. The *Qādiriyya*, which has among its adherents almost all the scholars mentioned above as authors of mystic works, is the most learned and modernized Somali brotherhood; it has only few settlements and has no economic organization, but it is more devoted to teaching than to agriculture. The *Qādiriyya* in Somaliland have been for many years separated from the *Šālihiyya* by a schism; firstly the polemics had been directed by the *Qādiriyya* against the Maḍ Mulla, who had begun his campaigns by proclaiming himself to be a true follower of Muḥammad Šāliḥ (see the art. MUHAMMAD R. 'ABDALLĀH HASSAN); and caused Šāliḥ Awēs b. Muḥammad al-Barāwī to be killed by the Mulla's followers in 1327 (1909). The polemics began again, although in a less rough way, after the publication of Šāliḥ 'Abdullāh's book (*al-Madīna al-Mubāraka*) and of a poem by Šāliḥ Qāsim Muḥyi 'l-Dīn al-Barāwī, where the *Šālihiyya* were offended by the refrain *lakum dīnukum wa-lī dīnī*. The *Šālihiyya*, on the contrary, have been particularly occupied with obtaining political influence over the tribes and forming, specially on the banks of the rivers, an organization of agricultural communities. The Mulla's movement, the rebellion of Sayid Muḥammad Yūsuf against Abyssinia in Wēb's valley in 1917 were led by *Šālihiyya* leaders. On the other side the "black lands" along the *Šhabella's* valley, the best for agriculture but formerly undervalued by Somali Bedouins only applied to cattle rearing, were in many territories the goal of the *Šālihiyya's* aim and they were skilful enough to take advantage of contests between the tribes or other political circumstances and thus they have tried to get granted to them by the tribes the best zones for agriculture. The *Aḥmadiyya* are less numerous and have been directed like the *Šālihiyya* to acquire lands, although they generally take more interest in teaching than the *Šālihiyya*. While the *Qādiriyya* and the *Aḥmadiyya* have not a true hierarchical organisation, the *Šālihiyya* are in Italian Somaliland led by the chief of the "Zāwiya Misra" (in the middle of *Šhabella's* valley), who is the vicar of Muḥammad Šāliḥ in the whole region.

Native justice is administered in Italian Somaliland by a Muslim *Qāḍī*, except in the case of certain crimes and cases of political interest. The sentences of the *Qāḍī* begin with this formula: *bismi 'llāh 'l-raḥmān al-raḥīm innamā aḥkumu bi-ḥaqqi al-islām bi-taḥṣīf al-malik al-mu'azzam malik*

al-ḥaqq etc. "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate. I judge according to the Law of Islām by appointment of the great King, King of Italy etc."

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SONGHOY. The name Songhoi (Songoi) or Songhay was probably applied at first to the past of the valley of the Niger between Bourem and Say, to the people inhabiting this area, and to the kingdom which they formed. At a later date, this state having extended its boundaries upwards to Lake Debo and downwards to the northern boundary of the present French colony of Dahomey,

the same name was retained to describe the kingdom thus enlarged and all its inhabitants, as well as the language spoken by the majority of them, the language of Dyenne, of Timbuktu, of Gāo, of Dendi and of the land of the Zerma or Djerna.

The state of Songhoy is said to have been founded in the viiith century A. D. by an individual of Berber origin, whose dynasty ruled at first at Gogiya or Kakiya in the island of Bentia, 100 miles below Gāo until about the year 1000, then at Gāo itself or Gāogāo. The princes of the dynasty bore the title *gĩa* or *za* until 1335, and then that of *sonni*, *sun*, *san* or *ah*. It is said that the founder of the dynasty, called Alyman, was a Christian. The first of his successors to adopt Islam was the *gĩa* Kosoy or Kosay, who reigned in the xiith century, about the time when the capital was transferred to Gāo.

In 1325 Songhoy was annexed to the Mandingo or Mali empire, the ruler of which at that time was the celebrated Gongon Mūsā or Kankan Mūsā. The latter, returning in this year from his pilgrimage to Mecca, went to Gāo and there received the homage of his new vassal, the *gĩa* Asihoy or Aishay, whose two sons he brought back to his court as hostages. One of the latter, 'Alī-Kolon, later escaped from the Mali capital and returning to Gāo had himself proclaimed king there with the title of *sonni* (1335).

In 1464 (or 1465) there came to the throne another *sonni* 'Alī, called 'Alī-Ber ('Alī the Great), who delivered Songhoy from Mandingo suzerainty and considerably extended its boundaries below and especially above Gāo, capturing Timbuktu in 1468 and Dyenne in 1473. We may regard him as the original founder of the enlarged Songhoy which through him rose from a little vassal kingdom to a powerful empire. But he did not leave a good reputation behind him in the country; the chroniclers of Timbuktu accuse him of having been cruel, impious and a libertine, and of having persecuted men of learning and religion, although, nominally at least, a Muslim himself. He died in 1492, being accidentally drowned in a torrent. With his son and successor Bakari or Bari, who only reigned a few months, the line of al-Yaman died out in 1493, after having been on the throne for about nine centuries.

'Alī Ber's best general, a Sarakolle of the Silla faction named Muhammadu Ture, seized the throne in 1493 and founded a new dynasty, that of the *askiya*. It was in his reign, a particularly brilliant one, that Songhoy attained its apogee. Superficially a convert to Islam but tolerant to those who were still pagans, the *askiya* Muhammadu made the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1496/1497; in the course of his journey he made the acquaintance of people of eminence like al-Suyūṭī, whose advice he sought and in the holy city, on the proposal of the 'Abbāsid Caliph of Egypt al-Mutawakkil received at the hands of the Grand Sharif Mulay al-'Abbās investiture as *khalīfa* for the lands of Takrūr (i. e. of the Sūdān). The Grand Sharif even sent to Gāo one of his nephews named Ahmed al-Sakli. The celebrated reformer of Tiemcen, al-Meghīlī, was in constant correspondence with the *askiya* Muhammadu, whom he even went to visit at Gāo in 1502. This prince by a series of successful expeditions extended his conquests to the lower Senegal, in the west to Air, and to the

frontiers of Bornu in the east, and to Segha in the south; Songhoy assumed the place previously occupied in the western Sūdān by the Mali empire. At the same time he organised his country in a remarkable way, creating a permanent army, a flotilla of supply-ships on the Niger, a system of taxation and payments in kind to fill the public treasury, and instituting military, political and administrative offices with well defined spheres of activity, provincial governments, magistrates and a police. With all his power and by every means, he protected scholars and learned men, heaping favours and honours upon them and encouraged the opening of schools in Timbuktu, which became a real intellectual centre and a noted home of Muslim culture.

Unfortunately this able sovereign's successors were mediocre and sometimes detestable. Becoming blind, he was dethroned in 1528 or 1529 by his own son Mūsā, later interned by his nephew Bengan-Korey in 1831 on an island in the Niger, and died miserably in 1538. Eight rulers occupied the throne of Gāo from 1528 or 1529 to 1591. They were for the most part cruel, selfish and debauched, occupied in murdering one another or in satisfying their cupidity and passions; they soon allowed the great work accomplished by the founder of their dynasty to fall to pieces. Only one, the *askiya* Dī'ūd (1549—1583) one of the sons of Muhammadu, tried to stop the decline begun by his brothers and cousins. It only became more rapid after him.

On this, the Sultān of Morocco, Ahmad al-Manṣūr al-Dhahabī, desirous of gaining possession of the salt-mines of Teghazza, then the property of Songhoy, and of gaining the gold of the Sūdān for his treasury, sent against Gāo in 1590 an expedition of 3,000 men, mostly Spanish renegades, under the Pasha Djūder. This expedition lost on the way from hunger, thirst and exhaustion two thirds of its effectives; but with the thousand soldiers that remained, who had the advantage of fire-arms, Djūder defeated without difficulty on March 12, 1591 at Tondibi, a little north of Gāo some 40,000 infantry and foot-soldiers, armed only with javelins, arrows, sword and lances, who formed the army of the last *askiya*, Ishāk. Djūder then entered Gāo without striking a blow, made his headquarters at Timbuktu where he installed an *askiya*, chosen by himself who was a mere puppet in his hands. The region below Gāo, which the Moroccan troops could not subdue, remained independent and formed a little kingdom called Dendi, governed by *askiya*'s of the line of Muhammadu. But the state of Songhoy had ceased to exist. If we reckon its definite foundation to date from the *sonni* 'Alī-Ber, it had lasted 127 years (1465—1591).

(MAURICE DELAFOSSE)

SŌSŌ — or SŌSŌ according to the Malinke pronunciation — is the name of a place in the French Sūdān, 125 miles N. N. E. of Bamako, once the capital of a kingdom inhabited and ruled by Sarakolle. The kingdom of SŌSŌ was originally a dependency of the famous Ghāna empire. It became independent, when, towards the end of the xiith century, this empire broke up after its capital had been taken by the Almoravids (1076). The dynasty, then ruling at SŌSŌ, belonged to a Sarakolle Muslim family, that of the Djārīso. It was overthrown about 1180 by a soldier, also a Sarakolle but a pagan, a member of the caste

of smiths called Djara Kante. His successor, called Sumanguru (Sumahoro) Kante, considerably increased the hitherto slight prestige of the kingdom of Söös, by adding to it several provinces, north and south of its old frontiers, notably Waghadu and Baghana, which contained Kumbi, the capital of the old Ghāna empire and Manding or Mali, lying on either side of the Upper Niger above Bamako. It was in 1203, according to Ibn Khaldūn, that the Söös army took the capital of Ghāna. An erroneous interpretation of the text of Ibn Khaldūn, has sometimes attributed this conquest to the people of Sūsū or Söös, who have always lived in Futa-Djallon [q.v.] or on its western slopes, at least 350 miles S.W. of Söös and who have nothing in common with this town except a quite fortuitous similarity of name. The king of Söös, who was a pagan, persecuted the Muslims of Ghāna; the latter to escape his exactions migrated about 1224 to Fira or Wālatā, which they made a centre of Muslim life.

It was after taking Kumbi that Sumanguru Kante undertook and achieved the conquest of Manding. A tradition records that he put to death, almost as soon as they succeeded to the throne, eleven kings of Manding from 1224 to about 1230. But he met with fierce opposition, from the twelfth, called Māri-Djata by Ibn Khaldūn and known throughout the western Sūdān under the name of Sun-Djata or Son-Djata, who belonged to the family of the Keyta. This prince succeeded in raising numerous followers not only in Manding, but also in the adjoining provinces, which like his own country, were eager to escape the sanguinary tyranny of the king of Söös and he marched against the latter. The two armies met near the Niger at Kirina not far from Kulikoro, about 1235. According to the story, Sun-Djata disposed of his adversary by shooting him with an arrow pointed with the spur of a white cock, the *tama* (tabu) of Sumanguru. The latter, pierced by the arrow, vanished from sight or was turned into a rock, which is still pointed out, commanding the village of Kulikoro. In any case, Sun-Djata liberated the Manding from the bondage of Söös, conquered the town, and all the country of which it was the capital, and extended his conquests northwards, as far as the ancient capital of Ghāna, which he captured about 1240 and destroyed completely; he thus substituted the hegemony of Manding or Mali for the ephemeral hegemony of the state of Söös.

(MAURICE DELAFOSSE)

SPAHL. [See SEPOY.]

SPARTEL, a cape forming the extreme N.W. point of Morocco and of Africa, 7 or 8 miles west of Tangier. Al-Idrīsī does not mention it; al-Bakrī knows of it as a hill jutting out into the sea, 30 miles from Arrila and 4 from Tangier, which has springs of fresh water and a mosque used as a *ribāṭ*. Opposite it on the coast of Andalusia is the mountain of al-Agharr (= Taf al-Agharr > Trafalgar). The name Ishhartāl (probably connected with the Latin *spartaria* = places overgrown with esparto) given it by al-Bakrī is not known to the natives.

Bibliography: al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique Septentrionale*, Algiers 1911, p. 113. (G. S. COLIN)

ŚRI WIDJAYA. [See ZĀBAO.]

ŞU (r.), water; fluid; a decoction, e.g. of aloes.

SUAHILI. [See ZANZIBAR.]

ŞUBA is an Arabic substantive from the verbal root *şāba, yaşābu* ('it poured forth') meaning primarily a collection, or heap of wheat, dates, earth, etc. In the reign of Akbar it was adopted as the official description of the great provinces of India, to which historians had previously applied such words as *zāhib, kshīṭa*, etc. Akbar's empire consisted at first of twelve and finally of fifteen *şubas*, named either from their capitals, as in the case of Dihli, Āgra, and Ilāhābād, or from the old names of the tracts which they covered, as in the case of the Panjab, Bengal, Berār, Mālwa, and Gadjarāt. After Aurangzeb's conquest of Bidjāpur and Golkunda, when the empire of the Timūrids reached its greatest extent, other *şubas* were added. By the English the word has often been wrongly applied to the governor of a *şuba*. The error seems to have arisen from the designation *Şāhib-Şuba*, meaning 'lord of a province', and synonymous with *Şubadār* [q.v.], in which the first word has apparently been mistaken for a purely honorific title.

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ŞUBADĀR, the governor of a province, or *şuba* [q.v.]. It was Akbar who first regularly divided the empire into provinces, styled *şuba*, but in his reign the title *şubadār* was not in use, and the governor of a province is styled *ispāh-sālār* (commander-in-chief) in the *Āṣin-i Akbari*. His successors employed the term *şubadār* or *şāhib-şuba* (lord of a province), but the use of these titles was neither uniform nor consistent. The governor or viceroy of the Dakan is usually styled *şubadār*, but the governors of Awadh and Bengal are more often styled *nawwāb-wāṣir* and *nawwāb-nāṣir* in the eighteenth century. Europeans, as Orme, himself an offender, remarks, often called a *şubadār* *şuba*. The source of this error is undoubtedly the form *şāhib-şuba*, the first part of which was mistaken for a purely honorific title. The title *şubadār* seems also to have been applied by Europeans to inferior officials, such as the governors of towns or districts (*jarkār*).

The title *şubadār* has also been applied, since the formation of a native army in India, to the chief Indian officer of a company of sepoys [q.v.] or a troop of regular, but not irregular, cavalry; under the original constitution of such companies or troops its actual captain. This use of the title, and its former application to civil officials, are perhaps due to the habit of mind, common in India, which seeks to please by conferring complimentary titles on inconsiderable persons, but etymologically *şuba* may be as correctly applied to a company as to a province.

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ŞUBAİTİLA (ŞUBAİTİLA or HENŞİTİLA ŞUBAİTİLA, ancient Sufetula), a town in Tunisia at a distance of 81 miles south-west of Kalawān and 57 miles east-south-east of Tebesa, in the centre of a large plain on a plateau to the east of which lies Wād Şubaitla. The ancient town has been often described, notably by Guérin, Tissot, Diehl and Merlin. In the history of Muslim Africa it is only mentioned in the period of the conquest and its importance cannot be ascertained sufficiently. In A. H. 26 (646/647) an army of 20,000 soldiers commanded by 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd met the Byzantine patrikios Djurdjir (Gregorios) at the head of 120,000 men before Subaitila. According to al-Balādhuri, however, the battle took place at Akūba. The year before, Djurdjir had declared himself independent from the Emperor of Constantinople (Theophanes, ed. Bonn, i. 525) and, according to some authors, he had chosen Şubaitila as his capital. The battle was won by the Muslims; Djurdjir was killed and Şubaitila sacked or placed under a Muslim governor.

The detailed accounts of the Arabic authors, especially those of Ibn 'Idhārī and Nuwairi, are full of legendary features; Djurdjir's daughter appears unveiled at the top of a tower and is promised to him who will kill Ibn Sa'd. The rôle ascribed to 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair seems to have been intentionally accentuated. It is he who takes the direction of the battle; fortuitously he kills Djurdjir with his own hand; with great discretion he conceals his gallant deed and is chosen to report the tidings to the caliph. It is equally improbable that the patrikios should have chosen Şubaitila instead of Carthage as his capital. The Muslim chroniclers, who did not possess reliable sources for the history of North-Africa, are inclined to represent the capital of the country to have surrendered at the first blow. It may be admitted, however, that the patrikios had occupied, on the first appearance of the Muslim troops, this important point at one of the main ways from the South, in order to come in touch with the native populations whom he sought to win (Diehl) as well as to protect Tunisia, then a fertile and populous country. It is certain that at the end of the vith century Şubaitila was a well fortified point. It was defended by a number of fortifications built around a central point, which was formed itself by the enclosure of the three temples of the Capitol.

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ŞU BASHI, ancient military title in countries of Turkish civilization. Although later popular etymology has always regarded the first element as the word *su*, "water", this interpretation

is probably erroneous. In old Eastern Turkish *su* (very possibly taken from Chinese) signified army and *su-bashi* therefore meant commander of the army (cf. Mahmūd Kashghari, *Divān Lughat al-Turk*, iii. 156; Houtsma, *Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar*, Leyden 1884, p. 14, 30). It is not surprising, however, that this title has been connected with the word designating water, because in practice the responsibility for keeping the waters for irrigation in repair was often in the hands of a very influential functionary (cf. al-Maḳḍisī, p. 330 who says that the *amir* having charge of the waters of Merw had 10,000 men in his service). And in Turkestan, as in Asia Minor, there have always been officials in control of the irrigation (see Skrine and Ross, *The Heart of Asia*, London 1899, p. 332; and for Asia Minor Ahmad Rafiq, *Seḫilli*, Constantinople 1924, p. 108). But these functionaries have always called themselves *mīr-ū* and never *su-bashi*. There is also an Arabian explanation of the title, deriving it from the Arabic word *su* "evil". Thus Muḥammad Ḥafid, in his *al-Durar al-muntahāhāt al-manthūra fi ṭīlāt al-ghalāt al-maghāra*, p. 260, declares *su-bashi* to be a translation of the Persian *ser-dāk* (see also von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, ii. 121).

Şu Bashi became a very well known military and police title in the Ottoman empire, but it was found in Asia Minor as early as the times of the Seldjūqs. In the xiiith century Ibn Bibi (Houtsma, *Recueil de t. rel. à l'hist. des Seldjūqs*, iv. 210) speaks of a *su-bashi* of the town of Kharpat [q. v.] who was probably under the sultan of Konya. Every town of any importance had a *su-bashi*; when 'Othmān took possession of his first capital Karadja Hisar, one of his first acts was to appoint as *su-bashi* his cousin Alp Gauduz (*Tawārīkh-i 'Alī 'Othmān*, ed. Giese, p. 7; Urođ Beg, ed. Babinger, p. 12).

As the Ottoman supremacy became confirmed, a differentiation of the functions and the position of the *su-bashi* in the provinces and in the capital was introduced. In the provinces they obtained a position in the feudal organisation, which also proves the military origin of their functions. The *su-bashi* had their own fiefs (*timār*) and they exercised police control over the other *sipāhī* and the inhabitants of the district under their charge. Administratively they were under the authority of an *ilāy-beg*, who again was subject to the Sandjak Beg [see SANDJAK]. These *su-bashi* had many privileges, which varied according to the different provinces; they had the right to a certain amount of the imposts and the fines extorted from the people (see *Kānūn-nāme-i 'Alī 'Othmān*, ed. 'Arif Bey, Constantinople 1330, appendix to Nos. 13 and 14 of T. O. E. M., p. 28).

In the capital the *su-bashi* became one of the chief officers of police, who assisted the *Ca'ush Bashi*, whose function is most like that of minister of Police. With the Muḥzir (Muḥḍir) Agha and the 'Ases Bashi he was responsible for the carrying out of all the judicial sentences and in general for obedience to the police regulations in the capital. Besides this the title of *su-bashi* is used to designate a certain military rank in the cavalry corps of the *Ulmadžī*.

Bibliography: Ricaut, *Etat présent de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1670, p. 345; von Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, i. 370; ii. 121,

240; d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1820, iii, p. 341, 380 199; Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Sultān the Magnificent*, Cambridge (Harvard) 1913, p. 129. (J. H. KEAMERS)

SUBĤ. [See **SHAFĀK**.]

SUBĤA (A.), also pronounced *subḥa*, the rosary, which at present is used by nearly all classes of Muslims, except the Wahhābīs who disapprove of it as a *bid'ā*. There is evidence for its having been used at first in Ṣāfi circles and among the lower classes (Goldziher, *Revue*, p. 296); opposition against it made itself heard as late as the xvth century A. D., when Suyūṭī composed an apology for it (Goldziher, *Verlesungen über den Islam*, 1st ed., p. 165). At present it is usually carried by the pilgrims (cf. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islām*, p. 441) and the darwishes.

The rosary consists of three groups of beads made of wood, bone, mother of pearl, etc. The groups are separated by two transversal beads of a larger size (*imān*), while a much larger piece serves as a kind of handle (*yad*; Snouck Hurgronje in *Int. Arch. f. Ethnographie*, i. 154 and plate xiv, N° 12). The number of beads within each group varies (e. g. 33 + 33 + 34 or 33 + 33 + 31); in the latter case the *imān* and the *yad* are reckoned as beads. The sum total of a hundred is in accordance with the number of Allāh and his 99 beautiful names. The rosary serves for the enumeration of these names; but it is also used for the counting of eulogies, *dhikr's* and the formulae at the end of the *ṣalāt*. Lane (*Manners and Customs*, Register) makes mention of a *subḥa* consisting of a thousand beads used in funeral ceremonies for the thrice one thousand repetitions of the formula *Lā ilāha illa 'Allāh*.

Maṣābiḥ (plur. of *maṣḥaba*) are mentioned as early as the year 800 A. D. (cf. A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islām*, p. 318). Goldziher (*Verlesungen*, p. 165) thinks it certain that the rosary came from India to Western Asia. Still, Goldziher himself has pointed to traditions mentioning the use of small stones, date-kernels, etc. for counting eulogies such as *takbir*, *tahill*, *tasbiḥ*.

From such traditions the following may be mentioned: "on the authority of Sa'd b. Abi Waqqās... that he accompanied the Apostle of Allāh who went to visit a woman, who counted her eulogies by means of kernels or small stones lying before her. He said to her: Shall I tell you what is easier and more profitable? "Glory to Allāh" according to the number of what he has created in the earth; "glory to Allāh" according to what he has created in the heaven; "glory to Allāh" according to the number of what is between these; "glory to Allāh" according to what he will create. And in the same way *Allāh akbar*, *al-hamdu lillāh* and "there is no might nor power except in Allāh" (Abū Dāūd, *Witr*, bāb 24; Tirmidhī, *Da'awāt*, bāb 113).

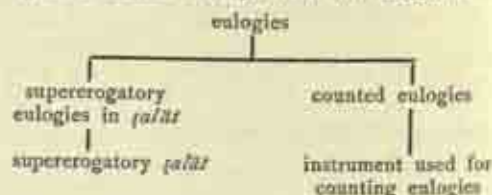
The tendency of this tradition is elucidated by the following one: Ṣāfiya said: the Apostle of Allāh entered while there were before me four thousand kernels which I used in reciting eulogies. I said: I use them in reciting eulogies. He answered: I will teach thee a still larger number. Say: "Glory to Allāh" according to the number of what he has created (Tirmidhī, *Da'awāt*, bāb 103).

To a different practice points the tradition according to which the Apostle of Allāh "counted

the *tasbiḥ*" (Nasā'i, *Sahih*, bāb 97). The verb used here is *'ahada*; its being translated by "to count" is based upon the fact that the lexicons give it among others this meaning. Probably this is based in its turn upon traditions like the one just mentioned, and like the following: "The Apostle of Allāh said to us (the women of al-Madina): Practise *tasbiḥ*, *tahill* and *takdīr*, and count these eulogies on your fingers, for these will have to give account" (Abū Dāūd, *Witr*, bāb 24; Tirmidhī, *Da'awāt*, bāb 120). According to Goldziher, in these traditions the counting of eulogies on the fingers is contrasted with their being counted by means of stones etc. There is, however, a tradition that makes it a matter of doubt whether *'ahada* in connections like those mentioned has always the meaning of counting and not its proper sense of tying. I have in view a tradition preserved by Ibn Sa'd (viii. 348) according to which Fātima bint Husain used to say eulogies aided by threads in which she made knots (*bi-khuyūṭ ma'kūṭ fithā*).

The term *subḥa* does not occur in classical tradition in the meaning of rosary; it is often used in the sense of supererogatory *ṣalāt*, e. g. *subḥat al-ṣubḥ* (Muslim, *Musāfirūn*, trad. 81). Al-Nawawī explains the term by *nāfila* (Commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1283, ii. 204). Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, s. v. asks how it is that the ideas of *nāfila* and *subḥa* coincide. He answers: Eulogies (*subḥa*) are supererogatory additions to the obligatory *ṣalāt's*. So supererogatory *ṣalāt's* came to be called *subḥa*.

If Ibn al-Athīr's opinion is right, the semasiological evolution of *subḥa* took two directions:



Bibliography: Goldziher, *Le rosaire dans l'Islām*, in *R. H. R.*, vol. xxi. 295 199.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

SUBHĀN ALLĀH, "Praise be to Allāh", a religious formula, frequent in the Qur'ān. It is an accumulative of exclamation from a root which does not occur in Arabic (the verb *subḥaḥa* is rightly explained by the grammarians as derived from the noun), but which goes back as a loan-word to Aramaic and was also adopted in Hebrew and Ethiopic, viz.: *shibeh* "to praise". Muḥammad probably found the expression somewhere among "the possessors of a scripture", as it is not probable that he himself should have created such a form from a non-Arabic verb. It is also evidence of an extensive use of the word that *subḥāna* is found in a verse of al-A'ṣā without a genitive with a following *min* as an exclamation of surprise (Ibn Ya'ish, ed. Jahn, p. 43, 2, 148, 1 etc.). As a regular formula in the Qur'ān it is placed in the mouth of Moses (vii. 140), Jesus (v. 116), the blessed in Paradise (x. 10) and the angels (ii. 30; cf. xxvii. 8). It is used on different occasions to express the impression made upon the speaker by Allāh's overwhelming greatness and His wonderful deeds. Thus: "Praise be to Him who made His servant travel in the night" (xvii. 1),

"Praise be to Him, who has subjected all this to us" (xliv. 12); "who created the pairs" (xxxvi. 36); "in whose hand is rule over every thing" (xxxvi. 83); "Praise be to Allāh (i.e. praise ye him) morning and evening" (xxx. 16); when the pious hear the recital of the Korān they fall upon their faces and say "Praise our Lord!" (xvii. 108); it is also found in a confession of wrong-doing: "Praise be to Allāh, we have done wrong" (lxviii. 17 sq.). As an expression of Allāh's absolute superiority and perfection, it is specially used, when anything is rejected than which Allāh is greater, and which would injure his nature (cf. xvii. 45 where it is connected with *af'ala*). The thing rejected is often introduced with *an* (xxi. 22; xxxix. 67; lii. 43; lix. 23). Thus Muḥammad is fond of using the formula when in the Meccan Sūras he is combatting the worship of other gods than Allāh as blasphemy (ix. 31; xii. 108; xvi. 1; xvii. 45 etc.) or when he is filled with horror at the idea that God should have a son (ii. 110; iv. 169; v. 116; xxxix. 6; xliii. 82) or sons and daughters (vi. 100; xvi. 59; xxxvii. 157, 180). It is in a similar connection that the pious say "Thou hast not created the world in vain (*bāṭilun*), *subḥānaka* (how much thou art raised above it) iii. 188) or that Muṣā recognises that God cannot be seen (vii. 140) or that Muḥammad turns aside the demand of his countrymen for miracles by saying he is only a man and a messenger (xvii. 95). In this way the expression may be weakened to mean almost "God forbid!" (xxiv. 15).

The derivative *subḥāna* early came to mean "to pray", especially of the supererogatory prayers, *subḥa*; e. g. Ḥassān b. Thābit in *Delectus*, lxxvii. 14 (not in Hirschfeld); cf. Lane, *Lexicon*.

(FR. BURL)

SUBHĪ MUḤAMMAD, Turkish historiographer. He was born at the beginning of the xviii century (the date is unknown) as son of Beylikli Khali Fehmi Efendi. He entered upon a long administrative career, beginning with the office of *atwān kâtibi*. Soon after, before 1750/1737, he was appointed *waḳa-nuvis* as successor to Shākir Husein Bey and he combined this position with other functions till the end of the year 1156 (Feb. 1744) when he was appointed *beylikliji*. The *waḳa-nuvislik* was then given into the charge of Sulaimān 'Izzī [q. v.]. Subhī Efendi died in Safar 1183 (June 1769). His *Tārīkh* was printed in Constantinople, together with those of his two predecessors Sāmī and Shākir in 1198/1785; the last year of which he wrote the chronicle was 1156. His Turkish biographers commend him for his style and his poems.

Bibliography: Djamāl al-Dīn, *'Othmanī tārīkh wa-mu'tarrikhleri*, Constantinople 1314, p. 48; Thureiyā Efendi, *Sijill-i 'othmānī*, iii. 220; von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vii. 437, 472; viii. 39, 336; F. Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen im 18. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig 1919, p. 22.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

AL-SUBKĪ, *Nisba* from the place Subk in the district of al-Manṣūfiya, district of Manṣūf, Memphis ("Alī Paṣhā Muḥarrak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-ʿadida*, Bulāḡ 1305, xii. 7).

A. The *Shāfiʿī* family of scholars al-SUBKĪ (the numbers beside certain persons in the family tree refer to the descriptions which follow; for the whole cf. F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Akademien der Araber und ihre Lehrer*, p. 119).

1. Šadr al-Dīn Abū Zakariyā³ Yaḥyā, Kāfi of al-Mahalla and later Professor at Cairo, died 725 (*Academiem*, No. 183).

2. Taḳī al-Dīn Abū 'l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad, b. 704, Professor at Cairo and Damascus, d. 744; wrote a *Tārīkh*; his correspondence Ahlwardt, No. 8471, 24 (*Academiem*, No. 97; *al-Khiṭaṭ al-ʿadida*, xii. 8).

3. Bahā' al-Dīn Abū 'l-Baḳā Muḥammad, b. 708, Professor, Kāfi and Ḥākim in Damascus and Cairo, Wākil of the Sulṭān and Khatīb of the Umayyad mosque in Damascus, d. 777; three unfinished writings (*Academiem*, No. 52; *al-Khiṭaṭ al-ʿadida*, xii. 8).

4. Wālī al-Dīn Abū Ḍarr 'Abdallāh, b. 735, Professor, Kāfi, Khatīb and financial officer in Damascus, d. 785 (*Academiem*, No. 98).

5. Badr al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad, b. 741, Professor, Mufti and Kāfi at Cairo, Damascus etc., Khatīb at the Umayyad mosque; unpopular on account of the influence he allowed his son Djalāl al-Dīn to exercise over his affairs, d. 802 or 803 (*Academiem*, No. 53; *al-Khiṭaṭ al-ʿadida*, xii. 8).

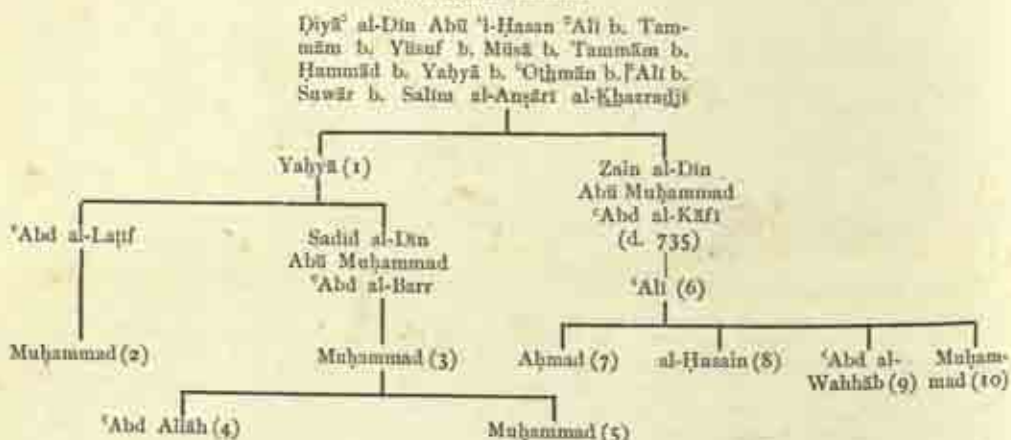
6. Shāikh al-Islām Taḳī al-Dīn Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, b. 683, studied in Cairo principally, Professor, Mufti and Kāfi at Cairo and Damascus, Ḥākim at Damascus, Khatīb at the Umayyad mosque, d. 756; produced more than 150 works, of which the following may be mentioned with a view to corrections to the list of those still extant by Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 87 sq.: 5) printed at Haidarābād 1315, Bulāḡ 1318; 12) also Ahlwardt, No. 9399; 16) that of a *Koṭla* also in Ahlwardt, No. 8482, fol. 412; 18) Answers to legal questions, Ahlwardt, No. 5026, i. 19) *al-Durr al-naṣīm fī Taḥṣīl al-Kur'ān al-aṣīm* (unfinished); 20) *Taḥṣīl 'alā aynika 'l-Rusūl kulū min al-Tayyibāt* 'al-ʿayyā (Kur'ān, xxiii. 53); 21) *al-Itihād fī Sharḥ al-Minkhād* (Brockelmann, i. 395, l. 12 [not quite correct] unfinished; cf. below, No. 7, 2); 22) a commentary on *al-Muḥaddith* of al-Shirāzī unfinished; cf. Brockelmann, i. 387, 9, i.); 23) *al-Raḥm al-līzī fī Sharḥ Muḥṭaṭ al-Tibriṣ* (cf. Brockelmann, i. 393, 24); 24) *Raf' al-Shikāḥ fī Maṣ'alat al-Talāḥ*; 25) *al-Taḥṣīl fī Maṣ'alat al-Talāḥ*; 26) *Bayān Ḥukm al-Raḥ fī Fitrāt al-Sharḥ 'alā Sharḥ*; 27) *Munayy al-Bāḥith 'an Ḥukm Dāin al-Warīḥ*; 28) *al-Riyāḍ al-anṭa fī Kismat al-Ḥarīḥ*; 29) *al-Sahn al-qāḥ fī Kaḍā Dāin al-Ghāḥ*; 30) *al-Ghāḥ al-mughḥir fī Mitrāḥ al-Muṭṭī*; 31) *Faḥ al-Muḥṭā fī Hudūya 'l-Ummāl*; 32) *al-Kawāl al-ṣāḥ fī Ta'yīn al-Dhād*; 33) *Kaḥf al-Darāṭ fī Ḥadīm al-Kanāṭ*; 34) *al-Tarīḥ al-naḥ fī 'l-Muḥṭā wa 'l-Muḥṭā wa 'l-Muḥṭā*; 35) *Nūr al-Raḥ fī 'l-Kalām 'alā mā rawaḥu 'l-Raḥ*; 36) *al-Ṭibīr bi-Baḥā' al-Djanna wa 'l-Nār*; 37) *al-Kawāl al-mahmūd fī Tanṭih Dāwūd*; 38) *Ghairat al-Imām al-ʿajāl fī Abī Bakr wa-ʿUmar wa-ʿOthmān wa-ʿAlī*; 39) *al-Itihād fī Baḥā' Wadḥ al-Itihād*; 40) *Abḥām "kull" wa-ʿalāhi mā yadull*; 41) *al-Iḥwā' fī Ifādāt "law" li 'l-Imtīn*; 42) *al-ʿAlā fī 'l-Arabiya*; 43) *al-Djadd al-Ighrīd fī 'l-Farḥ bāin al-Kināya wa 'l-Ta'riq*; 44) *al-Iḥnāy fī 'l-Farḥ bāin al-Ḥayr wa 'l-Iḥnāy*; 45) *Iḥyā' al-Nuṣū fī Ṣanāt Ifā' al-Durr*; many of his shorter writings are in the collection of his *Fatāwā* (*Academiem*, No. 49; *al-Khiṭaṭ al-ʿadida*, xii. 7; Ḥādīḥī Khaliṭa, ed. Flügel, Index, No. 8765; Brockelmann, ii. 86, 9), in which there is an even longer list of literature; complete biography in the *Tabaḳāt* of his son [here No. 9].

7. Bahā' al-Dīn Abū Ḥamid Aḥmad, b. 719, Professor, Mufti and Kāḍī in Cairo and Damascus, d. in Mecca 773; wrote 1) an unfinished commentary on *al-Ḥāwī* of al-Kāẓimī (cf. Brockelmann, i. 394, 29, 1); 2) a supplement to the unfinished commentary on the *Minhāj*-commentary of his father (see above, No. 6, 21); 3) *Djāmi' al-Tanākhūt* or *al-Munākhādāt* (Ḥādīdī Khālifa, ed. Flügel, vi. 157); 4) *Arūs al-Afrāḥ fī Sharḥ Taḥḥīṭ al-Miftāḥ* (cf. Brockelmann, i. 295, 10); 5) an unfinished commentary on *Muḥḥṭaṭ* of the *Kāḥya* of Ibn al-Ḥādīb from al-Baiḥāwī (cf. Brockelmann, i. 305, 6); 6) a *Kāḥya* on the meaning of the word *ʿAim* (Ahlwardt, No. 7065, 1 as also in 6973, 3 and in 7334); 7) a riddle-poem on the Nile (with the answer of Salāḥ al-Dīn al-Safādī [Brockelmann, ii. 31, 3] thereupon; Ahlwardt, No. 7866, 1 also in 6111); 8) another poem by him Ahlwardt, No. 8471, 28; 9) writings addressed to him Ahlwardt, No. 7869 and 8471, 24 (*Academien*, No. 50; *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djādida*, xii. 8; Ḥādīdī Khālifa, ed. Flügel, Index, No. 1899).

read Leiden, No. 897; printed Cairo 1324; from this also M. Enger, *De vita et scriptis Mawardi commentatio*, 1851; 8b) also Ahlwardt, No. 10036; 8c) read Gotha, No. 1762; 10) also Ahlwardt, No. 941; 11) to be cancelled; 12) also Ahlwardt, No. 8465, fol. 108a; 16) *Kitāb al-Aḥḥād wa 'l-Naḡār*, passages from this Ahlwardt, No. 4611; 17) a commentary on *al-Minhāj* of al-Baidāwī (cf. Brockelmann, i. 418, ii.); 18) *Djāḥ al-Ḥalab*; 19) *Raf' al-Ḥādīb 'an Muḥḥṭaṭ Ibn al-Ḥādīb* (see above, No. 7, 5); 20) a poem on foreign words in the *Kur'ān*, Ahlwardt, No. 725; cf. 724; 21) Verses by him Ahlwardt, No. 5967, 1; 22) *al-Durār al-Jawānib*; 23) letters to him, Ahlwardt, No. 7869; 24) Elegy on him in Ahlwardt, No. 7868 (*Academien*, No. 51; *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djādida*, xii. (sic), 8; Wüstenfeld, *Der Isām el-Schāfi*, i. 10 sq.; Ḥādīdī Khālifa, ed. Flügel, Index, No. 8704; Brockelmann, ii. 89 sq., where further literature is given).

10. Muḥammad: his father's admonitory *Kāḥya* is addressed to him (see above, No. 6, 4).

THE SUBKI FAMILY



8. Ḥammād al-Dīn Abū 'l-Tayyib al-Ḥusain, b. 722, Professor in Cairo and Damascus, in the latter also deputy Kāḍī; d. 755; previously to his father; wrote a book on people with the name of al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī (Ḥādīdī Khālifa, ed. Flügel, v. 159); his correspondence Ahlwardt, No. 8471, 24 (*Academien*, No. 73; Ahlwardt, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djādida*, xii. 8).

9. Tādī al-Dīn Abū Naṣr 'Abd al-Wahhāb, b. 727 (or 728 or 729), Professor, Mufti, Kāḍī and Ḥākim in Damascus and Cairo, Khatīb of the Umayyad mosque; in 769 he was thrown into prison for about 80 days, but was able to rehabilitate himself; d. 771 of the plague. To Brockelmann's list of his surviving works, ii. 89 sq., should be added: 1) Ahlwardt, No. 4401 is autograph from 762; the commentary of al-Zarkāshī also Ahlwardt, No. 4402; printed with the commentary by al-Majallī also Bulāq 1297 and 1891, with the same commentary and the *Zuhriyyāt* of 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sharḥatī, Cairo 1309 and 1318; 7) ed. D. W. Myhrman, *Lusac's Semitic Text Series*, London 1908, xviii.; abridged and translated from the Arabic by O. Reischer, Constantinople 1925; 8a)

B. Shihāb al-Dīn (or Sharaf al-Dīn) Aḥmad b. Khālīl b. Ibrāhīm al-Misrī al-Shāfi', d. 1032, at the age of 93; wrote 1) a gloss to *Kitāb al-Saḥīḥ* of al-Kāḍī 'Iyāḍ (Brockelmann, i. 369, 5, 1, 4); 2) *Faṭḥ al-Muḥīṭ fī Sharḥ al-Taḥḥīṭ 'ind al-Tayyib* (Brockelmann, ii. 151, 130b); 3) *Faṭḥ al-Ḥaṣṣ fī Manḥūmat al-Kubār* (ibid. 2); 4) *Faṭḥ al-Muḥīṭ bi-Sharḥ Manḥūmat Ibn 'Isā'id al-Dīn* (cf. Brockelmann, ii. 94, 4; perhaps erroneously attributed to him, cf. v. Pestsch, No. 1080); 5) *Ḥadiyyat al-Iḥṭāṭ fī Ma'ā'il al-Islām wa 'l-Ḥiṭāṭ*; 6) *Manāṣib al-Ḥādīdī al-Khalīfa* and 7) *al-Jaghīra*; 8) besides these he collected the *Fatāwā* of al-Ramlī (cf. Brockelmann, ii. 321, 13) (*al-Khiṭaṭ al-djādida*, xii. 8 sq.; Biography also Ahlwardt, No. 8471, 15b).

C. For the modern Egyptian Aḥmad Bey al-Subkī b. Aḥmad b. Sulaimān 'Uḍjaila, cf. *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djādida*, xii. 9. (JOSEPH SCHACHT)

SŪDA, a town in the Yemen in South Arabia. It is built on a rocky ridge running S.W. to N.E. with a peak in the centre. The citadel (*ḥuṣṣ*) stands in the centre of the town which is also its highest part, a strong lofty building reached by a kind of staircase on the

west side, which is now in ruins. On the west side is also a small plateau with a fine cistern: there is a tower to the west of it on the southern edge of the cliff. The town runs N.E. by S.W. up to the castle; the northeastern part stands high and the southwest slopes down in terraces. The town is entered from the southwest; the market lies in the same direction; it consists of a few miserable booths near the mosque. The water supply is provided by four or five well cemented, regular elliptical, circular or quadrangular cisterns, N. and N.W. of the citadel. The town is surrounded by rich fields. In the lower lying areas, e.g. the Wādī Bait Kilāb and the immediate vicinity of Sūda, *sorgho* is grown and in the higher like Djebel 'Ayalī Yazid, Djebel Bent Hādīdīl, barley, wheat etc., and also coffee, which is considered the best in Yemen, especially in Wādī Thēdī and Wādī Shamayān, 600—1,000 feet lower. Bananas also flourish exceedingly. The crops are grown on terraces, which, made absolutely horizontal, enclose the hills as it were with hypsometric lines and are separated from one another by a strong stone perpendicular wall, often 12—20 feet high.

Bibliography: E. Glaser, *Geographische Forschungen im Yemen*, 1883/1884, fol. 43*, 44* (ADOLF GROHMANN).

SUDĀN. The expression *Bilād al-Sūdān* properly means "land of the negroes". It would appear then that the word *Sūdān* which comes from it ought to mean all the parts of Africa inhabited by negroes. Among Arabs, as well as Europeans, it has become the custom to restrict the application to the northern part of these regions or in a more general way to the area of sub-Saharan Africa which has been penetrated by Islam. In practice this area is divided into three parts: Western Sūdān, containing the basin of the Senegal, the Gambia, the upper Volta and the middle Niger; Central Sūdān including the basin of Lake Chad and Eastern Sūdān or the Egyptian Sūdān, confined to the basin of the upper Nile. It may be mentioned that the English use the word *Sūdān* alone to mean the Egyptian Sūdān and that the French officially apply the name "Soudan Français" to one of their colonies, which really corresponds only to a small fraction of the large Sudanese area which they occupy. In this article we shall take the Sūdān to include all the lands lying south of the deserts of the Sahara and of Libyan, from the Atlantic in the west to the western frontiers of Ethiopia in the east, the southern limit following roughly the 10° of North Latitude.

It is probable that from the earliest times there were relations between the Sūdān and Mediterranean Africa. The ancient Egyptians obtained slaves by making expeditions into the land of the negroes and they had also commercial relations with it. Caravans setting out from the Phœnician colonies, especially Carthage, used to buy in the Sūdān, gold, ivory, and slaves, in exchange for cloth, copper and tools. This intercourse which took place via the Nile or across the Sahara continued in the Greek and Roman period and later after the conquest and conversion to Islam of North Africa it was continued by the Arabs. By the end of the seventh century A.D. Muslims of Egypt, Ifrīkiya and the Maghrib were attending the great markets of the Sūdān. Some were even settled there as correspondents and agents for their coun-

patriots on the shores of the Mediterranean. But according to the Arab authors who give the earliest notices of the land of the negroes, it was evident that these Muslims were only interested in commerce and did not proselytise and it was only in the 11th century that Islam began to spread among the Sūdānese. Several traditions, it is true, make the conqueror 'Oqba b. Nāṣ' come to the Sūdān but they do not appear worthy of credence.

We should not however deduce that before the 11th century there was no civilisation or political organisation worthy of the name in these regions. While many of the princes who have ruled various parts of Sūdānese territory from the 11th century have professed Islam, it was not always nor everywhere thus. Indeed several of the Sūdānese states, including the most important were well governed before the beginning of the conversion of their country to Islam and had already attained a power and fame, in some cases considerable, and possessed institutions which Muslim rulers at a later date were pleased to adopt and which still exist to-day. In those kingdoms that have remained pagan, like the Mūsī of the Upper Volta, such as are described in the 11th century by al-Bakrī when he tells of the pagan kingdom of Ghāna.

The religion formerly professed by all the Sūdānese was the same, apparently, as that which is found at the present day among those of them who have not been affected by Islam, i.e. a form of Animism based on the worship of ancestors and of the spirits of nature.

Christianity had penetrated into several parts of the Sūdān; it was predominant in Nubia from the 11th to the 15th century and it is said that the princes reputed to be Berber origin, who founded the kingdom of Songhay [q. v.] in the 15th century were Christians.

Islam must have spread very early among the Nūba or Nūbiāns of the valley of the Nile, but it appears to have taken a long time to reach the provinces of the eastern Sūdān which lie at some distance from the main branch of the river, when it was only introduced towards the 17th century by tribes of Arab origin who at this period pushed south-westwards and came into contact with the negroes of this region. It was on the western part of the Sūdān that a deep and lasting impression was first made by the teaching of Muḥammad. It reached there, not through the Arabs, but through Berbers of the Sahara, who at this time launched the Almoravid movement.

At this time the Ghāna empire was flourishing in the Western Sūdān, founded at an unknown date by princes who are said to have belonged to a white stock, but whose rulers at the time were negroes of the Sarakollé tribe (alias Soninke, or Wākore or Marka), who lived at Kumbi, S. S. W. of Wālatā, in the province called Waghāna or Baghāna, and who bore titles of *tunka*, *kayamaḡha*, and *ghāna*. It is this last term extended from the ruler to the town that the Arab writers use for the town of Kumbi. The Ghāna extended his sway beyond the proper limits of his kingdom over the greater part of the Western Sūdān, and notably over the goldmines of the left bank of the Upper Senegal, as well as over the majority of the Berber tribes of the Sahara and in particular over that of the Lemtana and over their capital Awdaghust, probably situated at some distance to the S. W. of Tighit (Tichit).

In 1042, the Berber reformer 'Abdallāh b. Yāsīn, left the *ribat* or monastery which he had conducted on an island of the Lower Senegal and began to preach Islam to the Berbers of the Adrar and of the Tagant and to the negroes of Takrūr (Futa-Toro), ancestors of the Tokoror or Tuculor of our day and to several other Sūdānese peoples, then more or less vassals of the Ghāna. His preaching was all the more successful as it was addressed to people, black or white, anxious to cast off the yoke of the uncertainty of the Sarakolle of Kumbi, who were also a bulwark of paganism. The king of Takrūr and his family — the first of the negroes without doubt to do so — adopted Islam and even supplied contingents to the Almoravid army. The king of Manding or Mali, who lived on the Upper Niger soon became a convert also and the conversion of the king of Songhay in the region of Gao on the middle Niger is put about the same date. Awdaghust which remained faithful to the Ghāna, was attacked and taken in 1054 by 'Abdallāh b. Yāsīn and about 1076 while Yūsuf b. Tashfin at the head of the main body of the Almoravids was conquering Morocco and preparing to invade Spain, his cousin Abū Bakr b. 'Omar of the Lemtuna tribe with the Almoravids who had stopped on the threshold of the Sūdān seized Kumbi and put an end to the long period of Ghāna domination. Compelled by force to adopt the new religion, the Sarakolle became converted to Islam en masse and began to spread it in the different kingdoms which they still ruled and which had taken advantage of the fall of the Ghāna their suzerain to declare themselves independent: kingdoms or provinces of Djāza or Kanyaga (near the modern Nyorō), of Gumba (south of Kumbi), of Sāsā (between Gumba and Bamako), of Djakha or Dji (western Māsina) etc. The death of Abū Bakr b. 'Omar in 1087 and the departure for the north of the last Almoravid forces which had supported him, did not prevent the propagation of Islam from going on and at the end of the 11th century some Muslim Djula, converted by the Sarakolle of Djakha, carried the new faith up to the dense forests of the Gold Coast, to which they used to go to buy kola-nuts.

Progress was then checked for a period; then about 1234 a religious and commercial centre was organised at Walata and soon Timbuktu and more particularly Djénne were reached. In the following century Timbuktu became the Muslim metropolis of the western Sūdān. The Mandingo empire, the hegemony of which had succeeded to that of the Ghāna, was then at its zenith. In 1325 its ruler, who at this time was the famous Gongon-Mūsā (popular Kanem-Mūsā) had mosques built in Gao and Timbuktu by an Arab of a Granada family whom he had brought from Mecca; these mosques had flat roofs, and pyramidal minarets and introduced to the Sūdān an architectural style which spread rapidly there; the fact which he gave the Muslim religion contributed to consolidate Gongon-Mūsā's authority over the Niger countries. It was under his successor that regular diplomatic relations were begun between the Sūdān and Morocco.

The progress of Islam became still more rapid at the end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th centuries as a result of the policy of the greatest prince of Songhay, the *askiya* Muḥammadu Tūrē. On the other hand it suffered a considerable setback in the middle of the 16th century in Senegal,

as a result of the conquest of Takrūr or Futa-Toro by Fula and Manding hordes from Koli-Tengella and the establishment in this country of a Fula pagan monarchy which held power from 1559 to 1776. Contrary to what one would have expected, the conquest of Songhay and of Timbuktu by a Moroccan expedition in 1591, was a further signal for a decline in the Muslim faith, on the middle Niger and for the beginning of the decline of Timbuktu as an intellectual and religious centre.

It must not however be thought that Islam had ever been over all the Sūdānese. According to the Arab geographers and historians and to the local chroniclers, the new religion had made its converts mainly among the kings and high dignitaries; except in the case of a few tribes like the Tuculor, the Sarakolle, the Djula and Songhay, the mass of the population except in the large towns had remained pagan.

It was in the 17th and 18th centuries that Islam made most progress in the Western Sūdān and a progress more marked than it had ever made since the Almoravid period. The mystical temperament of the Tuculor caste of the Tōrode (sing. Tōrodo) of Takrūr was the main factor in this movement. It had begun about 1720 with the creation at Futa-Djallon (q.v.) of a kind of theocratic monarchy. It was strengthened in 1776 by the foundation at Futa-Toro of a similar theocracy as a result of the victory which the Muslim Tuculors then inflicted on the Fula, who still remained pagan and of whom the majority were now forced to adopt Islam. Gradually the Wolof of Lower Senegal were also converted to Islam. Prophets soon arose among the Tōrode of Futa-Toro and among the Fula of Māsina. The first was the Tuculor Usmānu Fōdjo who preached the holy war between the Niger and the Chad, converted a section of the Hausa, and founded the empire of Sokoto (1802). He was followed by the Fula Seku Jāmadu Bārī, who secured the supremacy of Islam in Māsina and built a capital there which he called Jāmadallāhi (1810). Then the Tuculor al-Jalāl 'Omar, who in the course of his pilgrimage to Mecca (1820) had been invested with the title of Khatib of the Tidjāniya for the Sūdān, began in 1838 a series of missionary and military campaigns which made him master of Manding (1845), Kaarta (1854), Ségou (1861) and lastly of Māsina (1862). At his death (1864) he left a vast empire in which Islam was a sort of official religion but it was to collapse before the French conquest (1890—1893). A little later in 1898, an attempt to set up another Muslim empire between the Senegal and the Upper Volta begun by the conquering Mandingo Samōrī Tūrē was definitely checked by the defeat of the latter, who was captured by the French troops.

In the Central Sūdān, Islam had made its first appearance in the 13th century. It had been introduced to Kanem in the reign of Ume whose dynasty, which remained faithful to paganism, was overthrown in 1194 by a Muslim dynasty of native origin, that of the *Mar*, which transferred its capital to Bornu at the end of the 15th century. But it was only at this latter date that the Muslim faith took firm root in these regions by establishing itself solidly on both sides of Lake Chad. It was only at the end of the next century in the reign of the *Mūsā* 'Abdallāh (1561—1602) that it reached Baghirmi and it was only at the beginning

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of the xvth century that the prophet Sālih, said to have been of Arab origin, brought Islam to Wādīy where it was not firmly established till 1635 onwards. Very much later Islam spread southwards under the stimulus of the adventures of Rabah (1878-1900).

In the Eastern Sūdān, the Nūba formed almost the only native Muslim population down to the xvth century. At this period Dar-Fūr, after long being like Wādīy and Kordofān under the authority of the idolatrous Tāngūr princes, said to have been of Asiatic origin, was partly converted to Islam by the founder of a new dynasty named Soluh-Slīmān. One of his successors, Tāherth, conquered Kordofān and converted the Koldāji of this country in the xvth century. The conversion of the Eastern Sūdān made more rapid progress towards the end of the sixth century under the influence of the Mahdi Muhammad Ahmad [q.v.] who belonged to a Nūbian family of Dongola and who conquered Kordofān, Dar-Fūr, Bahr al-Ghazāl, Senār [q.v.] and finally Khartūm (1881-1885) and under his Khalifa 'Abdallāh, one of a tribe of Baggāra of Dar-Fūr, who extended his conquests into the province of Equatoria (1892), to be finally driven from Khartūm by Kitchener in 1898 and killed in Kordofān in 1899 by a force under Colonel Wingate.

At the present time (1925) the Sūdān as a whole has a population that may be approximately estimated at 25 or 30 millions, composed of Muslims and Animists in about equal parts. The former predominate in the larger centres but are relatively less numerous outside the towns. Some tribes however are all or for the most part Muslims; these are from West to East the Wolof, the Tukulor, the Samakelle, the Djula, the Songhay, the Kanuri and Kirmān, the Teda of Taba, the Maba, the Kongara, the Koldāji, the Nūba and a few others of minor importance. Some are partly pagan like the Ful or Fulbe, the Mandingos or Melinke, the Seres of Bono, the Hansa, the Bagirmi, etc.; and lastly many are entirely or for the most part Animists, like the Serer, the Djula or Flup; the Hamar and Konyagi, the Mambara, the Bobo, the Dogon or Tombo, the Samo, the Mba, the Gurusi, the Lohi, the Ungari, the Senuso, the Buzansa, the Gurmantshe, the Berta, the Kanbari, the Baushi, the Mandara, the Musga, the Mupdang and the numerous peoples of the Central and Eastern Sūdān grouped together by the Muslims as Kāfīr, Kirdi, Ferit, Djenakhe, etc.

Arabic as a spoken language has made very little progress in the Sūdān; it has only enriched the dialects of the Sūdānese Muslims with words relating to religion. These dialects, like those of the Sūdānese Animists, all belong to the African-Negro family. On the other hand, Arabic is the written language for all the Muslims of the Sūdān who have any education and there has existed since the xvth century a regular Sūdānese literature in the Arabic language. Sometimes, at least as far as the Ful and Hansa are concerned, the characters of the Arabic alphabet are used to write the native languages.

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SUEZ, an Egyptian frontier town, situated at the head of the Gulf of Suez on an arid, sandy plain with the dark 'Atāḥ Mountains in the West. On account of its physical surroundings it has earned for itself the descriptive sobriquet of 'The Silent' *al-Hāṭiq* (see *Description de l'Égypte*, *État Moderne*, i 185). It is 80 miles S.E. of Cairo and 2 miles N. of Port Ibrahim, the harbour at the South entrance of the Suez Canal, 29° 58' 59" N., 32° 35' E. Population c. 20,000. Its position on the Canal (opened in 1869) has changed it from a village into a considerable town. Nowadays it is a governorship (*muhāḥaq*). The old city is largely built of sun-dried bricks, and presents a dreary appearance. There are several poor mosques. In the European quarter large offices and warehouses have been built. The town is a quarantine station for pilgrims on their way to Mecca.

The modern Suez occupies the site of several former cities. Ancient Egyptian remains have been found, and on an eminence (*Kūm al-Kūḥān*) near by, are the ruins of the Ptolemaic fortress of Kāōra (Clysma Præsidium; the *Kūḥān* [q.v.] of the Arab geographers). Previous to this, however, Ptolemy Philadelphus (c. 230 B.C.) had built in the vicinity the town of Arimos (Araos) later named, Cleopatris (Κλεωπάρις). In early Christian times a colony of natives chiefly engaged in fishing and smuggling existed here. During Muslim rule, the town became rich except under the Mameluke sultans, when a check was given to its growth. It was the starting-point of the Cape Route to India, and the discovery of the Cape Route its importance further diminished. Once again under

Seltan I (1517) it revived as a naval station. At this time the water from the *Bir Suez*, a league and a quarter distant on the road to Cairo, was brought to the town by an aqueduct, traces of which still remain. This water according to 'Alī Bey (*Travels*, ii. 30) was brackish. Water was also brought (about 8 miles) from the Wells of Moses (*ʿAyūn Mūsā*), celebrated in legend (Ibn al-Wardī, *Parles des Merveilles*, in *N.E.*, ii. 31). 'Alī Bey declares that the wells yielded 'a disagreeable and fetid kind of water'. In modern times, however, a fresh-water canal was cut in 1863 between Calco and Suez.

By the beginning of the 19th century the town had once more fallen into decay and insignificance ('Alī Bey, *ibid.*, ii. 29). But it revived again when the overland mail route was opened in 1837 between England and India, and still more after the construction of the Canal.

An etymology of the name *Suez* will be found in *Deur de l'Ég.*, i. 87. Yāqūt mentions, on the authority of al-Muhallabī, the presence in the neighbourhood of magnetic rock (*maghāṣṣī*) whose power is decreased or increased according as it is rubbed with garlic or vinegar.

An ancient canal, called *Amnī Trajanī*, although much older than the Roman occupation, once existed between the Nile and the Red Sea. One of its termini was at Kalzum. 'Amr b. al-'Ās re-opened this ancient waterway to enable grain supplies to be shipped direct to the Haramain (Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*, p. 345 *qq.*). Soon afterwards it was silted up again until restored under al-Mahdī (c. 780 A.D.). In the year 971 A.D. Hasan the Karmanian captured the city. During the middle ages the commerce of the Indians passed steadily through the town. Caravans from Farma (*Pelusium*) took four days; from Cairo, three (see J. M. Hartmann, *Edrisi Africa*, p. 449; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, s.v.).

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ŠUFĪ. [See TAŠAWWUF.]

AL-SUFRIYA, one of the principal branches of the Khāridjīs [q.v.]. Historiographic tradition, established as early as the middle of the 2nd century by Abū Mikhnaḥ (al-

Tabari, *Annales*, ii. 517 *qq.*) places its rise in 65, when the Tamīm 'Abdallāh b. al-Saffār, a Khāridjī of al-Baṣra, broke away from his colleague Nāṣir b. al-Azraq on the question of the *al-ṣirāḍ* (the murder of adversaries and their families), propounded by the latter, and subsequently from 'Abdallāh b. Iḥād, who maintained that non-Khāridjī Muslims should not be regarded as polytheists. The account of Abū Mikhnaḥ shows, as has been aptly remarked by Wellhausen, a spirit of pragmatism, which regards the three great branches of the Khāridjīs: the Sufriya, the Azraqites [i. 563/564] and the Abūḥaḍra or Iḥādīs [i. 3/4; ii. 372/373], as the simultaneous product of a conflict of principles. Another historian al-Balādhurī (ed. Ahiwardi, p. 82—83), names as founder of the Sufriya 'Ubaida b. Kaḥbiṣ; (theological sources, on the other hand, assign this rôle to Ziyād b. al-Aṣfar, after whom the Sufriya have also received the name of Ziyādiya (al-Baghādī, *Firāḥ*, p. 70; al-Shahrastānī, ed. Caetani, p. 102; al-Khwarizmi, *Mafāṭih al-'Ulūm*, ed. van Vloten, p. 25; al-Sam'ānī, *Anwāḥ*, vol. 354 a) or to al-Nu'mān b. Sa'f (Maḥrūn, *Kāḥif*, ii. 354 below = 2nd ed., iv. 178, below): all of which persons are equally obscure. In reality the Sufriya began to take part in the Khāridjī movement in the month of Šafar 76, when the great revolt raised by Šaḥīb b. Musarrīḥ (or Musarrāḥ, cf. Tabari, ii. 881, note g) broke out, after his death led by Šaḥīb b. Yazīd al-Shaibānī [see above, p. 261—262]. Šaḥīb b. Musarrīḥ, who was regarded by his followers as a saint, and whose tomb remained an object of veneration for a long time (Ibn Kattāba, *Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 209 = Ibn Duraid, *Liṭā'ik*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 133), represents the type of devotee with ascetic tendencies who becomes propagandist and ends by becoming engulfed in the turmoils of a bloody war in spite of his pacific temperament; he is represented in the account of a contemporary, who in all probability writes with authority (Tabari, ii. 886) as opposed to the terrorist methods of the Azraqīs, a point which has invariably constituted a characteristic of the Sufī theory, although its adepts have not always observed it in practice.

After the defeat of Šaḥīb b. Yazīd, the Sufriya again appear involved in the revolt of al-Dahḥāk b. Kaḥbiṣ [q.v.] towards the end of the Umayyad period. At the same epoch they are found spread over the whole of the Islamic world; they are mentioned in the Maghrib from the year 117 (Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, v. 153 below), where, a few years later, guided by their chief Abū Kurrā, they slew the Abbāsid governor 'Omar b. Hafs, in 153 (Tabari, iii. 370—371), and seized the town of Sijilmāsa [see above, p. 432—433] where they long maintained their independence (Ibn al-Adhārī, *Bayān al-Maghrib*, ed. Dory, i. 58 *qq.*; Ibn al-Athīr, vi. 4 *qq.*, 53); they joined the Iḥādīs in the general rising of the Berbers, and ended by being absorbed by the former, who in North Africa as elsewhere became dominant. Another conflict between Iḥādīs and Sufriya, where the latter were overthrown, took place in 'Omān, in which the Sufriya had taken refuge in 134, after having been defeated by the Abbāsid chief Khāṣim b. Khuzaima (Tabari, iii. 78).

It is principally as exponents of Khāridjism

that the Sufriya are of importance; they seem to have been the first to attempt a systematic exposition of their religious principles, and one of their very earliest *imāms*, the poet Imrān b. Ḥijān (ii. 507–508), d. 84, is renowned as jurisconsult and theologian. Other names of Sufri traditionists and theologians are cited by al-Jāhiz in his list of Khāridjī scholars (*Bayān*, i. 131–133; ii. 126–127); amongst others Shubail b. Azra al-Dūshā'i (d. 140), also known as poet and lexicographer (cf. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschreiber*, No. 20, where the patronymic is incorrect; Ibn Duraid, p. 193; Tabari, ii. 1913; Jāhiz, *Hayawān*, i. 152; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, iv. 310, etc.). al-Kāsim b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Sadiqa, Mulail, etc. The principal theses which divided the Sufriya from the extremist Azariqa, though not quite equalling the moderation of the Ibāḍis, are, according to the systematic tracts by 'Abd al-Kābir al-Baghḍādī and al-Shahrastānī, the admission of *ḥudūd* (temporary cessation of war with other Muslims; cf. Muḥarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, p. 527, 595, 604, 604, 604) and of *ṭabī'a* (dissimulation of faith), the negation of the doctrines of *istifāḥ* and the damnation of the children of infidels. In moral doctrine also the strictness of the Khāridjīs is somewhat modified by the Sufriya: one of their subdivisions maintains that sins do not produce in the sinner the quality of an infidel (*kāfir*) nor of a polytheist (*mushrik*) as long as it concerns infractions of righteousness for which the religious law provides a definite punishment (*ḥadd waḥḍ*); this expression has not been included in the translation of al-Shahrastānī by Haarbrücker, ii. 154, but only in those cases in which there is no punishment in the law. Other peculiarities of the Sufriya refer to questions of ritual and equity.

The Sufriya, as a religious school, seems to have especially pre-dominated, in the eastern half of the Islamic world, where they maintained themselves up to a comparatively recent period. Ibn Ḥazm (d. in 456) affirms that they were the only branch of the Khāridjīs who existed in his time, beside the Ibāḍis (*al-Faṣl fi 'l-Milal*, iv. 190–191). This leads us to suppose that there was a gradual absorption of the other schools of Khāridjīs into that of the Sufriya, which seems to be confirmed by the fact that Ibn Ḥazm ranges with the Sufriya the schools of Thā'liba, 'Adjārida (ii. 149; ii. 381), Balḥāsiya (i. 617) with their subdivisions, while 'Abd al-Kābir al-Baghḍādī and al-Shahrastānī consider them as independent schools.

The origin of the name Sufriya is greatly disputed, the etymologies that are derived from the supposed founders (Ibn al-Saffār, al-Aṣfar, Ibn Sufr) seem somewhat artificial; a perfectly foolish one, although it is due to the celebrated philologist al-Aṣma'i, is the one which, admitting the vocalisation *Sifriya*, attaches it to the word *sifr* "zero" and supports it by an anecdote according to which an imprisoned Sufrī was accosted by one of his companions in captivity with the words: "You count for no more than zero in religion!" (*Liḥw al-'Arab*, vi. 135 = *Tuḥf al-'Arab*, iii. 337). A third etymology deserves more credit, although it is not entirely beyond doubt: it is that which derives the name from *Sufr*, the "yellow colour", which their faces had assumed in consequence of their devotional practices (al-Balḥūrī, ed. Abūwardī, p. 82–83; al-Muḥarrad, *Kāmil*, p. 604,

4–11, 615–616; cf. Tabari, ii. 881, 14, where he says of Salīh b. Musarrīh that he was a man of "yellow countenance" [*muṣṣarr al-waḥḥ*]). This etymological uncertainty is the consequence of the obscurity that covers the origin of the movement itself: Salīh b. Musarrīh, who as we have seen, seems to have been the real originator, is not recognised as such by the later Sufriya, who name as their first *imām* Imrān b. Ḥijān (al-Baghḍādī, *Firaḥ*, p. 71); al-Baghḍādī, p. 89, hesitates to attribute to Salīh the denomination of Sufri and al-Shahrastānī, p. 95, in mentioning the school of the *Salīhiya* says that they do not enter into any of the known categories of the Khāridjīs.

According to al-Maḥṣūṣ (*Ḍikr*, ii. 354 below = 2nd ed., iv. 179) the Sufriya also bore the name of *al-Nakḥūr*, "the deniers" because they reprove (like all the other Khāridjīs) a part of the conduct of 'Uthmān, 'Alī and 'A'īsha; but the passages quoted by Dozy, *Supplément*, ii. 722^b (which refer without exception to the Maghrib) show that it was an insulting appellation applied to Khāridjīs in general.

Bibliography: see article KHĀRIDJĪS.

(G. LEVI DELLA VITA)

SUFURŪY (vulg. *Sufrā*, *nizba*: *Sufrūy*), a small town to the north of Morocco, 33 KM. S. E. of Fās (Fes), 800 metres above sea level at the foot of the northern spur of the Middle Atlas. The town, watered by the Wādī Sufrūy, is surrounded by beautiful orchards, principally cherry. The quarters are N. Tāḡeḥb and Shebbak, E. the Kaṣba or fort, S. Moṣḥūḥ and Zemrit, surrounding the Mellāḥ or Jews' quarter on all sides. The town is protected by a high wall restored in the sixteenth century by the Sulṭān Mawḥay Sulaimān, who also built a mosque and a *ḥammām*. The population exceeds 8,000, of whom more than 3,000 are Jews.

The principal sanctuaries of Sufrūy are those of Sidi Bā-Serghin, Sidi Bā-'Alī and Sidi Bā-Medyan. The first is the most important; at the end of the summer a spring near to the sanctuary is the object of a water-cult; it has the virtue of curing madness and idiocy. These sacred spots were visited in 1179 (1765–1766) by the Sulṭāna Fāṭima bint Sulaimān who came from Marrākeṣh to Fās for the express purpose of visiting these sanctuaries.

It was in the environs of Sufrūy, that in the Berber tribe of the Ait Yūs, the learned and versatile al-Huṣayn b. Ma'ūd al-Yūsai (d. 1102/1691) (q.v.) was born; his tomb is at the *asābiya* called Sidi Laḥsen in the S.W. of the town; he is still greatly venerated by the Ait Yūs, who hold a *marṣam* there every year.

Nothing is known of the date at which Sufrūy was founded. Leo Africanus (who calls it *Sofrei*) says that it was built by the "Africans", which means that for him its origin is lost in antiquity. It would seem to have been in existence at the time of the foundation of Fās by Idrīs II; he was not slow to enter into conflict with the inhabitants of the region of Sufrūy and al-Bahillī, where the religion seems to have been strongly impregnated by Judaism, and converted them to Islam. The memory of an ancient Jewish population is preserved in the name of wādī 'l-Yahūdī (the name of the lower part of wādī Sufrūy) and by that of the grotto called *A'f al-Yahūd*, which

among the Jews in the town is the centre of a true naturalist cult.

The importance rapidly attained by Fās, the new and adjacent capital, accelerated the decline of the ancient Berber city. Sufurŷ, however, as a necessary point of passage for the caravans bound for Sijilmāsa always retained a certain vitality; it was, moreover, the natural depot for the products of the Middle Atlas, destined for Fās: fruits, wool, skins and cedar wood.

In 407 (1016—1017) on the fall of the Umayyad caliphate of Cordova Sufurŷ, which was a fief of the lord of Fās, al-Mu'izz b. Ziri, was taken from him by Wāḥid b. Kharrūn al-Maghrawī, lord of Sijilmāsa and of Dar'a. In 455 (1063) Ysauf b. Tāshīn took Sufurŷ by assault and massacred all the Maghrawa who had shut themselves up in it. In 536 (1141) Sufurŷ was seized by 'Abd al-Murṣin for the Almoravids.

Speaking of Sufurŷ in the 11th century, al-Bakrī only says that it is on the route from Fās to Sijilmāsa and that it is a city surrounded by ramparts, possessing water-courses and trees. In the 12th century al-Iḍrīṣī describing it says that it is "a small and secluded but civilised town, where there are not many markets. Its inhabitants are for the most part agriculturists, who cultivate a quantity of cereals; there are also a large number of large and small cattle. The waters of the land are sweet and abundant".

Sufurŷ suffered greatly during the civil wars which devastated the region of Fās during the dynasty of the Ḥanā Wāṭṭas and of the Sa'dites. After the accession of the 'Alawīs, it was again the victim of the wars waged by these sultāns against the rebel Berbers of the Middle Atlas.

In 1096 (1684—1685) Mawḥy Ismā'īl passed through Sufurŷ upon an expedition against the tribes of the Middle Atlas and the High Molouya. In 1736, the inhabitants of the town and the neighbourhood were massacred by the Sultān Mawḥy Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, called Ibn 'Arabīya, infuriated by the protection which the Berbers of the district had given to his rebellious brother 'Abd Allāh; their heads were transported to Fās. In 1811, in the course of the great revolt of the Berbers they came as far as Sufurŷ to surround an army that was sent against them; they pillaged the camp and sacked the whole region. In 1235 (1819—1820) the Sultān Mawḥy Sulaymān had three hundred men of the rebellious neighbouring tribe of the Ait Vās arrested in Sufurŷ.

Bibliography: al-Iḍrīṣī, *Sifat al-Maghrib*, text p. 76, transl. p. 87; al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique Septentrionale*, 1911, p. 146; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Ch. Schefer, II, 359; Marmal, *Description de l'Afrique*, IV, p. 162; De Foucauld, *Reconnaissance au Maroc*, Paris 1888, p. 37 sqq.; E. Aubin, *Le Maroc d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1905, p. 394—397; L. Brunot, *Cultes naturalistes à Sefrou*, in *Archives Berbères*, 1918, vol. III, p. 137—143; Reissner and Bachelot, *Notice sur le Cercle de Sefrou*, in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie du Maroc*, 3rd year, No. 4, p. 29—51.

(GEORGE S. COLIN)

SUFYĀN AL-THAWRĪ, **ABD 'ABD ALLĀH SUFYĀN b. SA'ĪD** (according to some SA'ĪD) b. MASHŪQ AL-THAWRĪ AL-KUFĪ, a celebrated theologian, traditionalist and ascetic of the second century A.H. His *nisba* al-Thawrī is

derived, according to the view generally held by the biographers, from Thawr b. 'Abd Manāf... b. al-Yās b. Maḍar, who was among his ancestors (cf. Wustenfeld, *Register zu den genealog. Tabellen d. arab. Stämme u. Familien*, 1853, p. 452; Ibn Isḥāq, *Taḥṭīb*, ed. Wustenfeld, 1854, p. 113; Sam'ānī, *Anṣab*, G. M. S., II, fol. 117*). Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. Wustenfeld, No. 265 (transl. by de Sane, 1842, I, p. 576 sqq.) gives as the date of his birth 95, 96 or 97. On the other hand, all the other sources agree in giving 97 (715/716) as the date (Caetani, *Chronographia Islamica*, I, 5, p. 1180, No. 26 puts the date of Sufyān's birth as 96, on the authority of a unique manuscript). Sufyān received his first instruction in *ḥadīth* from his father, a learned Kufan, who died in 126 (according to others in 128, cf. Caetani, *loc. cit.*, p. 1607, No. 73) and is quoted among his authorities by different names in the biographical dictionaries to be mentioned below. Sufyān was one of the old school of pious men, who showed their dislike of the new régime by declining to accept offices in the government service and thus brought the wrath of the court upon their heads. Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, ed. Zetterstēen, 1909, VI, p. 258, says that Sufyān on one occasion accepted money and gifts from a wālī but ever afterwards refused them. In 150, he left Kufa and went, like so many others (cf. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islam*, 1922, p. 209) beyond the bounds of 'Irāq to escape appointment as *ḥāḍi*. He went to the Yemen and made a living as a merchant by giving other merchants goods to dispose of on commission and settling up with them annually, so that he finally possessed a fortune of about 200 *ḍinārs* (according to Ibn Kutāiba, *Ma'ārif*, ed. Wustenfeld, 1850, p. 250: his estate at his death amounted to 150 *ḍinārs* in goods). But even there, he was not safe from persecution by the Baghdadī court. He was sought out but went to Mecca. The amir of Mecca, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, was ordered by the Caliph in the year 158 (the year in which al-Mahdī succeeded al-Manṣūr; therefore the sources vary as to which Caliph gave the order) to find him (*yafṣuḥūhu*, so most sources; in al-Nawawī, *Tahḍīb al-Awām*, ed. Wustenfeld, 1842—1847, p. 287, and Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahḍīb al-Tahḍīb*, 1325, IV, p. 114, however some wood-merchants who were going to Mecca are ordered by al-Manṣūr to crucify him, *fa-z'libūhū*, which is certainly not simply a copyist's mistake, but it suggests another story). The governor, however, did not carry out his orders; according to Ibn Sa'd, *loc. cit.*, he warned Sufyān so that he was able to go promptly into hiding. While al-Tabarī, III, 385 sq., says that he had already taken Sufyān prisoner but then set him free again. The whole story is embellished in the different versions with details of interest to the student of the life of the time. It seems certain in any case that Sufyān was actually forced to seek refuge from his pursuers in the Ka'ba (Ibn Sa'd, p. 259). In the end however, Mecca also became too hot for him; and he went to Baḡra to Yahyā b. Sa'īd, where many learned jurists came to study *ḥadīth* under him. In Baḡra also he had to change his abode for the sake of safety. Ḥammād b. Zaid advised him to make peace with the court. Sufyān began negotiations by correspondence, which led to a satisfactory result, but before he could set out for Baghdad

he became ill and died at the age of 64, in Sha'ban 161 = May 778 (169 in al-Dhahabî al-Suyûtî, *Tabaqât al-Huffâz*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 1833, i, p. 45, N^o. 40 is probably only an error of the lithographer). The sources then are all agreed that up to the time of his death he kept himself in hiding from the temporal powers. His son, whom he loved above all else had died before him; he therefore left his whole estate to his sister and her son 'Ammâr b. Maḥammad, but left nothing to his brother al-Maḥḥrak (d. 180). He was buried, as several authorities tell us, by night; his grave in Baḡra is mentioned by several geographers. He had not seen his native city of Kūfa since the year 150; cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *loc. cit.*

The above outline is all that can be considered certain in Sufyân's biography. But in view of the extraordinary authority which he enjoyed, a large number of legendary features could not fail to creep into the story of his life, which one must treat with general distrust, even when they are not obvious inventions or cannot be shown to be historically impossible. The most characteristic is his conversation with the Caliph al-Mahdî, which has been adopted in Ibn Khallikân's biography of Sufyân from al-Maḥḥrak, *Murâdj* (vi, Paris 1871, p. 257). It is — apart from other reasons — unhistorical simply because the two certainly never met in their lives. What else is related of Sufyân's life will be discussed below in connection with the various intellectual movements in Islâm which claimed the authority of Sufyân for their views and had therefore an interest in finding the characteristics they required in his life.

As a traditionalist, the greatest praise is everywhere bestowed on him on account of the extraordinary breadth of his knowledge and his reliability. The most pregnant criticism of him is the verdict in al-Dhahabî, *Mizân al-Fihrist*, 1325, N^o. 3266: *ḥudūdha, ḥaṭṭa*. At the same time, he is credited with other "qualifications of the first rank", as collected in Goldziher, *Muḥamm. Stud.*, ii, 142. He is occasionally rated higher than Mālik b. Anas. The only reproach made against him is that of *tadlīs*, that he used to trace traditions directly to recognised authorities, although he had only received them indirectly or from transmitters of less authority (cf. *Kūmār*, s. v. and Goldziher, *loc. cit.*, p. 48; and the passages there quoted from Ibn Khaldūn). Ibn Ḥajar, *Tabaqât al-Mudallisin*, Cairo 1322, p. 9 places him in the second rank of the *mudallisin* i. e. those whose *tadlīs* the Imāms have tolerated, because they were such important personalities and their *tadlīs* amounted to very little (*ḥillat tadlīsiki*) and gives as his authority al-Nasā'î (Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii, 199) and al-Bukhārî (q. v.). Sufyân's *tadlīs* however does not prevent the biographers vying with one another in telling stories to his credit. He was one of the first to commit to writing the wealth of traditions stored in his memory; cf. Abu 'l-Maḥāsîn, *Annales*, ed. Juyboll, i, 1855, p. 387 sq. and Ḥādijî Khālifa, ed. Flügel, i, 80 sq. The *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, i, p. 225, for example gives a number of works by him, namely: 1) *al-Djāmi' al-kabir*; 2) *al-Djāmi' al-saghir*; 3) *Kitāb al-Farā'id* and 4) and 5) two epistles the subject of which is not recorded. Then there is his commentary on the Qur'ān, *Tafsir*, which according to Ḥādijî Khālifa, N^o. 3248 is quoted by Tha'alabî. These works however have not survived; several bio-

ographies record that on his deathbed Sufyân commissioned a friend whose name is not given (cf. *Fihrist*, ii, p. 98, note 3, on p. 225) to burn them, which was done. The reason for this action is said by Ḥādijî Khālifa (i, 126) to have been that he felt remorse at the traditions with weak authority which he had admitted into his books; the reproach of *tadlīs* already mentioned therefore does not seem to have been made against him unjustly. The most comprehensive list of his authorities and pupils is given by Ibn Ḥajar (*loc. cit.*, p. 111 sq.) but names not included here are given in other biographical sources. Al-Nawawî and Ibn Ḥajar give as the best Kūfic *imām*; Sufyân from Maḥḥrak (b. al-Mu'tamir, see Nawawî, p. 578) from Ibrāhīm [al-Nakha'î, see Nawawî, p. 135] from 'Alqama [al-Rāwî, see Nawawî, p. 433] from Ibn Ma'ūd (q. v.).

As a faḳīh he was the founder of a maḥbhab which however later disappeared; cf. Mez, *loc. cit.*, p. 202 sq. He was a strict follower of the *Ahl al-Hadith* (q. v.) and as regards theology belonged to the *Shāfi'iyā* i. e. he recognised the qualities of Allāh mentioned in the Qur'ān as existing in the literal sense and peculiar to him; cf. al-Shahrastānî, *Milāl*, ed. Carleton, i, 65, 160 (transl. by Haubricher, i, 97, 222). That he was a *Sunnî* is proved, if it were necessary, from the profession of faith which he is said to have dictated to Shu'ayb b. Djarir, cf. al-Dhahabî, *Tadhkirat al-Huffāz*, i, Haidarabad 1333, p. 193. In this, after speaking of the uncreatedness of the Qur'ān, he says that *ḥawā, 'amal* and *nīya* (see SAHĪ AL-TUSTARĪ) constitute the *imān* (q. v.); that it can increase and decrease (cf. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, ed. 2, 1925, p. 81), that pre-eminence (i. e. over 'Alī, cf. van Arendonk, *De opkomst van het zaiditische imānisme in Yemen*, 1919, index, s. v. *imān*, de beide) is due to the two shaiḫs (Abū Bakr and 'Umar), that in the minor ablution (*wuḡū*) the washing of the foot-covering is permitted in place of the feet (*al-maṣḥ 'alā al-ḥuffayn*) (cf. Goldziher, *loc. cit.*, p. 369), that it is better to recite the *ḥamāla* in a low voice than in a loud one (cf. Goldziher, *Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte der Sufā*, S. B. W. A., lxxviii, 1874, p. 451 sq., 457), that one must believe in predestination (see KADAB), that one may pray on Friday and at the two festivals behind any imām, but at other times must choose one in whose piety one has confidence and of whom one knows that he is a *Sunnî* and finally that the *ḡibād* will exist to the day of judgment (see Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, 1885, p. 244^b) and that one should obey every person in authority, whether he is just or unjust. It is easy to see that the majority of these articles represent well known points of difference between *Sunna* and *Shi'a*, which are all decided according to the *Sunnî* view. Nevertheless Sufyân is credited with an inclination to the *Shi'a*; thus the *Tabaqât al-Huffāz*, *loc. cit.*, mentions among his authorities the imām 'Isa'far al-Sādiq (q. v.); Ibn Kutāiba, *Ma'srif*, p. 301 mentions him in a list of *Shi'as*, and al-Tabarî, iii, 2516, gives a story according to which he was a *Shi'a* but met two scholars in Baḡra who persuaded him to change. He has, however, also been claimed as a *Zaidi*, cf. *Fihrist*, p. 178, and, thereon van Arendonk, *loc. cit.*, 284, and index s. v.; "*Corpus Iuriz*" di Zaid ibn Ali, ed. Griffini, 1919, p. clxxv. with note 3 and index s. v.

These are doubtless inventions. Massignon, *La Parole d'Al-Hallâj*, 1922, p. 72 sees their origin in the fact that for men like Sufyân, al-Sha'fî etc. reverence for the Prophet implied reverence for his family which of course included the 'Ahlâ. The explanation given by Bergsträsser in his review of the *Corpus Iuris*, O. L. Z., 1922, col. 122 *sqq.* seems to me much more illuminating, namely that the *Corpus* in many cases is in conformity with the jurists of the 'Irâq of whom Sufyân was one. As it thus comes about that he often taught the same as the *Corpus* (except that in reality it was the latter that borrowed), he might be claimed as a Zaidî. It must have been similar with his Shî'ism. — The above mentioned requirement of 'amal as an essential of *islâm* is directed against the Murjî'a; cf. thereon Goldziher, *Vorlesungen* 3, p. 351, where it is related (on the authority of Ibn Sa'd) how Sufyân refused to take part in the funeral of a murjî'.

That Sufyân was an ascetic is beyond doubt. Here also the biographers cannot quote too many stories about him. The best evidence of his asceticism is however that he is claimed by the Shî'is as one of their fore-runners. Farîd al-Dîn 'Aqqâr, *Tadhkirat al-Awliyâ* (ed. Nicholson, i., 1905, p. 188 *sqq.*) devotes an article of nearly 9 pages to him, which however contains nothing characteristic and of which H. H. Schauder's remark (*Islâm*, xiv., p. 1) on the biographies of the devout men of the past in general in 'Aqqâr holds, namely that they are "very much modelled on a single pattern of mystic piety". Sufyân is however mentioned by the *Fihrist*, i. 183, in a list of ascetics who wore the *ihf* and Abu Naṣr al-Sarrâj, *Luma'*, ed. Nicholson (*G. M. S.*, xiii., 1914), p. 22 actually quotes him as evidence of the antiquity of the *ṣūfiya*. His relations with al-Djundî (q.v.) are several times discussed, although the two could not have known one another; cf. e.g. al-Hudjwiri, *Kashf al-Mahjûb*, transl. Nicholson (*G. M. S.*, xvii., 1911), p. 128. The reference is apparently only to intellectual kinship; it is difficult to understand it otherwise when Abu 'l-Mahjâin (*loc. cit.*, ii. 213) says that al-Hallâj (q.v.) was acquainted with Sufyân (*ṣūfiya*). On the other hand, one need not doubt the truth of the story recorded by the same author (i. 424) that Sufyân was on friendly terms with the ascetic Shaibân al-Râ'î (d. 158) who lived the life of a hermit in Lebanon.

These remarks on Sufyân viewed from different angles, corresponding to different currents in the intellectual history of Islâm, are of course nothing more than prolegomena; they cannot take the place of a monograph on him, the necessity of which must be evident from the manifold variety of what we have said above.

Bibliography: On the sources it should first of all be noted that al-Dhahabî's *Tadhkirat al-Huffâ*, i., p. 192, depends on his own great historical work in which he dealt at great length with Sufyân. The volume, in which the article must have been, is however not quoted among the manuscripts of the separate volumes mentioned in Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 47. Al-Dhahabî also refers to a book on the *Manâẓib* of Sufyân by Ibn al-Djauzi (q.v.) but this has not survived. — The biographical, bibliographical, and historical works quoted in the article almost all contain articles on Sufyân, which have been utilised here. So far as they

have appeared in European editions, the indices should be consulted, e.g. Sufyân, for scattered references to his life and teaching. The reader may be also referred to the story of his meeting with Ma'ah's Allâh in al-Kifî, *Ta'arûf*, ed. Lippert, p. 127, to his refusal of the office of *kādî*, as it is told in al-Hudjwiri, *loc. cit.*, p. 93 and to his meeting with al-Manṣûr (Ibn 'Ahd Rabbihî, *Tajd*, Cairo 1331, ii., p. 108). — The indices of the European works should also be consulted for passages not quoted here. There is further Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, 1920 (in *Mus. Stud.*, ii., the reference in p. 58 is not in the Index: on cf. D. B. Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology*, 1903, p. 97 *sq.*); Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, 1909, i. 424—426 (p. 434 he adopts the already mentioned story of Sufyân's meeting with al-Hallâj).

(M. PLEISNER)

AL-SUFYÂNÎ. [See AL-MAHĀDÎ.]

SUGHĀ. [See SOGHĀ.]

SUGHĀK, once a great seaport, now a little town in the Crimea, Greek *Σουγάς* or *Σουγάς*, also *Σουγάς*, Latin and Italian *Soldais* or *Soldachis*, Old Russian *Суроѣ*; the Arabic form *Sholāṭis* in Idri'î (transl. Jaubert, ii. 395) is probably connected with the Italian form. The name is connected with Soghd (q.v.), the name of a country in Central Asia and explained as Iranian; its foundation is therefore ascribed to the Alans (see ALLAN). The Alans are mentioned in the region (east of the Tauric Chersonese) as late as the xiith and xivth centuries. Like the Greek cities, Sogdaia had an era of its own, according to which the year of its foundation was 212 B.C.; but the name is not found in Ptolemy nor in any other geographer of antiquity. It is first mentioned in the viiith century by the Anonymous writer of Ravenna (*Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia*, ed. Pinder and Parthey, Berlin 1860, p. 175 *sq.*; Sagdabon). At that time the town had a Greek bishop although it was not under Byzantine but Khazar rule. It was only after the destruction of the Khazar empire and of the Russian principality of Tmutarakan that the whole southern shore of the Crimea passed to Byzantium. During Latin rule in Constantinople this region belonged to the kingdom of Trebizond. Twice, in 1225 and 1238, Sughdâk was sacked by Tatars. It is to the intervening period that the very full but undated account in Ibn Bîrâ (q.v.); Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seljoukides*, iii. 329 *sqq.*; iv. 134 *sqq.* of the invasion by Turks from Asia Minor belongs; Husâm al-Dîn Çobân the commander sent by 'Alî al-Dîn Kai-kubâd (616—634 = 1219—1236) succeeded in defeating the Greeks in Sughdâk and their allies, the Russians and Kipçak. In Sughdâk the bells were broken in pieces, a large mosque built in less than a fortnight, a *mu'adhdhin*, a *khatib* and a *hâdî* appointed and a garrison left; but the Turks seem (*op. cit.*, iii. 358; iv. 138 *sq.*) to have been very soon driven out again. In 1249 the Tatars were forced to leave Sughdâk whereupon the Greek governor (*Sébastos*) had the population counted. The total was only 8,300, which probably refers only to male adults. In spite of its small population Sughdâk was then of great importance for sea-trade, especially for trade with Venice, as is evident from Venetian documents

and from Marco Polo (ed. Yule-Cordier, I. 2 29.). Sughdak suffered a heavy blow in the reign of Özbek, Khan of the Golden Horde (712—741 = 1302—1340); on Aug. 8, 1322, the town was occupied without resistance by Kara-Bulak, son of Özbek, all the bells were carried off, all images of saints and crucifixes smashed, and all the churches closed. In spring 1327 Özbek ordered his governor Tolaktemir to destroy the citadel and several churches. When Ibn Battuta (q.v.), visited "Sardak" (for Sūdāk) it looked like a Turkish and Muslim city; only a few Greek artisans were left. The harbour is described by Ibn Battuta as "one of the largest and best". The houses were mainly of wood (*Rihla*, Paris, II. 414 29.). The Christian population soon came back again. The conquest of Sughdak by the Genoese in 1365 and the treaty between them and the Tatars of 1380 were important events in the history of the town. The district of Sughdak in those days extended as far as Alushta and included 18 villages, almost the same number as the corresponding Turkish *kāşık* in 1774 (19); they must have been the same villages, as the most westerly one, Alushta (Arab. *Shālūṣṭa*), did not belong in the Genoese period to the district of Sughdak. Sughdak henceforth, down to the Turkish conquest of 1475, belonged to the Genoese colony of Gazaria or Gazarra and was administered by a separate consul, subordinate to the consul of Kafa. In the sources dealing with the Turkish conquest only the fighting round Kafa is fully described; no details of the fall of Sughdak are known. Unlike Kafa, Sughdak experienced no revival under Turkish, nor later under Russian rule. Broniewski (1578) describes Sughdak as a town in ruins. The present ruins (pictures e.g. in Marco Polo, ed. Yule-Cordier, I. 3; Yu. Kulakovskiy, *Proshlye Tavr* 12, Kiev 1914, p. 120; L. Kolli, *Ist. Tavr. Arkh. Komissii*, xxxviii, p. 1) date mainly from the Genoese period.

Bibliography: (cf. also *BAHĀ'UṢṢĀRĀ'Ī* and *KAFĀ*): V. G. Vasilievskiy, *Istoricheskiye isledeniya o Surske* (Trud V. G. Vasilievskogo, t. III, Izd. Akademii Nauk, Petrograd 1915); P. Melloranskii, *Seldjuk-Nams, kak istochnik dlya istorii Vizantii* = XII—XIII *vekhkh* (Vig. Vremennik, I. 613 199.); L. Kolli, *Ekristoforo Di-Negre posledniy konsul Suldai* (Ist. Tavr. Ucheny Arkh. Komissii, xxxviii, 1905, p. 1 199.). (W. BARTHOLO)

AL-SUHAIL, i.e. the *Kāwṣa* (Canopus) of the ancients, the star = Carinae in the modern star catalogues, next to Sirius the brightest fixed star in the heavens (magnitude — 0.9), but invisible for all regions north of 37° of latitude; for it has a declination of $\delta = -52^{\circ} 38' 52''$, while its right ascension AR = $6^h 22^m 14^s$. In the northern Muslim lands, therefore it scarcely rises above the horizon and for example about the year 2,000 B.C. in Babylon its altitude of culmination was only 2°.9. It was therefore the most southern of the fixed stars marked on the spider (*al-ʿamkabūt*) of the Arab astrolobes.

The name Suhail was given by the Arabs to several stars in the southern heavens; but *suhail al-Yaman*, *suhail ḥadār*, *suhail al-wazn*, or *suhail* alone, always meant Canopus i.e. the bright large star of the southern helm in the constellation of *al-safina* (the ship). As in the northern parts of the Indian Ocean, Canopus rises in the S.E. and sets in the S.W., in the nautical language of

the Arabs, according to G. Ferrand, S.E. is indicated by *muḥāl al-suhail*, S. by *ḥuḍ al-suhail* and S.S.W. with *sughrib al-suhail*. In Central Arabia Canopus is called *ʿaḥl*; it is used to find the south. According to J. J. Hess, the Beduin of Central Arabia say: *ʿat rāḥib n-ḥal fi wajḥih* ("when thou ridest, Canopus is in thy face").

Various suggestions have been made regarding the derivation and meaning of the word *suhail*. Ideler points out that *suhail* can be explained as diminutive of *ḥal* "level", but finds Buttman's explanation the least forced, that *al-suhail* received this and the two names *ḥuḍār* and *al-wazn* because it only rises a little above the horizon in the lands where these names are given it; it is therefore called "the heavy", "the earthly"; *ḥuḍār* from the earth and *ḥal* from the plain, above which it rises very little. Eratosthenes tells us that it was called *ἡρῆς*, "terrestria" for this reason by the ancients.

According to F. X. Kugler the Babylonians placed Canopus in the constellation *mulNUN* = *Erida* (= constellation of Erida i.e. Vela + Southern Puppis + Canopus). On the Greek name *Kāwṣa* the following may be noted. *Kāwṣa* was the steersman of the ship which was to bring Menelaus back to Greece. A storm drove the ship on to the Libyan coast. *Kāwṣa* died here of a snake-bite. Menelaus, deeply mourning the death of his excellent friend had a splendid memorial built to him and called the settlement of Spartiates that arose here *Kāwṣa*; in honour of *Kāwṣa*. It lay on the western mouth of the Nile, a few geographical miles north of the site of Alexandria (cf. also: Tacitus, *Ann.*, II. 60: "... Condidere id oppidum Canopum) Spartani, ob sepulchrum illi: rectorem navis, Canopum; qua tempestate Menelaus, Graeciam repetens, diversam ad mare terramque Libyam delectus est").

The Egyptian name for Canopus is not yet certainly known. In the Dekan lists (cf. Brugsch, *Thebanus inscriptionum aegyptiacarum*, Leipzig, p. 148, 173), there is the name of a dekan *ḥi* *ḥ* (= he in the boat) but that this is a steersman, let alone the steersman *Kāwṣa*, cannot be proved, on the contrary it is improbable as the dekan star is to be sought in the vicinity of the ecliptic.

According to Athanasius Kircher, Canopus was the god of moisture and of fertility and as he had his abode in the Nile, in Egypt he was the god of water generally, comparable to Poseidon and Neptune. He was therefore naturally credited with influences relating to seafaring in astrology, i.e. in the horoscope of a new born infant. The following reference to this is found in Hieronymus Vitalis (*Lexicon Mathematicum*, Paris 1668, p. 63): "Argo Navis sidus in caelo ad Australem plagam stellas continens secundum communem, numero 45, at secundum Bayer, 63. Omnes fere de natura Saturni, parvam Jovis; intra quas una fulgentissima in Canopo existens primae magnitudinis, arabice Rubail (!). Haec in Horoscopo, inquit Pontanus in Urania (cf. Pontanus, Giovanni Giovanna da Caretto, *De rebus caelestibus*, lib. xiv., Florentiae 1520), facit Nauclerum et praestat fortunam in navigationibus, praesertim si Veneris benigno radio fulciatur: At in occasu cum Saturno parititer reperi, portendit mortem in aquis".

The treatise of the Arab astronomer and court physician Sinān b. Thābit b. Kurrā Abū Saʿīd

(1945): "On the site Canopus" no longer exists.

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SUHĀR, a seaport on the coast of 'Uman is 24° 22' N. Lat. and 56° 45' East Long. with about 7,500 inhabitants. The harbor has a good roadstead and excellent anchorage and is well protected in the north and west by the promontory of Fuḡḡa and from the south by Cape Sawāra. The most important building is the palace of the lord of the town, which is richly ornamented, having pointed arches, slender round pillars, crossed vaulting, projecting balconies and turrets. The palace stands on a little eminence within the town and is surrounded by a triple wall and a ditch, which is crossed by a bridge leading to the inner gateway. On the wall are old field guns and four great cannons before the entrance. Before the palace lies an open square planted with trees which stretches to the walls on the outside. The town is defended by walls on which a few old guns still stand and is guarded by a ditch against the land side. The market-place is large and has a busy trade. The market-hall called *Kalsariya* (q.v.) is vaulted with great swing-doors and is long and spacious; most of the artisans are weavers, smiths, gold- and silversmiths or copper-smiths, and are masters of their crafts. The town is picturesque. The two or three storied houses are often connected by archways over the narrow streets. The town is probably about two miles round; it is connected by a broad road with neighbouring towns like Maḡḡ; the hinterland is very fertile, well watered, and thickly populated. Fishing is very much followed, and it plays an important part in providing the food supply of the population.

Although A. Sprenger's identification of Suhār with the Onau of Ptolemy cannot be maintained, there can be no doubt that we have a very old settlement here, which can be traced back to the pre-Islamic period at least. How ancient the town is in the eyes of Arab scholars may be seen from the legend which traces its foundation to Suhār b. Iran b. Sūn b. Nūḡ. The Persians who were at one time supreme in the gulf called after Yemen were probably the first rulers of this town. The old name of the town, Maḡḡ, which the older Arab writers mention, is also Persian. *Suhār* first appears in history in the year 3 (629/630) when the envoys of the Prophet Muḡammad, 'Amr b. al-'Āḡ al-Sahmī and Abū Zaid al-Anḡarī, handed the Prophet's message to the two princes of the town, Djaifar and 'Abd (or 'Abḡḡ). They accepted Muḡammad's offer and adopted Islam; the first mentioned of the Prophet's envoys remained as resident in 'Uman. The name of the town is again mentioned in the accounts of the funeral of Muḡammad where it is recorded that the corpse of the Prophet was wrapped in two robes of Suhār manufacture (other texts give *Sahūr*); the textile industry of the town was even then ap-

parently highly developed, which may have been due to Persian influence. The general unrest which seized the whole of Arabia after the death of the Prophet also affected 'Uman and particularly Suhār. In the war against the leader of the pagan party in 'Uman, Dḡa b. Taḡḡ Laḡḡ b. Maḡḡ al-Aḡḡ, in which the leaders of the Muslim party were the two brothers 'Abḡḡ and Djaifar of the al-Djalanda family, the latter had for a time to abandon Suhār and take refuge in the mountains. But they apparently succeeded in returning to Suhār and leading the resistance against the pagan party there until the town was taken by the Muslims in 12 (633/634). But like the rest of 'Uman it was only very loosely attached to the Muslim empire. The situation was altered when the notorious Umayyad governor Ḥaḡḡḡḡ b. Yūnāḡ conquered 'Uman and united it to al-'Irāḡ. In 751 A. D. the land again became independent and chose a ruler for itself in the person of al-Djalanda b. Maḡḡḡ al-Aḡḡ, the first Imām of 'Uman. The capital however was not Suhār but Naḡwa. By the tenth century A. D. Suhār had attained considerable prosperity. It was considered the most important town of 'Uman and the most beautiful on the Persian Gulf, flourishing, populous, rich and busy, more important than Zaid or Saḡḡ, healthy, with wonderful markets and pleasant surroundings. The fine houses were built of brick and teak. The great Friday mosque was built by the sea; the splendid building with a lofty minaret stood on the spot where the Prophet's camels had knelt down. The *ḡaḡḡḡ* had a winding staircase which presented different colours, yellow, green and red, from different sides. A small chapel (*ḡaḡḡḡ*) lay in the centre of a palm-grove. Springs with good water and canals of fresh water provided the town's water-supply and its climate was considered excellent. The capacious bazars were filled with the most varied goods. Suhār was a depot for wares from China, and the centre for trade with the East and the 'Irāḡ and was also of importance for the trade of Yemen. It had an advantageous position for trade with the east. The harbour which was always busy with ships entering or leaving was a surpassing in length and breadth. The language of business was Persian, as al-Muḡaddas expressly tells us. Merchants from all parts of the world met here. There was constant intercourse with Yemen and China for which expeditions were equipped here. The rich land which produced dates, bananas, figs, pomegranates, quinces, and other fruits attained wealth and prosperity. There was also constant intercourse with al-Bahrain, for which a road ran from Suhār along the coast over the mountains to Djalār. But its decline soon set in. The campaign of the Caliph Ḥārūn al-Raḡḡḡ and that of al-Muḡtaḡḡ, the latter of whom tried with more success to gain 'Uman for the Caliphate, do not seem to have seriously affected Suhār. Suhār was destroyed in the Karmatian troubles but rebuilt again. In 361 (972/973) there was an encounter before Suhār between Abū Ḥarb, 'Aḡḡ al-Dhawī's general and the Zaidī who had occupied 'Uman. Abū Ḥarb was victorious and seized Suhār, the population of which had to take to flight. In 433 (1041—1042) the Bayyid Abū Kalḡḡḡ sent a Persian army by sea to 'Uman which had risen against him. The fleet anchored before Suhār, occupied the town and brought the people to submission. But neither the Bayyids nor the Seldḡḡ

rule of Persia, who had succeeded to the inheritance of the Caliphs of Baghdad did anything to revive the prosperity of Shar. About the middle of the twelfth century A. D. the trade of Shar with the Far East was ended, when a governor of Yemen by a clever coup seized control of the Persian Gulf and not only strangled traffic by sea but also plundered the coast so that trade went more and more to 'Aden. According to Ibn al-Mudjawir, who is well informed, Shar was already destroyed in the first quarter of the seventh century A. H. (c. 1225 A. D.) and its trade had passed to the Persian emporium of Hormuz, and to the Arabian harbour of Kalbat. Shar seems to have revived again later and to have been rebuilt; for Marco Polo mentions it under the name 'Soer' and says that it traded in horses with Malabar. Ibn Battuta also mentions Shar in his *Travels*. On Sept. 16, 1506 a Portuguese fleet, which was conducting an attack on Hormuz from Sokatra [q. v.] passed for the first time before the town which the Portuguese called 'Soar'. The town and also the fortress were occupied by them. In 1588, they built a new fort which was restored at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and was surrounded for a circumference of 8 miles with tamarisks and fields of corn and vegetables. The yield from taxation and other revenues was not unimportant and amounted to 1,500 Xerafi. When the Ya'rubid Nasir b. Murshid b. Sulṭān, who had gained a following in the towns in the interior attacked the Portuguese possessions in 'Umān, the Portuguese could only hold the fortified coast towns of Shar, Maskat, al-Matrah and Karyāt. Their influence on land in any case had never been important. In order to take Shar, Nasir b. Murshid had a fort built on the coast and threatened the city; this attack was so far successful that the Portuguese were only able to hold the citadel of Shar and also lost Karyāt. They were able to retain the fortified market-place for a time on payment of tribute to the Imām; about 1650 they were finally driven out. In 1724, Shar was taken by Khalaf b. Mubarak the rival of Muhammad b. Nasir but later surrendered to the Ya'rubid Saif b. Sulṭān. In 1738 Shar was besieged by the Persians, who after the conquest of Maskat had been defeated at Shar by its governor Ahmad b. Sa'id, but returned to attempt to take the town. The stubborn defence under Ahmad foiled all their efforts. The town must have suffered severely — its important commerce had already been ruined by the Portuguese — for according to C. Niebuhr it was of no great importance. A heavy blow to it was the raids by pirates who had settled in the stronghold of Shims at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Slight relief was brought by English intervention which led in 1819 to a naval battle between the pirates and ships of the English navy off Shar. J. K. Wellsted who visited the town in 1836 describes Shar as the most important and by far the largest town on the thickly populated 'Umān coast between Shims and Birma, and next in importance to Maskat as a commercial centre. It had 40 large bangles and maintained a considerable trade with Persia and India. The number of inhabitants including those of the adjoining small villages is put by Wellsted at 9,000, including 20 families of Jews who had a small synagogue and made a living by money-lending. It is evidence of the importance of the trade of

Shar at this time, that the Shaikh of the town drew a revenue of 10,000 dollars annually from harbour dues and in 1825 the tribute paid by Shar to the Imām of 'Umān amounted to 24,000 dollars. The treaty concluded by England on Jan. 8, 1820, with the pirates guaranteed for a brief period peace and security in the waters of the Persian Gulf so that the trade and commerce of the ports prospered. But while the then Imām of 'Umān, Sayid Sa'id, was intent on extending his possessions in East Africa, his authority was undermined in his absence; piracy was again revived and the pirate chief Hamūd b. 'Aziz seized Shar and Maskat. The Imām Sa'id could not do much against this and in 1834 was forced to recognise his rival. Two years later he went with the help of the Wahhābīs to drive Hamūd out of Shar. The town was blockaded by land and sea but the siege led to no decisive result as Sa'id was afraid that if they took the town it would fall not to him but to the Wahhābī Faṭṭāḥ b. Turki. Sa'id was freed from his dilemma by an English warship which brought Hamūd to Maskat where he was forced to sign a treaty handing over the rule over Shar to his son Saif. As the latter did not fulfil the pledges made to his father, and refused him his due share of the revenues, Hamūd had his son murdered in 1849 and assumed power himself, but with the approval of England was seized and imprisoned by Sa'id. His brother Kais b. 'Aziz succeeded him in Shar but had to hand over the town in 1852 to Sayid Sa'id under superior military pressure and to be content with ruling over Maskat. From that date Shar has again formed part of the imāmate of 'Umān, which now for the most part belongs to the kingdom of Ibn Sa'id.

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(ADOLF GROHMANN)

SUHRAWARD was a town in Ljibāl [q. v.], the ancient Media. Nöldeke was the first to connect the name with Sahrāb and Marquart followed him so that one may assume older forms of the name to have been **Sugrāp-kart*, **Suhrāgerd*. Nöldeke thinks that the eponym of the town was the Sahrāb who was a Persian governor of al-Hira [q. v.]. Although this does not mean that the town was not founded till the time of this governor — it is only a hypothesis that he and no other of the many known bearers of the name Sahrāb is the one in question — one should perhaps be careful not to date the foundation of the town at too remote a period. The classical geographers do not seem to have known the town; at least, no ancient name is known, which could be applied to the place later known as Suhraward.

The site of Suhraward cannot be located with absolute certainty. We have the statements of the Muslim geographers, according to which the town lay on the road from Hamadhān to Zandjān to the south of Sultāniya. This road, 30 farsakhs long, was, according to Isfahāri, used in times of peace as the shortest route to Adharbāidjān; in troubled times the circuit via Kaxwin was taken. Ibn Hawkal states exactly the reverse about the use of these two routes. In the 14th (15th) century the town was already in the hands of the Kurds; the inhabitants were mainly heretics, who emigrated, with the exception of such as stayed in their native town out of lack of courage or love of their home.

The town, which had been walled, was destroyed by the Mongols; Mustawfi describes it as a little village with many Mongol villages around it. On account of the cold in the Median highlands, little was grown here beyond corn and the smaller fruits.

Bibliography: On the etymology cf. Th. Nöldeke, *Über iranische Ortsnamen auf -hart und andere Endungen*, Z.D.M.G., xxxiii, 1879, p. 143 sqq., esp. p. 147; do., *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, 1879, p. 346, note 1; J. Marquart, *Erzählung*

(A. G. W. Gott., N. F. III, No. 2, 1901), p. 238; Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, u. v. Sahrāb. — The passages in the Muslim geographers are briefly utilised by G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 1905, p. 223 with references; those of the Arabs only fully in P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arab. Geographen*, VII, 1926, p. 731 sqq. — The only map which attempts to locate Suhraward is map v. in Le Strange's book. — On famous men of Suhraward cf. in addition to the biographical works Yāqūt, *Ma'ājam*, s. v. Suhraward, and Sam'āni, *Ansāb*, G.M.S., xx, s. v. Suhrawardī.

(M. FLEISCHER)

AL-SUHRAWARDĪ, SHUHAR AL-DIN ABU HAFS 'UMAR B. 'ABDALLĀH, a Sūfī and theologian of the Shāfi'ī school, was born in 539 (1145) at Suhraward in the province of Ljibāl in Persia. He pursued his first studies of mysticism under his uncle Abu 'l-Nadīb, — whom he often quotes in his *Awārif al-Ma'ārif* — and under the celebrated Shaikh 'Abd al-Kādir al-Qīlī. He settled in Baghdād, where he was received at the court of the Caliph al-Nāṣir. There he became chief of the Sūfī and died at a great age in 632 (1234). Ša'dī, when he stayed in Baghdād, studied under Suhrawardī of whom he relates an anecdote in the *Bustān* (ed. Graf, p. 150). Suhrawardī, who performed the ḥajj on several occasions, met the poet Ibn al-Farīd during a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1231. On this occasion the two sons of the poet were invested with the khirka [q. v.] by the celebrated Sūfī.

'Umar Suhrawardī is a representative of orthodox Sūfism. His best known books are the *Awārif al-Ma'ārif* and the *Kaṣf al-Naṣīḥ al-Imāniya wa-Kaṣf al-Faḍīḥ al-Yūnūniya* both dedicated to the Caliph al-Nāṣir. The first is one of the most popular treatises on Sūfism. It was published in Cairo on the margin of the *Ihya'* of Ghazālī, and translated into English by H. Wilberforce Clarke (from a Persian version) as an appendix to his translation of Hāfiẓ (London 1891). It is more particularly a treatise on ethics and practical mysticism, but it at the same time contains interesting historical notes and is of value for our knowledge of the Sūfī terminology. The *Kaṣf al-Naṣīḥ* is a polemical work directed against the study of Greek philosophy. In it Suhrawardī gives, on the model of the *Kāṭib* and of Ghazālī, a criticism of the hellenising philosophers but reveals a much inferior comprehension of philosophy to that of the author of the *Tahāfat*. A curious feature of the book is that in it the Caliph al-Nāṣir, who himself taught, is frequently cited as an authority in support of traditions.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, G.A.L., I, 440—441. Also Cairns de Vaux, *Gazālī*, Paris 1902, p. 235—241; do., *Les Penseurs de l'Islam*, vol. IV, Paris 1923, p. 199—207. (S. VAN DEN BERGH)

AL-SUHRAWARDĪ, SHUHAR AL-DIN YAHYĀ B. HARĀSH B. AMRĀK, known as al-Maqtūl, was born in the middle of the 11th century. He studied law at Marāgha and becoming a philosopher and Sūfī lived in Isfahān, then in Baghdād and Aleppo. It appears that at Aleppo the viceroys al-Malik al-Zāhir, son of Salāḥ al-Dīn, at first granted him his patronage but when his mysticism rendered him suspect to true believers and the orthodox party demanded his execution, al-Malik had him put to death in 578 (1191). He was then 36 or 38. He was called al-Maqtūl to show that

he was not to be considered a martyr (shāhid).

Suhrawardi declares himself a Peripatetic and a Sūfī. In his interpretation of Aristotle, he is influenced by Ibn Sīnā. But while Ibn Sīnā, just like the Greek commentators on Aristotle by whom he is inspired, does not, as a rule, make use of mysticism except to supplement or extend Aristotle's thought by certain Neo-Platonic theories when it in his view presents lacunae, or to develop monistic tendencies which he thinks are already implicit in the work of the master, one finds in Suhrawardi alongside of Peripatetic ideas all that mystic philosophy which Islām obtained from Hellenistic syncretism, all that mixture of Neo-Platonic doctrine, Hermetic theories, occult sciences, Gnostic traditions and Neo-Pythagorean elements. For Suhrawardi and other Muslim mystics, as had been the case with Hellenistic syncretism — the Neo-Platonist Aesclepiades, for example, had composed a treatise "On the Agreement of all Religions" — all philosophical systems and all religions express only one single truth and he claims as his masters Agathodæmon, Hermes and the "five greatest philosophers of Greece", Empedocles, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle and at the same time Djamāl and Buzurgmīr. With patriotic pride he regards the latter as the true precursor of the Greek thinkers (the Jewish historian Artapanus — first century A.C. — had already said that Moses was the teacher of Orpheus and was known to the Greeks as Musæus) and according to him it was they who — far from being dualists — were the first to express the truth of absolute Being and contingent Being under the symbols of Light and Darkness. But, although he professes agreement with Aristotle and Plato, he gives in his principal work, *Kitāb Hikmat al-Ishrāf* (Ithogr. Teherān 1316 = 1898) a prominent place to an attack on Aristotle. The extreme liberalism of his ideas even allows him, while teaching in other passages the theories criticised, to repeat the criticisms which the *Kalām* had formulated against certain fundamental theories of the logic and metaphysics of Aristotle, e.g. against the theory of the definition of essence (by the argument, of sceptical origin, that we could only find the universal by complete induction from the particular cases which are infinite in number) and against the doctrine of matter (by the argument — of Stoic origin — that the possible has no objective existence; if this were not the case, it would be at once potential and actual). As a rule we find, quite frequently in him, those theories and arguments of the Sceptics and Stoics which the *Kalām* had taken up; he teaches for example the theory of the Stoics — revived by Leibniz — of the identity of the Indiscernables and the theory of the Stoics or of the Sceptics of the subjectivity or the impossibility of relations and he shares with the *Kalām* the optimism of Stoic (or Neo-Platonic) theodicy — revived by Leibniz — "that everything is for the best in the best of possible worlds".

But what is most characteristic of his work is his metaphysics of light, of illumination (*ishrāf*). It is the Neo-Platonic theory of light, a spiritual light which serves as a symbol of emanation but at the same time is regarded as the fundamental reality of things. We find this theory, which has played a great part in Christian and Muslim philosophy and mysticism, in most of the Arab philosophers, especially in Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā and

Qhazālī, but no one, I believe, has made so much use of this symbol as Suhrawardi. Necessity and contingency, being and non-being, substance and accident, cause and effect, thought and sensation, body and soul, are all explained by his doctrine of *ishrāf*; he regards all that lives, or moves or has its being as light and even his proof of the existence of God is based upon this symbol. It is particularly for his metaphysics of light that he is known to posterity; he was the founder of a sect, whose name *al-ishrāfiyyūn* is derived from *ishrāf* and the order of dervishes, who trace their foundation to him, are similarly called *Nūrīyah*.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 437. Also: Curra de Vaux, *La Philosophie Illuminative d'après Suhrawardi Mutaqal*, *J. A.*, ix., vol. 19, 1902, p. 63—64; Muhammad Iqbal, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, London 1908, p. 121—150; S. van den Bergh, *De Tempels van het Licht door Suhrawardī*, *Tijdschrift v. Wijsbegeerte*, Haarlem 1916, x., p. 30—59. Cf. also: C. A. Nallino, *Filosofia "orientale" od "illuminativa" d'Avicenna*, *R. S. O.*, vol. x., fasc. iv., Rome 1925, p. 453—467 (the author proves that Ibn Sīnā wrote a work on eastern philosophy [*ishrāf maghribiyya*] and not on illuminative philosophy); for the metaphysics of light in general, cf. C. Haumker, *Witelo, Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Mittelalters*, Münster 1908, iii. 2, p. 357 sq. (S. VAN DEN BERGH).

AL-SUHRAWARDI, 'ABD AL-KHẒIR B. 'ABD ALLĀH, born in 490 (1097), d. in 562 (1168), a Sūfī and jurist of the Hanafī school, see Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 436.

SUHUF. (See *SAHIFA*.)

SUK (A.), market, frequent in street- and place-names. The word in this sense is, according to Fraenkel, *Die aram. Fremdwörter im Arab.*, Leiden 1886, p. 187, borrowed from the Aramaic. Fraenkel was especially induced to come to this opinion by the consideration that "markets in this sense must have been unknown to the earliest Arabs". This may be true for the early period during which the word may be presumed to have been borrowed from the Aramaic; but it is certain that regular markets were already in existence among the Arabs before Islām; on this the most recent reference is H. Lammens, *La Meique à la veille de l'Hégire* (*M. I. F. A. O.*, ix. 3, 1924), p. 57—58 (153—154), from whose quotations it is evident that *suk* was used not only in the meaning of "market-place" but also in that of "market".

The whole complex of social, economic, and legal problems of the Muslim world associated with the conception of "market" can only be hinted at here. Preliminary studies dealing with special aspects of these questions do not exist; on the other hand, in many works of the most varied nature there are occasional notes which still have to be submitted to a systematic examination. The most important thing to remember in such a study is that Islām in a very short time conquered an enormous territory, the separate parts of which, formerly independent kingdoms, with very different economic and legal histories, at once were formed into one state with a uniform government, with a system of law based on a single canon and administered by organs of the central authority and not by an independent local authority. The importance of this lies in the fact that Islām by its whole structure prevented the growth of

civic communities, possessing the right of making laws of their own, and able to use them in the local market, as was the case in the west during the middle ages. At the same time, it is recognised that in Islam the existence of a market was much more independent of the protection of the town, in which it was situated than was the case in the west, in legal theory at least, and probably in fact also. The historian of the market in the *Dār al-Islām* will thus have to trace back to pre-Muhammadan times the local history of the markets in the different regions and to ascertain to what degree the Muslim conquest interfered with their development, and finally will have to ask whether typical developments are found after a study of many different cases, as far apart geographically as possible, which are characteristic of different parts of the empire and whether and how these types differ from the markets of these towns, which were only founded by the conquerors or at any rate after the conquest. Such an investigation would be very important not only from the point of view of social, economic, and legal history, but it would to a very special degree throw light on the relation between *ḥarāṭ* and practice, and on the question whether the difference between the *ḥarāṭ* and the *madāḥil* in the different parts of the world of Islam favoured a varying development of this relation in certain fields, for example, on that of the history of the market, which is not to be traced to the fact that the regions in question belonged to different kingdoms before Islam.

The bibliography which would be required to study this problem is almost boundless; it is easier to mention Muslim works which are valueless for our subject than those that are. There is the whole theological, historical, geographical and *adab* literature, as well as applied philosophy and a part of the poetry. Only philology, metaphysics, mathematics and some natural sciences can be dropped, in so far as they do not deal with saleable goods.

There is much economic material in modern travels, etc.: but these do not deal with questions of historical development. A few observations which might serve as starting points are to be found in Max Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (*Grundriss der Sozialökonomik*, iii. 1922), p. 522 *seq.* (cf. H. H. Schaefer in *ibid.*, xiv. 1925, p. 5 *seq.*) and in the posthumous *Wirtschaftsgeschichte* of the same writer (1923), Index s.v. *Vorderer Orient* (jüngere Periode).

Special mention should be made of al-Dinashkī, *K. al-Jāhiz ilā Naḥḥin al-Tiḡāra*; cf. H. Ritter, *Ein arabisches Handbuch der Handelswissenschaft* (*ibid.*, vii. 1—91). On the office of superintendent of the market cf. *MSBA*; on some *ḥadīṭ* relating to the market cf. A. J. Wensinck, *Some Aspects of Gender in the Semitic Languages*, Register, s.v. *ḥḥ*.

(M. PLESSNER)

SUK AL-SHUYUKH, a small town in Iraq on the right bank of the Euphrates, about 25 miles to the east of Nāsiriya, opposite the mouth of the canal al-Bad'a, an arm of the Shatt al-Hay. The distance to Bagda as the crow flies is about 100 miles. The town is surrounded by date-groves extending along the river bank, but the marshy country, that extends into Beḡra, makes the air very unhealthy. Suk al-Shuyukh was founded in the first half of the xviiith century as a market-place (*sūq*) of the confederation of the

Muntaṣik [q.v.] Arabs; 4 hours to the east there was formerly the residence of the chief Shaikh of the Muntaṣik, called Kūr al-Shuyukh; the plural *shuyukh* designates the members of the clan of this chief. To the end of the xviiith century Suk was a small town with a mosque and surrounded by earthen walls (Benachamp) and in the beginning of the xixth century it is described as an extremely dirty town, inhabited by 6,000 families and having a lively commercial intercourse with Bagda and even with Rūshir and Bombay. According to Fraser the Muntaṣik Shaikh disdained to live in the town, but in Petermann's time (1854) he had a house there; the last mentioned traveller estimates the number of the population at 3,000. At the end of the xixth century the number 12,000 is given (Cuinet, *Sām*), of whom 2,250 were Sunnis possessing two mosques (*ḡamāṭ*), and 8,770 Shī'is with one sanctuary (*maṣjid*). The population also included of 250 Jews and 700 Mandaeans or Subbā. The latter lived for the greater part in the suburb Subbāye on the opposite bank of the Euphrates. Before 1853 the Mandaean population had numbered 260 families, but the oppression of the Muntaṣik had caused 200 families to emigrate to Amīra. The German orientalist Petermann in the year 1854 visited in Suk al-Shuyukh the high priest of the Mandaeans, Shaikh Yahyā. As elsewhere these people are here silversmiths; they are also builders of a special type of boats.

Under Turkish administration Suk al-Shuyukh became the capital of a *ḥaḍā* of the same name in the *sandjak* of Muntaṣik. The tribes living on both sides of the town (Badūr and Bant Asāl) are Shī'is. The number of the population of the *ḥaḍā* is given as 50,000 (Cuinet).

Bibliography: Ritter, *Erkundung*, xi. (vol. vii., second part), p. 1000, 1008, who cites the earlier travellers; H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, Leipzig 1861, ii. p. 83—93; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1894, iii. p. 308 *seq.*; Sāmī, *Kāmūs al-Aḥām*, iv. 2687; M. von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, Berlin 1900, ii. 72; E. Sachau, *Am Euphrat und Tigris*, Leipzig 1900, p. 72; W. Brämli, *Die Mandaer*, *Verh. Ak. Amst.*, N. R., Amsterdam 1915, vol. xvi., p. 57—58.

(J. H. KRAMER)

SUKAINA, daughter of al-Husain b. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib and of Rahab bint Imr' al-Ḳala b. 'Adī b. 'Aws the poetess, who gave her daughter the name of Sukaina (sometimes called: Sakina, but the *Kāmūs* has: Sukaina). Her real name was Umayma (according to Ibn al-Kalbi quoted by Ibn Sa'd and the *Aḡḡānī*) or Umayna but more probably Amīna or Amīna (according to the *Aḡḡānī*). The date of her birth is not known; but she was a little girl at the time of her father's death (definitely stated by Tabarī, ii. 232, *no.*, and by Ibn al-Aṭhir in telling of the death of Husain, *Kāmīl*, iv. 73: the same writer says that Yazīd had the survivors of the day of Kerbelā — of whom Sukaina was one — brought to Madīna under a strong guard — and that the latter's mother died of grief a year later: *ibid.*, iv. 76/6). Sukaina is particularly famous for her successive marriages; very contradictory statements are given regarding their number and order. According to the *Kīṭ al-Aḡḡānī*, a proposed marriage with her cousin Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī came

to nothing and the latter married Sukaina's sister Fatima. Ibn Kutaiba and Ibn Sa'd give lists; the former three lists in which the order varies, the second two lists; the *Aghani* gives six contradictory lists. It is best in the circumstances to accept the oldest order, in which Kutaiba and Ibn Sa'd are almost in agreement, the order adopted by Ibn Khallikan. Her first husband, according to this, was Mus'ab b. al-Zubair b. al-Awwam (d. in 70 or 71 in a battle fought against 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan; cf. Ibn al-Athir, iv. 263-264); Mus'ab gave Sukaina a considerable dowry when she was given him by her brother 'Ali (cf. the satirical verses in Tha'alibi, *Lata'if*, p. 53); they had a daughter to whom Sukaina gave her mother's name; this daughter married the brother of Mus'ab and died young. The second husband of Sukaina seems to have been 'Abdallah b. 'Uthman, nephew of Mus'ab b. al-Zubair; from this union was born 'Uthman called Karim (and according to Ibn Sa'd two other children Hakim and Rabiha), a union not always peaceful (according to the *Aghani*). The third husband was, according to Ibn Sa'd, Zaid b. 'Amr b. 'Uthman b. 'Affan; the *Aghani* describes him as miserly and unreliable and speaks of continual quarrels with Sukaina, who survived him. Al-Asbagh b. 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Marwan (d. 86), brother of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz and governor of Egypt from 75 A.H., married the divorced Sukaina without ever consummating the union (too much stress need not be laid on the differences of the biographers on this question; while Ibn Kutaiba, followed by Ibn Khallikan and Safadi makes al-Asbagh the third husband of Sukaina, Ibn Sa'd and a verse quoted by the *Aghani* made him her fourth husband). According to Ibn Sa'd, besides, Sukaina married, immediately after Zaid b. 'Amr, Ibrahim b. 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Awf al-Zuhri with whom she lived three months; they were divorced; it is said by orders of Hakim b. 'Abd al-Malik, which is not at all probable; according to Ibn Hadjar and Ibn Kutaiba (*Ma'arif*) Ibrahim died in 76, aged 75; the marriage must therefore have been earlier. Ibn Kutaiba further records, without giving an authority, that Sukaina married 'Amr b. Hakim b. Hizam. The statements of the *Aghani* about a marriage between Sukaina and her cousin 'Abdallah b. Hasan b. 'Ali may be rejected. Sukaina was generally recognised to have been one of the most remarkable women of her time. One of the authorities quoted by the *Aghani* (xiv.) describes her as chaste, fastidious, full of a dignity which did not exclude a fondness for badinage (jests and banes quoted, xiv. and xvii. p. 94, 97, 101). The beauty of her hair was celebrated; she had a particular method of arranging it; at a later period 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz strictly prohibited this coiffure. She was very proud, not only of her beauty but of her ancestors (*Aghani*, xiv. 164) and of her daughter whom she liked to cover with jewels. She also gave evidence of the possession of courage, if we may believe *Aghani* (xiv.) on the stoicism with which she submitted to an operation on the eye. She was also a woman of wit, devoted to poetry and song (numerous anecdotes, *Aghani*). She spent her life in the region of the sacred cities and died at Medina on Thursday 5th Rabi' 1 117 (April 7, 735). Her burial was postponed for several hours because the governor ordered that they should wait till he could arrive.

Bibliography: Tabari, Ibn al-Athir, *Aghani*,

index; Yakut, index, and *Syria*, 1921, p. 221 *agg.*; Ibn Kutaiba, *Ma'arif*, index; Ibn Sa'd, viii. 348; Mas'udi, *Muradi*, v. 252; Abu 'I-Mahasin, ed. Juynboll, index; al-Uhahabi, ed. De Jong, s. v.; Ibn Khallikan, transl. de Slane, i. 581; Ibn al-Fakih, *B. G. A.*, 186; Ibn al-Tikfa, *Fakhr*, transl. Amar, p. 197; *Mushtaf*, transl. Rat, i. 201; Tha'alibi, *Reis des Perces*, p. 727; Tha'alibi, *Lata'if*, ed. De Jong, index; Zainab Fawzan, *al-Durr al-manthur*, p. 244; al-Shablandji, *Nur al-Ashar fi Manahil al-Bait al-Nabi* *Y-mukhtar*, Cairo 1298, p. 259-263; Safadi, *B. N. Paris MS.* 2064, fol. 151 v^o; Perron, *Femmes arabes*; Kremer, *Kulturgesch.*, ii. 100; *J. A.*, 1832, p. 47 and 50; 1884, p. 173, No. 1. (H. Massé)

SUKKAR, from Pers. *shakar* or *shakar*, from Sanskrit *śaṅkarā*, Prakrit *sukkarā*, the sap crushed from the sugar-cane (*ṣaṅg al-sukkar*) and solid sugar. Vullers (ii. 439) gives the following from the *Bā*: *shakkar* is in the technical language of the physicians the sap of a plant, similar to the reed (*nay*) but not hollow between the nodes, which becomes solid on boiling. It is given different names in different stages of preparation. Thus for example, when not yet purified (simply solidified) it is called *shakkar surkh* (red sugar); when it is boiled a second time and purified by being poured into a vessel where the impurities are deposited, it is called *Sulaimani*; when it has again been boiled and poured into a mould shaped like a pine-apple (*ḥalīṣ panambari*) it is called *fānīd*; when it is boiled for a third time and reaches the highest stage of purity, it is called *imūfi* or double *ḥand*; when it is poured into long reed-shaped moulds similar at both ends, it is called *ḥalam* (sugar-stick); when it is once more boiled and poured into glass moulds, it is called *nabāt-i ḥamāz* (grown silk sugar?); if it is brought to the boil with water and stirred vigorously till it solidifies and is then drawn out into threads it is called *fānīd ḥamāz* and *sanjari* (*Sindjari*?); if in the third boiling it is brought to the boil with a tenth of its bulk of fresh milk added to it, until it solidifies, it is called *ḥabzarad* (sugar lump).

The names are not all clear. The word *fānīd* came into Persia from the Sanskrit *phāṇita*, *ḥand* or *ḥand* from the Sanskrit *ghaṇṭa* (with the meaning somewhat changed). As *Sulaimani* is probably a trade-mark, from the name of the town of Sulaimān in Khūzistān, *Sindjari* may refer to the district of Sindjar. Instead of *ḥamāz*, we find the reading *ḥamāzīn*, which P. Schwartz proposed to translate "intended for the treasures"; *sanjari* therefore might also mean "royal". The pine-apple shape is the original of our sugar-loaf, the *ḥalam*-shape were probably cylindrical; the name *ḥabzarad* "chopped with an axe" is also given to rock salt; the sugar made in this way must have been so hard that it had to be smashed into small pieces.

A wild variety of the sugar-cane (*Saccharum officinale*) is not known and the attempt to cultivate the related *S. spontaneum*, which is widely distributed, has not succeeded. The original home of the sugar-cane is Bengal; it is said to have been brought from there to China in the seventh century A. C. Herodotus did not know of the sugar-cane, nor Ktesias, the court physician of Artaxerxes Memnon (c. 416); on the other hand Nearchos and Onesikritos mention that in India

already negotiating their surrender to the Franks, when the two amirs, who had met on the Khābūr, arrived in time to relieve the town. A battle was fought on the Balikh, a tributary of the Euphrates, and the Franks were completely defeated. Count Baldwin of Edessa and Joscelin were taken prisoners, while Boemund and Tancred succeeded in reaching Edessa with great difficulty. In spite of the brilliant victory it wanted little to arouse once more the old jealousy between the two Muslim leaders, as the rich booty which fell to Sukmān's men aroused the envy of their allies and only Sukmān's skilful diplomacy enabled the threatening danger to be averted from the victors. After the resistance of the Franks had been temporarily broken, Djekirmish took possession of Harrān and then turned his attention to Edessa. There Tancred commanded, while Boemund remained in Antioch. The latter was at once sent for, but as difficult roads delayed his march, Tancred resolved to risk all on one throw and made a bold sortie early one morning. He succeeded in surprising the besiegers and put them to flight. Soon afterwards Ibn 'Ammār [q. v.], lord of Tripoli, appealed to Sukmān for help against the Franks. Sukmān declared himself ready to assist him and set out for Damascus, but died on the way (beginning of Šafar 498 = Oct. 1104). In Hīn Kaifā he was succeeded by his son Ibrāhīm and in Māridin by his brother Ighāzī.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, x, passim; Abu 'l-Fida', *Annales*, ed. Reiske, iii, 309, 319, 337, 343, 351; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitaḥ al-'Ibar*, v, 210—212; Ibn al-Kalīnī, *Dhail Tārīkh Dimashq*, ed. Amedroz, p. 132—138, 143, 146 sq., 158, 176; *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Histor. occidentaux*, iii, see Index, *Histor. orientaux*, i, 3 sq., 6—8, 197 sq., 208—210, 221—223, 226 sq.; iii, 462, 483, 486, 489, 494, 523, 527 sq., 557—580; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii, 149 sq., 153 sq., 165—168, 185; Röhrich, *Gesch. d. Königreichs Jerusalem*, p. 49, 51, 55, 78, 283.

(K. V. ZETTERSTERN)

SULAHFĀT, the tortoise, or turtle. Land (tortoise) and sea (turtle) varieties are distinguished as *al-harrī* and *al-baharī*. Al-Damiri and al-Karawī give practically the same fables about their habits. The turtle attains the size of an island. As it cannot hatch its eggs on account of the hardness and coldness of the shell on its belly, it looks after the eggs until God allows the young ones to come out. If the eggs fall into water, turtles are born from them. Magical qualities are attributed to them by the *Kitaḥ al-Khawāṣṣ* of Balīnās and healing properties are mentioned by al-Karawī and al-Damiri. Combs are made from the shell. The stupidity of the tortoise is proverbial.

Sulahfāt is also the Arabic name of the constellation of Lyra, compared to the Greek *χελών*.

Bibliography: al-Karawī, *Adf' al-Maḥallāt*, i, 136; al-Damiri, *Hayāt al-Hayawān*, transl. Jayakar, n/i, 55; L. Ideler, *Sternnamen*, p. 68.

(J. RUEKA)

ŠULĀIB. The generic and proper name of this Arab pariah tribe living in Central Arabia and the adjoining territory, usually called Šulāib (pronounced Šlīb), is (according to a letter from the Carmelite father A. M. de St. Élie) Šulāba (pronounced Šleba). The collective form is derived from the singular Šulābī (pronounced Šlebiy), fem.

Šulābiya. The plural al-Šulābiyāt is also found (in Wetstein, *Z.D.M.G.*, xii, 125). Here only knows the term Šleba. The diminutive form, which is commonly used in Arabia with a contemptuous sense, from Šulāba is Šulāib, or eg. in Šulāibī or Šulābiya (pronounced Šlībī, Šlībīy or Šlībīya). The combination with "Banū" and "Bani" is also occasionally found but is probably not correct, as in Arabic geographical proper names no essential alteration took place in the oldest recorded form of the name in the form or combination of these names from the period of the oldest tradition. This applies even to the use of the Arabic article *al-*.

The most varied explanations are given of the meaning and origin of their name. Those who connect the word Šulāba with totemism have most in their favour, of all the explanations given in Pieper's work (p. 65—69); for the *warm* [q. v.] of that tribe is said by some (St. Élie in *Mochrie*, Wetstein and Palgrave) to be the cross *al-qalī* [q. v.]; but Huber (197) gives their tribal badge as another symbol, a short stroke with a semi-spherical snake by its side (*mīḥā*); according to Massignon, *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*, p. 82: *al-mīḥā*; probably a parrying-shield such as is borne by the people of the Upper Nile and the Dinka. Another tribal mark is *al-ḥāim*, which looks like a "K" and is branded on the left shoulder of their animals, while the *mīḥā* is put on leg, neck or cheek (Massignon, *loc. cit.*, p. 75). The other less probable interpretation, which, according to Doughty (i, 283) and Pelly (189), is the Beduin etymology, derives the tribal name from the expression *ṣulb al-'Arab* (= the Arab's stock, from the back of the Arabs = the dregs of the Arabs). On the other hand the Arab derivation from *ṣulb* (= hard, hardened, steadfast, i. e. in faith; St. Élie in *Mochrie*, p. 674) is only to be adopted with some misgiving as perhaps illuminating but hardly scientific in my opinion. A connection of the name Šulāib with Greek gods of agriculture, who according to St. Élie (*loc. cit.*, p. 674) were called "Sulēves" may on the other hand be at once rejected as it is little probable that the Šulāba, being in the main hunters, should have formerly worshipped agricultural deities. Nor can the name be derived from names of places, e. g. from Šulāib (Solēb; St. Élie, *loc. cit.*, p. 674). Their name does not seem to be a patronymic, not simply because the compound name Banū Šulāib is hardly to be found and is incorrect but also because neither in the Arab legends so far known nor in the scanty references of the Arab historians and geographers is there any mention of the name of a possible ancestor from which the name of their tribe could be derived (their legendary ancestor Dab'ān does not come into question here). The suggestion that they are descended from the Crusaders (*Šalībī*, *Šalībīya*; cf. St. Élie, *loc. cit.*, p. 613, first made in the Paris periodical *Le Roster de Marie*, 1864) is very improbable for practical reasons and because historical references suggesting such a thing are entirely wanting.

Their origin and descent is obscure because, as already remarked, the historical sources give negligible information about them and these important points in particular, which may be due not only to their small numbers and slight importance, but particularly to their low social status as a despised and barely tolerated pariah tribe among the

Beduins. In the earlier Arabic literature they are not called by their proper name Sulah, Sulaib, etc., but are called al-Za'atf (according to a letter from St. Elie). So far as I know there are no genealogies of them in existence, not even fictitious ones. Their legends and those of the Arabs form only a very poor substitute for this deficiency. Common to them — and this is very significant — is the statement that the ancestors of the Sulah once held a much higher social and economic position than they do now (St. Elie, *loc. cit.*, p. 675; Doughty, I, 283), which however they forfeited through arrogance etc. (taut of the Fall; a Christian survival?). Pelly (p. 189) says that an Arab once had sexual intercourse with his mother and the Sulah are the descendants of this act of incest. Quite apart from the fact that it is the regular custom in Arabia to disparage the descent of one's enemies or people one holds in contempt — even beyond the bounds of truth — the story given by Pelly recalls a significant statement in Strabo (xvi, 4, 23); according to him the Nabataeans recognise marriage with the widowed mother on the death of a father, a peculiar degeneration of the true Semitic institution of the levirate marriage. Wright, p. 43, records another legend, which may be important for dating the age of this people. Their ancestors are said to have left Husain b. 'Ali and his followers and companions in the lurch at the battle of Kerbela' (61 = 680) and thus contributed to the guilt of their massacre. This is unusual as it suggests the Sh'ia and a connection with Mesopotamia.

More positive facts however throw light on the present position of the Sulah, their customs, ideas, and social position with regard to the other Arabs. It is decisive for their whole existence and peculiarities that they, like the H'aim (pronounced H'aim or H'aim), 'Aqil — Arabs and Arab gypsies (Navar, sing. Nuri) — are a race of pariahs.

The area over which they are found is the whole of the interior of the northern and central part of the Arabian peninsula. The southern frontier of the country over which they wander corresponds roughly with the Tropic of Cancer on the southern boundary of the fertile zone of Najd. Assertions to the contrary by Pelly, p. 189 and Doughty, I, 282, are not so very important in my opinion, as there had been no previous mention of them in South Arabia and Yemen by Europeans who had travelled there, which would be remarkable in the case of a people of such striking appearance as the Sulah. This does not of course mean that we deny their occasional appearance in these regions. A further argument in favour of this assertion is that the Sulah are reckoned with the Ahl al-Shamal (cf. Curtiss, p. 46, note 2). The large towns on the border of the steppes and deserts are only occasionally visited by the desert Sulah to buy provisions, arms (Weinstein in *Z. D. M. G.*, xl, 492) and munitions and other necessities or to sell their manufactures and booty of the chase. On the other hand some of them are settled in the fertile parts of Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine and Transjordan. Within the area above defined, especially in the steppe district the desert Sulah wander northwards or southwards, according to the season, following the movements of the game, their chief source of food, which depends on the growth and decline of vegetation. They, like the Beduins, are not settled. The few Sulah in the more fertile

zones on the edge of the Arabian deserts need hardly be taken into account, especially as they are also for the most part half nomad. Their unsettled and migratory form of life is connected with their way of living. Unlike the Beduins, they live for the most part by hunting or handwork. This also causes them to split up into very small groups whether settled or migratory — here again unlike the Beduins. They are found, according to Raynaud and Martinot, p. 30—35, in groups of two or three families. But it sometimes happens although rarely, that larger bodies are found wandering or camping together. This is all the more remarkable as in Arabia the tribes acquire all the more prestige and are less exposed to hostilities the greater their numbers. The Sulah share this peculiarity with the other wandering pariah tribes of Arabia. But in particular places in Arabia the Sulah are said to be found in larger bodies. According to Doughty, I, 283 *sq.*, this is particularly the case in the oases of Taima' and Wajh. The fact that they are so thinly distributed makes it difficult to estimate their numbers and the estimates vary very much. St. Elie (*loc. cit.*, p. 678) at the end of 1898 (?) puts their strength at over 700 tents which, as a mean, is probably nearest the truth, for Curtiss, p. 46 note 1, gives 400 and Huber, p. 196, 1,000 tents for al-Hedjra or al-Hedjra alone. The latter figure can only be taken with scepticism.

They are divided into different small tribes and these again into clans. According to Raynaud and Martinot, p. 30—35 supplemented by the publications of St. Elie, the best living authority on this people, and letters from him to me, the Sulah have been divided since the last century into three sub-tribes as follows:

I. Sulah (Sulah), who are divided into the sub-tribes of:

1. al-Malik;
2. al-Tamil [Tamil] (= the shameless);
3. al-Majid in Lower Mesopotamia or Hild al-Muntafik [dial. also: al-Miyad];
4. al-Darab [D'arab] (= the nimble, alert, active);
5. al-Kahwan (= the faithful, reliable) [dial.: al-Gab'ia];
6. al-Bennak [dial.: al-Bannak] (= those who hunt partridge with extraordinary skill);
7. al-Najm;
8. al-Tarfa;
9. al-Hazim and

10. al-Sabaiba [pronounce: S'abaiba] (in Raynaud and Martinot, *loc. cit.*, wrongly called: Sbeipat).

II. Sub-tribe of al-Saidan; clan: al-Amra and

III. Sub-tribe of al-Ghunayr or al-Ghunaym, also wrongly called: Banu Ghunaym (Ben Ghunaym).

Another division on a geographical basis is given (in a letter) by St. Elie:

I. Sub-tribe of desert-Sulah or Khalawiya [Khalawiya], sgl.: Khalawi [Khlawi] or Khalawa [Khlawa], who are divided into the following clans:

1. al-Majid at Naqm Banu Majid in Najd;
2. al-Rashtida;
3. al-'Awzim; Rashtida and 'Awzim meet in the hinterland of al-Kuwait;
4. al-Hazim at Nukhail [N'khail], at Tutul [Tutal] and at al-Salam, i.e. in the land between Lower Mesopotamia and Najd;

5. al-Sulaimān [S'ulmān] at al-Shihāb [Shenbel];
 6. al-Rāshid, in the vicinity of al-Kāsim;
 7. al-Hutaim (!) [H'taim] at H'it and at Ma-dinat al-Rasid and
 8. al-Djamil, who adjoin the Mājid.
- II. Sub-tribe of the Palestine-Sulaba or al-Ghummi [Ghermi] with the clans:

1. al-Ghummi in Shihāb; among them is the supreme chief now called Mu'aidh [M'aidhef] who to some degree holds the supreme judiciary powers over them and the right of appeal; also found in Nadjd;
 2. al-Sulaimān (cf. above);
 3. al-Tarābīn between Jerusalem and the Egypt frontier;
 4. al-Khanādīra [Khanādīra], neighbours of the Tarābīn;
 5. al-Ma'āza, between Ghazza and Egypt, and
- III. Sub-tribe of the Sulaba of Transjordan, Syria and Mesopotamia or the Sulabat al-Sarhān [Serhān] with the clans:
1. al-Khuwālāt [Khawālāt], east of Jordan;
 2. the Banī 'Ayya;
 3. al-Sharāt [q.v.] and
 4. the Banī Šakhar (!) [Bani Šakhar].

These three clans are distributed over the southern and eastern part of Transjordan. A more accurate delineation of the tribes and stock of the Sulaba is urgently required, especially as regards which Arabian pariah tribes are to be included among them; the Nawar gipsies [q.v.] do not come into question.

Various branches of the Sulaba, especially those in the more fertile districts, are distinguished from the other (desert-) tribes by a higher standard of living (e.g. as camel-breeders) or by a certain tribal pride (like the Ghummi); the latter for example demand a higher price for the bride from a Sulaba not of their tribe who wishes to marry into it (*Mahr*; q.v.), than from one of their own tribesmen. Nevertheless they possess the feeling that they are all one people (see Pieper, p. 17).

From the anthropological point of view, nothing absolutely certain can be stated with regard to their racial connections for want of reliable sources and in view of the contradictory accounts of their physical appearance. This is unfortunately the weak point in our present knowledge of this people.

According to St. Élie (*Mackrig*, p. 676) the Sulaba are markedly distinct from the Beduins in their somatic attributes, by the smallness of the head, the fineness of the features, the height and breadth of the forehead, their blue eyes, light complexions, fair hair, the oval shape of the face, their more tender skin but especially by their more elegant figures. According to St. Élie (in a letter) occasionally lighter pigmented individuals are the exception among the Arabs of pure stock in Nadjd etc. The Sulaba are also proverbially lean. These statements of St. Élie are only partially confirmed by other authorities, e.g. by Blunt, ii. 109; Wright, p. 48 and von Oppenheim, I. 221 hold the contrary opinion. Generally they are said to be of a straight and rigid carriage, of no great stature and slightly built. Blunt, ii. 109 gives the height of a "little old" Sulabiya woman as "not more than four feet". These vague statements do not permit us to make any deductions about their descent or racial connections. Reliable measurements are also completely lacking. The only pictures

of Sulaba, so far as I know, are the little sketch by Euting in the second volume of his *Travels* and the group (the only picture to some extent satisfactory) in v. Oppenheim, I. 220, which however is not sufficient for any far-reaching deductions. In any case from all the evidence available, this people seems, according to Christian (*Sitz-Ber. Wien. Anthropol. Ges.*, 1923/1924) and Lattman (cf. Pieper, p. 75), to belong to the Mediterranean branch of the human race and also to be of Semitic stock.

As to their character, the Sulaba are readily distinguished to their advantage by their naively cheerful and open natures from the reticent and always suspicious Beduins. They are not ungifted, musically and poetically, whence they can earn a living in the tents of the Beduins, and are kindly, peaceful, of gentle and amiable disposition and hospitable like all Orientals. According to a letter from St. Élie they are on the other hand not very liberal on the march or on their passages through the desert so that travellers who want anything from them have to threaten them. Their moral standard, as with all pariah peoples, does not seem to be very high.

Much more important for ascertaining their racial connections are their mode of life, customs, ideas and particularly their position with regard to the people among whom they live. It is this that marks them as pariahs. As to their mode of life it has already been mentioned that they make a living in quite un-Semitic fashion (Christian, *op. cit.*) — for the true Semite of these lands earns his livelihood either as a cattle-rearing nomad or as a trader, sometimes also as an artisan and soldier — mainly by the chase. Their main booty is the gazelle (*gazella dorcas*, L.), the saïre antelope or *bakar waḥshī* (*oryx elgazi*, Pall.), the wild goat (*capra hircus nubiana-sinaitica*, Hempr. Ad. threub.), and of ground game the desert fowl or the *fatā* bird (*peperoclidurus elchata*, L.), bustards, e.g. the *hubāra* (*Houbara undulata*, Jacq.) etc. Ostriches (*struthio camelus*, L.) in spite of the statements to the contrary by several travellers (e.g. Musil, iii. 19), are no longer hunted as they have been driven away to the south. Besides these wild creatures, anything else that it is at all possible is eaten by them as, being pariahs, they have no prohibitions regarding food either from custom or belief. They even eat the vulture and the dog, despised by the Arabs as unclean (Huber, p. 197; Doughty, I. 281; Pelly, p. 189). Pieper, p. 31-34 gives a detailed account of a Sulaba hunt, which is conducted either on foot by stalking or from the back of an ass. Another main business of the desert Sulaba with whom we are mainly concerned here, is the rearing and sale of the Sulaba ass, highly esteemed for its excellent qualities, also called *Sulabi* (Šalibi). Their strength and endurance and appearance are described by Musil, *op. cit.*, iii. 291, and Butler, p. 524. As a rule they are light, almost white in colour. Huber, p. 588, however (cf. Wright, p. 52), says that a clan of Sulaba on the Djebel 'Awdjā about 1880 also bred dark coloured asses. According to Musil, *op. cit.*, the Sulaba catch wild asses (*equus asinus africanus*, Fitz.) and use them for breeding whereby the strength of their asses is maintained at a high level. On account of their excellence these animals are very highly esteemed by the citizens and *fellāḥin* of the lands bordering on the Arabian deserts who do not share the prejudice of the

Beduins against the ass, and exported even to Europe under the name Baghdad or Moroccan asses. At the same time but only rarely — this must be emphasised — individual Šulāba, e.g. those parts of this people who lived under the rule of the enlightened and vigorous amir of Ḥa'il, the well known opponent of the Wahhābīs, Muḥammad b. Raḡid, also rear camels (*camelus dromedarius*, L.). Each family among them has on an average three or four camels. But this must be considered exceptional. As a general rule if the Šulāba were to accumulate or possess wealth to any considerable degree in the larger domestic animals, desired by the robber Beduins (with the exception of the ass which they detest), they would no longer enjoy protection and security from their attacks. This immunity has also a material foundation: the Šulāba pay their hosts a tribute, the so-called 'brotherhood tax' (*ḡhawwa*; cf. in Raynaud and Martinet, p. 32, the list of their 9 *ḡhawwas*) for permission to graze and sojourn among them. Huber, p. 197 and Butler, p. 524, however, say that they are attacked and persecuted by several Beduin tribes, e.g. the 'Adīmān, and on religious grounds by the Kaḥṭān also, according to Huber and according to Butler, out of covetousness by the robber 'Anese [q.v.] as soon as they become prosperous. They also keep — although not in such large numbers as the Beduins — sheep and goats, less for their meat than for their wool, milk, and milk products. The Šulāba further work as day-labourers among the *fellāḥin* of Taimā and other oases during the date-harvest (Huber, p. 588) or work as smiths and carpenters. The latter may be evidence in favour of a great antiquity for this people (cf. Eisler, *Qenitische Weiteinschriften*, Freib./B. 1919, p. 741). They are, like the (Arabian) gipsies, with whom they have nothing racial in common, as the latter's origin has been established beyond all doubt by de Goeje (*Bijdr. tot de geschied. d. Zigeun.* and *Mim. sur les migrations d. Triganes*, etc.), skillful tinmiths, make and repair weapons, sickles, domestic utensils of brass (*ṭaḡṭ al-ḡḥāwīya*) etc. and wooden frames for the saddles of pack-camels, wooden screws, wooden vessels, etc. They are thus indispensable to the Beduins — a further ground for their immunity. They are well known and welcome for their medical practice on men and animals (St. Élie in *Mackriz*, p. 680 sq.) which consists partly of cauterisation (*ḡaiy*) and partly of unguents, manipulations which follow definite rules, known only to the experts. Their fortune-telling is also mentioned (Blunt, ii. 110) and their begging (Doughty, i. 284; Burckhardt, p. 14).

Their dress and dwellings are most primitive. They wear a garment of skins (*farwa*) made of 15–20 gazelle-hides dried in the sun and sewn together with the hair outside (cf. the picture in von Oppenheim, i. 220). Unlike the *adā* of the Beduins it is not open the whole length in front but has an opening at the neck (*ad-ḡḡā*) through which it is slipped on. The sleeves reach to the roots of the fingers and contract at the wrists. The garment has a hood which suggests Hamitic north African influence. The *farwa* is held together with a girdle of dyed lamb-skin. To wear a shirt (*ḡḡā*) below this garment or a cloak above it is considered by them to be a luxury. The two sexes dress practically alike. The Šulāba usually

go bare-footed but they sometimes wear sandals (*ḡḡā*) as a protection against thorns and sharp stones. The Šulāib wear a head-cloth (*keffiyeh*) and veil (*uḡḡā*) in the same way as the other Beduins of Arabia. Their garment of skins is further remarkable, as it is either a survival from an earlier period of development or an adaptation to the special circumstances under which they are forced to live; perhaps it may prove to be of use in eventually ascertaining their origin. The *farwa* is convenient because it wears better than woven material and by its desert colour suits the conditions of light and ground in the desert, which is very useful in hunting and enables the game to be successfully stalked.

The arms are old fashioned carbines with six chambers which therefore get the Persian name of *ḡḡā-ḡḡān* (St. Élie, *op. cit.*, p. 677 sq.), and the *maḡḡā*, a parrying-stick (Christian, *op. cit.*) which has already been mentioned, and as clubs the *maḡḡār* which consists of a rather short wooden handle with a knob of asphalt as a head, those made entirely of iron mainly in al-Kaṭf (cf. the pictures in v. Oppenheim, ii. 103). The Šulāba are still said to use also the bow and arrow (Pieper, p. 22 and 32). But they do not seem to be armed to the same degree as the Beduins. As they are extremely peace-loving and do not allow themselves to be involved in the feuds of the Arab tribes nor have any of their own, it is probably hardly necessary for them to be so well armed.

They live like the Beduins in tents (*ḡāit, ḡayāt*) which are made either of mats, of goat's hair (*al-ḡarāyir*), or like their dress from the skins of the victims of the chase. These are of varying size: Burckhardt, p. 24, once saw a Šulāba tent which according to him could shelter 20–30 families. The cleanliness in and around their habitations is not very great (Wright, p. 51). They also use caves to shelter themselves and indeed, being children of nature with no wants, they often spend the night in the middle of the ḡḡā when on a hunting expedition.

Their customs show traces of ancient Christian and Sabaeen elements. Nominally they are Muslims. According to St. Élie (in a letter to the writer) the Christian survivals only began to disappear in the last century; till then the Šulāba had remained true to the faith of their forefathers. He tells me for example that polygamy, divorce or repudiation, circumcision etc. only began to be adopted by them in the second half of last century. Whether this development is directly or indirectly due to the Wahhābī movement, as was the case with the Murḡede or Merḡede Arabs (cf. Burckhardt, p. 145–146) awaits further investigation. In any case their long adherence to Christian beliefs and customs seems to have been not without influence on their position as outcasts among the Beduins. We find undoubted reminiscences of Christianity in their religious beliefs and usages, for example the use of the cross on ceremonial occasions, baptism on the tenth or fortieth day after birth in addition to circumcision which they also practise. According to Pelly, p. 189, at baptism they dip the child seven times into the water, which is the practice of the Johannites or Mandaeans. The Šulāba also believe in the existence of a supreme being. In praying they stretch their arms out sideways so as to form a cross. According to Pelly, p. 189 sq., the Šulāba have a place

of pilgrimage and a holy town in Harrān and their kinsmen living there have older and purer forms of prayers and psalms composed in Chaldaean or Assyrian (probably Eastern Aramaic); but this, like the whole of Pelly's account, is very much to be questioned as, according to other authorities (St. Élie, Curtiss, Littmann), they have now no special language of their own but speak a beduinised Arabic. According to Pelly they still adhere to the old Arabian star-worship. They worship the Pole-Star and a star in the constellation of the Ram. Like the Jews, they pray three times a day, at sunrise, at midday and at sunset. They have priests and priestesses. Doughty p. 281 mentions a patriarch of all the Şulaba. The priestesses enjoy special reverence and according to Curtiss, p. 63, 286, are called *fakira* (female anchorites?). They heal the sick by the laying on of hands. It is still an open question whether the Şulaba may not still be crypto-Christians. Old Semitic ideas are also apparent in their conception of sacrifice (Curtiss, p. 37, 107). Pieper, p. 39—56 in his account of the Şulaba describes their festivities and dances, the morals of their women, marriage, divorce, funeral customs etc., which cannot be gone into here for lack of space. But it may just be mentioned that they tolerate polygamy, although it is rare among them on account of their poverty.

The alpha and omega of the study of this people, one of the most remarkable and most interesting of the pariahs among the peoples of Eastern Asia is and will be, as already mentioned, the question of their ethnology. Pieper, p. 67, 70, 74 sq. thinks that till the question is definitely settled they must be regarded as Semites. For several important reasons it is very difficult to uphold this view at the present time. The rigid way in which they are cut off from the other Arabs of the peninsula, who would never marry a Şulabiyah woman and consider themselves as high as the heavens above these pariahs, is in my opinion evidence of non-Arab origin. Occasional exceptions to this statement about mixed marriages are found but very rarely (Doughty, ii. 461; Curtiss, p. 34, 46). According to St. Élie (in a letter to me) they are undoubtedly pure-bred Arabs. Pieper might be right in so far as they, if they were not originally Semites, might have very much arabicised their mode of living by intermarriage, although only to a very small degree, for hundreds and perhaps thousands of years. The view held by Blunt and v. Oppenheim that the Şulabīs are gipsies is rightly rejected by Pieper (p. 69—73). From what has been said above it will be seen that there is much more probability in the hypothesis that they might originally have been a fragment of some, perhaps Hamitic, people which had found a way into Arabia; for we find Hamitic memories in their skin-dress with hood, and the parrying-shield and their living by hunting. As St. Élie claims to have found clans of the Şulaba in Palestine and even in the Sinai Peninsula, and on the frontiers of Palestine and Egypt, e.g. the Tarāḥin, al-Khanādjira and Ma'ara, we cannot see why Hamitic tribes, reversing the direction of the Arab immigration into North Africa, should not have entered Arabia and Palestine by the old route through the Sinai peninsula. The last link in this chain of argument, historical tradition, is however lacking. Careful investigation of their somatic qualities etc. by the methods of

ethnology might provide some compensation for this historical material which will barely be obtainable. In this connection, reference may be made to Möller's essay (*Die Ägypter und ihre lybischen Nachbarn*, Z. D. M. G., 1924, lxxvii, p. 45—59) particularly to the Thulmah there mentioned, who according to Möller show in many respects a really striking similarity to the Şulaba. The present position of the Şulabīs, their customs, etc. suggest in my opinion, that they are the victims of some great and catastrophic war of nations.

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(PIEPER)

ŞULAIḤI is the name of a dynasty which ruled over Yaman as nominal vassals of the Fātimid caliphs of Egypt. The founder of the dynasty, 'Alī b. Muḥammad, was the son of Muḥammad b. 'Alī, kādī of Ḥarāz of the clan of Yām, a subdivision of the large tribe of Ḥamdān. 'Alī came as a young man under the influence of the Ḥāfi's missionary 'Amir b. 'Abd Allāh al-Zawāḥī, who was supposed to have had in his possession a copy of the mysterious book 'al-Djāfar' in which the destinies of the Ḥāfi's Imāms were laid down. Through ardent studies 'Alī became an accomplished jurist and for fifteen years was leader of the pilgrims from Yaman to Mecca. It was during the pilgrimage in the year 428 (1037) that 'Alī confided to sixty men of his tribe of Ḥamdān that it was his intention to set up the rule of the Fātimids in Yaman. These sixty men swore him allegiance for life and death and upon their return to Yaman and in the following year he and his followers took possession of the village

of Mazn in the mountains of Ḥarāz to the West of the city of Ṣanʿā'. They were quickly besieged by angry tribesmen, but with the utmost speed fortified the village in such a way that its conquest was very difficult. 'Alī appears to have made very little material progress at the beginning of his career and the small kingdoms formed after the disruption of the Ziyādi dynasty more than held their own while the kingdom founded by the Abyssinian slave al-Naǧdījāh in the lowlands (Tihāma) of Yaman was always a serious obstacle to the Sulaihi becoming rulers of the whole of Yaman. 'Alī obtained the sovereignty over the Tihāma and the city of Zabīd in the year 453 (1061) by having al-Naǧdījāh poisoned by a slave girl whom he sent to him. This event probably (though the historians are silent as to the grounds) led the Zaidī Imām al-Kāsim b. 'Alī to send an army against 'Alī under the command of his son Dja'far. 'Alī however surprised this army and in the month of Ṣha'bān of the same year, he routed Dja'far's army and the latter is killed. After this he attacked the strongholds of the Zaidī Imāms and took the castle of Yanā' on mount Ḥaḍḍar. After defeating Ibn Abī Ḥaḥḥid near the village Ṣawf he proceeded to Ṣanʿā' which he took in 455 (1063). After this he devoted his attention to the conquest of the city of Zabīd in the Tihāma over which he appointed in the following year his brother-in-law As'ad b. Shihāb and one year later he took possession of 'Adan, where he allowed the two sons of the late ruler al-Karam, al-'Abbās and Ma'ad to remain rulers as vassals, because they had assisted him in the conquest of Zabīd. They agreed to pay to his daughter-in-law Saiyida an annual tribute which amounted to approximately 100,000 dinārs, which tribute was regularly paid till the death of 'Alī. How great the power of 'Alī had become by this time is proved by the fact that in the year 455 he was able to install as ruler of Mecca Abū Ḥaḥim Muḥammad. He also sent from this time annually the covering of the Ka'ba and restored the treasures which had been carried to the Yaman by the Ḥasanids. Some smaller principalities still remained to be subdued and in the year 460 (1068) when one Ibn Tarf who ruled in Zar'ib having invoked the help of the Abyssinians rebelled, he and his allies were defeated and this mountainous district was conquered. After this event 'Alī returned to Ṣanʿā' which he did not leave for the next twelve years. The various districts of Yaman were administered by trusty governors and he took the precaution of keeping in his entourage the princes whose dominions he had conquered, a system followed by the rulers of Yaman to this day.

In the year 473 the rulers of Mecca abandoned the mention of the Fātimid caliphs in the public prayers and returned to the mention of the 'Abbāsid caliphs of Baghdad and it was probably this which induced 'Alī to leave Ṣanʿā' and proceed towards Mecca as if wishing to perform the pilgrimage. He took with him the princes whom he had with him at his capital, leaving his son al-Mukarram in charge of the capital. When they reached the district of al-Mahdjam in the Northern Tihāma he pitched his camp near a well named Umm al-Duḥaim. While they were off their guard the camp was attacked by followers of Sa'id, the son of al-Naǧdījāh, who murdered 'Alī and his brother 'Abd Allāh and consternation reigned

throughout the camp. Sa'id spared some of the princes who were with 'Alī, as hostages, but most of the army were massacred. Among the captured was the queen Asmā', daughter of Shihāb and mother of king al-Mukarram, whom he took with him to the capital of his father, Zabīd, which now opened its gates to Sa'id.

Asmā' was kept closely guarded by Sa'id and it was not till the year 475 (1082/1083) that she was able to send her son a letter in which she stated that she was with child by Sa'id. She wrote this to incite al-Mukarram to rescue her with all possible speed. The power of al-Mukarram had diminished considerably, because most of the vassal principalities had declared themselves independent like the rulers of 'Aden. He urged his followers at Ṣanʿā' to avenge the honour of their tribe and king. They marched against Zabīd which was defended by 20,000 Abyssinians, while the army of al-Mukarram is stated to have numbered only 6,000. He himself took command of the centre while his brother-in-law As'ad b. Shihāb and an uncle of the queen led the wings. After a fierce battle the city was taken by storm and al-Mukarram with two followers was the first to reach the place where his mother stood. He ordered the head of his father and uncle which had been put up on poles to be taken down and buried honourably. Then, after appointing his brother-in-law As'ad b. Shihāb governor of the Tihāma, he departed with his mother to Ṣanʿā'. Asmā' died in Ṣanʿā' in 479 (1086) and in the same year al-Mukarram instituted a new coinage called Maliki Dinārs which monetary standard remained in force for a long time afterwards. However the sons of al-Naǧdījāh, who had fled to the islands of the Red Sea returned to Zabīd in the same year, drove out As'ad and made themselves masters of the city and the Tihāma. Al-Mukarram retook the city and Sa'id, the son of al-Naǧdījāh, was killed under the walls of the city in the year 481 (1088) while his brother al-Djāyāsh escaped with his waṣīr to India by the way of 'Adan. They remained there for six months only, then returned to Yaman and again gained possession of the city of Zabīd.

Al-Mukarram appears to have been an incapable ruler and we find the singular spectacle in Islāmic history of a woman, his queen Saiyida, taking the most prominent part in the management of the affairs of State. She was born in 444 and was brought up under the care of the late queen Asmā'. She was married to al-Mukarram in 461 and bore him four children, two sons and two daughters. After the death of his mother, al-Mukarram gave himself up to wine and pleasures and handed the cares of the State to his wife who demanded from him full freedom of action. One of her first actions was that she left Ṣanʿā' and took up her residence at Dhū Dhibā, at a place, which had been founded by 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Sulaihi, who was slain with king 'Alī at al-Mahdjam, in the year 458. The capital of the country was henceforth transferred to Dhū Dhibā and a palace and chief mosque erected in which queen Saiyida was subsequently buried. It was due to her that the death of Sa'id b. Naǧdījāh was brought about. Al-Mukarram died in 484 (1091) and having no surviving sons the office of Dīf was bequeathed by him upon Saba', son of Ahmad b. al-Muḥaffar b. 'Alī, the Sulaihi. He however

did not gain possession of Dhū Dhibla where the queen Saiyida reigned with the consent of the nobles and populace. Saba' therefore first turned his attention to the conquest of the Tihāma and the city of Zabīd, but was attacked unawares by the troops of Dja'ish and barely escaped to his stronghold of Ta'kar with his life. He then corresponded with the Fātimid caliph al-Mustansir and from him received a letter in which Saiyida was instructed to marry Saba'. This letter was conveyed to her to Dhū Dhibla and after much hesitation she consented to the marriage and a dowry was fixed. Saba' came personally to her capital to contract the marriage, but her majestic manner and other causes prevented him from completing the marriage contract and after the first night he departed again to his residence without consummating the marriage.

After this the queen placed her reliance principally upon al-Mufaddal, son of Abū 'l-Barakāt to whom she had granted the castle of Ta'kar which lay on one of the highest mountains overlooking the Tihāma. There the treasures of the Sulaihi were stored and the queen was in the habit of making it a place of residence during summer, returning to Dhū Dhibla for the winter. It was through Mufaddal that she regained the revenues of 'Adan and a partial submission of the lowlands. In 504 (1110/1111) Mufaddal laid siege to the city of Zabīd and his absence was used by men of the tribe of Khawlān to get possession of his fortress. Mufaddal returned but died under the walls of the castle. Then the queen herself marched with her troops from Dhū Dhibla and by a ruse again got possession of the fortress, in the following year (12th Rabi' I, 505). As the Khawlāns however did not act with justice towards the inhabitants of the district she ordered 'Amr b. 'Urfuṭa al-Djanbi to drive them out. Though not actual ruler of the country the queen managed to exercise during the following years a kind of suzerainty over the various small principalities which had sprung up in all parts of the country till the arrival in Yaman in 513 (1119) of Ibn Naḍīb al-Dawla, who was sent as an emissary by the Fātimid caliph and who for the next six years waged war against the smaller principalities reducing them gradually to obedience. The queen having aged, he made in 519 the attempt to wrest the power from her and wished to place her in seclusion, but she received such strong support from the various princes of the country that he was forced to desist from his design. As Ibn Naḍīb al-Dawla began to intrigue in the Yaman

in favour of the anti-caliph Nizār, he was arrested at the request of the caliph al-'Amir and sent in fetters to 'Aden to be shipped back to Egypt and though the queen repented and was desirous to have him back, his keepers left 'Adan by ship for Sawākin (Suakim) but the ship was wrecked on the voyage and all on board drowned. After the fall of Ibn Naḍīb al-Dawla the queen appointed one Ibrāhīm b. al-Hussain al-Hamidi, but learning of the death of the caliph al-'Amir she replaced him by Saba' b. Abi Sa'ūd, the first ruler of the Zurā'i dynasty [q.v.] who were the successors of the Sulaihi until the conquest of the country by Tūrānshāh. The queen survived for some years and died in the year 532 (1138) when the dynasty of the Sulaihi came to an end. Some of the princes held isolated fortresses and as late as 569 we find a princess 'Arwa, daughter of 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad, in possession of the castle of Dhū Dhibla.

It would be wrong to assume that the Sulaihi, except under the first ruler, were in possession of the whole of the Yaman. The Abyssinian dynasty of the Banu 'l-Naḍīdīsh was practically the whole time in possession of Zabīd and the lowlands, while 'Adan and other important points of the country were ruled partly independently, partly in semi-independence by various smaller princes. The historians do not give many details about the Zaidī Imāms who had their headquarters in the town of Sa'da, but they too seem to have enjoyed unrestricted rule. Though the Sulaihi were the actual representatives of the Fātimid Shī'a caliphs of Egypt, there remained a large following of the Sunni doctrines as is exemplified by the temporary seizure of the fortress of Ta'kar by the Shāfi'ī tribesmen of Khawlān. The chief historian of the dynasty, 'Umāra, is unfortunately far from lucid in his account, *Wafayāt al-'A'yān*, and the later chroniclers follow mostly in his footsteps. The account given by Ibn Khaldūn is, as so often with him, very fragmentary and full of errors.

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(F. KRENKOW)

SULAIM n. MANṢŪR. This powerful and energetic tribe belonged to the group of Kaists or Kaïs-ʿAllān [q.v.]. It does not appear in Arab history until the middle of the sixth century A.D. Its lands lay along the frontiers of Najd and the Hǧǧāz and were bordered on the north by the territory of Medina and on the south by that of Mecca. On the east its neighbours were its relations, the tribes of Ghatafan, Hawāzin and Hilāl. Down to the end of the Omayyad period the district of the Sulaimis seems to have enjoyed very considerable prosperity. It was a succession of volcanic *haras*, of mining centres and wooded hills and of oases which were intelligently exploited; some of these were al-Rabadha, famous for Abū Dharr's [q.v.] sojourn there, Farān, Ma'dīn al-Borm, So-faina, Sawārikiya, etc. The two last named still exist. The oasis of Sawārikiya stretched for a length of several day's journey with its banana and pomegranate-trees, and vines, not to speak of palm-groves. The Sulaim had numerous horses, which in the desert is another sign of prosperity.

They were on good terms with the Jews of Medina. In Mecca the Kuraish financiers and business men early realised the necessity of cultivating the friendship of the Sulaimis, who possessed mineral resources and commanded the road to Medina as well as access to Najd and the Persian Gulf. Many Meccan families had joined them as *ḥalif* and jointly with the Sulaimis exploited the agricultural and mineral wealth of the country. Evidence of the latter is found in the frequency of the name *ma'dīn* (mine) in Sulaimi place-names.

Their main mineral wealth lay in gold and silver. Tradition asserts that a Sulaimi "companion" used to send Muḥammad a tithe of the precious metals extracted from his mine. In the mining district of Sulaim we find in the caliphate of Abū Bakr a resumption of activity and the mines continued to be exploited under the Omayyads whose treasury derived an appreciable revenue from them.

The Sulaimis held in reverence a stone or beryl called *Ḍamār*. Having common interests with Mecca, they were at first hostile to the Prophet, but when they saw that the triumph of Islām was assured, these practically-minded Beduins professed it ostentatiously. In the year 8 (629/630) a strong Sulaimi contingent took part in the easy conquest of Mecca after the battle of Hunain. Their chiefs after the victory claimed as the price of their assistance among others the poet 'Abbās b. Mirdās [q.v.], son of the poetess al-Khansa' [q.v.].

During the troubles which marked the reign of the third caliph, the Sulaimis as a rule took the side of 'Uthmān. This attitude earned them the favour of the Caliph Mu'āwīya I, who numbered among his best lieutenants the Sulaimi Abū 'I-ʿA'war [q.v.]. It was part of the policy of the Omayyads to conciliate this proud tribe, settled along the route of the pilgrimages and in the neighbourhood of the holy cities, the rebellious populations of which they could keep a watch upon. This entente lasted until the death of Mu'āwīya II. Along with the other Kaists, the Sulaim refused to recognise his successor Marwān I and proclaimed for the anti-Caliph 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubair. The defeat of the Kaists at Marjī Rāḥit [q.v.] provoked the definite split between Yemen and Kaïs and opened a war to the death between these two sections of the Arab race. Two Sulaimis, 'Umayr b. al-Ḥubāb and Djaḥḥaf b. Ḥukaim,

distinguished themselves in it for their ferocity rather than their valour. The poems of Akḥṭal [q.v.] preserve the memory of this merciless feud.

After the Hǧǧra a part of the tribe settled in western Mesopotamia. In 109 (727) a hundred Sulaimi families were allowed to go to Egypt and they soon multiplied there. In 230 (844/845) the Sulaim of Arabia along with their cousins of Hilāl sacked the town of Medina and brought a bloody retribution upon their heads. In the time of the Fātimid Caliphs of Egypt, they took the side of the Karmāṭians and attacked the pilgrim caravans. This was the beginning of a period of anarchy in which the Sulaimi part of Arabia suffered a great deal. In Egypt their Karmāṭian sympathies embroiled them with the Caliphs of Cairo. In 444 (1052) the Fātimid Caliph al-Mustansir, anxious to get rid of these troublesome Beduins, sent them with the Hilāl to the conquest of North Africa where many of the tribes are connected with the Sulaimis. For the long fighting in which they were there engaged, cf. the article HILĀL.

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SULAIMĀN n. 'ABD AL-MALIK, Umayyad Caliph. Sulaimān was born in the year 60 (679/680); his mother was Wallāda bint al-'Abbās b. 'Ujāz'. After the death of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān [q.v.], his brother, the caliph 'Abd al-Malik, had homage paid to his sons al-Walid and Sulaimān as heirs-apparent. Towards the end of his reign, al-Walid wished to make an arrangement with al-Ḥadīdīd b. Yūsuf [q.v.] and Kaṭaiba b. Muslim [q.v.] governor of Khorāsān to exclude Sulaimān from the succession in favour of his own son 'Abd al-'Azīz, but he died before the necessary steps had been taken, so that Sulaimān succeeded him in Djumādī II, 96 (end of February 715) as Commander of the Faithful. When Sulaimān heard of his brother's death, he was in al-Ramlā, which he himself had founded when commanding the Muslim troops in Palestine and which continued to be his headquarters. As soon as he had assumed the reins of government, the supporters of al-Ḥadīdīdīd, now dead, had to pay for the enmity between him and the new Caliph. In the very same year, 'Uthmān b. Ḥaiyān al-Murri, the governor of Medina was dismissed and the same fate threatened the doughty Kaṭaiba b. Muslim. Relying on the fidelity of his troops, he tried to persuade them to rise against Sulaimān; but the daring plan came to nothing and Kaṭaiba was surprised and killed. Yarfā b. al-Muḥallab

was appointed governor of al-ʿIrāk in place of Yazīd b. Abī Muslim in 96 (715); he had been one of al-Ḥadīdjī's bitterest enemies and persecuted his supporters with the greatest ardour. But as he feared that his strict principles of taxation, which could not be altered without affecting the revenues of the state, would make him as hated as al-Ḥadīdjī had been in his day he asked the Caliph to relieve him from financial administration, whereupon Sulaimān appointed one of al-Ḥadīdjī's financial officers named Šalīḥ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān to the head of the treasury. But the latter's economy did not suit the extravagant Yazīd, so that in 97 (715/716) he contrived to persuade the Caliph to let him have the governorship of Khorāsān along with that of al-ʿIrāk. From there he conducted an expedition next year against Djurdjān and Tabaristān but with very little success. Sulaimān treated the conqueror of Spain, Mūsā b. Nuʿair, with great severity and according to some he was even responsible for the murder of his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [q.v.]. Sulaimān continued the war against the Byzantines with great energy although fortune did not particularly favour the Muslim arms. In autumn 97 (715) Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik and ʿOmar b. Hubaira took the field against the Byzantines. The Arabs besieged Amorium but without success. After ʿOmar and, according to one statement Maslama also, had wintered in Asia Minor, military operations were resumed in the following summer when Maslama took Pergamos and Sardes. The Arabs also began the siege of Constantinople. By August Maslama appeared before the city and the Muslim fleet arrived a fortnight later. The siege lasted about a year; the Arabs suffered much from the cold and want of supplies and had no kind of success. An army which invaded the land of the Bulghārs was also driven back with considerable losses. In Safar 99 (Sept.-Oct. 717) Sulaimān died in Dābil and the siege was raised about the same time. Although his brother Yazīd had been designated his successor by ʿAbd al-Malik, Sulaimān had homage paid to his own son Aiyūb as heir-apparent. But when the latter was dying, he arranged with the influential theologian Radja b. Haiwa that his cousin ʿOmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz renowned for his piety should succeed him, and therefore received the title of "Key of Goodness" *Miftāḥ al-Khair*. From the statements of the Arab historians however it is very evident that Sulaimān, in spite of a certain piety, was cruel and devoted to sensual pleasures.

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(K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

SULAIMĀN B. AL-AḤMĀTH. [See ANṬ DĀWUD.] **SULAIMĀN** B. DĀWUD, the biblical King Solomon, is an outstanding personality in Muhammadan legends. There were, as the Arab histories recount, four great world-rulers, two of whom were infidels, Nimrod and Nebuchadnezzar; and two of whom were believers, Alexander the Great and Solomon. Of these the last was the most resplendent figure. Special emphasis was placed on his wonderful powers of magic and divination. The most puzzling riddles and the most abstruse subjects were within his ken. Peripateticity and discernment dwelt in his eyes; wisdom and justice were graven on his forehead. His knowledge was deeper than the Jordan Valley. In the Qurʾān itself he is frequently mentioned, and along with Alexander enjoys the distinction of being designated a true Apostle of Allāh, a divine messenger and prototype of Muḥammad. The Qurʾānic passages tell how at an early age he even surpassed his father David in skilful administration of justice (xxi. 78, 79). And when David died Solomon was chosen from amongst the other sons as successor (xxvii. 16). He had admirable endowments. God had granted him esoteric knowledge. He was acquainted with the speech of birds and animals (xxvii. 16, 19), a tradition based on 1 Kings iv. 33-xxxviii. 36). It blew in the morning for a month, and in the evening for a month, while a fountain of molten brass was made to flow for his benefit (xxxiv. 12). At his command were legions of satans to do whatever he wished. They were employed, for example, in diving for pearls (xxi. 82; xxxviii. 37). The *djinn* were forced to work his will. If they disobeyed they were threatened with the pains of hell (xxxiv. 12). They constructed for him shrines and statues and costly vessels (*ibid.*, 13). His armies were recruited from men and *djinn* and birds. The hoopoe (*hudhud*) was the first to bring him tidings of the kingdom of Saba and of its illustrious queen, Bilqīs [q.v.]. Solomon, as a prophet, corresponded with her and summoned her to Islām. And after an exhibition of his strength and wisdom, she submitted (xxvii. 20-44). The devils frequently sought to convict him of infidelity, but in vain (ii. 101). On a certain occasion he failed in the observance of his religious duties, and that was when his admiration for his stud of horses led him to forget his prayers. In atonement he sacrificed them, cutting their legs and necks (xxxviii. 31-33). For a time he seems to have lapsed into idolatry. As a punishment he lost his kingdom, his throne being occupied by some one in his own likeness. When he had asked forgiveness, he was restored to his place, and promised divine favour in Paradise (xxxviii. 34, 35, 40). When he died he was resting on his staff, and no one knew of his death until a worm bored its way through the prop and the body collapsed. Then the *djinn* were released from their labours (xxxiv. 14).

Later legendary lore has magnified all this material, which is chiefly Rabbinic in origin. Solomon's control over the *djinn* and his use of them in his building operations are derived from the *Midrash* on Ecclesiastes, ii. 8. His kingdom is even made universal, perhaps after the analogy of that of the 40 (or 72) kings of the Pre-Adamic *djinn*, who were each named Solomon (Lane, *Arabian Nights*, Introd., note 21; d'Herbelot,

Bibliothèque Orientale, v. 372). His renowned wisdom included "the wisdom" for which Egypt was famous, i.e. occult science. Pythagoras is said to have received his knowledge from Solomon in Egypt (Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muhāḍara fī Akhbār Miṣr*, i. 27). Solomon is said to have been the pupil of Mambres the Egyptian Theurgist (G. R. S. Mead, *Thrice-Greatest Hermes*, iii. 283, note). Hence his reputation in tales as a magician. This magic power of his was effected by means of a talismanic ring engraved with "the most great name" of God. Permission to use this was also vouchsafed to his waṣīr, Ḥasān b. Barkhiya (q.v.), who transported the throne of Bilqīs from Sheba to Jerusalem in the twinkling of an eye. Solomon was in the habit, when he performed his ablutions, of laying aside this ring from his finger, and entrusting it to one of his wives, Amina. Šakhr, one of the Satanic spirits, assumed the form of the king, purloined the magic seal, and for forty days ruled, while Solomon was forced to wander as an outcast. The demon, however, lost the ring in the sea, whence Solomon recovered it when he cut open a fish which had swallowed it. Thus he regained his throne. It is said he was punished in this way, because of the idolatry of the royal consort, Dījārda, the daughter of the king of the Sidonians. Some say the counterfeit body that occupied his throne was his son who died. The 13th of the month is regarded as unlucky because on that day Solomon was exiled by God. The Persian *Nawrūz* festival and its customs are said to date from the restoration of Solomon to his kingdom (al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, ed. Sachau, p. 199). Because he boasted that 1,000 wives would bear him 1,000 warrior sons, he had one son only who was misshapen, with one hand, one eye, one ear, and one foot. Then in humility he prayed to God, and his son was made whole. In his capacity of warrior, he conquered many kingdoms (Baidāwī, v. 19).

Some of the marvellous works of Solomon may be briefly mentioned. Shortly after his accession he was in a valley between Hebron and Jerusalem, when he received his authority over winds, water, demons and animals from the four guardian angels in charge of these spheres. Each one gave him a jewel which he placed in a ring composed partly of brass and iron. With the brass he sealed his orders for the good *djinn*, while with the iron he sealed his orders for the evil *djinn*. The seal is said to have held a mandrake (Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, ii. 390). Solomon's seal (*Ḥatam Sulaimān*) is a common charm, in the form of a six-pointed star, often inscribed on drinking cups. The Table of Solomon (*Mīdat Sulaimān*) and other marvellous relics, according to legend, found their way to Spain where they were discovered by Tārīk at the capture of Toledo. They had been taken from Jerusalem as booty (Ibn al-Athīr, *Annales du Maghreb*, ed. Fagnan, p. 37 199; Tabari, *Chronique*, ed. Zotenberg, iv. 183; Dozy, *Recherches*, i. 52). The Table was made of green beryl, had 360 legs, and was inlaid with pearls and rubies. There was also a magic mirror which revealed all places in the world (Carra de Vaux, *Abrégé des Merveilles*, p. 122).

The blocks of stone for the building of the Temple were hewn by means of the miraculous pebble Samur (*Šamir*) which the demon Šakhr procured from the sea-eagle. Solomon sheltered

himself from the heat of the sun under a canopy composed of all the birds of the air. A magic carpet of green silk for aerial transportation was woven for him. On this he could leave Syria with all his equipment in the morning, and reach Afghanistan by evening. Untold wealth of precious stones and gold and silver was accumulated with the help of the servile *djinn*. They also assisted him in erecting palaces, fortresses, baths and reservoirs. Various relics of these operations are pointed out in Palestine, Arabia and elsewhere (see *Revue des traditions populaires*, ix. 190; Nāṣir-i Khosraw, *Sefer-Nāma*, p. 56, 76, 84, 85). He had 1,000 glass-roofed houses containing 300 couches and 700 wives (Thaʿlabī, *Niṣāṣ*, p. 204). Besides the building of the Temple, during which he outwitted the *djinn*, the Farther Mosque is likewise claimed as his work (Mirkhond, *Rawdat al-Safā*, ii/i. 76). He is even credited with founding a mosque in Alexandria (Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, i. 37). Part of his leisure time was spent in acquiring the art of basket-weaving, that he might have some means of earning a livelihood if the need arose (Mirkhond, *op. cit.*, p. 79). The tradition seems Rabbinic in character. His throne was constructed of pure gold. The whole natural world was so completely under his sway that on one occasion the sun stood still to enable him to say his evening prayers. The evil *djinn* he imprisoned in vessels of lead (cf. *Zachariah*, v. 8). Aīdhāb, on the Red Sea, was assigned by him as a place of incarceration for the demons (Nāṣir-i Khosraw, *op. cit.*, p. 297). His knowledge of the speech of the animal world enabled him at times to display his clemency. Once he turned aside his armed hosts in order to avoid smashing the eggs of a bird; while on another occasion, he had compassion on a colony of ants (Bīrūnī, *op. cit.*, p. 199; Sūra xxvii. 17, 18).

A claim is put forward that he invented the Arabic and Syriac alphabets, and that he was the author of many Arabic treatises on magic. He is compared with Djāmshīd, and there were, undoubtedly, Iranian influences at work in the Solomon Saga. His personal appearance is variously given, e.g. as "a large-headed man riding on a horse" (Mirkhond, *op. cit.*, ii/i. 83), and as being "fair, well-built, of lustrous beauty, with a plentiful supply of hair, and clothed in white garments" (Thaʿlabī, *op. cit.*, p. 254). When he died he was aged 53, having reigned for forty years. The exact location of his tomb is uncertain. Some place it in Jerusalem, in the Qubbat al-Sakhra; others, near the Sea of Tiberias. The Prophet said (according to Tabari, *Chronique*, i. 60) it was "in the midst of the sea... in a palace excavated in a rock. This palace contains a throne on which Solomon is placed with the royal ring on his finger appearing as though he were alive, protected by twelve guardians, night and day. No one hath arrived at his tomb except two persons, Affān and Bulūkiya" (Lane, *op. cit.*, xx. 96; see Mirkhond, *op. cit.*, p. 102-103). The tomb is placed also in the Andaman Islands (*Les Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 134). Solomon has found his way into Malayan folk-lore. Fowlers use his name for snaring pigeons (Frazer, *Golden Bough*, iii. 418; *Folk-Lore in the O. T.*, ii. 476 19.). Regarding Solomon and the Evil Eye, see W. B. Stevenson in *Studia Semitica et Orientalia*, Glasgow 1920, p. 104 19., and the references therein. The Ethiopic Legends of Solomon

and Makedā, Queen of 'Aḏb, may be found in Bezold, *Kebrā Negast*, and in Wallis Budge, *The Queen of Sheba and her only Son Menyelek* (see art. *Ḥiḥ*). Examples of the Solomonic riddles may be seen in Tha'labi, *op. cit.*, p. 202; Jacques de Vitry, *P. P. T. S.*, p. 17.

Bibliography: besides the works mentioned in the text, consult the Kur'an commentaries; a great many Solomonic legends are contained in Tha'labi, *Ḥiḥ al-Anbiyā'*, p. 200 sqq.; see also Tabari, ed. de Goeje, index; *Chronique*, ed. Zotenberg, index; Idri'ī, *Description de l'Afrique*, p. 140, 173, 188; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* i. 110 sqq.; al-Ḥamḍānī, *Sifa*, ed. Müller, p. 141; Abu 'l-Fida', *Tārīkh*, p. 25, 67; Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Musulmänner*, p. 247 sqq.; Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, p. 189 sqq.; Salzberger, *Die Salomo-Sage in der semit. Lit.*; Salomo Tempelbau und Thron in der semit. Sagenliteratur; R. Fürber, *König Salomon in der Tradition*; W. A. Clouston, *Flowers from a Persian Garden*, p. 215 sqq.; Baring-Gould, *Myths of the Middle Ages*, index; Hanauer, *Feldlore of the Holy Land*; Wallis Budge, *Alexander the Great*, index; Seymour, *Tales of Solomon*; J. C. Mardrus, *The Queen of Sheba*; John Freeman, *Solomon and Bathis*; Gabriell, *Fanti semitiche d'una leggenda Salomonica*, *J. A.*, 1868, p. 475; 1881, p. 59; De Vogüé, *Le Temple de Jérusalem*, p. 13; R. Basset, *Mille et Un Contes, Récits et Légendes Arabes*, i. 356; do., *Contes populaires hébreux*, p. 27.

(J. WALKER)

SULAIMĀN R. KUTULMISH, ancestor of the Saldjūks in Asia Minor. After Kutulmish had fallen in 456 (1063/1064) in battle against his relative Alp Arslān, his son Sulaimān became chief of the Saldjūks of Asia Minor and in a few years succeeded in founding an independent kingdom. Malik Shāh who had succeeded his father Alp Arslān in 465 (1072) entrusted him with the conduct of the war against the Byzantines and he was given the supreme command of all the Saldjūk troops in Asia Minor. Here a considerable part of the poor peasantry in Asia Minor had come completely under the power of the rich landowners and many estates were worked by slaves. Sulaimān declared them freemen on payment of a certain tax and he thereby won their active sympathy while misfortune followed the Byzantines. Their general Isaac Comnenos was weakened by a mutiny of his Norman mercenaries and then defeated and captured by the Saldjūks near Caesarea. When his successor Caesar Ducas tried to deal with the Norman mutineers, they took him prisoner. They then won him over to their side and persuaded him to rebel at their head against his nephew, the Emperor Michael VII. There was nothing left for the latter but to appeal for assistance to the Saldjūks and in 1074 (1066/467) he concluded a treaty, approved by Malik Shāh, with Sulaimān, who promised to send forces to assist the Emperor and in return was given the Byzantine provinces at that time in Saldjūk occupation. Ducas was captured by the Saldjūk auxiliaries; but a few years later Michael abdicated and retired to a monastery. In 1079 (1071/472) Nicephoros Melissenos rebelled. To strengthen his position, he made an alliance with Sulaimān and concluded a treaty with him by the terms of which Sulaimān,

in return for troops, was to receive the half of any towns and provinces taken in the war against the Emperor Nicephoros III. Cysicus and Nicaea fell to the Saldjūks at the beginning of the year 1081 (473). Sulaimān chose the latter as his residence. In 477 (1084/1085), he also took the city of Antakya. The Greek governor, Philaretos, who paid tribute to the 'Uḡalid Muslim b. Kuraish, had gone on a journey and in his absence his son, whom he had thrown into prison, came to an arrangement with his deputy and opened the city gates to the Saldjūks. Sulaimān then came into conflict with Muslims about the payment of tribute and there was a certain amount of raiding on either side. Finally in Ṣafar 478 (June 1085) there was a battle near Antioch in which Muslim fell. Sulaimān then advanced on Aleppo and laid siege to it but had to return after a few weeks without attaining any success. After some time he again demanded that the governor there, Ibn al-Hutaiti al-'Abbāsī should surrender the town to him; but the latter delayed replying, under the pretext that he wanted to get Malik Shāh's approval, until the lord of Damascus Tutush b. Alp Arslān and the Emir Ortoḡ b. Akasab were able to come up. When Sulaimān met them, his troops took to flight and he himself perished (479 = 1086). Whether he was slain by the enemy, or as some say, killed himself with his dagger, is uncertain.

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SULAIMĀN R. MUBĀN. (See AL-'A'ASH.)

SULAIMĀN R. ŠURAD AL-KHULĀ'ī, a Shī'ī. He was originally called Vāfir; but when he adopted Islam he received from the Prophet the name Sulaimān. He enjoyed great prestige in his tribe and when the Muslims began to settle in Kūfa, Sulaimān also migrated thither. In the battle of the Camel and at Siffin, he fought on the side of 'Alī. After the death of Mu'āwiyā in Rajab 60 (April 680) he showed himself one of the most ardent supporters of Ḥusain [q. v.] but he did not maintain his first enthusiasm. He was one of those who invited Ḥusain to come to Kūfa to lead them against the Umayyads but when Ḥusain was approaching the town in answer to the invitation, Sulaimān did nothing to help him. After Ḥusain had fallen at Kerbela' on 10th Muharram 61 (Oct. 10, 680) the Kūfians who had enticed him from Mecca regretted their cowardice and inactivity and considered themselves sinners, whose guilt could only be wiped out by avenging his murder so that they received the name *al-Tawwābīn* "the penitents". After some time they organised themselves and chose Sulaimān as their commander-in-chief. None of the party was under 60 years of age; they had not agreed upon any definite measures and "vengeance for Ḥusain" was simply a rather obscure aim which they never clearly visualised. Sulaimān wrote to Sa'd b. Hudhaifa b. al-Yamān in al-Madīn and al-Muthanna b. Mukharriba b. al-'Abdi in Baḡra and secured their cooperation. But as long as Yazīd was alive however, they worked in secrecy; it was only after his death in

Rabī' I, 64 (Nov. 683) that the movement sought wider scope. But when Sulaimān's followers wanted to drive out of Kūfa 'Amr b. Huraith al-Makhtūmī the deputy of the governor 'Ubad Allāh b. Ziyād who lived in Baṣra, Sulaimān refused to allow it and advised caution. Nevertheless 'Amr b. Huraith was expelled by the Kūfāns. They then paid homage to 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair as Caliph, whereupon he appointed 'Abd Allāh b. Yazid al-Anṣārī as governor of Kūfa. In Ramaḍān 64 (May 684), the latter arrived in Kūfa, but al-Makhtūmī b. Abī 'Ubad [q.v.] had already entered the town a few days earlier. The latter wished to expel Sulaimān and he was suspected by the Shī'īs on account of his inactivity. Many left Sulaimān and joined al-Makhtūmī. When Sulaimān finally came out openly and asked his followers to take the field against 'Ubad Allāh b. Ziyād, who was in Syria with a large army, the governor 'Abd Allāh b. Yazid placed no obstacles in his way and even promised to support the Shī'īs; but no active cooperation took place between Sulaimān and the governor. The Shī'īs proved less enthusiastic than Sulaimān had hoped. When he appeared on 1st Rabī' II, 65 (Nov. 15, 684), in al-Nukhaila near Kūfa, instead of the 16,000 men who had promised to follow him there were only 4,000. Messengers were at once sent to all Shī'īs who had promised their help and gradually reinforcements came in. On the 5th Rabī' II (19 Nov.) they set out. They spent 24 hours in Karbalā' at Husain's tomb, confessing their guilt and giving evidence of their penitence. They then continued their march. Reaching Karḥisiyā they were supplied with provisions by Zufar b. al-Hārith al-Kilābī, who was in command there and obtained information regarding the movements of 'Ubad Allāh, who was in al-Kaḥḥa. Sulaimān then continued his march till he met the enemy at 'Ain al-Warda under the command of Husain b. Numair. The battle began on 22nd Djumādā I, 65 (Jan. 4, 685) and lasted three days. Sulaimān fell on the third day at the age of 93 and the fiercely contested battle ended in the complete route of the Shī'īs. Their supporters from al-Mada'in and Baṣra, who did not arrive in time, had to go back without striking a blow for the cause.

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(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

SULAIMĀN b. WAḤH b. SA'ID ABU AYYUB, an 'Abbāsid vizier. He belonged to a family which had originally been Christian but had later gone over to Islām. His father had been in the service of the Barmecide Dja'far b. Yahyā [q.v.] and later in that of al-Faḍl b. Saḥl [q.v.]. On the latter's death he was given the governorship of Fārs and Kirmān. At the age of 14 Sulaimān became secretary to the Caliph al-Ma'mūn; he later entered the service of the generals Iṣḥāq and Aḥmad, the former of whom held several important offices in the reign of al-Mutawakkil but finally was sacrificed to the cruelty of the Caliph. We

find Sulaimān mentioned as vizier as early as al-Muḥtadī (255—256—869—870) and in Dhu 'l-Hijja 263 (Aug. 877) al-Mu'tamid gave him the same office. But he did not hold this office long, being dismissed in Dhu 'l-Kāda 269 (beg. Aug. 878). Sulaimān died in prison in Ṣafar 272 (Aug. 885); according to another statement he died in the preceding year.

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2. The son of the preceding, 'UBAID ALLAH b. SULAIMĀN, who also began his career in the public service as a secretary, was promoted to be vizier of the Caliph al-Mu'tamid in Ṣafar 278 (June 891) and filled the office in the reign of al-Mu'tadid also. He died in 288 (900—901).

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3. Sulaimān's grandson ABU 'L-HUSAIN AL-KĀSIM, succeeded his father 'Ubad Allāh as vizier and took the title of *Wālī al-Dawla*, "administrator of the kingdom". Even before the death of al-Mu'tadid in 289 (902) al-Kāsim was conspiring against his son, the heir-apparent al-Muktafi, and on the latter's accession he had the governor of Fārs, a freedman named Badr, put to death because he had been a confidant of his and he was afraid he might betray him. Al-Kāsim died in 291 (903/904).

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(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

SULAIMĀN I, the tenth and the greatest of the Ottoman Sultāns, reigned from 1520 to 1566. The Turks call him KĀNUNİ SULTĀN SULAIMĀN and western authors SOLIMAN THE MAGNIFICENT. Some Western historians like Leunclavius and, more recently, Jorga call him Sulaimān II, the first Sulaimān having been, according to them, the son of Bāyazid I who lived at Adrianople. In Turkey however the opinion that Sulaimān the Legislator is the first of the name has prevailed; he is always called SULAIMĀN KĀNUN AWWAL and the ten *sharḥ*s of the four minarets of the Sulaimāniya mosque signify, according to the *Hadīth al-Djāwīd* (p. 16) that Sulaimān is the tenth Sultān. A very special symbolical significance has even been credited to the number ten in the life of the Sultān (*G.O.R.*, iii. 4) and the name Sulaimān was also regarded as a national and religious symbol; in the documents issued by Sulaimān we frequently find allusion to passages in the Qur'ān where the royal prophet Solomon (Sulaimān) is mentioned.

Sulaimān was born in 900 (1494/1495), the son of Solḥān Saltm and 'Aḥṣā Sultān (d. 940—1533, cf. *Sulḥiyyi 'Othmāni*, i. 49), daughter of Mengli Girāy, Khān of the Crimea, celebrated for her beauty. In the reign of his grandfather Bāyazid, Sulaimān had held the sandjak of Kaffa and under

Sulaimân I he had lived in Magnisâ as governor, without playing any important part in the state. No one therefore had any idea what to expect of the new sovereign when he arrived in the capital on Sept. 30, 1520, eight days after his father's death.

The most striking feature in the career of the Sultân, by nature peace-loving according to the Venetian reports, is that he took part in person in thirteen great campaigns — ten in Europe and three in Asia — which were so many stages in the extension of the power and territory of the Ottoman empire so that their enumeration coincides for the most part with the very important military history of the empire in his reign. The first campaign was that of Belgrade which was provoked by the ill-treatment inflicted by the king of Hungary on the Turkish envoys who had come to demand the payment of tribute by him. The capture of Belgrade by the grand vizier Piri Pasha (Aug. 29, 1521) was preceded by the taking of Salacz (Turkish: Bögürdelen) on the Danube and was accompanied by the devastation of Syrmia by the Turkish troops. On Aug. 30 the Sultân made his entry into the conquered city which received a garrison under a Sandjak-beg. In the following year took place the conquest of the island of Rhodes from the Knights of St. John, who had long been a menace to Ottoman power because they supported the Christian corsairs. Sulaimân left Constantinople on June 15, 1572 and crossed Asia Minor to the port of Marmaris; the fleet sailed under the vizier Mustafa Pasha and was reinforced by an Egyptian contingent sent by Khair Beg of Egypt. The siege inflicted great hardships on the Turkish troops and towards the end of October the fleet had to take refuge in Marmaris. But in December the Grand Master of the Order, Villiers de l'Isle Adam (called by the Turks Migâl Mastûri, from the Greek Megalomastra), capitulated and soon afterwards left the island. A son of Djem, brother of Bâzard II, who was in the Christian army was killed. Shortly after the return of the Sultân to Constantinople, he deposed the grand vizier Piri Pasha and replaced him by his favourite Ibrahim Pasha [q.v.] (June 27, 1524), who remained the faithful companion of Sulaimân on all his campaigns until his sudden execution in 1536. The bond between the two was strengthened in 1524 by Ibrahim's marriage to the Sultân's sister. In 1525 new military preparations were made, without their object being revealed; negotiations with Poland and France, guerrilla warfare in Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia (especially the exploits of the Pasha of Bosnia who tried in vain to take the town of Jaice) and a mutiny of the Janissaries in the capital had been further indications of a great military enterprise. In April 1526 Sulaimân set out with Ibrahim; they arrived at Belgrade on July 15 whither a fleet had also gone by the Danube. On July 30, Ibrahim took Peterwardein (in Turkish: Warâdin). The army then crossed the Drave at Eszek and met the Hungarian army, weakened by the number and quarrels of its commanders at Mohács. Here on August 28 was fought the battle which cost Louis of Hungary his life and destroyed the power of Hungary to resist further, so that it was henceforth open to Turkish invasion. The Sultân and Ibrahim immediately resumed their advance and on Sept. 11 occupied the capital Buda (in

Turkish: Budin or Budun) which became a prey to the flames in spite of orders to the contrary. This occupation of the capital was however only temporary. The Turkish army crossed the Danube and returned by Saegedin, laying waste the country and crushing the resistance offered by several forces that met them. In November Sulaimân was back in Constantinople, where he had to deal with trouble in Asia Minor. For the two and half years that elapsed before the second Hungarian campaign, the war continued in Bosnia, Dalmatia and Slavonia; at the same time broke out the rivalry between Ferdinand the "Roman King" and John Zápolya, the voivod of Transylvania (Erdel Bân) for the Hungarian crown. Both sent an ambassador to Constantinople. Zápolya's envoy was able to secure the goodwill of the Sultân who set out in May 1529 for his new campaign, the Vienna campaign. On Aug. 10 they reached Mohács, where Zápolya recognised by Sulaimân as king of Hungary (Kral Yânish), came to pay homage to his suzerain. Ibrahim Pasha was now appointed ser-asker and the Sultân set out to install his new vassal in his capital which was occupied by Ferdinand's troops. On Sept. 8 Buda capitulated and Sulaimân had Zápolya installed as king of Hungary without himself being present at the ceremony. On Sept. 27, the Turkish army began the famous siege of Vienna but was forced to retreat, not without ravaging the environs of the town. In the two years following, the war with Austria continued and the various embassies from king Ferdinand had no success. In 1532, Sulaimân then undertook what the Turkish sources call "the German campaign against the king of Spain" i. e. Charles V, who claimed the *shâh-î-irânî* (Chronicle of Rustam Pasha). The most remarkable event of this campaign was the taking of Gülnâs (Turkish: Kösek) after a long siege (Aug. 21). During the next few months Sulaimân was in Styria, where his armies ravaged the country without meeting an army of the emperor. The Sultân's return to Constantinople in November was soon followed by an armistice with Austria, concluded on Jan. 14, 1533. Sulaimân's sixth campaign was directed against Persia. It was caused by the Turkish claims to possession of Bitlis (the governor of which, Ulama, had abandoned the Turks) and Baghdad. The grand vizier Ibrahim occupied Tabriz in July 1534 while the Sultân himself entered it in September. From Tabriz the army set out for Baghdad by way of Hamadân without Shâh Tahmâsp offering any resistance. Baghdad was left defenceless; Ibrahim occupied the town and a few days later Sulaimân made his ceremonial entry into it on Nov. 30, 1534. During the four months that he spent there he built the mausoleum of Abû Hanîfa and the sources mention a large number of holy places which the Sultân visited at Baghdad, Nedjef, Kâfa and Kerbelâ. As the Persians had regained the greater part of the Turkish conquests, Sulaimân set out for Persia again, this time by Arbil and Marâgha to Tabriz. The Shâh continued to avoid a battle and the Turks were able to take the strongholds of Adharbâidjân and 'Irâq-i 'Adjami. The only fighting was during the return march when the rearguard had occasionally to fight the Persians, for example at Wân. On Jan. 17, 1536, the Sultân was back in Constantinople and two months later (March 15)

there took place the disgrace and death of İbrâhîm, grand vizier and intimate favourite of the Sultân and up till then this companion on all his campaigns. His place was taken by Âyâs Paşa. In 1537 the Pâdişâh accompanied the expedition against Corfu but stayed himself at Walona. The Turks were forced to raise the siege of the citadel of the island which was defended by the Venetians on Sept. 7. This campaign is specially remembered for the raids made on the coast of Apulia led by Lutfî Paşa [p. 21]. In the following year a rebellion by the voivod of Moldavia forced the Sultân to military intervention in which he also took part; it ended in the capture of the capital Suciava; after the installation of a new voivod and a new delimitation of his frontiers Sulaimân returned to Adrianople. The two following campaigns, those of 1541, and 1543, took him again into Hungary where the war had broken out again after the death of Zápolya in 1540.

The widow of the latter was incapable of defending the rights of her infant son against the claims of Ferdinand of Austria. Sulaimân arriving before Buda — which had just been besieged in vain by the Hungarian Peter Perenyi — in August 1541, annexed it along with the kingdom of Zápolya with the exception of Transylvania which was to be left to the queen dowager Isabella; henceforth Buda was the residence of a beglerbeg and Turkish administration was introduced into Hungary. Ferdinand's claims were of no avail and his attempt to take Pest in 1542 also failed. Sulaimân's campaign in 1543 brought a number of conquests, Valpo, Siklós, Fünfkirchen (Pest) and other towns. The Pâdişâh then went to Buda, after which Gran (Esztergom, in Turkish *Usturghân*) and Stuhlweissenberg (Ustun-Belgrade) were taken in September. The Sultân returned to Buda, where he crossed the Danube and returned to Constantinople on Nov. 11. This last campaign was followed by a pause of five years in the military activity of Sulaimân. The grand vizier Sulaimân Paşa, who had succeeded Lutfî Paşa in 1541, who had in turn succeeded Âyâs Paşa (d. 1539) was dismissed and replaced by Rustam Paşa who had married Mihri-ü Mâh, daughter of Sulaimân and Khurram Sultân; it is from this time that harem influence begins to be active in politics. As a result of this, relations with Persia became more actively hostile, while the Hungarian war was terminated by a treaty making a seven years' truce with Ferdinand of Austria, who promised to pay an annual tribute of 30,000 ducats. The campaign of 1548/49 of Sulaimân against Persia was provoked by Elkâs Mirzâ, brother of Shâh Tahmâsp, a refugee at the Ottoman court. The Sultân went to Erzerûm and then to Tabriz without the Shâh offering any resistance. But circumstances forced the Turkish army to retire to Diyar Bakr, while the Persian army ravaged the frontier towns. Sulaimân spent the winter at Aleppo and passed the following year in inactivity also; the vizier Ahmad made some conquests in Georgia. In December Sulaimân was back in Constantinople. The following years were occupied with military operations provoked by Austrian intervention in Transylvania, the only part of Hungary which so far had never seen a Turkish army. The Sultân took no part in these operations, the control of which was taken by Şokollî Paşa [p. 22], beglerbeg of Rûm and future grand vizier (taking of Temesvár

in 1551). Sulaimân had not intended to take part in the new Persian campaign of 1553 either; Rustam Paşa had been appointed Ser-asker for it. But the rumour which reached him — through the intermediary of Rustam — of a rebellion said to have been organised by prince Mustafa, the governor of Amasia, decided the Sultân to rejoin the army in person. He set out on Aug. 18, 1553, accompanied by prince Salim. At Ereğli in Karamania took place the sudden and tragic execution of prince Mustafa who had come to greet his father (Oct. 16). One result of this act of violence, inspired by harem intrigues, was the temporary replacement of Rustam Paşa by Ahmad Paşa (until his execution on Sept. 28, 1555). Military operations on a large scale did not begin till 1554 and resulted in the destruction of Nakhchevân, Eriwân and Kara Bagh (in July). In September negotiations for peace began at Erzerûm but it was not till May 29, 1555 that a treaty — the first Persian peace — was concluded at Amasia. In this last town the Sultân received the famous Austrian embassy under Busbecq which could only obtain an armistice. In August, Sulaimân returned to Constantinople. Ten years passed before his thirteenth and last campaign, that of Szigeteth. In spite of the uninterrupted negotiations of Busbecq, the war in Austria went on because the Turks insisted on their claims, notably for Szigeteth, besieged in vain in 1556. The grand vizier Rustam proved a particularly difficult person to negotiate with. It was only after his death (1561), that peace was concluded by his more amenable successor 'Alî Paşa in 1562. Austria had to abandon Transylvania and after the death of Ferdinand (1562) this peace was renewed by Maximilian. The last years of Sulaimân's life were darkened by the death of Khurram Sultân (April 1558) and by the war between the princes Salim and Bîkzâd, which ended in the execution of the latter (cf. SALIM II). In 1565 hostilities with Austria were resumed and the Christians gained some successes. This gave the aged Sultân a reason for taking the field once more at the head of his armies. He left Constantinople on May 1, 1566, with the new grand vizier Mehmed Şokollî (appointed in June 1565 after the death of 'Alî). At Zemlin, John Sigismund, son of Zápolya was received with remarkable honours. Although the original plan had been to attack Erlau (Egri), the information he received decided the Sultân to lay siege to Szigeteth (Sigetvár) defended by Nicolas Zriny. The siege began on Aug. 2 and on Sept. 8 the town fell before the Turkish assault but the great Sultân, who had died on the night of Sept. 5/6, did not live to witness its capture. The death of Sulaimân was kept secret by Şokollî for three weeks to prevent trouble in the army and to give Salim II time to gain possession of the throne. Salim met the army near Belgrade; the body of Sulaimân (his heart was buried in the mausoleum near Szigeteth, cf. Jacob, *Ans Ungarns Türkenzeit*, p. 24) was sent in advance of the army to Constantinople, where it was buried in his *türbe* in the Sulaimâniya mosque.

This résumé of the campaigns of Sulaimân I reveals the extraordinary energy of this, the greatest, Sultân of the Ottoman Empire but does not give a complete picture of his personality. Unfortunately the sources do not supply us with sufficient data to reconstruct this personality. The Turkish sources

rarely contain anything but exaggerated praises, while the European sources, although more critical, are less well informed and often biased. There is however no lack of brief personal touches, such as the short but fervid prayer which Sulaiman uttered before the battle of Mohács (*G. O. R.*, iii, 59) the humility with which he assisted the bearers of the bier of Gail Baba after the occupation of Buda in 1529 (*Ewliya*, vi, 248). His piety is shown by the eight copies of the *Kur'an* copied by Sulaiman himself and kept in the *Sulaimaniya*, while his Muslim orthodoxy is evident from several *ghazal* in the *Diwan* composed by him. The chroniclers further describe him as an ardent lover of the chase. In any case Sulaiman must have been a born ruler, of remarkable dignity, a striking figure in the midst of his brilliant court, on such occasions of ceremony as the festivals of the circumcision of his sons as in 1530 or the marriages of the princesses, his sisters. His great affections were in his youth for Ibrahim Pasha and for his favourite Khurram Sultan (*q. v.*) whose influence made itself felt in politics, but it was not the latter's children that Sulaiman loved best (the princess Salim, Bayazid and the princess Mihr-u-Mah). It was rather prince Muhammad, who accompanied him on several campaigns and of whose death he learned (Nov. 6, 1543) on his return from the campaign, who was his favourite son. In memory of this prince he built the *Shahzade Djami'i* in Istanbul (finished in 1553). In memory of prince Djahangir (d. in 1553 soon after the execution of his brother Mustafa) and also buried in the *Shahzade Djami'i* another mosque was built on the heights of the Top-khane.

In the history of the Ottoman empire the name of Sulaiman is greater than that of any of the other sultans; the name marks an epoch, the epoch during which the empire became an undisputed power, in the Christian world as well as that of Islam, and one which left its stamp upon later political and cultural developments. The part played by Sulaiman himself in this development is difficult to determine; we may note however that during his reign Turkey possessed a large number of able and remarkable men, like the Kapudan Pasha Khair al-Din (*q. v.*) Barbarossa, the *mufetti* Kemal Pasha-Zade (*q. v.*), the architect Sinan (*q. v.*) and many others, but that each of them seems to have played his part in his own proper sphere. There seems to have been a lack of great personalities in the immediate entourage of the Sultan, with the possible exception of the grand-vizier Ibrahim Pasha.

On the other hand, the development of the Ottoman empire under Sulaiman may perhaps be largely explained by the internal political system of the state. The foundation of this development had been laid by earlier sultans but under Sulaiman the state institutions had been perfected to such a pitch that we may with justice speak of a system. Following the principle of his predecessors, Sulaiman elaborated this system by the promulgation of the *Kanun* (*q. v.*) which were later collected into the different *Kanun-näme* (cf. the *Bibliography*).

It is this legislative activity which has gained him the epithet *Kanuni*. The *Kanun* dealt mainly with the organisation of the army and military feudalism, the laws of landed property, the police and the feudal code; one of the principles

of the "system" was the exploiting of the Christian element in the empire through the *Dewshirme* and the entrusting of high offices of state to renegades. This was not without influence on the cultural developments which were the result.

The elaboration of the new ideal of the Ottoman state was not realised, however, without a certain amount of opposition from representatives of the old order of things, in the newly acquired provinces as well as in Asia Minor. Among these demonstrations which broke out mainly at the beginning of the reign may be mentioned the last remnants of independence shown by the *Dhu 'l-Kadroughlu*, suppressed by Farhad Pasha in 1522, and the rising in 1527 in *Uli* and the rebellion of *Kalenderoghlu* in the same year put down by Ibrahim Pasha; the mutiny of the Janissaries in 1525 in Constantinople falls into the same category. In the provinces peace was broken in 1521 by Ghazali, governor of Syria, and in Egypt by the attempt to regain independence under Kansuh and later in 1524 under the governor Ahmad Pasha. The government further had to intervene on several occasions in the dynastic troubles in the Crimea and in the principalities of the Danube.

The enormous expansion that the empire underwent under Sulaiman was also a result of the system, especially of its military side. For, as contemporary writers (e.g. Derschewitz) make him say, permanent peace is an impossibility; the country would have had nothing to support itself upon or to pay the Janissaries and the other turbulent soldiery. At the same time the great victories brought about a fundamental change in the place of the empire in international affairs. The Christian states had lost all hope of driving the Turks out of Europe; it was in the reign of Sulaiman that the famous alliance with Francis I of France was concluded which led to negotiations when he was in Italy as a prisoner of Charles V. One of the consequences of this alliance was the famous capitulation of 1535 which settled the privileges of the French in the Empire, notably consular jurisdiction. This capitulation is the starting point for the capitulations between the Christian states and Turkey in the centuries following, although similar privileges had already been granted by Ottoman Sultans, notably to Venice. Another consequence of the French alliance was the great naval activity of the Turkish fleet in the Mediterranean against the Spanish fleet under Andrea Doria and against the African, Italian and Dalmatian coasts especially after Khair al-Din Barbarossa had become Kapudan Pasha (1536-1546); it was under him that the Franco-Turkish expedition against Nice took place in 1543. In the Red Sea and Indian Ocean, a Turkish fleet under Sulaiman Pasha waged war on the Portuguese (siege of Diu in 1538). This expedition secured to Turkey possession of Aden and the Yemen. From 1550 it was the Kapudan Pasha Piyale Pasha (*q. v.*), Torghud Re'is and Salih Re'is who spread the fame of the Ottomans in the Mediterranean especially in the ports of the Maghrib. In 1565 took place the great expedition against Malta in which Torghud Re'is was killed. The Turkish fleet did not succeed in taking the island. To the same period belong the expedition and adventures of Piri Re'is and Sidi Re'is in the Indian Ocean.

Alongside of these political developments at home and abroad, the Empire experienced a cultural

advance which may be said to be more independent than that of preceding centuries. Ottoman civilisation gained its own special character in the field of literature as well as that of art. Süleimân Sulaimân played a part in the literary life of his time as a poet under the *takhallus* of Muhibbî and as a patron of the great poets of his time. In another way he and his glorious reign contributed to the development of literature by inspiring poets like Bâkî to write panegyric *kasidas* and various *shâhnâma*, and prose-writers to write histories (cf. the *Bibliography*). But it is in the field of architecture especially that Turkish culture owes much to the initiative of Sulaimân. Of the mosques which he built in the capital first place must be given to the Sulaimâniya built between 1550 and 1556 and containing the *türbe* of Sulaimân (Sulaimân II and Ahmad II are also buried here); next comes the Saltıme built in memory of Saltım I and finished in 1522; the Shahide Djâmi'i built between 1547 and 1548 in memory of prince Muhammad, also contained the tomb of the prince Djahângîr; the mosque founded in memory of the latter at Topkhâne is now destroyed; the Khayyâkî Djâmi'i was built in 1534 in memory of Khurram Sulâtân; lastly may be mentioned two mosques built, one at Stambul and the other at Skutari, in memory of princess Mihr-u-Mâh, wife of Rustam Pasha. With the exception of the Saltıme all these mosques are the work of the architect Saltım Sinân [q. v.] who also built a large number of other mosques in the capital and elsewhere, for the grandees of the empire who followed the Sulâtân's example. Among other buildings of Sinân for Sulaimân are the aqueducts of the capital and the palace at Skutari.

Of the edifices erected throughout the provinces in large numbers by Sulaimân's orders, the most remarkable are the tomb of Abû Hantfa at Baghdâd; the mosque over the tomb of Djâlal al-Dîn Rûmî at Konia, the restoration of the walls of Jerusalem (cf. AL-KUTUB), the restoration of the Kab'a (after authorisation by a *fatwa* of Abû 'l-Su'ûd, q. v.) and of the aqueducts of Mecca.

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Suleimân Khân, which von Hammer considered the eleventh vol. of the original compilation by Feridûn (cf. Seifnîkî, p. 137). Other contemporary sources not yet published are: the *Târîkh* of Luftî Pasha (only MS. in Europe at Vienna, Flügel, No. 1010); the last part of 'Alî, *Kunûd al-ahbâr*; Djâlal Zâde Mustafa Çelebi, *Tahâfât al-mumâlik wa-darâjât al-musâlik* (to 962 [1554]; No. 1010); Ferdi, *Târîkh Sulâtân Sulaimân* (to 949 [1552]; Flügel, No. 998); several *Târîkh-i fetih-i Rodes* (von Hammer knows those of Ramadân and of Waist, cf. also Flügel, No. 1067); *Ghazawât-i usturghân wa-ustûn Belghârâd*, by Sinân Cawush (also von Hammer, cf. Flügel, No. 1003); lastly various *Shah-nâma*, of which von Hammer cites those of Shams, Ahmad Parapara-zâde and Maḥramî. Another *Shah-nâma* is that of İslâfîn (quoted by Ahmad Refik in *Sofollî*) and a poem *Djâmi' al-maknûnat* in the Library of Leyden (*Cat.*, iii. 26); a *Târîkh-i Sulâtân Sulaimân* at Vienna (Flügel, No. 1006) is rather legendary in its matter and belongs to the xviii century. The most important writers since the death of Sulaimân are: Peçewî, *Târîkh*, Constantinople 1284; Kara Çelebi Zâde, *Sulaimân-nâme* (written as a continuation of the *Tudj al-tawârîkh* of Sa'd al-Dîn), Bulâk 1248, and by the same author, *Ramât al-ahbâr*, Bulâk 1248; Merâhî, *Fath-nâma-i Sigetwar*, G. O. R., iii., p. vi. and Flügel, No. 1002; finally the historical works of Solâk Zâde, Hâdîdî Khalîfa, Munadjidjîm Bashî, etc. Ewliya Çelebi is also sometimes a source for the life of Sulaimân.

For state institutions in the time of Sulaimân an important source is the *Ayâf-nâme* of Luftî Pasha, publ. and transl. by R. Tschudi in *Türkische Bibliothek*, No. 12, Berlin 1910 and the *Kânûn-nâme* of Sulaimân. These *Kânûn-nâme*, which have been collected are edited at different times and found in large numbers in the Libraries of Constantinople; editions are: 'Arif Bey, *Kânûn-nâme-i 'Alî Othmân* (ikindî), ed. by the Nishândjî Sîdî Beg, in *T. O. E. M.*, No. 15—19 (Aug. 1912—April 1913) and *Othmânî Kânûn-nâmaları* (ed. by Abû 'l-Su'ûd and the Nishândjî Ramadân-Zâde Muḥammad) in *Miftî tebbû'lar madjîm'ârî I*, Constantinople 1331; translations in A. L. M. Petis de la Croix, *Canon du Sultan Soliman II, représenté à Sultan Murad IV pour son instruction, ou état politique et militaire tiré des archives les plus secrètes des princes ottomans et qui servent pour bien gouverner leur empire*, Paris 1735; *Canon-nâme ou édit de Sultan Soliman concernant la police de l'Égypte* in Digeon, *Nouveaux centes turcs et arabes*, Paris 1781; partially in von Hammer, *Des Osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung*, Vienna 1815, i. 384—427; other documents in Ahmad Refik, *Onunfî 'agr-i hîdîrde İstanbul hayâlî*, Constantinople 1333.

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Venetian ambassadors publ. by Alberi, then the narratives of other envoys like Busbecq, accessible in Forster and Daniell, *The Life and Letters of Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq*, London 1881; the *Tageluch* of his companion Hans Derwisch, ed. Bahlinger, Munich and Leipzig 1923, is very useful for its description of Turkey in the time of Sulaiman; Lewenklaw, in *Neuere Chronica Türkischer Nation*, Frankfurt 1590, gives in the appendix an important document (e.g. on page 418 the stages of the second campaign in Persia); Bobsard, *Vitae et Icones Sultanorum Turcicorum*, Frankfurt 1596.

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A. H. Lyhyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the time of Sulaiman the Magnificent*, Cambridge Mass. 1913; E. J. W. Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, London 1904, iii. 1—9; Hafiz Hussain al-Awamari, *Haalhat al-djawa'imi*, Constantinople 1281, i. 14, 15, 16, 101; ii. 72, 100, 186. (J. H. KRAMERS)

SULAIMAN II, twentieth Ottoman Sultan, reigned from 1687 to 1691. He was born in 1052 (1642) (on 15th Muharram = April 15, according to von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, the *Sidjill-i 'Othmani* gives the 25th Safar = May 25), and was the son of Sultan Ibrahim; from the accession of his brother Muhammad IV he lived the life of a prisoner in the palace with his brother Ahmad. On the deposition of Muhammad IV, the result of the defeat of the Turkish army at Mohács, Sulaiman was placed on the throne on Nov. 8, 1657, mainly through the efforts of the *feri-ma'azim* Köprülü Mustafa Pasha. In the precarious position of the empire, great hopes were placed upon a second Sulaiman but the latter had not the necessary qualities. He is described as being of a resolute and warlike character, and indeed he twice took the field at the head of the army; a weak constitution however prevented him from carrying out his good intentions. Soon after his accession the mutinous army returned from Hungary, invaded the capital and committed unprecedented excesses in which the new grand vizier Siyavush Pasha was killed (Nov. 24, 1688). A spontaneous rising of the population of the capital finally suppressed the rebellion and the aged Nihangli Isma'il Pasha became grand vizier (Jorga, iv. 227, speaks of another grand vizier the Sipahi 'Ali Agha, as holding the office between these two, but he is not mentioned in the *Haalhat al-Wus'at*). A new mutiny of the troops however put an end to Isma'il Pasha also. His successor was the ex-Janissary Taktur Daghl Ma-

stafa Pasha (May 1688). Meanwhile the Turkish army suffered defeat after defeat in Hungary (loss of Erlau in Dec. 1687) and in Dalmatia, while Yegen 'Othman Pasha, Beglerbeg of Rümili was in rebellion against the government; in Anatolia he had a supporter in Gedük Ahmad Pasha. After great effort to raise the necessary money, an army left the capital in July 1688. The Sultan set out with it, but went no further than Adrianople, for in the meanwhile, the Austrians and their allies had taken Belgrade (Sept. 6) and Semendria. In September the Porte sent Mavrocordat and Dhu 'l-Fakir Efendi to Vienna with the task of negotiating a peace; but fighting went on as the negotiations were prolonged. The rebels Gedük Ahmad and Yegen 'Othman were finally defeated and slain. In Dec. 1688 a great council of war was held which decided among other things, to enrol in the army a certain number of the inhabitants of Constantinople; on the other hand the assistance of France who attacked the Emperor in Germany gave the Turks a chance to re-organise their forces. In June 1689, Sulaiman again put himself at the head of an army which he only accompanied as far as Sofia, having heard of the loss of Szigeth; Radjab Pasha became Serasker. After some initial successes this campaign ended in a great Turkish defeat near Nish on Sept. 14, a result of which was the execution of the grand vizier in favour of Köprülü Mustafa Pasha (Nov. 7). The latter took energetic steps to re-establish order in the army and the finances; for example he levied a series of new taxes. In 1690 fortune turned in favour of the Turks assisted by a Tatar army. They retook Nish, Semendria and Belgrade (Oct. 8) as well as several towns in Transylvania.

In Albania the Venetians had to give up their conquests. The campaign of 1691 thus started very favourably but it ended with the defeat at Sialakemen, in which Mustafa Köprülü [q.v.] lost his life. But the Sultan was already dead (June 23, 1691; the *Sidjill-i 'Othmani* gives the date 15 Shawwal = July 12). He was succeeded by his brother Ahmad II. Sulaiman II was buried in the türbe of Sulaiman I in the Sulaimaniye in Constantinople. Two of his sons became sultans: Mustafa II and Ahmad III.

Bibliography: The principal Turkish source is Rashid, *Turikhi*, Constantinople, 1282, ii. 15—159 and several works not yet printed: — Desterdar Muhammad Pasha, *Zubdat al-Wa-jibāt* (Flügel, Vienna Catalogue, No. 1079); *Sulh-nama* of Dhu 'l-Fakir Efendi (Flügel, No. 1078); 'Abd al-Ghaffar Kirimi, *Umdat al-Tawarikh wa'l-Akhbar* (Library As'ad Efendi in Constantinople, No. 2331). Also Thurnia Efendi, *Sidjill-i 'Othmani*, i. 44; von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vi. 499—560; Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, v. 145—150, 243; Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, iv. 225—254. (J. H. KRAMERS)

SULAIMAN, MAWLAY ARU 'L-RABI' B. MUHAMMAD, 'Alawid Sultan of Morocco, reigned from Radjab 1206 (March 1792) to 13th Rabi' I 1338 (Nov. 28, 1822). The son of Sultan Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah b. Isma'il and a free woman of the Arab tribe of Ahlaf, he spent his youth in Sidjilmassa where he devoted himself to study without taking part in politics. When on the death of his father in Radjab 1204 (March—April 1790) the power passed to his brother Yazid, Sulaiman came

from al-Tāfilālat escorted by the Arab and Berber tribes of the Sahara to bring him the *ḥafṣa* of the people of Sidjilmāsa. After the death of Mawlay Yazīd, killed near Marrākeṣh (end of Jumādā 11 1206 = Febr. 1792) fighting against Mawlay Hishām, one of his brothers who had rebelled against him, Morocco fell into anarchy. The people of al-Hawz of Marrākeṣh remained faithful to Mawlay Hishām but those of al-Hibṭ and al-Djabāl proclaimed Mawlay Maṣlama, sterile brother of Mawlay Yazīd. The people of Fās, the tribes around the capital and the 'Abid, Wādīya and Berbers proclaimed Mawlay Sulaimān whose learning and piety particularly distinguished him. Soon afterwards the 'Abid of Miknās and the Berbers of the region joined them and the new Sulṭān received their oath of allegiance in the sanctuary of Mawlay Idrīs, on Monday 17th Raddjāh 1206 (March 12, 1792). Later he was also recognised by the Banū Ḥasan and the other tribes of al-Qharb, as well as by the people of Sale and Rabat.

He had hardly been proclaimed, when M. Sulaimān had to fight his brother and rival, M. Maṣlama, who was soon defeated and went to live in the east. At the end of 1206 (1792) M. Sulaimān made an unsuccessful expedition with the object of chastising the Anḡid, an Arab tribe around Ujdā, who plundered caravans and convoys of pilgrims. In al-Hawz of Marrākeṣh however M. Hishām was still supreme. At the end of 1207 (1793) M. Sulaimān sent his brother M. al-Taiyib against the Shāwiya but he was defeated. In 1208 (1793-1794) the Djabāla, the tribes inhabiting the mountainous massif of the northwest (Akhmas, Banū Yadar, Banū Gurfuj, Qharāwa etc.) rebelled on the invitation of a *ṣāḥib*, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Salām Zaijan al-Khumst. After his defeat in the first encounter, the troops of M. Sulaimān ultimately crushed the rebels and Zaijan, captured and pardoned, was appointed governor of the tribe and became one of the strongest supporters of the government.

M. Hishām was always powerful in al-Hawz of Marrākeṣh, where the tribes of Dukkāla, 'Abda, Aḥmar, Shayādhima, Ḥaḥa and Raḥmīna followed him; but discord was not long in breaking out among them and M. Sulaimān seized his opportunity. He began by attacking a section of the Shāwiya whom he defeated. In 1210 (1795/1796) the Raḥmīna sent him a deputation inviting him to march on Marrākeṣh and he took the field against the Shāwiya whom he routed, then invaded the territory of the Dukkāla and took Azammūr in 1211 (1796/1797). He then turned his attention to Marrākeṣh; on his approach, M. Hishām fled from the town to the Atlas; M. Sulaimān occupied the capital of the south and extended his authority over the tribes of al-Hawz, al-Dair, al-Sās, the Ḥaḥa and the town of Mogader. A little later, the *ḥafṣa* of the 'Abda, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Naḡir who had been one of the most faithful auxiliaries of M. Hishām submitted to the Sulṭān and M. Hishām now alone, soon followed his example. M. Sulaimān was now undisputed sovereign of all Morocco.

His authority once well established, M. Sulaimān undertook several secondary expeditions to assure the security of the frontiers of his empire. The Turks of Algiers had seized Ujdā and extended their authority over the tribes in the neighbourhood of this town. In 1211 (1796-1797) M. Sulaimān sent troops who reconquered the territory without

difficulty. In 1213 (1798-1799) there was an expedition to al-Sās, in 1215 (1800-1801) the unfortunate campaign against the Berber tribe of Ait-Umlā, in 1216 (1801-1802) an expedition against the land of Dar'a (Dra) and in 1217 (1802-1803) against the Rif to collect taxes. In 1218 (1803-1804) there was the campaign against the Ait Idrās of the Central Atlas and against the tribes of the Sahara (Tudgha, Farkala, Ghasts and Tāfilālat).

The power of M. Sulaimān had now reached its zenith and Morocco enjoyed several years of peace and prosperity. This period unfortunately did not last and the Sulṭān had to spend the last years of his reign in almost annual expeditions. In 1222 (1807-1808) there was an expedition against the Tādla and the Gurām; in 1225 (1808-1809) a new campaign against the Ait Umlā, who were forced on this occasion to pay tribute; in 1224 (1809-1810) there was an expedition against the Tādla and against the Ait Idrī; in 1225 (1810-1811) there was an expedition against the Rif.

Very soon afterwards the situation changed. The nationalist rising of the Berbers in the Central Atlas, exasperated by the oppression of the central arabised power imperilled the empire and brought Morocco to the verge of anarchy. In 1226 (1811-1812) the Garwān and the Ait Umlā rebelled under the chief Amḥāsh; the first expedition sent against them was routed at Azm. In 1227 (1812-1813) the Sulṭān sent to the Rif an expedition to punish several eastern tribes notably the Gal'ya, who, in spite of his prohibition, were selling wheat to the Christians. This campaign was crowned with success but had no permanent results so that the very next year in 1228 (1813-1814) the Sulṭān, accompanied by Arab contingents from the Banū Malik and the Sufyān had to go in person to the Rif which he ravaged with fire and sword. In 1230 (1814-1815) there was an expedition to the region of Marrākeṣh to punish the turbulent tribes of Dukkāla, 'Abda and Shāyādhima. In 1231 (1815-1816) the Sulṭān sent his son M. Ibrāhīm to punish various Arab and Berber tribes of the Sahara, the Sabāḥ and the Ait 'Aṭṭā who had seized fortresses (*ḥaṣūr*) built in their land by M. Ismā'īl; the expedition was a failure and the Sulṭān had to undertake a second one in person which was quite successful.

But the enemy who caused the greatest trouble to Sulaimān was the Berber bloc of the Central Atlas, which rebelled on several occasions against the Arab yoke, frequently threatening the town of Miknās. The Sulṭān never succeeded in taming them and their stubborn resistance was the cause of the internal dissensions which troubled the close of his reign. The *ṣanḥāja* of the Central Atlas and especially the confederation of the Ait Umlā of Fās refused to submit to the central power. In 1234 (1818-1819) the Sulṭān decided to subdue them with Arab and Berber contingents (Zammūr, Garwān and Ait Idrās), but as a result of the defection of the Zammūr, the Sulṭān's son M. Ibrāhīm was mortally wounded and the Sulṭān himself was captured by a Berber who however ultimately released him. This success inflamed the national ardour of the Berbers who rose under a local *murāḥḥ* Muḥammad U-Naḡir Amḥāsh, to fight against the whole Arabic speaking element in Morocco. The checks suffered by M.

Sulaimān had destroyed his prestige and the end of his reign was simply a series of shakings which he had great difficulty in putting down. While the Sulṭān was at Mārkāsh defending it against the Berbers, the people of Fās rose against his governor, al-Saffār. He therefore returned to Fās and on the way his army was attacked by the Berbers. In 1235 (1819-1820) he went to pacify al-Hilā and then to Marrākeṣh. During his absence the Wādīya plundered Fās, discord broke out among the people of the town who ultimately asked the help of the Berbers against the Wādīya. Soon the people of Fās by arrangement with the Berbers abandoned M. Sulaimān and chose as ruler M. Ibrāhīm b. Yaṣīd, who was also recognised by a part of the people of N. W. Morocco, notably the inhabitants of Tetwān; returning to the town, M. Ibrāhīm died and his brother M. Sa'ād was proclaimed in his stead. The Sulṭān M. Sulaimān then left Marrākeṣh and laid siege to Fās. The siege lasted till Raddjāb 1237 (March-April 1822). During this period the Sulṭān sent an expedition to attack Tetwān and pacified the district of Tāza.

Having retaken Fās and settled the situation in the north M. Sulaimān set out for the south where he had to fight against the Arab tribe of the Sharrīda, who lived near Marrākeṣh. Wearied with ruling M. Sulaimān was thinking of abdicating in favour of his nephew M. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hishām, when he died on 13th Raddjāb 1, 1238 (Nov. 28, 1822) at Marrākeṣh, where he was buried.

In spite of his unfortunate reign, M. Sulaimān left a great reputation for piety, justice and benevolence; for example he abolished the non-Islamic taxes (*malūṭ*). He was also a great builder.

Bibliography: Abū Ḥ-Rāṣim al-Zaynī, *al-Tarīkh al-mawṣūf*, ed. Hondas, text, p. 92; transl., p. 169; Muḥammad Akamūṣ, *al-Djāhī al-mawṣūf*, Ith., Fās 1336, i. 181; Ahmad al-Nāṣir, *al-Jihād*, iv. 129-172; transl. in *Arch. Marocaines*, ix. 384-399, x. 1-105. — Sulaimān al-Hawwāt wrote poems in praise of Mawlay Sulaimān, but the collection, of no historical value, is still in manuscript.

(GEORGE S. COLLYN)

SULAIMĀN, AL-MAHRĪ, a sailing-master (*mu'allim al-baḥr*) and author of 'Sailing Instructions' in the first half of the xviiith century.

MS. N° 2559 of the Arabic collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale contains several nautical treatises in prose and verse on the Indian Ocean, the sea of Western China and the seas of the great Asiatic Archipelago. The treatises in verse are by the *mu'allim* Ibn Maḥjīd (cf. *Ḥikāṭ al-ḥikā*). The five treatises in prose have been prepared by another sailing-master called Sulaimān b. Ahmad al-Mahri al-Muḥammadi (fol. 598) or Sulaimān b. Ahmad b. Sulaimān al-Mahri (fol. 1554, here wrongly written al-Mahri). In either case he would be son or grandson of Mahri, i.e. of a member of the tribe of the Mahari of Southern Arabia. Sulaimān is otherwise unknown. The 'Sailing Instructions' of which he is the author contain no biographical information. His Turkish translator, the admiral Sali 'Alī who wrote the *Muḥit* in 1554, mentions that he was dead by then (cf. *J. A. S. H.*, Nov. 1834, p. 548). One of the nautical treatises is dated 1511; it is therefore probable that the texts in question were prepared in the first half of the xviiith century.

MS. 2559 is a small 4° of 215 × 150, 187

folios with 15 lines to a page. The five treatises by Sulaimān contained in it are as follows:

I. *Kitāb fih al-ḥikāṭ wa-ṭ-ṭikāṭ al-baḥr*, folio 16 to 54. At the beginning the text says: 'The object of this epistle is to make known the [different kinds of] known years and their use by all the world; these years are the lunar, solar, Byzantine (*rūmīya*), Coptic and Persian. The epistle contains a short introduction of 10 lines and 6 *fajr* or sections. The first deals with the lunar year, the second with the basis of the solar year; the third with the solar year; the fourth with the Byzantine year; the fifth with the Coptic year and the sixth with the Persian year'. Not dated. On folio 10 where the titles of the treatises contained in the manuscript are given in another hand, this text is entitled: 'Epistle dealing with the science of eras, i.e. with the knowledge of the principle of years, the use of which is found throughout the world'.

II. *Kitāb taḥf al-fuḥūl*, from folio 42 to 104 inclusive. On 10 this text is entitled: 'Epistle of the gift to men of energy to facilitate the knowledge of the principles [of astronomical-nautical science]'. This treatise is divided into 4 lines of introduction, 7 chapters and a conclusion. Chapter i. deals with the description of the spheres and the stars which they contain; chapter ii. treats of the division of the circle which those learned in nautical astronomy are agreed to divide into 32 parts called *ḥāṣṣ* '(celestial) rumb', by analogy with the rumb of navigation. Chapter iii. deals with *ṣūm* = 3 hours sailing at sea; chapter iv. with the two kinds of sailing at sea, i.e. following the coast line or crossing the high seas; chapter v. with the altitudes of the stars to determine the latitude of a port; chapter vi. with the distances between two ports estimated in *ṣūm*; chapter vii. with the winds. The conclusion of this treatise is as follows: the art of navigation is based on a double foundation, good sense and experience.

This text is not dated but it is later than iv. which is quoted on folio 72, line 1 and than iii. which is mentioned in folio 54, line 11 which puts its date after 1512.

Folios 102 and 110 are blank in the MS.

III. *Al-'Umdat al-mahriya fi ḥikāṭ al-baḥr*, from folio 114 to 594 inclusive. It is divided into 7 chapters which are subdivided into sections.

Chapter i. deals with the principles of nautical astronomy. It contains the following sections:

(a) To know the rumb; (b) to know the distance of the stars at the equator; (c) to know the parallels (*maḍā'ir*) of the stars expressed in degrees; (d) to know the stars which are in horizontality (*fihāṭ*) (observed on a single planchette); (e) to know the *ṣūm*; (f) to know the guide to the exact number of *ṣūm* between the rumb; (g) to know the exact number of *ṣūm* (co-efficient indicating the length of the voyage to be covered to a given cape to get the same displacement in latitude sailing straight north); (h) to know the basis (for calculation) of the altitude of a star; (i) to know the distances.

Chapter ii. deals with the names of the stars and allied matters. It has two sections (a) to know the number of *ḥāṣṣ* = 1° 37' that are one between the North Pole and the *ḥāṣṣ* or Pole Star, the great *forḥad* or β of Ursa Minor, the *miḥḥ*,

li. = knot = 122 (Piazzi) of Cepheus; and (h) to know the circle described by the great *farḡad* around the pole.

Chapter iii. deals with sea routes in the regions to windward and under the wind (i.e. in the author's particular terminology, to the east and west of Cape Comorin). It contains 7 sections: (a) routes of the *Hijāz*; (b) route along the south coast of Arabia; (c) route along the north-west coast of India; (d) route along the east coast of Africa from Bāb al-Mandab (var. of Bāb al-Mandab); (e) route past the *Khūriyā* (cf. above, ii., p. 975, where these islands are wrongly called *Khūriyān-Mūriyān* from an erroneous reading of several Arab geographers) from the south coast of Arabia to Sokatra; (f) routes under the wind on the east coast of India; (g) route from the coast of Siam (i.e. west and east coast of the Malay peninsula which used all to belong to Siam), along the coasts of Siam proper of Indo-China and western China.

Chapter iv. deals with the routes along the coast of the following islands: Kōmr or Madagascar, the archipelago of the Comoros (which includes 4 islands: *Angazidja* or Great Comoro, *Mufit* or *Mohell*, *Dumūl* or *Anjuan* so-called from its capital, and *Mayotte*); the small islands to the east of Cape Ambre and Cape St. Mary (the two Capes at the north and south ends of Madagascar); the Zarin Islands or Seychelles; *Sokatra*; the *Fil* or *Laccadives*; the *Dil* or *Maldives*; Ceylon, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands; the islands along the coast of Siam (i.e. west coast of the Malay Peninsula); Sumatra, Java; the south-east islands: *Gilolo*; *Fariyū* (the *Perices* of the *Commentarios* of Albuquerque, vol. iii, ch. xviii (3)); *Qūḥr* = north part of Formosa, the *Maluccas*, *Mocassar* = *Celebes*, the islands of *Banda*, *Timūr-Lawt* or *Timūr* of the Sea, *Timūr-Kidul* or *Timūr* of the south, *Brunei* or *Borneo*).

Chapter v. deals with latitudes ascertained from the altitudes of the *gūh* or Pole Star, the *farḡad* = $\beta \gamma$ of Ursa Minor and of the *naḥḥ* = $\alpha \beta \gamma \delta$ of Ursa Major. It contains 7 sections indicating the latitudes of the ports of the Red Sea, of the eastern coast of Arabia and the western coast of India; of the east coast of Africa and the west coast of India and Ceylon; of the east coast of Africa to the south of Guardafui; of the Gulf of Bengal; of the island of Ceylon, of Sumatra and Java. It also deals with *ḥaḡh* (the correction to be made according to the elevation of the Pole Star), the 28 lunar mansions and the altitudes of the known stars.

Chapter vi. deals with the monsoons of the Indian Ocean, the dates of which are expressed in the Persian reckoning. The monsoons are divided into two categories. The first is divided into two classes. The first of these is called "head of the wind" and includes the following monsoons: monsoon of 'Aden which takes one to the west coast of India, the monsoon of *Shihir* [q.v.] for the same destination; monsoon of *Zufār*, monsoon of the *Sawāhil* or of the eastern equatorial coast of Africa for the same destination; monsoon of the *Sawāhil* to the south coast of Arabia; monsoons of *Gujarat*; of the *Konkan*, of *Malabar*, of the *Maldives*, of *Shihir*, of *Zufār*, from *Maasat* to *Malacca*, *Sumatra*, *Tenasserim* and *Bengal*. Monsoon from *Zaila* and *Berbera* to the South Arabian coast; monsoon from 'Aden to Hormuz.

The monsoons of the second class of the first category are the monsoons from Mecca (i.e. from *Djeddā*), *Sawākin*, *Zaila*, 'Aden, *Shihir*, *Maasat*; *Zufār* and *Kalahāt* to the west coast of India.

The monsoons blowing towards the lands "under the wind" (i.e. to the east of Cape Comorin) are the monsoons from 'Aden, *Shihir*, *Maasat*, *Gujarat*, the *Konkan*, *Sumatra*, *Tenasserim*, *Malabar* and *Bengal*; the monsoon from *Bengal* towards the west coast of the Malay Peninsula; the monsoon from the east coast of Africa to the *Maldives*; the monsoon of the *Sawāhil* to the south Arabian coast.

The second category of monsoons includes the monsoons from *Gujarat*, the *Konkan* and *Hormuz* to the coast of Arabia; from *Gujarat* to the east coast of Africa, from *Bengal*, *Malacca* and *Tenasserim*, *Malabar* and *Sumatra* to Mecca (i.e. *Djeddā*), 'Aden and *Hormuz*; from *Sumatra* to *Bengal*; from the *Maldives* to 'Aden and the whole Arabian coast; from *Diyyūl* in *Sind* to the Arabian coast; from *Malindi* in East Africa to *Madagascar*; from *Kilwa* to *Sofala* and from *Sofala* to *Kilwa*.

Chapter vii. deals with voyages. It begins by describing in detail the islands along the Arabian and African shores of the Red Sea. Then follow itineraries extremely in detail in the following regions: from *Bāb al-Mandab* to *mount Zafar* and *Saḥān*, in the south of the Red Sea; from *Saḥān* to *Djeddā*; from *Saḥān* to *Sawākin*; from *Djeddā* to 'Aden; from *Sawākin* to 'Aden; from *Zaila* to *Gujarat*; from *Berbera* to *Gujarat*; from *Kishin* to the south Arabian Coast of *Gujarat*; from *Kalahāt* to *Gujarat*; from *Zufār* to *Gujarat*; from *Kalahāt* to *Gujarat*; from *Maasat* to *Gujarat*, to the *Konkan* and *Malabar*; from 'Aden to *Malabar*; from 'Aden to *Hormuz*; from *Rās al-Hadd* to *Diyyūl* in *Sind*; from *Diu* to *Maasat*; from *Diu* to *Shihir* and 'Aden; from *Mahāim* and *Shayūl* (the *Chal* of our maps) and the vicinity to the Arabian coast; from *Diu* to the *Maldives*; from *Dabūl* to the *Maldives*; from *Diu* to *Maasat* and *Hormuz*; from *Cambay* to 'Aden at the end of the monsoon; from *Goz-Sindāhūr* to 'Aden at the end of the monsoon; from *Hond* and *Bāḡkālā* to 'Aden at the end of the monsoon; from *Calicut* to *Guardafui*; from *Diu* to *Malacca*; from *Diu* to *Bengal*, i.e. to *Shāṭigān* (sic); from *Malacca* to 'Aden; from *Shāṭigān* to the Arabian coast. — In the conclusion (*ḥatima*) the author enumerates the ten dangers to be avoided by sailors.

This treatise is dated in figures, 21st Rabi' II, 961 = March 27, 1554; but according to the *Muḥit* of *Shih* 'Alī, it was compiled in 917 (1511—1512) (cf. *J. A. S. B.*, Nov. 1834, p. 548), and this is the date which should be adopted as correct. The Turkish admiral actually collected the Arabic documents which he translated during his sojourn on the Persian Gulf in 1553. The date given in MS. No. 2559 is no doubt that when the copy was made as *Sulaimān* was already dead in 1554.

IV. *Kitāb al-minhāj al-fāḡhī fī 'ilm al-baḥr al-akḥīr*, from fol. 50a to 93b, l. 3. It is divided into an introduction, 7 chapters and a conclusion. The introduction deals with *zāw* and *farḡat*; chapter I. with the sea routes on the coast of Arabia, *Makrān*, *Sind*, *Gujarat*, the *Konkan*, *Tulwān*, *Malabar*; on the Somali coast and the east coast of Africa; the east coast of India, *Bengal* and *Siam* (= west coast of Malay peninsula), and of *Malacca*; on the west coast of the Malay

Peninsula, Indo-China, Western China, and some routes on the high seas.

Chapter ii. dealing with the latitudes (*ḥiḍḍ*, lit. "measure") of the ports on known and inhabited coasts: "Know", says the author, "that as regards the observation of the Polar Star, there is a difference between the people under the wind and those of the lands in the wind of Cape Comorin, as far as certain capes are concerned. The result is differences between the people of Western India (*al-Hind*, this is how we must take it in nautical terminology) and the Arabs as regards the fundamental measure (i.e. the measure of the height of the Pole Star). In my book entitled *al-Umda* (cf. above col. 2) [the latitudes given] are in conformity with those of the Ġolas; in the present book, I have reproduced the opinion of the older masters of navigation for all the coasts because [as to these latitudes] I have verified them from certain capes which I supposed to have been situated above their true latitude. . . . Then come the sections where they are indicated: (a) a great number of latitudes furnished by observation of the Pole Star, (b) of the *farkadain* ($\beta\gamma$ of Ursa Minor), (c) of the *na'ila* = $\beta\gamma\delta$ of Ursa Major, (d) the altitudes of the known stars.

Chapter iii. contains the description of the coasts of the large known inhabited islands: Madagascar, the Seychelles, Sokotra, the Laodivies, the Maldives, Ceylon, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, the Takwa Islands on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Java and the northeastern islands (Timor, the Sandalwood Islands, Banda, the Moluccas, the island of Lākylā [Arabic transcription of the Chinese *Lieu-k'ien* also called *Ḡāh* — north of Formosa], Gilolo, Fariyūk [?], Borneo and Macassar = Celebes).

Chapter iv. deals with the distances between Arabia and Western India, the ports of the Bay of Bengal, the east coast of Africa and certain ports of Sumatra, Java and Bali.

Chapter v. deals with the winds, cyclones and the dangers to which ships are exposed. Chapter vi. treats of the landings and landmarks of western India, the Arabian coast and the east coast of Africa. Chapter vii. deals with the entrance of the sun and moon into the signs of the Zodiac. The conclusion contains the following detailed itineraries: from Diu to Malacca, from Malacca to the Maldives, from Diu to the west coast of Sumatra and back to Martaban and Tenasserim and to Bengal.

This text is not dated but it mentions *al-Umda* (iii.) in folio 64a, l. 13; it is therefore later than 1511. It also mentions ii. which is quoted on folio 60a, l. 9.

Folios 93b to 151c contain nautical treatises in verse by Ibn Mādjīd, which have already been discussed (cf. above, p. 364 *sq.*). Folios 151d to 154a are blank.

V. *Kitāb ḡharḡ ṭuḡfūt al-fuḡūl fī tamhīd al-nūḡl* from folios 155a to 187b and last. At the end of several lines of introductory matter the author says: "I have extracted [the substance] of this book from different sciences and collected the contents [by borrowing] from my own works and those of my brethren [of the brotherhood of sailing masters] (folio 155a, l. 3 *infra*).

Chapter i. deals with the description of the celestial spheres and the stars which they contain (spheres of the moon, of Mercury, Venus, the sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn and the fixed stars), the load-

stone and the compass. Chapter ii. deals with the division of the circle. "I say", says the author (f. 161a, l. 3) "that this chapter ii. of this book contains the description of the circle. The word *circle* here means the circle of the horizon divided into 360 parts, each part of which is considered a degree by observers i.e. astronomers. I say that those learned in nautical science are agreed to divide the circle (of the horizon) into 32 parts. I say that the masters of navigation of the ocean of Western India agree. There are the Arabs, the people of Hormuz, the people of Western India, the Ġolas and the Zengs (or Zengjs). It is the same for masters of navigation of the west, like the Maghribis, the Franks, the Byzantines (Ḥimṭya) who also divide the circle into 32 parts. As to the Chinese and Japanese — these are the people of the islands of the south — they divide the circle into 24 parts. It is the same with the people of the non-Arab countries like Ḡharḡsān and the non-Arab lands adjoining it and the masters of navigation have called each of these parts *ḡḡḡḡ* by analogy with the *ḡḡḡḡ* (or *ḡḡḡḡ*) of navigation". The same chapter then deals with the *ḡḡḡḡ* (lit. finger = 1° 37'). Chapter iii. is devoted to the *ḡḡḡḡ*; chapter iv. to the routes along the coasts and on the high seas; chapter v. to the altitudes of the stars; chapter vi. to the distances between two points; chapter vii. to the winds. The book ends with a general concluding chapter.

This last nautical treatise which is not dated is later than the *Kitāb al-minkāḡ* (iv.) quoted in f. 173a, l. 3 and 184a, l. 11; and than the *al-Umda* (iii.) mentioned in folio 165a, l. 9; 165b, l. 3; 181a, l. 13—14. The *Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes* of de Slane wrongly says that the text of this treatise is written in red ink; the title of the chapter, sections, and paragraphs alone are written in red ink; the text itself is written in black ink like the rest of the manuscript.

Without going into details we may here mention the main rules used by Arab seafarers in the xvth—xvith centuries. According to the nautical texts of Ibn Mādjīd and Sulaimān al-Mahrī the latitudes of the parts of the Indian Ocean in the wide sense, i.e. the ports of all the coasts between Southern Africa and the Chinese province of Fou-Kien (coasts of the mainland and islands of the Indian Ocean in the strict sense, of the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, the sea of 'Omān, the Bay of Bengal, of the Sea of western China, and the Seas of the Great Asiatic Archipelago), are determined by observation of three stars or groups of northern stars: *ḡḡḡ* = Pole Star; the *ḡḡḡḡ*, in Arabic *al-farkadain*, "the two calves", = $\beta\gamma$ of Ursa Minor; the *tomb*, in Arabic *al-na'ila* = $\alpha\beta\gamma\delta$ of Ursa Major. The latitude of the harbours between the parallels of 32° 48' N. = 17½ *ḡḡḡḡ* and 6° north = about 1 *ḡḡḡḡ* from, the *ḡḡḡḡ* is determined by the observation of the Pole Star; that of the ports situated between the parallels of 5° 21' south = about 1 *ḡḡḡḡ* from the *farkadain* by observation of the *ḡḡḡḡ* of Ursa Minor; and that of the ports between the parallels of 6° N. = 1 *ḡḡḡḡ* from the *ḡḡḡḡ* or 8 *ḡḡḡḡ* from the *farkadain* and of 5° 21' south = 1 *ḡḡḡḡ* from the *farkadain* or 13 *ḡḡḡḡ* from the *na'ila* and about 25° 16' south = ¾ *ḡḡḡḡ* from the *na'ila*, by observation of *al-na'ila* of Ursa Major. The result of these observations has been laid down in the *Sailing Instructions* in the following form: Ibn Mādjīd and Sulaimān al-Mahrī give first

of all the parallel in question and then mention all the points which are found on this latitude, the one from east to west and the other from west to east. For example in fol. 64b, l. 8 of MS. 2559 we are told:

*[There where] the *ḡā* is 11 *ḡā* [above the horizon = about 21° 14' N. are]: the harbour of Kawāḡ (Arabicised form of the Chinese 交趾

Kiao-ke near the modern Hanoi in Tonkin) which is in China (sic), this is the port of the Sūfū (of the country). Then Shatigām = Chittagong in Eastern Bengal (= west coast of Burma); then Rā al-Kanīr, on the west coast (of the Bay of Bengal = east coast of India); then Kanbāya (in the Bay of this name, on the west coast of India); then Rā Djagad (the west point of the peninsula of the Kathiawar); then Rā al-hadd (south-east point of Arabia); then al-Kahḡar [a cape] on the coast of the Hiddā; off this cape is a reef [called] al-Bām; then [cape] Dawā'ir on the African coast [of the Red Sea]...'. The list goes on by $\frac{1}{2}$ *ḡā*'s from north to south to $1\frac{1}{2}$ *ḡā*'s from the Pole Star which section ends in the parallel of 6° N. lat. The next section is entitled 'Section dealing with the altitude of the *farḡadain* of the place where the Pole Star is at 1 *ḡā*' to the end of the observations made with the two stars'. Practically 1 *ḡā*' from the Pole Star = 8 *ḡā*' from the Guards of the Ura Minor; these two expressions are interchangeable. It is at this parallel of 8 *ḡā*' = 6° N. that the section begins:

*[There where] the *farḡadain* are at 8 *ḡā*' [above the horizon are]: Kēlantun in China (read: on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula); then Kēdh on the east coast (of the Bay of Bengal = west coast of the Malay Peninsula); then the island of Perak (off the preceding harbour); then the islands of Mā-fūla and Gāni-fūla and the north-west cape of Sumatra; then Alḡam on the east coast (lit. on the back) of Ceylon; then Tūḡgām on the west coast of Ceylon; then the island of Kandikāl of the Maldives; then the beginning of Saif al-Tawīl (lit. the long bank) on the east coast of Africa...'. The enumeration continues by $\frac{1}{2}$ *ḡā*'s to 5 *ḡā*'s; then following the parallels of 4, 3, 2, 1, 2 *ḡā*'s the section ends at 1 *ḡā*' = 5° 21' S. L. The next section is entitled:

'Section dealing with the altitude of the *na'ā* in the Southern Isles [of Indonesia], Madagascar and on the coast of Zeng (or Zandj)'. 13 *ḡā*' from Ura Major = 1 *ḡā*' from the Guards. The text of this section does not begin till the following parallel:

*[There where] the *na'ā* are at 12 *ḡā*' [above the horizon = 7° South are]: the port of Sumbaya which is on the west coast (this is an error for north) of the island of Java; then [the island of] Sumbava [which produces] mandalwood and is situated west (read: east) of Java; then Monfa (the Mafia of our maps) on the coast of the Zeng...'. The enumeration goes on by *ḡā*'s (Java being always inaccurately orientated N.E. instead of E.W.) to 1 *ḡā*' and alternately $\frac{1}{2}$ *ḡā*'s = about 25° 16' south. On the parallel of 1 *ḡā*' the text says: [There where] the *na'ā* are 1 *ḡā*' [above the horizon are]: the harbour of Kūs (?) on the east coast of Madagascar; then the bay of Kūr (?) on the west coast of the same island; then the port of al-Shadīra (or port of the tree) on the (east) coast (of Africa); and the author adds: 'According to the early (i.e. writers on navigation), [this port] is the last of the

islands (sic) of the coast of Zeng; but the Franks say that the [west] coast [of Africa runs to the north and] continues to the place where the *na'ā* are 7 *ḡā*' in the water (= 15° 07' south). But Allāh knows best'. Ibn Maḡḡid expresses himself more clearly in this connection in section 9 of the *Hawāyā*, a poem on navigation dated September 13, 1462 (MSS. 2292, fol. 112a), where he says: '... the harbour of al-Shadīra which is well known lies 1 *ḡā*' from the *na'ā*. The learned give this as the position of this port. There are no others having a name.... And there is nothing south of those lands, for it is there the land of Zeng ends (on the east coast of Africa) and there is the strait [that leads] to the land of the west and of the Franks. There is nothing to the south [of Africa] except reefs and darkness which the Creator [alone] knows. Some say that there are islands and that the extreme end of the coast is 5 *ḡā*' (18° 21' S.). — O thou, the best informed! But the stories of the authorities do not agree. We ask Allāh to pardon our errors'. — I have discussed this passage in the 7. A., for Oct.-Nov. 1927 (p. 307-309) and came to the conclusion that the harbour of al-Shadīra must be identified with Lorenzo Marques.

We have seen that several sections aim at making known the distances between two fixed points. The following on fol. 81b, l. 8, 29, is particularly important because it deals with parts situated at the two ends of the Indian Ocean and with the navigation of the high seas from end to end without altering one's course:

'Section dealing with the distances [between the ports whose altitude is known] by observation of the *farḡadain* [ports which are situated] on the coast of Zeng [on the one hand] and in the island of Java and Sumatra [on the other]:

*By 7 *ḡā*' from the *farḡadain* = 4° 44' N.: of the stoll (*fūḡ*) of Muḡḡil (on the African coast) to Mākūḡ (the *Maḡḡā* of the early Portuguese travellers; cf. Barros, Dec. iii, Bk. v, Ch. 1; on the west coast of Sumatra), it is 234 *ḡā* = 39 days 6 hours.

*By 6 *ḡā*' from the *farḡadain* = 2° 47' N.: from Mmī (on the African coast) to Pandīr (lit. Fanḡūr or Baros on the west coast of Sumatra), it is 248 *ḡā* = 31 days.

*By 5 *ḡā*' from the *farḡadain* = 1° 10' N.: from Brāwa (or Brāwa of the African coast) to the harbour of Priaman (on Sumatra), it is 264 *ḡā* = 33 days.

*By 4 *ḡā*' from the *farḡadain* = 0° 30' south: from Malwān (on the coast of Africa) to Indrapura (on Sumatra), it is 278 *ḡā* = 34 days 18 hours.

*By 3 *ḡā*' from the *farḡadain* = 2° 07' south: from Kīāwa (on the African coast = Quila in Barros, Dec. ii, Bk. i, Ch. ii.) to Sunda-bāḡ (lit. the straits of Sunda or of Sandle), it is 292 *ḡā* = 36 days 12 hours.

*By 2 *ḡā*' from the *farḡadain* = 3° 44' south: from Mombasa (on the African coast) to Sunda (west coast of Java), it is 306 *ḡā* = 38 days 6 hours.

*By 1 *ḡā*' from the *farḡadain* = 5° 21' south: from the Green Island (Arabic name for Pemba on the coast of Africa) to the island of Bālī (east of Java), it is 317 *ḡā* = 39 days 15 hours.

The 'Sailing Instructions' of Sulaimān al-Maḡḡī contain a certain number of detailed itineraries which are remarkably accurate. We give as an

example the itinerary from Diu to Malacca (fol. 88a, l. 15 to fol. 90a, l. 3) translating the Arabic nautical terms in the text by their English equivalents.

*Voyage from Diu to Malacca. When you leave Diu steer on the pole of Canopus, i.e. to the south for 2 *sām* (= 6 hours sailing); then to sunrise (*al-fajr* = to the east), keeping 8 *sām* (= 24 hours sailing) from the west coast of India. Keep your course towards Canopus (= south) until you reach 4 (*sic*) *iqbā'* from the *farḡadain* (= 7° 37' N. circa). Then steer for the rising of the Scorpion (S.E.) until you reach a point a little less than 7½ *iqbā'* from the *farḡadain* (= 5° 19' N.). Then steer to the fundamental rising (*maḥlā' al-afṣṣ* = due east) for 12 *sām* (= 36 hours), then to the rising of *al-mawāḥ* (= E.S.E.) until you arrive at 8½ *iqbā'* (6° 33' N.); then due east (still) and you will strike land south of the island of Sargul (in the archipelago of the Nicobars). When you strike land, leave the island on the left (i.e. on the north) and when you have passed it, steer for the rising of *al-ṣir* (= E.S.E.) for 4 *sām* (= 12 hours); then steer for the rising of *al-ḥilīl* (= S.E. ½ E.) until you reach 8 *iqbā'* from the *farḡadain* (= 6° N.). Then steer due east and pay attention at the same time to the flood tide to strike the beginning of the island of Perak, which is a little island lying at 8 *sām* (= 24 hours) from the coast. From Perak steer a course due eastward (until) you are in sight of the island of Pulo Pinang. If the flood tide is not running north and if you see the flood tide, steer from there to the rising of *al-ṣir* (= E.S.E.) and you will reach Penang which is an elongated island of which the two coasts are identical: it is black and is seen from afar. When you are near it steer for the rising of Canopus (= S.S.E.) up to the island (read: islands) [called] Pulo Sembilan which [in Malay] means the "nine islands". You will [then] distinguish on the coast two mountains which resemble the island of Pinang and which might be taken for two islands. They lie between the island of Pinang and the islands of Dingding and the two mountains are called Fan-ktra. After these two mountains you reach Dingding. They are two great elongated islands of the same size. After these lie the island of Tamburak which is a little round island.

*Know that the island of Pinang and [those] of Dingding lie near the mainland and there is a reef there. After Dingding you come to the islands of Sembilan which are islands with high mountains; some of these islands are small. When you arrive there, when you have taken in water and resumed the voyage, steer for the pole of Canopus (= south) for 5 *sām* (= 18 hours) and you will arrive at the island [called] Pulo Djumar. Between [the islands] of Sembilan and Djumar the sounding indicates 35 fathoms until you come to the island of Djumar where there are great depths. The depth is near to 40 or 50 fathoms. When you are near Djumar you see the part of the land on the coast of the sea but you do not see the [adjoining] coast of Sumatra. In clear weather you see the outline of the coast of Siam (= west coast of the Malay Peninsula) [and] the mountains [from which] tin is obtained. When you approach Djumar, coasting along the island steer for the rising of *al-ḥilīl* (= S.E. ½ E.) for 1 *sām* (= 3 hours); then towards the rising of *al-ṣir* (= E.S.E.). Know that at the rising of the Scorpion (= S.E.) from the island

of Djumar lies a reef on which the waves break. Keeping your course E.S.E. the depth diminishes to 18 fathoms roughly. Continue to steer E.S.E. When [you are far from the island] of Djumar and it appears to you level with the surface of the sea, you have before you [lit. in front of the ship] the mountain of the island of Pualir. Keep your course E.S.E. The sounding then gives 16 to 17 fathoms. When the sounding is less than 15 fathoms turn to the right (i.e. to the west). If it becomes more than 18 fathoms turn to the left (i.e. to the east). Such is the route that you must follow. Take care of the tide if you have the flood against you with a *ḡawḡ* wind (= whirlwind); otherwise the flood tide will carry you on to the reef. When you are near the island of Pualir and land appears to the south turn towards the reef for 8, 7, 6 fathoms of depth. The sounding sometimes gives about 9 fathoms. The point for which you are making is in this place. There is the bank of Kafūṣ (= Capata of the *Commentaries* of Albuquerque, Vol. iii, Ch. xvi. and xli.; Barros, Dec. ii, Book vi, Ch. ii.) and [there are] reefs. When you are on this route continue in the same direction keeping the *ṣanḡāḡ* (here "small boat") in front of you [to show the way], from the time you leave Djumar; and keep on taking soundings. I mean that when you reach the place where the reef lies — where the sounding gives about 7 to 8 fathoms — and when you follow the route already indicated, then after having doubled the reef, sounding increases to 15, 20, 25 fathoms. Know that [all danger] has now disappeared and that you are near the land. Then follow the route along the coast and steer towards the rising of the Scorpion (= S.E.) in 25 fathoms. Sometimes the sounding gives 30 fathoms, sometimes 25, 20. It diminishes or increases at each sounding from 5 to 6 fathoms. I think that the bottom varies in level on this route. When the tide turns against you with a *ḡawḡ* wind, slacken sail. [When you resume the voyage] follow the route [already indicated] until you reach Malacca; opposite this point lie the islands of Pulo Smit and the island of Pulo Ani (the name is written without diacritical points — it is perhaps the Pulo Aniol of our maps 8½ miles from Malacca). The *ṣanḡāḡ*'s will come to meet you. Make your arrangements for entering.

Chapter iii. of the same *Kitāb al-Minhādī* (iii.) contains the description of the principal islands of the Indian Ocean. The island of Sumatra for example is thus described (fol. 78a, l. 10 to 79b l. 6):

*Section to make known the island of Sumatra. Sumatra begins in the northwest where the *farḡadain* are a little less than 8 *iqbā'* in altitude (= a little less than 6° north). The island of Gāmis-fala is west of this cape. Near this cape i.e. the [north] cape of Sumatra, lie the islands of Mā-fala. These are large and small islands. As to the southern latitude of the island of Sumatra there are several opinions which I have given in [the work entitled] *al-Umda* (iii., l. 27b, l. 6-10). The most popular belief is that the island ends at the place where the *farḡadain* are 3½ *iqbā'* in altitude (= 1° 17' south, which is inaccurate, the south part is about 6° south). This is the route to follow on the west coast, from Gāmis-fala to Mākūṣīng, towards the rising of Canopus (= S.S.E.); from Mākūṣīng to Panḡūr (or Baros) towards the rising of *al-ḡimārīan* (= S.E. ½ S.); from Panḡūr to the

south end of the island, towards the rising of the Scorpion (= S.E.). This is the route to be followed on the east coast: from Gāmis-fula to Mās-fula, due east; from Mās-fula to the port of Sumatra (also called port of Pasē; cf. *Cartas de Alfonso de Albuquerque*, Vol. I, p. 45), the rising of *al-djauā* (= E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.E.); from the port of Sumatra to Pulo Barhala towards the rising of *al-īḥlī* (= S.E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.) — the *farḡadain* are there 7 *īḥlī* in altitude (= $4^{\circ} 24' N.$) —; from Pulo Barhala to the island of Djumūr also towards the rising of *al-īḥlī* (= S.E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.). This route is [called the route] across; the route along the east coast to Sumatra is as follows: from [the port of] Sumatra to 'Arūh (sic) where the *farḡadain* are 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ *īḥlī* in altitude (= $3^{\circ} 34' N.$) towards the rising of the Scorpion (= S.E.); from 'Arūh to the neighbourhood of Rēkan to the rising of *al-djauā* (= E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.E.) — the *farḡadain* here are 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ *īḥlī* in altitude (= $3^{\circ} 02' N.$). From Rēkan the land runs in the direction of the [south] pole, from there to the end of the island. This is said, but other statements are also made.

The known harbours of the west coast of the island are: The harbour of Panḡūr (or Baros); this is the port for camphor (*al-baīy*) (sic), gold and other products; the harbour of Triaman, famous among men, [which lies in the land] of Mankāwā (= Mimaḡkabaw); it is the port for gold-dust and slaves; the harbour of Indrapura which is now no longer known (i.e. at the beginning of the xvth century) but which was at one time famous.

The harbours of the east coast are: the harbour of Peḡūr under Mount Lāmūr; it is the port for pepper; the harbour of Sumatra (= Pasē); it is the most famous of the harbours of the island. It is a large town. It is the port for pepper, silk and gold; it is a busy harbour; the harbour of 'Arūh, it is a little port; the harbour of Rēkan, also small. The port of Palembang is also small. Among these small harbours are those for benzoin, and other products of these regions. As to the latitudes of these ports, I have given them in the chapter on latitudes and there is no need to return to the subject here.

NOTE HERE! (this is written in red ink to call special attention to the passage, just as it is printed in heavy type for the same reason in our modern Sailing Instructions). Know that on the coast of Sumatra which faces the high seas, the west coast, there is a series of islands. [This is] the route along them: from Gāmis-fula to the islands of Indrapura which are the first and beginning at the north [the route is] towards the setting of Canopus (= S.S.E.) — these islands are opposite Māḡfāḡ; — the distance between these two points is 8 *āw* (= 24 hours). Then to the south a large island with large (read: numerous) creeks and harbours called Māḡmūr were the *farḡadain* are 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ *īḥlī* (= $4^{\circ} N.$) in altitude. This is the land to which belong the cannibal Batak. We seek pardon and safety from Allah! — Between this island and the west coast of Sumatra is also 8 *āw* (= 24 hours). If from this island you sail towards the rising of *al-djauā* (= E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.E.) you arrive at a group of islands which include: Pulo Bān (read: Banyak), Pulo Lumbū, Pulo Lala, the island of Talāḡh and the desert islands close to the coast. On the coast is the harbour of Shīḡal (sic) where the *farḡadain* are 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ *īḥlī* (= $3^{\circ} 34' N.$) in altitude. This is a place with reefs of rock. After these islands

sailing towards the south lies an island opposite Panḡūr (or Baros) — between these two points there are about 8 *āw* (= 24 hours) sailing; this island is called Mankāwā (sic). Know that the route from Mankāwā (sic) to Panḡūr is towards the rising of *al-īḥlī* (= S.S.E.); but take good care of the unhealthy parts of these regions.

*Among the known islands [of the region of Sumatra are the following]: the island of Nias which lies to the south of [the below] the harbour of Panḡūr (or Baros); the island of Pāsālūr which is to the south [of the island] of Panḡūr (same name as the preceding harbour on the east coast). In this island is a stream of water which never dries up. But how many other islands and reefs exist besides those we have mentioned!

We see from certain latitudes that the coast of Sumatra and especially the south side of the island was not well known by Arab sailors. Sulaimān refers to the direction which he has given in *al-Umūdā* (iii.) on the subject of the south point. It is evident that he did not himself visit this region and that he is content to reproduce information from other sources contradictory and inaccurate. "The island of Sumatra, he says (fol. 27b, l. 7 *opp.*), ends in the south at Tūḡ-tarmad (?). Opinions differ regarding the latitude of this place; some say that it is 4 *īḥlī* from the *farḡadain* (= $0^{\circ} 30' S.$) — this is the opinion of the majority of the people of Western India — others say a little less than 4 *īḥlī* — this is the view of the Arabs and Ḳolās — and others again who have verified this latitude say $3\frac{1}{2}$ *īḥlī* (= $1^{\circ} 16' S.$). Some say that the south end of Sumatra is 3 *īḥlī* (= $2^{\circ} 07' S.$).

On several occasions the author mentions the opinion of the Ḳolās about the latitudes of certain harbours. He had in mind the Sailing Instructions of Coromandel, more or less (identical with his own. None of the Indians or Hindus whom I have consulted in this respect knew of any such document in existence or having existed. It would be extremely useful if a search could be made in India to try to find these documents the existence of which is proved for the xvth century (cf. particularly 642, l. 13 *opp.*).

In fol. 5b, l. 1, the author says that the circle of 360° is divided into 224 *īḥlī*, which gives $1^{\circ} 37'$ for the *īḥlī*, $3^{\circ} 14'$ for 2 *īḥlī* and so on. In the last treatise (fol. 162b, l. 1), we are told on the contrary that the circle is divided into 210 *īḥlī* or $1^{\circ} 42'$ for the *īḥlī*. Sulaimān also says that the first division into 224 *īḥlī* is that of the ancients but that in his time, i.e. at the beginning of the xvth century, this division was reduced to 210 *īḥlī*. The first division is thus justified by Shīḡāl al-Dīn b. Maḡḡdī: "there are", says this *ma'allim*, "7 *īḥlī* from one rumb to the other and 8 *īḥlī* from one lunar mansion to the other", which gives the figure 224 for the circumference: $7 \times 32 \text{ rumb} = 8 \times 28 \text{ lunar mansions} = 224 \text{ } \dot{\text{ī}}\text{ḥlī} = 360^{\circ}$. This conversion is thus perfectly coherent but we do not see on what basis the division of the circle was later reduced to 210 *īḥlī*. All the altitudes in *īḥlī* mentioned in the present article have been converted into degrees at the rate of $1^{\circ} 37' = 1 \text{ } \dot{\text{ī}}\text{ḥlī}$.

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p. 805-812; 1838, p. 767-780; 1839, p. 823-830; L. Bonelli, *Del Muhiṭ e descrizione dei mari delle Indie dell' ammiraglio turco Sidī 'Alī detto Khātib-i-Rūm*, R. I. A. L., 1894, p. 751-777; do., *Amara del Muhiṭ e descrizione dei mari delle Indie*, ibid., 1895, p. 36-37; M. Bittner, *Zum Indischen Ozean des Sidī 'Alī W. Z. K. M.*, x.; M. Gaudeloy-Demonchyne, *Les courtes arabes du Muhiṭ turc*, J. A., 2^e série, xx., 1912, p. 347-350; G. Verrand, *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turcs relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient du VIII^e au XVIII^e siècles*, II, Paris 1914, p. 484-541; do., *Les instructions nautiques de Sulaimân al-Mahri (XVI^e siècle)*, in *Annales de géographie*, Paris 1923, p. 298-312; do., *Instructions nautiques et routes arabes et portugaises des XVe et XVI^e siècles*, vol. II: *Le pilote des mers de l'Inde, de la Chine et de l'Indonésie par Sulaimân al-Mahri et Shāh al-Dīn Ahmad bin Majīd*, arabic, Paris 1925; do., *L'Élément persan dans les textes nautiques arabes des XVe et XVI^e siècles*, J. A., 1924, p. 193-257; M. Bittner and W. Tomaschek, *Die topographischen Capitel des Indischen Spiegel des Muhiṭ*, Vienna 1897. (GABRIEL FERRAND)

SULAIMÂN ÇELEBİ (Emir), son of Yıldırım Bāyazīd I, was ruler of Sarukhān and Karad; after the defeat at Angora he came to Adrianople. He was ruler of Turkey in Europe and in 1403 concluded treaties with the Emperor of Byzantium and with Venice. From 1406 he was engaged in Anatolia fighting his brother Mehmed Çelebi and in Turkey in Europe fighting his brother Mūsā Çelebi. Abandoned by his followers he was killed on Feb. 17, 1411 in the village of Dugundjilar. His brother Mūsā had his body brought to Bursa, where he was honourably buried beside his father. Although he ruled for over seven years in the European part of the empire, he is not reckoned among the Ottoman Sultans.

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SULAIMÂN ÇELEBİ also called **SULAIMÂN DİR** is the earliest Ottoman poet of whom an original poem written in Turkish has survived and who is still known and popular at the present day. Turkish poems of earlier date are either translations like the *Sukull u-Newbahār* of Mevūd b. Ahmed (VIIIth century A. H.) published by Meidmann in 1925, or they seem to have been completely lost, like those of Mevlânâ Nizâmî and those of the grandfather of our poet Shaikh Mahmūd Efendi, who wrote a *taknîye* (congratulatory poem) for the Shihādâ Sulaimân Paşa b. Orkhan on the conquest of Rumelia.

Little is known of the life of Sulaimân Çelebi. He flourished in the time of Sultan Bāyazīd Yıldırım (d. 805 = 1403); he was born in Bursa, as son of Ahmad Paşa, Murād I's vizier and was Khalifa to the celebrated Khalwati Shaikh Amir Sulhān (d. 833 = 1429). Later he was Imam to the imperial *atme* under Bāyazīd and after his death became Imam at the great Bāyazīd mosque in Bursa. There he died in the year 825 (chronogram *vāḡat-i Ermiṣ*) and was buried outside the town on the road to Çekirge.

His only famous work is the *Mevlâd-i Nibî* or *Mevlâd-i Prighamberi*, called *Wastet ul-Nuḡat*. It is the oldest Ottoman example of this kind of panegyric on Muhammad, and in the course of the next five centuries had almost countless (over a hundred are mentioned) imitations which according to the unanimous opinion of the Turks all fall a long way behind this, the oldest, *Mevlâd*. It is therefore almost exclusively recited at all *mevlâd* festivals on 12th Rabi' I (cf. MAWLID).

The sources tell a story about the origin of this poem which, while not without legendary features, is interesting for the difference between Arabs and Turks in those days. A khatib in Bursa expounded Sūra II, 285 to mean that God did not prefer one prophet to another, not for example Muhammad to Jesus. This was fiercely refuted, notably by an Arab from Syria who did not rest till he got a *fevâd* against it from home and finally killed the Bursa khatib. This conflict is said to have been the cause of first a verse, then of a whole poem, the leading idea of which is the unique position of Muhammad.

The poem written in *mathnawî* verses, contains about 600 couplets and is divided into 18 sections. It describes not only the birth of the Prophet but in a prologue, after the usual exordium, develops the theory of light, of the migration of the divine light from Adam through the whole series of prophets to Muhammad. The main part deals with the marvels which foretold the birth of Muhammad, the joy of the angels, the birth itself, Muhammad's parents, etc., the popular miracles wrought by him, such as the cleaving of the moon, the fact that his body threw no shadow, that roses grew where his breath fell. The ascent to heaven (*mir'âḡ*) is then fully dealt with and finally his last illness and death.

The style is very simple and for this reason attractive and very effective; the language is pure Ottoman in the Bursa dialect. There exist numerous manuscripts, in European libraries also, but unfortunately there seem to be none very old, which might form a sound basis for linguistic study. There are also translations of the poem, which are listed by Tahir (see below): a Bosnian, a Greek, two different Albanian and one Circassian.

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(WALTHER RJOVENAN)

SULAIMAN PASHA (1316-1359), the eldest son of the second Ottoman Sultan, Orkhan (1326-1359), and of Nillifer (Lalifer) daughter of the Greek lord of Yar Ilgar. His younger brother was Murad Khan afterwards Sultan. Only Greek sources record a third brother Khalid and his romantic abduction by a Greek comar (cf. J. I. Hodoi Efendi, *Shahade Khatun Sergüdüshiri*, *Revue Historique*, I, No. 4, p. 239; No. 7, p. 436, Constantinople 1328/1329). The title pasha which he bore, according to ancient custom, marks him as the elder brother, as is the case also with 'Ala al-Din Pasha (in old chronicles often called simply 'Ali Pasha) who has the title pasha in contrast to his younger brother Orkhan (Namiq Kemal, *'Osmanlı Tarihî*, Constantinople 1326, I, 137; Ahmad Qawad, *Tarihî-i Askeri-i 'Osmani*, Constantinople 1299, p. 5).

According to the usual tradition Sulaiman Pasha was the second grand vizier of the rising Ottoman kingdom, succeeding on the death of the first grand vizier his uncle, the above mentioned 'Ali al-Din Pasha, who had resigned his claim to the title Sultan or rather Beg due to him after the death of 'Osman I. But this can hardly be right, as the oldest sources (Neshri, *'Ashk Pasha-nâme*, the anonymous chronicle ed. by Giese) only talk of the older brother's renunciation of the throne by his father's orders on account of his unwarlike temperament and inclination for the contemplative life of a dervish and of his express refusal of the vizierate which was then offered to him. The reforms recorded by the chroniclers as suggested by him in the army, dress and coinage, may readily be attributed to proposals of the older brother.

In any case the alleged grand vizierate of Sulaiman Pasha is not at all in keeping with the later conception of this office. From the very first his father gave him a share in the development and expansion of the kingdom in keeping with his military inclinations and abilities, especially as a leader in the field in military operations, as they became necessary — there was not yet the later traditional objection to the Sultan's sons filling important offices — from the taking of Iznik and Isnik (Nicaea) in 1331 to the inclusion of the European coast of the Dardanelles in the Ottoman sphere of influence. Sulaiman is said to have been the first to hold the title Ser 'Asker. He led the Ottoman forces independently, especially as Orkhan latterly never took the field at all.

As it is to be deduced from the absence of any reference to military operations, after the voluntary alliance of Orkhan by treaties and matrimonial links with the Greek ruling house, there seems to have been a pause for about twenty years in the policy of conquest, which was used for consolidation in internal affairs until Sulaiman Pasha put an end to this stagnation and by a bold coup resumed the expansion of Ottoman power, skillfully taking advantage of the discord in the Greek empire in which three claimants were fighting for the throne, and giving as an excuse the combination of the Byzantines with the Genoese and Venetians.

At his father's suggestion in 758 (1356) Sulaiman with only 80 followers (including Evrenos Beg, Hadidji Ilbegi, Adje Beg, Ghazi Farid Beg) crossed, for want of boats, on rafts from the peninsula of Cyrcus (Kajur daghi) to the European shore of

the Dardanelles and took by surprise the fortress of Çemeni (Tympe), the modern Wirandje Hisar. After some 18 Turkish corsair raids on Europe, this was the first crossing with permanent results. Sulaiman at once sent for troops and Muslim settlers from Asia Minor and extended his success by taking further strongholds, notably that of Gallipoli, the key to the Dardanelles, and the whole of Rumelia, which was surrendered to him after a battle with the Greeks, Malghara, Ipsala, (Kypsele), Bulair, Tokfur daghi (Rodosto), etc. The Byzantine story of an earthquake destroying the walls and rendering the fortresses defenceless is obviously an attempt to conceal the disastrous results of Greek policy.

Sulaiman took up his residence in Bulair where he built a mosque and a palace (he had also erected mosques in Brussa and Isnik). But before he could set in motion his further extensive plans for the conquest of Rumelia, he was suddenly carried off by death in 760 (1359); while he was out hawking near Bulair his horse fell and he was mortally injured (Neshri, *Djihan-nümâ* and Kâtib Çelebi, *Tokturk al-Tawârikh*, Constantinople 1146, p. 94 give the year 760, while the anonymous chronicle ed. by Giese and Leunclavius 759 and 'Osman-nâmâ Tâ'ib Ahmad, *Hadikat al-Wus'at*, Constantinople 1271, p. 5 give the year 761).

In keeping with a wish he is said to have expressed in his lifetime, Sulaiman was buried in Bulair, being the first Ottoman prince to be interred on European soil. This was a symbol of the firm resolve never again to abandon the new won ground. The existence of his tomb made impossible the idea of going back to Asia Minor which arose in the minds of several of his comrades-in-arms immediately after his death. They successfully drove off the attacks of the combined Christian forces.

Sulaiman's tomb has penetrated to the very soul of the Turkish people; it was and still is one of the holiest places of national pilgrimage, a fact that found particular expression, when the national hero of the Turkish liberation movement, Namiq Kemal (q. v.), was interred here.

The tomb of a daughter of Sulaiman is in Aşkhehir (Ahmad Tewhid in the *Revue Historique*, Constantinople 1907, No. 44, p. 106).

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Kāmil al-A'ām, Constantinople 1311, iv, 1, 2618; Hammer-Purgstall, *G. O. R.*; Zinkeisen, *Geschichte der osmanischen Reiches in Europa*. (TH. MENZEL.)

SULAIMÂN PASHA, known as Kūānāt, the "eunuch", a Turkish general and statesman of the time of Sulaimân the Great. He began his career in the Imperial Harem, which he left with the rank of *madr* to take over the governorship of Syria. As *Mir-i Mirān*, he was then summoned to the important office of governor of Egypt which he filled for ten years (931—941 = 1524—1534) with vigour and circumspection. He was the first to send to the Porte the yearly revenue from Egypt, the so called Egyptian treasure, later so important for Turkey.

In reply to the appeal of the Sultān of Gūjārat he was ordered by Sultān Sulaimān to equip a considerable fleet at Soer and to strengthen Turkish power in the Red Sea and to drive the Portuguese out of India. This was the period when Khair al-Din Barbarossa (q.v.) was extending Turkish power in the Mediterranean. Sulaimān Pasha succeeded in adding 'Aden and the whole of Yemen to the Ottoman Empire. He appointed Mustafa Beg, son of Baykūl Mehmed Pasha, first governor of Yemen. But his efforts in India proved fruitless as he was not properly supported by the Indian rulers.

Returning to Constantinople, he became a member of the Council of Vizers which consisted of four viziers and governed the country (Lutfi Pasha, Sulaimān Pasha, Mehmed Pasha and Rustam Pasha). After the fall of Lutfi Pasha he became grand vizier. He filled the office in an important period (Hungarian campaign), for four years (948—951 = 1541—1544) until he came into conflict with the vizier Khomaw Pasha over a faithless page. The mutual reproaches about various derelictions of duty ended in both being deposed and an investigation ordered. Sulaimān Pasha was banished to Malghara where he died in 955 (1548). He was able, vigorous and just, which contradicts the low opinion usually held of a eunuch.

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SULAIMÂN PASHA, MALAYĀLI EMEKİ, a Turkish general and statesman under Mehmed IV (1648—1687). A native of Malatya, of Armenian origin, he rose from page to *alīshāh* and became governor of Erzerūm and Siwās with the rank of *madr*. He married 'Aṣṣe Sultān. In 1065 (1655) he was appointed grand vizier in succession to Murād Pasha but he only held office for ten months on account of the confusion in the empire as a result of the mutinies in the army and the complete financial ruin. He was several times banished and again recalled to high office. In 1098 (1687) he died in Scutari at the age of 80 and was buried there.

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(TH. MENZEL.)
SULAIMÂNĪYA (SULEMANI), a town and district in southern Kurdistan. A distinction must be made between the *paḍā* of Sulaimānīya proper (the canton of Sar-ḥinār) and the territory formerly ruled first by hereditary *qashās* and later by the Ottoman mutasarrifs of Sulaimānīya.

The historical region of Sulaimānīya lies between the Persian frontier, the Diyāla (q.v.), the lands that go with Kirkūk (q.v.) and the little Zab and occupies the group of mountains from which flow rivers to the east (Sirwān; cf. *SHARH*), the south ('Adām, q.v.) and the north and northwest (left bank tributaries of the Little Zab; cf. *SHAWH*).

Geography. The mountain chains which separate these three basins of the left bank tributaries of the Tigris, rise gradually from the Mesopotamian plain and have the general direction N.W. to S.E. like all the ranges of western Irān. Different summits in the southern barrier are called Basīn, Bā-Serrā, Segirma, Kara-dagh and Pā-Kāl. To the S.W. of this line on the upper waters of the 'Adām lie the districts of Čamčaml (this is also the name of the district in Persia which includes Basūn), Rihāt, etc. The second range of mountains includes peaks like Tokma, Taghlāja, Darmānā (Gīlārda) etc. Between the first and second chains lie to the west the upper waters of the Ta'wāl and to the east the plateau of Naw-kōpt, the canton of Kara-dagh, etc. which are watered by the 'Awī-dānā, which flows into the Diyāla (Sirwān). The third chain includes Āmir, Gwōn etc. It forks towards the west (along the little Zab); on the southern arm of the latter is the summit Pir-'Omar-Gudrūn (8,000 feet) which is visible from a long way off and seems to form the centre of all this mountainous region. The area between the second and third barrier is drained towards the west by the Tān-gu (Doh-drel), which runs into the little Zab and to the east by the Tān-gō-rō (Tān-gō-rū) which flows into the Sirwān. On the upper waters of the Tān which rises behind Pir-'Omar-Gudrūn lies the canton of Sūrdagh; the Tān-gō-rō waters the canton of Sar-ḥinār in which lies the town of Sulaimānīya. The chain of Āmir sends out spurs to the east, the Kari-Kāṣṣ, Kāl'a-Sāṣṣ etc. which rejoin the Awerāmān chain (cf. *SENNE*). To the south of this spur lies Shahrīzū (q.v.) in the strict sense of the word. To the north of Āmir lie the cantons of Serōṭik and Shars-hāz (Kara-ḥwōlān). The river of the latter (Gawgāsur) rises in the depths of Awerāmān (in the valley of Pirān) and receives on its left bank the waters of Serōṭik and on the right the waters of Kīfīdja. This latter canton lies north of the mountain (Sar-Sir) which rises from the right bank of the Kara-ḥwōlān. Its administrative centre is Pendjwin from which one can reach Persian territory. Before regaining the Kara-ḥwōlān the river of Kīfīdja receives on the right bank the river Tān which drains the canton of Shīr (Tān-dū) which lies inside the curve here made by the Persian frontier, and the waters of the canton of Sūwēl, the administrative centre

of which is *Shiwa-kal*. Contrary to the indications of the maps, the combined waters of the *Karā-ḫwān* and the *Khārdja* flow into the little *Zāb* in the canton of *Māwāt* (a short distance below *Teyet*; cf. *Čirikow*, p. 556; *Khurshid Efendi*, p. 398; cf. *Ṣawwaj-Bulak*). The part of the territory of *Sulaimāniya* lying between the left bank of the *Karā-ḫwān* and the chain of *Āzmir* (the districts of *Sargatu*, *Murga*) is not yet well known. The little *Zāb* forms the natural frontier between *Sulaimāniya* and *Kōi-sandjak* but the canton of *Pīdār* (*Kāfa-Dīka*) lying on the right bank of the little *Zāb* (between *Rāniya* and the *Kandil* range) regularly formed part of *Sulaimāniya*. The *Bābān* pāshās also often seized the adjoining cantons (*Khurshid Efendi*, p. 246: the cantons of *Agdžalar*, *Askar*, etc. went with *Kōi-sandjak*) and sent governors to *Kōi-sandjak* etc. (*Rich*, i. 157, 313, 384).

History. The district of *Sulaimāniya* is known from the earliest times. Mount *Nisr* (in *Lullu*: *Kniba*), where according to the Babylonian epic the ship of *Gilgamesh* rested during the Deluge, can only be *Pr-Omar-Gudra*. The region of *Sulaimāniya* corresponds to the land of *Zamun* occupied by the *Lullu* people, the southern frontier of which was on the col of *Babite* (the modern *Bāsin*). In 880 B.C. *Assur-āšir-pal* conquered all the kings of *Zamun*. A stele found at *Darband-i Gawr*, north of *Kān-dagh* seems to belong to a *Lullu* king. *Brzowski* mentions another ancient bas-relief at the entrance to the defile of *Derhend* through which the little *Zāb* forces a passage, to the extreme northwest of the territory of *Sulaimāniya*. *Hertzfeld* (*l.c.*, xi. 127) mentions ruins at *Sitak* in the canton of *Serōtik*. In 745 B.C. *Tiglath-Pileser III* transplanted to *Mazama* (*Māt-Zamna*, *Forrer*, p. 43) *Assurians* who had lived in northern *Mesopotamia*. In the *Sāsānian* period we have in the extreme S.W. of the territory of *Sulaimāniya* the famous monument of *Pal-kāl* (cf. *Ṣahārtz*). In the history of the Syrian church the district of *Sulaimāniya* formed part of the diocese of *Beth Garmai* (*Hoffmann*, *Auszüge*, p. 253).

In the *Muslim* period the history of the region was at first involved with that of *Shahrīstān*. *Sulaimāniya* had a more or less autonomous existence from the end of the xth (xvth) century to 1267 (1850). The local dynasty was called *Bābān*. According to the *Shāraf-nāma* (i. 280—288) the first chief and the eponym of this family was *Pir Būdāq Bāb* (probably about 1500). The house of this tribe seems to have been to the west of *Kandil* (cf. *Ṣawwaj-Bulak*). The direct descendants of *Bāb* were soon supplanted by their subordinates but this second line disappeared also and about 1005 (1596) the tribe had no recognised chief. A new line (of the clan *Sakr* of the tribe of *Bilbās*; *Rich*, i. 270) came from the village of *Derishmāna* to the canton of *Pīdār*; it had a legendary genealogy claiming descent from a young "Frank" woman called *Kēghān*, whom their ancestor had taken prisoner in a battle. The true founder of this third dynasty, *Bābā Sulaimān*, came to the front 1088 (1677) and in 1111 (1699) took service at the Ottoman court. *Rich* (i. 381—385) gives a list of his descendants, who include 17 *Bābān Pāshās*. The representatives of this local dynasty cleverly maintained their position between the two rival powers, Turkey and Persia, but they were really under the *Pāshās* of *Baghdād*, who

themselves held a very subordinate position with respect to the Sublime Porte. *Mahmūd Pāshā* who received *Rich* on his memorable journey through *Kurdistan* and in whom *Rich* (i. 322) tried to arouse the Kurd national pride finally submitted to the Persians. The latter invaded *Sulaimāniya* in 1842 to re-establish *Mahmūd Pāshā* but by the treaty of 1847 Persia withdrew all claims on the town and sandjak of *Sulaimāniya* in favour of the Turks (text in *Čirikov*, p. 631). The last ruler of the family of *Bābān*, *Abd Allāh Pāshā*, was deposed by the Turks in 1267 (1850) (*Khurshid Efendi*, p. 209).

It may be mentioned that the *Bābān* family was simply a conquering and warrior caste. Alongside of the *Bābān* and under their suzerainty lived several other warrior tribes (*aghras*) of which lists are given by *Rich*, i. 280 and *Khurshid Efendi*, p. 217. The principal of these tribes was *Djaf* (cf. *SEVNE* and *Ṣahārtz*). Later we often find mentioned the turbulent tribe of *Hamāwand* of *Camfāmāl* which claimed to have come from Persian *Kurdistan* (its name resembles those of the *Lūr* tribes). The *Hamāwand* in the course of their razzias used to come down as far as the banks of the *Tigris* (*Cholet*, *Arménie, Kurdistan et Mésopotamie*, Paris 1892, p. 295—311).

Beside the clans which had kept their tribal organisation there were in *Sulaimāniya* as elsewhere in *Kurdistan*, the peasants (*gārān*, *kelāzji* "white caps", according to *Rich*, i. 80).

At first the capital of the *Bābāns* was at *Shara-Bāzār* (*Shahr-i Bāzār*) in the first valley conquered by *Pir Būdāq Bāb* but *Ibrahim Pāshā* moved his residence to the canton of *Sar-Čindir*, where he founded about 1199 (1784) (*Rich*, i. 387) the town of *Sulaimāniya* on the site of the village of *Malik-Hind* (*Malik-Kendī*) built around an ancient mound which had to be cleared away on the occasion. The town was called after *Büyük Sulaimān Pāshā* (of the family of Georgian *Mamluks*), governor of *Baghdād* in 1780—1802 (*Humr*, *Histoire de Baghdad*, Paris 1901, p. 159). Towards 1820 the town had 2,000 households of *Muslims*, 130 of *Jews*, 9 of *Chaldean Catholics* (who had a little church) and 5 of *Armenians* in all 10,000 souls. There were 5 mosques in *Sulaimāniya*. In 1868 *Lycklama* estimated the population at 6,000 Kurds, 30 families of *Chaldeans* and 15 of *Jews*.

Under Ottoman rule *Sulaimāniya* remained the nursery of an indefinite Kurdish movement. The local Kurds supplied Turkey with a large number of officials and particularly army officers. Several *Bābāns* became distinguished in Constantinople, like *İsmail Hakkı Pāshā*, unionist minister and diplomat in 1909—1914. After the deposition of the *Bābāns*, a great part in politics was played by the family of religious *Shaykhs* of the family of *Baccandja*, whose ancestor *Hādjdj Kaka Ahmad* enjoyed a great reputation for sanctity and is buried at *Sulaimāniya*.

Although the conquerors in 1918 had only talked of independence for *Arabs* and *Armenians* at first, the idea of Kurd emancipation made wide progress between 1917 and 1920. *Sulaimāniya* was eventually to be included in "Southern Kurdistan" the autonomy of which was provided for in Articles 62—64 of the treaty of *Sèvres* (Aug. 10, 1920). However, as a result of long negotiations about the wilāyet of *Mōsul*, this latter territory including the sandjak of *Sulaimāniya* was

definitely included in the new state of Iraq. By the same decision of the Council of the League of Nations of Dec. 16, 1925 a certain local autonomy was granted to the Kurds (administrative officers of Kurdish origin, official use of the Kurdish language and Kurdish schools).

The official negotiations were accompanied by considerable local complications. Not only did Sulaimaniya in Jan. 1921 refrain from taking part in the plebiscite for the election of King Faisal but numerous disturbances broke out in the district. The principal instigator of the insurrectionary movement — Muslim in character and obviously aiming at the creation of a Kurd state — was Shaikh Mahmūd Barazūjī. He rebelled on May 21, 1919 and was supported by the chief of Awshām (cf. *supra*). By June 18, Sulaimaniya was re-occupied by British troops and Shaikh Mahmūd deported to India. However when under the threat of risings in Cāmāmīl and Rēniya, Sulaimaniya had to be abandoned in Sept. 5, 1922, Shaikh Mahmūd was permitted to return. In October he proclaimed himself "Hakmdār" of all the Kurds of the Iraq. His suspicious attitude caused Sulaimaniya to be bombed from the air on March 3, 1923 and Shaikh Mahmūd then retired to Sūdīsh. Re-occupied on May 26, 1923, Sulaimaniya was again evacuated and on July 11, Shaikh Mahmūd returned for the third time and was recognised by the authorities at Baghdad. An attempt on his part to occupy a detached canton of Sulaimaniya provoked new air raids (Aug. 16, Dec. 25, 1923 and March 25, 1924). Shaikh Mahmūd's headquarters were destroyed and he himself driven back on the Persian frontier. As a result of all these events the urban population of Sulaimaniya in July 1924 had been reduced to 700 persons but by November it had risen again to 20,000. The lives of Sulaimaniya consisting of 6 *kaḍās* viz.: Sulaimaniya, Cāmāmīl, Halabdjī, Kāf'a-Dira (Pikar), Kāra-dagh and Shurabār — which are again divided into 17 *nāhiya* — had in 1924 a total population of 189,000 Kurds, 1,550 Jews and 75 Arabs.

Bibliography: See the articles *SAWJ-DŪLĀZ* and *SHAHZADĀ*. For the ancient period: Billerbeck, *Das Sandeschak Sultaniya*, Leipzig 1898; Streck, *Armenien, Kurdistan und Westpersien*, Z. A., esp. xv., 1900, p. 257, 268, 275; E. Foerster, *Die Provinzialverteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, Leipzig 1920, p. 43, 88; C. J. Edmonds, *Two ancient monuments in Southern Kurdistan*, *Geog. Journ.*, Jan. 1925; the monument of Darband-i Gawr must be the same as that described by Jacquemart in V. Scheil, *Une saison de fouilles à Sippar janvier-avril 1914* (Derbend Gaur). Tavernier's itinerary in 1644 is not clear, *Voyages*, Paris 1692, I, 197-199; W. Heude, *Voyage up the Persian Gulf*, London 1819, p. 193-199; Ibrāhīm-Khān-i-Dolān-Sulaimaniya-Suzā (?), *Kol-samīyah*; Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia etc.*, London 1822, II, 453-199; Rich, *Narrative of a residence in Kurdistan*, London 1836, I, 51-184, 260-327, II, passim (fundamental work); Shiel, *Notes on a journey through Kurdistan*, Z. A. G. S., VIII, 1836, p. 101; W. Alnaworth, *Researches in Assyria*, London 1838, p. 27-199; Ritter, *Erdo kunde*, IX, Berlin 1840, p. 447-459, 565-639; Khurshid-efendi, *Siyāhat-nāme-i kurdī* (Rus. transl. 1877, p. 205-232); Lycklama à Nijeholt, *Voyage en Russie etc.*,

Paris-Amsterdam 1875, IV, 75-84; V. Guinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1891, II, 868-73; Korab-Brozowski, *Illustration de Seuldmanieh en 1869*, *Bull. soc. géogr. de Paris*, 1892, p. 250-254; Dickson, *Journeys in Kurdistan*, *Geogr. Journ.*, April 1910, p. 376; A. Adamov, *Irak Arabshī*, St. Petersburg 1912, p. 387-199; Soube, *Le Mesopotamie et Kurdistan en 1862*, London 1926, p. 161-209; League of Nations, *Question de la frontière entre la Turquie et l'Irak*, C. 400, M. 147, 1925, VII; *Report on Iraq administration*, Oct. 1920-March 1922; do., April 1922-March 1923; do., April 1923-December 1924 (official publications).

Cartography: Haussknecht-Kiepert, Herzfeld (cf. *supra*); Brozowski, League of Nations, C. 400, M. 147, 1925, VII.

(V. MINORSKY)

SULDŪZ (Suldūza). 1. A tribe in Mongolia. According to Bérénice the Mongol form of the name would be Suldēs (plural of *sulda*, "good fortune"). L. Ligeti (*Die Herkunft der Volksnamen Kirgis*, *Körsel-Csoma Archiv*, Budapest 1925, I) sees in the ending of Suld-uz, as in that of Kīrk-iz the remains of an ancient Turkish plural suffix (cf. *his*, "we", *sin*, "you", etc.) and as a hypothetical singular quotes the name of a Kīrkiz clan: Salt, Sulta. Hāshid al-Dīn classifies the Suldūs among the *dūrlākin* Mongols, i.e. of "common" origin, in contrast to the "pure" (*shēn*), who however were descended from the *dūrlākin* through Alān Gōū, the miraculous grandmother of Čingis-Khān.

Sūrgān-Shira Suldūs one day saved the life of Čingis Khān while the latter was fighting with the Tāitūt. This exploit gained the Suldūs great prestige with Čingis Khān and his successors.



The children of Sodō came to Persia with Hūlāgū-Khān whose wife Yesūcūn (mother of Abagha) was a Suldūs. Malik is said to have conquered the Persian Kurdistan. In 688 (1289), under the Ilkhān Arghūn, an act of bravery brought to the front Čobān, son of Malik (cf. I, p. 104*) and he afterwards distinguished himself in the reigns of Ghāzān and Uljāitū. The history of the latter written by Kāshānī (Bibl. Nat., Suppl. Pers., 1419, fol. 6) is a list of the Amīr-mentions Čobān (*Amīr-i buwurg muḥammad-i Tāik wa-Turk*) in the second place next to Kātūghshāh Maḥmūd but adds that in ability he is superior to all. There is a letter from Pope John XIII., dated Avignon, November, 12, 1321 addressed to "Zohar Begilay" (Čobān?). In spite of the Shī'a leanings of Uljāitū, Čobān remained Sunni. When the young Abū Sa'īd (716 = 1316) (cf. I, p. 103b) ascended the throne Čobān became regent and in 719 (1319) married Sātī-beg, daughter of Uljāitū-Khān. The increasing influence of the family of Čobān and the evil conduct of some of its members aroused the monarch against

them. A series of persecutions began. Čobān took refuge in Herāt and was killed there in 728 (1327) by Ġhiyāth al-Dīn Kart.

A dynasty with a short but stirring life descended from Čobān (the Čobāni) arose in the period of troubles that marked the end of the line of Čingiz in Persia. Among the 18 children of Čobān the following are the best known: (1) Amir Hasan; (2) Dimishk-Khādjā, executed by Abū Sa'id in 727 (1327); (3) Timūr-Tāsh, from 718 governor in Asia Minor, rebelled in 722, struck coins in his own name and even claimed to be the Mahdi; his father brought him back to obedience but after the death of Čobān, Timūr-Tāsh, went to Egypt where the Mamlik Nāṣir, fearing his popularity and to please Abū Sa'id had him executed in 728; (4) the beautiful Baghdad-Khātūn, wife first of Hasan Buzurg Djalā'ir [q. v.] and next of Abū Sa'id; suspected of having poisoned the latter she was executed after the accession of the Ilkhān Arṣū.

Os Hasan Kūčik, son of Timūr-Tāsh, who ruled between 738 and 744 at Tahriz, Sultāniya, Hamadān, Kūm, Kāshān, Raiy, Warmin, Farāghān and Karāđ, cf. II, p. 280b. His brother Malik Ashraf succeeded him. His oppressions provoked the migration of the Kādī Muhyi 'Dīn from Herāt to Džāni-Beg, Khān of the Western Kipčak. Džāni-Beg without delay attacked Malik Hasan who was defeated, captured and executed in Tabriz in 756.

The Suldūz (Suldūz) after this are only occasionally mentioned by the historians. Under 807 (1404) Mirkhāṣād mentions the instructions given by Timūr to the Khālādī of Sāwa to reinforce the troops under Pir 'Alī Suldūz in Raiy. At the present day there is still a body of Suldūz in this region among the Shāh-serān [q. v.] of Sāwa.

Several women of the Čobāni had remarkable careers. Besides Baghdad-Khātūn we may mention: (1) Sati-beg widow of Čobān, who was first the wife of the Ilkhān Arṣū and in 739 was herself placed on the throne by the grandson of her first husband, Hasan Kūčik. Finally the latter married her to the new pretender Sulaimān who reigned from 740 to 744. (2) Dūghād-Khātūn, daughter of Dimishk-Khādjā first of all married Abū Sa'id (at the same time as her aunt Baghdad-Khātūn) and then Hasan Buzurg Djalā'ir. (3) Malik 'Izzat, wife of Hasan Kūčik, whom she killed in an indescribable and atrociously cruel fashion. She was executed by her husband's relatives. They cut her into pieces which they ate.

In Mongolia in the time of Čingiz the encampments of the Suldūz seem to have been not far from the river Onon. But in the time of Rashid al-Dīn the *yurt* of the Suldūz was near the forests inhabited by the forest-dwelling Uriaṣkit. The Chinese list of Mongol encampments published in 1867 (*Mong-gu-yu-ven-tsi*, Russ. transl. by P. Popov, St. Petersburg 1895) no longer mentions the Suldūz. In Turkestan the Suldūz with their subdivisions (?) Nukur and Tamadur, are mentioned among the troops of Shāhān [q. v.] at the beginning of the xth — xvth century. Later the Suldūz rejoined Bāhūr (*Shāhān-Nāma*, ed. Melloranski, St. Petersburg 1908, p. 137, 176; cf. the *Schribaniadi* of N. Vambéry, Vienna 1885, p. 273, 350). According to information given me personally by Zeki Walidi Ōzbeḡ genealogies (*Shāhān*) mention the Suldūz among the 92 Ōzbeḡ

clans; the people of the canton of Alifn-kul in Farghāna [q. v.] are Suldūz and there must be some in Kāziwa (Khāzrim) alongside of the Nukur.

Bibliography: Rashid al-Dīn, ed. Bérézine in *Trudy Vostoč. Otdel.*, especially vii. (St. Petersburg 1861), p. 224 *seq.* and indexes to Vol. v. (1858) and xv. (1888); Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*Défécure et Sanguinetti*), i. 172, ii. 119—125. Other references in the article HANAN-BUZURG, i. 297 and E. G. Browne, *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, 1920, p. 54, 170. Later eastern writers recall the Suldūz origin of the Čobāni: Turk. transl. of Munadjjim-Baḡhī (Constantinople 1285), iii. 6: Asuldūz; Abu 'l-Ġhārī (ed. Granmaison, St. Petersburg 1871), i. 166: Suldūz. — According to Vladimirtsev, *zild* means in Mongol: "le génie-protecteur habitant le drapeau". 2. A district in Ādharbāidjān, to the south-west of Lake Urmia, on the lower course of the Ġādir-Čāl, which here receives on its right bank the Bāisāwa and Mamad-ghāh and flows into the Lake. To the west it is bordered by Ushnū which lies on the upper course of the Ġādir from which it is separated by the Darband gorge through which the river runs; to the north it is bounded by the little district of Dōl (cf. Dōl-i Bārk in the *Shāraf-nāma*, i. 288) belonging to Urmia; to the south and the east by the cantons of Paswa and Shāri-wērān which go with Sawdī-Bulṭ [q. v.].

Suldūz is a fertile plain producing much wheat. It is often flooded by the waters of the Ġādir, which near its mouth forms marshes and salt beds (*šepi*). On the south side Suldūz is bordered by the heights of Firangī at the foot of which are numerous springs impregnated with lime. The crest Bahrāmī separating Suldūz from Shāri-wērān is also of limestone formation.

We know that in 703 (1303) Ġhāṣān distributed the land in *fiefs*. It is possible that it was at this time that the name of the tribe (Suldūz, in Kurdish: Sundūz) replaced the old name of the district now lost.

According to the *Shāraf-nāma* in the time of the Turkoman dynasties (about the xvth century), i. e. long after the Čobāni had disappeared, the Makri Kurds occupied the district the old inhabitants of which were probably reduced to servitude. The same authority (i. 280) in a sentence now mutilated in the MS., and undated, says that Pir Budāk of the Kurd tribe of Bābān (Babē) took Suldūz from the Kizilbāsh which may refer to one of these sudden outbreaks of fighting on the frontier in the time of the Šafawī.

In 1828 'Abbās-Mirā gave Suldūz as *fief* to 800 families of Kara-papākh [q. v.]. The newcomers were allowed to levy and collect the taxes (12,000 *tomāns* a year) and in return had to maintain 400 horsemen at the disposal of the government. At this period there were in Suldūz 4—5,000 families of Kurds and Muḡaddām Turks but gradually the lands passed into the hands of new Shā'ī masters.

The divisions of the Kara-papākh are as follows: Tarkawān, Sarī, 'Arapli, Džān-Aḡmadli, Čakhāli and Ulačli. Each has retained its hereditary chief. The principal division is the Tarkawān to which the Khāns belong. Mahdi-Khān, son of Nakīkhān, had brought the Kara-papākh to Suldūz. His grandson Nadjaf-kuli was the chief

of the tribe before 1914 but another Khān actually exercised the functions of government. The division of Turkawūn also included a family of *aghās*, inferior to that of the Khāns but quite important; Aras-Agha was lord of a hundred horsemen.

There are at present 123 villages and small towns in Suldūz with 3,000 families. The chief is Naghāda (Nahāda; Rawlinson writes: Nakhoda?) with a thousand houses. This little town lies on the bank of the Bāzūwa around an ancient artificial mound. Another important centre is Rāhdāna (Rah-dahna) where there is a good bridge over the Gādir which provides communication between Urmia and Sawlū-Bulāq.

The village of Khālfān is inhabited by Sunnī Kazakh who also came there in 1828 from the neighbourhood of Tiflis.

The south-east corner of the district is occupied by the canton of Mamādhāh the name of which is mentioned in the *Sharaf-nāma* (i. 290). The present inhabitants are Shamsaddinī Turks. With their chief Māsi-Beg they came into Persia at the same time as the Kazakh and received from 'Abbas Mirā 3 villages with 100 families of Kurd peasants (*ra'iya*).

The Sunnī Kurds of the tribes of Mamash, Zarzā and Mukri number 2,000 families, or a quarter of the present total of the population. They entirely occupy 10 villages (Ghīlwan, Wara, etc.), and 11 others (Cānā, Naghāda, Mammiand, etc.) they share with the Kara-papākh.

Suldūz like Ushnū is mentioned among the Nestorian bishoprics (Assemani, iv. 423; Hoffmann, *Ausgabe aus syrischen Akten*, 1880, p. 204; Saldū, Saldū) but in 1914 there were only 80 Christian families left in Naghāda. The Jews are more numerous (120 families in Naghāda) and are probably the oldest element in the present population of the district.

Under the Turkish occupation of 1908–1912, the Shi'ī Kara-papākh suffered considerably as the Turks regarded them as Persian agents. The Turks, without success however, tried to destroy the tribal organisation and to emancipate the *ra'iya*'s. During the Great War the village of Haidar-ābad (on lake Urmia) became a Russian naval base and a light railway was built through the district. Suldūz changed hands several times but since the departure of the Russians and Turks it has been able since 1919 to regain its status quo ante.

Bibliography: Rawlinson, *Notes on a Journey from Tabriz*, J. R. G. S., x, 1840, p. 13–14; Ritter, *Erkundung*, ix, 602, 939; Minoriky, *Materialy po izn. Vostoka*, ii (Petrograd 1915), p. 453–457. (V. MINORSKY)

SULH, composition, settlement, which is recommended as early as Kurān, iv. 127, is a contract of sale (*bai'*) with the object of averting a dispute (cf. the Roman-Byzantine *transactio*, *diakroie*; *Cod.*, 2, 4, 21; also *Dig.*, 2, 15, 1). The rules of *bai'* hold for it, especially *fuḥl* and *ijfāḥ*. There are three kinds of settlements: the defendant either acknowledges the disputed point to be justified (*īfrār*) or he disputes it (*inādr*) or he says nothing (*ināḥ*). The older jurists differ on the admissibility of these three kinds: al-Shāfi' and Ibn Abī Lailā demand definite acknowledgment, while Abū Ḥanīfa denies the possibility of a *qulḥ* in the case of *īfrār* (al-Shāfi', *K. al-Umm*, iii. 203) and adduces the principal of Roman law: *confessus pro iudicato habetur*

(*Dig.*, 42, 2, 3; cf. *Cod.*, 2, 4, 32). As to the competence to negotiate of the two parties (*muḥallāh*) the usual rules hold but it is not essential that they should have attained their majority (*bulūgh*) or be freemen. The thing which gives rise to the settlement (*muḥallāh 'alāhi*) must be a *māl*, i.e. something about which an agreement of sale can be concluded, whether it is a thing, a claim or a usufruct. The disputed legal point (*muḥallāh 'anhu*) raised by the settlement may concern a thing (*māl*) or a legal claim arising out of killing or wounding (*diya* and *ḥijāz*), but a *ḥaqq Allāh*, e.g. the *ḥadd* punishment for theft or incontinence, can never be settled in this way (cf. *Cod.*, 2, 4, 18). — The settlement is reached 1) by the will of the parties; 2) by giving back the thing given for the settlement on account of defects (*khayr al-'aib*) and 3) if circumstances unknown at the time of the settlement afterwards show that the legal position could not be disputed (e.g. rediscovery of a bond). — The Shāfi'is divide the settlement into *qulḥ al-dīn*, which is considered as a donation (*hiba*) (cf. *Dig.*, 2, 15, 1) and *qulḥ al-mu'awana*, in which in place of the object claimed another is given.

The *Cod. Civil Ottoman*, art. 1531–1571 is practically the Hanafi teaching on the subject.

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AL-ŠULĪ, Abū BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. YAḤYĀ, Arab chess-player, historian and man of letters, d. 335 or 336 (946). Like many distinguished men of his time he was not an Arab by race; according to one story he was descended from a certain Šulī, who like his brother Fīrūs was a petty Turkish ruler (*mālīk*) in Dīrdjān. Both adopted Islām under Ya'zīd b. Muḥallab with whom they were closely associated till his death in 302 (720). Their descendants were for the most part secretaries (*katīb*) in the service of the caliphs; the grandfather of our al-Šulī was specially famous, Ibrāhīm b. al-'Abbās (d. 243 = 857) whose poems were collected by his grandson (*Aghāni*, ix. 21–35; Yāqūt, *Ishād*, i. 260–277).

Abū Bāk was thoroughly arabicised; among his teachers the most notable were Tha'lab, al-Mubarrad, al-Sidjīstānī, Aḥu 'l-'Aīnā (q.v.) and 'Awn b. Muḥammad. Ibn al-Mu'tazz had a very great influence on his literary tastes (cf. e.g. al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-Adab*, iii. 298 sq.). To his close connection with the court of al-Muktafi (289–295 = 902–908) he owed his skill in chess in which he defeated the *maestro* of the day, al-Mawardi. His name has not only become proverbial but a legend has been invented which makes him the inventor of chess (Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, 659, p. 52). A *Kitāb f. l-Shaḥ-rundī* by him and his predecessor al-'Adī exists in two manuscripts (Cairo and Constantinople; A. van der Linde, *Quellenstudien zur Geschichte des Schachspiels*, p. 21–22, 333–337). An edition was planned by A. Gies and van der Linde; A.

van der Linde, *Das erste Jahrtausend der Schachliteratur*, 948). From the time he defeated Mawardi he was a courtier (*nadim*) of the caliphs. He was specially intimate with his former pupil al-Rāḍī (322—329 = 934—940) (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, viii. 311, 339; al-Tanūkhī, *Niḥawār*, p. 145; cf. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, p. 132). But in the last year of his life he had to take refuge in Basra when he was prosecuted for a remark about 'Alī (al-Fihrist, p. 150, 26); there he died in hiding.

As a historian al-Sulī is best known for his 'Abbāsid history, *Kitāb al-Awraḥ fī Akhbār al-'Abbās wa-Aḥbārik*; the first part was arranged chronologically and the second gave a selection of the poetical works of members of the house of caliphs and of several others. The work which filled at least five or six volumes was never completed (al-Fihrist, p. 150, 27—151, 6) and is so far only known in a few fragments. There are manuscripts of the first part in Leningrad (Publ. Libr., years 227—256, *Zapiski*, xxi. 101—102), Cairo (Azhar, *Ta'rikh*, No. 443, years 295—318, *Zapiski*, ibid., p. 99—100), Constantinople (part iii., Rescher in *M. F. O. B.*, 1912, *vii.*, p. 523) and Paris (Bibl. Nat., Fonds Arabe 4836, years 322—329); of the second in Cairo (Royal Libr., *Ta'rikh*, No. 594; Barthold in *Zapiski*, xviii. 0148—0153 = Azhar, *Adab*, No. 487, *Zapiski*, xxi. 98—99) and Leningrad (*Zapiski*, xxi. 102—113). Only a few parts of the *Kitāb al-Awraḥ* have been published: e.g. *Akhbār al-Fallāḥ* (*Zapiski*, xxi. 0137—0141; fully analysed in L. Massignon, *La passion d'al-Fallāḥ*, *passim*), some of the *Akhbār Abān al-Lāḥiq* (A. Krinskij, *Abān al-Lāḥiq*, etc., Moscow 1913, p. 1—43) and *Akhbār Ibn al-Mu'tazz* (*Zapiski*, xxi. 104—112). No less famous was the *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'* of al-Sulī, so far only known from quotations (several times mentioned by himself in *al-Awraḥ*; cf. also Yāqūt, *Iḥṣān*, ii. 131—132; v. 320; cf. Amar, *al-Faḥṣṣ*, *Archives Marocaines*, xvi., p. xxv.). Of his other works the *Adab al-Kuttāb* was recently published in Cairo by Muḥammad Bahdjat from a Baghdad manuscript (1341 = 1922). The book was written in the reign of al-Rāḍī (p. 163) and is a handbook for the guidance of clerks in the chancelleries, a kind of literature which later became very popular and attained its apogee in the monumental *Ṣubḥ al-'Aḥḍā'* of Kaḥṣhāndī (it is noteworthy that Kaḥṣhāndī, although he knows al-Sulī well, never quotes this book).

In pure literature al-Sulī made a name by his edition of the *diwān*'s of 'Abbāsid poets. Like al-Sukkari with the old poets, al-Sulī dealt with the *Muḥaddithūn*. His *Akhbār Abī Tamīm* exists in manuscript in Constantinople (Rescher in *M. F. O. B.*, *vii.*, 501—502). Among his editions of *diwān*'s may be mentioned those of Abū Nuwās (E. Mittwoch, *Die literarische Tätigkeit Hamza al-Liḥāzī*, Berlin 1909, 42 199.), Muslim b. al-Walid (De Goeje's edition, p. viii.), Ibn al-Mu'tazz (Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 81), al-Buḥārī (q. v.), Ibn al-Rūmī (extr. publ. in Cairo, 1924), al-'Abbās b. al-Aḥnaf (*Agḥānī*, viii. 15—25; xv. 141—144), al-Sanawbarī (Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, p. 250) and many others (al-Fihrist, p. 151, 15—16; 161, 18, 21; 166, 3). His *Akhbār Shu'arā' Miṣr* is quoted by Yāqūt (*Iḥṣān*, ii. 5, 415—416; v. 454). He also wrote a dozen other works of which as is often the case we only know the names

(al-Fihrist, p. 151, 2—13; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, 659, p. 51; Ḥādījī Khallifa, ii. 598, 4095; iii. 144; al-Sulī, *Adab al-Kuttāb*, p. 175; Abu 'l-'Alā', *Kisālat al-Ghāfirān*, p. 147, 8). Al-Sulī was not particularly renowned as a poet, but his verses are often quoted (specimens are given by M. Bahdjat, *op. cit.*, p. 14—18).

Not a very favourable verdict is given on al-Sulī's honesty. The ironical verses on his literary are well known (Ibn Khallikān, *op. cit.*, p. 54); they show that all his learning was regarded by some of his contemporaries as merely a knowledge of other people's books. The *Fihrist* (p. 129, 27—28; 151, 6—7) and Yāqūt (*Iḥṣān*, ii. 58) regarded his *al-Awraḥ* as a plagiarism from the *Akhbār Kuraysh* of al-Marḥūḥ (so to be read in *Fihrist*, p. 151, 6 instead of al-Marḥūḥ) (but cf. the more favourable verdict in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, i. 16—17). Yāqūt calls him a liar (*Iḥṣān*, ii. 10) and the *Fihrist* thinks his *Akhbār b. Harma* a failure (158, 22). His vanity and his bad taste are several times pilloried (e.g. al-Djurdjānī, *al-Wisāṭ*, p. 260; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Mathal al-ḥadīṣ*, p. 289). His boasting is also known to Persian literature of the 11th century (Abu 'l-Faḍl Baihaḳī in Barthold, *Zapiski*, xviii. 0151). A large number of verdicts upon him have recently been analysed by L. Massignon (*La Passion d'al-Fallāḥ*, ii. 920 and *passim*). This all goes to show that al-Sulī cannot be considered an historian of outstanding merit. He was only an industrious compiler, not always able to distinguish his own work from that of others. But this did not affect his influence on literature; among his immediate pupils are mentioned al-Darāqutnī, Ibn Shadḥān, al-Marzuḥānī, etc.; he is still more important as a source used by many Arabic historians and literary men. Even his younger contemporary al-'Arīb (q. v.) several times copies him word for word. 'Alī al-Iṣfahānī quotes him over 250 times as a particularly valuable source for the history of the 'Abbāsid poets (not noted in Guillard's *Tables alphabétiques*, as all *isnād*'s).

Bibliography: Kitāb al-Fihrist, ed. Flügel, p. 150, 27—151, 6; 156, 4—6; al-Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-Anṣāb*, G. M. S., fol. 357; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuḥat al-Aḥbāb*, Cairo 1924, p. 343—345; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yan*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 659, p. 51—55 = de Slane, iii. 68—73; al-'Aḥḍā', *Kitāb al-Djūmān*, Azhar, Mus., 177, iii., fol. 14—15; Ḥādījī Khallifa, *Koṭṭ al-Zunūn*, ed. Flügel, Index; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, p. 37, 115; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 143, 5; Ilustānī, *Dīrat al-Ma'ārif*, 1900, xi. 68—69; Horowitz in *M. S. O. S.*, *Weist. St.*, 1907, x. 25—38; Barthold in *Zapiski*, 1908, xviii. 0148—0153; Krinskij, *Hamza Abu Tamīm Taṣkiḥ* (Russian), Moscow 1912, p. 15—19; do., *Aban Lahikij*, etc. (Russian), Moscow 1913, p. 9—11, 47—49; Zaidān, *Ta'rikh Adab al-Lughā al-'Arabīya*, Cairo 1912, ii. 174—175; Krackowskij in *Zapiski*, 1908, xviii. 77—78; 1913, xxi. 98—115, 0137—0140; Muḥammad Bahdjat al-Atharī, *Adab al-Kuttāb Ta'rif al-Sulī*, Cairo 1341, p. 8—18.

On al-Sulī as a chess-player, see especially the works of Antonius van der Linde, *Geschichte und Litteratur des Schachspiels*, Berlin 1874, i. 97—98, 106—107; *Quellenstudien zur Geschichte des Schachspiels*, Berlin 1881, p. 21—24, 333—337, 354—381; *Das erste Jahrtausend der Schachliteratur*, p. 83 and 948; H. J. R. Murray,

History of Chess, Oxford 1913, p. 169—173, 176, 199—201, 235—240, 271—276, 306—317, 337.
(IGN. KRATSKHOVSKY)

SULTĀN (A.), i. a title which first appears in the fourth (11th) century in the sense of a powerful ruler, an independent sovereign of a certain territory.

The word is of frequent occurrence in the *Kur'ān*, most often with the meaning of a moral or magical authority supported by proofs or miracles which afford the right to make a statement of religious import. The prophets received this *sulṭān* from Allāh (cf. e. g. *Sūra* xiv. 12, 13) and the idolaters are often invited to produce a *sulṭān* in support of their beliefs. Thus the dictionaries (like the *Taḥṣīl al-'Arūs*, v. 159) explain the word as synonymous with *ḥudūd* and *ḥurūd*. There are also six passages in the *Kur'ān* where *sulṭān* has the meaning of "power", but it is always the spiritual power which Iblīs exercises over men (*Sūra* xiv. 26; xv. 42; xvi. 101, 102; xvii. 67; xxxiv. 20). Now it is this meaning of power or rather of governmental power which is attached to the word *sulṭān* in the early centuries of Islam. The word and its meaning were undoubtedly borrowed from the Syriac *šulṭānā*, which has the meaning of power, and, although rarely, also that of the wielder of power (Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, col. 4179; Noldeke, *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg 1910, p. 39). The *Kur'ān*ic sense of the word may probably also be derived from the meaning of power (some lexicographers try to explain it as the plural of *salṭ*, olive oil). Later an attempt was made to connect the title *sulṭān* with the meaning of argument, and it was paraphrased as *ḥu 'l-ḥudūd* (*Taḥṣīl al-'Arūs*, loc. cit.).

In the literature of Hadīth, *sulṭān* has exclusively the sense of power, usually governmental power (the *sulṭān* is the *waṣī* for him who has no other *waṣī*), al-Tirmidhī, i. 204) but the word also means sometimes the power of Allāh. The best known tradition, however, is that which begins with the words *al-sulṭān yill Allāh fī 'l-ard*, "Governmental power is the shadow of Allāh upon earth" (cf. Goldziher, *Muhammadianische Studien*, ii. 61 and *Le sens des expressions ombre de Dieu, kalīf de Dieu*, in *S. H. R.*, xxx. 331 sqq.). Al-Uṭbī quotes this tradition at the beginning of the *Al-ḥikm al-Yamīn* and his commentator al-Manīnī says that it was transmitted by al-Tirmidhī and others as going back to Ibn 'Umar (*Sharḥ al-Yamīn*, Cairo 1286, p. 21). This tradition later played a part in the theories of the Sultanate because an allusion to the title was wrongly seen in it. Apart from Hadīth, Arabic literature to the end of the fourth century only knows the word *sulṭān* in the sense of governmental power (among the many examples, cf. e. g. Ya'qūbī, *Kitaḥ al-Bulṭān*, p. 346, 349; Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Futūḥ Miqr*, ed. Torrey, p. 183, where it is said that in ancient times the residence of the *Sulṭān* of Ifrīkiya was Carthage and Ibn Hawkal, p. 143 where al-Mawṣil is called the residence of the *sulṭān* and of the *shirāṭ* of al-Djazīra) or of the person who at a particular time is the personification of the impersonal governmental power, as opposed to *amīr* which is rather in the nature of a title. This last meaning, which is sometimes more completely rendered by *ḥu 'l-Sulṭān* (e. g. in Hadīth), and is totally different from the first is found as early

as the Egyptian papyri of the first century (for the governor of Egypt, cf. Becker (*Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 90, note 6) and in the following centuries sometimes also for the Caliphs (the Caliph al-Manṣūr is called *Sulṭān Allāh* in a *ḥudūd*, Tabari, iii. 426); the Caliph al-Mawaffaq is called *Sulṭān* (Tabari, iii. 1894; and again in 997 the Caliph al-Kādir, al-Uṭbī, *op. cit.*, p. 265). This practice of designating a person by the word which indicates his dignity has parallels in all languages (cf. e. g. for the Turkish official language: H. Ritter, in *Islamica*, ii. 475); it even appears that the Assyrian form *šulṭān* was applied to foreign sovereigns (according to Ravaine in *Z. D. M. G.*, lxxii. 330). The meaning of power, of government, has been maintained in Arabic literature to the present day.

The transition in meaning from an impersonal representative of political power to a personal title is a development, the stages of which are difficult to follow. Authorities writing later than this development make statements which can only be accepted with reserve. Thus Ibn Khaldūn (*Prolegomena*, ii. 8 in *N. E. xvii*) says that the Rāmeicide Dja'far was called *sulṭān*, because he held the most powerful position in the state and that, later, the great usurpers of the power of the Caliph obtained *laḥab* like *Amīr al-umara'* and *sulṭān*. The same thing is recorded of the Būyids (A. Müller, *Der Islam in Morgen- und Abendland*, i. 568) and of the Gharnawīds. Ibn al-Aṭhī (ix. 92) says that Maḥmūd of Ghazna obtained the title of *sulṭān* from the Caliph al-Kādir. This statement is not confirmed by al-Uṭbī who, in giving the various *alḥab* conferred on Maḥmūd by the Caliph (*op. cit.*, p. 317), makes no mention of this title. It is however true that al-Uṭbī himself always calls Maḥmūd al-Sulṭān, giving in explanation the fact that Maḥmūd had become an independent sovereign (*op. cit.*, p. 311); but to al-Uṭbī *sulṭān* cannot yet have been an official title since he gives the same epithet to the Caliph (cf. above). The first Gharnawīd on whose coins the title appears is Ibrāhīm (1053—1099). We find the Fātimids using the epithet *Sulṭān al-Islām*, Ibn Yūnus, Leyden MS.) and in the same period we find the *laḥab* of *Sulṭān al-Dawla* among the Būyids of Fārs (*Sulṭān al-Dawla Abū Shudjā*, 1012—1024). The same *laḥab* was borne by the last Būyid al-Malik al-Rahīm at Baghdad at the time when the usurping Salḡūq Tughril-Beg received from the Caliph in 1051 the *laḥab* al-Sulṭān Rukn al-Dawla (al-Rāwandī, *Rūḥat al-Su'ūr*, G. M. S., p. 105; cf. also Ibn Taghribirdī, ed. Popper, p. 233).

Tughril-Beg was also the first Muslim ruler whose coins bear the epithet or rather title *Sulṭān* and that in the combination *al-Sulṭān al-Mu'azzam*. (S. Lane-Poole, *Cat. of Oriental Coins in the Brit. Mus.*, iii. 28 sq.) This fact makes it very probable that the Salḡūqs were the first for whom *Sulṭān* had become a regular title for a ruler; the qualification by *al-Mu'azzam* was necessary to lift the word definitely out of its use as a more or less impersonal common noun; this development would at the same time explain why the word *Sulṭān* immediately became the highest title that a Muslim prince could obtain, while in the centuries preceding any representative of authority could be so designated. The adjective *al-Mu'azzam*, essential for the title, was soon omitted

in unofficial language. Thus, with the Saljuqs, *Sulṭān* became a regular sovereign title. Neither the provincial dynasties of the Saljuqs (among whom however we find the proper name *Sulṭān-shāh*) nor the Aibegs after them bore the title *sulṭān*; they were content with titles like *malik* and *shāh*. It was only after the end of the Great Saljuqs in the middle of the xiith century that the Khwarizmshāhs assumed it. The Caliph al-Nāṣir was however able to take advantage of the weakness of Djalāl al-Dīn Khwarizmshāh to refuse to recognise his claim to this title (Nasawi, *Ve de Djelal-iddin Mankoberti*, ed. Hondas, p. 247). Soon the Saljuqs of Rūm also called themselves *Sulṭān* (on coins from Kılıç Arslan II). Almost at the same time the title is applied in literature to the first Aiyūbid Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Ibn Djbair, *Rikla*, ed. Wright and de Goeje, p. 40), although *Sulṭān* never appears on the coins of the Aiyūbids, whose official titles were all combined with *al-Malik*. By the literature of the xiiith century *Sulṭān* had become a title indicating the most absolute political independence. Ibn al-Athir (xi. 169) speaks of Baghdad and its environs as the territory where the Caliph reigned without a *Sulṭān*. It is not certain if in the last period of the Abbāsids in Baghdad, the Caliph was already regarded as the only authority who could confer the title *sulṭān*. We see however that after the fall of the Caliphate an increasing number of Muslim potentates arrogated the title to themselves. In official use, the title was very often followed by an adjective like *al-Aṣḡam*, *al-ʿAdil* etc. (a complete list is given in O. Codrington, *A Manual of Muslim Numismatics*, London 1904, p. 81—82). During the xiiith—xvth centuries the *Sulṭāns* of Egypt added the greatest lustre to the title of *Sulṭān*; after them came the Ottoman *Sulṭāns*.

Sulṭāns, having thus become potentates whose absolute independence was generally recognised, jurists and historians set themselves to construct theories to find a justification in law for the existence of such potentates for whom there had been no place in the old conception of the Muslim caliphate (cf. KHALIFA). We find these theories as early as al-Māwardī (who wrote in the time of the Būyids), for whom *sulṭān* had not yet any other meaning than governmental power, as is evident from the title of his book *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*. Al-Māwardī says (ed. Enger, Bonn 1853, p. 30—31) that the Caliph may remain in office even if he is dominated by one of his subordinates provided that the latter's actions are in conformity with the principles of religion. Al-Uṭṭī, who quotes the tradition that the *sulṭān* is the shadow of Allāh on earth (cf. above) does so very probably to justify the independent position of Maḥmūd of Ghazna to whom he always gives the epithet *al-Sulṭān*; but this allusion to the well-known tradition is perhaps rather a play upon words than the theory of a jurist. To al-Ghazālī the "Sulṭāns of his age" of whom he has a very low opinion (Goldziher, *Streitschrift der Gassīd gegen die Bāṣinijja-Sekte*, Leiden 1916, p. 93) are in general the representatives of temporal power. It is only under the Mamlūk *Sulṭāns* of Egypt that a definite theory is laid down by Khallīl al-Zāhirī (*Zuhdat khaṣṣ al-Mamalik*, ed. Ravaissé, p. 89—90) who says that it is only the Caliph who has the right to grant the title of *sulṭān* and that in consequence this title only belongs in reality to the *Sulṭān* of Egypt. The

Mamlūks called themselves in their inscriptions *Sulṭān al-Islām wa 'l-Muslīmīn* (van Berchem, *Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien*). About the same time Ibn 'Arabshāh in the biography of Sulṭān Dīnmaḥ (J.R.A.S., 1907, p. 295 sqq.) calls the *Sulṭān* the Khalīfa of Allāh on earth in affairs of government while the 'ulama' are the heirs of the Prophet in matters of religion; this statement contains, like that of al-Uṭṭī, an apt allusion to the tradition (in another form). Lastly al-Sayyidī (*Ḥusn al-Mukāḍara*, ii. 91 sqq.) gives a definition of the titles of *sulṭān* (he in whose possessions there are *maliks*) of *al-Sulṭān al-aṣḡam* and of *Sulṭān al-Sulṭān*, which is the highest title. In the time of the Mamlūks there were actually quite a number of Muslim potentates who called themselves *Sulṭān*; some of these, in keeping with al-Zāhirī's theory, had even asked the permission of the Caliph in Cairo to bear the title.

From the beginning of the use of the title we may say that all the great rulers who have borne it have been Sunnis, except the Khwarizmshāhs. It is therefore not a mere coincidence that this development went parallel with the religious revival in Islām in the period of the Crusades; the great *Sulṭāns* became at the same time the defenders of Sunnī Islām and the Mongol rulers, after having embraced this form of Islām, assumed this very title. This Sunnī significance of the title is specially noticeable in the Ottoman sultanate. It appears that some coins of Orghān already bear the title *sulṭān* (S. Lane-Poole, *Cat. Or. Coins*, viii. 41) although the first Ottoman princes were generally regarded as *amir's* (Ibn Battūṭa, ii. 321). Bayasid I is said to have been the first to obtain from the Caliph in Cairo the right to call himself *Sulṭān* (von Hammer, *G.O.R.*, i. 235). After the taking of Constantinople, Muḥammad II assumed the title of *Sulṭān al-barrān wa 'l-baḥrān* (*G.O.R.*, i. 88) but even in the Ottoman empire itself as the title of the sovereign it has never been as popular as those of *Khān* and of *Pādishāh*. In the official protocol on the other hand, it occupies an important place, e.g. in the formula *al-Sulṭān ibn al-Sulṭān*, etc. before the names of the rulers. After the extinction of the Mamlūk sultanate by the conquest of Selīm I, Ottoman rulers had become indisputably the greatest *Sulṭāns* in Islām. The Safawids of Persia were called *Shāh* and the opposition *Sulṭān-Shāh* henceforth corresponded to that between Sunnis and Shī'is. It is true that officially the Safawids also called themselves *Sulṭān*, e.g. on their coins (R. S. Poole, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Shahs of Persia in the British Museum*, London 1887, Index, p. 313), s.v. سلطان

but they were only known by the title of *Shāh*.

In Turkey *Sulṭān* has always been an elevated title. In addition to rulers, it was borne by princes and one of the causes, why the grand vizier and favourite of Sulaimān I Ibrāhīm Paḡha, was disgraced is said to have been that he had taken the title of Ser'asker *Sulṭān* (*G.O.R.*, ii. 160). In the time of 'Abd al-Hamid II the petty chiefs who were appointed *sulṭān* in their own country (e.g. in Hadramawt) were not allowed to use the title when they visited Constantinople (information given me by Prof. Snock Hurgmoje). In Turkish the title *sulṭān* is always placed before the name of the sovereign or of the prince, which shows its foreign origin. The real popular use of the word

in Turkish is with the meaning of princess (cf. e.g. the story, *Sultān Sultān* in Jacob, *Illustrierte*, II, p. 59 and the use of the word in erotic poetry and it is by this usage that the practice of placing sultān after the word when it means princess is to be explained (cf. also 'Alī, *Kunh al-Akhbār*, v. 16). For the same reason Sultān is added after the name when it is applied to a mystic (cf. below).

In Persia on the other hand, Sultān was used as a title for officers and governors ('Alī, *loc. cit.*, Z.D.M.G., lxxx. 30). Ewliyā Čelebi, speaks of the Sultāns of Persia as minor governors (*Siyāhat-nāma*, II, 299—305). The only case in which the sovereign has been given the title Sultān is that of the last Qājār Ahmad I, who received it on his accession, after the revolution of 1908.

In Egypt, the title had disappeared with the last Mamlūks, but was revived for the short period (1914—1922) of the reign of Sultān Husayn and the beginning of the reign of Fu'ād (cf. the article KHEDIVÉ).

The number of dynasties, whose rulers have borne or bear the title Sultān is very great; only in North Africa it appears relatively late; in Morocco the dynasty of Filāliya Shurafa' (since the second half of the xviii century) was the first to assume the title sultān.

2. Sultān is also a title given to mystic shāikh. This use of the word is not earlier than the xiii century and has spread particularly in Asia Minor and the countries influenced by Ottoman civilisation. The beginning of the development of the use of the word may have been titles like *Sultān al-Dīn* given to the mystical poet Ibn al-Fāris, and *Sultān al-ʿulamā'* borne by Bahā' al-Dīn Walad, father of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. But this mystical epithet was no doubt also influenced in its development by the conception frequently expressed in mystical poetry that the mystic obtains the rank and power of a sovereign in the spiritual world. It is through the same order of ideas that the title of Khwākar (cf. *Khawāndigār*) may be explained. Ewliyā Čelebi (*Siyāhat-nāma*, III, 367—368) in bracketing the names of Sultān Muhammad II and Baysid III with the names of two mystics says that all were great sultāns. This was the origin of names like Dede Sultān and Baba Sultān. The Shāikh Badr al-Dīn, leader of the religious revolutionary movement in Asia Minor in the xvth century was also called Sultān by his adepts; Babinger (*Id.*, xi. 74) sees in this an indication that he was considered a real sovereign. It appears that the surname of Sultān was especially borne by the Baktāshis; it did not however indicate a particularly high rank in the order; thus Babinger (*loc. cit.*) is probably right; in any case for the latter period, in regarding it as simply a "Kosenname" or term of affection.

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The Caliphate, London 1924, esp. p. 202 sqq.; Paul Wittek, *Islam und Kalifat*, in *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, 1925, vol. lili, esp. p. 414 sqq. As it is impossible to study the history of the title Sultān completely without using the wealth of material in the inscriptions, it is to be hoped that the systematic publication of this material will not be long delayed.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

SULTĀN AL-DAWLĀ ABE SHURĪĀ' U. BAHĀ' AL-DAWLĀ, a Būyid. After the death of Bahā' al-Dawla on Djumādā II, 5, 403 (= Dec. 22, 1012) in Arradjān, his son Sultān al-Dawla succeeded him as amir of Fārs and al-ʿIrāq. He at once left Arradjān for Shīrāz and appointed his brother Djalāl al-Dawla [q. v.] governor of Bagra and his other brother Abu 'l-Fawāris governor of Kirmān. The latter was persuaded by the Dailamī troops to rebel against Sultān al-Dawla; he went to Fārs and entered Shīrāz but was immediately driven out of the town and had to retire to Kirmān. He then went to Khurāsān and asked help from Sultān Mahmūd b. Subuktegn, who was then in Bust. The latter placed an army under the command of the amir Abū Sa'īd al-Jā' at his disposal. Abu 'l-Fawāris occupied Kirmān, then turned his attention to Fārs and entered Shīrāz while Sultān al-Dawla was in Baghdad. On the latter's return a battle was fought in which Abu 'l-Fawāris was defeated; he fled to Kirmān (408 = 1017/18) pursued by Sultān al-Dawla's troops, who soon conquered the province, while Abu 'l-Fawāris sought refuge first with Shams al-Dawla b. Fakhr al-Dawla [q. v.] and then with Muḥammad al-Dawla, lord of al-Baṣṣā. After long negotiations an agreement was reached in 409 (1018/19), by which Abu 'l-Fawāris was to retain the governorship of Kirmān while he bound himself to obedience to his brother. In the same year Ibn Sahlān was appointed governor of al-ʿIrāq. As he made himself much hated by the Turks, the latter complained to Sultān al-Dawla, who endeavoured to appease them and summoned Ibn Sahlān to him. Instead of appearing before his overlord he fled to al-Baṣṣā and when Sultān al-Dawla demanded that he should be handed over, the lord of al-Baṣṣā, al-Ḥusayn b. Bakr al-Sharāhi refused to do so. Sultān al-Dawla then sent an army against him; al-Sharāhi was defeated and Ibn Sahlān fled to Bagra to Djalāl al-Dawla. As the troops were discontented with Sultān al-Dawla and showed themselves inclined to recognise his brother Muḥarrir al-Dawla as their lord, the two brothers agreed that the latter should receive the governorship of al-ʿIrāq and neither should take Ibn Sahlān into his service. But after Sultān al-Dawla had gone to Tustar, in spite of the agreement he appointed Ibn Sahlān his vizier, which roused the wrath of Muḥarrir al-Dawla. Sultān al-Dawla then equipped an army and commissioned Ibn Sahlān to drive Muḥarrir al-Dawla out of al-ʿIrāq. But the latter took the field to meet him; Ibn Sahlān was defeated and fled to Wāsiṭ where after a long siege he had to surrender in Dhū 'l-Hijja 411 (April 1021). After this victory Muḥarrir al-Dawla took the honorary title of *Shāhānshāh* "king of kings" and in Muharram 412 (May 1021) he dropped his brother's name from the *khutba* and replaced it by his own. In the same year Ibn Sahlān was seized and blinded by order of Djalāl al-Dawla

and Muḥarrif al-Dawla. In spite of Sulṭān al-Dawla's defeat a part of the Dailāmb in al-Ahwāz declared for him, so he sent his son Abū Kalīdār [q. v.] thither to take possession of this province. In 413 (1022/1023) peace was made, the terms being that Fārs and Kirmān should be ruled by Sulṭān al-Dawla and all 'Irāk by Muḥarrif al-Dawla. Sulṭān al-Dawla, according to the usual statement, died in Shīrāz in Shawwāl 413 (Dec. 1024/Jan. 1025) but according to one source he did not die till Shā'ban 416 (Sept./Oct. 1025).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Aṭīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, ix, passim; Abū 'l-Fidā', *Annales*, ed. Reiske, iii, 25, 47, 51, 63, 65; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Iḥār*, iv, 470—474; Ḥamd Allāh Muṭawwīlī Kārwīnī, *Tārīkh-i Gūzida*, ed. Browne, i, 430 sq.; Wilken, *Gesch. d. Sultane aus d. Geschl. Bayek nach Mirchond*, chap. xiii-xiv.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalfen*, iii, 52—54; de Zambaur, *Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie*, p. 212 sqq. (K. V. ZETTERSTEIN).

SULTĀN IŠHĀK (more frequently S. Sohāk, S. Sohāk), an important personage in the beliefs of the Ahl-i Hakk sect (popularly known as 'Alī Ilāhī; q. v.). The first manifestations of God (Khawandigār, 'Alī, Bābā Khoshin) correspond to the stages of *sharī'a*, *ṭarīqa* and *ma'rifa*, but it is the fourth avatar — Sulṭān Sohāk — which marks the highest degree of gnosis, the *ḥakīqa* [q. v.].

Everything goes to show that Sulṭān Ishaq was a historical personage. The Ahl-i Hakk put him in the sixth century. He is said to have been a son of a certain Shaiḫ 'Isā and Khārūn Dāyira (Dayarāk), daughter of Ḥasan Beg Djalāl. By his wife Khātūna-Baḥr he had seven sons who are called *haft-tan* (to distinguish them from another heptad called *haft tawāna*). Like each of the seven fundamental avatars Sulṭān Sohāk has a retinue of four (five) angels: Benyāmīn, Dāwūd, Muṣṭafā, Dawūd, Pīr Mūsā (and Khārūn Dāyira) each of whom has his special duties.

An analysis of the proper and geographical names in the religious work known as the *Saravān* shows that the area of Sulṭān Ishaq's activity was the part of Kurdistan between the Zagros (Dālahū) and the river Sīrwan (Diyālā). According to the Turkish hymn called *Ḥuṣṣ-nāma*, Sulṭān Ishaq spoke the Gūrānī language which is still that of the inhabitants of this region, who, although Iranian by race, are not true Kurds from the linguistic nor probably from the ethnic point of view. The tomb of Sulṭān Ishaq and his companions is at Pāndīwār on the right bank of the Sīrwan in the Awramānī-Luhūn (cf. *SENNA*).

The polemical MS. in the O. Mann collection (Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Acc. MSS. 1904, No. 30, fol. 8) calls Sulṭān Sohāk *ḥūma-yi Hakk* "incarnation (dress) of God" and *muḥannī-i ḥān-i ḥakīqa* ("legislator of the law of the ḥakīqa"). In fact it is to him that the majority of the rites of the sect are traced as for example the "recommendation of the head" [to a *pir*] (*sur sipurdan*) which symbolises the contract which the divinity (the "King of the World") had made with Benyāmīn before reappearing on earth in the form of Sulṭān Ishaq. Benyāmīn was to assume the role of *pir* and the "King of the World" that of *ṭalīb*, for he declared "the *ṭalīb* must obey the orders of his *pir*; one may execute thy orders but, if I become the *pir* and thou the *ṭalīb*, thou wouldst not be

able to execute what I tell thee". This seems to be an echo of Ismā'īlī beliefs, according to which God is without attributes and creation returns to "Universal Intelligence" (*al-Malak al-ʿaṣm*, *ahl al-kull*); cf. Guyard, *Fragmente relatifs à la doctrine des Ismā'īlīs*, Paris 1874, p. 43, 162.

Sulṭān Sohāk is recognised by all branches of the sect, who do not agree regarding later manifestations.

Bibliography: Gobineau, *Trois ans en Asie*, Paris 1859, p. 347; Minorovsky, *Materiali dlia izsl. iskl. L'ndi Iskl.*, Moscow 1911, p. 41—54; Minorovsky, *Notes sur la secte des Ahl-i Hakk*, R. M. M., xl, p. 17, 37; xlv, p. 103, 281; Saeed Khan, *The sect of Ahl-i Hakk*, *The Moslem World*, 1927, xvii, No. 1, p. 31—41.

(V. MINOROVSKY).

SULTĀN ŌŪ, is the ancient name of the part of Phrygia in Asia Minor, situated to the N.W. of Eski Shehir, which was the birthplace of the Ottoman power. The name existed already in the time of the Seldjūqs, for it is mentioned in the Chronicle of Ibn Bībī (Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjūquides*, ii, 217) as a frontier district of the Seldjūq empire, the protection of which was trusted to frontier warders (*al beglerī*) such as Ertoghul. Among the early Ottoman historians Neshrī (ed. Nöldeke, *Z.D.M.G.*, xiii, 190) mentions Sulṭān ŌŪ as the place where Ertoghul and his little tribe went, after their stay in the Karadja Daḡ near Angora. Bur Neshrī as well as Ibn Bībī write: سلطان

اوونك (dative case). Hence the name is probably to be explained at the Sulṭān's tumulus (*oyuk* or *oyuk*) and not as the Sulṭān's front, as was suggested by the later spelling اوکی (comp. Leunclavius, *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum*, col. 107); moreover Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 324, 342) mentions two persons with the *nisha* السلطانموكي and J. H. Mordtmann takes it that the place name In ŌŪ, which occurs in the same region was originally In Oyūyū; the local name Bos Oyuk is formed in the same way (Taeschner, *Das Anatolische Wegenetz*, i, 122, note 1). The story told by von Hammer (*G. O. R.*, i, 45) about the reason why Sulṭān 'Alā al-Dīn called the region Sulṭān ŌŪ does not seem to occur in any early historical work. In Ertoghul's time, the towns of this part of the country were still held by Christian lords, but after these towns had been brought under the immediate rule of his successor 'Othmān, the region was made a *sandjak* under the name of In ŌŪ and with Karadja Hissār as capital. This *sandjak* was given to Orkhān and, afterwards, by Orkhān to his son Murād ('Ashik Pasha Zāde, ed. Constantinople, p. 20, 38; *Tawārīkh-i 'Alī 'Othmān*, ed. Gliese, p. 7, 13; Orudj Beg, ed. Babinger, p. 15, 87, 89; Neshrī, ed. Nöldeke, *Z. D. M. G.*, xiii, 211). It seems that already in these chronicles, even as in later times, the place name In ŌŪ was often used instead of the regional name Sulṭān ŌŪ (the latter name only twice in the *Tawārīkh*, but both times in a poem; comp. also Taeschner, *loc. cit.*). In later centuries the *sandjak* of Sulṭān ŌŪ bordered according to Ḥādīdī Khulfa, *Lihān-nāma*, p. 631, to the S.E., upon the *sandjak* of Kara Hissār Sahib, and, to the N.W., upon that of Khudāwendigār; it contained, besides, the capital Eski Shehir [q. v.],

the *şafâ's*: In Özü or Dos Öyük, Bilecik, Seidl Özü, Karadja Shehr, Kal'edjik, Sultân Özü and Ak Bilyik. In the sixteenth century the name was no more used and, by the new administrative division, Sultân Özü was divided over the sandjaks of Kutahiya [q.v.] and Ertoğrul. A communication about a *şafâ's defteri* of Sultân Özü in the time of Muhammad II was made by Ahmed Refik to *Türk Tarihî Enjümanı Mecmû'ası*, No. 3 (81) of May 1, 1924. (J. H. KRAMERS)

SULTÂN WALAD, eldest son of Djalâl al-Din Rûmî and his second successor as head of the Mawlawî order, was born in Lârida [cf. KARAMAN] in 623 (1226) before Djalâl al-Din's family had settled in Konya. He was called after Djalâl al-Din's father, Bahâ al-Din Walad, known as Sultân al-'Ulâmî. He was brought up among the Şûfis who surrounded his father and seems to have been particularly intimate with Shams al-Din Tabrizi, while his younger brother Celebi 'Alâ al-Din was rather hostile to the latter's influence. Sultân Walad married the daughter of another of his father's disciples, the goldsmith Şalîh al-Din Feridûn of Konya. After the death of Djalâl al-Din, Sultân Walad did not at once succeed him but insisted on Celebi Husâm al-Din, hitherto the *makîl* of the master, assuming control. Eleven years later Husâm al-Din died and Sultân Walad succeeded and held office till his death on 10th Radjab 712 (Nov. 11, 1312). He was followed by his son Djalâl al-Din Amir 'Arîf.

Sultân Walad does not seem to have been a dominating personality like his father. Pious traditions about his life reveal him to us as a contemplative mystic; a certain manner of performing the whirling dance has been called after him, *Sultân Walad Devri* (Brown, *The Dervishes*, ed. Rose, Oxford 1927, p. 252 sq.). He was also the author of a large *Mathnawî* called *Walad-nûma* and dedicated to the Mongol Sultân Uldjaitû Khân, in three parts *Ibtidâ-nûma*, *Intihâ-nûma* and *Rabab-nûma*, a voluminous *Divân* and a work in prose called *Ma'arîf*. The *Mathnawî* contains many data of importance for the biography of Djalâl al-Din Rûmî and may be regarded as a kind of commentary on the *Mathnawî-i Ma'nûmî*.

The works of Sultân Walad, none of which have been printed, are written in Persian. They have a special interest because they include verses written in Turkish and Greek. The Turkish verses are in the *Ibtidâ-nûma*, the *Rabab-nûma* and the *Divân*; their importance lies in the fact that they are the first literary documents in Turkish written in Asia Minor and for this reason the language has been called the language of the *Seldjûk* Turks. The 156 *kâfî's* in Turkish from the *Rabab-nûma* are all that have been published and studied so far (from the Vienna MSS., written in 767 [1366] and the St. Petersburg one, later in date) by von Hammer, Wickerhauser, Behrmann, Radloff, Salemann, Künos, Smirnow, Foy and Gibb (cf. *Bibliography*). According to Köprülü Zâde Fa'âd Bey (*İlk Mütâvazzî*, p. 266 sqq.), the influence of Mawlinâ Djalâl al-Din Rûmî on western Turkish literature begins with Sultân Walad. The latter is said to have been at the same time the first representative of the school of Turkish poetry under Persian influence, while the other category, that of popular mystic poets (*'âşîk* as opposed to *şâfîr*), is represented about the same time by Yûnus Emre. The Turkish verses of the *Rabab-nûma* already

show an attempt at writing Turkish in the *romani* metre in which the *Mathnawî* of Mawlinâ was written. The language is archaic and represents an old form of the dialect of the Oghuz.

The 13 Greek *kâfî's* of the *Rabab-nûma* have been published from the MSS. in St. Petersburg, Budapest and Oxford (those in Munich and in Gotha do not contain them) by G. Meyer, *Die griechischen Verse im Rabab-nûma, in Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1895, iv, p. 401 sqq.

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SULTÂNABÂD, i. capital of the Persian province of 'Irâk (popularly: 'Arâk). The town was founded in 1808 by Yûsuf Khân Gurdjî in the S.W. corner of the plain of Farshân. The town is built very regularly in the shape of a rectangle; its walls (2,000 × 2,666 feet) are each protected by 12 or 18 towers. The inhabitants number 25,000 (Stahl).

The province now bearing the name of 'Irâk ('Arâk) must not be confused with the extensive area to which the geographers of the Mongol period gave the name of 'Irâk 'Adjamî (cf. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 185—186) which included Kirmânshâh, Hamadân, Raiy, and Isfahân. The present province of 'Irâk lies almost entirely within the bend formed by the Kars-su (Do-âb) south of Sâwa. It is bounded on the east by Kum, on the north by Sâwa [q.v.], on the west by Malâyir (Dawlatâbâd) and to the south by Borûdjird (canton of Sîlâkhor) and the districts of Djalâlgh and Kamara, mainly in the hands of local landlords of the Bakhtiyârî family of Çahâr-lang.

The cantons of al-'Irāk are as follows: 1. Farāhān (Zulfāhād and Muḥkād) with 144 villages forms the central plain, the scanty waters of which (Karah-rūd) flow into the salt lake without outlet which in the Mongol period was called Tsaghanna'ur = "the white lake". The old capital of Farāhān is Sūrūkh, situated 25 miles N.W. of Sultānābād. Farāhān is an old Shī'a centre; 2. Sharrah (Čārāh); 3. Bosālu and 4. Wafā with 42, 52 and 12 villages respectively lie W. and N.W. of Farāhān; 5. Tafrīsh and 6. Ashīyān with 16 and 3 villages respectively lie to the north of Farāhān. Tafrīsh is a hollow surrounded by mountains on all sides. Ashīyān and Garakān are noted as the birthplaces of many Persian holy men and statesmen; 7. Rūdbār with 47 villages lies N.W. (?) of Farāhān; 8. Khāis-ānistān with 90 villages lies in the direction of Kūm and Sāwa; 9. Kazzās with 150 villages lies south of Sultānābād on the fan-shaped upper waters of the Karā-su and on those of the Karah-rūd (Kara-Kahriz). The important canton: encroaching on the environs of Sultānābād seems to be identical with the Karādj Abi Dūlāf of the Arab geographers (i.e. Strange, *The Lands*, etc., p. 198 and *Nushat al-Kulūb*, p. 69); the mountain Rāsmānd is the modern Rāsbānd (Rāswānd) (although Mustawfī seems to give this name to the Kūh-i Shāh-Zinda which continues the Rāsbānd range northwards); the stronghold of Farrān (cf. *Liḥān-guḡā*, G. M. S., xvi/2, p. 116; Farrān) must be on the mountain of Farr (north of Tūla); finally the name of the "spring of Kai-Khusrau" which rises on Rāsmānd is explained by the local legend which tells how Kai-Khusrau disappeared on the mountain of Shāh-Zinda (Čirikow, p. 186; cf. *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Mohl, iv., p. 266); 10. Sarābānd, with 130 villages to the S.W. of Kazzās on the Borūjdīrd road; the canton is watered by the upper waters of the Karākhā (Ab-i Kulān, etc.). In addition to the cantons above enumerated, the following have at times formed part of al-'Irāk: Dardjāzin (Dargazin) on the left bank of the Karā-su to the north of Wafā and south of the Hamadān-Karwin road; Ashmakhor, a dependency of Borūjdīrd; Kamara (with its capital Khumain) and Nimwar (on the Anār-rūd) both now merged in the district of Mahallāt. The total number of inhabited villages, etc. in al-'Irāk is 686. Before 1914 it paid to the treasury a *mālūt* of 80,000 *tomans* and 16,000 *gharwārs* of corn. Five regiments of *sarāz*, each of 800 men, were raised in the province.

The province, agriculturally rich, is especially noted for its famous carpets (Sūrūkh, Sultānābād) exported by the European and Persian houses established in Sultānābād. The importance of al-'Irāk will increase if the Mohammara-Borūjdīrd-Teherān railway (still only a proposal) is completed through the province. The population for the most part is pure Persian. In Khāladjīstān are Khāladjī Turks speaking a very curious dialect (cf. the article *sāwa*; this region also has a Khāladjīstān (near Kūshak on the Teherān-Hamadān road) where however a central Iranian dialect is also spoken; cf. Brugsch, *Reise d. k. preuss. Gesandtschaft*, I, 337-338 and Justi, *Kurdische Gram.*, p. xxv.). In Kazzās there are 13 Armenian villages the inhabitants of which (564 houses, 2,959 souls in 1916) were settled here by the Safawids. At Kamara there are Armenians and Georgians and

also Turks repatriated from Syria by Timūr whose language is said to be connected with Coghatai (?).

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For particulars of Karādj Abi Dūlāf, see P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 1925, v., p. 574, 82. The position of Farrān (Farrasin) settles the site of Karādj on the Kazzās (according to Yāqūt, Farrān was at the gate (in the defile) of Karādj). The hypothesis of Houtum-Schindler (*Zeitschr. d. Geolisch. f. Erdk.*, 1879, xvi., p. 60) who thought Karādj was to be located on the river Karādj which waters Gulpāyagān (= Džarbāhān) cannot therefore be accepted. Burdj also (10 farsakhs east of Karādj) is to be sought west of Gulpāyagān (at Džapalak or Barburūd).

2. A town founded by the Mongol Ilkhān Uljāitū in 711 (1312) at Čamčamal at the foot of the hill of Bisutūn. D'Ohason, *Hist. des Mongols*, iv. 545; *Nushat al-Kulūb*, p. 107; Rahino, *Kermanshah*, R.M.M., March 1920, p. 14.

3. Name of several villages in Persia for example the capital of the canton of Turghā [q.v.] in Khorāsān. (V. MINORSKY)

SULTĀNIYA, a town in Persian 'Irāk, about ten miles west of the watershed between the Zandjān [q.v.], which runs to the Kāsi-Ūzan and the Abhar, which loses itself in the direction of Teherān. The old Persian name of the canton of Sultāniya was Shāhriyār. It was originally a dependency of Kāzin. The Mongols called this district Kāghur-ōlāng ("the prairie of the Aleuts"; there is still a village called "Ōlāng" S.E. of Sultāniya). Sultāniya is about 5,000-5,500 feet above sea-level. The coolness of its climate in summer and the richness of the high plateau in pasturage and game must have had a special attraction for the Mongols. Arghun began the construction of a town, the wall of which (*darā*) was 12,000 paces in circumference. His successor Uljāitū, to celebrate the birth of his son Abū Sa'īd, began in 705 to enlarge the new town (up to 30,000 paces in circumference) and made it the capital of his kingdom. The sovereign and his ministers vied with one another in embellishing Sultāniya. The vizier Rashīd al-Dīn alone built a quarter of 1,000 houses (d'Ohason, iv. 486; Hammer, *Geschichte d. Ilkhane*, ii. 184-186). The building of the town was finished in 713 (1313) and was solemnly celebrated. After his conversion to the Shī'a, Uljāitū thought of bringing to Sultāniya the remains of the Caliph 'Alī and of the Imām Husain. Hamd Allāh Mustawfī says that nowhere except Tabriz could so many splendid buildings be seen as in Sultāniya and he makes the five great roads (*shāh-rāh*) radiate from Sultāniya as the centre of Irān (*mīzān-i Irān-Zamin*). The exaggeration in the last statement is apparent; the site "so inconvenient" (P. della Valle) of the town was the main cause of its decline. Uljāitū died in

Sultāniya and was buried in the famous mausoleum there. The karūnā of Abū Sa'īd was held in Sultāniya, but the fact that 'Alī Shāh, the ruler's minister, began to build a magnificent mosque in Tabriz seems to indicate that pride of place was returning to the old capital.

After the fall of the Mongols, Sultāniya often changed hands and its possession was disputed between the Sultāns [q.v.], the Djālā'ir [q.v.] and the Muzaffarids. A former captain of Shaikh Uwais Djālā'ir called Sarfī 'Adil fortified himself in Sultāniya in 781. He inflicted a defeat upon the Muzaffarid Shāh Shudjā but finally submitted to him and kept his position. A little later Sarfī 'Adil proclaimed Sultān Bāyazīd Djālā'ir at Sultāniya; his brother Sultān Ahmad complained of this to Shāh Shudjā, who removed Sarfī 'Adil from Sultāniya. Timūr's troops took Sultāniya from the sons of Sultān Ahmad in 786. At the same time Timūr re-established Sarfī 'Adil as governor there and seems to have respected the tomb of Uldjāitū (cf. Olearius). Among the villages built by Timūr around Samarkand with the names of celebrated towns, there was one called Sultāniya (Barthold, *Ulug-beg*, p. 32). In 795 Sultāniya formed part of "the fief of Hūllāgū" conferred by Timūr on his son Mirān-shāh, *Zafar-nāma*, i. 388, 399, 623. Clavijo, who visited Sultāniya in 1404, says that Mirān-shāh (from 798 = 1395, afflicted with madness which showed itself in the destruction of monuments, *Zafar-nāma*, ii. 221), had plundered the town and citadel (*alcázar*) and profaned the tomb of Uldjāitū ("é el Caballero que yacía enterrado mandólo echar fuera"). In spite of this, the ambassador of Henry III of Castile adds that the town had many inhabitants and that its trade was greater than that of Tabriz. Under Tīmūshāh I the mausoleum was restored and P. della Valle and Olearius found it in good preservation. Trade however gradually went back to Tabriz and the removal of the political centre to Isfahān completed the ruin of the old capital of Uldjāitū and caused it to become forgotten. It only experienced a brief revival of favour when, in the reign of Fath 'Alī Shāh, when the court followed the old custom of moving to a summer residence, a hunting-palace was built near Sultāniya with materials taken from the old city. This new Sultānshād was also abandoned after the Russo-Persian war of 1828. The splendid mausoleum now rises from the centre of a wretched little village. In 1880 Houtum-Schindler counted 400—500 houses there.

Dieulafoy regarded the mausoleum as "the largest and most remarkable of all the buildings erected in Persia since the Muslim conquest"; and this opinion is corroborated by Sarre's study. The mausoleum is in the form of an octagonal prism 85 feet broad and 175 feet high (including 25 feet for the cupola). It is built of brick covered with superb blue faience. The inscriptions on the mausoleum do not appear to have been studied. Uldjāitū's tomb was in the interior of the mausoleum. P. della Valle speaks of a chapel the entrance of which was closed by a beautiful grill of damascened iron. According to Olearius this grill was forged in India and formed a single piece. The mosque seems to have been fortified. According to Mustawfi, the *fat'a* (Clavijo, *alcázar*), Uldjāitū's burial-place (*khāna-kah*), was of carved stone. Olearius saw at Sultāniya about 20 cannon which had been used

to defend the old fortress in the Safawī period. Tavernier saw in Sultāniya the remains of other mosques, but now all that exists is one ruined mosque or madrasa near which is situated the tomb of Čelebi-oghlu (xivth century) in the form of an octagonal tower of brick with the ornamentation arranged to form a Kufic design. The tomb of the theologian Mullā Hasan Shīrāzī (adorned with faience) dates from the xvth century and was built by Imā'īl I. Nothing remains of the walls on which Morier saw an inscription in the name of Uldjāitū.

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(V. MINORSKY)

SULUK (A., "journeying") is a term used by Sūfis to describe the mystic's progress in the Way to God, beginning with his entrance into the *ṭarīqa* (Way) under the direction of a Shāikh and ending with his attainment of the highest spiritual degree within his capacity. *Sulūk* implies a quest deliberately undertaken, methodically pursued; he who prosecutes it (*sālik*) must pass through, and make himself perfect in, each of the "stages" or "stations" (*maqāmāt*) — *dhikr*, trust in God, poverty, love, knowledge and so on —

before he can become united with God (*waḥid*). Hence *sulūk* is contrasted with *ḥudūd* (see art. *MAḤDUD*).

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(R. A. NICHOLSON)

AL-ŠUMAIL b. ḤETIM ABU DJAWSHAN AL-KULĀNT, a famous Arab chief in Spain. (The vocalisation of the name *al-Šumail* is confirmed by the transcription *Zumahel* used by pseudo-Isodorus of Beja). He was the grandson of Šamir b. Dhī Ḍawshān of Kūfa who killed al-Husain at Kerbela (cf. above, ii, p. 339). The family of Šamir had left Kūfa, because of reprisals made on them by the Shī'is, and settled in the district of Kinnasrīn (cf. above, ii, p. 1021) and this is how it came about that al-Šumail came to be one of the *ḡund* of Kinnasrīn in the Syrian army sent to North Africa by the Umayyad Caliph Ḥishām b. 'Abd al-Malik in 123 (741). He shared the fortunes of his chief Balḍ b. Bishr al-Khathiri (cf. above, i, p. 617) and when he had settled in Spain he soon became chief of the Kaiss of the country and lived in Cordova.

As a result of a quarrel with the governor of Cordova, Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār al-Husain b. Ḍirār al-Kalbi, who insulted him, al-Šumail whose Arab amour propre was touched, decided to rebel against him and to get the Lakhmids and Djudhāmits in Spain to join him. He offered the command of the rebels to Ṭhawāba b. Salama al-Djudhāmi, who after the victory he gained over Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār on the banks of the Guadalete became governor of Muslim Spain at Cordova.

On the death of Ṭhawāba, al-Šumail intervened to choose a successor to this governor and chose an individual on whom he knew he could exert great influence: Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Fihri. His choice was at first disputed but after the victory of Secunda (Shakunda, q. v.) in 130 (747) won by the Ma'addi clan under Yūsuf and al-Šumail over the Yamani clan commanded by Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār, the authority of the new governor was consolidated and the latter offered al-Šumail the command of the district of Saragossa [q. v.] in 132 (749). He distinguished himself for his great generosity during a severe famine there, but two rebel chiefs finally besieged him in his capital. Al-Šumail appealed for assistance to his Kaiss fellow-tribesmen in Spain and his enemies raised the siege of Saragossa.

The later history of al-Šumail is closely and regularly connected with that of Yūsuf al-Fihri and that of the founder of the Umayyad caliphate of Spain, 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Dhīl. He at first promised his support to the latter, then changed his mind, in circumstances of which a picturesque account is preserved in the anonymous chronicle entitled *Akhḍār maḡmū'a*, and these show the inconsistency and complexity of the character of al-Šumail. 'Abd al-Rahmān however after the return of his emissaries from the peninsula landed at Almuñecar in Rabī' II, 138 (Sept. 755). Al-Šumail, after forcing his master Yūsuf al-Fihri to get rid of two important Kaiss chiefs Sulaimān b. Shihāb and al-Husain b. al-Dadīn, persuaded him to entrust to the new Umayyad pretender the government of the two districts occupied by the

*ḡund*s of Damascus and Jordan and give him in marriage his daughter Umm Mhā. But the negotiations broke down through the inaccuracy of the envoy, hostilities began between Yūsuf and 'Abd al-Rahmān and the former was defeated near Cordova. Al-Šumail had a son killed in the battle and his palace at Secunda was looted. He tried with Yūsuf to regain the upper hand but both had soon to submit to the new caliph and al-Šumail installed himself in Cordova again. Yūsuf having taken to flight, al-Šumail was accused of being his accomplice and imprisoned; when Yūsuf after being defeated was killed near Toledo and his head brought to Cordova, 'Abd al-Rahmān, wishing to be rid of his other enemy, whose submission he suspected was only nominal, had al-Šumail strangled in 142 (759).

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(E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL)

SUMAIŠĀT, the ancient *Samosate* on the right bank of the Euphrates, now *Samsat* (in Cuiet: *Simsat*). The Muslims under 'Iyād conquered it in 18 (639). From its position on the frontier between Arab and Byzantine territory, it was often ravaged by both sides. The Byzantines raided it in 245 and 259 and this contributed to the destruction of the old Greek and Roman town. It was again the scene of fighting in the Crusades. Saladin took it in 584 (1188).

It is now an unimportant village; but Yāqūt called it *madīna* and mentions among its noted inhabitants a certain Abu 'l-Kāsim 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Sulami who died in Damascus on Rabī' I 453.

Under the Ottomans, *Sumaisāt* was capital of a *nāhiya* in the kadā of Ḥiṣn-i Manṣūr, a sanjak in Malāṭiya in the wilāyet of Ma'mūret al-'Aziz; now it forms part of the wilāyet of Malāṭiya. Cuiet gives it 800 inhabitants; at one time it contained many Armenians but now its population is entirely Kurdish.

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(ETTORE ROSSI)

SUMANĀT, or rather *Soma Nāth* ('Moon lord') is an ancient town situated in 20° 53' N. and 70° 28' E. at the eastern extremity of a bay on the south coast of Kāthiāwār. On the western headland of the bay stands the port of Verāval, and on the sea-shore, half way between the two towns, is an ancient temple dedicated to Shiva.

The town was the object of the most famous of the raids of Mahmūd of Ghazni [q. v.] into India, in 1024. The invader reached Sumanāth early in 1025, captured the town, desecrated the temple, and destroyed the idol, a *lingam*, two pieces of which were sent to Ghazni, one to Makha and one to Madina, to be trodden underfoot by the faithful. Of the history of Sumanāth before its capture by Mahmūd little is known. In the eighth century it was in the hands of the Čawada Rājapūta, vassals of the Čālūkyas or Solankis of Kalyāni, but Mahmūd, on leaving the town in 1025, placed a Muhammadan governor in the district. Muslim rule did not endure, and Kāthiāwār fell into the hands of the Wadjā Rājapūta, who revived the glories of the ancient fane, but in 1298 it was captured, and again desecrated, by Ulugh Khān, in the reign of 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaldjī. It was included in the dominions of the Rājā of Gīrnār, and when that kingdom was overthrown, in 1470, by Mahmūd Begarha of Gūdjār it passed into the possession of the Muslim kings of that country. It was afterwards ruled, at different times, by the Shaikh of Mangrol and the Rānā of Forbandar, but was finally conquered by the Nawwāhs of Djunāgarh, in whose hands it still remains.

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SUMATRA. Sumatra, with an area of 420,000 square K.M., is the fifth largest island in the world. The distance between its Northern and Southern extremities is $\pm 1,750$ K.M., and its greatest width is ± 400 K.M. The equator passes through the middle of the island, which lies between lat. $5^{\circ} 30'$ N. and lat. $5^{\circ} 57'$ S. For the geology, hydrography and orography, geography and ethnology, political and economic condition, statistics, administration etc., reference may be made to the great encyclopaedias and to special works, a summary of which is given in the Dutch Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Indië, s. v. *Sumatra*. The present article, therefore, will be confined to an account of Islām in Sumatra, viz.: the history of the coming of this religion into Sumatra, the conversion of its heathen inhabitants, their special religious characteristics etc.

The name Sumatra appears to have originally indicated only a small locality and afterwards to have come to denote the whole island. Later names will be mentioned in the short historical sketch that follows. The first mention of Islām in Sumatra was made in 1292 by the Venetian traveller Marco Polo, who mentions the spread of Islām in *Ferlac* (i. e. *Perlak*, Ach. *Purraia*), a name well known from Malay chronicles. Since the old Muhammadan tombstones in Aceh have been deciphered, it has been ascertained that the founder of the Muslim kingdom of Samudra-Passi, on the N.W. coast of Aceh died in 1297. So it is unlikely that the conversion of this country took place between 1270 and 1275, as has been assumed. Northern Sumatra is called by Arabic authors, in the 10th and 11th century: *Rami*, *al-Rami*, *al-Rami*, *Lamari*; al-Idrisi also calls it: *al-Rami* (11th century); al-Karwini: *Ramni* (12th century). Marco Polo mentions, besides *Ferlac*, the countries

Bozma, *Samara*, *Lamori*, *Fansur*, etc. In the 15th century "Sumatra" is mentioned as a state at war with Lamori. The son of Sultan Muhammad of Samudra (died in 1326) was Sultan Ahmad, who probably was still reigning when Ibn Battūta arrived there in 1345. In 1365 the Javanese poetical chronicle *Nagarakertagama* mentions: *Aru*, *Taming*, *Perlak*, *Samudra*, *Lambri*, *Barat* and *Barus*, as being all subordinate states to the empire of Majapahit. In 1416 and 1436 the secretaries of the Chinese ambassador Cheng Ho described *Aru*, *Samudra*, *Lampoli* etc., as being Muhammadan countries; according to their records there must have been a Sultan Husain at *Aru*. It may be surmised that the name *Samudra* was generalised, and so became the name of the whole island. In 1432 Nicolo de' Conti calls it *Taprobane* "or in the native tongue *Sjanutera*". In later periods the Arabic denomination of both Java and Sumatra was *Yāwa*; hence the term *Java Major* and *Java Minor* in European sources. The more modern native names are: *pulo peraka* (= *merica*, from Sanskrit *martya*, mortals, mankind), or *pulo andalas* (a well known tree); this name has occasionally been interchanged with the Arabic term *Andalus*. After the Portuguese took Malacca (1511), *Samudra* ceased to be a country of commercial importance and its place was taken by *Acheh*, and that country soon became the most important in North-Sumatra. As regards the conversion of *Acheh* the following short notices may suffice: The Malay chronicles may on the whole be regarded as historically trustworthy. The most reliable of them mentions as the first king who embraced Islām: 'Alī Mughāyāt Shāh (913—928 H.), the conqueror of *Pedir*, *Samudra* etc. During the reign of Sultan 'Alī Rī'āyat Shāh a learned man came from Mecca to *Acheh*, and taught metaphysics there. But the introduction of Islām into *Acheh* was certainly not carried out by Arab preachers. It is most probable that Arab traders carried Islām to Sumatra in the early centuries of the Hijra. In the 2nd century B. C. the trade with Ceylon seems to have been wholly in their hands; in the 8th century Arab traders were to be found in great numbers in China. So it is quite possible that they also established commercial settlements on some of the islands on the W.-coast of Sumatra. Learned men, however, must also have come to the Archipelago from the South of India, as may be assumed from certain peculiarities of dogma and the Islām now prevailing in Muhammadan parts of Sumatra. The South-Indian origin of the Indonesian form of Islām reveals itself in many ways, and theological, literary and linguistic evidence is abundantly available; as examples of the latter class may be adduced the name for "theologian" (*ḥabai*), which is the South-Indian term *ḥabaiḡem* merchant, and *ḥiyapari* = Sanskrit *vyāpārī* = merchant. There cannot possibly have been any introduction of Islām by compulsion, and the gradual spread of Islām through the eastern islands must have been the result of the settlement of Muhammadan traders, especially Gujjaratis, their intermarriage with native Malay women, the improvement of the status of the natives by their adoption of the religion of the influential strangers, in short a process of peaceful penetration. But from the very beginning of its influence, Islām adapted itself to the native creed, i. e. to the indigenous animism, and made large concessions to Hinduism as is clearly shown

by the remarkable fact that the Sanskrit words for religion (*agama*), Muhammadan facts (*gumara* = *upadana*), teacher (*guru*), disciple (*swayan* = *gita*) are still in use. In the period of its greatest power (xvth and xvith century) Aceh was the most important Muhammadan state in Sumatra, and made its influence felt by the heathen inhabitants of the south; so it is probable that proselytising by means of warfare was sometimes carried on among the Bataks and other heathen peoples, but without any permanent success. It is a curious fact that the Bataks, who for centuries had offered obstinate resistance to the entrance of Islam into their midst, have in the sixteenth and xvth century responded with enthusiasm to the efforts made for their conversion. Especially the Karo-, and still more the Mandeling-Bataks are fervent Muhammadans. The efforts of the Malay subordinate officials of the Dutch Government, the desire to attain the same social level as the educated clerks and tax-collectors, and further the impulse given to Muslim propaganda by the establishment of Christian missions among the Bataks, have all paved the way for Islam. On the island of Nias the same process is to be observed; there, just as in the Batak-land, heathendom is breaking down before the two higher religions, Islam and Christianity. Of the introduction of Islam in the Minangkabau country (W. Sumatra), in early times a Hindu kingdom, there are no historical records. It may be surmised that the new religion made its way along the commercial routes from Padir (Pidie) to Priaman and other harbours, and came up from the coast to the uplands in the interior. It is probable, judging from some scanty data, that Islam did not come into the Minangkabau country before the middle of the xvth century. No reliance can be placed upon the current tradition that Shaikh Ibrahim, a man of Minangkabau, who had learnt the tenets of Islam in Java, introduced them into his own country on his return via Priaman and Tiku, but this may be regarded as an indication of the route along which Islam made its way into this part of the island. In the Minangkabau country, with its strong matriarchal form of society and its primitive Malay laws of inheritance the success of Islam for a long time hung in the balance, and open conflicts inevitably broke out in the struggle against these unorthodox survivals. The most serious of these was the long, bloody warfare of the Padris, so called after the name Padari or Pidari, i.e. men from Pedir in Aceh (not from Port. *padre*, as was formerly supposed), who tried, in the middle of the sixteenth century to introduce, by violent means, the orthodoxy of Islam into their native country. But their efforts were resisted by the greater part of the population and further the Padri-sect involved the Dutch government in a fierce and long war, which ended by their being defeated after the fall of their last stronghold Bongjol in 1839. A great many Minangkabau men emigrated to the Straits-Settlements, their old place of refuge. At the present time, the people of Aceh and Minangkabau are the most zealous followers of the Prophet, the former being rigidly orthodox, having discarded the numerous Shi'a and mystical elements that were formerly mixed up with their creed; the latter clinging persistently to their old national social laws, and only slowly accepting the orthodox dogmas. In Palembang, once the classical Malay country under

Hindu rule, Islam spread at a comparatively late period, but now it is completely Islamised, like the adjacent country and sultanate Siak on the East coast. The southern part of Sumatra, the Lampong-districts, seem to have been Islamised by preachers and influential persons from Banten (W. Java), which country is now the most zealous province in the almost entirely Islamised island of Java. The conversion of the less-civilised tribes, the Lahu and Kubu, is only a question of time; the process of peaceable penetration has been begun, and is slowly but inevitably going on.

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SUMBAWA, an island in the Malay archipelago, belonging to the Little Sunda group and lying east of Lombok. The coast line, especially on the north, is very irregular; the largest bay is that of Saleh which runs deep into the country and almost divides the island into two halves. This division is of more than purely geographical significance. The inhabitants of the two parts differ in many respects in manners and customs and the physical type is not exactly the same in both. The population of the western part is distinguished by its lighter complexion and higher stature. As regards administration, the island belongs to the residency of "Timor en Onderhoorigheden" and politically it consists of four districts ruled by native princes under the suzerainty of the government of the Dutch East Indies; the western half of the island forms the sultanate of Sumbawa, on the eastern side are the two very small kingdoms of Dompo and Sanggar and in the extreme east the sultanate of Bima. The island is very mountainous and there are no rivers large enough to be navigable at all seasons. The soil is not unfertile and the population lives mainly by agriculture and cattle-rearing; the collection of wheat products is also of some importance. The exports include rice, horses, buffaloes and wax. The greater part of the native population (many foreigners have settled on the coast: Macassars, Buginese, Saleerese and Araks) belongs to the so-called Young Malays and is considerably mixed with Buginese and Macassars. At the same time an older stratum is clearly discernible to which the people of the interior of W. Sumbawa and some tribes in the east belong and from the anthropological point of view shows a great similarity to the Sasakers of Lombok. The Dou Donggo (i.e. "hill-men") on the west coast of Bima Bay may be considered the purest representatives of this group; they live severely isolated from their neighbours and are on a much lower level of civilisation. The Dou Donggo and the Bimanese do not intermarry. While almost all the rest of the population of Sumbawa has adopted Islam and even observes the prescription of the religion with comparative punctiliousness, the Dou Donggo are still pagans and in their paganism as well as in

their social institutions traces of an original totemism have with great probability been recognised. Bimanese society is remarkable for a sharp division of the people into 26 or (including the nobility) 27 classes (*dari*), which may roughly be described as guilds. These *dari* are under the control of two state-officials (*bumi*) and their functions and other obligations to the state are definitely laid down. Very little is certainly known about the earlier history. Some antiquities found on the island suggest Hindu influence at some time; in the later Hindu period Sumbawa belonged to the Javanese kingdom of Majapahit; in 1357 Dampo was conquered by Majapahit. At the beginning of the 17th century when the first intercourse of the Dutch with Bima began, the various Sumbawan kingdoms were under Gowa (Macassar); in the second half of the same century they were forced to recognise the suzerainty of the Dutch East India Co. According to a Bimanese court chronicle (the older parts of which are only of mythological interest) there have so far been 50 rulers of Bima and the 38th of these, 'Abd al-Kābir, who lived about 1640, was the first Muslim sultan.

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SUNAN. [See **SUNNA**.]

AL-SUNBULA, the ear (of corn), the usual name for the constellation of the Virgin (*al-'Adra*) from its most brilliant star, the ear of corn in the hand of the Virgin which is still called *Spica*. According to al-Kāwini, the constellation consists of 26 stars with a further six lying outside the figure. The head of the Virgin lies south of *al-Sarfa* (β Leonis); the feet are pointed towards the two pans of the Scales. The brightest star is also called either *Sunbula* or *al-Samā al-'al*, the unnamed Simk, in contrast to *al-Simk al-rūmī*, Simk with the lance (*Armech* on the star-map).

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SUNBULIYA, a branch of the **Khalwati** Order, named after Sunbul Sinān al-Dīn Yūsuf, whose birth-place is variously given as Bolou and Marsuan. His death-date is given in the *Ḥamū al-'Alāw* as 936 (1529/1530); according however to *al-Shaḥīḥ al-Nu'māniya* (transl. Rescher, 1927, p. 224, 225) he died before 929 (1522/1523); and this author, who was a contemporary, mentions him among the **Shaikhs** of the reign of Bāyazid II (died 918 = 1512), wherein he is followed by the author of the *Taḍī al-Tawārīkh* (Constantinople 1279, ii. 595), who is half a century later. On the other hand Hādījī Khalifa attributes to a Sunbul Sinān b. Ya'qūb, who died 989 (1581), a treatise in defence of Sūfi Dancing, and a Chain of **Khalwati** **Shaikhs**; the former work was dedicated to Sulaimān I (whose reign began 926 = 1520), and stated that Salīm I had asked for a *fatwā* on this subject, merely for the purpose of confirming his prejudice against the practice. It is probable that Hādījī Khalifa is mistaken in the date. From the brief biography of him which is almost identical in the *Shaḥīḥ* and the *Taḍī*, it appears that after being attached to the Mullā Afīzal-zāde (died 908 = 1502/1503) he entered the service of Celebi Khalifa (Rescher, p. 175; wrongly given as Sunbul's successor in *Mī'at al-Makānat*, quoted by A. J. Rose, Brown's *Dervishes*, 1927, p. 455), whose discipline involved severe exercises; after submitting to these he received permission to enroll disciples. He spent some time in Egypt, where he instructed aspirants, and presently came to Constantinople, where he was lodged in the *sāwīya* of Muṣṭafā Paḡha, and occupied himself with training disciples. The *Taḍī* adds that his tomb is in that *sāwīya*.

His successor there was Muṣṭafā al-Dīn Markas al-Lādīkī (Rescher, p. 332), who died 959 (1552). Another disciple, Ya'qūb al-Kirmiyānī, who had some doubts about the successor's qualifications, was convinced by a dream, wherein the Prophet with the Companions etc. appeared attending one of Markas's sermons. The Prophet's turban was green and black; the former indicating the completion of the Law, the latter that of the Path (Pečewi's *History*, Constantinople 1283, i. 465).

Reference has already been made to the severity of the exercises practised and enjoined by Sunbul Sinān; Pečewi (*loc. cit.*) mentions that Ya'qūb al-Kirmiyānī had to break his fast once only in three days, and drink water once in six months (!). He appears, as has been seen, to have favoured dancing or whirling as a religious exercise. Depont and Coppolani (*Confirmez*, p. 375) state that the Sunbuliya, while maintaining **Khalwati** principles, have adopted practices belonging to the Rīfā'iya and Sa'diya. Their work contains a list of Sunbuli *tehye* in or about Constantinople, fifteen in number; a similar list is given by J. P. Brown, *The Dervishes*, 1868, p. 316, with their respective days of service; it is rearranged in H. A. Rose's edition of the work (1927, p. 480). The order would seem to be confined to that city.

(D. S. MARGOLIOUTH)

SUNBULZÄDE WEHBI, a Turkish poet and scholar of the latter half of the eighteenth century.

Mehmed b. Rāḡhid b. Mehmed Efendi Wehbi was born in Mar'ash in the province of Aleppo; he belonged to the prominent local family of Sunbulzāde, which had already produced several

muftis including the grandfather of our poet, Mehmed, mufti in Marâş and author of several works including the *Şerh al-Aşbâh al-musammâ bi-Tawfîhi'lâh, Nûr al-Dîn* and *Kifâ al-Tanzihât*. His father Râşid also was a learned man and collaborated in Aleppo with the poet Saiyid Wehî. As one of the latter's sons died at the same time as a son, our poet, was born to Râşid, the infant received the poetic name of the father of the dead child: Wehî. In his native town Sunbulâde was *murid* of Ghalatali Tîd (?) Efendi and received the *icâzâs* from him. He then went to Stambul and lived there by writing chronograms and other vers d'occasion, but later became *kađi* through the influence of distinguished patrons. He then entered upon the career of a *Hodja* and was particularly entrusted with the drawing up of the more important state documents, in which he so distinguished himself that Sulţan Mustafa III had his attention called to him and bestowed honours upon him. In 1190 (1776) at the beginning of the reign of the next Sulţan 'Abd al-Hamid I he was sent as ambassador to Isfahân to Karim Khân. In the course of his mission a dispute broke out between him and 'Omar Pasha, governor of Baghdâd; Sunbulâde complained in Stambul of the difficulties the governor had put in his way; 'Omar Pasha on the other hand accused him of high treason and of unbecoming conduct in Persia. Sunbulâde was condemned to death in Stambul and a courier with the order for his execution sent to meet him, but he was warned in time and kept in concealment in Scutari. 'Omar Pasha soon fell into disgrace and Sunbulâde's innocence was established. Sunbulâde then won complete forgiveness from the Sultan by the "Resonant" (*tenânnûnî*) *kađida*. In it he describes, after an extravagant eulogy on the Sulţan, his Persian journey and continually emphasises the superiority of the Turkish court and of all things Turkish over those Persian.

On his return Sunbulâde again became a *kađi* and went in this capacity to Eski Zagra in Eastern Rumelia. Here his *ketkhudâ* was the poet Sûrûrî [q.v.]. The two poets became close friends and remained always intimate but they continually used to attack one another in good-humoured but ribald lampoons, which with their grotesque reproaches and their continued efforts to outdo one another are very amusing. The Arabic poems of Djarir and Farasdaq have been suggested for comparison. Their joint activity in Eski Zagra came to a sudden end, however, when they were both imprisoned because they had aroused the indignation of the populace by their dissolute conduct.

Later we find Sunbulâde again as *kađi* on the island of Rhodes. In his period of office there took place in Rhodes the execution of the unhappy Krim Khân Shâhin Girâi who had been betrayed by Russia to Turkey. Sunbulâde felt he had to celebrate this event in a *kađida* (called *Tuwayr*, the "Volant", because there is much talk of birds in it); the glorious Stambul Sulţan is again extravagantly praised in it, the unfortunate victim abused; the whole is little suited to place our poet in an enviable light.

Sulţan Salim III was keenly interested in literature and helped poets in every way. Sunbulâde dedicated his *Divân* to him and received rich rewards and honours. The *Divân* contains, besides ghazels and quatrains, a large number of short occasional poems, especially riddles and chrono-

grams. Sunbulâde spent the rest of his life in Stambul, versifying and merry-making. He suffered much from illness in his last years, gout, failing sight, perhaps mental derangement, and he is said to have been bedridden for seven years. He died on 14th Rabi' I, 1224 (April 28, 1809) aged over 90. His tomb is in Topdjular before the Adrianople Gate.

Sunbulâde wrote several works in addition to those already mentioned: the *Lutfiya*, an imitation of Nâbî's *Khairiya*, a rhymed *Akhâr* book for his son Lutfallah, of advice, about his studies in particular. The poem is of interest for social history but its literary value is slight. Sunbulâde himself boasts that he wrote it within a week and in a fever besides. It was written in 1205 (1790) and could not have long availed the son as he died of the plague five years later.

A *Hikâyat-nâmê*, entitled *Şerh-Engiz* was probably the most congenial to the poet of all his poems. It is a kind of *munâzara* between a debaucher of women and pederast who then ask the Shaikh of Love for his judgment. The latter shows how little either knew of pure absolute love, and the whole concludes with the praises of the love of God.

The next two poems are primarily an educational effort and as they are still used in Turkey as schoolbooks, they give the modern Turks an acquaintance with Sunbulâde. The *Tuhfa* is a rhymed Persian Turkish vocabulary, written in 1197 (1783) for his son, in imitation of the similar work of Shâhidî (xvth century). It is excellent for the time and a fruit of Sunbulâde's Persian journey. It contains 58 *peşva's* in different metres, the last of which is a double rhymed *marzûm* on the *İstiklâl-nâmê* 'Adjam. The Arabic counterpart to it is the *Nuḥḥa* written in 1214 (1799). There are commentaries on both, notably that of Hayâtî Efendi, which also gives valuable details of Sunbulâde's life.

There are other educational works by Sunbulâde which are now more or less forgotten; thus in 1184 (1770) he made a translation of a part of the *İqd al-Djuman* of 'Aini which exists in MS. in the Es'ad Efendi Library in Stambul.

The Ottoman critics agree that while Sunbulâde was a master of the language with few rivals, he is not really to be called a great poet. He was primarily a lover of life, then a man of learning and next a writer of occasional verse and a very clever one. His choice of material is as characteristic as his technique. The latter is based on a thorough knowledge of prosody and not on poetical feeling. Sunbulâde can treat poetically the most banal subject and a continual stream of graceful phrases seem to pour forth from him. He is therefore always pleasing in spite of a lack of real poetic talent. He never has become really popular; Ziyâ Pasha compares his poems to wild roses without scent. For the history of culture his exact knowledge of Persian acquired in the country itself, is of importance, and it is very interesting to see the impression made by Persia of that day on a highly intelligent Turk. References to Persia are exceedingly frequent in all his works.

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SUNKUR (Sunkor), a canton between Dainawar [q. v.] and Senna [q. v.], a dependency of Kirmānshāh. Lying on the road between Dainawar and Adharbāidjān it must correspond approximately to the first *marḥala* on the stretch from Dainawar to Sisar, the name of which is read al-Ḥārāḥ (Mukāḍḍasī, p. 382), Khārḥārdjān (Ibn Khurḍādhbih, p. 119; Kudāma, p. 212) etc. which was 7 farsakhs from Dainawar (the actual distance between the present ruins of Dainawar and Sunkur is however not more than 15 miles). Sunkur might therefore correspond to the canton of Mīlāḥradj (Balādhuri, p. 310) which was detached from Dainawar under the Caliph al-Mahdi and joined to Sisar [q. v.]; cf. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, iv., p. 477—479. If however we are to recognise in the name of the Kurd tribe Pārawand (Pārawand) a reminiscence of the old name Pāhradj ("custodia, vigilia") this tribe must have been driven westwards for it now occupies the west face of Mount Parrau (= Rūstān), lying S.W. of Dainawar (cf. Rabino, *Kermānshāh*, R. M. M., xxxviii., p. 36).

The easy pass of Mele-mān on the line of heights from Dilakḥān to Amrula separates Sunkur from Dainawar. On the north-east Sunkur is bordered by mount Pandja-ʿAlī (*Nashat al-Kulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 217: Pandj-Angusht), behind which runs the direct road from Hamādān to Senna. Sunkur is watered by the upper tributaries of the river of Dainawar, which ultimately joins the Gamas-āb (Karkha). Sunkur in the strict sense is adjoined by the more northern canton of Kulyāʾi on the upper course of the Gāwa-rūd (cf. SENNA) the western dependencies of which are Bīlawar and Niyāḥar (on the Kirmānshāh-Senna road; cf. Rabino, *loc. cit.*, p. 12, 35). The importance of Sunkur lies in the fact that it is on the road followed by Muslim pilgrims from Tahrīr to Kirmānshāh; to avoid the Kurdish territory of Senna the road now makes a detour by Bīdjār (Garrās) and Sunkur, from which Kirmānshāh is reached in a day's march.

The population of the district is made up of two distinct elements. The town (about 2,000 houses) is peopled by Turks who are said to have come there in the Mongol period (in the cemetery there are Kufic inscriptions). Their chief Sunkur was a vassal of the Mongols of Shīrās (?). The language of the townspeople (a Turcoman dialect?) is remarkable for its peculiarities and the decadence of its forms. To the Ottoman-Turkish forms *güçlüyürüm/güçlüyürüm* correspond the local forms *g'ü-lew'ürüm/g'ü-lir'ürüm*; *mā g'ü-low'ürüm*, *is g'ü-low'ür*, *g'ü-low'ür*, *is g'ü-low'ür*, *is g'ü-low'ür*, *is g'ü-low'ür*, *is g'ü-low'ür*. *Come" — *g'ä*, *go" — *g'ä*; I wish to go" — *is'iyew'ürüm g'iyäm*; "he also" *o-ä* (= *o-da*), "since the day before yesterday" — *is'iyew'ürüm h'ä*, etc.

The district (165 villages) on the other hand is inhabited by Kurd agriculturists whose chiefs belong to the Kurd tribe of Kulyāʾi. The present Khāns are said to be the descendants in the

eighth generation from Safi-Khān who lived in the time of the latter Safawids. In 1213 (1798) 'Alī Himmat Khān and his brother Hābi Khān (of the Nānakali tribe) supported the pretender Sulaimān Khān and were executed by Fath 'Alī Shāh (H. J. Bridges, *History of the Qajars*, London 1833, p. 38—39, 67). The Kulyāʾi speak a Kurd dialect resembling *Kirmānshāhi* and are suspected of *Ahl-i Ḥaq* (= 'Alī-illāhi, q. v.) tendencies. (V. MINORSKY)

SUNNA (A.), custom, use and wont, statute. The word is used in many connections. Here only the following will be dealt with. In the Kur'ān sunna usually occurs in two connections: *sunnat al-anwāl*, "the sunna of those of old" (viii. 39; xv. 13; xviii. 53; xxxv. 41) and *sunnat Allāh*, "the sunna of Allāh" (xvii. 79; xxxiii. 62; xxxv. 42; xlviii. 23). The two expressions are synonymous in so far as they refer to Allāh's punishment of earlier generations, who met the preaching of prophets sent to them with unbelief or scorn. The expressions are therefore found mainly in the Meccan sūras of which the main subjects are stories of the Prophets. In Sūra, iii. 131, the plural *sunnas* occurs meaning judgments. *Sunnat Allāh* is found in Sūra, xxxiii. 38, where it means the privileges which Allāh granted to earlier prophets.

In Ḥadīth by sunna is usually understood Muhammad's sunna; Allāh is connected with the community by his Book and Muhammad by his sunna (cf. Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 246: "Allāh's book and your Prophet's sunna").

According to the usual explanation Muhammad's sunna comprises his deeds, utterances and his unspoken approval (*fi'l, ḥawl, taḥrīr*). Observance of the sunna might in a way be called: "Imitatio Muhammadis".

In itself however the word is colourless. One speaks of good and bad sunna's, e.g. of the bad sunna of the *Ḍuhāliya* (Bukhārī, *Ḍiyāl*, bāḥ 9). Muhammad prophesies: "Verily ye shall imitate the sunna of those who were before you, inch for inch, ell for ell, span for span; if they were to crawl into a lizard's hole, you should follow after them" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ii. 327).

The contrast between good and bad sunnas finds its classical expression in the following ḥadīth: "He who institutes a fair sunna in Islam, so that it is practised after his death, to him a reward shall be given equal to that of all who have practised it, without anything being deducted from their reward. But he who institutes a bad sunna in Islam, so that it is practised after his death, against him a sin shall be debited, like that of all who have practised it without anything being subtracted from their sins" (Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 15).

Al-Sunna has however become the characteristic term for the theory and practice of the catholic Muhammadan community, *Ahl al-Sunna wa'l-Jamā'a*, the Sunna. "The people of the sunna and of the community", are those who refrain from deviating from dogma and practice. The expression is particularly used in this sense in opposition to Shī'a [q. v.]; the division of Islam into Sunna and Shī'a is generally known in the West. Great stress is therefore put upon following Muhammad's sunna, "He who tires of my sunna, does not belong to me" (Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, bāḥ 1). "The prescribed *ḡafāt*, Friday and Ramaḍān are an atonement for the period till the next *ḡafāt*, the next Friday and

the next Ramaḍān, except in the case of polytheism, breach of agreement and neglect of the sunna . . . and neglect of the sunna is secession from the community" (*Ḍiyāḥ*; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 229). Among the six categories of those who are cursed by Allāh, Muḥammad and all the prophets are those who have abandoned Muḥammad's sunna. (Tirmidhi, *Ḍaḥḍaḥ*, bāb 17). Knowledge of the sunna is one of the criteria in deciding who will act as imām at the ḡalāt (Tirmidhi, *Ḥalāt*, bāb 60; Nasā'i, *Imāma*, bāb 3).

The companions are the propagators of the sunna (Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 80); the word is occasionally referred to the example of the companions and the oldest generations of Islām; in Būḥārī, *Aḥḥām*, bāb 43, the sunna of Allāh, his prophet and the two khalīfas is mentioned; in Tirmidhi, *Imān*, bāb 16, there is a reference to the sunna of Muḥammad and the rightly guided caliphs.

The word thus acquires the meaning of standard; it is recorded that Muḥammad said when drawing up such prescriptions: "at discretion lest any sunna (burdensome to the community) arise" (Būḥārī, *Tahajjud*, bāb 35).

The opposite of sunna in the sense of the theory or practice consecrated by Muḥammad's example or the tradition of the community is *bid'a* (q. v.) (cf. e. g. Tirmidhi, *Imān*, bāb 16).

Muḥammad's sunna in the sense of his words, actions and silent approval is fixed orally and in writing in the Ḥadīth (q. v.). In theory the conceptions of sunna and ḥadīth are separate but in practice they often coincide, which may be due to the fact that some of the collections of ḥadīth have the title *Sunna* (e. g. the collections of Abū Dā'ūd, Ibn Mā'jā and al-Nasā'i).

If we are to understand the theoretical and practical significance of the sunna in Islām we must remember that while the Qur'ān was a source from which a considerable part of the practice was deduced, on the other hand Muḥammad had settled many questions, not by revelation but by decision from case to case and that the words and deeds of the Prophet even in his lifetime were recognised as a "fine example" and as a result of this recognition the sunna of the Prophet was drawn up and fixed in writing, although not in a form equally canonical with the Qur'ān. The Ḥadīth itself illuminates this side of Muḥammad's sunna in traditions: People came to the Prophet and asked him: "Send us men to teach us the Qur'ān and Sunna" (Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 147). "The faith has settled in the depths of the hearts of men. They have thus learned Qur'ān and Sunna" (Būḥārī, *Riḥāḥ*, bāb 35). 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said: "People will come to dispute with you over doubtful points in the Qur'ān. Answer them with the sunna, for the people of the Sunna are best able to decide about the Qur'ān" (Dārimī, *Introductio*, bāb 16).

In the Qur'ān itself references to the importance of Muḥammad's sunna are found, like the command to believe in Allāh and Muḥammad (Sūra vii. 158; xiv. 8) and Ibrahim's prayer, when he founded the temple at Mecca: "O Lord send to them a prophet from their midst, to read out to them thy verses and to teach them the book and wisdom and to purify them" (Sūra ii. 123 and similar passages).

It is clear then that in the system of Islām the Sunna became a standard of conduct along-

side of the Qur'ān, and that the representatives of the system also sought to answer the question of the mutual relation of the two elements. This question is also discussed in traditions. At first Qur'ān and Sunna appear as of equal authority. Khālid b. Usaid said to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar: "We find the *ḡalāt al-ḥaḍar* and the *ḡalāt al-ḥaḍar* in the Qur'ān but not however the *ḡalāt al-ḥaḍar*". Ibn 'Umar answered: "My cousin, Allāh sent us Muḥammad when we were in complete ignorance; therefore we do as we saw Muḥammad do" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 94). Another tradition is still more definite: "a prohibition by the prophet of Allāh is equal to a prohibition by Allāh" (Dārimī, *Introductio*, bāb 48). Ranking the Sunna equal to the Qur'ān led to the idea that the Sunna also was revealed: "Djibril used to come down with the Sunna to Muḥammad just as he used to come down with the Qur'ān" (Dārimī, *Introductio*, bāb 48). They even went further and said: "the highest standard is not the Qur'ān but the Sunna" (l. c.: *al-sunna ḡāfiya 'ala 'l-Qur'ān, ma-la-isa 'l-Qur'ān bi-ḡāfiya 'ala 'l-sunna*).

The question of the relation between Qur'ān and Sunna is fully discussed in the Uṣūl books. Shāfi'i in his *Riḍla* explains that there are prescriptions in the Qur'ān, the general form of which was only made precise in the Sunna (p. 12), e. g. the punishment of the thief punished in the Qur'ān (Sūra v. 42) by the tradition that the punishment is not to be applied when it is a question of the theft of an insignificant amount (see e. g. Būḥārī, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 13). It is known that Muḥammad punished *sinā* of a *ḡaiyib* with stoning (cf. e. g. Būḥārī, *Ḍiyāḥ*, bāb 61), while Sūra xxiv. 2 prescribes 100 lashes as the punishment for the *zina* and the *zina*.

The Sunna's relation to the Qur'ān may be of three kinds: (1) in entire agreement with the Qur'ān; (2) an explanation of the sacred text; (3) not directly connected with the sacred text (*Riḍla*, p. 16). — The last named is however not recognised by those who always give the Sunna a direct connection with the sacred text.

The relation between Qur'ān and Sunna is illustrated by the doctrine of *nāsikh wa 'l-manūkh*, "the abrogating and the abrogated", and by other examples relating to Qur'ānic commands and prohibitions. Here we shall only point out that al-Shāfi'i in contrast to other scholars does not agree that the Qur'ān can be abrogated by Sunna. In his view, Qur'ān can only be abrogated by Qur'ān and Sunna by Sunna (p. 16-17). But there are verses of the Qur'ān the abrogating character of which is only made clear by Sunna (p. 18-21) or by Sunna and *ijmā'* (p. 21-22).

The *uṣūl al-fiqh* are of course not confined to Qur'ān and Sunna; nevertheless in wide circles protests were made against any attempt to add to the two historical objective norms such subjective elements as *ijmā'* (q. v.) or *fiyāḥ* (q. v.). In Ḥadīth we find traces of this opposition: "When Ibn Ma'ūd and Ḥudhaifa one day were together, a man propounded a question to them. Then Ibn Ma'ūd said to Ḥudhaifa: Why do you think that people ask us about these things? He replied: As soon as they are told they neglect it. Then Ibn Ma'ūd said to the questioner: If you ask us about a Qur'ānic matter, which we know, we will give you information, likewise about a sunna of Muḥammad, but we have no advice to give

about your innovations" (Dārimī, *Introduktion*, bab 16). Bakhārī has significantly given a chapter of his *Ṣaḥīḥ* the title: "On the observance of Qur'ān and Sunna".

This attitude is however abandoned by the four *maḥallih*; *idjma'* and *ḥijāb* have obtained their place among the *uṣūl al-fiqh*. The four roots were never recognised by the Khāridjīs and Wahhābīs, in addition to the *Ṣūra*.

With the term Sunna in the theory of the Uṣūl must not be confused the second of the five categories, under which actions are considered from the legal point of view and which is also called Sunna. On this see the article *ḤAḤĪLA*.

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(A. J. WENSINCK)

SUNNITES. [See SUNNA.]

ŠUR (TYRE), the island city of Phoenicia. From the Amarna period it was one of the richest commercial centres of the Syrian coast and gradually developed into a powerful rival of the adjoining Sidon [q. v.] for dominion over the Phoenician colonies in the west. Its conquest and destruction by Alexander the Great only deprived the flourishing metropolis of its importance for a brief period; but it had one permanent important result, namely that the island city was henceforth connected with the mainland by the Alexander dam, which was gradually widened into an isthmus by the material swept up by the southwestern coast currents; from very early times Palatitros (Assyr. *Uṣūl*) had lain opposite the island town on the mainland. Under the Roman empire Tyre was the secular and ecclesiastical capital of the eparchy *Φοινίκη Παλαια*.

After the occupation of Damascus, Shurabīl b. Ḥaana captured Šur and Ṣaffūriya among other towns of the region (al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 116; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, II/iii., § 321; III., § 107). According to Pseudo-Wāḥidī (*Futūḥ al-Ṣūḥr*, Cairo 1278, II. 58 sqq.), Šur was taken through the treachery of the former commander of Ḥalab, 'Abdallāh Yūḥanā. Al-Wāḥidī and the Syrian Highām b. al-Lāth say that Mu'āwīya restored 'Akka and Šur at the time of his expedition against Cyprus (27) and in 42 transplanted Persian colonists from Ba'albak, Hims and Anṭakya to the cities of al-Urdunn, namely Šur, 'Akka, etc. (al-Balādhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 117). The authorities of the above mentioned Tyrian said: "When we settled in Šur and the cities of the coast there were Arab troops there and still many Greeks; later, people came from other regions and settled alongside of us just as happened in all the other cities of the coast of Syria". In 49 the Greek fleet raided the Syrian coast-towns

which had not yet arsenals (Balādhuri, *op. cit.*; Maḥbūb of Manbij, *Kitāb al-Uṣūl*, ed. A. Vasilev, in *Patrol. Orient.*, VIII. 492). Mu'āwīya thereupon built dockyards in 'Akka for the district of al-Urdunn. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān restored Šur, Ḳaisariya, and the suburbs of 'Akka, which had again fallen into ruins (al-Balādhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 117, 143). When at a later date Highām b. 'Abd al-Malik wished to purchase mills and store-houses from one of the descendants of Abū Mu'ā'iz, and the latter refused to sell them, he had the arsenal removed to Šur and built magazines and docks there (al-Balādhuri, p. 117). According to al-Wāḥidī also, Šur replaced 'Akka under the Marwānids as a naval station and remained one henceforth (al-Balādhuri, p. 118; Ibn Djuhair, ed. Wright, p. 305). The Caliph al-Muwakkil later (247/248 A. H.) distributed the fleet and naval forces among all the Syrian coast-towns.

The Arab geographers describe Šur as a city on the sea-coast (*al-samāḥil*) of al-Urdunn (the Jordan province) which was strongly fortified and thickly populated and had fertile country round it. The island city was only accessible from the mainland through a gate to which a bridge led, and was fortified by walls which rose straight out of the sea, almost all the way round it; as in ancient times, a second part of the city lay opposite it on the mainland. The bridge which is mentioned by al-Muḥaddas also, is described by al-Ḳaṣwī (ed. Wüstenfeld, II. 366, l. 5 from below, under *Talaṣṣila*) as the largest arch in the world (confusion with the Sandja bridge?). The ancient aqueduct which led from *Sidw* (now Rās al-'Ain or al-Rāḥidīya) via Tell al-Maḥḥuk to the city still provided it with water in the middle ages (al-Muḥaddas, *S. G. A.*, III. 163; Nāṣir-i Khuraw, ed. Schefer, p. 11). Nāṣir-i Khuraw, who visited Šur in 1047 mentions the five to six storied houses there and a richly decorated Maḥḥad at the city-gate; the inhabitants were then for the most part *Shi'a*; only the *kādī* was Sunnī. In the Crusading period al-Idrisī (1154 A. D.) records the flourishing glass industry, the pottery and the weaving of valuable stuffs in Šur. Ḳudāma mentions the wharves of the town.

From the Tūlūnid period, Syria was almost continuously under Egyptian suzerainty, which became still more firmly established under the Fatimids. The Tyrians rose against the Caliph al-Ḥākim in 388 (998) under a peasant named 'Alāḳa ('*Uṣūl*) at the same time as al-Ramla rebelled and the citadel of Fīmiya was besieged by the Byzantine General Dukas. The governor of Syria, Djaish b. Muḥammad b. Samsām, sent the Hamdānid Ḥusain b. 'Abd Allāh b. Nāṣir al-Dawla and the eunuch Fāṭik (var. Fa'ik) al-Barras against the city. When they attacked Šur by land and water, 'Alāḳa appealed for help to the Byzantine emperor. The latter sent several ships but these were completely defeated in a naval battle. The town, the inhabitants of which thereupon lost all heart for a stubborn resistance, was taken and sacked, its inhabitants massacred and 'Alāḳa tortured and executed in Egypt.

But the risings continued; the vizier Badr al-Djamālī in 1089 A. D. was forced to take Šur, 'Akka and Djabail from the Saljuḳ Sultan Tutuḥ and his successor al-Aḥdāl Shāhshāh in 490 (1097/1098) punished a new rising with a terrible massacre, in which even the governor of the city

was executed. This took place in the same year as the Crusaders left Constantinople. Coins were struck in Şūr in the name of the Caliph al-Musta'li (1094—1101).

Although the city at first (1100—1101) sought to win Baldwin's good graces by gifts, it soon (1103) joined in the defence of 'Akkā and Ṭarābulus. By arrangement with Tughtakin the amir 'Izz al-Mulk of Şūr in 500 (1106—1107) attacked the Crusader's stronghold at Tibnān (Toron), plundered a suburb and massacred the inhabitants, but fled quickly away when Baldwin advanced on Şūr from Ṭabariyya. The king appeared next year before its walls, built a fort on Tell al-Ma'shūka and besieged the city for a month; its wall had to purchase his withdrawal by a payment of 7,000 dinārs.

A week after the fall of Ṭarābulus, the Egyptian fleet with soldiers, money and supplies for a year appeared before this city, but on hearing that the fortress had been taken by the Franks, they returned to Şūr and the supplies and soldiers were distributed between Şūr, Ṣaydā' (Sidon) and Bairūt.

Baldwin laid siege to Şūr once more on the 25th or 27th Dhu'l-ḥijja I (November 27 or 29, 1111); he built two wooden towers 10 ells high, put 1,000 soldiers in each and had them pushed up to the walls of the city. On the appeal of the Tyrians, Tughtakin came from Damascus to Bāḍiyās and sent reinforcements from there, who cut off the Franks' supplies while he himself marched on Ṣaydā'. Baldwin had already stormed two walls when the governor of Şūr, 'Izz al-Mulk al-A'azz held a council of war in which a shaykh, who had taken part in the defence of Ṭarābulus offered to destroy the siege-towers of the Franks. He actually succeeded in setting both on fire. The Franks gained no success worth mentioning up to the spring of 1112. In the meanwhile Tughtakin, after taking the fortress of al-Djish in the Damascus came up with 20,000 men and cut off supplies from the Franks. When they received their supplies by sea, he laid waste the country round Ṣaydā'. On the 10th Shawwāl (April 21) Baldwin raised the siege and retired to 'Akkā. The people of Şūr welcomed Tughtakin with rich gifts and restored the injured walls and ditches of their town. On his departure Tughtakin handed over Şūr to the Caliph again; but in the very next year the people and their governor 'Izz al-Mulk Anushtakin al-Afjalī, fearing another attack from the Franks, decided to hand over the city to him again. Tughtakin at their request sent them the amir Mas'ūd with forces for its defence; but the caliph continued to be prayed for in the mosques and coins were still struck in his name.

The vizier al-Ma'mūn, al-Afjal's successor, in 516 (1122/1123) sent a well equipped fleet of 40 galleys under Mas'ūd b. Sallār to Şūr; when the commander Mas'ūd came on board to greet them he was put in chains and brought to Egypt. There however he was shown great honour and sent to Damascus, where diplomatic apologies were offered and the incident explained away; Tughtakin replied courteously and promised his further assistance in the defence against the common enemy.

The Franks however saw in the removal of the valiant Mas'ūd a good omen and prepared for a further siege with renewed hopes. The Egyptian commander recognised the feebleness of the garrison and the insufficiency of the city's supplies and

appealed for help to the Caliph. Al-Amir replied that he would put the defence in the hands of Zahir al-Din (Tughtakin). The latter thereupon occupied the city again and put it in a satisfactory condition for defence. In the month of Rabi' I (April) 1124 the second siege of Şūr began. Venetian ships blockaded the harbour while on land the armed troops attacked the walls with a siege-tower. Damascus troops distinguished themselves by particular bravery in the defence. The besiegers sent a portion of their army against Tughtakin while the Venetians were to ward off the Egyptian fleet. After various vicissitudes the Tyrians decided, after famine had broken out in the city, to surrender under favourable conditions. After Tughtakin had conducted negotiations for surrender with the Frank commanders, they were allowed to leave the city with their possessions or to remain there on paying ransom. On 23th (or 28th) Dhu'l-ḥijja I (July 9 or 14) 1124, the inhabitants marched out of the city between the troops of Tughtakin and the Frankish army; they were settled partly in Damascus and partly in Ghazza. After this surrender, which marked the zenith of the power of the Crusaders in Syria, Tyre remained till 1191 in the hands of the Franks. Ibn al-Athir laments its fall as a great misfortune for the Muslim world, as it was one of the finest and strongest of cities, and adds: "Let us hope that God the Almighty will restore it to the rule of Islam".

Shams al-Mulūk (Burr) of Damascus in 528 (1133/1134) after a raid of the Franks into the Hawrān laid waste the region of Ṭabariyya, Şūr and the rest of the coast-lands and returned via al-Sha'ra' with a great booty. An Egyptian fleet appeared in 550 (1155/1156) in the harbour of Şūr, sank ships which belonged to Christian pilgrims and others, and returned with numerous prisoners and rich plunder. In 552 (1157) Şūr, Ṣaydā', Bairūt, Ṭarābulus and other towns suffered from an earthquake.

From the Crusading period we have the descriptions of the city by Idrisi and Ibn Djubair. The former admires the glassworks and potteries and the manufacture of an extraordinarily finely woven cloth. Ibn Djubair who spent 11 days in Şūr gives a full description of the town and of a ceremonial procession that took place during his visit. On the land side the city had 3—4 successive gates. The entrance from the sea was through two high towers, between which one entered a harbour (the old "Sidonian"), the finest of all the harbours of the coast-cities. On three sides the walls surrounded the harbour, on the fourth a wall with an entrance through an arch below which the ships anchored. This inner harbour could be shut off by a huge chain which was stretched between the two towers.

Salāh al-Dīn after the capture of Jerusalem and most of the coast-towns proceeded to besiege Şūr and pitched his camp before the city (on 5th; according to others, on the 9th Ramaḍān 583 = Nov. 8 or 12, 1187). He had at first to wait for the impediments of the army and summoned his son Malik al-Zahir from Haleb and his brother Malik al-'Adil from Jerusalem to his side; his second son al-Afjal and his nephew Taḥī al-Dīn were with him. As soon as the siege artillery arrived, they began to bombard the town from movable towers with catapults etc. Ten ships

brought from 'Akka blockaded the harbour; but they were surprised by the Frankish fleet and some destroyed, some sunk. An attack on the walls was repulsed. A council of war summoned by Salāh al-Dīn decided, on account of the approach of winter, to raise the siege till next year. On the 2nd Dhū l-Ka'da 584 (= Jan. 3, 1188, according to Bahā' al-Dīn; Ibn al-Athīr gives the last day of Shawwāl = Jan. 1, 1188), Salāh al-Dīn began to withdraw his army. Hardly was the city freed from its besiegers than a fight for its possession broke out between king Guy de Lusignan who had just returned from captivity and its valiant defender Conrad of Montferrat.

The failure of the siege of this strong seaport marked a reverse in Salāh al-Dīn's fortunes. With Shaḥīf Arnūn (Belfort) it was the only fortress of Syria to remain in the hands of the Franks. In the harbour of Tyre assembled the powerful forces for the Third Crusade; into it poured the garrisons of the towns taken by Salāh al-Dīn whom he always chivalrously released; from it the siege of 'Akka was launched, which completely distracted the Caliph's attention from Sūr.

On the 15th Rabi' II, 588 (April 29, 1192) the Marquis Conrad who now lived in Tyre as titular king of Jerusalem was murdered by Isma'īl. His successor Henri de Champagne concluded the peace of Ramla with Salāh al-Dīn (Sept. 1192) by which the coast from Jaffa to Tyre was left to the Franks.

When the garrison of Tibnin undertook a campaign against Sūr and laid waste the surrounding country, the Crusaders began to besiege this fortress on 1 Šafar 594 (= Dec. 13, 1197). On a rumour of the approach of a large army under al-Malik al-'Adil however they retired without achieving anything. In Sha'ban 597 (May-June, 1201) Sūr was visited by an earthquake, and in 600 (1203/1204) by another in which the walls of the fortress collapsed. By the peace between Frederick II and al-Kāmil of Egypt (1229) Sūr, 'Akka, and several coast-towns of Syria were left in the hands of the Christians, in addition to Jerusalem. In the next few decades the power of the Franks was further weakened by the ceaseless fighting between the coast-towns, and the Venetian and Genoese fleet.

The powerful Baibars in May 1266 and in 1269 attacked Sūr, on the second occasion, it is said, in anger at the murder in Sūr of a merchant, whose mother had laid her complaint before him in Khirbat al-Lusūs. But he agreed to a treaty in 669 (1270/1271) with the prince of the city by which ten districts of Tyrian land were allotted to the latter, 5 to the Caliph to be chosen by him while the rest were to be jointly administered. In August 1285, Margaret of Tyre purchased from Kalā'ūn a ten years' peace by paying him half her revenues and promising not to restore the defences of the city. But after the fall of 'Akka (1291), Sūr and the few remaining Frankish towns could no longer hold out. After the taking of Sūr, Khalīl had the inhabitants killed or sold into slavery and the city itself was destroyed.

It was still completely in ruins in the time of Abu 'l-Fida' (1321), al-Kalkashandī (c. 1400) and Khalīl al-Zahiri (c. 1450). Ibn Baṭṭūta (1355) could only find a few traces of the old walls and harbour. Henceforth Sūr was an unimportant place. The Druze chief Fakhr al-Dīn (1595—1634) did

not succeed in improving the situation of the town; nor did the Shaikh Zahir al-Umar of 'Akka and his successor Dījazir Pasha in the second half of the xviiith century. An earthquake in 1837 brought further misfortune to Sūr. The town has now 6,500 inhabitants (1840: 3,000; 1880: 5,000; 1900: 6,000) of these about half are Muslims and rather less Roman and Greek Catholics, the remainder Jews.

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SŪR, a clan of Afghāns to which Shīr Shāh, the conqueror of Humāyūn the Tīmūrid, and founder of the short-lived Sūr dynasty of Dīhli and Agra, belonged. Firāhtā, following earlier authorities, describes the Sūr as a tribe of Afghāns of Roh, the hill-country which is now the abode of frontier tribes over whom the British Government exercises little authority, and the Afghān Government less. According to the same authority the Sūr tribe traces its descent from the Shamsabānī dynasty of Ghūr, but this seems to be a fictitious genealogy, fabricated possibly to gratify Shīr Shāh. The Sūr are a subdivision of a clan of the Lodi or Lūdi tribe, to which Buhlāl Lodi and his two successors on the throne of Dīhli (1451—1526) belonged. According to Surgeon General Bellew the Lodi tribe has three great divisions, Siyāni, Niyāz and Dotāni, of which the

Siyaḥ division is divided into two clans, Parangi and Ismā'īl, the latter having three subdivisions, Sūr, Lohānī and Mahpāl. The accession of Bahlāl Lodī to the throne of Dihlī attracted many Afghāns to India, among them a community of the Sūr subdivision of his own tribe, headed by Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr, who was first employed in the Hīẓar Firūza and Nārnāl districts. He had four sons, Hasan, Ahmad, Muḥammad, and Ghāzī. Hasan and Muḥammad accompanied Djamāl Khān to Džawnpūr, where Muḥammad remained, while Hasan received the fiefs of Sahāraṁ and Khawāspūr Tānda in Bihār. He had four sons, Farid and Nīẓām by his wife, an Afghān lady, and Sulaimān and Ahmad by a slave girl. Farid eventually became emperor of India under the title of Shīr Shāh (q. v.). His strength of character and commanding ability suppressed that tendency to internecine strife which he recognised as the besetting sin of the Afghāns and the chief source of their weakness, but after his death there was none to restrain them, and the empire which his valour and ability had won was speedily lost by the dissensions of his successors. He was succeeded by his son Djalāl Khān, who took the title of Ismā'īl or Salīm Shāh and reigned for nine years (1545–1554), but whose energies were dissipated in a contest with his elder brother, 'Adil Khān, Salīm Shāh's young son, Firūz, was put to death by his maternal uncle, Mubārīz Khān, son of Shīr Shāh's younger brother, Nīẓām, and Mubārīz ascended the throne under the title of Muḥammad Shāh 'Adil, but was contemptuously nicknamed 'Adalī by his own people, and *Andhālī* ("blind") by the Hindūs. During his feeble reign (1554–1556) his cousin Ibrāhīm, son of Ghāzī Khān Sūr of Hindawān, brother of Hasan Khān, and Ahmad, son of Ahmad Khān Sūr, another brother of Hasan, assumed the royal title, and at one time there were three emperors pretending to reign in India: (1) Ibrāhīm Shāh, who seized Dihlī and Āgra; (2) Muḥammad Shāh 'Adil, who retired to Cunnār, and (3) Ahmad Sūr, who assumed the title of Sikandar Shāh in the Panjāb, drove Ibrāhīm from Dihlī and Āgra, and was occupying those districts when Humāyūn returned in 1555 and expelled him. He fled into the Siwālīk and thence to Bengal, where he died. Ibrāhīm Shāh, when driven from Āgra by Sikandar Shāh, fled to Sambhal and thence to Kālpi, where he was defeated by Hemū, the minister of 'Adalī. Ibrāhīm next fled to his father, Ghāzī Khān, then in Biyāna, and Hemū besieged him there, but was recalled by 'Adalī to repulse Muḥammad Khān Sūr, governor of Bengal, who was marching on Cunnār. Ibrāhīm followed him, but was defeated, and again retired to Biyāna, and thence to Patna, where he attacked Rājā Rāmcandra, who defeated and captured him, but treated him with great honour, enthroned him, and acknowledged him as his sovereign. 'Adalī meanwhile attacked and slew Muḥammad Sūr near Kālpi. The news of Humāyūn's return and of Sikandar's defeat and flight had now reached Cunnār, and was followed by that of Humāyūn's death, on receipt of which 'Adalī sent Hemū with 50,000 horses and 500 elephants to recover Āgra and Dihlī. He took both cities, for himself, not for his master, but was defeated and slain at Pānpāt by the army of Akbar, for whom both Dihlī and Āgra were recovered. 'Adalī was defeated and slain by Khidr

Khān, son of Muḥammad Sūr, who had assumed the title of Bahādūr Shāh. Ibrāhīm Sūr was for some time in Mālwa, and fled thence to Uṛta, where Sulaimān Katarīnī treacherously put him to death in 1567.

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(T. W. HALE)

SŪRA, the name given to the chapters of the Qur'ān. In the Qur'ān itself, the word means, in the Meccan as well as the Medinese parts, the separate revelations which were revealed to Muḥammad from time to time. Thus he challenges his opponents to produce a sūra like his own (ii. 21; x. 39) or to bring ten sūras like his of their own devising (xi. 16). As a superscription we have in xxiv. 1: "(this is) a sūra which we have sent down and sanctioned and in it we have revealed clear signs (*āyāt*)". The Muḥakkimūn, we are told (ix. 65), fear that a sūra may be sent down that will tell them what is in their hearts; cf. ix. 87: "when a sūra was sent down which commanded them to believe and to fight etc.". In ix. 125, 128; xlvii. 22, mention is made of the different effects of a sūra upon believers and unbelievers. As far as contents are concerned the word thus coincided with the word "Qur'ān" in its original meaning, but in later usage they became separated; Qur'ān became the name of the collected revelations in book form while sūra was used of the chapters of the sacred book, which consisted originally each of a single revelation but later were formed of the combination of several revelations or fragments.

Where Muḥammad got the word is still uncertain in spite of the attempts made to trace its origin. Noldeke thinks it is the modern Hebrew *šūra* "order, series" but even if this could be explained as "line" it would not take us to the original meaning of the word, and against it is the fact that one sūra, according to xxiv. 1, contained several *āyāt*. Perhaps the word is in some way connected with Muḥammad's conception of a book in heaven (*al-Kitāb*), the contents of which were revealed to him piecemeal. "Piece, section" or a similar meaning would make good enough sense and would also explain the later usage, but linguistically it cannot be proved, for H. Hirschfeld's supposition that it is a corruption of the Hebrew *sefer* is not at all probable. *Sūra*, to mount, fall upon, overcome (e.g. with wine) might possibly yield a meaning like *impetus*, sudden overwhelming inspiration etc., but *sawra* and not *sūra* is the derivative found from it.

The authorised Qur'ān contains 114 sūras of which the first (*al-Fātiha*, q. v.) and the two last are conjurations loosely connected as introduction and conclusion to the rest. This agrees with the fact that these three sūras are said to have been lacking in the Qur'ān as edited by Ibn Ma'ūd. There was a certain amount of freedom at first

in this respect so that Ubayy for example had two *sūras* in addition to those usually accepted. The order of the *sūras* also was not definitely fixed, although the same principle of arrangement may be recognised in the different editions. The reader may be referred to the article *YŌW'AN* on this point, as well as on the names of the *sūras*, their separation in the manuscripts and the letters which are found in the superscriptions to some of them.

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SŪRA (A.), image, form, shape, e.g. *ṣūrat al-arḍ*, 'the shape of the earth', *ṣūrat ḥimār*, 'the form of an ass' (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, trad. 115) or face, countenance (see below). *Tajāwiz* are rather pictures. *Sūra* and *ṭawwira* are therefore in the same relation to one another as the Hebrew *demūt* and *zelem*. The Biblical idea according to which man was created in God's *zelem* (Gen., i. 27) has most probably passed into Hadīth. It occurs, so far as I am aware, in three passages in classical Hadīth; the exegesis is uncertain and in general unwilling to adopt interpretations such as Christian theology has always readily associated with this Biblical passage. In Bukhārī, *1st ḥiṣṣa*, bāb 1 (cf. Muslim, *Ḍaḥḥa*, trad. 28) it is said: 'Allāh created man after (*ʿaṣr*) his *ṣūra*: his length was 60 *ells*'. On this Kaṣṭallānī (ix. 144) says: 'the suffix *'his*' refers to Adam; the meaning therefore is: — Allāh created Adam according to his i. e. Adam's form, that is perfect and well-proportioned' (cf. also, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vi. 143 sq.). But there are also other explanations. Another tradition says: 'One should not say: *'amā Allāh make thy face hateful and the faces of those who are like thee*', for Allāh created Adam after his *ṣūra*'. In this tradition the suffix obviously refers to the person addressed. Others say: The suffix refers to Allāh, for in one version the tradition runs: Allāh created Adam in the shape of al-Rahmān, i. e. as regards his qualities, knowledge, life, hearing, sight, etc. although Allāh's qualities are incomparable. — The theologians are divided into two groups on the exposition of this tradition; the one refrains from any interpretation through dread of anthropomorphism; the other explains the expression as an indication of Adam's beauty and perfection, an *iḍāfat takrīm wa-taḥḥīz* (like *ṣūrat Allāh*, *Baṣṭ Allāh*, says al-Nawawī, see below). — So far Kaṣṭallānī.

The second passage in which the tradition occurs is Muslim, *Birr*, trad. 115: 'If a man fights with his brother, he ought to spare his face, for Allāh created man after his *ṣūra*'. Al-Nawawī's commentary on this tradition coincides in part with the already quoted section in Kaṣṭallānī; we need only quote the following here: al-Māzarī says: 'Ibn Kutaiba has interpreted this tradition wrongly by taking it literally'. He says: 'Allāh has a *ṣūra*, but not like other *ṣūras*'. This interpretation is obviously wrong for the conception *ṣūra* involves composition and what is put together is created (*muḥallaḥ*); but Allāh is not created therefore is not composed, therefore he is not *muḥallaḥ*. Ibn Kutaiba's interpretation is like that of the anthropomorphists, who say: 'Allāh

has a body, but not like other bodies'. They quote in support the orthodox pronouncement 'The Creator is thing (*ḥaṭ*) but not like other things'. This is however reasoning by false analogy for *ḥaṭ* does not involve the conception of coming into existence (*ḥudūṭ*) and what is associated with it. Body and *ṣūra* on the other hand involve joining together and composition and therefore also *ḥudūṭ*', etc.

We have further to deal with the conception *ṣūra* in connection with the prohibition of images, which, in so far as it is known in the west, is traced to the Kurʾān like most Muslim institutions. Although this idea is one of the numerous popular errors about Islām, we cannot deny that the prohibition of images is based on a view which finds expression in the Kurʾān. In Kurʾānic linguistic usage *ṭawwira* 'to fashion' or 'form' is synonymous with *baraʾa* 'to create': Sūra, vii. 10, 'and we have created you, then we have fashioned you, then we have said to the angels, etc.'. Sūra, iii. 4: 'It is he who forms you in the mother's womb as he will'. Sūra, xl. 66: 'It is Allāh who has made the earth for a home for you and the heavens for a vault above you, shaped you and formed you beautiful' (cf. Sūra, lxiv. 3). Sūra, lix. 24 Allāh is called *al-ḥaṭṭāḥ*, *al-ḥaṭṭī*, *al-muṭawwīr*, i. e. according to Baḍāwī: 'He who takes the resolution to create things according to His wisdom, who creates them without error, who calls their forms and qualities into existence, according to His will'.

This linguistic usage shows complete synonymy between the concepts 'to fashion, to shape', and 'to make, to create'. In the older Hebrew literature also *Yahwe* as creator is called *Yager*, i. e. the potter. The roots *ṭ-r* and *ḥ-r* are also ultimately connected.

If then Allāh according to the Kurʾān is the great fashioner, it follows in Hadīth that all human fashioners are imitators of Allāh and as such deserving of punishment: 'Whosoever makes an image him will Allāh give as a punishment the task of blowing the breath of life into it; but he is not able to do this' (Bukhārī, *Buyūʾ*, bāb 104; Muslim, *Lisān*, trad. 100). 'Those who make these pictures will be punished on the Day of Judgment by being told: Make alive what you have created' (Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, bāb 56). 'Those whom Allāh will punish most severely on the Day of Judgment are those who imitate Allāh's work of creation' (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi. 36). Such are called the worst of creatures (Nasāʾi, *Mawḍiʿ*, bāb 13), cursed by Muḥammad (Bukhārī, *Buyūʾ*, bāb 25), compared to polytheists (Tirmidhī, *Dyaḥannam*, bāb 1). Houses which contain images, dogs and ritually impure people are avoided by the angels of mercy (Bukhārī, *Badʾ al-Ḥaṭṭ*, bāb 17, etc.). The latter statement is illuminated by the story of how ʿĀʾisha once purchased a cushion (*nunruḳa*) on which were pictures; when Muḥammad saw it from outside the house, he stood at the door without coming in. When ʿĀʾisha saw repugnance expressed on his countenance, she said: 'O Apostle of Allāh, I turn full of penitence to Allāh and his Apostle, but what law have I broken?' He replied: 'What is the meaning of this cushion?' She said: 'I purchased it for thee to sit upon and use as a cushion'. Then the Apostle of Allāh answered: 'The makers of these images will be punished and they will be told: Make

alive what you have created". And further he said: "A house which contains images is not entered by the angels" (Muslim, *Liḥāḥ*, trad. 96; cf. 85, 87, 91-99; Bukhārī, *Liḥāḥ*, bāb 92; Ahmad b. Hanbal, vi, 172). Muhammad is said to have removed the images and statues out of the Ka'ba (Bukhārī, *Magāzī*, bāb 48). There are also references to this in the *Sira*. Here we need only quote one more remarkable tradition, which has some resemblance to the Christophorus legend. 'Alī relates: "I and the Prophet walked till we came to the Ka'ba. Then the Prophet of Allāh said to me: "Sit down". Then he stood on my shoulders and I arose. But when he saw that I could not support him, he came down, sat down and said: "Stand on my shoulders". Then I climbed on his shoulders and he stood up and it seemed to me as if I could have touched the sky, had I wished. Then I climbed on the roof of the Ka'ba on which there was an image of copper and iron. Then I began to loosen it at its right and left side, in front and behind until it was in my power. Then the Prophet of Allāh called to me: "Throw it down". Then I threw it down so that it broke into pieces like a bottle. I then climbed down from the Ka'ba and hurried away with the Prophet, till we hid ourselves in the houses for fear some one might meet us" (Ahmad b. Hanbal, i, 84; cf. 151).

According to the law it is forbidden to copy living beings, those that have a *ruh*. Nawawī in his commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* to *Liḥāḥ*, trad. 81 (Cairo 1283, iv, 443) gives the following summary: "The learned men of our school and other 'ulama' say: The copying of living beings is strictly forbidden and is one of the great sins, because it is threatened with the severe punishment, mentioned in the traditions. It does not matter whether the maker has made the copies from things used in little esteem or from other things, for the making of them is in itself *ḥarām*, because it is an imitation of Allāh's creative activity. From this point of view it makes no difference whether the image is put upon a cloth, carpet, coin, vessel or wall, etc."

The copying of trees, camel-saddles, and other things apart from living creatures is not forbidden. — So far the legal prescriptions affecting the copying itself.

As regards the use of articles which have on them images of living creatures, if these are hung on a wall or are on a garment which is worn or on a turban or other article which is not treated lightly, they are *ḥarām*. If the reproductions however are on carpets which are walked upon, on cushions and pillows etc., which are in use, they are not *ḥarām*. Whether the angels of mercy avoid houses which contain such articles will be discussed immediately, as God will.

In all these cases it makes no difference whether the reproductions have a shadow or not. Some of the older jurists say: Only what has a shadow is forbidden; there are no objections to other reproductions. But this is an erroneous view. For the reproduction on the curtain was condemned by the Prophet and it certainly had no shadow. The other traditions should be remembered which forbid all images of whatever nature.

Al-Zuhri says: Images are without exception forbidden as well as the use of articles on which there are images or the entering of a house in

which there are images, whether embroidered on a cloth or not embroidered whether they are put on a wall, on a cloth or carpet, to be trodden upon or not, on the authority of the literal interpretation of the tradition about the *sumruḥa* (pillow) which Muslim records (cf. above). This is a very strict point of view. Others say: What is embroidered on a cloth whether for humble use or not, whether hung on a wall or not is permitted. They regard as *makrūh* images which have shadows, or reproductions on walls, whether embroidered or not. They rely for this view on Muhammad's words in several traditions in the *Baḥ* concerned: "except what is embroidered on cloth". This is the attitude of Kāsim b. Muhammad.

The *igmas* forbids all representations which have shadows and declares their defacement *muḥrib*. The Kādi (1540) says: "Apart from little girls playing with dolls and the permission for this". Mālik however declares it *makrūh* for a man to buy his daughter a doll. And some say that the permission to play with dolls was abolished by the traditions... (p. 447 sq.). These traditions lay it down without any ambiguity that the representation of living creatures is strictly forbidden. As regards representations of trees and such like without *ruh* neither their making nor purchase is thereby forbidden. Fruit-trees in this respect are the same as other trees. This is the view of all the 'ulama' except Mājjīdīd, who considers the representation of fruit-trees *makrūh*. The Kādi (1540) says: Mājjīdīd is alone in this view. He relies on the tradition: "Who is more unrighteous, than he who imitates my creation?" (Muslim, *Liḥāḥ*, trad. 101; Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, bāb 56); while all the others quote the tradition: "Then it shall be said to them, put life (*ahyū*) into that which ye have made, for *ahyū* means: make living creatures (*hayawān*) with a *ruh*". — So far al-Nawawī.

In spite of the opinions of theologians and jurists, breaches are not rare as in the case of the prohibition of wine; as for example, the frescoes in the bath-house of 'Amra [q. v.], the miniatures in Persian and Turkish manuscripts, Turkish and Egyptian stamps. There have even been pictures of Muhammad in recent times. But this does not affect the fact that among Muslim peoples there has been neither painting nor sculpture to any considerable extent. Arabesques and calligraphy may be regarded as a substitute for it. Streygowsky has tried to explain the absence of human figures from Muslim art by the latter's being influenced by a school of art in which there were no human figures for some other reasons.

Objections were for long made to photography (see Snouck Hargronje, *Verrijde Geschiedenis*, ii, 432 sq.); now these seem, in certain circles at least, no longer to be so strong or even to have been quite overcome. In Cairo there is an illustrated weekly *al-Muṣawwar*, which is produced entirely on western lines. This does not however mean that the old opinions have entirely disappeared. Chauvin gives examples of the horror of being copied, examples which still have their counterparts in the modern western world. Here also we find people objecting to being photographed because they feel as if something were being stolen from their persons.

We also find the second commandment quoted literally in the west against pictures although the usual interpretation regards it only as prohibiting

the worship of idols. It may be asked whether the Muslim interdiction of images was influenced by the Jewish interpretation of the second commandment. From the literature (Flavius Josephus) on the one hand and the coins on the other, it is evident that the Jewish extension of the prohibition of images was exactly the same as the Muslim: no living creatures, only plants and other objects. On the one hand we may assume Jewish influence on the Muslim prohibition of images, on the other hand recognise that the foundations for this transference can already be found in the Qur'an. The Biblical idea of the creation of man by the making of an image and breathing the breath of life into it as found in the story of the creation is also found in the Qur'an (Sura, xv. 29; xxxviii. 72) and it is this very idea which has had great influence on traditions and legal literature. — For the philosophical meaning of the conception *sura* see *MAKIDA*.

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SURAKARTA, or **SURAKERTA**, name of a kingdom on the island of Java and of its capital, ruled by two Javanese princes, the Susuhunan and Mangku-Negara, under Dutch suzerainty. It arose along with the kingdom of (A)jyogyakarta (-kerta), likewise ruled by two chiefs, out of the older kingdom of Mataram, which on the decline of the kingdom of Demak and Padjang appeared as a third Muhammadan state in Java proper. The Muslim character of Mataram, although rather superficial and only nominal, was the result of the official recognition of the Susuhunan as Muslim ruler by the authorities in Mecca and found expression in the title *Panatu-gama*, "Arranger of the religion (of Islam)". Although the population was quite consciously Muhammadan, the kingdom nevertheless remained in many ways, e.g. in political organisation, Hindu-Javanese. The same holds of the states, which succeeded it, and particularly perhaps of Surakarta, where especially of recent years an active interest in the older culture has arisen in educated circles under the influence of studies by Europeans.

The kingdom of Mataram founded by Senapati about 1575 reached its greatest prosperity under Agung (1613—1645). Under his successors the influence of the eastern Dutch Trading Company (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie) rapidly increased, which, founded at the beginning of the 17th century was the *de facto* ruler of Java by 1725. Disputes about the succession brought about (1755) the already mentioned partition of the kingdom

into the states of Surakarta and Yogyakarta. The Susuhunan, who still ranks higher than the Sultan, had already founded a little state by 1744 in the village of Sala (often written Solo); the name of which, Surakarta, as usual in Java, took the place of that of the previous state, Kartasura (from Sanskrit *kṛta* = flourishing etc. and *sura* = hero, heroic, brave). The state and the village of Sala were officially called Surakarta after the state, although the present town is still also called Sala (pronounced Solo by Europeans). Very soon after the partition, one of the rival princes received an important fief from the Susuhunan; this gradually developed into an independent principality the ruler of which the Mangku-Negara is still however formally subordinate to the Susuhunan.

The history of the kingdom is, like that of Yogyakarta, rather confusing on account of the continual alterations in its boundaries. It passed more and more under Dutch influence and is of no special importance for the world of Islam. On account of the impossibility of giving a brief sketch of it here, the reader must be referred to the fuller studies by Dutch scholars quoted below.

The present town which has now about 130,000 inhabitants, of whom only a few thousands are Europeans, has remained the centre of Javanese culture. Native arts and crafts were always cultivated in the capital but on account of the often keen European competition have lost a good deal of importance for Java itself. The Javanese fine arts, especially music and dancing, are however still flourishing and Javanese learning was officially encouraged and this is partly true of the present day. Literary life, which seems almost to have disappeared with the death of the last *pujangga*, Rangga-Warita (*pujangga* was originally a priest, later court-scholar; Sanskrit *bhūṅga* = snake, snake-demon, and it is not quite clear how the present meaning has developed from this), appears to be reviving again to some extent and may still have a future in a more modern form under the influence of the expansion of European education. Quite recently (1926) the Dutch authorities have founded a school in Surakarta, on account of its central situation for Javanese culture, the special object of which is to give native scholars a classical oriental training.

The buildings of the capital with its old customs and usages, its *bédaya* dances and wayang plays, with its many remarkable features, its reflection of former Javanese splendour, form the greater attraction of the town. The princes have their own officials for various services, who live with their families in the palaces and are estimated to number 15,000. But actually the power is exercised by the Dutch resident who is equal in authority to the prince, an arrangement which has repeatedly caused friction.

Bibliography: Exceedingly valuable for our knowledge of the two native states is G. P. Rouffaer's article *VORSTENLANDEN in the Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, iv. 587a—653b, with a valuable bibliography. P. J. Veth, *Java*, ii. 165 sqq., is more general. (C. C. BERG)

SURAT, a city situated in 21° 12' N. and 72° 50' E. on the south bank of the Tapti and ten miles from its mouth. The geographer Ptolemy (A. D. 150), speaks of the trade

of Palipula, perhaps Phulpāda, the sacred part of Sūrāt city. Early references to Sūrāt by Muslim historians must be scrutinized, owing to the confusion of the name with Sorath (Saurashtra), but in 1373 Firz Tughluq built a fort to protect the place against the Bhils. The foundation of the modern city is traditionally assigned to the beginning of the sixteenth century, when its prosperity was restored by Gopi, a rich Hindū merchant, and in 1514 it was already an important seaport. The Portuguese burnt the town in 1512, 1530, and 1531, and the present fort was founded in 1540 by Khudāwand Khān, a Turkish officer in the service of Muḥmūd III of Gūjarāt. In 1572 it fell into the hands of the Mirās, then in rebellion against Akbar, who besieged and took the place in the following year. For 160 years the city, known as "the Gate of Makka" and "the Blessed Port" from its being the port of departure for pilgrims, enjoyed peace and prosperity under the Timūrids. An English ship first arrived at "Swally Hole" (Suwālī) the anchorage near the mouth of the Tapi, in 1608, but the English encountered great difficulty in founding a factory, owing to the hostility of the Portuguese. They succeeded, and their position was secured by the treaty brought back from Agra by Sir Thomas Roe in 1618. In 1664 Shiwaḍji plundered the town for three days, but could not touch the English and Dutch factories, which were bravely defended by their inmates. From 1669 an annual Marāṭha raid was almost a matter of course, but the foreigners defended themselves. In 1687 Bombay superseded Sūrāt as the principal English settlement on the western coast, and in 1733 the Muslim governor proclaimed his independence, but in 1759 the English, with the approval of the Marāṭhas, charged themselves with the administration of the town, which became a British possession in 1800. The English and Dutch graveyards contain interesting memorials of European trade and adventure in India.

Bibliography: Shaikh Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, translated by Blochmann and Jarrett; *Akbar-nāma*; Khwādja Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, all in the Bibliotheca Indica series of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; Muḥammad Kāsim Firishā, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, Bombay lithographed edition of 1832; *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, xxiii. 153, 164.

(T. W. HAIG)

SURAJDĪYĀ (MAS'ALA). This is one of the classical "questions" in the theory of law (*uṣūl*), one of the few that have a special name (cf. AKDARĪYĀ) derived from one of the first to propound it. It refers to the legal fiction (*dawr hukmī*) invented by some Shāfi'is (Mas'ālī, Ibn Surajī, and Ghazālī, who later recanted) to cancel, by bringing it into a vicious circle (*yamin bi-ḍ-ḍā'ira*), the solemn declaration (*ta'liq*) pledging the contracting party to divorce his favourite wife if he breaks his oath (*ṭa'ah mu'allaf*), employed in the Karīmīan initiation; cf. KARIMATĪYAS. Snouck Hurgronje has shown the use made by the Shāfi'is of the *ta'liq* to stabilise marriages in Java.

Bibliography: Sha'rānī, *Mizān*, Cairo, ii. 113; Ibn Hādjar, *Tuhfat al-minhājī* (with gloss by Shirwānī), Cairo, vii. 112—113; Goldziher, *Streitschrift des Gazzālī gegen die Batiniyya-Sekte*, 1916, p. 78—79; Massigou, *Passion d'al-Hallāj*, p. 586, 716, 787.

SURŪRĪ, the name of several Ottoman poets of whom the most notable are the two following:

I. MUḤLĪḤ AL-DĪN MUṢṬAFĀ EFENDI, called SURŪRĪ, a distinguished philologist and expositor born in Gallipoli where his father Shāhān was a merchant or a teacher. After the conclusion of his studies he became an assistant *kādi* in Sтамbul, in 944 (1537). When the medrese founded by Kāsim Pasha [q.v.] was finished, he was appointed its first *muderris*, but resigned a year later and by the desire of his patron Kāsim Pasha began to lecture on *Djālāl al-Dīn Rūmī's Mathnawī* as a Nakshbandi derwish. In 950 (1543) he became tutor to prince Muṣṭafā [q.v.], the ill-starred son of Sulaimān [q.v.] the Magnificent. After the prince's execution in 960 (1553) he retired into private life and died on 7th Jumādā 1 969 (Jan. 13, 1562) in Sтамbul at the age of 72. His tomb was at the little mosque which has now disappeared built by him in the Kāsim Pasha quarter (cf. Hāfiḡ Husain, *Hadīkat al-Djawāmī*, ii. 4 19, and J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ix. 106, No. 593). In this mosque at one time were preserved the manuscripts of all his works. On his tomb cf. also Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāhatnāme*, i. 426; Surūri was one of the greatest philologists of his day and probably the greatest authority on Persian language and literature that Turkey has ever produced. In his capacity as tutor to the prince he prepared several of his famous commentaries e.g. those on the *Bustān* and *Gulistan*. Towards the end of his life (968) he published the commentary on Hāfiḡ which is probably the best of its kind; his text book of prosody and rhyme *Ḥaḡr al-Ma'arīf* prepared for prince Muṣṭafā in 956 (1549) and his *ʿAḡā'id al-Makhḡlūḡāt* a synopsis of the *Comography* of Kāwīmī are also famous. Less well known is his commentary on the very popular introduction (*Isḡhāḡ*), *Gr. 10474*) of Shaikh Athīr al-Dīn Mafaddal. His other works are almost all expositions of Arabic or Persian works, or translations. He had a command of Turkish, Persian and Arabic such as is rarely found.

Bibliography: J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii. 318; do., *G. O. D.*, ii. 287 109; Brūsālī Mehmed Tahīr, *Othmānīl Mu'etrikh*, ii. 225 sq.; 'Atā'i, *Dhail on the Shāhā'ik al-Nu'māniya*, p. 23 sq.; Kınallıade, *Tadhkirā* (MSS.); Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 438; *Sidjill-i othmānī*, iii. 12; 'Alī, *Kunh al-Akḡār*, unprinted part (very full).

II. SAİYD ORUḤXAN, called SURŪRĪ, the greatest Ottoman writer of chronograms, usually called Surūri Mu'etrikh, i.e. Surūri the writer of *ta'riḡh's*. Saīyid 'Othmān was born in Adana in 1165 (1751) in Southern Anatolia, the son of Hāfiḡ Mūsā. As a youth he came to the capital through his fellow townsman, the *kādi* Tewfik Efendi of Adana, where he mixed with distinguished men of letters and finally became a *kādi* through the influence of Tewfik Efendi, afterwards Shaikh al-Islām. He was for many years on intimate terms with the poet Sunbul-sāde Wehbi Efendi [q.v.] whom he voluntarily accompanied into exile at Old Zagħra. He later settled in Sтамbul again where he built a house and died on 11th Šafar 1229 (Feb. 2, 1814). 'Othmān Surūri was considered the greatest Ottoman writer of chronograms. His chronological rhymes (*ta'wārīḡh's*), which he wrote on every occasion with remarkable readiness are innumerable. He was also distinguished

as a poet but his poems seem to be of less merit and it is only his skill in making chronograms that it is really admirable. He was imitated by 'Izzet Molla (q.v.), his pupil, and Es'ad Efendi, the imperial historian, in this style of composition. There is no complete edition of his works; and not all his chronograms are contained in his *Divān*. A selection of the latter is given in Ahmad Djewdet Pasha's *Sururî Medfûnât*, Stambul 1299, 109 pp. 8° and by Abu 'I-Diyâ Tewfik, *Sururî-i Mu'errif*, Stambul 1305, 54 pp., small 8°.

Bibliography: J. v. Hammer, *G. O. D.*, iv. 489 sq.; Djewdet, *Tarîkh*, vi. 199; *Sijill-i 'otkânî*, iii. 13; Brunsall Mehmed Tâhir, *'Otkânî Mûellifleri*, ii. 238; Giibb, *H. O. P.*, iv. 266 sqq.; F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen*, Leipzig 1927, p. 379.

(FRANZ BABINGER).

AL-SŪS, a ruined site in the Persian district of Khūzistān or 'Arabistān. At a very early period (from at least the second millennium B.C.) it was the capital of the kingdom of Elam. Its name in the Bible and in cuneiform inscriptions is *Šūšan*; Greek *Σόσα*; Late Egypt *Sush* (see *M. V. G.*, iii. 141; *O.*, 6); Syriac and Armenian *Šōshā* (not to be confused with the town of the same name, the see of a bishop, in the region of Mōsul; cf. e.g. G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrisch. Akten pers. Märtyrer*, Leipzig 1880, p. 204; Sachau, *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1905, p. 55); modern Pers. *Shush*. When between 642–639 B.C. Assurbanipal put an end to the kingdom of Elam, its capital Susa was sacked and completely destroyed (cf. Streck, *Assurbanipal*, Leipzig 1916, p. CCCXXXIX sq.). Cyrus raised the town from its ruins again and made it his winter residence. In this capacity it experienced a new period of glory under the splendour-loving great kings of the Achaemenid house. To the great riches which were again accumulated in Susa in this period, we have eloquent testimony in the vast booty which Alexander the Great carried off from it in 331.

In the Sassanian period, as we know from Syrian, Byzantine and Arab sources (cf. Noldeke, *Gesch. d. Pers. und Araber zur Zeit. der Sassaniden*, Leyden 1879, p. 58), the vigorous Sapor II (309–379) had the town of Sūs stamped into the ground by 300 elephants as a punishment for a rising there and built a new city beside it, to which he gave — after the fashion of Oriental potentates — a new name alluding to himself, *Frānshahr-Sūs* (= probably the abbreviation *FRN* on Sassanian coins of Susiana) but this however ultimately disappeared before the older name. Sapor settled Roman prisoners in his new city. The latter no doubt strengthened the already not inconsiderable Christian element in the population. Sūs was the see of a bishop from 410–605 as we know from Syriac literature; see Guidi, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xliii. 414; Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

Sūs fell into the hands of the Arabs in 17 (638) (or not till 639) when Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī (q.v.) carried through the conquest of Khūzistān. The forces there, commanded by the Persian governor Hormuzān, apparently offered little resistance to the Muslim troops (cf. the Syriac *Chronicle*, ed. by Guidi, *Act. du 8^e Congrès Intern. des Orient.*, J.-A., 1891, p. 32 and history of the Armenian Sebeos of the 5th century; see Hübschmann, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xlvii. 625). The older historians Balādhuri

and Tabari (cf. Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 364) know nothing of severe fighting with the natives and a destruction of the city by Arab troops, mentioned by al-Mukaddasi (and cf. Loftus, *op. cit.*, p. 344). Under Islām, Sūs remained for several centuries more a populous flourishing city — we have coins struck in it (cf. Loftus, *op. cit.*, p. 400) — but it was no longer the capital of the whole region of Khūzistān or Ahwāz; this part now fell to the city of Ahwāz (more precisely Sūḡ al-Ahwāz; cf. above, i. p. 208; ii. p. 778b). Sūs was now merely the capital of one of the seven (and at times more) divisions of this district. To the district of Sūs belonged several smaller towns, notably Karkha (Syriac Karkhā dhr fādhan) which is well known from Syriac literature. Sūs was surpassed in importance not only by the capital Sūḡ al-Ahwāz but soon also by other places in Khūzistān, e.g. Tustar and 'Askar(a)-Mukram (cf. i. p. 488b; ii. p. 778b). All these three places lay on the river Kārūn (q.v.) towards which during the caliphate the political and economic centre of gravity of the region moved.

The Arab geographers emphasise the busy industries of Sūs, notably weaving which was highly developed. Its silk was famous (cf. the *Divān* of Kaia al-Ruḡaiyāt, ed. Rhodokanakis, N^o 63, 8 in *S. B. Ak. Wien*, 1909). The lemons grown here were held in particular esteem; in the middle ages a good deal of sugar was grown around the town and still more was refined in the town. According to al-Mukaddasi, in his time (end of the tenth century), the town proper had already fallen into ruins; the population lived in a suburb. Idrisi (transl. Jaubert, Paris 1836, i. 381, 384) makes Sūs still thickly populated at the middle of the 11th century, and Benjamin of Tudela who travelled through Asia a few years later says that there were no less than 7,000 Jews here with 14 synagogues. The two banks of the river 'Ulai' — the Shāwūr (see below) must be meant — were united by a bridge; on the west bank was the quarter of the poor (cf. Ritter, *op. cit.*, ix. 305 sq.; Loftus, *op. cit.*, p. 320). The Persian geographer Mustawfi, writing in the 14th century, describes Sūs as still a flourishing town. But we are justified in doubting whether this is really accurate at this late period and was not simply taken from earlier writers. It is certain that Sūs became more and more completely deserted from the 17th century, and this agrees with the results of the French excavations, according to which most of the remains of the Arab period discovered in Sūs belonged to the 11th and 12th century (see de Morgan, *Mém. de la Délé. en Pers.*, viii. 32). Dizfūl, 3½ hours N.E. of Sūs, which only appears to have come into prominence since the Mongol period, and is now an important town in Khūzistān ('Arabistān'), may be in a way considered the successor of the mediaeval Sūs.

Sūs has a very favourable strategic and commercial situation; for it is at the point where the two principal rivers of the country of Khūzistān, the Kārūn (q.v.) and the Kerkhā (also written Kerkha), approach nearest to one another. They were at one time connected by canals. The ancient Susa lay between two arms of the Kerkhā, the western, i.e. the modern Kerkhā (Chosaspes of classical writers) and an eastern branch which has now disappeared but is still recognisable (cuneiform: Ulai) which was connected with the Kārūn

(Pustigra, the Ulai proper, *Eufrates*). The mounds of ruins of Sās begin about 12 miles S.W. of Diāfāl. A short hour's journey east of them, the Diāfāl-Rūd or Ab-i Dī, a tributary of the Kārin, runs through the plain. The western side of the area of the town 100—300 yards from the two western main mounds is washed by the narrow but deep Shāwūr (Shaur) which rises about 2½—3 hours above the ruins of Sās, and does not flow out of the Kerkhā itself as has been assumed (contrary to Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 30; cf. Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, ix., p. 70 and Layard, xvi. 56). A canal, now dried up, leaves the Kerkhā a little above the source of the Shāwūr, runs round the side of the town on the north and east and finally disappears in the S.W. in the swamps which stretch to the Shāwūr. This watercourse is the above mentioned eastern branch of the Kerkhā. The Kerkhā proper is about 2 miles from Sās, while its earlier bed (the old western main arm) now a ditch thickly overgrown with bushes is only 500 yards west of the Shāwūr (cf. thereon Loftus, *op. cit.*, p. 346).

The Arab geographers not infrequently call the Kerkhā, like the Shāwūr, the "river of Sās"; see G. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 233; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 304—305 and cf. above, ii., p. 778, 857a.

The system of ruins at Sās is quite considerable (3—5 miles in circumference). It is only since the beginning of the 19th century that we have reliable accounts from European travellers, namely: Kinneir and Montell (1809), Gordon (1814), H. Rawlinson (1836), A. H. Layard (1840) and notably Loftus (1851—1852). The English excavations conducted by the latter in 1851—1852, and those of the French, first (1885) under M. and Mme Dieulafoy, then 1897—1899 and later by de Morgan and others have settled the main topographical and archaeological problems. Four large artificial platforms stand clearly out from the ruins, separated from one another by more or less broad ravines. At a short distance from the Shāwūr (100—300 yards, increasing towards the south) stand two hills, the larger to the north, roughly a rectangle, about 60 feet above the bed of the river, which conceals the palace of the Achaemenid kings and a smaller one irregular in shape, but higher (up to 120 feet above the Shāwūr), which formerly bore the citadel mentioned by Greek writers, still called Kal'a-i Shūsh = "the citadel of Shūsh" by the people. On the east these two mounds are adjoined by a roughly rectangular area, larger than these in area, which Loftus calls the great or central platform, attaining a height of 65 feet and covering an area of over 60 English acres. Next comes on the east an extensive fourth platform, the eastern and northern edges of which are not easy to define as they slope by terraces to the plain. Besides these four mounds of ruins, there are a series of smaller ones mainly in the east and northeast. When Benjamin of Tudela speaks of a quarter of the town on the west bank of the Shāwūr (cf. above), it should be noted that no distinct traces can be found of this suburb where the poorer people dwelled, at least in the form of well marked mounds of rubble. In the south or southwest the ruined area is bounded by marshes with a luxuriant growth of reeds and trees.

In the northeast mound Loftus found a pillared hall like that in Persepolis, apparently the throne room, the walls of which were adorned by the

reliefs of the immortals now in the Louvre. This splendid room formed part of the royal palace built by Darius I and restored, after suffering in a fire in the reign of Artaxerxes I, by the latter's grandson, Artaxerxes II Memnon, who was particularly fond of Susa. The western pair of mounds near the river, must have been the residence of the court and of the government, while in the third "the central platform", we have probably to locate the town proper. Remains of a great wall surrounding the town dating from the Elamite period (before Assurbanipal) have been found during the excavations; the sides not protected by watercourses could easily have been defended by fortifications. The town destroyed by Assurbanipal is buried 12—16 feet below the surface, covered by ruins of the later settlements of the Achaemenid, Seleucid and Sasanian period. The English and French excavations recovered a vast quantity of inscriptions and other relics from all periods of Sasan history down to the Arab. These are now partly in the British Museum and partly in the Louvre. For London, cf. the *Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum*, 1921, esp. p. 175 sq.

About 150 yards from the N.W. corner of the S.W. hill just on the bank of the Shāwūr is the tomb-mosque of the Prophet Daniel usually called by the Persians *Pir* (= Arabic *Shaykh*) or *Paizambar* (= Prophet *Daniyāl*) still visited by numerous pilgrims, Muslims, Jews and Mandaeans (Sabbe). The present building is only a few centuries old but in it were used several fragments from the ruins (bricks with cuneiform inscriptions, capitals etc.) as *wāqf*-pieces (cf. Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, p. 69). The sanctuary has a roomy rectangular court surrounded by a wall, entered by a low doorway from the river side. Within, on both sides are arched ways leading into the sanctuary which runs in the west of the court yard. The actual tomb is dark and consists of a sarcophagus of smooth cement behind perforated wood lattice. Above the mosque, rises out of the centre of the roof terrace, on which the pilgrims sleep in hot weather, a sugar-cone like tower ending in a pointed pyramidal cupola crowned by a crescent. This remarkable type of tower found especially in tombs is not rare elsewhere in 'Irāq, in Khuzistān (cf. e.g. i. 1026a and Herzfeld in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitteil.*, 1907, p. 62, 75a), Lüristan and the Persian Gulf. Cf. thereon F. Langenegger, *Die Baukunst des Irāq*, Dresden 1911, p. 115—116 and Herzfeld in *Sartre-Herzfeld, Archäolog. Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, Berlin 1911, i., p. 231, 239, 246; 1919, ii., p. 177—178, 321.

According to the statements of various Arab writers, with whom the above mentioned Syrian chronicle also agrees, the sarcophagus with the bones of Daniel was found after the capture of the town by the Arabs, and, as some say (Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 378; Tabari, *op. cit.*, see below), in a chamber in the citadel. By orders of the Caliph 'Omar the river Shāwūr was turned from its course, the sarcophagus placed in its dry bed and the water then led back into its old course (cf. the Arab legend of the original tomb of the prophet Joseph in the Nile in Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 361, note 5, and the burial of Alarie in the Buvento). The place of the burial in the river is, as Muḥaddasi (p. 407 and cf. p. 417)

and Yāqūt, iii. 189, remark, not known exactly. But others say that the present mosque of Daniel lies exactly opposite the burial-place in the Shāwūr. The burial of Daniel's sarcophagus in the river-bed is also recorded by Iṣṭakhri, p. 92, Ibn Hawkal, p. 174 and the Kufan Ibn A'ṭham (d. 314 = 921) in his *Futūḥ*, which was translated into Persian about 596 (1200) by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Mustawfī al-Harawī; see the part of this Persian version given by W. Ouseley in Walpole, *op. cit.*, p. 429 sq. (repeated in Loftus, *op. cit.*, p. 318). A different tradition (e.g. Kārwint, ii. 114) however claims that the sarcophagus of Daniel was found not in Sūs, but in Tusar (the modern Shāshar). We are also told that the two towns constantly disputed the possession of the relic (cf. Z.D.M.G., liii. 59, and Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 357). The relics of the prophet were also held in great estimation for the power attributed to them of averting any misfortune, particularly drought (cf. Balādhuri, *op. cit.*; Muḥaddasi, p. 417; Ibn A'ṭham, *loc. cit.*). The Jew Benjamin of Tudela who travelled in this part of the world between 1160 and 1170 gives a version of the story that differs from those in the Arab writers. According to him the people of both banks of the Shāwūr in Sūs for long fought for the possession of this blessed palladium until they finally agreed to keep it alternately on the right and left bank. When the Seljuq Sultan Sandjar (q. v.; d. 1157) heard the story while in Sūs he ordered the sarcophagus to be put in another of crystal and suspended by iron chains in the centre of the bridge joining the two banks. The Rabbi Petakhia from Ratisbon who was here about a decade after Benjamin of Tudela, says he saw it in this position.

The present sanctuary of Daniel has been held in veneration from very early times. In the Sāsānian period it was held sometimes to be the tomb of Kai-Khosrow [q. v.], a mythical king of Iranian legendary history, sometimes as that of the great Darius; cf. Hübschmann, in Z. D. M. G., xlviii. 625; Noldeke, in *Grundriss der iran. Phil.*, ii. 146 (= *Das Iran. Nationalepos*, p. 11, resp. 2nd ed., p. 18) and Justi, *ibid.*, ii. 486. There was perhaps on this site at an earlier date an Elamite sanctuary in honour of Athene or Artemis-Anahita or rather a native goddess concealed under that name (Kiritisha). Artaxerxes II is recorded to have erected several temples in his kingdom to some such deity (cf. Justi, *op. cit.*).

It has already been mentioned that there was a tradition which sought to locate the original burial-place of Daniel in Tusar (Shāshar; q. v.), where earlier European scholars wrongly located the Sosa of the ancients (cf. Ritter, *op. cit.*, ix. 304 and Benjamin of Tudela, ed. Asher, ii. 152 sq.; the explanation still found in Reclus, *Nouv. Géogr. Univers.*, 1814, iii. p. 191, of the name Shāshar as "Little Sosa" is wrong). There are a number of other places in the east which also claim to possess the bones of this prophet.

On the tomb of Daniel in Sūs, cf. Tabari, i. 840, 2566; Yāqūt, ii. 533; iii. 188, 189; Benjamin of Tudela, *op. cit.*; Ouseley, *op. cit.*; Loftus, *op. cit.*, p. 311—323; Th. Dombart in *Jahrb. der hist. Ver. für Nordlingen und Umgeb.*, 1927, vol. x., p. 172—179. Cf. also the Bibliography given below (notably Rawlinson and Layard) and the article DANIEL.

Near the tomb of Daniel stands another ruined tomb of a saint (*imāmādaḥ*); see Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, ix. 70 and J. Dieulafoy, *A. Suse*, p. 83. East of the ruins of Sūs towards Diāfūl, are two other similar sanctuaries, one of which is considered to be the tomb of 'Abdās and the other that of Ibrāhīm al-Khalil; see Loftus, *op. cit.*, p. 345—346; Jéquier in de Morgan, *Mémoires de la Dilig. en Perse*, viii. 31, 32 (speaks of the tomb of two brothers and of one of a Shāikh). Bricks and capitals from the Achaemenid period are also built into these saints' tombs. One Muslim tradition (Tabari, i. 252, 22) says that Abraham (Ibrāhīm; q. v.) was born in Sūs. In keeping with this tradition the site of the oven into which Muslim legend says Nimrūd threw Ibrāhīm is also moved to Khuzistān (Mandjanik, south of Māl-Amir; see Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, ix. 81. But these associations with Abraham are usually localised in al-'Irāq (in Kūthā, 'Aḥar-kūf, Birs Nimrūd, etc.). It may be further mentioned that the Arabic sources consider Sūs, like Bābil, one of the oldest cities in the world and make them both foundations of one of the mythical Iranian kings (Ōshang or Tahmuraṭh; see Tabari, i. 171, and above, i., p. 548 sq.).

The country round Sūs suffers for nine months of the year from the glowing heat of the Iranian sky. In January however a luxurious, almost tropical, vegetation springs up after the winter rains. The rich pastures that then cover the soil attract the nomads thither. In the spring it is mainly Arabian Beduins that camp here and indeed they are in the majority in Khuzistān generally, so that this district is actually officially called 'Arabistān' by the Persians [q. v.]. The region of Sūs is particularly visited by the tribes of 'Alī Kāthir and Bant Lām [q. v.]. On the 'Alī Kāthir, who migrated hither over three centuries ago from Najd in Central Arabia, cf. Layard, *op. cit.*, xvi. 33, 56, 90; Loftus, *op. cit.*, p. 327, 331, 356, 358, 381 sq. and Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 417. Of the great tribe of 'Alī Kāthir we are here mainly concerned with two of its subdivisions, the Ka'b and Zabāh (cf. Layard, *op. cit.*, p. 33). The Ka'b were originally members of the powerful Ka'b tribe leading a nomadic life on the lower Karūn; on the latter, cf. ii., p. 778, also Layard, *op. cit.*, xvi. 8, 37—39, 41—45, and Loftus, *op. cit.*, p. 285 sq., 381, 390. Lār nomad tribes are often found in the plain of Sūs. At the beginning of May all is again as quiet as the grave. Even the guardian of the tomb of Daniel leaves the district, which is filled with miasma from the swamps and the heat now becomes unendurable.

On the banks of the Shāwūr covered by luxurious woods (notably acacias, poplars and willows), in the desert that was once the left arm of the Kerkhā and in the undergrowth of the swamps are many beasts of prey, wolves, hyenas and even lions, also wild pigs.

Bibliography: B.G.A., passim (s. Index); Yāqūt, *Ma'ājam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 188—191. For the Persian and Arabic sources in general, cf. G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 240 and esp. P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arab. Geograph.*, Leipzig 1921, iii., p. 313, 358—364 resp. 370, Province Sūs; A. v. Krenner, *Kulturgesch. des Orients unter den Kalifen*, Vienna 1875—1877, i. 294—295; J. M. Kinneir, *A*

Geogr. Memoir of the Persian Empire, London 1813; W. Ouseley, *Travels in various Countries of the East*, London 1819, i. 422 sq.; iii. 564; R. Walpole, *Travels in various Countries of the East* (= *Memoirs relative to Turkey*, London 1820, vol. II.), p. 420—430; H. Rawlinson, in *Journ. of Roy. Geogr. Society*, London 1839, ix., p. 68—71, 85—93 and A. H. Layard, *ibid.*, 1846, xvi., p. 57, 93—94 and do., in *Early Adventur. in Persia, Susiana and Babylonia*, London 1887, i. 418; ii. 295 sq.; C. de Bode, *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*, London 1845, ii. 186—200; W. K. Loftus, *Travels and Research. in Chaldaea and Susiana*, London 1857, p. 314—433; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde von Asien*, ix. 294—323; J. Dieulafoy, *La Perse, la Chaldée et la Susiane*, Paris 1887, p. 659 sq.; J. Dieulafoy's reports in *Globus*, Brunswick 1887, vol. III., p. 305 sq., 321 sq., 337 sq., 353 sq., 369 sq.; do., *A Sus*, Paris 1889; M. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Sus*, Paris 1890. — On the results of French government expeditions directed by de Morgan, see *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, Paris 1900 sq., so far 17 vols., esp. vol. I., vii.—viii., xii.—xiii.; Henzey in *Comptes rendus de l'Académie*, Paris 1898, p. 373 sq.; *Revue Archéologique*, 1899 sq. — On ancient Susa, cf. Fr. Delitzsch, *Wie lag das Paradies?* Leipzig 1881, p. 311—312; F. Billerbeck, *Susa*, Leipzig 1893; M. Streck, *Archäologische (Vorderasiatische) Bibl.*, 1916, vol. viii., p. CCCXXXIX sq., 809, 813 (Uai). — Cuneiform inscriptions from Susa are collected mainly in the *Vorderasiatische Bibl.*, vol. I. (Sumerisch-akkadische Königsinschrift, by Thureau-Dangin, 1907), vol. III. (Achämeniden-Inschrift by Weissbach, 1913), and in the volumes of the *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*.

(M. STRECK).

AL-SŪS AL-AKṢĀ, a district in the south of Morocco, forming a triangular plain about 120 miles long by 25 to 26 miles broad with an area of about 7,500 square miles. On the west it is bounded by the Atlantic Ocean and on the north by the last slopes of the Great Atlas and on the south by the Anti-Atlas, gradually narrowing till it reaches the junction of these two ranges. It is watered by the Wādī Sūs and its tributaries. The Arab geographers of the middle ages usually distinguish between *al-Sūs al-aḡṣā*, "Farther Sūs" and *al-Sūs al-adnā* "Nearer Sūs". *Al-Sūs al-adnā* seems in those days to have meant the whole of northern Morocco with Tangier as its capital and *al-Sūs al-aḡṣā*, the whole of the massif of the two Atlases. According to Yāqūt the distance which separated the two Sūs was two months' journey. The term *al-Sūs al-adnā* seems in any case to have been very early ousted by that of *Ḡharb*. The same geographers praise the excellence of the products of Farther Sūs and describe it as a thickly populated country. Al-Idrīsī speaks of the cereals which grew there — wheat, barley and rice, fruits of all kinds in abundance — nuts, figs, grapes, quinces, pomegranates, lemons, peaches, apples and particularly an incomparable sugar-cane. When he wrote, a sugar was made in Sūs that was celebrated throughout almost the whole world. Cloth which enjoyed a good reputation was also made there. The same author gives some notes on the people who were a mixed race of Maṣmūda Berbers.

He charges them with a lack of urbanity, coarseness and insolence. The dress of the men consisted of a *kisā* of wool which enveloped them entirely, with a *miṣār* of wool around the waist which they called *ṣifāḥ*. They were armed with short spears with steel heads. They drank a liquor made from the must of sweet grapes which they called *amīs* and considered it a permitted beverage as it did not bring about drunkenness. These notes show clearly that the term *al-Sūs al-adnā* was then applied to a much wider area than at the present day; it included not only the valley of the Wādī Sūs but also the mountainous country towards the Haḡaz of Marrakeṣh, the Dra (Dar'a) and the Tafālāt.

Farther Sūs, as a province of the Maghrib, has always been closely connected with the history of the whole country and with the histories of the different dynasties which have successively established themselves there. In 117 (735) it was conquered and converted to Islam by Ḥabīb b. Abī 'Ubaida, the grandson of 'Uḡba b. Naḡf. Under the Idrīsids it passed on the death of Idrīs II in 213 (828) to his son 'Abdallāh, at the same time as the massif of the Great Atlas with the towns Aghmāt and Naḡā. It was next one of the main objectives of the Almoravids [q.v.] when they thrust their way northwards. In 451 (1059) the general Abū Bakr b. 'Umar seized the towns of Māsūt and Tārūdānt but the authority of the Almoravids was never very secure in Sūs, in spite of the submission of the province to Yūsuf b. Tāshfin in 478 (1085).

Sūs played a prominent part in the early days of the Almohad movement in the Maghrib. It was, along with the plain of Marrakeṣh, the centre of Almoravid resistance against the attempts at expansion by the companions of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart beyond the massif of the Grand Atlas where the movement began. A son of the Almoravid ruler 'Alī b. Yūsuf, Baḡgū, organized the resistance there and it was only in 535 (1140—1141) that the Caliph 'Abd al-Mu'min definitely conquered the whole of Sūs. During the whole period of the Almohad dynasty it was one of the most important provinces of the empire. On its decline in the reign of al-Murtadā (646—665 = 1248—1266) it was the scene of a rebellion on a great scale fomented by the agitator 'Alī b. Yaddar. This individual, a former dignitary of the Almohad court, wishing to found a little independent kingdom in Sūs, appealed to the Arab tribes settled between Tlemcen and the Rif, the Dawī Ḥassān and the Shabbānāt of the Ma'kil group. He was able to hold out against the Almohad governor of Tārūdānt but his success was not of long duration. In 1266 the Almohad prince Abū Dabbūs with the help of Marinid contingents regained the province from him and seized Tākhūt and Tiyūnīm. Nevertheless the independent kingdom of Sūs after the final fall of the Almohads was able to maintain some sort of independence in the period of the early Marinid Sultāns until the reign of Abū 'I-Ḥassan 'Alī who broke it up for ever.

In 1504 the Portuguese gained a footing on the coast of Sūs in the bay of Agādīr [q.v.] and founded the fortress of Santa Cruz; it was a strategic point of great importance, the gateway to a rich hinterland and at the same time an excellent harbour, one of the best on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. The people of the country tried

in vain to dislodge the garrison; in order to harass it increasingly and to blockade it by land they established quite close to the Portuguese station, a *ribāṭ* or concentration camp of the "volunteers of the faith" who used to come there in relays to deliver open attacks on their Christian foes or prepare murderous ambushes for them. Between the sea and Tārūdānt, a *sāwīya* was soon formed to take charge of the local *qihād*, the *Zāwīya* of Tedāi, the cradle of the Sa'dian (q. v.) dynasty. It was founded by some Hasanī Shurfā, whose ancestor Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḳasīm, had come in the 11th century from the Hūdūd and settled in the valley of the Wādī Dar'a, at Tāḡuādānt. His descendants then migrated to Sūs near Tedāi, settled there and took up a position in the country which daily increased in importance. At the beginning of the xvth century, the head of the *sāwīya*, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, became the real leader in the holy war in al-Sūs; assisted by his two sons, Ahmad al-A'rādī and Muḥammad al-Shaikh, he displayed great activity and denounced the impotence of the ruling dynasty to the people. He was not long in achieving his object; the tribes of al-Sūs proclaimed him their Sulṭān in 1510. He died soon afterwards, leaving his son to continue his work. The eldest, al-A'rādī, who had assumed the title of king of Sūs in the lifetime of his father, established himself as sovereign in Tārūdānt and in 1541 succeeded in driving the Portuguese finally out of Āgādīr.

We see from the above what a large part Sūs plays in the history of the first of the two Sharifian dynasties of Morocco. The Sa'dian Sulṭāns also always kept a watchful eye on this vital part of their Empire. Muḥammad al-Shaikh al-Mahdī was the first to extend the cultivation of sugar in al-Sūs and thus created an important source of revenue for the treasury. It was in the reign of the great prince Ahmad al-Manṣūr that this province saw its greatest revival of prosperity. A regular army, formed of citizens recruited in Sūs, at this time formed the garrison of Marrakesh and relations between the capital and the province were never closer. But after the death of al-Manṣūr, when anarchy once more reigned throughout the empire, al-Sūs did not escape the various rebellions which broke out on all sides. Prince Zaidān, a claimant to the throne, made his headquarters there. A few years later al-Sūs fell into the hands of a powerful rebel Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Samīlī called Abū Ḥassan who made an alliance with the Filālī Sharif of Sijilmāsa. But this alliance was only ephemeral and the early days of the second Sharifian dynasty of Morocco were marked by the struggle between the Abū Ḥassan and the 'Alawid pretenders of Tāfīfūt. He was succeeded on his death by his son Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, who was soon brought to terms by the 'Alawid Sulṭān al-Raḥīd. In 1670 the latter led an expedition to the very heart of al-Sūs and captured the stronghold of Igh. Next year the people of al-Sūs sent a deputation to him at Marrakesh to offer their submission. The latter was not of long duration for in 1677 the Sulṭān Mawlāi Ima'īl had to send an expedition to al-Sūs and another in 1682. The country was finally pacified and at the end of his reign when Mawlāi Ḥasan divided his empire among several of his sons, al-Sūs fell to Muḥammad al-'Alīm, with Tārūdānt as his capital. But this prince only went to his domain to set up as a pretender to

the throne and from this time on we find each successive 'Alawid Sulṭān forced to suppress one or more rebellions in al-Sūs during his reign. We may just mention the expeditions to put down rebellions sent by Mawlāi 'Abd Allāh (1733), Mawlāi Sulaimān (1802) and particularly those of Mawlāi al-Ḥasan in 1882, 1886 and 1896. Al-Sūs has been definitely at peace since the establishment of the protectorate of the French Republic in Morocco after the expedition of 1917.

These continual rebellions have resulted in the gradual impoverishment of al-Sūs since the xvth century. The enthusiastic descriptions of the geographers and travellers of the middle ages no longer apply to the second period of the history of this reign. At the present day, while modern methods may be expected to raise the value of this country, the only part of al-Sūs that is really rich is the narrow strip of irrigated land which lies along the banks of the Wādī Sūs which is hardly susceptible of extension except to the north of this river. The products of al-Sūs are cereals, oil of *argān* and fruits. Cattle-rearing is very limited. Al-Sūs on the other hand seems certain of an great economic future as a result of the exploitation of its abundant mineral deposits: copper (already worked in a rudimentary fashion by the natives), lead, rock-salt, and lime.

The principal town of al-Sūs at the present day is Tārūdānt, the residence of a pasha appointed by the Sulṭān. It has about 7,000 inhabitants of whom 1,000 are Jews who live in a ghetto or *mellah*. This town seems to have been founded at a very early period and we already find it playing a part in history in the Almoravid period. In the middle ages al-Sūs had as its capital sometimes Tārūdānt and sometimes Igh. After the death of Mawlāi al-Ḥasan, at the end of the sixteenth century, Tārūdānt was the centre of the rebellion of al-Hiba who held out there till the town was taken in 1613 by the Maḥallas of the Maḥzen. It is surrounded by a great wall of clay which dates from the end of the xvth century.

Besides Tārūdānt, there is the little town of Tiznit, 52 miles south of Āgādīr, and 12 miles east of the Atlantic coast, at the foot of the Anti-Atlas. It has a population of 4,000. Sulṭān Mawlāi al-Ḥasan founded it on his expedition to al-Sūs in 1882. Finally we may mention about 15 miles S.E. of Tiznit the famous *sāwīya* of Sīdī Aḥmad-u-Mūsā, in al-Tāssarwālī. It is the mother-*sāwīya* of the *Uḡād-u-Mūsā*, who are all acrobats and follow their profession throughout North Africa and also in Europe.

On the coast besides Āgādīr [for which see the separate article] we may mention the villages of Āḡū and Māsāt, which in the middle ages were comparatively important centres of maritime trade, frequented especially by Genoese sailors, and the terminus for several caravans from the Sahara.

The people of al-Sūs still speak a Berber dialect belonging to the *Tāḡelḥalt* group but the speakers of Arabic are becoming more and more numerous as a result of the emigration of large numbers of natives who go to exercise various trades in the towns of the rest of Morocco.

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AL-SUSAN, the common name for the white and yellow-red lily and for the blue iris which is more precisely described by the addition of *armānigūnt* and is also called *irisā* by the physicians. The name is a general Semitic one, but whether from *šrēh* (six), as Löw suggests, seems to me doubtful on account of the *š* or *ṣ* always found in it. The root of *iris florentina* L. is still used in medicine.

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(J. RUEKA)

SUSAN, a ruined site on the Upper Kārūn in Khūzistān in the territory of the Lūr tribe of the Bakhtiyārī [q. v.], 5 hours' journey from Dīfūl; cf. above, II, p. 779^a. The place is also called 'Arūdī (or 'Arūdī?) and Djabālik by the Persian geographers. H. Rawlinson discovered these ruins in 1836; Layard then visited them twice (1840, 1841) and made several important corrections in his predecessor's description, which was in part based only on the information of natives. No later European traveller seems to have made a thorough examination of the locality.

According to Layard the ruins seem to belong to two different epochs, the old Persian and the Sāsānian. On the right bank of the Kārūn at a point where the river makes a turn westwards and forms a semicircle can still be seen for a stretch of nearly two miles the ruins of a mass of unknown stones called by the Lūrs Māl-i Wirān "possession in ruins". They are said to come from an old, probably Sāsānian, town. On both banks of the river very old paved roads can still be traced. At a short distance from Māl-i Wirān, N.E. at the foot of the hill stands the tomb of Daniel, revered by the Lūrs of the 'Alī Ilāhi sect [q. v.] as the burial place of the Old Testament prophet. It is called the tomb of the "Great Daniel" (Dāniyāl-i Akbar) to distinguish it from that of "Little Daniel" (Dāniyāl-i Aghar) in Sūs. Muslims, Jews and Mandaeans in agreement with the older Christian tradition, believe firmly in the authenticity of the latter as the real tomb of the Biblical prophet (cf. further the article AL-SŪS). Rawlinson describes the tomb of Daniel at Sūs as a building of huge white marble blocks with a large artificial pool in front. The latter is fed by a little river which comes down from the hills. The many fish in the pool are held sacred by the superstition of the people. Layard on the other hand says the building is of earth and denies the existence of any pool or of a general belief in the sacredness of the fish in this stream. Even in the middle ages, however, as we know from the stories of the Jewish traveller, Benjamin of Tudela, and the Persian traveller al-Mustawfī (cf. Layard, *op. cit.*, xvi, 61) at the tomb of Daniel in Sūs the fish in this stretch of the Shīwūr stream near this sacred site were considered sacred, probably a relic of the ancient fish cult of Nearer Asia.

According to Rawlinson, there were near the tomb of Daniel a large block of marble with a completely preserved cuneiform inscription and many similarly inscribed tablets. Layard saw nothing of these nor could he see anything to indicate the survival of such monuments.

The Kārūn is enclosed by fearful ravines a little below the ruins of the Māl-i Wirān. Where the

rocks fall back again there is another mound of ruins of roughly hewn stones called by the Lurs Masjid-i Sulaimin (= Mosque of Solomon) apparently a very old but unimportant building. There are no inscriptions. In the neighbourhood still exist the remains of a very old arch-bridge. Layard knows nothing of further ruins in and near Süsan. At some distance above Süsan we have Süsan Surkh-Ab = "Red-water Süsan", which marks the site of an old town.

The mountains which run along the left bank of the Kärün are called Djildir, Djilwir, Djilwir, or more accurately Gilgird, Gilgird (see Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, ix, 87; Layard, *op. cit.*, xvi, 62, 80). At the foot of them lie the remains of a Sasanian castle, *Kal'a-i Gilgird*. This Gilgird chain separates Süsan from the imposing ruins, about 4–5 hours S.E. of Irbad, or Mäl-Autr [q. v.]. In *Kal'a-i Gilgird*, Rawlinson has rightly recognised the famous state prison of the Sasanids in which the Armenian king Arsaces III, surrendered to the Persians by the Emperor Jovian, languished for years as a prisoner until he committed suicide in dramatic fashion after a feast. The *ṛā Ašwē Spōpōs* "the castle of oblivion" which was the scene of the story so vividly told by Procopius (*Bell. Pers.*, i, 5, 12) can only have been on Persian soil. The castle is often mentioned by this name in Greek and Armenian writers, the real name *Gilgirda* is preserved only in Theophylaktos Simokatta (iii, 3). According to him and to Armenian writers also, the place should be sought in Susiana not far from Djundai-Sabur [q. v.]. From these data Rawlinson established the identity of *Pōrōpōs* with *Kal'a-i Gilgird* (East of 50° East Lat. and south of 32° N. Lat.). The Arab geographer Yāqūt, iii, 303, knows the place as Kildjird. The name means "clay fortress" (lit.: made of clay), a term analogous to the Toprak-Kal'a = "earth fort", found in Turkish-speaking lands. From what has just been said it is evident that Ritter cannot be supported (xi, 83–84) in moving "the castle of oblivion" to Northern Mesopotamia, although he has been recently followed by V. Chapot and Lehmann-Haupt (see Streck, *op. cit.*, lvi, 308, note 3). Layard (*op. cit.*, xvi, 64, 96) wrongly sought it in Diar. Rawlinson also thought that the tradition of the tomb of Daniel later migrated from Süsan southwards to the Shawr and that the ruins of Süsan represented the older Susa of the Assyrian period, while the town of Susa of the Persian-Greek period was to be recognised in the ruins of Sus. This hypothesis of two different Susa's, which Ritter also rather favoured, must be definitely rejected: it was refuted as early as Layard, *op. cit.*, p. 93 sq.

Bibliography: G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 243–246; H. Rawlinson, in *Journal of Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, London 1839, ix, p. 83–84, 85–88; A. H. Layard, *op. cit.*, 1846, xvi, p. 61–62, 80–81, 93–94, 96; do., *Early Adventures in Persia, Susiana and Babylonia*, London 1887, i, 399, 412–429; ii, 14; K. Ritter, *Erdbunde*, ix, 167–169, 311; xi, 83–84; M. Streck, in *Z. D. M. G.*, 1912, lvi, p. 308–309.

(M. STRECK)

SUSU or **SOSU** is a name of a people who are thought to have at one time formed the autonomous population of Futa-Djallon and who have since been driven to the west and particularly

the southwest of this province in lower French Guinea; the *Susu* are in part Muslims.

Susu is also the Mandingo pronunciation of the name of the Sasanian town of *Sōsō* [q. v.].

(MAURICE DELAFOSSE)

SUTRA, covering, protection, shelter, especially at the *ḡalāt*, where *sutra* means the object, which the worshipper places in front of him or lays in the direction of the *ḡalāt* whereby he shuts himself off in an imaginary area within which he is not disturbed by human or demoniacal influences. "The fictitious fencing off of an open place of prayer, the *sutra*, seems to have had among other objects that of warding off demons" (Wellhausen, *Reise*, p. 158). In one tradition the man who deliberately penetrates into this imaginary area is actually called a *ḡalāt* (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb 100; cf. Ahmad b. Hanbal, *Musnad*, iv, 2; Tāyālīsī, *Musnad*, Haidarābād 1321, No. 1342).

The word is not found in the *Qurʾān*. In *Ḥadīth* it often occurs in the expression *sutara* (*sutara*, *istara*) *bi-ḡalāt* in traditions which describe the ritual ablution, in which one conceals one's nakedness or causes it to be concealed by a cloak or curtain (e.g. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb 14; *ḡalāt*, bāb 21; Muslim, *Ḥadīth*, trad. 70, 79; Abū Dāwūd, *Taḥāra*, bāb 123; *Manārik*, bāb 37). Similarly *sitra* is the name given to the curtain by which Muḥammad concealed his women from the gaze of the world (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb 56; *Nikāḥ*, bāb 67). We are further told that one performs the *ḡalāt* in the direction of an object which isolates him from the multitude (*suturuḥu min al-nās*) so that he is not disturbed by them (e.g. Bukhārī, *Ḥadīth*, bāb 53; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, trad. 259; Abū Dāwūd, *Manārik*, bāb 53).

Muḥammad is said to have been quite unrestricted in his choice of a *sutra*: baggage-camels, horses, trees, saddles (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb 98), a couch (*ibid.*, bāb 99), lance (*ḡarā*, bāb 92), stick (*ḡamara*, bāb 93), the pillars of the mosque (bāb 95) are mentioned. *Ḥadīth* has preserved the memory of two opinions regarding the *sutra*: one gives minute rules and the other opposes this.

The former endeavours to lay down accurately what distance should be preserved between the *sutra* and him who performs the *ḡalāt* (*manara al-ḡalāt*, "space to allow a sheep to pass"; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb 91; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, trad. 263, 264 etc.); it makes Muḥammad explain that no one is to be allowed to pass between anyone and his *sutra* (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb 100, 101; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, trad. 258–262 etc.), that passers-by, especially dogs, asses and women, intercept the *ḡalāt*: the Apostle of God said: "If one performs the *ḡalāt* without having in front of him something, such as the end or central part of a saddle, his *ḡalāt* is intercepted by a passing dog, ass or woman" (Tirmidhī, *Manārik*, bāb 136; Ahmad b. Hanbal, vi, 86).

The other view holds that the *ḡalāt* is never intercepted by passers-by (this is also Shāfiʿi's view according to Tirmidhī's note on *Manārik*, bāb 135). 'A'isha exclaims indignantly: "you place us on the same level as asses and dogs; by Allāh, the Prophet used to perform the *ḡalāt* while I lay on the couch between him and the *ḡalāt*" (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb 105). The same tendency is seen in an anecdote by Ibn 'Abbās: "I was riding behind al-Faḥl on a she-ass; we came up

to the Prophet just as he was performing the *ṣalāt* with his companions in Minā. We dismounted and took our places in the row, while the animal ran among the people without intercepting the *ṣalāt*" (Tirmidhī, *Mawāṣiṭ*, bāb 135; cf. Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii, 196).

The *Shāfi'is* call the *sutra sunna*. The various views of the jurists are given in al-Nawawī in his commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1283, ii, 76 sq.; cf. also Tirmidhī's remarks on bāb 133—136 in his chapter *Mawāṣiṭ al-Ṣalāt*.

Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī, ed. Juynboll, p. 29, writes as follows: "If anyone passes a man who is performing the *ṣalāt* and there is a *sutra* or stick between them of about an arm's length in size, it is not *mahrūḥ*; nor is it *mahrūḥ* if there is no stick but a line which the worshipper has drawn at a distance of 3 ells; if on the contrary there should be nothing of the kind at all then it (passing by) would be *mahrūḥ*. The *ṣalāt* would however remain valid".

It may be mentioned in conclusion that the *sutra* of the *imām* at the *ṣalāt* serves for those with whom he performs the *ṣalāt* (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 90).

Bibliography: The material of the classical hadith in A. J. Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muh. Tradition*, Leyden 1927, s.v.; Ibn Hadjar al-Haitamī, *Tuhfa*, Cairo 1282, i, 180 sq.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

AL-SU'UDĪ, SAIF AL-DIN 'ABU AL-LATIF B. 'AED ALLAH, a theologian who died in 736 (1335/1336). Biographical data do not seem to be known hitherto. He contested the tenets of Ibn 'Arabi [q.v.] in some *ḥaṣṣa*'s occurring in al-Sakhawī's work *al-Kawāṭ al-munabbih 'an Tarjamat Ibn 'Arabi* (MS. in Berlin, Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, No. 2849, cf. No. 7846, 4) and is mentioned (*op. cit.*, No. 8379, cf. No. 3658) as the author of a prayer (*du'a*).

Bibliography: C. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii, 9.

(C. VAN ARENDONK)

AL-SU'UDĪ, ABU 'L-FADL AL-MĀLIKI, theologian of the xth (xvth) century. He wrote a controversial work finished in Shawwāl 942 = April 1536 against the Christians (and the Jews), which has been edited from manuscripts of Leyden and Oxford by F. J. van den Ham (*Disputatio pro religione Mohammedanorum adversus Christianos*, Leyden 1877—1890) and is in substance an extract from a book by Abū 'L-Bakā' Ṣalīb b. Ḥusain al-Djāfari (wrote in 618 = 1221) entitled *Tahkīf man ḥarras al-Imān*. He is probably to be identified with Abū 'L-Fadl al-Mālikī, the servant (*khādīm*) of the Ṣaḥīḥ Abū 'L-Su'ūd al-Djāfari (died some years after 930 = 1523/1524), cf. al-Shāranī, *Lawāḥiḥ al-Anwār fī Tahkīf al-Aḥyār*, Cairo 1317, iii, 113 sq., who wrote, according to Ḥādīdī Khālifa (iv, 557, No. 9521) a commentary on the *Ḥamīya* of al-Buhārī [q.v.]. For al-Su'ūdī refers in his polemic (p. 146, 147, 4) to Abū 'L-Su'ūd as his master (*ustādh*) and al-Shāranī (*op. cit.*, ii, 113, s. f.) mentions Abū 'L-Fadl al-Mālikī as a devoted adept of Abū 'L-Su'ūd, from whom he probably derives his *nisba* al-Su'ūdī. According to van den Ham (*Preface* of his edition, p. 6), his book contains many passages occurring word for word in a manuscript commentary on the *Ḥamīya* preserved in Gotha (Pertsch, *Die Arab. Handschriften* . . . zu Gotha,

iv, 294, No. 2295), in which the author's name is Faḍl Allāh al-Mālikī.

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned above: Ḥādīdī Khālifa, *Kaṭīb al-Zunūn*, ed. Flügel, ii, 249, No. 2736; Steinschneider, *Polemische u. apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache* (Abh. f. d. K. d. M., vi, 3), Leipzig 1877, p. 36 (No. 17), 141 (No. 121), 409; F. Trieb, *Liber decem questionum contra Christianos auctore Ṣalīb ibn al-Ḥusain*, Thesis Bonn 1897, p. v.—vii; C. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i, 430, ii, 329.

(C. VAN ARENDONK)

SU'UDĪ (or ABU 'L-SU'UD) B. YAḤYĀ B. MUḤYI 'L-DIN AL-MUTANABBI AL-'AHHĀL AL-SHĀFI' AL-DIMASHQĪ, a man of letters, who died in Damascus in Safar 1127 (Febr. 1715). He studied several branches of Muslim knowledge and one of his preceptors was 'Abd al-Ghānī al-Nābulusi. Al-Murādi mentions his *Diwān* entitled *Mudā'ih al-Ḥafarat bi-Lisān al-Iḥrār* and gives specimens of his poetry. According to the same author, al-Muḥibbī gives an article on him in his *Nashat al-Raḥīna wa-Raḥbat Tūl al-Ḥana* (cf. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii, 294). A *muwawḥḥ* in praise of Damascus from his pen is extant in a manuscript of the Preussische Staatsbibliothek (Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, No. 6090, We 1120, f. 78a, cf. No. 8174, 2).

Bibliography: al-Murādi, *Silk al-Durar fī Ayūn al-Karn al-thānī 'ashar*, Bulāq 1301, i, 58—62; M. Hartmann, *Das arabische Strophen-gedicht*, 1. Das *Muwawḥḥ* (Semitist. Studien, ed. by C. Bezold, Heft 13/14), Weimar 1897, p. 83; C. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii, 279.

(C. VAN ARENDONK)

ṢUWĀ'. [See ṢĀ']

AL-SUWAIDIYA, the harbour of As-Ṣūḥkiya, which lay 12 *mil* from the Mediterranean. The town owed its rise owing to the gradual silting up of the harbour of Seleucia Pieria which lay a little farther north. Even in the time of Vespasian an attempt had been made, by making a great tunnel through the rock (which still exists and is called al-Gāris, i.e. the Pers. Čehriz or Kāris) to avert the danger of setting up its port from the great trading centre but without permanent success. In the early Muslim period Ṣalūḥiya is still occasionally mentioned (al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 148, 12: *Ḥiṣn Ṣalūḥiya*; al-Mas'ūdi, *Murāj al-Dhahab*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, ii, 199; Yāqūt, *Muḍam*, iii, 126; Saḥī al-Dīn, *Murāḥid al-Iḥṣā'*, ed. Juynboll, ii, 47). In the historians of the conquest also for *Kalāḥiya* or *Malāḥiya*, *Ṣalūḥiya* (in 21 H.) should probably be read (Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, iv, 506, § 81), and perhaps also later the unknown al-Mālūniya, since Basūt (*Basūt*) and al-Kuḥair (now Kaḥat al-Zaw) are mentioned in its neighbourhood, to which the people of Dar-kūsh migrated (Quatremère, *Hist. d. Sult. Maml.*, i, b, p. 266; van Berchem, *Voyage en Syrie*, i, 250, 6). But gradually the importance of the ancient seaport passed to its southern neighbour al-Suwaidiya, which took its name from the "Black Rivers" (the *ḥaṣṣa* *Māḥiya*, still called Böyük and Küçük Kāra-*su*) and the "Black Mountains" (*Māḥiya* or *Māḥiya* *ḥaṣṣa*, Montana Nigra, Syr.: *Tūr Ukāmā*, i.e. Amanos). In the older Arab geographers (e.g. al-Khwarizmi, Ibn Khurīdīdhīh, al-Battānī), the town is not yet mentioned. It only seems to have become of some note shortly before the Crusades, if its name is to be recognised in the *Evangelion*

of Georgios Kedrenos (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, cxviii, col. 97) 1030 A.D. Anna Comnena (Alexina II, Bonn, 87, 21, 126, 22, 239, 2) at a later date calls the town *ῥῆς Ἀντακίας ἑρῆμης ἐνδοῦ, ἀπὸς τοῦδ' ἢ τοῦ ἐξῆς*. It is only with the foundation of the principality of Antioch that its period of great prosperity began. According to Yāqūt the Franks took their goods from there to Antākiya. Al-Idrisi reckons from Hīan al-Suwaidiya 15 *mil* to Hīan al-Huryāda (Ἡὲν ἡρῶν in Estori ha-Farkhi, *Glorieta of the Italian charts and Portulane*) and 20 *mil* to Djabal Rās al-Khanātr. From the adjoining sanctuary of the younger Symeon Stylites on Djabal Mār Sim'ān (Ἰωαννῆς ὁ στυλῖτης) al-Suwaidiya was called Portus Sancti Symeonis by the Crusaders (Guill. Tyr., xiv, 5; xv, 13; xvii, 31). The town is rarely mentioned later. In 666 (1267/1268) the Amir Badr al-Dīn marched via al-Suwaidiya on Antākiya (al-Makrizi, *Hist. des Sult. Maml.*, transl. Quatremère, i/fi. 52 and ii/fi. 226 al-Suwaidiya for al-Suwaidd should perhaps also be read).

The name *es-Swēdiye* still survives. According to M. Hartmann it is however applied "sometimes to the highly cultivated plain between Orontes, the sea, the southern slopes of the Djabal Mūsā and the western slopes of Djabal Mār Sim'ān, sometimes to the largest place in this plain, *es-Zēfīniye*"; as in Barker's time "*es-Swēdiye* is still known north of the Djabal al-Aḥmar and south and east of the Orontes almost only as the name of a village, while the inhabitants of the plain itself and its immediate vicinity never use this name for a definite village but understand by it only this plain with its villages which differ very much from one another".

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SUYŪTĪ. [See ASYŪT.]

AL-SUYŪTĪ, ABU 'L-FARĀ 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. AH BAKR B. MUHAMMAD DJALĀL AL-DĪN AL-KHŪDAIRI AL-SHAKRĪ, the most prolific Egyptian writer in the Mamlūk period and perhaps in Arabic literature, came of a Persian family, formerly living in Baghdad, which for at least nine generations before him had been settled in Suyūṭ and had attained prominent positions in the public life of this town and in the government service.

Suyūṭi was born on 1st Radjab 849 (Oct. 3, 1445) in Cairo where his father was a teacher of *fiqh* in the Madrasa al-Shaikhūniya. After the early death of his father in Safar 855 = March 1451 (see his *Bughyat al-Warā*, p. 206) a Sūfī friend of his adopted the boy. He began his studies in 864 (1460) and concluded them on a journey through the cities of Egypt and a pilgrimage to Mecca in 869 (1463). Returning to Cairo, he first set up as a consultant on legal problems, and in 872 (1467) on the recommendation of his teacher al-Bulḥīn he received the professorship at the Shaikhūniya formerly held by his father. In 891 (1486) he was moved to the more important al-Hairūniya but in Radjab 906 (Feb. 1501) he lost this office, as he was accused of a breach of trust in the management of the institution's property. He then retired to al-Rawḥa on the Nile island and, when his successor died three years later, would not be induced to take up the office again. He died on 18th Djuṃādī I, 911 (Oct. 17, 1505).

Suyūṭi's literary activity, which he had already begun at the age of 17 was distinguished by an unusual versatility. The very long list of his writings compiled by Flügel in the *Wiener Jahrb.*, 1832, vols. 58—60, gives 561 works but it includes numerous quite short treatises in addition to substantial works. Suyūṭi's ambition was to try his skill in all branches of Muslim learning, and he did make a number of compilations, which are now of great value to us as compensating for lost works of classical literature as well as collections of material. From the catalogue of his extant works given in *G.A.L.*, ii, 145 only the best known will be dealt with here, in so far as they have been printed.

He collected all traditions referring to the exposition of the *Kur'ān* in his (apparently lost) *Tarḡimūn al-Kur'ān fī 'l-Tafsīr al-musnad*. He abbreviated this work by giving only the literary sources instead of the *isnād's* in his *Kitāb al-Durr al-manthūr fī 'l-Tafsīr al-ma'ṭhūr*, Cairo 1314, 6 vols. A number of obscure passages, he discussed in his *Muḥkamāt al-Aḥrān fī Muḥkamāt al-Kur'ān*, Bulaq 1384, Cairo 1309, 1310. He dealt with the occasions of the separate *sūras* in his *Lubāb al-Nuḥūl fī Aḥbāb al-Nuḥūl*, which is based on Wāḥidī's work but supplements this material from tradition and exegesis and lays special stress on making his sources clear (printed s.l. [Stambol], 1290 and several times on the margin of its most popular commentary). This was begun by his teacher al-Maḥallī Djalāl al-Dīn (d. 864 = 1459) and finished by Suyūṭi in 40 days in 870 (1465) it is therefore usually called *Tafsīr al-Djalālīn*, pr. Bombay 1869, Lucknow 1869, Calcutta 1257, Delhi 1884, Cairo 1300, 1301, 1305, 1308, 1313, 1328; among the glosses the best known is that of Sulaimān al-Djāmāl († 1204 = 1790), pr. Bulaq 1282, Cairo 1302, 1308. Suyūṭi later planned a large commentary entitled *Mafīd al-Bahrain wa-Mafīd al-Badrain*, but it is not clear whether this is lost or was never completed. Only the introduction to it has survived, a survey of all the branches of study relating to the *Kur'ān*, which he published separately in 872 (1367) under the title *al-Takḥrīr fī 'Ulūm al-Tafsīr*. He afterwards expanded this work, by using the *K. al-Burḥān fī 'Ulūm al-Kur'ān* of al-Zarkashī (d. 794 = 1392) into his *Irḡān* which is the most exhaustive presentation of the whole subject (ed.

by Mowlawies Banbeeroudeen and Nour-ool Haqq with an analysis by A. Sprenger, Calcutta 1852/1854, pr. Cairo 1278, 1307, 1317).

Suyūṭī aimed at collecting from Tradition all the sayings of the Prophet in his *Djāmi' al-Maṣānīd*, which is also called *Djāmi' al-Djawāmi'* or *al-Djāmi' al-kabīr*. He himself prepared a synopsis of this, *al-Djāmi' al-taḥṣīr min Ḥadīth al-Buḥārī al-maḥṣūr* and added a supplement *al-Ziyāda*; a commentary on this by 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Munāwī (d. 1032 = 1623) was printed at Bulāq in 1286. The work which had an alphabetical arrangement was re-arranged by al-Muttaḥī al-Hindī (d. 975 = 1567 or 977 = 1569) according to the rubrics of Fikḥ with the title *Munḥaḥḥ al-'Ummāl fī Sunan al-Aḥwāl wa 'l-'Aḥwāl* and added a supplement *al-Iḥwāl*. He next worked the two books into his *K. Ghayāt al-'Ummāl fī Sunan al-Aḥwāl*. He finally collected together the traditions about the sayings and doings of the Prophet once more and thus arose the *Kana' al-'Ummāl fī Ṭibḥat Sunan al-Aḥwāl wa 'l-'Aḥwāl* (printed Haidarābād 1312/1313, 8 vols., folio). Of Suyūṭī's numerous works dealing with special points of Tradition we may mention his book on the qualities of the Prophet, *Kifāyat al-Ṭalīb al-labīb fī Khawṣat al-Ḥabīb al-ma'rūf bi 'l-Khaṣṣat al-tawrā*, Haidarābād 1319/1320, 2 vols. He dealt with questions of criticism of Tradition on the lines of Ibn al-Djauzī [q. v.]; on the latter's *K. al-Mawqūfāt* he first wrote notes entitled *al-Nukat al-hadīth* (see *Fihrist al-Kutub al-'arabiya* 8. 'l-Kutub al-hadīth, l. 445) which is probably identical with the *al-Toḥḥūṭ al-'ala 'l-Mawqūfāt*, printed in a *Maḥmūṣa*, Lucknow 1303. He then edited the work himself again in the *al-La'āl al-muṣṣaḥa fī 'l-Aḥādīth al-mawqūfa*, Cairo 1317. Of Suyūṭī's smaller works, very many dealt with eschatological questions. Al-Kurṭubī's (d. 672 = 1273) *al-Tadhkira li-Aḥwāl al-Mawtū wa-Aḥwāl al-Aḥbār*, he edited under the title *Sharḥ al-Sudūr fī Sharḥ Ḥāl al-Mawtū fī 'l-Kubūr*, also often called simply *K. al-Borāh* (pr. Cairo 1309, 1329, in a Persian translation, Lahore 1871). A synopsis of it *Buḥārā 'l-Kawātib li-Likā' al-Ḥadīth* is printed on the margin of the Cairo edition. As a supplement he wrote in 854 (1479) *al-Budūr al-sāfira fī Umūr al-Aḥbār*, lith. in India 1311. On the examination of the dead in the grave he wrote 176 raddas verses entitled *al-Ṭahḥīṭ fī Lailat al-Mabīt*, pr. with a commentary by M. Arriya, Fās 1314, by M. al-Tihāmī Djanūn, *ibid.* 1321. His *K. al-Durar al-ḥisān fī 'l-Ba'ṭh wa-Na'im al-Djinnān* has also been several times printed. Several of his shorter works, e.g. six on the question whether the parents of the Prophet are in Paradise, are printed in the *Maḥmūṣat al-Maṣā'il al-'isrā'*, Haidarābād 1316/1317 and 1334.

Suyūṭī discussed the whole field of philology in an extremely full and valuable encyclopaedia entitled *al-Munḥir fī 'Ulūm al-Luḡa*, Bulāq 1282, Cairo 1323, verified by Mā' al-Ainain under the title *Ṭīmār al-Maḥṣūr*, Fās 1324. Following the example of Ibn al-Anbārī [q. v.] he endeavoured to apply the *uṣūl*, or principles of the science of Fikḥ to grammar in his *al-Iṭṭirāḥ fī 'l-'Uṣūl al-Naḥw wa-Djadalihī*, Haidarābād 1310, cf. Sprenger in *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxii. 7; A. Schmidt in *al-Muqaffariyya, Sbornik Stetit*, St. Petersburg 1897, p. 309 sqq. He also dealt with separate gram-

matical points on the lines of the discussion of legal points in a work which he called *al-Aḥkām wa 'l-Naḥw*, a title he had already used for a compendium of Fikḥ, with the supplement *al-Naḥw*, printed Haidarābād 1317, 4 vols. From 868 (1463) he had originally been collecting the material for this, along with particulars of the lives and works of the philologists; but after 899 (1493) he separated the *Nukat* from his material and on the advice of Maḥḥā al-Dīn b. Fahd collected the historical matter under the title *Buḥārāt al-Wa'at*, pr. Cairo 1326. He collected traditions regarding the beginnings of grammar in the *al-Aḥbār al-marwīya fī Sabab Waḥd al-'Arabiya*, pr. in the *al-Tuḥfa al-baḥṭiya*, Samsul 1320/1322, p. 49-53. He wrote a commentary on the *Alfiya* of Ibn Mālik [q. v.] called *al-Baḥṭiya al-marwīya*, Cairo 1310 and on Ibn Hishām's [q. v.] *al-Mughnī* he wrote a *Sharḥ Sharḥih*, Cairo 1322. He wrote an original grammatical study entitled *al-Farida fī 'l-Naḥw wa 'l-Taḥṣīf wa 'l-Khaṣṣ*, on which a commentary by Maḥmūd b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Zakarī al-Fāsī was printed at Fās in 1319, and another in the *Djāmi' al-Djawāmi'* which was printed with notes by al-Shanqīṭī in Cairo 1318 and 1327/1328 in two vols., and a commentary on the verses quoted as examples by the same entitled *al-Durar al-'iswāmī*, Cairo 1328.

In the field of history Suyūṭī has given us three works: one on general world history entitled *Bad' al-Zuhūr fī Waḥṣ' al-Uḥūr*, Cairo 1282 etc., a history of the Caliphs, *Tārīkh al-Khulafā'*, ed. by S. Lee and Maulawī Abd al-Haqq, Calcutta 1857, Cairo 1305, 1913, Lahore 1870, 1887, Delhi 1306, transl. by H. S. Jarrett (*Bibl. Ind.*), Calcutta 1881, and a history of Egypt entitled *Ḥuṣn al-Muḥādara fī Aḥbār Miṣr wa 'l-Kūhira*, lith. Cairo 1860 (?), pr. *ibid.* 1299, 1321. In biography in addition to the already mentioned history of the grammarians he also wrote a biographical collection on Kur'ān expositors, entitled *Ṭabaḥāt al-Mufasssīrīn*, ed. A. Meursing, Leyden 1839, and a synopsis of al-Dhahabī's (d. 748 = 1348) *Ṭabaḥāt al-Huffā'*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1833/1834.

The gift of poetry was denied to Suyūṭī. But he experimented in belles-lettres with the composition of *Makāma's*, which only have the title and the form (rhymed prose) in common with the perfect examples of this genre and collect all kinds of interesting notes about plants etc. out of Ḥadīth and Adab. Twelve of them were lithographed in Cairo in 1275 and again in the collection issued at Bihār 1297 and printed at Samsul in 1298; 6 of them have been translated by O. Kencher in *Beiträge zur Maḥmūṣen-Literatur*, part 8, Kirchheim N. L. 1918. Some of them are also quite original, for example *Raḥf al-Za'at min al-Sīr al-ḥalāl*, in which he makes 20 representatives of different branches of learning describe their wedding-night in the technical terms of their particular subject, lith. Cairo, n. d., pr. Fās 1319. Other works also show that he did not hesitate to treat of sexual and pornographical subjects (cf. those detailed in *G. A. L.*, ii. 153, N^o. 207-211). A synopsis *Djawāhir al-Hikāyat wa 'l-Aṭila wa 'l-Laṭā'if wa 'l-Riwayāt wa 'l-Amthila*, was made from his *Adab*-book *Anīs al-Djāli*, by 'Abd al-Kāyim b. Molla 'Abd al-Nāṣir al-Shirdānī in Tatar (7th ed., Kasan 1905). He was not ashamed to

collect the anecdotes of Dīlāz under the title *K. man nahā ilā Nawādir Dīlāz*, s. *A descriptive List of the Arabic MSS. acqu. by the Trustees of the Brit. Museum since 1894*, p. 62, Or. 6646, 2, while in the same MS. a satire on Ḳarāḡush [q. v.] by Ibn al-Maḡmūṭ (d. 606 = 1209) is wrongly ascribed to him. The anthology *al-Mawāḍiʿ al-naḍīr wa 'l-ʿarāḍi al-ʿaṣīr* (cf. Kosegarten, *Christ. ar.*, p. 151-176; Grangeret de Lagrange, *Anthol. ar.*, No. 11, etc.) does not belong to him but to an older al-Suyūṭī Muḥammad b. Naṣīr al-Dīn Abū Bakr Yahyā, of the first half of the 12th century, perhaps his grandfather; see Cheikh, *Machreq*, 1906, p. 581-598.

His versatility, already sufficiently displayed by separate works, was further revealed in an encyclopaedia covering 14 branches of knowledge entitled *al-Uṣūl al-maḥimma li-ʿUlūm Djamma* or briefly *al-Naḍāya* with the commentary *Imām al-Dīrāya*, pr. Bombay 1309, Fhs 1317, also on the margin of al-Sakkākī's *Miftāḥ al-ʿUlūm*, Cairo 1800.

Bibliography: Autobiography in *ʿIṣṣan al-Muḥāḍara*, i. 153, 203; ii. 65, printed in Moursing, *op. cit.*, p. 4-12; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtskreiser*, p. 506; Goldziher in *S. B. Ak. Wien*, 1871, lxix., p. 28 sqq.; Hartmann, *Das Muḥallāḥ*, p. 82; *G. A. L.*, ii. 145-158.

(BROCKELMANN)

SWAHİLĪ. [See TANZIRAR.]

SYRIA. [See AL-ḤAMĀ.]

SYRT. **SURT** (IDRIS: **SURT**) on the Gulf of Sidra (*Syrtis Major*) was according to al-Bakrī, a large town (*madīna*) on the sea shore, with a wall, a *ḡḡāmī*, a *ḡammām* and *sūḡ*'s; it had three

gates one of which faced the *ḡilla*, the other inland, and the third the sea; the water there was sweet and the gardens flourishing, but the population had a bad reputation. The people spoke a peculiar dialect among themselves which was neither Arab, Berber nor Coptic. The town, lying halfway between Tripoli and Adjāḍīya, was on the road for pilgrims from the Maghrib. Al-Aḡḡāḡ, who went through it three times in the xviiith century, speaks of Surt as a well-cultivated land but suffering from the tyranny of its conquerors; there were 3 *ḡazr*'s there. The Muslims conquered the region in the first invasion of Africa in 22/23 A. H. Surt henceforth shared the fate of Tripoli. But the governors and kings of Tripoli were not always able to exercise effective control over this region and its nomad inhabitants. Its communications with Fezzān made it an important political centre.

Under the Ottomans, Surt was grouped with Barḡa and after 1847 put in the wilāyet of Tripoli in the sanḡḡak of el-Khoms. Now (since 1912) it has been in the Italian province of Tripoli. The population, mainly Arab, belongs to the tribes of the Banū Sulaim. The Berbers are Hawāra. It is difficult to identify this place exactly with a Roman site. It is thought that Madīna al-Saltān, near Surt, where there are still ruins and Roman wells, corresponds to *Charax* or *Icina* of the Antonine *Itinerary*.

Bibliography: al-Bakrī, ed. de Slane, *Algiers* 1913, p. 6; E. De Agostini, *La popolazione della Tripolitania*, Tripoli 1917, p. 193-200; A. Fantoli, *Guida della Tripolitania*, Milan 1923, p. 261. (ETTORE ROSSI)

T

TĀ, third letter of the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical value of 400. For palaeographical details see ARABIA, i. 382^b, 383^b and plate I.

TĀ, sixteenth letter of the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical value of 9. For palaeographical details see ARABIA, i., plate I.

TA'ABBATA SHARRAN, a nickname of the old Arab poet and Beduin hero, famed in legend, Ṭāḡīb b. Dīḡāb b. Sufyān of the tribe of Fahm. Various explanations of it are given by the sources: 'he carried mischief under his arm', namely a sword, a knife (*ḡamīḡa*), a rum which proved to be a *ḡamīḡ*, or a skin full of poisonous snakes (*Aḡḡānī*). His mother was according to one statement (in Fresnel) a negress, according to the *Aḡḡānī* a woman of the Fahm tribe called Amīna, who afterwards married the Hudḡāḡ Abū Kabīr, who sought to take his step-son's life. Ta'abbata Sharran was throughout his life an enemy of the Banū Hudḡāḡ and Banū Badīḡa. He perished in a fight with the latter on Mount Numār in their territory (Vāḡḡ, *Muḡḡarīk*, p. 421). According to a statement of Ibn Ḳutaiba quoted by Baur (cf. *Bibliography*) he was a contemporary of Nawfal b. Mu'āwiya, who is said to have lived for sixty years before and after Islām. But all that is recorded of the life of Ta'abbata Sharran and the

poems ascribed to him breathe throughout the spirit of the old Arab Dīḡāḡīya. He is pictured as having all the traditional features of the wandering robber knight of the early Arab period. He wrote a lament for Shanfara, who was his companion in battle, along with 'Amr b. Barrāḡ (*Aḡḡānī*). The longest and finest of his four longer poems on a fallen relative inspired Goethe to write a poem in the same style.

Bibliography: Abū Tammām, *ḡamīḡa*, p. 33 sqq., 244 sqq., 382 sqq. (cf. Rückert's transl.); *Aḡḡānī*, xviii. 209-218; Karwīn, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 31, 56-58, 61; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Ḳutāb al-ḡamīḡ*, p. 174 sqq., 422 sqq., 437; al-Karīyūs, *ḡawḡḡat al-ʿArab*, p. 74 sqq.; Diwān d. Hudḡāḡīlīn, ed. Kosegarten, p. 247 sqq.; de Sacy, *Schol. zu ḡawḡḡat*, p. 416; *Anthol.*, p. 344; Fresnel, *Prem. lettres sur l'histoire des Arabes*, p. 96 sq.; Freytag, *Carmen arab.*, Göttingen 1814; Goethe, *Noten zum w. v. Diwan*; Basset, *La poésie arabe*, p. 73; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 25; Lyall, *Four Poems of Ta'abbata Sharrā*, *J. R. A. S.*, 1918; Gustav Baur, in the *Z. D. M. G.*, x. 74 sqq.

(H. H. BRÄU)

TABĀLA, a place in the west of northern Yaman, in the interior of 'Ash, about seven days' journey S.E. of Mecca. Its fertility was

proverbial among the Arabs. The basin of Tabāla and Taraba is often called *aḡḡar* ("green"; cf. al-Hamdānī *Djāzira*, ed. D. H. Müller, Leiden 1884, p. 105; Yāqūt *Muḡjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 164). The itinerary of the pilgrim caravans from Mecca through the frontier lands of the Ḥijāz and Yaman to Ṣanʿā is given in Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, London 1829, i. 445 was marked on the map as early as Berghaus, *Arabien und das Nil-land* (Gotha 1835, cf. esp. p. 69; and see also Ritter's map [1852, ed. by H. Kiepert]), for the stretch from Mecca to Tabāla. The latter was the 16th station on the territory inhabited by the Shumrān. Al-Idrīsī (see Jaubert, *Géographie d'Édrisi*, Paris 1836, i. 148) describes it as a fortified place belonging to Mecca, with perennial water, corn-fields and palms (similarly Ibn Khordādhbeh, *B. G. A.*, vi. 135, 188, 192); on the irrigation cf. al-Hamdānī, p. 258, 116 (180); on its wealth in palm-trees, cf. al-Hamdānī, p. 258; al-Azraqī (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 262; its fertility may also be deduced from Bakrī, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 191 and damage done to it later by Berbers from al-Hamdānī, p. 258. Al-Idrīsī further (*op. cit.*) says that Tabāla was occupied for the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān but was considered too insignificant. Al-Ḥadīdī, appointed governor of it, did not think it worth while going to take up the post, whence the proverb: "More despicable than Tabāla to al-Ḥadīdī" (cf. thereon with further information Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, i. 816; Freytag, *Proverbia* ii. 98; also *Lisān*, xiii. 80 sq.; *Tāj*, vii. 239 sq.). According to al-Idrīsī, Tabāla lay 4 days' journey from Mecca and 3 from the market of 'Ukāz. In the itinerary given by him from Mecca to Ṣanʿā (see Jaubert, *op. cit.*, p. 143, N^o vi; cf. thereon Ritter, *Erskunde*, xii. p. 168 188, 197), Tabāla is the sixth station from Mecca and is described as a town lying in a depression in a valley. This broad depression beginning at the foot of the hills of Ta'if and Yaman is well watered at its beginning and also contains the towns of Taraba and Biṣṣa (Yāqūt; cf. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed*, iii. 297). Of the nine stations mentioned between Tabāla and Ṣanʿā on this itinerary, the next to Tabāla is said to be Biṣṣa (Yāqūt). Sprenger proposes the connection B. Baʿān (also al-Hamdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 118, 127 and in his itinerary from Mecca to Ṣanʿā p. 178 and 165; Ibn Khordādhbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 134) in contrast to his earlier spelling (*Z. D. M. G.*, 1888, xlii. 321). According to the same authority Tabāla itself lies 8 stations north of the (14th) station Maḥdāra, in which stands the tree (*Talḥat al-Malik*) which is regarded as marking the boundary between the lands of Mecca and Yaman (so Ibn Khordādhbeh, *op. cit.*, vi. 135). Modern writers mention another route from Mecca via Ta'if and Taraba to Raniya (instead of the latter al-Ruwaitha in al-Idrīsī, al-Roheyta in Burckhardt, Roheiyta in later writers) and Tabāla as a main road (cf. Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 451; Ritter, *op. cit.*, p. 200). Its topographical position may be clearly seen from the large map of the coast of S. W. Arabia, sheet 7, *Wadi Biṣṣa* (compiled for the *Geographical Section General Staff*, from the Survey made in 1917) on which the place ("Teballa") is marked at 19° 53.5' N. Lat. 42° 31' E. Long. Greenwich. It lies on the Wadi of the same name which forms the northern boundary of the land of the Beni Bu 'l-Karn on the main road from Ta'if to S. E. via Bīr al-

Ghazāl, with the road from the S. W. from al-Silme and Halbe which also starts from Ta'if in a southerly direction. Sprenger's assertion, deduced from a comparison of several mentions of (Wādī) Biṣṣa and Biṣṣa in al-Hamdānī in *Deutsche Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, p. 47, that al-Hamdānī thought that the Wādī Biṣṣa which is often confused with Biṣṣa also waters Tardj and Tabāla cannot therefore be accepted nor the assumption of more recent writers that Tabāla lies in the Wādī Biṣṣa. The Wādī Tabāla (mentioned in a quotation from Ṭarafa in al-Hamdānī p. 173 [not in the *Diwan*; see D. H. Müller's edition of Hamdānī, ii. 183]) flows into the Wādī Biṣṣa. Al-Hamdānī often mentions Tabāla in topographical statements in connection with Biṣṣa and Tardj (p. 27, 49, 84, 127 [on mentions in poetry of the occurrence of the lion at Tabāla, cf. Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 165, 257; and Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, i. 835, 791; iv. 1006; Ibn Hawkal, *B. G. A.*, ii. 35; Bakrī] in distances (p. 187, 189) and in quotations from the poets (p. 173, 207, 215, 258). To the land of Tabāla he includes 'Arram (Yāqūt, *Muḡjam* ii. 918) Zabiya, for which some write Raniya; cf. Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 240 and (p. 239) his map of this region constructed from al-Hamdānī's data. The latter (p. 165) mentions Tabāla along with Raniya (the vocalisation Runiya in D. H. Müller's edition is not certain; the manuscripts do not give the vowel signs in the passage; Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, ii. 826; al-Mukaddasī, *B. G. A.*, iii. 112 and Bakrī have Raniya, as has al-Hamdānī *op. cit.*, p. 215 and 259, see D. H. Müller, ii. 32 and Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 240 and *Z. D. M. G.*, *op. cit.* and modern geographers).

Sprenger's supposition (*op. cit.*, p. 156, 253) that *Θεομαλα* in Ptolemy, vi. 7, 39, was an error for *Θεομαλα* and identical with T(h)omala in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 154 and the assertion he bases on it that "Tomala is only a dialectical variant from Tabāla or as highly educated men say, Tabāla" are both incorrect. This identification adopted also by M. Hartmann, *Die arabische Frage*, Leipzig 1909, p. 420 is not supported by Sprenger's interpretation of al-Hamdānī's statement, p. 188 about the old pilgrim routes from Hadramūt, which according to his construction (*op. cit.*, p. 156, 161) meet in Tabāla. Pliny describes Thomala as a city of the Sabaeans (see further Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Saba, col. 1328). Sprenger's assumption (p. 253) that Tabāla lay in what had originally been Minaean territory is also erroneous; his localisation of the Minaeans was completely wrong (see *Realencycl.*, col. 1316 sq.).

The traditional derivation of the name of the town (Tebalet, in the *Djān-nuṣṣa* of Ḥadīdī Khalifa, p. 520) from that of an Amalekite woman Tabāla is of no value, but one may nevertheless assume that the town is a very old foundation (Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, i. 816). — In the pre-Muhammadan period a white stone in Tabāla was worshipped as an idol, called Dhu 'l-Khalasa (Khulasa); Muhammad had it destroyed (Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, i. 55 sq.; the Khath'am, who are mentioned there among the followers of this cult, are also mentioned alone by al-Hamdānī, p. 119, and by Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, ii. 461 sq., iii. 608, 850 in connection with Tabāla). The verses given there, in which this oracle of Tabāla, which was consulted by casting lots with arrows, is mentioned are wrongly ascribed to Imru 'l-Qais, according to Ibn Hishām (cf. on the idol the information collected in *Lisān*, viii.

295; *Taḥḍīr*, iv, 389; on Tabāla as the site of a pagan cult, cf. Wellhausen, *Reise arabischen Heidentums*, p. 45 sqq.). The Khath'am, whom Ibn Rosta, *B. G. A.*, vii, 316, 320 describes roughly as the inhabitants of Tabāla, are more accurately the people of Taraba and Bisha and the land behind Tabāla while the inhabitants of Tabāla proper are the Banū Māzin (Wüstenfeld, *Die Wohnsitze und Wanderungen der arabischen Stämme*, xiv, of the *Abhandl. d. Kön. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch.*, Göttingen 1868, p. 84 and 58, following Bakrī). According to Kudāma (s. *Bibl.*) there were camping places of the Kalās around Tabāla (cf. Ibn Khordādhbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 188). According to Ibn Khaldūn (ed. Kay, *Yaman*), p. 129 sq., Tabāla is the land of the Banū Nahd. Dhū 'l-Ḥalāqa, about whom see also Bakrī, p. 316, Ibn al-Kalbi, *Kitāb al-Aḥnām*, Cairo 1332 [1914] (from whom Yāqūt borrowed; cf. Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 10 sqq.) and Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, ii, 461 sq., is boldly explained by D. Nielsen, *Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde*, Copenhagen-Paris-Leipzig 1927, p. 231, 234, as an Arabian Venus-deity. As the centre of a cult Tabāla was also a market: al-Hamdānī mentions the traffic there (p. 258). In the history of Islām Tabāla is known as one of the towns which were among the first to adopt the new religion and thus preserved their independence (Goliuz, in *Al-Faragani, Elementa Astronomica*, Amsterdam 1669, p. 85).

Bibliography: The works of Burckhardt, Sprenger, Wellhausen, Ritter and the Arabic geographers and lexicographers (al-Hamdānī, Yāqūt, Bakrī, al-Iḥṣā'ī) mentioned in the article; also J. v. Hammer-Purgstall, *Jahrbücher der Literatur*, Vienna 1840, vol. 92, p. 55 (on the itinerary from Ṣan'a' to Mecca in *Djihad-numū*), and vol. 94, p. 94; Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, *Abhandl. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl.*, Leipzig 1864, iii/iii, 125 sq., 138 sq. (on the itinerary of al-Hamdānī), 128 sqq. (on the itineraries of Kudāma, Ibn Khordādhbeh and Ibn al-Maḍāwir). (J. KEATSCH)

AL-TABARĪ, *nishā* from Tabaristan; most of the bearers of the *nishā* have come from Āmul, the capital of this province. This *nishā* is also wrongly referred to Tabariya (Tiberias) in place of the correct al-Tabarānī (cf. Sam'ānī, *Anṣab*, fol. 366b; *Taḍḍīr al-Aḥḥā*, iii, 355).

1. **ABU 'L-TAIYIB AL-TABARĪ**, ṬḤIR b. 'ABD ALLĀH b. ṬĤIR, a Shāfi'i jurist, teacher of Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī and of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghḍādī; al-Shīrāzī who attended his lectures for over ten years, praises him as his best teacher. Al-Tabarī was born in Āmul in the year 348 (959/960). At the age of 14 he began his studies in *fiqh* in his native city and in 371 (981/982) went to Ljūrdjān to study under Abū Bakr al-Jamālī but the latter died the day after his arrival there. For four years he studied with Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Māzārī (d. 383 = 993) and continued his studies in Baghdād with Abū Maḥammad al-Bāṣī (d. 398 = 1007/1008), Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Dūrakūfī (d. 385 = 995), the famous Shāfi'i Abū Ḥamid al-Isfārā'ī (d. 406 = 1015/1016) and with Abū 'l-Farūj al-Mu'afa b. Zakariya al-Nahrawānī (d. 390 = 1000), a follower of the school of law of the historian al-Tabarī. He then remained in Baghdād engaged in private study. He was victorious in different disputations with Ḥanafis, e.g. with al-Kadiri (Subki, iii, 182 sqq.). In 422 (1031) he was admitted a notary

(*shāhid*) in Baghdād by the *ḥāfi* 'l-Ḥuḍayf Abū 'Abd Allāh (d. 447 = 1055/1056) (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *Kāmil*, ix, 287sq.). When in 429 (1037/1038) the Būyid Ḍiyāl al-Dawla wished to assume the title *Malik al-Mulūk* in the *khutba*, Abū 'l-Taiyib al-Tabarī was one of the *ḥāfi*'s who were approached by the caliph for a *fatwa* and who declared this title permissible (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ix, 312). In addition to his judgeship in the Bāb al-Tāq quarter (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ix, 360) he received that of the al-Karkh quarter in succession to the Ḥanafī Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Saimari in 436 (1044/1045). He died in this office at the age of 102 in full possession of his intellectual vigour on Saturday, 19th Rabi' I, 450 (May, 16, 1058). He was buried in the cemetery at the Bāb Harb, after a funeral service in the *Djāmi'* al-Manṣūr. Up to the day of his death he was present at the receptions in the Caliph's palace. According to al-Khaṭīb he was as experienced in *Uṣūl* as in *Furū'*, and had a dignified figure, a noble character and great distinction of language. He composed numerous legal works, including a commentary to the *Mukhtaṭar* of Muzant, which still exists in manuscript in Cairo (Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i, 180) and a commentary on the *Furū'* of Abū Bakr b. al-Haddād al-Misri (d. 345 = 956/957; Ibn Khallikān, i, 234; Subki, ii, 113; iii, 195; cf. also Ḥādjdī Khalifa, No. 9036), also a *K. al-Minhāj* (Subki, iii, 176), a *K. al-Talīf* in ten vols. (Subki, iii, 195; Ḥādjdī Khalifa, No. 3120) and a *Mukhtaṭar fī Masā'il al-Shāfi'i* with biographies of his followers (Ḥādjdī Khalifa, iv, 141).

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2. **MUḤIB AL-DIN AL-TABARĪ**, ARU 'L-'ABRĀS AHMAD b. 'ABD ALLĀH b. MUḤAMMAD b. ABU BAKR, a traditionalist and Shāfi'i jurist in Mecca, born 615 (1218/1219), d. 694 (1294/1295), a pupil of Ibn al-Djūmaṭī (d. 649 = 1251/1252; Subki, v, 128), of Maḍī al-Dīn al-Kushairī (d. 667 = 1268/1269; Yāqūt, iv, 166) and others. The Rasūlid al-Muḥaffar (647—694 = 1250—1295) summoned him to the Yemen to learn traditions from him (al-Khaṭīb al-Baghḍādī, *Uṣūl* in *G. M. S.*, iii, iv, 277; cf. also Ḥādjdī Khalifa, No. 1533). Among his pupils may be mentioned Abū Maḥammad al-Kāsim b. Maḥammad al-Bizālī (d. 739 = 1338/1339), one of the Shaikhs of the *Dhahabī*. He is the author of the well-known collection of traditions: *Ghāyat al-Aḥkām fī 'l-Aḥādīth wa 'l-Aḥkām*, in which he has however included "weak" traditions without marking them as such (Yāqūt). In addition to the extant works listed by Brockelmann, the following writings are mentioned in various sources: 1. *Mukhtaṭar fī 'l-Hadīth* (Subki); 2. *Kitāb fī Fadl Makka* (Subki); 3. *Itiqā' al-Bayān fī Masā'il al-Shāfi'iyya* (Ḥādjdī Khalifa, No. 617); 4. *Khaṭir al-Kirā' fī Ziyāra Umm al-Kurā'* (Yāqūt); 5. *Arba'in fī 'l-Hadīth* (Ḥādjdī Khalifa, No. 406); 6. *Awāṣif al-Nuṣra fī Taḥḍīr al-Tawāf 'ala 'l-Umra* (Ḥādjdī Kha-

lifa, N^o. 8402, 11859); 7. *Siṣa Ḥadīdī al-Nabī* (Ḥadīdī Khalifa, N^o. 7758; if not identical with Brockelmann, N^o. 4); 8. *Waḥīyat al-Mānī* [fi] *Kamīhi: Man ra'ani fi l-Manūm faḥad ra'ani* (Ḥadīdī Khalifa, N^o. 14176); 9. *Manṭūr il-Malīb al-Manūr* (Ḥadīdī Khalifa, N^o. 13142); 10. *al-Simṭ al-ṭamin fi Manāḥib Ummahāt al-Mu'minīn* (Ḥadīdī Khalifa, N^o. 7250, 13038); 11. *Taḥrīb al-Marām fi Ḡharīb* (so read for *Ḥarīb*) *al-Kāsim b. Salām* (d. 223 = 837), alphabetically arranged selection (Ḥadīdī Khalifa, N^o. 3465 and iv. 325); 12. on the rare words in the *Qānīn* *al-Uṭl* of Ibn al-Aṭhīr (Ḥadīdī Khalifa, ii. 506); 13. Extract from the *Awārif al-Ma'arīf* fi *l-Ṭawwūf* of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī, (d. 632 = 1234; Brockelmann, G. A. L., i. 440; Ḥadīdī Khalifa, iv. 276); 14. a ten volume commentary on the *Tanbīh* of Shīrāzī (Subkī; Yāfī'; Ḥadīdī Khalifa, ii. 435); 15. Extract from the same *Tanbīh* (Yāfī'); 16. *Tirāz al-Maḥḥab fi Talḥīṭ al-Muḥḥab*, two volume synopsis of the *Muḥḥab* of Shīrāzī (Ḥadīdī Khalifa, vi. 275).

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(HEFFERNING)

AL-ṬABARĪ, ABU ḬAṬAR MUḤAMMAD b. DJARĪ, the Arab historian, was born probably in 839 (end of 224 or beg. 225 A. H.) at Āmul in the province of Ṭabaristān. He began to devote himself to study at a precociously early age, and is said to have known the Qur'ān by heart by the time he was seven. After receiving his early education in his native town, he received from his father who was quite well off the necessary means of visiting the centres of the Muslim learned world. He thus visited Ray and its vicinity, then Baghdād, where Ahmad b. Hanbal under whom he had intended to study had died shortly before his arrival there. After a brief stay in Basra and Kūfa he again returned to Baghdād where he remained for some time. He then set out for Egypt but stopped in the Syrian towns to study *ḥadīth*. When he was in Egypt (according to Ibn 'Asākir in 876—877; according to Yāqūt however for the first time in 867 and after a stay in Syria again in 869—870; in 871—872 according to *Annalen*, iii., 1862 he was in Baghdād) he must already have been regarded as a celebrated scholar. From there he returned to Baghdād where except for two journeys to Ṭabaristān (the second in 902—903) he lived till his death in 923.

Ṭabari seems to have been of a quiet scholarly disposition but full of character. In his earlier years he devoted his whole energy to acquiring the material of Arab and Muslim tradition; later he spent his time mainly in teaching and writing. Although he had only a modest competence, he rejected all financial advantages and even refused lucrative official positions which were offered him. In this way he was able to devote himself to an extremely prolific and versatile literary activity. Apart from his main subjects, history, *fiqh*, the recitation and exegesis of the Qur'ān, he devoted himself also to poetry, lexicography, grammar and ethics and even mathematics and medicine. For ten years after his return from Egypt he followed the Shāfi'ī *Maḥḥab* and then founded a school

of his own, whose followers called themselves *Djarīriyya* after his father's name. But it seems to have differed less in principle than in practice from the Shāfi'ī school and fell comparatively quickly into oblivion. His break with Ahmad b. Hanbal however was more fundamental. He recognised the latter only as an authority on *ḥadīth* but not on *fiqh*. He thus brought upon himself the hostility of the Hanbalis. He is said to have attracted the particular hostility of the latter by attacking their interpretation of Sūra xvii. 81. He had to shut himself up in his house to protect himself from the anger of the enraged mob and was only left in peace when a strict order by the police was issued for his protection. His enemies also sought to injure him through the law by laying an accusation against him in which he was accused of heretical tendencies, certainly unjustly.

Ṭabari's works have not come down to us by any means completely. For example those writings have been completely lost in which he laid down the principles of his new school of law. On the other hand his commentary on the Qur'ān (*Qānīn al-Bayān fi Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* or briefly *Tafsīr*) has survived. In this work Ṭabari collected for the first time the ample material of traditional exegesis and thus created a standard work upon which later Qur'ānic commentators drew; it is still a mine of information for historical and critical research by western scholars. Ṭabari's own position with regard to the traditions collected by him is mainly defined by linguistic (lexicographical and grammatical) criteria. But he also deals with dogmatic and legal deductions which can be obtained from the Qur'ān and sometimes permits himself to express a rather candid opinion without however in any way basing it on historical criticism.

Ṭabari's most important work is his history of the world (*Tārīkh al-Rusūl wa'l-Mulūk*). The well known Leyden edition gives only an abbreviated text of the huge work which is said to have been ten times as long but even it fills 134 volumes. Even this synopsis is not complete but had to be supplemented in various passages from later writers who had used Ṭabari's history of the world.

The work begins after an introduction with the history of the patriarchs, prophets and rulers of the earliest period (i. 1). Then comes the history of the Sāsānian period (i. 2) and of the period of Muḥammad and the first four caliphs (i. 3—6); the history of the Umayyads (ii. 1—5); lastly the history of the 'Abbāsids (iii. 1—4, middle). From the beginning of the Muhammadan era the material is arranged annalistically under the years of the Hijra. The work stops in July 915. It was afterwards continued by other historians. Among such supplements may be mentioned (1) the lost *al-Muḥḥab* or *Sīlat al-Tārīkh* of Ṭabari's pupil Abū Muḥammad al-Faḥḥāmī, (2) the work of Abū 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Hamadhānī (d. 1127), which came down to the year 1094 but the only surviving first volume ends with the year 977—978. Later historians like Ibn Miskawayh and Ibn al-Aṭhīr used Ṭabari's material for their histories but came down beyond his period so that in a sense they continued his history (down to 979—980 or 1225). Ibn al-Aṭhīr made large use of Ṭabari's work and sought to harmonise different accounts and to supply gaps from other sources. The fragment of the Spanish Arab 'Arīb (covering

903—932) edited by de Goeje also comes from an independent version and continuation of the annals. In 963 Tabarī's history was translated into Persian by order of the Sāmānīd vizier Abū 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bal'ami. It was much abbreviated and supplemented from other sources, especially in the older period. This version was also translated into Turkish and Arabic.

Tabarī's *Ta'rikh al-Rijāl* gives the most necessary facts about the persons whom he has used as authorities in *hadīth*. The work was originally current as an appendix (*ghail*) to Tabarī's *Annals*. A synopsis, not however complete, was published at the end of the Leyden edition of Tabarī (iii, p. 2295—2501).

Tabarī procured the material for his history of the world from oral tradition, for the collection of which he had ample opportunity on his wide travels which were mainly devoted to the *ṣalab al-'ilm*, and in studies under celebrated scholars. He also used literary sources, namely a book by Abū Mikhnaf; 'Umar b. Shabba's *Kitāb al-Akhbār Ahl al-Bayra*, a work on tradition out of which Ziyād b. Ayyūb read to him; Naṣr b. Muḥammad's history (Z. S., iv, 6); and further the *Sira* of Muḥammad b. Ishāq and the works on the subject by al-Wāqidi, Ibn Sa'd, Muḥammad and Hishām al-Kalbi, al-Madīnī, Saif b. 'Umar, Ibn Taifir etc.; for his account of Sāsānīan history, he used an Arabic version of the Persian *Book of Kings*, which seems to be based in part on a translation of this work prepared by al-Mukaffa'. Tabarī did not work up the material into a connected account of historical events. He was rather content to collect the available material and to record the different, often contradictory, accounts as they were handed down to him. He therefore declined any responsibility for the reliability of the traditions collected by him. But it is just in the conscientious unharmonised repetition of the collected material of tradition that the value of Tabarī's work for modern historical research lies, especially when it is a question of reconstructing the events of the early period of Islām.

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hammad b. Džarir al-Tabarī, *Džam' al-Bayān fi Tafsīr al-Kur'ān*, Cairo 1331, 30 parts; O. Loth, *Tabarī's Korancommentar*, *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxv., 1881, p. 588—628; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Korans*, ii., Leipzig 1919, p. 139—142, 171—173, 184; I. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranexegese*, Leyden 1920, p. 85—98, 101 sq. (R. PARET).

TABARISTĀN (in Pahlavi inscriptions on coins: *Tāpūristān*, land of the Tāpūsi), the name applied by the Arabs to Māzandarān, a province of Persia, north of mount Alburz; the name is explained by a popular etymology to mean 'land of the jahar' (Abū 'l-Fidā', *Geography*, text p. 432; Mehren, *Cosmography*, p. 314) on account of the thick forests which cover the country and the principal industry of the inhabitants (wood-cutting). It is bordered on the north by the Caspian Sea, on the south by the chain of the Alburz, on the east by Djurdžān and on the west by Gilān. The soil is fertile and well watered, rich in fruits but unhealthy on account of the stagnant waters; the little rivers, Herhaz, Tābir and Tedjen run through it. The principal towns are: Amol, Sāzi, Šāllā, Rāyān and Bārfurūš. The tribes are warlike, undisciplined and inclined to murder and plunder. The industries are fishing, catching aquatic birds, cultivating of rice, flax and hemp (Mukaddas, p. 354).

History. At the time of the Muslim conquest this district was ruled by hereditary chiefs who had the title of *ispahbadh* (Persian: 'head of an army'). In 29 (650) in the reign of the Caliph 'Othmān, Sa'd b. al-'Aṣī, governor of Kūfa, undertook an expedition against Tabaristān. In the reign of Mu'āwiyā I, Maḥkālā b. Ḥubaira entered it at the head of 10 or 20,000 men but he perished with the greater part of his army in the passes, crushed by rocks hurled down upon them by the enemy. Another unsuccessful attempt was made by Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath. In the time of Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik, Yazid b. Muḥallab invaded it; the *ispahbadh* made peace and promised to pay an annual tribute of 4,700,000 dirhems, 400 ass-loads of saffron, and the sending of 400 men each bearing a shield, a silver cup and a silk saddle cushion. The inhabitants rebelled in the time of Marwān b. Muḥammad. They were subdued but for a short time only by the governor sent by Abū 'l-'Abbās al-Saffūh. The Caliph al-Manṣūr sent against them Khārim b. Khuzaima al-Tamimi and Rawḥ b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabi. 'Umar b. al-'Alā' invaded the mountainous country of Dailām. His great-grandson Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ḥafṣ and Māyazdayār b. Kārim conquered the wild mountain country of Sharwin. The latter was given the title of *ispahbadh* by al-Ma'mūn. When he rebelled in the sixth year of the reign of al-Mu'tasim, he was defeated by Ḥusain b. Ḥasan sent by his nephew 'Abdallāh b. Tāhir, governor of Khorāsān, captured and sent to Sāmarrā, where he died under the lash (225 = 840). His body was hung beside that of Bābak al-Khurrāmī. Tabaristān thus passed to 'Abdallāh b. Tāhir.

In 240 (854) the *ispahbadh* Kārim b. Shahriyār who ruled in the mountains became a convert to Islām. In 247—248 (861—862) the 'Alid Muḥammad b. Zajd seized the province and agreed with the Būyid 'Aḥud al-Dawla Fannī-Khusraw about the propagation of the *Shi'a* and the restoration of the mausoleums of the family of 'Alī.

He was killed by an emissary of Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Tāhir. One of his brothers, Ḥasan b. Zaid, rebelled in 250 (864); on his death in 270 (884) he was succeeded by his brother Muḥammad who took the title of *al-Di' al-Kabir* 'the great missionary' and was killed fighting with Muḥammad b. Ḥārūn, a general of the Sāmānid Ismā'il b. Aḥmad (287 = 900); the latter annexed the country. In 297/298 (910/911) the Russians, coming by water laid waste Abaskūn and Sarī but were finally driven back by the inhabitants; on their way back what remained of their fleet was intercepted and destroyed by the king of the Khazars. Another 'Alid, al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, surnamed al-Nāṣir al-Kabir, rebelled in Amul against the Sāmānids (301 = 914) and on his death (304 = 917) left his power to his son-in-law al-Ḥasan b. al-Kāsim, surnamed al-Di' ila 'l-Hakk, till in 311 (923) he disappeared into the mountains after long fighting with Abu 'l-Kāsim Dja'far b. al-Nāṣir and with the condottiere Mākān b. Kākī; he was killed by Mardāwīj, then in the service of Asfār b. Shīrūya (cf. ZIVARUS) with a blow from a mace at 'Alīābād. Thus Asfār became lord of Tabaristān until he perished by the hand of Mardāwīj in 319 (931). It was the brother of the latter, Waḥmīr, who next ruled, down to the battle of Ishāk-Abād in 329 (940) where Mākān b. Kākī was killed and the army of Waḥmīr destroyed; the latter having made up his mind to become a vassal of the Sāmānids, settled in Džurdžān and Tabaristān at intervals like his successors Kābūs I and Mīnūfir; the latter accepted the suzerainty of the Ghaznawids. The province next passed to the Seldjūks; but *isfahābād*'s belonging to the house of Bāwand for long remained practically independent, especially in the mountains: 'Alī al-Dawla 'Alī b. Shahrīyār b. Kārin, contemporary of the Ghaznawid Mas'ūd III; Nuḡrat al-Dīn Rustam; Taḍj al-Mulūk 'Alī b. Mardāwīj, contemporary of the Seldjūk Sandjar; 'Alī al-Dawla Ḥasan b. Rustam b. 'Alī; Ḥusām al-Dawla wa 'l-Dīn Ardashīr b. Ḥasan, contemporary of Toghril II b. Arslān.

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(CL. HUART)

TABARIYA, Tiberias, a town on the western side of the lake of Tiberias (sea of Galilee) (*Buḥayrat Tabariya*) through which the Jordan flows to the south; the lake is rich in fishes, is 13 miles long, 6 broad and lies 700 feet below the level of the Mediterranean; the town is long and narrow as it is shut in by the steep hills on the west which come right down to the water, north and south of the town. S.S.W. of the town is the Mount of Herod. Tabariya had probably a predecessor in a little town in this

region mentioned in the Old Testament (on account of the hot springs some identify it with Hammat, Joshua, xix. 35) but nothing certain has been established on this point. The town only became of importance when Herod Antipas about 26 A.D. founded a city to which he gave the name of Tiberias in honour of the emperor Tiberius. It was built with great splendour on the model of Hellenistic towns with temples, theatres, and other public buildings. The splendid palace of the king, described by Josephus, lay on the Mount of Herod (Kaṣr bint al-Malik) surrounded by the old city wall, the course of which has been traced by G. Schumacher. The stricter Jews avoided it and the population was therefore very mixed, some forced by Herod to settle there and others tempted thither by various privileges. At a later date a remarkable change took place as Tiberias became one of the main centres of purely Jewish life and a centre of Talmudic studies. Here about 200 A.D. was edited the collection of laws known as the *Mishna* and later at the beginning of the fourth century the Palestinian *Gemara* (the so-called Jerusalem Talmud) composed and in the vii/viii century the 'Tiberian' system of notation in general use established. The Hebrew teacher of Jerome was a Jew in Tiberias. The Jewish scholars who worked here are recalled by a series of tombs among them those of R. Johannan b. Zakkai and R. Akiba. Another old Jewish cemetery with several sarcophagi has been discovered close to the western gate of the city in laying out a new road.

After Constantine the Great, Christianity penetrated, although slowly, into Galilee and in the lists of synods several bishops of Tiberias are mentioned. A temple begun by the Emperor Hadrian in this town was turned into a temple.

The destroyed walls of the town were rebuilt by Justinian. At the Persian invasion in 614 the Jews there, as was the case elsewhere also, are said to have sided with them. In 13 (635) Tiberias passed to the Muslims. While a number of towns in the province of Urdun had to be taken by force, Tabariya surrendered to the Arab general Shahrābīl who guaranteed the inhabitants their lives and the half of their houses and churches. For each *ḡarīb* of ground they had to pay annually a *ḡarīb* of wheat or barley, and a *ḡarīb* for each head of cattle; he also reserved for himself a site on which a mosque was to be built. In the caliphate of 'Uthmān the people of Tiberias broke the agreement but were conquered by 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī (according to others by Shahrābīl) and yielded on the old terms. With the Crusaders began a new chapter in the history of Tabariya. It was granted as a fief to Tancred and ultimately came into the possession of Raymond of Tripoli. On Thursday July 2, 1187 (583 A.H.) Saladin surrounded the town and conquered it in a few hours, although it was strongly fortified, and then set it on fire. The Christian army encamped at Ṣaffuriya in spite of the urgent warnings of Raymond was persuaded by the overweening Grand Templar Gerard to set out to the help of the town, which resulted in the disastrous battle of Hattin [q.v.] which again in turn led to the capture of Jerusalem and the collapse of Frankish power. Later, in 1240 the town again came into the hands of the Christians when Odo of Montbelliard took it, but in 1247 it was lost to

the Khazars and henceforth Tiberias was Muslim right down to the end of Turkish rule in Palestine. In the middle of the xviiith century the town belonged to the Shaikh Zahir al-'Amir who had it fortified. In 1759 it suffered from an earthquake, but that of 1837 was much worse, as it destroyed most of the town (but not the baths). In 1799 it was occupied for a short time by Napoleon's troops.

There are more or less brief descriptions of Tabariya, the capital of the province of Urdunn, in the Arab geographers. Ya'qubi (278 = 891-892) mentions the position of the town at the foot of a mountain and on a large lake through which the Jordan flows. Isakhrī (340 = 951) gives the lake a length of 12 and a breadth of 2-3 miles (its real dimensions are 13 miles long and 6 broad). Muḥaddasī (375 = 985) says: "The houses stand between the mountain and the lake, the town is narrow and in summer hot and unhealthy. It is about a mile long but of no breadth. The market place stretches from one gate to the other and the cemeteries are on a hill. The chief mosque on the market place is large and beautiful.... Around the lake are villages and palm-trees and ships go up and down. The lake is full of fishes and the water quite pleasing". The Persian traveller Naṣir-i Khusrāw, who visited Tabariya in 438 (1047) puts the length of the lake at 6 and the breadth at 3 miles. "The town is surrounded by walls but not on the lake side; many houses have their foundation on the rocky bottom below the water; besides the chief mosque in the centre of the town there is another on the west side, the Masjid al-Yasmin. Here is the tomb of Joshua son of Nun and of the 70 prophets slain by the Israelites and also the grave of Abū Huraira. The inhabitants make mats of rushes; on the hill west of the town is a castle built of hewn stones, with a Hebrew inscription". Idrisi (1154, during the period of Crusader rule) describes Tabariya as an imposing town on a high hill on a lake with fresh water, 12 miles long and the same in breadth (?). The boats on it bring supplies to the town. He also mentions the making of rush-mats which was a very important industry. Yāqūt (623 = 1125) reproduces what is said by several of his predecessors; like the other Arab geographers he makes Tabariya be built by Tiberias. Abū l-Fida' (d. 732 = 1331) records that the town was destroyed by Saladin, which shows that it was still in ruins and from Ibn Battuta (725 = 1325) it is evident that this remained the case later.

As long as they existed, the hot medicinal baths (al-ḥammāmāt) played an important part in the life of the town. They lay about 40 minutes in the south of it and perhaps influenced Herod in choosing this town for his capital. Josephus correctly tells us that they were not far from Tiberias at a village called Ἀμαθόνη (i.e. the native Ḥammāt) which agrees with the fact that the old city wall discovered by Schumacher ran from the Mount of Herod to the shore of the lake without enclosing them ("in Tiberias", as Josephus, *Vita*, 85, *Bell.*, ii. 1614 says therefore means "in the territory of Tiberias"). They are mentioned as early as Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, v. 15) and frequently in the Talmud and the Arab geographers are never tired of telling that they are warm without fire being kindled there. Ya'qubi says that the hot water is brought into the town in pipes and

Isakhrī adds that the water, although the springs are about 3 parasangs from the town (quite an absurd exaggeration), is still so hot on entering the baths that skins thrown into it have the hair taken off by it, so that the baths cannot be used till cold water is added. Muḥaddasī speaks of a boiling spring, which supplies most of the baths jointly and from which the steam warms the building. Naṣir-i Khusrāw mentions a spring at the door of the mosque in the centre of the town over which a bath was built, ascribed to King Solomon. Idrisi makes special mention of a large bath called Damākir, in the saltish water of which small goats and fowls could be stewed and eggs boiled; one bath called al-Lāṭū had hot water which was not salt, while the so-called "little bath" was the only one that was heated by fire; a Muslim prince had built a bath for his family over the latter but later it was presented to the public. There were also many hot springs to the south of it; to these baths there came from all parts paralysed and injured people, or those with diseases of the chest who remained three days in the water and with God's help became healed. These descriptions leave something to be desired in accuracy and clearness, especially as some of them mention in connection with the baths springs at a considerable distance away. In 1703 the springs dried up for a period (Roland, *Palestine*, p. 703). When the old bathing establishment fell into ruins, a new one was built at the beginning of the xixth century which is described by Burckhardt; it was however very simple so that Ibrahim Pasha in 1853 had a more handsomely equipped one built. In 1890 a third was built somewhat more to the South. According to Robinson the water comes out of four springs one of which is under the old bath house. According to his measurements the water has a temperature of 60° C. Frei read the temperature of the new bath where the water enters the basin as 59.5° behind the old one 58°, in a smaller spring near it 63°. Frei also gives the result of a chemical analysis of the water.

The new political conditions will no doubt bring a revival of prosperity to Tiberias, while before the war its condition formed a striking contrast to its brilliant past (cf. the enthusiastic description in *Jos., Bell.*, iii. 516 sq.). Ships and boats were only rarely seen on the lake and the once so intensively cultivated gardens were a wilderness. There is an almost complete lack of ancient remains.

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TABARKA, a town on the Tunisian coast, 75 miles W.N.W. of Tunis and 10 miles E. of the Algerian frontier. It is built on a sandy bay surrounded by hills at the mouth of a rather narrow fertile valley watered by the Wād al-Kabr, which descends from the mountains of Ain-Drahm (Khumira). Three quarters of a mile from the shore lies a rocky islet, 2,000 yards long and 500 broad. A roadstead lies between this island and the mainland accessible on the east side to ships of medium tonnage but only possible on the west side, the better sheltered, to small boats. The trade is insignificant, but the anchovy and sardine fishery attracts from March to September, 200—300 Italian fishermen. The village itself, the capital of a 'contrôle civile', has a thousand inhabitants, half French and half Italian. A few European works have been built on the adjoining plain.

The site of Tabarka corresponds to that of Thabraca, a flourishing town in the Roman period and Byzantine period. It was the port for the export of 'Numidian marble' from the quarries of Simitha (Chemton) on the left bank of the Medjerda. Ancient ruins were still standing in the time of al-Bakrī (*Description*, transl. de Slane, p. 121); they have now almost completely disappeared except for a few traces of cisterns and buildings of the Christian period; on the other hand Christian burial-places have been unearthed in the neighbourhood. In the time of Bakrī Tabarka had still considerable trade; the ancient harbour however no longer existed and ships moored in the mouth of the Wād al-Kabr itself. The wealth of the coral deposits there later attracted Provençal and Italian sailors thither. In 1540 the Lomellini of Genoa obtained for an annual payment the monopoly of the exploitation of the coral and the right to keep a garrison on the island. It is without proof however that this has been said to be the ransom paid for Dragut made prisoner by the Genoese Admiral Doria. In any case for two centuries (1540—1741), the island belonged to the Lomellini; they built a strong castle there and established a colony of their compatriots who sometimes numbered as many as a thousand. The Turks in their turn becoming lords of Tunisia installed a garrison of Janissaries on the mainland. As a result of the presence of the Christians, the island became a market where European merchandise was exchanged for the products of the country (wax, hides, corn) purchased very cheaply (cf. Savary de Brèves, *Relation*, p. 254). It was at the same time a kind of depot where the Christian slaves were interned while awaiting the arrival of the sums arranged for their ransoms, a transaction in which the Genoese apparently acted as intermediaries. The profits made by the Lomellini no less than the strategic value of the island could not fail to excite the cupidity of the French companies established on the Algerian coast. In 1633, Sansou Napollon, governor of "Bastion de France", tried to take the island but was killed as soon as he had made a landing on the island. During the second half of the 17th century and the first half of the 18th negotiations were several times conducted between the French government and the Lomellini to obtain the cession of the island by the latter. They were just reaching a settlement when the Bey 'Alī learning what was going on sent troops to occupy the island (June 12,

1741). The Genoese establishments were destroyed, a section of the inhabitants managed to escape and settle on the island of San Pietro, off the coast of Sardinia. The others were taken to Tunisia where their descendants were long known as Tabarkans. War as a result broke out between France and the Regency and a French naval officer M. de Saurins attempted an unsuccessful attack on Tabarka on July 2, 1742; a hundred men were killed and 224, including the leader of the expedition, captured by the Turks. Henceforth the Tunisians remained in possession of the island and refused to yield to the demand for concessions made by France and other foreign powers. But although the coral continued to be exploited, Tabarka lost all commercial importance. At the beginning of the Tunisian expedition, the French bombarded the Turkish front and landed at Tabarka on 26th April 1881. Since then a European centre has been created here and a road made to connect the coast with the valley of the Medjerda through the massif of Khumira. But as a result of its outlying position, the town has only developed slowly. The making of a road and a railway to Mateur and Beja and the exploitation of the mineral deposits discovered in the region will undoubtedly however bring it some elements of prosperity.

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(G. VVEX)

TABAS, a town in Persia, in the province of Khūzāsān, in reality two towns whence the dual form used by the Arab geographers: *Ṭabasāni*. The first is called Ṭabas al-Unnāb, "T. of the jujube-trees" (in Persian Ṭabas-Masīnā), and the second Ṭabas al-Tamr, "T. of the date-palms" (*al-sūfā*, *Mukaddas*), in Persian Ṭabas-Gilaki (Kuri, Kurin). The first has walls now in ruins and no citadel. The second is commanded by a fortress; it has a small market and a graceful mosque; it gets its water-supply from reservoirs fed by open canals (*qāhira*). These two towns are under Kāzin, the capital of the district of Kāhisiān; they form the southern frontier of Khūzāsān. In the reign of the Caliph 'Othmān, they were the first Muslim conquests in this province, for these two towns are, as it were, the gates of this country. They were taken by 'Abdallāh b. Budail b. Warāka. After the occupation of Alamūt by Ḥasan Sabbāh, they became centres of the Ismā'īlīs. In the Saljuq conquests, they were allotted to Kāwart, son of Caghrī. They were laid waste by the Uzbeks in the reign of Shāh 'Abbās I before 1006 (1597).

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F 367 v°; Hamdallah Mustawfi, *Nuṣṣat al-Kātib*, ed. Le Strange, G.M.S., p. 145; transl. p. 141, 143; P. M. Sykes, *Journal R. Geogr. Soc.*, 1905, xxvi, and *History of Persia*, II, 109; E. G. Browne, *Literary Hist. of Persia*, II, 172; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 359—361, 362—363.

(CL. HUARY)

TABĀSHIR, a drug highly esteemed in the east, consisting of pebble-like accretions, which are formed in the nodes of *Bambusa arundinaria* Willd. The substance is obtained, according to Kāzimi (II, 82) or Ibn Muḥallil, by burning the reed and from ancient times it has always been a valuable article of commerce which the Greeks called *raṣṣarē*.

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(J. RUSKA)

TABĪ' (A.), pl. *tabī'ūn*, follower, follower of a prince, disciple of a teacher, adherent of a doctrine; the verbal form is *tabā'a*, e.g. *tabā'a Ḍjālūn*, he followed Galen (in medicine).

The word is of special significance in Tradition where the name *tabī'* is given to those who came after the Companions of the Prophet, the *Aṣṣāḥ*. The *asṣāḥ* are the people who saw and were directly acquainted with the Prophet; the *tabī'ūn* are those of the next generation or contemporaries of the Prophet, who did not know him personally but who knew one of his Companions. The "followers" of the second generation (*tabī'ūn* 'I-*tabī'ūn*) are those who knew one of the first *tabī'ūn* and so on. Traditions are of more or less value according as they go back to a "follower" of a more or less early generation and according as the *tabī'* who is the first transmitter of it is more or less esteemed and famous. Thus the *maṣṣāḥ* or wide-spread tradition is that which goes back to a *tabī'* of the first generation and which has been disseminated and handed down by several *tabī'ūn* of the second generation and their successors (cf. **HADITH**). There are in the same way generations of transmitters for traditions regarding the reading of the *Kur'ān* and for those of *Ṣaḥāb*. One of the most celebrated "followers" of the first generation is Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.

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(B. CARRÉ DE VAUX)

TABĪR. [See **RU'YĀ**.]

TABRIZ, capital of the Persian province of Ādharbāidjān [q.v.].

Geographical position. The town lies in the eastern corner of the alluvial plain (measuring about 30 × 20 miles) sloping slightly towards the north-east bank of Lake Urmīya. The plain is watered by several streams, the chief of which is the Adjī-zai ("bitter river") which, rising in the south-west face of Mount Sawālān runs along the Karadja-dagh which forms a barrier on the south and entering the plain runs around on the north-west suburbs of the town. The left bank tributary

of the Adjī-zai, Miḥnān-rūd (now the Meidān-zai), runs through the town. The altitude of the different quarters of Tabriz, according to the Russian map may be put at 4,000—5,000 feet. Immediately to the north-east of the town rise the heights of 'Ainālī-Zainālī (the *ziyarat* of 'Awa b. 'Alī and Zaid b. 'Alī) which (6,000 feet) forms a link between the mountain system of the Karadja-dagh (in the north and north-east) and the outer spurs of the Sahand whose peaks (about 30 miles south of the town) reach a height of 11,500 feet. As the Karadja-dagh is a very wild and mountainous region and the great massif of Sahand fills the whole area between Tabriz and Marāgha, the site of Tabriz is the only suitable pass for communications between east (Astrā [on the Caspian]—Ardābil—Tabriz and Teherān—Kāzwin—Miyāna—Tabriz), west (Trebizond—Erzerūm—Khoi—Tabriz) and north (Tiflis—Erzrūm—Djulfā—Marand—Tabriz). Lastly as the outer spurs of the Sahand leave a rather narrow couloir along the east bank of the Lake of Urmīya, communication between north (Transcaucasia, Karadja-dagh) and the south (Marāgha, Kurdistan) must also take place via Tabriz.

This fortunate position had predestined Tabriz to become the centre of the vast and rich province lying between Turkey and Russian (or Soviet) Transcaucasia and in general one of the most important cities between Constantinople and India (only Tiflis, Teherān, Isfāhān and Baghdād fall into the same category). Tabriz has now about 200,000 inhabitants.

The climate of Tabriz is very severe in winter with heavy snowfalls. In summer the heat is tempered by the proximity of the Sahand and by the presence of numerous gardens about the town. The climate is on the whole healthy except for epidemics of cholera and typhus which are due rather to the unsanitary state of the town.

One feature of Tabriz is the frequent earthquakes. The most formidable took place in 244 (858), in 434 (1042) mentioned by Nāṣir-i Khuraw in his *Safar-nāma* (and predicted by the astronomer Abū Tāhir Shīrāzī), in 641 (Arakel of Tabriz, p. 496), in 1727, in 1780 (Ousely, III, 436; Ritter, ix, 854) etc. The earthquakes of Sept. 22—23, 1854 and of Oct. 30, 1856 have been described from personal observation by Khanykow in the *Bull. Hist. Phil. de l'Acad. de St. Pétersbourg*, 1855, p. 251; 1858, p. 337—352. Seismic shocks are of everyday occurrence at Tabriz; they may be due to the volcanic activity of the Sahand but Khanykow thought they were due rather to a mechanical displacement of the earth's strata.

The fortifications of the town were razed to the ground in the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (*Mir'at al-Bulān*, I, 343). The part of the town called the *Kāl'a* (the districts of Čār-minār, Surkhāb, Dāwāzi, Waidjūya [vulgo: Wardjī], Miḥd-miḥn [vulgo: Miyar-miyar], Nawbar, Maḳḳūdiya etc.) is therefore no longer separated from the former part *extra muros* (the districts of Ahrāb, Lailabād [vulgo: Lailava], Čarandāb, Khīyābān, Bāgh-mēsha etc.). The town has also incorporated the former suburbs to the west of the town (Amir-khiz, Čūst-dūzān, Hukmābād [vulgo: Hukmawar], Kāra-malik, Kāra-aghādī, Akhūnī, Kūča-bāgh, Khas-tib) and the south-east (Marālān). The tendency of the city is to extend to the west and south-west.

Tabriz is the administrative and economic centre of the vast province of Ādharbāidjān, the present

sub-divisions of which are: Ardabil (with Astārā, Mughān etc.), Karadja-Dagh (capital Abar), Marand (with Djulfā and Gargar), Khōi, Mākū, Salmā, Urmia (with Ushnū), the region of Mukri (capital Sawdī-bulāk), Sa'in-kāl's, Marāgha, Hashtārūd and Garmārūd (capital Miyāna), Sarīb and the central district of Tabriz.

In the xivth century, Hamdullāh (cf. Ewliyā, ii. 257) gave the divisions of this last district (*tuman*) as: Mīhrān-rūd, to the east of the town; Sardārūd, to the south-west of the town; Bawī-rūd (?), to the south of the preceding (with the villages of Khuataw-shāh, Uškūya, Mīlān); Arwanak, to the north-east of the Lake of Urmia with the villages of Shabistar, Sofiyā etc.; Rūdāb (?), Khānum-ābād (?) and Badmān (?), all three to the north of the town. The boundaries of the old central *tuman* were unchanged down to the xth century.

The name. According to Yāqūt, i. 822, the name of the town is pronounced Tibriz. Yāqūt gives as his authority Abū Zakariyā al-Tabrizī (a pupil of Abū 'l-ʿAlā' al-Maʿarrī, 363—449) of whom we know that he spoke the local Iranian dialect (cf. al-Samʿānī, *Kitaḥ al-Aniḥ*, G. M. S., s. v. Tanūkhī, and Saiyid Ahmad Kīrāwī Tabrizī, *Adhār yā zabān-i būstān-i Adharbāyagān*, Teherān 1304, p. 11). The pronunciation Tibriz must be one of the peculiarities of this dialect which is related to those called "Caspian". The modern pronunciation is exclusively Tabriz (or with a metathesis typical of the Turkish dialect, now predominant throughout Adharbāyagān: Tarbiz). The Armenian sources confirm the pronunciation with a. Faustus of Byzantium (fourth century) has Thavrē and Thavrēb, Asolik (xth century) Thavrē. Vardan (xivth century) has Thavrē and Davrē, this last form evidently adopted to a popular Armenian etymology: *da i vrē*, "that is for vengeance"; cf. Čamčian, *History of Armenia*, Venice 1784, i. 365; Hübschmann, *Armen. Gramm.*, i. 42; do., *Pers. Stud.*, p. 179. For the fifth (fourth) century of the Christian era the form of the name attested in Armenian is therefore Thavrē < Pers. Tavrē (Hübschmann). The popular Persian etymology explains Tabriz as "making fever run" (= disappear). (Ewliyā Čelebi: *İstma dokhān*), but it is possible that the name rather means "that which makes the heat disappear", in some connection with the volcanic activities of the Sahand (cf. also the name of the pass between Bayazid and Vān: Tapariz). The Armenian orthography reflects the peculiarities of Northern Pehlevi (*tan* < *tap* and especially *rē* for **rē*) and this suggests the origin of the name may go back to a very early period, pre-Sāsānian and perhaps pre-Arsakid (on the linguistic changes that have taken place in Adharbāyagān as a result of the Turkish invasions cf. the article *rār*).

History. The identification of Tabriz with some ancient city of Media has given rise to much discussion (cf. the resumé in Ritter, ix. 770—779). The possibility that Tabriz = Tāpuz in Ptolemy vi., Ch. 2 (from **Tāpuz*) is made less probable by the analysis of the Armenian form quoted above. Rawlinson, *Memoir on the site of the Atropatenian Ecbatana*, J. R. G. S., 1840, x., p. 107—111, has definitely cleared up the confusion between Tabriz and Ganza = al-Shīr (in Armenian Gandrak Shahanast distinguished from Thavrē by Faustus of Byzantium).

According to the Armenian historian Vardan

(xivth century), Tabriz was founded on Persian territory by the Arsakid Armenian Khosrow (217—233) as an act of revenge against the first Sāsānian king Artabān (224—241) who had killed the last Parthian king Artabān; cf. St. Martin, *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, i., 423. This story is not found in any ancient source and is probably explained by the popular etymology given above. In Faustus of Byzantium, transl. Lauer, iv., Ch. 25 and 39 and v., Ch. 2, we only find that in the reign of Artabak II of Armenia (351—367) the Armenian general Wasak attacked the Sāsānian Shāpūr II (309—379) who was encamped at Thavrē. Wasak later slew the Persian general Boyekān there, burned the royal palace and shot an arrow into the statue of the king there. Later Mushegh, son of Wasak, defeated the Persian troops at Tabriz.

It remains to be seen whether the name Thebarmis, where in 614 the emperor Heraclius after laying waste Ganzaka, burnt the town and fire-temple (Theophanes, p. 474: *ἀράται ἀπὸ τῆς αἰῶνος κατασκευῆς τοῦ θεοβάρμης*) does not show some confusion with Thavrē.

Arab rule. During the conquest of Adharbāyagān by the Arabs (c. 22 = 642) the principal efforts of the latter were directed against Ardabil. Tabriz is not mentioned among the towns from which the Persian Marzban had levied his troops (Balādhuri, p. 326). After the devastation mentioned by Faustus, Tabriz must have become a mere village (cf. Yāqūt). The later legend (*Nusbat al-Kutub*, 730 = 1340) of the "building" of Tabriz in 175 (791) by Zubaida, wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd, is perhaps based on the fact that after the sequestration of the Umayyad estates Zubaida had received Warthān (in Adharbāyagān on the Araxes). According to Balādhuri, p. 331 and Ibn al-Fakih, p. 285 (cf. also Yāqūt, i. 822) the rebuilding of Tabriz was the work of the family of al-Rawwād al-Azdi and particularly of the latter's sons, al-Wadīnā and others who built the walls round the town. Tabriz (iii. 1171 = Ibn al-Athīr, vi. 315) speaking of the rebellion of Babak (201—220) mentions among his conquerors a certain Muhammad b. Ba'ith, owner of two castles: Shāhī which he had taken from al-Wadīnā and Tabriz (no details given). Shāhī which was 2 farsakhs (?) in extent was stronger than Tabriz (cf. the name of the peninsula of Shāhī or Shāhī on Lake Urmia to the south-west of Tabriz; but according to Balādhuri, p. 330 the fief of Ba'ith was Marand.)

When Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 119 wrote (232 = 840), Tabriz belonged to Muhammad b. al-Rawwād. In 244 the town was destroyed by an earthquake but rebuilt before the end of the reign of al-Mutawakkil (232—247). Tabriz seems then to have changed hands several times, for, according to al-Isfahānī (c. 340), p. 181, the strip of territory which included Tabriz, Djabrawān (or Dīb-Khura-kān?) and Ushnūh [y. v.] bore the name of the ruling tribe Banū Rudainī, which had already disappeared by the time of Ibn Hawkal (c. 367), p. 289. These owners seem to have ruled in practical independence for the history of the Sājjids (lords of Adharbāyagān from 276—317) contains no reference to their intervention in the affairs of Tabriz: cf. Defrémery, *Mém. sur la famille des Sadjides*, J. A., 1847 (the capital of this dynasty was first Marāgha and later Ardabil; *ibid.*, reprint, p. 25, 41, 47, 57, 77).

After the disappearance of the Sādjids, Ādharbāidjān became the arena of numerous struggles. A former governor for the Ziyārid Mardāwīdī, Laghkarī b. Marīh, had seized the province in 326. He was driven out by the Kurd Daisam (cf. KURDS) who soon came into conflict with the Dailamī Musāfirids [q. v.]. The people of Tabriz invited Daisam into their town, which was at once besieged by the Musāfirid al-Marrubān. Daisam left Tabriz and the rule of al-Marrubān was proclaimed in all the towns of Ādharbāidjān (c. 330).

The end of the Musāfirid dynasty is not quite clear. Huart, *Les Musāfirides de l'Ādharbāidjān*, in *Volunté*... presented to E. G. Brévint, Cambridge 1922, gives 438 as the last mention of their rule at Tārom but Sir E. D. Ross, *On a Muhammadan dynasty, Asia Major*, 1925, II, p. 212—215 connects with the Musāfirids the family of the Rawwādi which can be traced at Tabriz down to 446. It is however possible that these Rawwādi were descendants of al-Rawwād al-Azīdī, father of the rebuilder of Tabriz, and had nothing to do with the Dailamī Musāfirids (apart from intermarriage). The following events are connected with these Rawwādi: in 420, Wahsūdān b. Mahlū (Mamlū?) had a large number of Ghuzz chiefs massacred at Tabriz (Ibn al-Athīr, ix: 279); in 434 an earthquake destroyed Tabriz and the amir (probably the same one) went to his other strongholds for fear of al-Ghuzz al-Saldjūkiya (*ibid.*, p. 351); in 438 Nāṣir-i Khusrāw found in Tabriz a king Saif al-Dawla wa-Sharaf al-Milla Abū Manjūr Wahsūdān b. Muhammad (Mamlū?) Mawla Amīrī l-Mu'mintin; in 446 Toghril received the submission of the lord of Tabriz al-Amīr Abū Manjūr b. Muhammad al-Rawwādī (*ibid.*, ix: 410).

Tabriz in the early centuries of the Hīdjrā. While Ibn Khurdaḍbih, p. 119, Balādhuri, p. 334, Tabari, iii: 1171, Ibn al-Fakih, p. 285 and even al-Isṭakhri, p. 181 simply mention Tabriz among the little towns of Ādharbāidjān, al-Mukaddasī already sings the praises of Tabriz and his contemporary Ibn Hawkal (c. 367 = 978) considers it the most prosperous town in Ādharbāidjān with a busy trade and manufactures of *armant*. Ibn Miskawayh (d. 421 = 1030) calls Tabriz a "noble city with a strong wall, surrounded by woods and gardens", and calls its inhabitants "brave, martial and rich". According to Nāṣir-i Khusrāw the area occupied by the town in 438 was 1,400 × 1,400 paces which is only about a third of a square mile.

Saldjūk period. Tabriz is very rarely mentioned in the history of the Great Saldjūks. In the vicinity of the town Toghril celebrated his marriage with the caliph's daughter (*Rūḥat al-Sudūr*, p. 111). During his struggle with his brother Muhammad, Sulṭān Barkiyārūq retired in 494 to the mountainous region to the south of Tabriz but at the reconciliation of the brothers, Tabriz fell to Muhammad who appointed Sa'd al-Mulk as waṣīr there (498). In 505 we find al-Amīr Suḥmān al-Kuṣṭī mentioned as lord of Tabriz i.e. the founder of the dynasty of Shāhs of Armenia (*Shāh-armen*) which ruled at Akhlat from 493 to 604.

Under the branch of the Saldjūks of the 'Irāq whose capital was at Hamadān, Ādharbāidjān played a more important part. In 514 Sulṭān Mahmūd spent some time at Tabriz to calm the inhabitants who were alarmed at the inroads of the Georgians. The name of the atābeg of Ādhar-

bāidjān at this period was Kun-toghdi. After his death (515) the Amīr of Marāgha Aḥ-Sunḡur Aḥmadilī endeavoured to get Tabriz out of the hands of Toghril (brother of the Sulṭān) but these intrigues came to nought. Mahmūd appointed to Ādharbāidjān the Amīr Djuṣūsh of Mawṣil who was killed at the gate of Tabriz in 516. After the death of Mahmūd (525), his brother Mas'ūd occupied Tabriz and was besieged there by Dāwūd, son of Mahmūd. Finally Dāwūd established himself in Tabriz and from this town ruled (526—533) a great fief composed of Ādharbāidjān, Arrān and Armenia. Ādharbāidjān and Arrān were later entrusted to Toghril I's old slave, the Atābeg Ḳara-Sunḡur, whose capital seems to have been at Ardabil (Ibn al-Athīr, xi: 52). After his death in 535 the Amīr Djalālī (Cawli) al-Tughrilī succeeded him but we soon find Ildigiz, the founder of the dynasty of Atābegs which ruled the province till 622, established in Ādharbāidjān. The centre of Ildigizid power was at first to the north-west of Ādharbāidjān while Tabriz became part of the possessions of the Aḥmadilī Amīr of Marāgha for it was not till 570 that the Atābeg Pahlawān b. Ildigiz took Tabriz from Falak al-Dīn, grandson of Aḥ-Sunḡur b. Aḥmadilī, and gave it to his brother Ḳisf Arslān. It was during the period that Ḳisf Arslān was Atābeg (582—587) that Tabriz definitely took its place as the capital of Ādharbāidjān.

In 602 the Amīr Ḳara-Sunḡur 'Alī' al-Dīn Aḥmadilī in alliance with the Atābeg of Ardabil made an attempt to retake Tabriz from Ḳisf Arslān's successor, the bon-vivant Abū Bakr. The attempt failed and Ḳara-Sunḡur lost Marāgha.

The Ildigizids lived in great style as we may judge from the odes addressed to them by poets like Niẓāmī and Khāḡanī but of their buildings we only know the remains at Nakhḡawān [q. v.]. The political weakness of their epigones is confirmed by the episode mentioned in the Georgian chronicle which took place between 1208 and 1210 (605—607 A. H.). Iwane and Zakare, generals of queen Thamar, in the course of a hazardous marauding expedition traversed the whole of northern Persia to Djuḡdjan. The Georgian troops coming from Marand levied a ransom from the people of Tabriz (Thawrīz) but otherwise did not disturb the peace of the country. A little garrison left in the town awaited the return of the troops. The episode is not mentioned in the Muslim sources but by its detail the story inspires a certain confidence. Cf. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I: 470.

The Mongols. The Mongols made their appearance before the walls of Tabriz in the winter of 617. The incapable Atābeg Ōzbek b. Pahlawān obtained their departure by paying a heavy ransom. Next year the Mongols came back again. The Atābeg fled to Nakhḡawān but a resistance was organised by the valiant Shams al-Dīn al-Tughrilī and the Mongols departed with a new ransom after which Ōzbek returned to Tabriz. In 621 a new horde arrived from Mongolia and demanded from Ōzbek the surrender of all the Khwārizmians in Tabriz. Ōzbek hastened to yield to this demand.

Djalāl al-Dīn. The Khwārizm-shāh soon arrived from Marāgha and on 27th Raddjāb 622 gained admittance to the town which Ōzbek had again abandoned. The inhabitants were glad to find a valiant defender especially as Djalāl al-Dīn

was soon to show his energy by an expedition against Tiflis and by the punishment of the marauding Turkomans of the tribe of Aiwā (al-Aiwā'iya). Djāla' al-Dīn having married the *malika*, the former wife of Özbek, held Tabriz for six years but towards the close of this period, his position was seriously compromised by his failures as well as by his personal conduct (Ibn al-Athīr, xii. 323). As early as 627 a Turkoman chief of the tribe of Kūsh-yalwa (?), a chief of Rūyī-dīz (near Marāgha), dared to plunder the environs of Tabriz. In 628 Djāla' al-Dīn left Adharbāidjān and the Mongols conquered the whole province, including the town of "Tabriz which is the very heart (*aqī*) of the country [for] every one is dependent on it and on those who live there" (Ibn al-Athīr, xii. 328). The "malik" of the Mongols (Djarmaghun-noin) sent for the notables (Shams al-Dīn al-Tughra'i alone did not stir), levied a heavy indemnity, ordered the weavers to make *khālīz* stuffs for the use of the great king (Ügedei) and fixed the amount of the annual tribute. From the time of Gayūk the effective rule of Arrān and Adharbāidjān was in the hands of Malik Šadr al-Dīn, a Persian ally of the Mongols. Cf. *Djāhān-Gushā*, ed. M. Kazwini, G. M. S., ii., 255.

The Mongol Ilkhāns. After the taking of Baghdad in 654 (1256) Hülagü went to Adharbāidjān and settled at Marāgha [q. v.]. In 661 (1263) after the defeat inflicted on him in the northern Caucasus by Berka'i's troops, Hülagü returned to Tabriz and massacred the merchants there of Kīpčak origin. In 662 (1264) at the re-distribution of the fiefs Hülagü confirmed Malik Šadr al-Dīn in the governorship of the province of Tabriz.

Tabriz became the official capital under Abakā (663—680) and kept this position under his successors till the coming of Öljaitü. In 688 (1289) under Arghūn the Jewish vizier Sa'd al-Dawla appointed his cousin Abū Manšūr to Tabriz. Under Kai-Khātū the revenues of the province of Tabriz were estimated at 80 *tumāns*. In 693 (1294) Tabriz was the scene of a rebellion as a result of the introduction of a paper currency (*ḥav*). It was in the reign of Ghāzān-Khān that Tabriz attained its greatest splendour. This monarch entered Tabriz in 694 (1295) and took up his abode in the palace built by Arghūn in the village of Šām to the west of the town, on the left bank of the Adj-dai (the old form of this Persian name is *shān*, "cupola" [Quatremère, *N. E.*, xiv., p. 31: "building surmounted by a cupola"], but the name was already pronounced Šām in the sixteenth century, cf. *Nushat al-Kulūb*). Orders were at once given to destroy the temples of idols, churches and synagogues, and fire-altars. These orders are said to have been revoked in the next year on the appeal of the Armenian king Hethum. In 699 (1299) on his return from the Syrian campaign, Ghāzān began a whole series of buildings. He intended Šām, already mentioned, as the site of his eternal rest. A building was erected there higher than the *gumbad* of the Sultān Sandjar at Marw, which was then considered the highest building in the Muslim world. Besides this mausoleum, which was crowned by a dome, there was a mosque, two madrasas (one Šāfi'i and the other Hanafi), a hostel for Saiyids (*dār al-sayyidat*), a hospital, an observatory like that at Marāgha, a library, archives, a building for the officers of these establishments, a cistern for drinking-water

and baths with hot water. *Wakfs*, the revenues from which amounted to 100 *tumāns* of gold (Waqāf), were set aside for the maintenance of these foundations. At each of the gates of the new town was built a caravanserai, a market and baths. Fruit-trees were brought from distant lands.

In the town of Tabriz itself great improvements were also made. Hitherto its wall (*ḥarā*) was only 6,000 *gām* ("paces"; *Djāhān-nūmā: kulūf* "fathom"). Ghāzān gave it a new wall 25,000 *gām* in length (44 *farsakhs*). All the gardens and the Kūh-i Wallyān and Sandjarān quarters were incorporated in the town. Within the wall on the slopes of the Kūh-i Wallyān (now Kūh-i Surkhāb or 'Aināli-Zainālī) a series of fine buildings was erected by the famous vizier Rashīd al-Dīn and the quarter was therefore known as *Rab'i-i Rashīdī* (*Nushat al-Kulūb*, p. 76). We have a letter from Rashīd al-Dīn in which he asks his son to send him from Rūm 40 young men and women to people one of the villages in the new quarter; cf. Browne, *A Hist. of Pers. Liter.*, iii. 82.

As if to emphasize the fact that Tabriz was the real centre of the empire which stretched from the Oxus to Egypt, the gold and silver coins and the measures (*ḥila*, *gās*) were standardised according to the standards of Tabriz (D'Osson, iv. 144; 271—277, 350, 466—469).

In 703 (1304) Ghāzān-Khān was buried with great ceremony in the mausoleum of Šām. In 705 (1307) his successor Öljaitü conceived the idea of creating a new capital at Sulṭāniya [q. v.]. It was however not easy to move the inhabitants, as in 715 (1315) we still find the ambassador from the Özbeqs of Kīpčak following the route by Tabriz instead of the shorter Mughān—Ardabil—Sulṭāniya. It is also noteworthy that Tādī al-Dīn 'Alī-Shāh (vizier from 711—1312) had begun the construction of a magnificent mosque at Tabriz (outside the Mihād-mūhin quarter).

In 717 (1317) under Abū Sa'd the retiring vizier Rashīd al-Dīn went to Tabriz and only left it the following year to meet his fate. His property was confiscated and Rab'i-i Rashīdī sacked (Browne, iii. 71). His son Ghiyāth al-Dīn who was called to power by Abū Sa'd himself continued to enlarge Rab'i-i Rashīdī. The capital continued to be Sulṭāniya judging from the fact that Abū Sa'd was buried there in a mausoleum which he himself had ordered to be built (d'Osson, iv. 720).

When in 736 (1336) his successor Arpa lost the battle of Taghatu (this to be read for Baghatu) his vizier Ghiyāth al-Dīn was killed by the conqueror 'Alī Pādshāh Oirat. The property of the family of Rashīd al-Dīn was plundered by the people of Tabriz and valuable collections and precious books disappeared on this occasion.

The Djāla'irs and the Čobanids: In the midst of the anarchy which followed these events we have the rise of the Djāla'ir (Ilkhānī) dynasty whose fortunes were closely associated with Tabriz. In 736 (1336) Hasan Burzurgh Djāla'ir established on the throne of Tabriz his candidate Sultān Muḥammad. In spite of its temporary nature this episode marks the restoration of its primacy to the old capital. The Čobanid Hasan Kūčik soon appeared on the scene with his own candidates. Hasan Burzurgh retired to Bagdad and Hasan Kūčik (740—1340) put on the throne Sulaimān Khān with rule over 'Irāq 'Adjam, Adharbāidjān,

Arrān, Mughān and Georgia. The successor of Hasan Kūtik, his brother Ashraf, in 744 (1344) proclaimed a new puppet Anūshīrwān whom he relegated to Saljāniya while he himself remained in Tabriz as the real ruler and extended his authority as far as Fārs. His cruelty and exactions provoked an "intervention in the cause of humanity" by Djāni-beg Khān of the Blue Horde (Eastern Kipčak). Ashraf was defeated at Khoi and Marand and his head suspended over the door of a mosque in Tabriz (750 = 1355). The vizier Akhīdjūk whom Djāni-beg had left in Ādharbāidjān found his authority disputed on several sides. Tabriz was temporarily occupied by the Djālā'ir Uwais b. Hasan Buzurg who came from Baghdad. Hardly had he been driven out by Akhīdjūk than the Muḥaffarid of Fārs, Muḥarrir al-Dīn Muḥammad, quarrelling with Djāni-beg who had called upon him to recognise his suzerainty arrived from Shirāz, defeated Akhīdjūk at Miḡāna and seized Tabriz in 758 (1357). After two years he retired before Uwais (cf. *Tārīkh-i Guzda*, G.M.S., p. 677-679, 715-717) who soon afterwards reoccupied Tabriz and slew Akhīdjūk.

When the news of the death of Sulṭān Uwais (776 = 1377) reached Fārs, Shāh Shudjā' who had succeeded Muḥarrir al-Dīn set out from Shirāz to take Tabriz. Husain, son of Uwais, was defeated and Tabriz occupied but after a few months a rebellion having broken out at Uḡjān forced Shudjā' to evacuate the town which Husain reoccupied without striking a blow. Sulṭāniya seems to have marked the limits of the lands of the Muḥaffarids in the north-west (*Tārīkh-i Guzda*, p. 723-725). In 784 (1382), Husain Djālā'ir was slain at Tabriz and his brother Sulṭān Aḥmad succeeded him in Ādharbāidjān but his rule was to be brief for Timūr soon after appeared on the scene.

In spite of all the vicissitudes of their intermittent rule the Djālā'irs were able to gain the sympathy of the people of Tabriz. Their rights were implicitly recognised by the lords of Shirwān and the Kara-Koyunlu. Among their buildings in Tabriz are recorded their mausoleum Dimishkiya and a large building by Sulṭān Uwais, which, according to Clavijo, ed. Srennewski, p. 169, contained 20,000 chambers ("camaras apartadas e apartamentos") and was called Dawlat-Khāna ("Tolbatgana ... la casa de la ventura"); cf. Markow, *Katalog Djālā'ir. monēt*, St. Petersburg 1897, p. I—aliv.: history of the Djālā'irs. — Coins of the following years struck by the Djālā'irs at Tabriz are known: Hasan Buzurg — 757, Uwais — 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 769, 770, Husain — 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, Aḥmad — 785, 810.

Period of Timūr. During his first invasion of Persia (786) Timūr returned to Samarqand after taking Sulṭāniya. His great rival Tuḡtamīsh-Khān of the Golden Horde at once sent an expedition against Ādharbāidjān by Darband in 787 (1385). The invaders took Tabriz which was badly defended by Amīr Walī (the former lord of Djurdjān (cf. *RUSSIA-TIMUR*) driven out by Timūr) and the Khān of Khalkhāl, plundered the inhabitants, carried off prisoners (including the poet Kamāl Khudjandi) and returned to Darband (*Zafar-nāma*, I. 392; Browne, *Hist. Pers. Lit.*, iii. 321).

Hardly had Sulṭān Aḥmad Djālā'ir recovered Tabriz than he was driven out again by Timūr (788) who came on the pretext of protecting the Muslims. Timūr encamped at Shām-Gharān and

levied an indemnity (*māl-i amān*) on the people of Tabriz; cf. *Zafar-nāma*, I. 326; al-Aīnī is much severer on Timūr, cf. Markov, *Catalogue*, p. xxvii.).

In 795 (1392) the "hef of Hūllāgū" (*taḡh-i Hūllāgū*), consisting of Ādharbāidjān, al-Rāy, Gīllān, Shirwān, Darband and the lands of Asia Minor, was granted to Mirān-shāh (*ibid.*, II. 623) and Tabriz became the capital of this territory. Three years later this prince became insane and committed a series of insane actions (execution of innocent people, destruction of buildings, *ibid.*, II. 200, 213, and Browne, *op. cit.*, iii. 71). Timūr immediately on his return from India set out for Ādharbāidjān in 802 and executed those who shared in Mirān-shāh's debauches.

In 806, Mirzā 'Omar, son of Mirān-shāh, was placed at the head of the "hef of Hūllāgū" and the lands conquered by Timūr in the west. His father Mirān-shāh (in Arrān) and his brother Abū Bakr (in Mesopotamia) were placed under the authority of Mirzā 'Omar. After the death of Timūr a long struggle began between 'Omar and Abū Bakr. In 808, Abū Bakr succeeded in levying on Tabriz a tribute of 200 'irāḳī tumāns. 'Omar returned to Tabriz but his Turkomans harassed the people and Abū Bakr regained the town. Hardly had he left Tabriz than the Turkoman rebel Bistām Djāgīr entered it but hurriedly retreated on the approach of Shāhīn Ibrāhīm of Shirwān (q. v.). In 809 the latter handed over Tabriz to Sulṭān Aḥmad Djālā'ir as to its true sovereign and the inhabitants showed great joy on this occasion; cf. *Mafī' al-Sa'dain*, transl. Quatremère, N. E., xiv., p. 109. On Rabī' I, 8, Abū Bakr was again at Shām-Gharān but did not dare go into the city where the plague was raging.

A short time before these latter happenings, the Ambassador of Henry III of Castile, Clavijo, spent some time in Tabriz (June 11—20, 1404 and with intervals Febr. 28—Aug. 22, 1405, i.e. from the end of 806 to the beginning of 808 A.H.). In spite of the trials it had undergone, the town was very busy and conducted considerable trade. Clavijo talks highly of the streets, markets and buildings of Tabriz.

The Kara-Koyunlu. On the 1st Djumādī I, 809, Kara Yūsuf, the Kara-Koyunlu Turkoman on the Araxes, inflicted a defeat on Abū Bakr who in his retreat handed Tabriz over to plunder, and nothing escaped the rapacity of his army (*Mafī' al-Sa'dain*, p. 110). Kara Yūsuf advanced as far as Sulṭāniya and carried off the population of this town to Tabriz, Ardabil and Marāgha. Abū Bakr soon returned to Ādharbāidjān but Kara Yūsuf assisted by Bistām defeated him at Sardarūd (5 miles south of Tabriz). Mirān Shāh fell in this battle and was buried at Tabriz in the cemetery of Surkhāb.

Kara Yūsuf, remembering the agreements on the redistribution of the territory made with Sulṭān Aḥmad at the time when both were in exile in Egypt had recourse to a stratagem. With great ceremony he put on the throne of Tabriz his son Pir-Budāgh who was regarded as the adopted son of Sulṭān Aḥmad (according to the *Mafī' al-Sa'dain*, Kara Yūsuf did not give the title of Khān to Pir-Budāgh till 814). Aḥmad at outward appearance resigned himself to this arrangement but, when Kara Yūsuf was absent in Armenia, he occupied Tabriz. In the battle of Asad (?) two farsakhs from Tabriz, Sulṭān Aḥmad was finally defeated (28th

Rabi' II, 813 = 1410). He was executed by Kara Yūsuf and buried in the Dimighkiya beside his father and mother. Once more the sympathies of the people of Tabriz were with the last Djaisir king; cf. Huart, *Le fin de la dynastie des Ilkhaniens*, *Journ. As.*, Oct. 1876, p. 316—362.

Tabriz is regularly mentioned as the centre from which Kara Yūsuf sent out his expeditions. The Timurid Shāhruh fearing the influence of Kara Yūsuf in 817 undertook his first expedition against him but did not advance beyond al-Raiy (*Majlis al-Sa'dain*, p. 238, 250). When in 823 (1420) he was renewing his attempt, news reached him of the death of Kara Yūsuf (on *Ulu' l-Ka'da* 7, 823 = November 12, 1420). Anarchy broke out in the Turkoman camp and a week later Mirza Baisunghur occupied Tabriz; cf. Price, *Chronological Retrospect of the Events of Mahom. History*, London 1821, iii. 541, following the *Kawqat al-Safa* and the *Khatimat al-Akhbar*. Shāhruh arrived there in the summer of 824 (1421) after defeating in Armenia the sons of Kara Yūsuf. In 832 Iskandar, son of Kara Yūsuf, seized Sulṭāniya. Shāhruh again arrived at Shām-Ghaznī at the head of an army and inflicted a defeat on the Kara-Ḳoyunlu at Salmā. In the winter of 833 Adharbāidjān was given to Abū Sa'īd b. Kara Yūsuf who had come to pay homage to Shāhruh. In the following year he was slain by his brother Iskandar. In the winter of 838 (1434) Shāhruh came to Adharbāidjān for the third time. Iskandar thought it wiser to retire before him but his brother Djahānshāh hastened to join Shāhruh. The latter spent the summer of 839 (1436) in Tabriz and on the approach of winter gave investiture to Djahānshāh.

Thus began the career of the prince who made Tabriz the capital of a kingdom stretching from Asia Minor to the Persian Gulf and to Herāt. The most remarkable building in Tabriz "the Blue Mosque" (*Gök-masjid*) is the work of Djahānshāh (according to Beresin, of his wife Begum Khātūn). It is possible that the presence in Tabriz in the Surkhāh and Čarandāh quarters of members of the Ahl-i Haqq sect (cf. *Sulṭān-i-ḡāḡ*) dates from the time of Djahānshāh on whose heretical views cf. *Minedjīm-baḡh*, iii. 154.

The Ak-Ḳoyunlu. On the 12th Rabi' II, 872 (10th November 1467) Djahānshāh was surprised in Armenia and slain by Urūn Ḥasan Bayandur, chief of the Ak-Ḳoyunlu Turkmans. The two daughters of Iskandar proclaimed at Tabriz their dervish brother Ḥusain 'Alī but Begum Khātūn, widow of Djahānshāh, put a stop to this plan. Tabriz was however occupied by Ḥusain 'Alī, the mad son of Djahānshāh (by another wife) who put to death Begum Khātūn and her relatives (*Minedjīm-baḡh*).

In spite of the assistance which he had received from the Timurid Abū Sa'īd, Ḥasan 'Alī was defeated at Marand. Subsequent events led up to death of Abū Sa'īd himself. In 873 (1468) Urūn Ḥasan seized Tabriz which he made his capital (he announced this decision in a letter to the Ottoman Sulṭān, Ferīdūn-bey, *Münghā'ir*).

The Venetian sources are of considerable value for the period of Urūn Ḥasan. [The first Venetian consul at Tabriz was Marco da Molino in 1324]. Giosafa Barbaro, sent by the republic in 1474, describes the animated life of Tabriz to which embassies came from all parts. Barbaro was received in a pavilion of the magnificent palace which he calls

"Aptisti" (*Haft + i*). The anonymous Venetian merchant who visited Tabriz as late as 1514 (?) still speaks of the splendour of the reign of Urūn Ḥasan "who has so far not yet had an equal in Persia". Urūn Ḥasan died in 852 (1477) and was buried in the Naḡsiya Madrasa which he had built and which was later to be used for the burial of his son Ya'qūb. During the twelve years of his comparatively peaceful reign (853—866) the latter attracted to his court many men of letters (the Kurdish historian Idm was his secretary) and in 888 built in the garden of Shāh-abād the Haḡht-bihisht palace (cf. the history of Ya'qūb by Faḡl Allāh b. Rūzbihān, a unique MS. of the Bibl. Nat. de Paris, ancien fonds pers. 101, fol. 105v). This palace (*Aḡht-bihisht*) has also been described by the Venetian merchant; on the ceiling of the great hall were represented all the great battles of Persia, embassies, etc. Beside the Haḡht-bihisht there was a harem in which 1,000 women could be housed, a vast *maidān*, a mosque and a hospital to hold 1,000 patients (cf. also Ewlyā, ii. 249).

The Safawis and the Turco-Persian wars. Ismā'īl I occupied Tabriz in 906 (1500) after his victory at Sharūr over Mirza Alwand Ak-Ḳoyunlu. Of the 200—300,000 inhabitants of the town two-thirds were reported to be Sunni but the new ruler was not long in imposing the Shi'a upon them and took rigorous measures against those who objected (*Ālam-ārā*, p. 31). In his hatred of the Ak-Ḳoyunlu Ismā'īl had the remains of his predecessors exhumed and burned (the historian of Ya'qūb, fol. 206v; G. M. Angiolella). The Venetian merchant speaks of the despair into which the debauches of the young prince had plunged several noble families. When Ismā'īl set out for Arzindjān after Alwand the latter succeeded in returning to Tabriz and during his brief stay there "oppressed the rich" (*Ālam-ārā*, p. 31).

The battle of Čaldīrān (2nd Raddjab 920 = 23rd August 1514) opened to the Ottomans the road to Tabriz. Nine days later the city was occupied by the vizier Dukagin-oghla and the defterdār Piri and on the 6th September Sulṭān Selim made his triumphal entry into it. In the town the Turks conducted themselves with moderation (Browne, *Pers. Lit. in Mod. Times*, p. 77) but seized the treasures amassed by the Persian sovereigns and carried off to Constantinople 1,000 skilled artisans. The Sulṭān only stayed a week in Tabriz as he had to return to his own lands in consequence of the refusal of the Janissaries to continue the campaign (v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 720).

The events of 1514 were a grave warning to the Persians and under Tahmāsp I, the capital was transferred much farther east to Kazwin. According to the Venetian Ambassador Alessandri, Tahmāsp, as a result of his avarice, was not popular in the old capital of the Ak-Ḳoyunlu.

At the suggestion of the renegade Ulāma (of the Turkoman tribe of Tekke) the troops of Sulaimān I under the command of the grand vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha, occupied Tabriz in 941 (July 13, 1534) and went to the summer camp at Asadābād (Sa'īd-ābād?). Ibrāhīm Pasha began to build a fortress at Shām-Ghaznī. The government of Adharbāidjān was entrusted to Ulāma who had held the same post under Tahmāsp. On September 27, Sulṭān Sulaimān himself arrived in Tabriz. A little later he made a thrust as far as Sulṭāniya and occupied

İsfahân. On his return to Tabriz he spent 14 days engaged in administrative business. The cold forced the Turkish army to retreat and the Persian troops at once advanced as far as Wân. Again in 955 (July 28, 1548) at the instigation of Alikâs Mirzâ, brother of Shâh Tahmâsp, Sulaimân occupied Tabriz but only stayed five days there. The Persian tactics were to destroy all means of subsistence for the invader and famine thus forced the Turks to retreat once more. According to the *Hafiz-i Ahkam* Sulaimân had bought back from his soldiers their right of plundering the conquered city for 3 days but in spite of this the citizens continued to slay Turks in secret. Sulaimân refused Alikâs Mirzâ's proposal that the inhabitants should all be massacred or carried off into captivity. M. d'Aramon, ambassador of Francis I, was an eye-witness of the occupation of Tabriz and testifies to the Sulaimân's efforts to protect the town (*Voyage*, p. 83). In 962 (May 29, 1555) there was signed at Amasia the first treaty of peace between Turkey and Persia which lasted about 30 years (v. Hammer, II, 112, 120, 269; *Âlam-ârâ*, p. 49-59).

In 993 (1585) the grand vizier of Murâd III Ördemir-zâde Othmân-pâshâ with 40,000 men undertook the recapture of Tabriz. The governor of Wân, Çiğhala-zâde, joined him with 6,000 men. Going via Caddârân and Soleyân the Turks arrived before Shâm-Ghasân. The Persian governor 'Alî Kulî-Khân after a bold sortie which cost Çiğhala-zâde 3,000 men, retired during the night. In September the Turks occupied the town. As a punishment for the murder of several soldiers, the Turks sacked the town and massacred its inhabitants for three days. The Persian prime minister Hamza Mirzâ operating around the city on several occasions inflicted heavy losses on the Ottoman troops. To defend Tabriz, 'Othmân-pâshâ-zâde built a square citadel the walls of which were 12,700 ells long (Ewliyâ, *inmâ-i mekki arzharî*). This citadel which was erected in 36 days was inside the town (*Âlam-ârâ* "on the site of the old dawlat-khâna"; Ewliyâ "around the Khayâhân of the Shâh"). It was held by a garrison of 45,000 men. The eunuch Dja'far Pâshâ was appointed governor of Tabriz. On October 29, 1585, 'Othmân Pâshâ died. Çiğhala-zâde whom he had appointed on his deathbed to command the Ottoman troops succeeded in defeating the Persians but soon the latter were able to besiege the Turks within the town. Forty-eight encounters took place before Farhâd Pâshâ definitely relieved the garrison (v. Hammer, II, 354). By the disastrous peace of 998 (1590) Shâh 'Abbâs had to cede to the Ottomans their conquests in Transcaucasia and the west of Persia. Henceforth the Turks took their occupation of Tabriz seriously. Their many buildings, especially those of Dja'far Pâshâ, are mentioned by Ewliyâ in Tabriz and its vicinity. But the Persians were keeping a watchful eye on their old capital.

The troubles with the *siyâsi* at the beginning of 1603 showed the weakness of Sulân Muham-mad III. In the autumn Shâh 'Abbâs left Isfahân unexpectedly and entered Tabriz 12 days later. 'Alî Pâshâ was defeated at Hâdjidji Harâmî (2 farsakhs from the town) after which the citadel surrendered. Shâh 'Abbâs treated the defeated foe with generosity (cf. the evidence of Tectander who was in Tabriz) but in a revival of Shâ' fanaticism the inhabitants killed a large number of Turks in the town and neighbourhood without heed for any bonds of

kinship or friendship that had been formed during the 20 years of Ottoman occupation. 'Abbâs I invited the people to do away with all traces of Turkish rule and "in a few days they had left no vestige of the citadel nor of any of [their] houses, buildings, dwellings, caravanserais, shops, baths etc." (*Âlam-ârâ*, p. 441, 451).

In 1019 (1610) in the reign of the weak Sulân Ahmad III the Turks again tried to resume the offensive. The grand vizier Murâd Pâshâ with an army unexpectedly appeared in front of Tabriz but 'Abbâs I had had time to make his preparations. The town was defended by the governor Pir-Budâk-Khân while the Shâh took up his position to the north of the Surkhâb. No fighting took place but the Turks suffered greatly from want of provisions in the country which the Persians had laid waste. Five days later the Turkish army was retracing its steps while Shâh 'Abbâs and Murâd Pâshâ continued to exchange embassies. This Turkish invasion hastened the building of a new fortress at Tabriz. The site of the old Turkish citadel was thought to be unsuitable as liable to inundation by the Mîhrân-rûd. The new fortress was built under the shadow of Surkhâb in the Rah'-i Raghâbi quarter. The materials were taken from old ruins particularly at Shâm-Ghasân (*Âlam-ârâ*, p. 584, 601). On the other hand the unsuccessful invasion by Murâd Pâshâ led to the conclusion of a new treaty in 1022 (1612) by which the Persians succeeded in restoring the status quo as it had existed in the time of Shâh Tahmâsp and Sulân Sulaimân (*Âlam-ârâ*, p. 600, 611; v. Hammer, II, 736, 745). The actual demarcation however met with obstacles.

In 1027 (1618) at the instigation of some Tatar Khâns of the Crimea the Ottoman troops (60,000 men) of Wân suddenly invaded Âdhâr-hâjdjân. The Persians evacuated Tabriz and Ardabil. The Turks who were short of supplies revictualled at Tabriz and advanced to Sarâb where Karçkai Khân, *sipâhikâr* of Tabriz, won a brilliant victory over them. A new treaty was made confirming the conditions of that of 1022 (*Âlam-ârâ*, p. 656-661; v. Hammer, II, 773).

After the death of 'Abbâs I the struggle between Turk and Persian was resumed on a great scale. In the reign of his successor Shâh Saif, Sulân Murâd IV invaded Âdhâr-hâjdjân in 1045 (1635) and entered Tabriz on September 12. The aim of this campaign was plunder rather than conquest. Murâd ordered his soldiers to destroy the town. Having in this way "knocked down Tabriz" (Ewliyâ, *eyâle-i ırâzîye*) Murâd in view of the advance of the season hastened to return to Wân. He only spent 3 days in Tabriz. In the following spring, the Persians reoccupied their possessions as far as Eriwân and by the treaty of 1049 (1639) secured for themselves the frontier which has survived in its main lines to the present day.

Hâdjidji Khâtifa who was an eye-witness of the campaign of 1045, says that after the devastation wrought by Murâd IV the old ramparts had completely disappeared and "only here and there could traces of old buildings be seen" (*Diyân-nâmâ*, p. 381). Even Shâm-Ghasân was not spared; the mosque of Usun Hasan alone was left intact. The soldiers also tried to cut down the fruit-trees but in view of their number only managed to destroy a tenth of them.

Such then was the state of the town when a

series of travellers who visited it a few years later say had undergone a splendid revival. The interesting story of Ewliyâ Çelebi (in the reign of 'Abbâs II in 1057 [1647]) gives detailed statistics of Tabriz, its madrasas (47), schools (400), caravanserais (200), houses of notables (1,070), derwish tekkes (160), gardens (47,000), animated public promenades. In the same period Tavernier says that in spite of the damage done by Murâd IV "the town is almost completely rebuilt". According to Chardin (ii. 328) in 1673 under Shâh Sulaimân I, there were in Tabriz 550,000 inhabitants (the figure seems exaggerated), 15,000 houses and 15,000 shops. It was "really a large and important town... There is plenty of all the necessities of life and one can live very well and cheaply in it". There was a hospice of Capucins at Tabriz on which the authorities cast a kindly eye. The Begler-begi of Tabriz had under his authority the Khâns of Kars, Urmiya, Marâgha and Ardabil and 20 "sulhâns" (= local chiefs).

The end of the Safawids and Nâdir. The Afghan invasion of Persia resulted in a state of complete anarchy. The heir to the throne, Tahmâsp, who had fled from Isfahan arrived in Tabriz where he was proclaimed king in 1135 (1722). When by the treaty of September 12, 1723, Tahmâsp II ceded the Caspian provinces to Russia, Turkey announced that as a precautionary measure she would be forced to occupy the frontier districts between Tabriz and Eriwân. After the fall of Eriwân, Nakhçevân and Marand, the Turks under the ser-asker Abdullah Pâshâ Köprülü arrived before Tabriz in the autumn of 1137 (1724). They occupied the Dewetî and Surkhâb quarters (where Selim I had once pitched his camp). The Persians who made Shâm-Gharân their base held out. The Turks had some success but the advanced season of the year forced them to retreat before the end of the month. In the following spring Köprülü returned at the head of 70,000 men. The siege only lasted four days but the fighting in the seven fortified quarters was very desperate. The Persians lost 30,000 men and the Turks 20,000. The survivors of the Persian garrison to the number of 7,000 withdrew without hindrance to Ardabil ('Ali Hazin, ed. Balfour, p. 153; Hanway, ii., p. 229).

The treaty of 1140 (1727) concluded with the Afghân Ashraf confirmed to the Ottomans the possession of N.W. Persia as far as Sulâtîya and Abhar. Two years later Nâdir defeated Mustafâ Pâshâ's army at Schailân (vulgo Sawallîn or Stokh-köprü) near Tabriz. He entered this city on the 8th Muharram 1142 (1729) and made prisoner Rustam Pâshâ, governor of Hâsharûd.

Anxious to take advantage of the domestic troubles of Turkey, Shâh Tahmâsp resumed the offensive but lost the battle of Kuridjân (near Hamadân) and the ser-asker 'Ali Pâshâ returned to Tabriz in the winter of 1144 (1731) and even built a mosque and madrasa there. By the treaty concluded a little later (January 16, 1732), the Persians ceded to the Porte the lands north of the Araxes but kept Tabriz and the western provinces. As Tabriz had actually been occupied by 'Ali Pâshâ, the Porte very reluctantly agreed to its restoration to Persia and the signing of the treaty resulted in the dismissal of the grand vizier (v. Hammer, iv. 281). On the other hand the cession of the Transcaucasian provinces to Turkey gave Nâdir an excuse for deposing Tahmâsp II.

After checking Nâdir near Baghdad the governor of Wân Rustam Pâshâ re-occupied Tabriz. In 1734, Nâdir set out for Tabriz and as a result of his victories in Transcaucasia the treaty of 1149 (1736) re-established the status quo of 1049 (1639).

Towards the end of the reign of Nâdir, when anarchy was again beginning, the people of Tabriz declared in favour of an obscure pretender who claimed to be Sîm Mirzâ. The death of Nâdir in 1160 (1747) might have given the Porte an opportunity to intervene in Persian affairs especially as Ridâ Khân, son of Fâth 'Ali Khân, *dârûn-begi* of Tabriz, had come to Erzerûm to beg Turkish support for one of the candidates for the throne (a Nâdirid; v. Hammer, iv. 474) but Turkey maintained complete neutrality.

Nâdir Shâh had entrusted Âdharbâidjân to his valiant cousin Amir Arslân Khân who had 30,000 men under him. After Nâdir's death, this general aided Nâdir's nephew Ibrahim Khân to defeat his brother 'Adil Shâh (Sulhân 'Ali Shâh) but Ibrahim at once turned on his ally, slew him and after collecting 120,000 men spent six months in Tabriz where (Dhû 'l-Kâ'da 7, 1161) he had himself proclaimed king (*Târîkh-i bâ'd-Nâdirîya*, ed. O. Mann, p. 36-37). He was soon killed by Shâhruh, grandson of Nâdir.

The history of Âdharbâidjân during the rule of the dynasty of Karim Khân Zand is still little known. The Afghân Asad Khân was at first lord of the province. In 1170 (1756) it was taken from him by Muhammad Husain Khân Kâdjâr. Next year Karim Khân defeated Fâth 'Ali Khân Afshâr of Urmiya and conquered the greater part of Âdharbâidjân (Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia*). In 1780 an earthquake did great damage in Tabriz.

The Kâdjârs. Towards the end of 1205 (1790) Âkâ Muhammad, founder of the Kâdjâr dynasty, set out to occupy Âdharbâidjân. Among the governors who came to meet him was the hereditary lord of Khoi, Husain Khân Dumbull (cf. KURDS, ii., p. 1145). Âkâ Muhammad added Tabriz to his fief. After the assassination in 1211 (1796) of the first Kâdjâr Shâh, troubles broke out in Âdharbâidjân. Sâdik Khân of the Shikâkî tribe [q. v.] attempted to seize the supreme power and appointed his brother Mahammad 'Ali Sulhân to Tabriz. The Dumbull Khâns took an active part in suppressing the rising and in return Fâth 'Ali Shâh confirmed Dja'far Kuli Khân Dumbull in the governorship of Tabriz. The latter as soon as he arrived in Tabriz in 1213 (1798) formed a coalition with Sâdik Khân who had re-established himself in Sarâb and the Afshâr Khân of Urmiya and shaking off "the dependence which was so slight that it really was absolute independence" drove out the Shâh's representatives. Troops were sent against Dja'far Khân who with the help of the Kurds held out for some time in Khoi; cf. H. J. Brydges, *The Dynasty of the Kadjars*, London 1833, p. 50, 84 etc. In 1214 (1799) the heir to the throne of Persia 'Abbâs Mirzâ established himself in Tabriz with Ahmad Khân Mukaddam (of Marâgha) as his beglerbegi. Dja'far Khân sought refuge in Russia (cf. BIKKRI) but for some time other members of the Dumbull family continued to rule in Tabriz. In 1224 (1809) Nadja' Kuli Khân Dumbull rebuilt the citadel of Tabriz (*Mir'ât al-Buldân*, i. 343; S. Wilson, p. 325) around which 'Abbâs Mirzâ dug ditches in 1241 (1825).

After the incorporation of Georgia into Russia (1801) complications between Russia and Persia gradually increased and Tabriz became the principal centre of Persian activities. 'Abbās Mirzā set himself the task of europeanising the Persian army. An important English mission including a number of very notable explorers of Persia (Ouseley, iii. 199; Ritter, ix. 876-880) made its headquarters in Tabriz. The English and Russian diplomatic missions (the secretary and later head of the latter was the famous writer Griboyedov) also came to the court of 'Abbās Mirzā. The energetic heir to the throne built arsenals, cannon foundries, depots and workshops. After the trials it had undergone the town was however but a shadow of the splendid city of the time of Chardin. Tancoigne (1807) estimated its population at 50-60,000 including several Armenian families; Dupré (1809) at 40,000 with 50 Armenian families. Kinnear gives Tabriz ("one of the most wretched cities") only 30,000 inhabitants. Morier, who in the account of his first journey (1809) had given the exaggerated figure of 50,000 houses with 250,000 inhabitants, in his second journey confines himself to saying that Tabriz has only a tenth of its pristine magnificence and that it has no public buildings of note.

The Russo-Persian wars filled the period to 1828. During the operations of 1827 the General Prince Eristow with the help of certain discontented Khāns entered Tabriz with 3,000 soldiers on 3rd Rabi' II, 1243. 'Abbās Mirzā was away and opinions in the town were divided. Allāh-yār Khān Asaf al-Dawla was for continuing the struggle but an important ecclesiastic the Imām Mirzā Fattāh insisted on surrender and opened the gates of the town to the Russians. (After the peace Mirzā Fattāh had to leave Persia and take refuge in Transcaucasia). The commander-in-chief Count Paskewitch then came to Tabriz and met 'Abbās Mirzā at Dih-Kharraḳān. An armistice was signed but the court of Teherān did not approve of the terms. The Russians resumed the offensive and occupied Urmiya, Marāgha and Ardabil. The peace of Turkman-chai (5th Sha'bān, 1243 = Feb. 22, 1828) which fixed the frontier on the Araxes finally put an end to the Russian occupation (urush). On these events cf. the *Mir'at al-Baidān*, i. 404-410; Mianarov, *Bibliographia caucasica*, St. Petersburg 1874-1876, p. 743-747; *Détails sur ce qui s'est passé à Tauris du 24 octobre au 5 novembre 1827*, in *Nouv. Annales de Voyages*, Paris 1828, i. 38, p. 325; P. Zubow, *Kartini voyai: Persiyei 1826-1827*, St. Petersburg 1834; do., *Persidskaya voyna*, St. Petersburg 1837; Osten-Saken, *Administration de l'Adharbāidjān pendant la guerre persane de 1827-1828* (in Russian), in *Russki Iuvallid*, 1861, N^o 79.

Since the time of 'Abbās Mirzā, Tabriz has been the official residence of the heir to the Persian throne. Down to the accession of Muhammad Shāh in 1250 (1834) the British and Russian diplomatic missions spent most of their time in Tabriz (Fraser, *Travels in Kurdistan*, ii. 247). Their transfer to Teherān marked the definite transference by the Qājars of the political capital to that city. Down to the end of the sixteenth century little of general importance marked the life of Tabriz. On Sha'bān 27 1286 (July 8, 1850) the Bāb [q. v.] was executed in Tabriz at the entrance to the arsenal (*ḡhah-ahna*); cf. this correction in

Wilson, *Persian Life*, p. 62. In 1880, the approach of the Kurds under Shāikh 'Ubaiddallāh (cf. SHAMDIRĀN) greatly disturbed the people of Tabriz. Gates were put up between the quarters to isolate them better if necessary but the Kurds did not go beyond the Bināb.

The consolidation of Qājār power secured peace for Adharbāidjān and Tabriz gradually recovered. In spite of the terrible ravages of cholera and plague in 1830-1831 the census made in Tabriz in 1842 recorded 9,000 families or 100-120,000 people (Beresin). In 1895 the number of inhabitants was estimated at 150-200,000, of whom 3,000 were Armenians (Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 53). Twenty years later the population was certainly over 200,000 and in spite of the rudimentary nature of the municipal organisation the town showed every sign of prosperity. The trade of Tabriz after a period of stagnation developed, especially between 1833 and 1836, but the too great excess of imports produced a great crisis in 1837. The opening of the route by Transcaucasia (Poti-Baku) meant considerable competition for the parallel route Trebizond-Tabriz. In 1883 the Russian government closed the route through Transcaucasia and Russian trade was thereby encouraged in Northern Persian markets but the movement of goods via Trebizond-Tabriz (the only route to the west) also increased.

Twentieth century. The history of Tabriz since 1904 has been very stirring. The Turks of Tabriz (who are the result of intermarriage of Persians with Ghuzz, Mongols, Turkomans etc.) with their energetic and passionate character played a very important part in the Persian nationalist and revolutionary movement. Open rebellion broke out in Tabriz on June 23, 1908, the day of the bombardment of the Parliament in Teherān. The names of Saṭṭār Khān, a former horse-dealer who became chief of the Amir Khiz quarter and his companion Bāḳir Khān are closely associated with the brave defence of Tabriz but darker sides of their activity have not escaped even E. G. Browne, *The Pers. Revolution*, p. 491-492. The government troops under Prince 'Ain al-Dawla, surrounded the town and at the beginning of February 1909, blockaded it completely. On April 20 the Cabinets of London and St. Petersburg agreed to send to Tabriz a Russian force "to facilitate the entrance into the town of the necessary provisions, to protect the consulates and foreign subjects, and to help those who so desired to leave the town". The Russian troops led by General Snarski entered Tabriz on April 30, 1909 (Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 274). The negotiations for their withdrawal lasted till 1911 when the Russian ultimatum presented at Teherān on November 29 provoked a new agitation in the country. On December 21 the *fidā'i* of Tabriz attacked the weak Russian detachment, distributed about the town, and inflicted considerable losses on them. This had the immediate result of the despatch to Tabriz of a Russian brigade under Voropanov, which arrived on the eve of the new year. The Russian military tribunal pronounced several death sentences (including one on the Thikāt al-Islām, an important member of the Shākhī sect). In October 1912 the Turkish detachments who occupied the "disputed" districts west of Adharbāidjān were recalled but the question of the Russo-Turkish frontier [cf. KURDS] remained still undecided. The Russian troops therefore re-

maintained in Adharbāidjān till 1914 when the world war broke out.

At the beginning of December, the Kurdish irregulars commanded by Ottoman officers began a movement from Sawdī-bulāk towards Marāgha and Tabriz. At the same time Enver Pasha's raid on Sarī-kamīsh (south of Kārī) threatened the whole Russian army in the Caucasus. Orders were given to evacuate Adharbāidjān. Between December 17, 1914 and January 6, 1915, the Russian troops and following them the bulk of the local Christian population had left Tabriz. On January 8 Ahmad Mukhtār Bey Shamkhāl at a head of a body of Kurds entered the town. The situation changed suddenly and on January 31 the Russians returning in force re-occupied Tabriz (cf. the details in the book by the former German consul in Tabriz: W. Litten, *Persische Flitterwochen*, Berlin 1925, p. 8—127).

Since 1906 a paved road connecting Tabriz with the Russian frontier (Djulfā, terminus of the Russian railway) had been constructed by the Russian government company which had obtained the concession from the Persian government. The work of changing this road into a railway was now actively hurried on and it was opened to traffic at the beginning of May 1916. The railway (80 miles long, with a branch line from Sofīyan to Lake Urmīya 25 miles long) was the first to be built on Persian territory.

The Russian army on the Persian frontier had become disorganised on the outbreak of the revolution of 1917. Adharbāidjān was evacuated at the beginning of 1918. The representatives of the Persian central government and even the Crown Prince had remained all this time at their places but when the last Russian detachment left Tabriz on February 28, 1918, the actual power passed into the hands of the local committee of the democratic party and its head Ismā'īl Nawbarī.

Meanwhile the Turks emerging from their inactivity quickly occupied the frontiers abandoned by the Russians. On June 18, 1918, the Ottoman advance guard entered Tabriz. On July 8 General 'Alī Ihsān Pāshā arrived and on August 25 Kāgīm Kura-bekir Pāshā who commanded the army corps. The Ottoman authorities banished Nawbarī and supported the appointment of Majd al-Sultāna as governor of Adharbāidjān. This troubled situation lasted for a year and only with the arrival in Tabriz of the new governor-general Sipah-sālār (June 1919) did affairs begin to resume their normal course. Complete order was only established under Rūfā Khān, who became first of all minister of war and later ruler of Persia.

By the treaty of February 26, 1921, the Soviet government renounced all the old concessions in Persia and the railway from Tabriz to Djulfā built at the expense of the Russian government thus became the property of the Persian state.

Antiquities. The oldest monuments in Tabriz date from the Mongol epoch (beginning of the sixth century) but no systematic study has yet been made of this field. The earthquakes and the indifference of the Shī'as to the buildings of their Sunni predecessors or rivals are the two main causes of the disappearance of the monuments, interesting traces of which however still remain.

The magnificent buildings of Gharān Khān in the village of Shāh-Shām (now the suburb of Kāra-malik) have completely disappeared. As early

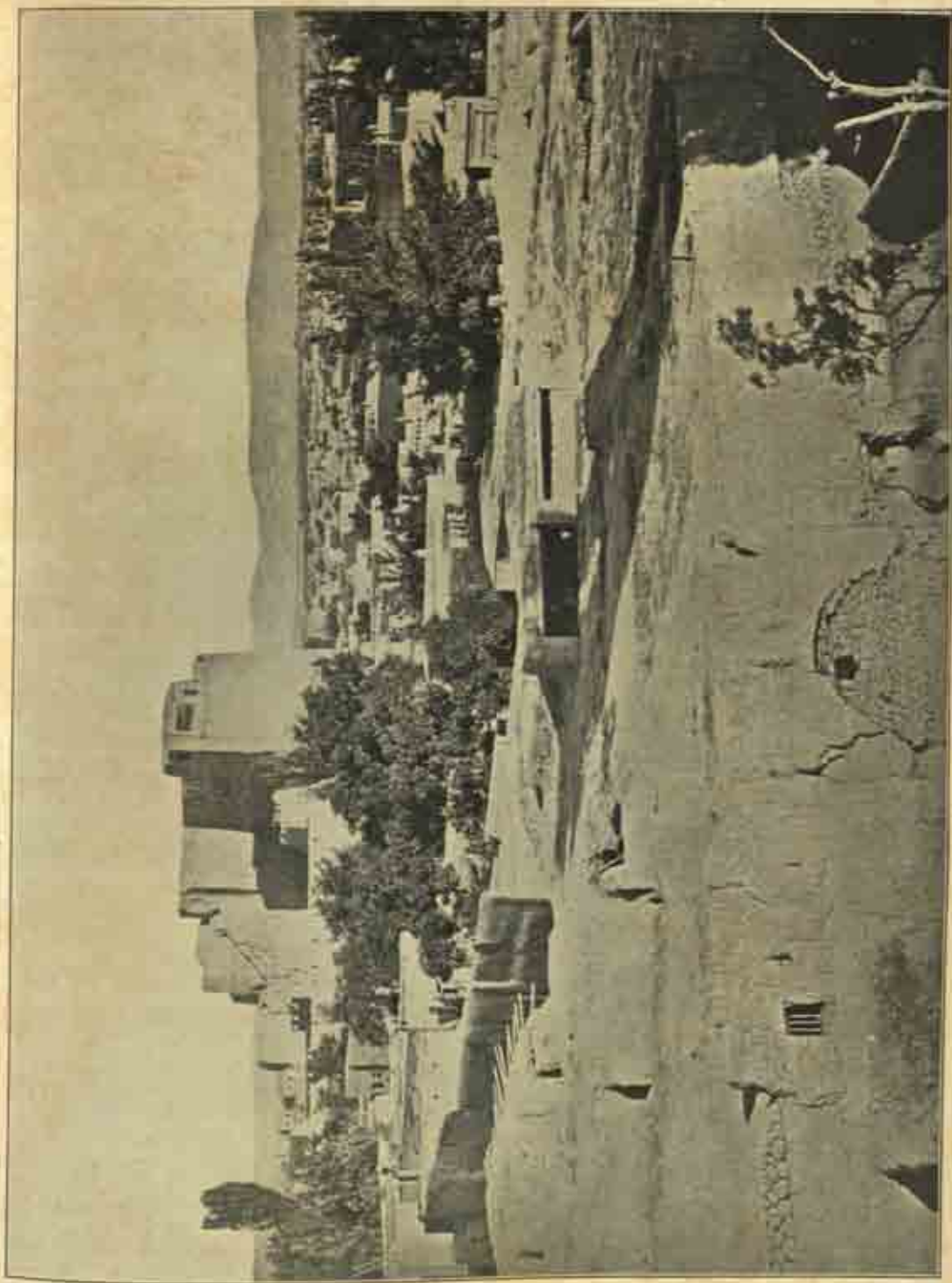
as 1611 we find Shāh 'Abbās using the material of the ruins of Shām-Gharān to build a fortress. The earthquake of Feb. 5, 1641 caused further destruction (Arakel of Tabriz, p. 496). Ewliyā Çelebi (ii. 265) still found the ruins of the sepulchral tower standing which reminded him of the tower of Galatz (the same remark is made in the *Dihkō-namā*). Mme. Dieulafoy and Sarre also visited the mound which is all that remains of Shām-Gharān and talences were still found there.

A detailed description of this marvellous building is given in the *Isht al-Dīnān* of Badr al-Dīn al-'Alāī (d. 835 = 1431) who made use of the account of the embassy from the Mamlūk Sulhān al-Nāsir in the time of the Ilkhān Abū Sa'īd (the text was translated by Baron Tiesenhausen, *Zap.*, i. 1886, p. 114—118). The mosque was said to rival the vault of the palace of Choaroes at Ctesiphon. According to Hamdullāh (1340) the mosque was built too rapidly, which caused it to collapse (*farūd amad*). The Venetian merchant (in 1514) speaks with enthusiasm of its ruins but Chardin (ii. 325) only found the lower part (restored) and the "tower". The name Tak-i 'Alī Shāh ("vault of 'A.") is at the present day given to the enormous dilapidated brick building which stands in the centre of the town at the entrance to the old Mihād-Mihm quarter (volgo: Miyar-miyar; cf. Beresin). It is probable that there is some confusion between the old mosque which has now disappeared and the neighbouring citadel which in no way agrees with the description which we have of the mosque. Nothing is definitely known of the date of the ark. It may be the vast *dawlat-khāna* ("Tolbatgana") of which Clavijs speaks and which is mentioned in the *Alam-ārā* (cf. above). The ark was turned into an arsenal by 'Abbās Mirzā and is still the most imposing building in Tabriz.

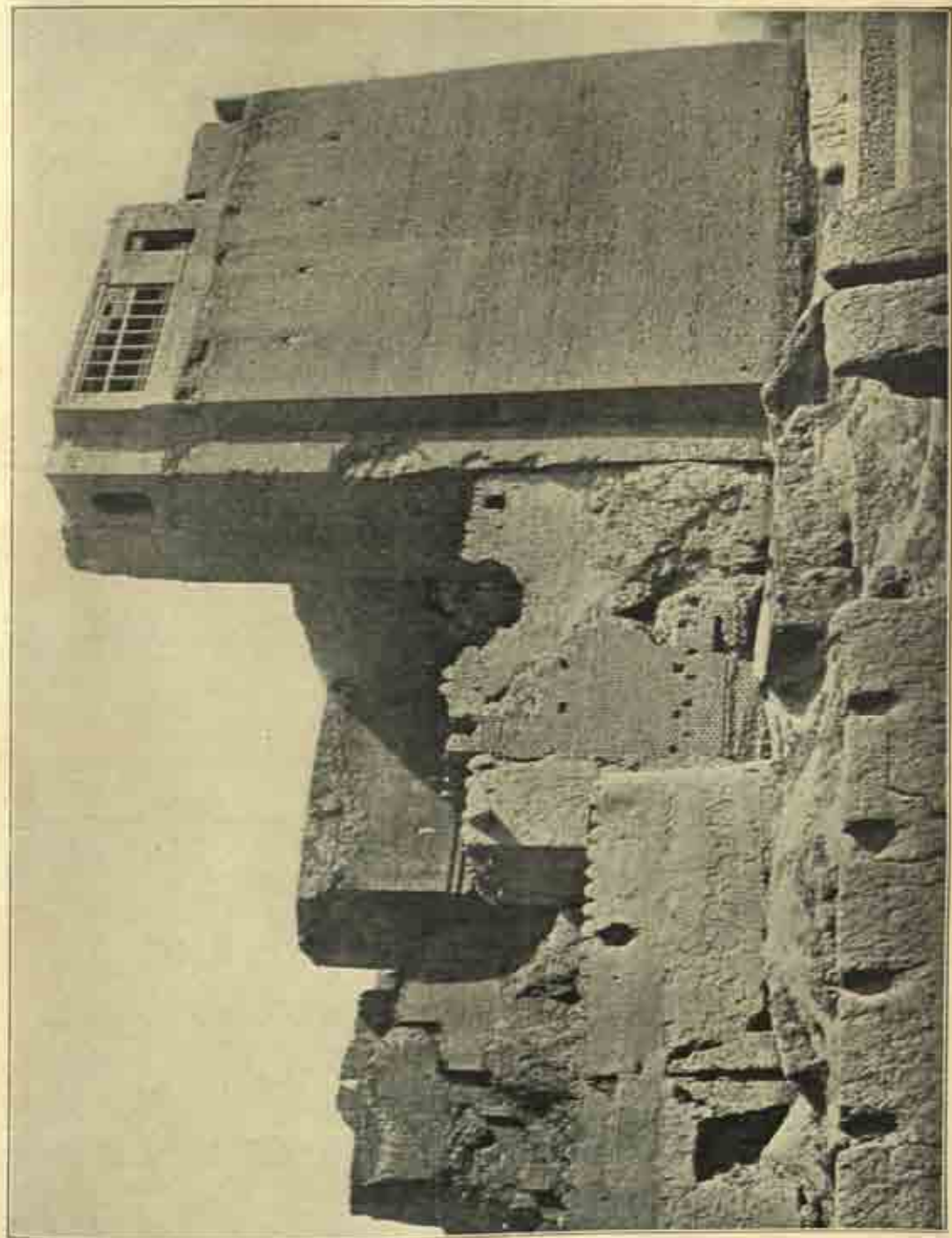
The beautiful mosque of Djahān Shāh (the Blue Mosque) described by Tavernier and Chardin has been exhaustively studied by Tesler, Mme. Dieulafoy and Prof. Sarre. It is in a state of collapse. It is possible that its abandonment was the result of the heretical views of which its builder was accused by the Ak-Koyunlu. Ewliyā Çelebi is enthusiastic about "the mosque of Sulhān Hasan" adorned with stones from Najaf and inscriptions traced by the hand of the calligrapher Yāqūt-i Mustā'zim. On either side of the *mihrāb* were two pillars of a rare stone, like amber. This mosque known as Ustād-Shāgird ("master apprentice") was the work of Hasan Kūzik Cobani (d. 741 = 1340) (*Zinat al-Madīnat*, in the *Mis'at al-Buldān*, p. 341, Chardin). According to S. Wilson, the new mosque of this name (built on the site of the old one) is situated near the wool-market. This mosque seems to be different from the mosque of Uzun Hasan, of which very little is known.

Ewliyā says that the mosque of Shāh 'Abbās was opposite the Ustād-Shāgird. To the Safawī period also belongs the "allée" (*Kāhizān*) of Shāh Saif (cf. Ewliyā). To the Qājār period belong the residence of the governor-general Ala-Kapl ("the red gate"), the beautiful gardens of Bāgh-i Shīmāl ("north garden's") which lie however on the south of the town, the pavilion of Shāh-goli ("the Lake of the Shāh"), 5 miles S. of the town (Beresin, p. 80) etc.

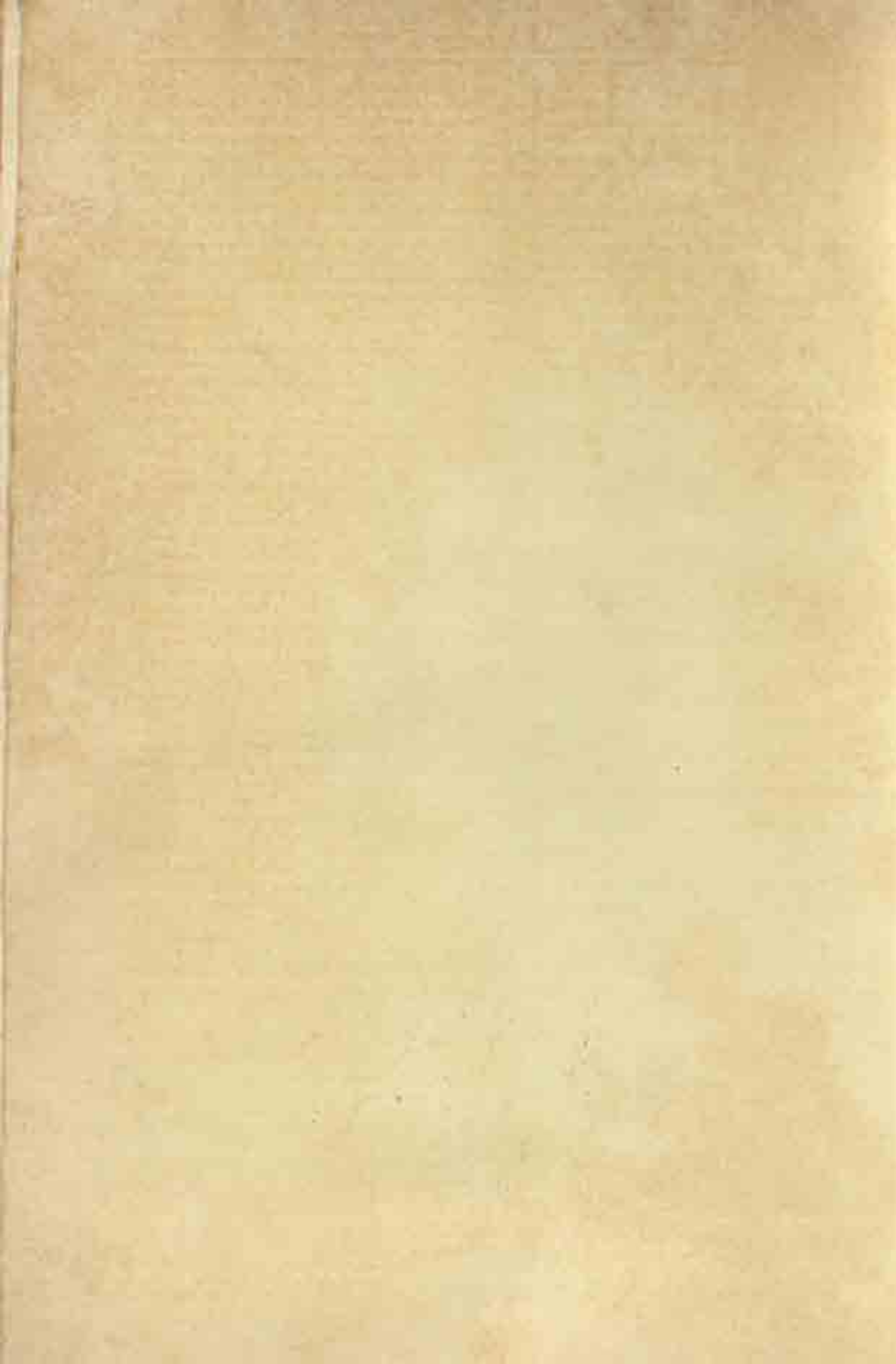
A detailed list of the monuments of Tabriz will be found in the *Travels* of Ewliyā Çelebi. The view of Tabriz by Chardin (*Atlas*, Pl. XI) which



View of Talata from the West.



Tabara. The ark.



shows the public buildings is valuable for the study of the topography. The *Mir'at al-Buldān*, i. 346—348 and the book by the American missionary Wilson also contain useful details. A plan of the town prepared in 1880 by the students of the military school of Tabriz on a scale of 1:8,820 was published in 1894; cf. Houtum-Schindler, *Geogr. Journ.*, 1895, p. 104. Berzin, p. 52 gives a sketch of the quarters of the town. There is a little Persian plan reproduced in Browne, *The Pers. Revolution*, p. 284. A very detailed plan of Tabriz was also published in Tiflis in 1912.

Bibliography: Cf. the article **AMHARHIZJAN**; for ancient authors cf. the references in the body of the present article. — Yāqūt, i, p. 822; Zakariyā Khazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 227 (few details); Hamdullah Mustawfī, *Nuḥāt al-Kulūb*, 740 (1340), ed. Le Strange, *G. M. S.*, p. 75—79 (important description reproduced by later authors); Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ed. Defrémery, i. 171; ii. 71, 127—131; Kādī Ahmad Ghaffārī, *Nigāristān*, 959 (1552), MS. Bibl. Nat. Paris, Supp. Pers. 887, fol. 56 r. (Tabriz according to the *Nuḥāt al-Kulūb*), fol. 120 v. (the Ildegids); Ahmad Rānī, *Haft Iqlīm*, 1002 (1594), MS. Bib. Nat. Paris, Supp. Pers. 356, fol. 464 v.—479 v. (detailed enumeration of famous natives of Tabriz); Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Djāzān-namā*, p. 380—383; Iskandar Munshī, *Ālām-āra*, 1037 (1625), Tihān 1314, p. 30—51, 49—50, 444, 584 (numerous valuable data); Arakel of Tabriz, *Libre d'histoire* (Armenian history of 1574 to 1665), French transl. Brosset, *Cull. d'historiens arméniens*, St. Petersburg 1874, i. 176, 294, 312, 496, 572 and *passim*; Ewliyā Celebi (ca. 1057 [1647]), ii. 245—276 (detailed and interesting information); Maḥmūd Leblī, *Tuḥfat al-Leblī*, 1138 (1725); a work which has not yet been rediscovered on the tombs of the famous men of Tabriz (Hammer, *G. O. R.*, viii. 525; Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen*, Leipzig 1927, p. 237); Zānī al-Āhidīn Shīrwānī, *Hadā'iq al-Siyāhat*, MS. Bib. Nat. Paris, Supp. Pers. fol. 1305, l. 86 r.; idem, *Bustān al-Siyāhat* (written 1247), more complete version of the preceding, Tihān 1313, p. 186—188; Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Sanī al-Dawla, *Mir'at al-Buldān*, Tihān 1294, l. 337—419 (compilation completed from unpublished data); Marco Polo, Chap. xxvi.; Toris, Tauris, Tauris, Thoris etc. (the monastery of Barzamo mentioned by Ramusio in the region of Tabriz is perhaps that of St. Bartholomew at Makkā, q. v.); Clavijs (1405—1406), *Vida y hazarías del gran Tamerlán*, Sevilla 1582, Chap. lxxviii., cxlv., etc. (ed. Szezanewski, St. Petersburg 1881, p. 167—172, 358—376); the reports of the Venetian travellers (Barbaro Conzatti, C. Zeno, Angiolello, the anonymous merchant V. Alessandri) are collected in a volume ed. by C. Grayson, *The Hakluyt Society*, London 1873; cf. also Cornet, *Letture di G. Barbaro*, Vienna 1852 and G. Berchet, *La repubblica di Venezia et la Persia*, Turin 1865; J. Chiesman, *Le Voyage de M. d'Aramon* (1547), ed. Schefer, Paris 1887, p. 83, 282; Kakasch de Zalonskemy (his secretary Tectander), *Iter periculum* (1603), ed. Schefer, Paris 1877, p. 47—51; Olearius (1636—1637), *Ausführliche Beschreibung etc.*, 1663, Part v., Chap. 2; Tavernier (1638), *Les six voyages*, Paris 1679,

i. 56—63; A. Poulet, *Nouvelles relations du Levant*, Paris 1663, p. 161—164 (description of the 2 mosques); Pétis de la Croix (1670), *Extrait des voyages*, in appendix to *Relation de Donny Hémidi*, Paris 1810, p. 141—145; Chardin (1673), *Voyages*, ed. Langlès, ii. 319—360, Atlas pl. xi. (view taken from 'Ain-i 'Alī); John Bell (1716), *Travels from St. Petersburg*, French transl. Jean Bell d'Antermony, *Voyages depuis St. Pétersbourg*, Paris 1766, iii., p. 99—107; (P. Villote) *Voyage d'un missionnaire de la compagnie de Jésus en Turquie, en Perse etc.*, Paris 1730, p. 176—177; Hanway, *The Revolutions of Persia*, London 1754, ii. 237; Jaubert, *Voyage en Arménie* (1805), Paris 1821, p. 155—164, 358; P. Tancoigne (1807—1808), *Lettres sur la Perse*, Paris 1819, i. 121; J. P. Morier, *A Journey through Persia* (1809), London 1812, p. 275—291; A. Drapé (1809), *Voyage en Perse*, Paris 1819, ii. 230—240; M. Kinnaird, *A Geogr. Memoir of the Persian Empire*, London 1813, p. 150—152, 377, 380; J. P. Morier (1810—1816), *A Second Journey through Persia*, London 1818, p. 211—233, 391, p. 225; a view of Tabriz; Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia* (1819), London 1822, ii. 506; J. R. Fraser, *Travels in Kurdistan*, n.d., i. 1—45; ii. 312; W. K. Stuart (1835), *Journey of a Residence in Northern Persia*, London 1854; Texier (1839), *Description de l'Arménie*, Paris 1852, i., plates 41 (general view), 42—52 (Blue Mosque); ii., p. 43—59; Wilbraham, *Travels in the Transcaucasian Provinces*, London 1839; Ritter, *Reichkunde*, ix. (1840), 770—779, 852—884; Berzin (1842), *Putehestwiye po sever. Perzii*, Kazan 1852, p. 55—96; Flandin, *Voyage en Perse*, Paris 1851, i. 146—181; Lycklama a Nijeholt (1869), *Voyage en Russie*, Paris 1873, ii. 40—79; Gobineau, *Trois ans en Asie*, Paris 1859, p. 508—509; von Thielmann (1872), *Streifzüge im Kaukasus* Leipzig 1875, p. 179—198; Bakulin, *Očerk torgowli Adharbaidžana 1870—1871*, West. Shornik, St. Petersburg 1877, i. 205—269; Heyd, *Gench. des Levantehandels*, Stuttgart 1879, French transl. Leipzig 1886, ii. 107—140 and *passim*; Curzon, *Persia*, London 1892, i. 518—522 and index; St. Martin, *Nouveau dict. de géographie universelle*, Paris 1894, vol. vi.; Madame Dienlaffoy, *La Perse*, Paris 1887, p. 44—67 (Blue Mosque, visit to Shām-Ghazān); de Morgan, *Mission, Etudes géogr.*, Paris 1894, i. 320—334; S. G. Wilson, *Persian Life and Customs*, London 1896, p. 52—70, 325—325 and *passim* (interesting details); Lehmann-Haupt (1898), *Armenien einst und jetzt*, Berlin 1910, i. 189—199; Barthold, *Isler-geogr. abstr. Iran*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. 145—148; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, London 1905, p. 159—163; Frenglas, *Arpachakan* (in Armenian), Tiflis 1905, p. 60—65; A. V. W. Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, New York 1906, p. 39—56; Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, Berlin 1910, p. 5—7, 25—32, plates 23—29; *Brit. Mus. Or. Coins*, vol. x., p. cxxiii—iv; do., *Shahs of Persia*, p. 293—294. (V. MINORSKY)

TABUK, a town on the pilgrim road and on the railway from Damascus to Medina (according to Yāqūt four days' journey from al-Hijr and 12 from Medina). It lies on a slight undulation of the sandy plain and has a very good well, probably the one mentioned in Arab legend.

The most important building is the pilgrim's fort built according to the inscription in 1064 (1654), the oldest parts of which can easily be distinguished from the later restorations. Beside it is a modern mosque built of beautifully hewn stones. Eating found the place empty except for a garrison of five men. Jausen and Savignac speak of about 40 houses with walls of sundried bricks and roofs of branches covered with rubble. The fruit-trees were in a very neglected condition.

In the time of the Prophet, Tabuk was on the northern frontier of Arabia beyond which Byzantine territory began. The place became historic when Muhammad's great campaign against the north began in the year 9. The population, Greeks, 'Amila, Lahm and Djedham, fled on his approach. He had however to abandon his objective which was evidently the lands farther north inhabited by Arabs, as the great heat caused his followers to become dispirited. He therefore only stayed ten days before beginning his retreat but made use of this time for negotiations with the people of Aila, Adhrah and Maḡna, which led to their submission.

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TABULA SMARAGDINA, the revelation of secret alchemistic teaching ascribed to Hermes Trismegistos. Known in a later version in the west since the middle of the 15th century, the origin of the text was until recently an unsolved problem in the history of chemistry. Since R. Steele in his edition of Bacon (1920) showed that the text of the *Tabula* existed in Arabic and Latin in the *Sirr al-Aḡrār* of Pseudo-Aristotle, and E. J. Holmyard in 1923 discovered a more primitive form of the text in the *Kitāb al-Uḡḡḡ al-ḡḡḡ* of Djabir b. Haiyān, J. Ruska has been able to show that the original source of the still in many passages puzzling document is to be found at the end of the *Sirr al-ḡḡḡḡ*, composed by Hermes, said to have been found by Bahiās (Apollonius of Tyana) in the tomb of Hermes and to throw light on many points of the history of the *Tabula* from the time of Hugo Santelliensis to the present day. He was finally able to show that Djabir b. Haiyān already was acquainted with the book of Apollonius, so that it is fairly certain that the work originated in gnostic circles.

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TABUR (v.) (Eastern Turki: *taḡḡūr*, a palisade formed of wagons arranged in a circle or square; a body of men sent out to reconnoitre), a battalion, a corps of about a thousand men, commanded by a *bān-baḡl* (chief of a thousand).

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TADALLIS, TADULLIS (Dellys), a town on the Algerian coast, 70 miles east of Algiers and 4 miles E. of the mouth of the Seban, the principal river of Kabylia, from which it is separated by the mountainous mass which ends in Cape Bengut. — It lies in 55° 20' N. Lat. and 3° 55' E. Long (Greenwich). — The town consists of two distinct quarters: the native quarter with its narrow streets and the European quarter regularly built on a plateau about 175 feet above sea-level. Below, the harbour, sheltered against the winds from the west and northwest, offers a fairly secure anchorage but is frequented only by a few small trading vessels. The country round is covered with tall trees and well-tilled gardens and offers a pleasing picture. The total population is 3,884 of whom 2,508 are natives. The latter are of Kabyl origin but like the majority of the tribes of the district speak only Arabic.

The site of Dellys was occupied in the Roman period by the town of Rauscurru a few traces of which have been discovered (remains of walls, cisterns, etc.). This town must have been destroyed at the Arab conquest and for long the site remained uninhabited. Al-Bakri (*Description de l'Afrique*, transl. de Slane, p. 135) does mention a port situated to the east of Merna 'l-Hadjadj which he calls the town of the Beni Djennad but this place seems to correspond to Cape Djinet rather than to Dellys.

The name itself under the form Thadellast, Thadellasth ("the cottages") does not appear till the period when the Hammādid sovereigns (cf. HAMMĀDIDS) established their capital in Bougie. Owing to its position which enabled relations to be easily established with the people of the valley of the Seban, this little town acquired a certain commercial and military importance; it even had a Hammādid governor. (In 496 [1102—3] the Sulṭān al-Maḡḡūr gave this office to a prince of Almería who had taken refuge in Africa). Idriṣī (p. 104) describes Tada'llis as a town on an eminence and surrounded by a strong wall. He mentions the fertility of the country round, the low cost of living, and the abundance of cattle which were exported to the adjacent regions. After the fall of the Hammādid kingdom, Dellys passed under the rule of the Almohads, was taken by Yahyā b. ḡḡaniya (622=1226—1227), then its possession was disputed among the Almohads, Zayyanids, Hafsids and the Marinids who took it in 1394. In the 14th century according to Leo Africanus (Bk. IV., transl. Schefer III., 69), Dellys shared the fate of Algiers. Like all the towns on the coast, it received a number of refugees from Spain who must have contributed to the economic and intellectual life of the town. Leo (*loc. cit.*) says that the inhabitants engaged in dyeing, traded successfully and were noted for their skill in playing the lute. As to their fashion of dress, he says it is like that of the people of Djanṭir. When the Algerians had submitted to Spain (1570), the people of Dellys followed their example but in 1517 it was retaken by Arād [q. v.]. The Turks

put a garrison there and made the town a base of operations against the tribes of the valley of Sebau. Although the inhabitants kept up a constant intercourse by sea with Algiers, Dellys only vegetated under Turkish rule. It was a wretched village when the French occupied it on May 7, 1844. A European quarter was established there two years later. The conquest of Kabylia, which was followed by the transfer of the military establishment to Teisi Uzon and Fort National, arrested its development. In the course of the insurrection of 1871, Dellys was blockaded on the land side by the Kabyls (April-May) but maintained its own communication by sea so that it could not be taken by the rebels. Since then its peace has not been disturbed but owing to its outlying position and the difficulties of its communications the town has remained stationary and colonization by Europeans has not developed around it.

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TADBIR (A.), *Maḍḍar* of the second stem of the root *d-b-r*.

1. With the meaning of 'direction, administration'. The Arabic lexicographers explain *dabbara* as a verb from the noun *ḍabur* 'the hindmost, the end' (opposite: *ḥubūd*); thus we read in the *Lisān*, v. 358: *an tanqura ilā mā ta'ūla ilaihi 'aḥkātāhū*, 'to heed what one attains at the end of a matter', or *yanturu fī 'awāḥibihī*, 'to heed the end of a matter'. This verb has now a double application: a. in the sense of government, administration (e.g. in the title of a work by Ibn Abi 'l-Rabi', *Sulūḥ al-Mulūk fī Tadbir 'l-Mamālīk* [cf. XIV.5A]) and b. which concerns us here, in the sense of guidance, management of a household, *tadbir al-manzil* = *oikonomia*. Thus for example, Ibn Khaldūn says in his *Muḥaddima* (ed. Quatremère in *N. E.*, xvi. 62; transl. de Slane in *N. E.*, xix. 78): *al-siyāsāt al-madaniyya hiya tadbir al-manzil aw al-madīna*... 'The *Siyāsāt al-madaniyya* is the management of a household or of a state in keeping with the demands of ethics (*al-ḥikm*) and wisdom, so that the whole may be led on a path on which regularity (*nawā*) is maintained'.

The *Tadbir al-Manzil* is one of the three subdivisions of practical philosophy, which was taken over by the Muslims from Hellenism with these divisions; the latter are ethics (*ilm al-akhlāq*), economics (*ilm tadbir al-manzil*) and politics with *ilm al-siyāsa* (cf. e.g. Ibn Sinā, *Aḥkām al-'Ulūm al-akhlāq*, in *Madjma' al-Rai' al-'Aḥkām*, Cairo 1328, p. 229 sq.; al-Kāṣi, *Ta'riḥ al-Hukamā'*, ed. Lippert, p. 52 and many others). As Ritter was the first to show, the whole economic literature of Islām can be traced to the *Economics* (of which the Greek original is now lost) of the Neopythagorean Bryson, which survives in an Arabic translation Bryson, (ed. Cheikh in *Mashriq*, xix. [1921], 161—181; mentioned as early as *Fihrist*, p. 315), from which again came a Hebrew (Munich, Cod. Hebr. 263, Ritter in *Jel.*, vii. [1917], 12 sq.) and a Latin (Dresden MS. of Galen to which Plessner has called attention) translation. The latter has edited and studied all the material. According to his results the main lines of development of economics in Islām are as

follows: apart from copyists and imitators (al-Dimaḡhī, *Iḥḍāra ilā Maḥāsin al-Tijāra*, ed. by Ritter in *Jel.*, vii. 1 sq.; Ibn Abi 'l-Rabi', *Sulūḥ al-Mulūk*; the *Encyclopaedia* of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; Ibn al-Fanārī) the *Economics* of Bryson was independently edited by Nāṣir al-Dīn in his *Aḥkām* and extended by the incorporation of Muslim and Persian ideas. Tūṣī's *Economics* was regarded for all time in Islām as the final model. On it were based the *Aḥkām al-Djāli* and for the most part the later authors also who deal with economics, like al-Ghazālī, al-Shahrastānī, al-ʿAmulī (inserts a chapter on attitude to relations) and al-Idjī.

The contents of these economic writings deal with the following subjects: acquisition, preservation and utilisation of property (*mal*), attitude to slaves, women and children; everything is regarded from the point of view of acquiring and retaining the greatest possible good fortune.

The *Fihrist*, p. 263, further mentions a second work on Economics apparently dating from the Hellenistic period and translated into Arabic: The *Kitāb Rūfūs fī Tadbir al-Manzil* (LWSWS (for 'one should probably read *gh*, *f* or *ḥ*): 'The book of Rūfūs on the Economics of...')'. The name of this ancient author cannot be ascertained with certainty, especially as the names of very few ancient economists have come down to us. One might imagine it to be some name like Philodemus.

There is also an Arabic translation (or synopsis) of the first book of the *Economics* wrongly attributed to Aristotle (now usually attributed to Theophrastus) in a manuscript of varied contents in the Escorial (Casiri, No. 883) entitled *Kitāb Ariṣṭū fī Tadbir al-Manzil* (cf. Ma'rif in *Mach.*, xix. [1921], p. 257—262). These two manuscripts have however not yet been closely studied. In the *Fihrist*, in Abi 'Uṣāibī's and al-Kāṣi's this *Economics* is not mentioned (cf. thereon Baumstark, *Syrisch-arabische Biographien des Aristoteles*, Leipzig 1900, p. 53 sq.), while Abu 'l-Kāsim Ṣāḍ b. Aḥmad al-Andalusī (d. 462 = 1069—1070), *Tabaḥāt al-Umam*, Cairo, n. d., p. 39 or his authority seems to have been acquainted with an *Economics* (*Siyāsāt al-Manzil*) of Aristotle. The way in which this translation has been handed down in MS. seems to indicate that it originated in Christian Arab circles: Ma'rif suggests without any authority that the translator was Abu 'l-Faraj 'Abd Allāh b. al-Taiyib (d. 435 = 1043—1044). The writer is preparing an edition and study of this book on Economics.

Bibliography: Djirdit Zaidān, *Ta'riḥ Adab al-Lughāt al-'Arabiyya*, Cairo 1912, ii. 232 sq.; Ritter, *Ein arab. Handbuch der Handelswissenschaft*, in *Jel.*, vii. (1917), 4—14; Plessner, *Der Einfluß des Neupythagoräers Bryson und sein Einfluss auf die islamische Wissenschaft*, Breslau, phil. Diss. 1925 (synopsis only; the complete work will appear shortly).

2. With the meaning 'Manumission of a slave, which however only becomes operative after the death of the master'. *Dabbara* is in this case a verb formed from the noun *ḍabur*, '(life's) end', i. e. death. Cf. *Lisān*, v. 358; Muṭarriz, *Muḥḍib*, s. v. For particulars cf. the article 'Avd'. The fullest treatment of the subject in Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, Rome 1926, I. 122. (HEFFERNING)

TADHKIRA (A.), memorial, memorandum, from *dhakara* "to record". The word appears in the titles of many famous works: the *Memorandum of Astronomy* of Naṣr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, the *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā*, "Memorial of the Saints" of Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār, the *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā*, "Memorial of the poets", a biography of the poets, popular in Persia.

In administrative language it means: ticket, memorandum, permit. It is the name given to travellers' passports, *ṣul tadhkirati*, to the custom house office's *ṣul tadhkirati*. It is also more especially applied to the diplomas of investiture given to *ḥādis* on taking up their office, the general name for these diplomas for ministers of religion being *ḥawāṣ*. Under the old Turkish government system there were two *tadhkirat*, a major and a minor, entrusted with the delivery of *tadhkira*'s; they were important officials directly under the orders of the *ḥādis-sāker* [q. v.] and admitted to the table of the grand vizier.

Bibliography: The dictionaries and M. d'Ollsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1791, iv. 539, 597.

(B. CARRA DE VAUX)

TĀDJ (A.), Crown. A Persian loanword in Arabic going back to the Old Persian **tag*; cf. Armenian *tag*, Aramaic *taga*. From it are formed in Arabic the broken plural *tājūn* and the corresponding verb *t-aw-dj* II "to crown", V "to be crowned", and *tādjī*, "crowned" (Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*, Strassburg 1893, p. 81; Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch*, Göttingen 1919, p. 74, 84; Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leyden 1886, p. 62). Like the name, the thing itself comes from old Persia. The form of the crowns of the old Persian kings, which we know best from their coins, was not unknown in Arabic literature. Mas'ūdī, for example, tells us he had seen an old book with coloured pictures of Persian kings wearing their crowns, which was translated into Arabic for the Omayyad Ḥishām b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (*B.G.A.*, viii., p. 106). A whole series of books now lost with titles like *Kitāb Siyar al-Mulūk*, *Kitāb al-Tādj* seem to have been of similar content. On the latter, cf. Zeki Paṣṣa in the introduction to his edition of *Kitāb al-Tādj* of Ljshīr (Cairo 1332 [1914]). It is presumably on such sources that are based the statements on the Persian crown in Hamra Jafūhānī, *Kitāb Ta'riḥ al-Salt Mulk al-Arṣ wa 'l-Andalus* (Berlin, Kavian Press, p. 17, 24 sq., 32, 35 sq.), and the Persian *Mudmil al-Tawāriḥ* which utilises him and the statements in Ṭabari's also (on the relation of their sources cf. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, Leyden 1879, introduction; on the crown among the Persians cf. especially p. 95, 221, 304, 385, 453; A. Christensen, *L'Empire des Sasanides*, Copenhagen 1907, p. 14, 89 sq., 106; do., *Le Règne du Roi Kawād II et le Communisme mazdakite*, Copenhagen 1925, p. 22 sq.). In the Arabic *Awā'il* literature we are told that the first to wear a crown was Dāhūk (see Kalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'ṣḥā*, Cairo 1331 [1913], i. 415).

On Muhammadan miniatures which depict the old Persian kings, the latter wear regular crowns but their form is of course in no way authentic. On the miniatures, crowns are also worn by the angels, and notably by the Prophet Muhammad and Burūk in the *Al-Firdaws* (see the miniature in

the edition of the Uigur *Mīrādī-nāme*, ed. by Pavet de Courteille, Paris 1882).

The Arabs made their first acquaintance with crowns before Islam, for the Persian kings occasionally gave their Arab vassal kings crowns as a token of their rank, e.g. to the Lakhmid Imra' al-Kais (d. 328 A. D.; cf. Clermont-Ganneau, *Revue d'Archéol. Or.*, vi. 307; *Le roi de tout les Arabes* and vii. 176 sq.; *Le Tādj des Imra' al-Kais et la royauté générale des Arabes*; Lidzbarski, *Epigraphie*, ii. 35, 375; also on the difference between *ikhlīl* and *tādj*; the latter seems to mean a simple chaplet only), and to the Lakhmid Nu'mān III (a. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lakhmiden in al-Hira*, Berlin 1899, p. 128) and to the *Qaṣṣ* Tādj Hawdhā b. 'Alī, the Christian ruler of the Yemāma in the time of Muhammad, to whom the Prophet is said also to have sent a demand to become converted to Islam (Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 971; Kalkashandī, vi. 379; Fraenkel, p. 62; Ṭabari, i. 985; Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser u. Araber*, p. 258). Crowns and bearers of crowns were often celebrated by the poets (see Siddiqi, p. 84; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, p. 289 sq., where the crown is said to be a peculiarity of the Yemen, possibly a reminiscence of the old relations between Yemen and the Abyssinians; on the crown of the latter cf. Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, p. 225 and 233).

The celebrated crown of Khusrāw II was among the booty which the Arabs took at Ctesiphon (Christensen, *L'Empire*, p. 106). But the crown continued to be something foreign and rare among the Arabs. There is a ḥadīth which says *al-amā'im tājūn al-Arab*, "the turban is the crown of the Arabs", i. e. according to the usual explanation in the *Liḥān al-Arab* and elsewhere: turbans are as rare amongst them as crowns, for most Beduins do not wear turbans but only *ḥalāzīn* (caps; cf. the article *ḤALANSUWA*) or no headdress at all.

Islam knows no regular royal crown or coronation in our sense as a symbol of regal power. When we find mention of crowns, the reference is to foreign rulers like those of the old Persian Great Kings, of Christian rulers etc. The *tādj al-Bakā* is the tiara of the Pope, *tādj al-ashuf* the mitre of a bishop. Only in the case of the so-called *tādj al-ḥanīf* do we seem at first sight to have a Muslim ruler's crown. This crown of the caliph, which is included among the insignia (*āṣāt al-mulūkīya*) of sovereignty, is not found till the 'Abbasid period and it has been suggested that this dynasty imitated the Persian tradition in deliberate contrast to the early caliphs and Omayyads (Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, p. 453). The Caliph wore this *tādj* on ceremonial occasions (*ma'ādhib*) on the great feast-days. Kalkashandī (iii. 472 and 484 = Wüstenfeld, *Caucaschandi*, p. 172 and 182) describes the *tādj* of the Fātimid Caliph of Egypt. It is evident from him that it was not a proper crown but a turban richly studded with gems, including a particularly large one called *al-yatima*, weighing seven dirhams, of the colour of the Fātimids, namely white, for the elaborate winding of which (*ḥadd al-tādj al-ḥanīf*) a special official (the *ḥadd*, later called *ḥafḍ*) was appointed (cf. Inostrancev, *The ceremonial procession of the Fātimid Caliphs*, in Russian, St. Petersburg 1905, p. 64; Ibn al-Sairatī, *Ḥawāṣ al-Diwan al-Rasūlī*, ed. Bahgat, p. 271). — The Hafṣid Sulṭān too wore a *tādj* on his *ma'ādhib* (cf. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Mawāliḥ al-Adīb*, extract: *Waṣf Ifrīḥya wa 'l-Andalus*, ed. Hasan

Hasani 'Abd. al-Wahhāb, Tunis [ca. 1922], p. 23, No. 2).

Among the robes of honour which the Caliph or the Sultān used to send to governors, ambassadors etc. there was usually a *tadj*, as is often expressly mentioned. Thus according to Kalkashandī, viii. 375 *sq.* on his accession the Caliph presents a gilt crown (*tadj murraqq*); cf. also Wüstenfeld, *Statthalter*, iii. 38. A similar *tadj* seems also to appear as an emblem on the arms of emirs of the Mamlūk period.

The name *tadj* was also given to the headdress of the Ottoman sultāns. Even 'Othmān I is said to have worn a *tadj-i Khurāsānī* (d'Ohsen, ii. 135). We know exactly the kind of headdress worn by the conqueror of Constantinople from the pictures by Bellini. He wears a large turban, and the *tadj*; the inner cap of this turban is in the shape of a truncated cone, is usually red and rippled (? stitched). Round this is wound the turban proper (*parīš*) of thin cloth. The form of the turban of the Fatih found on his pictures is also shown on the medals. When we find on the reverse of a medal three regular crowns, which are believed to represent the three kingdoms of Asia, Greece and Trebizond united under Ottoman rule, the explanation probably is simply that the medal was designed and executed by a European artist (cf. G. F. Hill, in *Namismatic Chronicle*, 1926, p. 287—298 and Pl. xiv.). Karabacek has dealt fully with the *tadj* of the Ottoman Sultāns. According to him the Perso-Turkish *tadj* corresponds to the *farfur* of Arabic-speaking lands, a rather high cap which is found represented as early as a papyrus of the viii century A.D. and assumed many varying forms in the course of time. In remarkable agreement with these forms are the headdresses (*hen[n]in*) of the xvth—xvth centuries of ladies in France and Spain, which according to Karabacek came direct from the east (the name: Arabic *hanīn* as well as the thing itself). Particular forms of this headdress have survived on women to the present day e.g. among the Druses of the Lebanon and in Algeria and Tunis. In modern Egypt there has developed from this the *hurs* as a woman's headdress. This is a plate-like ornament of gold and gems, which is sewn on the crown of a rather high cap and is sometimes of considerable weight. This *hurs* is put on the top (*shāhid*) of the hier of dead women, as is done with the turban in the case of men (cf. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, Appendix A; Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 218, 234). The use of a special crown for brides, which is found all over the world, is also sometimes found in the Muslim world (Lane, *The Thousand and One Nights*, i. 424; Lagarde, *Arabi mirat*, *Nachrichten* Göttingen, 1891, p. 160 *sq.* and the title of the well-known *Tadj al-'Arūs*; cf. for Eastern Turkestan: Brockelmann, in *Asia Major*, ii. 122).

The *tadj* has been given a special religious significance as a headdress among the dervishes. The assumption of the *tadj* is an essential part of the *shād* [q. v.]. The different dervish orders have each their *tadj* of distinct form and colour, frequently with 12 seams (*terk*) from the number of the Imāms, or with 9, 7 etc., and there are numerous names and symbolical interpretations associated with them (see Ahmad Rif'at, *Mir'at al-*

Maḥḥid, Stambul 1293, p. 212—215; Brown, *The Dervishes*, p. 148 *sq.*; pictures in d'Ohsen, ii. 292; there is also a large coloured table of the 14 most important dervish orders with pictures of their *tadj* and accounts of the *shād* of their founders, printed in the Stambul press of Mahmūd Bey, publ. by the *Sana'i-i nefis Resid-Khān* of Ziya Bey, dated 15th Shabān 1314. In Persia under Shaikh Haidar (q. v.); whence *Tadj-i Haidari*) and Shāh Ismā'il [q. v.] we find the Sult *tadj* as a kind of official headdress for the king, the court, the army and the officials, granted with a special ceremonial, but it probably existed before them (see Karabacek, *op. cit.*, p. 87; Babinger, *Islam*, xi. 84, on the *Kilidhah*).

We find *tadj* used in many ways with a metaphorical application. Names of honour (*alḥād*) combined with *tadj* are very common in later times and were probably most popular in the Mamlūk period. At first they were content with simple epithets like *Tadj al-Dīn* for soldiers (Kalkashandī, v. 488) or *Tadj al-Dawla* for Christian secretaries (Kalkashandī, v. 487); then we get double epithets like *'Aḥd al-Dawla wa Tadj al-Milla* (v. 492), *Tadj al-'Ulamā' wa 'l-Hukkam* for *ḥāfīs* (vi. 41 *sq.*) and many others. For infidel kings forms of address like *Bakīyat Abnā al-Tuḥḥāt wa 'l-Tajjān* (vi. 85), *Mukhawwil al-Tuḥḥāt wa 'l-Tajjān* (vi. 175), *Wārith al-'Asīra wa 'l-Tajjān* (vi. 177) were used. Perhaps the custom of which there are countless examples of giving books titles in the form of *Tadj* with a genitive is connected with this.

In astronomy *Tadj-i Sa'dān* = Saturn; *Tadj al-Djāhār* a star near Orion. *Tadj 'Amūd* is the capital of a column (see Sarre-Hersfeld, *Archaeol. Reise*, ii. 185); *tadj* is also the name given to the comb of a cock and similar birds. *Tadj* is also the Arabic name of the Tagus. — A famous palace of the Caliph was called *Kaḥr al-Tadj*. It was built under the caliphs Mu'tadid and Muktafi out of the ruins of a palace in Madā'in, one of the seven wonders of the world, burned down in 549 after being struck by lightning, rebuilt but not finished, and completely destroyed in 574 (Yāqūt, i. 806—809, transl. Z. D. M. G., xviii. 403—406; Sacy, *Chrestomathie*, i. 74; v. Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte*, ii. 54; Sarre-Hersfeld, i. 92; ii. 63, 148). Among the pleasure houses (*Manāzīr*) of the caliphs in Cairo there was one called *Manḥarat al-Tadj*, built by Badr al-Djāmālī (q. v.), which was in ruins by the time of Makrīzī (Makrīzī, i. 481; ii. 129; Yāqūt, suppl. v. 15; Sacy, *Chrestomathie*, i. 224 and 228).

Bibliography: In addition to the particular works mentioned in the text cf. in general: Dory, *Dictionnaire des vêtements*, s. v. *Tadj*; Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, s. v. *Crown*; Karabacek, *Abendländische Künstler in Konstantinopel im 15. u. 16. Jahrhundert*, i. *Italienische Künstler am Hofe Muhammeds II. des Eroberers 1451—1481*, *Dankschreiben d. k. Akad. d. Wiss.* Wien, lxii, vol. i, 1918. (W. BJÖRKMAN)

TADJ MAHALL, the beautiful mausoleum erected at Āgra by the emperor Shāh Djāhān [q. v.] for his dearly loved wife, Adjumand Bānū Begum, of whose title, Mumtāz Mahall, the name is a corruption. She was the daughter of Āṣaf Khān, brother of the famous Nūr Djāhān [q. v.], and was married to Shāh Djāhān on May 10, 1612, at the age of nineteen. She bore him

fourteen children, and died in June, 1631, at Burhānpūr, after giving birth to a daughter. She was buried temporarily at Zalmābād, a suburb of Burhānpūr, but her husband, who mourned her deeply, resolved to commemorate their love by a tomb worthy of it, and her body was removed to Agra, and again temporarily buried on a site which he acquired from Rājā Dajai Singh, and on which the Tadj was erected. The structure, with its subsidiary buildings was not completed for twenty-two years, during which period 20,000 workmen were continuously employed on it. A council of the best architects in the empire was held, and designs were submitted, that finally chosen being the work of Ustād Tāi, a native either of Turkey or of Shirāz. The tradition that the architect was the Venetian, Gerontino Veroneo, based on a statement made by the Italian Augustinian Friar, Father Manrique, finds no corroboration either in native annals or in the writings of the travellers Tavernier, Bernier, and Thévenot, who regarded the building as a purely Oriental work. It is, moreover, improbable. The tomb, of white marble from Djodhpūr, stands on a raised plinth, also faced with white marble, 18 feet high and 343 feet square. At each corner of this stands a beautifully proportioned minaret, 133 feet high, girt with three galleries and finished with an open, domed *latri*. In the centre of this platform stands the mausoleum, "a square of 186 feet with the corners cut off to the extent of 33 feet 9 inches, the façade rising 92 feet 3 inches from the platform. The centre of this is occupied by the principal dome, 58 feet in diameter, and rising 74 feet above the roof, or 191 from the platform". In each face of the building is a high arched porch, and in each a small domical apartment of two stories in height. Each is surmounted by a domed *latri*, and each has, in its three outer faces, six arched recesses, arranged in two stories and admitting light to latticed windows. These recesses, and the great porches, are vaulted. Beneath the dome, in the centre, is the cenotaph of Mumtāz Mahāl, and beside it that of her husband, both adorned with inscriptions. Immediately beneath these, in the crypt, which is on the ground level, are the true tombs, less ornamented than the cenotaphs. The cenotaphs are enclosed by a screen of trellis-work of white marble, "a chef d'oeuvre of elegance in Indian art". The porches are framed in ornamental inscriptions in the Arabic character, and the beauty of the whole is enhanced by copious and graceful ornamentation in *pietra dura*, all the spandrels, angles, and important architectural details, being inlaid with precious stones, agates, jaspers, bloodstones, cornelians, and the like, combined in wreaths, scrolls, and frets, as exquisite in design as beautiful in colour. Light is admitted only "through double screens of white marble trellis work of the most exquisite design, one on the outer, and the other on the inner face of the walls". Beyond the mausoleum and its platform are the two wings, one of which is a beautiful mosque. "This group of buildings forms one side of a garden court, 880 feet square; and beyond this again is an outer court, of the same width, but only half the depth". Pedants in art have endeavoured to judge the Tadj by the canons of Greek and Gothic architecture, but such comparisons are merely impertinent. As Fergusson truly says "the combination of so many beauties, and the perfect manner in which each is subor-

dated to the other make up a whole which the world cannot match".

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TADJ AL-DAWLA [See TUTUH.]

TADJ AL-DIN [See AL-SUBRI.]

TADJ AL-MULUK [See BUKI.]

TADJIK, older form **TARİK** or **TARİK** (in Mahmūd Kāshghari, i, 324: **TELIK**), the name of a people originally used with the meaning "Arab" (later this meaning became confined to the form **Tāzi**), afterwards "Iranian" in contrast to "Turk". The word is derived from the Arab tribal name of **Tāyi**. The nearest Arab tribe to the Iranians was the **Tāyi**, hence the name of this tribe came to be applied to the whole Arab people. The **Tāyi** are "mentioned as early as the beginning of the third century by an Edessene along with the Saracens as representatives of all the Beduins" (Caretton, *Spicil. Syr.*, p. 16 ult. in Noldeke, *Z. D. M. G.*, lxx., 713). The corresponding word with the meaning "Arab" is in Pahlavi **Tālik**, in Armenian **Tālik** (cf. *Grundr. d. iran. Phil.* i, 2, 187), in Chinese **Tashi**. The Muslim conquerors seem to have been known by the same name to the Iranian population of Central Asia; as, in the view then prevailing, an Iranian convert to Islām became an Arab (cf. Tabari ii., 1508, 15), the word reached the Turks with the meaning "Muhammadan, a man from the land of Islām"; as the majority of the Muslims known to the Turks were Iranians, the word "Tadjik" came to mean Iranian in Turki. Mahmūd Kāshghari (op. cit.) explains the word "Tazik" as "Persian" (*al-Fārisi*); in the contemporary *Kutadghu Bilik* (esp. 8, 1) the "Tadjik" are distinguished from the Arabs as Persians (cf. Radloff, *Vorw. eines Wörterbuchs der Türk-Dialecte*, iii., 1096). The Iranians themselves even at this date already called themselves "Tārik" in contrast to their Turkish rulers; cf. e.g. Balhakt, ed. Morley, p. 746 at the top. The difference between Turk and Tadjik is frequently emphasised; it was asserted that relations between a Turk and a Tadjik always ended badly and that a Tadjik could never rely on a Turk (Zahir al-Din Mar'ashi, ed. Dorn, p. 248 and 253 199). On the relation of the word Tadjik to the word "Sart" cf. the article **SART**. In the use of the two words the importance of the Iranians as a race of traders is apparent. The word "Sart" is first found in Turki as a noun meaning "merchant" and later became the ethnic of the Iranians who were principally regarded as a race of traders; *vice versa*, the name Tadjik (**TELIK**) later, at least among the Tatars on the Volga, came to be used as a word meaning "merchant". According to one of the original sources for the conquest of Kazan by the Russians in 1552 (Prince Kurbskiy's account) the citadel of Kazan was surrounded by the "ditch of the **TELIK**" ("tezikiy" or "tezhickiy" *rev*) and the word **TELIK** is explained as "merchant" (cf. Karamzin, *Ist. gos. Rossi.*, VIII, 110; P. Zarinskiy, *Otkr. drevnyy Kazani*, 1877, p. 8).

At the present day the name Tadjik is sometimes

given to the Eastern Iranians in contrast to the Persians proper; the strip between Astarabad [q.v.] and Yazd is said to be the western limit of the dwellings of the Tadjik. In Turkestan the Tadjik, especially under Özbek rule have been gradually driven from the plains into the mountains. The Russians include under the name "Tadjik" all the Iranian peoples in Turkestan, both the Tadjik proper, i.e. the people who speak "Tadjiki" and the highlanders on the Pandj (cf. AMU-DARYA) and the upper Zarafshan, who occupy a special linguistic position. In keeping with the use of the name, the autonomous republic of Tadzhikistan was founded in 1924 with its capital Dushanbe (on the upper Kafir-Nihan). According to a census of the same year, the number of Tadjik was 571,532. The people themselves use Tadjik in different ways. The inhabitants of several mountainous districts like Shughnān and Roshan call themselves Tadjik while they describe their Tadjik-speaking neighbours in Darwāz as "Persian-speaking" (*fārsi gūy*); in contrast to this, the people of the upper Zarafshan, who speak a Persian dialect, apply the name Tadjik to themselves and call the people on the river Yaghnob, who speak a peculiar dialect "Galtā"; the latter people seem also to distinguish their "Yaghnobi" from the language of the Tadjik.

The old derivation (still given in *Grundr.* ii, 403) of the ethnic Tadjik from the head-dress *tādī* may be absolutely rejected on both linguistic and historical grounds.

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TADJIKI, the language of the Tadjik [q.v.]. As a literary language Tadjiki seems to be "more or less remote from modern Persian according to the degree of education of the person writing or speaking it". In this sense (aiming at the elegance of the "Persian literary" but without "denying a dialectal colouring"), the Tadjiki was the official and business language under the rule of the Özbeks of Bukhārā [q.v.] and remained so after the revolution of 1920; since 1924 however Tadjiki has been limited to the area of the new autonomous republic of Tadzhikistan founded in that year. As a spoken language Tadjiki has lost a portion of its area to Turkish in the last few centuries; on the other hand in the mountains it has extended its territory at the expense of other dialects (like the Yaghnobi). On the linguistic position and peculiarities of Tadjiki cf. *Grundr.* d. ir. Phil., i/ii, 407 sq., and the observations thereon by A. Freiman on M. Andreyev in *Tadjikistan*, Tashkent 1925, p. 162. (W. BARTHOLD)

TADJIKS or **DJIKS** (A.), paronomasia, play upon words, is a figure of rhetoric (*śloka*) which consists in using in the same phrase two words of a similar or almost similar sound but of different meanings, e.g. *amantes sunt amantes*.

I. 1. The Tadjiks is complete (*tamm*) when the two words resemble one another in kind, number, vocalisation (or form) and in the order of the consonants.

a. If the two words are of the same kind (e.g. two substantives, two verbs or two particles), it is called identical (*munāṣṭih*), e.g. "The day and the hour (*al-sā'a*) will dawn, the guilty will swear that they have only been an hour (*sā'a*) in their graves" (*Sūra* xxx. 54, 55).

b. If the two words are of different kinds (e.g. a noun and a verb, a noun and a particle, a verb and a particle), it is called "sufficient" or "imperfect" (*mustawfi*), e.g. *man wāta min ḥadāthi 'Isamūni fa-innahu — yaḥyā lādā Yaḥyā b. 'Abdallāh*, "he who dies of the sudden changes of fate, lives (*yaḥyā*) with Yaḥyā b. 'Abdallāh, for he is generous and will revive the name of generosity" (*Abū Tammām, Diwān*, Bahrūt 1905, p. 341).

2. If one of the two words is a compound and the other simple, it is called a compound paronomasia (*ḡinās al-tarkīb*):

a. If the two words, the simple and the compound, are similar in writing, it is called "resembling" (*mutashābih*) on account of the resemblance or conformity of the two words in writing: e.g. *idhā malikun lam yakhun dhā hida — fa-idhā fa-dawlatuhu dhā hida*, "when a king is not generous (*dhā hida*), leave him, for his kingdom — power — will not be long in disappearing" (*dhā hida*) (*Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Bustī*).

b. If there is no conformity in writing between the two words, it is called separated, divided, cut (*mafrūḡ*), e.g. *kullukum ḥad akḥadha't ḡāma wa-lā ḡāma lahu — ma'lladhi farra mudir al-ḡāmi law ḡāmalanā*: "You have all taken the cap and we have no cap (*wa-lā ḡāma lahu*): what would have harmed him who made the cap circulate if he had been kind to us" (*law ḡāmalanā*) (*Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Bustī*).

II. 1. If the two words are not similar in form or even vocalisation, it is called "transposed" (*muḥarraf*) on account of the transposition found in one compared with the other (*inḡirāf*); e.g. *ḥard* and *ḥard*, in *ḡubbat al-ḥard*, *ḡunnat al-ḥard*, "a cloak of striped material (*ḥard*) is a cuirass against cold" (*ḥard*); *mufrīt* and *muḥarraf* in *al-ḡāhil innā mufrīt aw muḥarraf*, "the ignorant man either goes beyond the limits (*mufrīt*) or remains far below them" (*muḥarraf*) (one may note that in this example no notice is taken of the *taḡhād*); *al-bid'a ḡharak al-ḡirak*, "innovation is the lace (*ḡharak*) of polytheism" (*ḡirak*).

2. If the two words do not agree in the number of consonants so that one has one or more consonants more than the other, it is called "imperfect" (*naḡḡi*):

a. Either the extra consonant is at the beginning of the word: e.g. *wa l-taḡḡat l-sūba bi l-sūfi ilā rabbika yamwā'idhā l-mawāḡ*, "when one leg (*al-sūfi*) shall be twisted over the other (*bi l-sūfi*)" (on account of the terror which will seize man on the approach of the last judgment), it is to thy Lord that the driving (*al-mawāḡ*) of men shall take place on that day" (*Sūra* lxxv. 29); or it may be

b. in the centre as in *ḡaddi ḡahdī*, "my fortune (*ḡaddi*) depends on my efforts" (*ḡahdī*);

c. or it may be at the end as in the verse of *Abū Tammām (Diwān, p. 42)*: *yamuddūna min aidin 'awāḡin 'awāḡimin, taḡḡū bi-ayyāḡin ḡawāḡin ḡawāḡidin* "they stretch out their hands, strong as rods (*'awāḡin*) and protecting (*'awāḡimin*); they attack with their swords which deal death (*ḡawāḡin*) and which are cutting (*ḡawāḡidin*) (they stretch out

hands which strike their enemies, defend their followers, attack their adversaries with swords which deal death and which cut". Sometimes this last variety is called *mujarraf*, "rhymed".

d. or the addition is more than one consonant as in this verse of al-Khansā' (*Dirwān*, ed. Beyrouth, 1896, p. 25): *inna 'l-bukū'a kuma 'l-ḥifā'a min al-ḥawā' bainas 'l-ḥawā'niḥ*, "tears are the cure of the fire (al-ḥawā') which is in my loins" (al-ḥawā'niḥ). This variety is sometimes called *mudḥaiyal* (prolonged).

3. If the two words do not agree in the nature of the consonants, it is necessary that they do not differ in more than one consonant:

A. If the two different consonants are of pronunciations adjacent to one another, the *djins* is called *mufārī'* (similar) and comprises three varieties:

a. The different consonant is at the beginning of the words: e.g. *baini wa-baini kinni laḥm dūmīn wa-fariḥu fāmīn*, "between the place where I am and my dwelling there is a dark night (dūmīn) and an obliterated path (fāmīn)" (Hartiri, ed. de Sacy, *Science*, xvi., p. 185).

b. It is in the middle: e.g. *wa-kum yaahawna 'anhu wa-yaahawna 'anhu*, "they forbid it to them and (themselves) avoid it" (Sūra vi. 26).

c. It is at the end; e.g. *al-ḥailu ma'ḥūdu fi nawāḥiḥa 'l-ḥairu*, "good fortune (al-ḥair) is associated with the forelocks of horses (al-ḥail)" (a ḥadīth quoted by Bukhārī, Muslim, Tirmidhī, Nasā'i, Ibn Maḥja).

B. If the two consonants have no analogy in pronunciation, it is called *ṭāḥiḥ* (approximate) and is of three kinds:

a. The different consonant is at the beginning e.g. *waḥḥu li-kullī ḥumazātū lumaḥātū*, "curses on each detractor and defamer" (Sūra civ. 1).

b. It is in the middle: e.g. *lattu 'an tharwatī balaghū madāḥ — ḥairu annī 'mra' wa-ḥafāni ḥafāfi*, "it is not by good fortune that I have attained my end, but that I am a man: what is sufficient for me to live (ḥafāfi) is sufficient for me (ḥafāni)" (Buhārī, *Dirwān*, Cairo 1320 [1911], ii. 108).

c. It is at the end: e.g. *wa-ighā ḍi'ahum amru min al-amni awi 'l-ḥawā'*, "when news (amr) inspiring confidence (amni) or fear arrives for them" (Sūra iv. 85).

4. If the two words do not agree in the order of the consonants, it is called *taḍjīn al-ḥalā* ("palindrome" or "inversion"); e.g. *ḥusūnuhu faḥḥu li-awliyā'ihī ḥafḥu li-a'dū'ihī*, "his sword is victory (faḥḥ) for his friends and death (ḥafḥ) to his enemies".

a. It is called "complete inversion" (*ḥalā kull*) when the order of all the consonants is inverted: e.g. *allāḥumma 'ṣur 'awratinā wa-āmin ra'atīnā*, "O God, conceal our faults ('awratīnā) and assuage our fears (ra'atīnā)".

b. It is called "partial inversion" (*ḥalā ba'ḍ*) when inversion only takes place with respect to some of the consonants. And in this case, if one of the two words in this variety is at the beginning of a line and the second at the end of a line, it is called "winged inversion" (*maḥḥūḥ mudḥannāḥ*): e.g. *ṣāḥa awāḥu 'l-ḥudā min — ḥaffīḥi fi kullī ḥālī*, "the lights of the good path shone (ḥaffīḥ) from his hand in every circumstance (ḥālī)".

III. When one of the two similar words follows the other, it is called, *musdawwiḍ*, *muraddad*,

muharrar (joined, repeated); e.g. *ḍi'ṭuḥa min Saḥa' li-maḥa*, "I have brought news (maḥa) from Saḥa'" (Sūra xxvii. 22).

IV. *Djins* is conditional on two things:

1. The two words must be derived from the same root; e.g. *fa-ḥḥu waḥḥa li-l-dīni 'l-ḥayyīni*, "raise thy face towards the immutable religion" (Sūra xxx. 42), in which the words *ḥḥu* and *ḥayyīni* are derived from *ḥḥu*, *yaḥḥu*.

2. There is an "appearance of derivation" (*ṭāḥiḥ* (ṭāḥiḥ)) between the two words, i.e. the two words which resemble one another, belong to different roots: e.g. *Ḥāḥa inni li-'amalikhū min al-ḥāḥa*, "he says: I am for your action among the reprovers" (Sūra xxvi. 168) where *ḥāḥa* and *ḥāḥa* do not belong to the same root.

Abu 'l-Faḥḥ al-Buḥārī composed *al-Taḍjīn al-anis al-badī' al-ṭāḥiḥ*, which is a collection of maxims or sentences containing words similar or almost similar but having a different meaning; extracts from it are given in *Tashkīr al-Mifḥāḥ al-Sa'ād*, ii. 229.

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(MOH. BEN CHENEB)

TADJWID (أ) is the art of reciting the Qur'ān, giving each consonant its full value, as much as it requires to be well pronounced without difficulty or exaggeration: strength, weakness, tonality, softness, emphasis, simplicity (*tarfih*). There are three kinds of *tadjwid*: 1. *tarfih*, slow recitation; 2. *hadr*, rapid recitation; 3. *hadwir*, medium recitation. — *Tadjwid*, "the adornment of recitation", has for its object to prevent the tongue making any mistake in the recitation of the divine words. Besides the study of the articulation of consonants it deals with the knowledge of the laws which regulate the pause, the *imāla* or inclination of the vowel *ā* to the sound *i* and contraction. The consonants fall into two groups:

1. *Mustafīḥa* "elevated" so called because in pronouncing them, the tongue is raised to the palate. These are ط, ظ, ص, ض, and غ. They are all emphatic and ص, ض, more so than the others.

2. *mustafliḥa* "depressed", so called because the tongue is below the palate when they are pronounced. They are called simple; i.e. they are not emphatic, except *rā'* and *lām* in the following cases: *rā'* is emphatic when it is vocalised with a *damma* or a *fatha*. The *rā'* is not emphasised if it is vocalised with an original or accidental *keṣra*, if it is quiescent and preceded by an original *keṣra*, and lastly if the *rā'* and the *keṣra* belong to the same word, provided the *rā'* is not followed by an elevated consonant. *Lām* is only emphatic

in اللّيم and اللّيم when they are only preceded by a consonant modified by a *fatha* or a *damma*: *ḥāla* 'ilāh, *ḥāla* 'ilāhumma, *yaḥūlu* 'ilāh, *yaḥūlu* 'ilāhumma. At the end of a word the *nūn* and *tanwīn* retain their natural pronunciation when they are followed by one of the six guttural letters ط, ظ, ص, ض, غ, ح. The quiescent *nūn* and *tanwīn* are assimilated to the letter which follows them if the latter is ن, م, ر, ي. The assimilation takes place with nasalisation except for the ر.

When the word that they affect ends in another consonant the *nūn* and *tanwīn* have not their natural pronunciation; they are assimilated but not completely. It is the same with the quiescent *mīm* which is contracted with the *mīm* which follows it. It is modified when it is followed by a vocalised *ḥā'*. In other cases it retains its ordinary pronunciation.

There are two kinds of contractions:

1. Great, when the consonants are both vocalised like ما سلّم (Sūra lxxiv. 43) to be pronounced ما سلّم.

2. Little, when the first of the consonants is quiescent and the second vocalised.

It should also not be forgotten that the *lām* of the article is only assimilated if the consonant following is solar; the sound should be prolonged when the word contains an *alif*, a *wāw* or a *yā'* preceded by a vowel of the same nature. If the *wāw* or *yā'* are preceded by a *fatha* they become softening letters. The *hamza* may be retained or suppressed; in the latter case, its vowel is carried back to the preceding quiescent consonant. If the *hamza* is quiescent, not by apocope, it may be changed into a letter of prolongation of the same nature

as its support. The pronunciation of *hamza* is incompletely softened when it is not preceded by a vocalised and non-quiescent *hamza*; the vowel of the second *hamza* then resembles a *subhā*, a *wāw* when the *hamza* is preceded by a *damma* أوتبتكم, a *yā'* when it is preceded by a *keṣra* أئدا, an *alif* when it is preceded by a *fatha* أالت. The second *hamza* "falls" when the two *hamzas* are affected by the same vowel and belong to two words أَجَلَكُم which follow them.

The verses of the Qur'ān, although separated by a sign, are not to be recited with a stop at the end of each of them. The pause is only to be made if the cease of the verse or verses is complete and forms a homogeneous whole. As a rule in good copies of the Qur'ān, the places where the pause is not allowed are indicated by an لا (= no pause). If a pause is made after words like مِمَّ، مِمَّ، مِمَّ، a quiescent *mīm* should be added (called silent *mīm*). Some readers restore the suppressed final *ī* in the middle of the discourse like وَاقٍ عَادٍ etc.; other drop the *subhā* and its vowel and say وَاقٍ عَادٍ etc.. When a word ends in a *hamza* preceded by a *yā'* or a *wāw*, the *hamza* is assimilated to the letter which precedes and one says يَرَى for يَرَى, especially

after *hamza*. The *lām* of the accusative is changed to *alif*. The final *ī* of feminine singular nouns is changed to quiescent *ī*. A vocalised final consonant loses its vowel; this vowel is sometimes only weakened (by *rawm*) or rather it is pronounced like a final French *e* (*iḥmām*). However this last method of pronunciation is not allowed in words ending in *keṣra*; some even say that *rawm* and *iḥmām* only affect *damma*.

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(MOH. BEN CHENEB)

TADLĀ (or TADILĀ), the *Telle* of Leo Africanus, a district of Morocco comprising the plateaus which stretch to the west of the high valley of

the Wādī Umm al-Rabī', as well as the western slopes of the Central Atlas, from Wādī 'l-'Aīd to the sources of the Molaya. The classical ethnic Tādīt is no longer used except for the *Sharfa* of the district; the popular ethnic is Tādīawī.

The region of the plateaus is occupied by six semi-nomad tribes of Arab origin: Urdigha, Bni Khirān, Bni Zemmūr, Smā'ia, Bni 'Amer, Bni Mūsā, whose centres are Wād Zem, Bajad (= Bejdja'd for the classical Abu 'l-Djā'd) and Dār Uld Ziddū.

In the central region of the high valley of the Umm al-Rabī' (the old Wādī Wansafan) is settled the group known as Āit Rbō', made up of tribes almost entirely sedentary and of mixed Arab and Berber origin. These are the Gīāya, the Semget, the Bni Ma'dān and Bni Mellāl. The two principal centres are Kaṣba Tādīā and the *ḥaṣba* of the Bni Mellāl.

On the western slopes of the Central Atlas we have from north to south the following Berber tribes: Āit Sī, Āit 'Aṭṭā, Āit Bū-rid, Āit 'Aiyā and Āit 'Atīāh.

The Berber peoples of the mountains belong to the Zanāga group (= Ṣanhādja). In the plains there were at first Zanāta, Berbers who led a nomadic life between Meknās and the Umm al-Rabī' and the Lawāta (Zanāra). The earliest Arab tribes here were the Djuṣham (B. Djabir, Zīrāra) then the Khulj; it was the Sa'dians who introduced tribes of the Ma'kil group.

At a remote period, Tādīā seems to have been inhabited by people more or less professing Christianity or Judaism. When Idrīs II conquered it in 172 (789), he found — according to the author of the *Rawḍat al-Kirfāz* — very few Muslims, but many Christians and Jews. Leo Africanus who was in Tādīā at the beginning of the xvth century mentions the large Jewish colonies there; at Tāfīa, the capital of the country in his time, there were about 200 houses of Jews, all merchants and rich artisans. At the present day there are still many Jews at Bajad and in the *ḥaṣba* of the Bni Mellāl. This last place corresponds to old Madīnat Udsī, an Arabic-Berber name which seems to mean 'town of the Jews'. Tādīā was one of the provinces which the sons of Idrīs II divided among themselves. According to the author of the *Rawḍat al-Kirfāz*, it went to Aḥmad, but al-Bakrī says that Dāi, the capital of the region, belonged to Yahyā.

In time Tādīā became incorporated in the empire of the Banū Yafran of Shālla [q.v.] (xth—xith centuries). In 449 (1057—1058) the Almoravids having taken Aghmāt, the Maghrāwīd Lagḡāy b. Yūsuf, who reigned there, managed to escape and took refuge with the Banū Yafran of Tādīā; 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf, leader of the Almoravids, followed him there and conquered the province. A local legend says that the town of Dāi was destroyed by the Almoravid Sulṭān Yūsuf b. Tāshfin, who built Tāgrāret to replace it, the ruins of which may still be seen in the immediate vicinity. This incident, which does not seem to be recorded in history, may perhaps be located in the period of Yūsuf b. Tāshfin's war on the fortresses of Fasās, a region adjoining Tādīā on the north.

In 526 (1131—1132) the Almohad Sulṭān 'Abd al-Mu'min seized Tādīā and henceforth the province lying halfway between Fās and Marrākeṣh on the

direct road between them, became the battleground of the rival dynasties. Its history is that of these struggles and of the constant risings of the Arab or Berber tribes who live in it.

In 660 (1261—1262), the Marinid chief Ya'qub b. 'Abd al-Hakk having come to attack Marrākeṣh, the Almohad Sulṭān al-Murtadā sent his cousin Abū Dabbās against him. The Marinid troops drawn up on the Umm al-Rabī' were defeated at the place called Umm al-Rajilāin, which perhaps corresponds to the ford now called Umm al-Rajilā.

In 666 (1267—1268), the Marinid Sulṭān Ya'qub invaded and laid waste Tādīā; having raided the Khulj, an Arab tribe of Djuṣham stock, allies of the Almohads, the latter came to their assistance but were defeated as they were deserted in the course of the battle by their Arab allies, the Banū Djabir. In 761 (1359—1360), the *Wazīr* al-Ḥasan b. 'Umar, governor of Marrākeṣh for the Marinid Sulṭān Sālim Ibrāhīm, rebelled against his master and sought refuge in Tādīā, where he was welcomed by the Banū Djabir; but, when hard pressed by the Marinid troops, he had to flee to the Zanāga of the mountains who finally handed him over to his pursuers.

On the coming of the Sa'dians, it was once more in Tādīā at the ford of Abū 'Akaba on the Wādī 'l-'Aīd, that was fought the decisive battle in which the Marinids were routed in Ṣafar 943 (July 1536). In the reign of al-Manṣūr, in the xvth century, Tādīā was governed by Zaidān, son of this Sulṭān. In the middle of the same century, Tādīā threw off the authority of the Sa'dians and became part of the principality of Zanāga Berbers of the *zāwiya* of Dīlā', and one of them, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥādjdī, defeated the Sa'dian Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Shaikh at the ford of Abū 'Akaba in 1050 (1640—1641). The sovereignty of the Dīlā' was exercised over this region until the 'Alawī Sulṭān al-Raṣhīd destroyed their *zāwiya* in 1079 (1668—1669). In 1084 (1673—1674), the 'Alawī Sulṭān Imāmīl defeated at Abū 'Akaba his nephew Aḥmad b. Muḥriz, who had rebelled against him.

In 1088 (1677—1678), Mawlay Ismā'il had to put down a serious rising of the Zanāga of Tādīā, who had rebelled at the instigation of a Dīlā', Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh. In 1099 (1687—1688), he had to make another expedition, which resulted in the building of *ḥaṣba*'s at Adakhān (near Khnifra), Tādīā and Dīlā'. At the division of the provinces of Morocco in 1111 (1699—1700), Tādīā fell to the son of Mawlay Ismā'il, Mawlay Aḥmad, who lived in the *ḥaṣba* built by his father and called Kaṣba Tādīā on the Umm al-Rabī'.

In 1142 (1729—1730), Sulṭān Mawlay 'Abd Allāh had to take the field once again in the Tādīā against the Āit Yemmūr who were routed. In 1179 (1765—1766), Sulṭān S. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh was forced to deport them for a time to the Djebel Selfāṭ near Fās. They were replaced provisionally by the Gīāya, Semget and Mejjāt, who were later sent back to the Gharb. In 1199 (1784—1785), the same ruler had to destroy the *Zāwiya* of Bajad and imprisoned its head, Muḥammad al-'Arabi al-Sharḳāwī. In 1222 (1807—1808), Sulṭān Mawlay Sulaimān sent a punitive expedition against the Bni Mūsā, the Āit 'Atīāh, the Rfāla and the Bni 'Aiyā. In 1224 (1809—1810), there was a

new expedition against the Berbers of Tādla (Āit Sū) and one against the Urdigha Arabs. It was Mawlay Salāmūn who built the mosque of Bujaḍ and the bridge over the Umm al-Rabi'.

In 1269 (1852—1853), Sulṭān 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hishām punished the Bni Mūsā who had slain their governor Ahmad b. Zidh. In 1289 (1872—1873), Sulṭān S. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān sent an expedition against the Arab tribes of Tādla and Bni Mūsā, who had rebelled against their governor (Sūfī'a, Bni Zemmūr, Bni 'Umair).

In 1295 (1878—1879), Sulṭān Mawlay al-Ḥasan to pacify the region had to raid the Bni 'Umair and Bni Mūsā. Next year he returned to punish the Āit 'Atiāb. It was at Tādla, on the Umm al-Rabi' that he died in 1311 (June 1894).

The great religious centre of the district is the *zawiya* of Bujaḍ founded in the xvth century among the Bni Zemmūr by Muḥammad al-Sharḥī. His descendants form the important Marabout group of the Sharḥāwa [q. v.].

Bibliography: Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Schefér, v.1, p. 289—310; Cap. Peyronnet, *Tadla*, in *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Alger*, 1922—1923; J. Clément, *Notice sur Ben Djad*, in *R.M.M.*, 1913, vol. 24, p. 277—289; E. F. Gantier, *Midnat-Ou-Dal*, in *Hispis*, vol. vi, (1926), p. 5—25. (G. S. COLIN)

TADMUR [See PALMYRA.]

TAFDIL is the *nomen actionis* of the second formation of *faḍala*, it "exceeded", or "was", or "became redundant", or "superfluous". In grammar it is applied to the comparison of adjectives. *Ism al-tafdil*, "the noun of the attribution of excess, or excellence", is the noun adjective in the comparative and superlative, or, as it is now usually called, the elative degree. This is also called *af'al al-tafdil* because it is regularly of the measure *af'al*.

Bibliography: The standard Arabic lexica; Wright-deGoeje, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Cambridge 1896—1898, i. 140—141; de Sacy, *Grammaire arabe*, Paris 1831. (T. W. HAIG)

AL-TAFF, the desert region that lies west of Kūfa along the alluvial plain of the Euphrates. It is higher than the low-lying ground by the river and forms the transition to the central Arabian plateau. According to the authorities quoted by Yāqūt (iii. 359), *al-taff* means an area raised above the surrounding country; the name is not found after the xiiith century. The district contains a number of springs, the waters of which run southwest (cf. Ibn al-Fakih, p. 187). The best known of these wells was al-Udhair. From its geographical position al-Taff was the scene of the first encounter between the Arabs and Persians (Tabari i. 2210, 2247; Ibn al-Athir, iii. 345, 351). The Sāsānian kings had stationed there feudal guardians of the frontier which was defended by forts (*maṣāḥib*) and a great ditch (*khandaq*) which began at Hit (Ibn Rosta, p. 107). On al-Taff lay al-Qādisiyya [q. v.] and also Karbala' famous as the scene of the death of al-Ḥusain (Yāqūt, *loc. cit.* and Bakrī, *Ma'ājam*, ii. 456). The latter is also referred to as *al-Maḥṣūl* *al-Taff* (cf. al-Mukhtār, Ibn al-Athir iv. 140; cf. also the poem quoted by Yāqūt, *loc. cit.* and Ibn al-Athir, iv. 267). In later centuries al-Taff is rarely mentioned (e.g. Ibn al-Athir, vii. 379 in connection with the Ḳarmanian troubles); and the majority of the Arab geographers make no mention of it. (J. H. KRAMERS)

TAFILALT, ethnic FILĀṬ, the name of a district in S.E. Morocco, formed by the broadening of the valley of the Wādī Ziz. It consists of an alluvial plain 12 miles long and 10 broad, over which are scattered 200 *ḥiṣār* (or fortified dwellings of clay) surrounded by gardens and cultivated fields. Where irrigation from wells is possible, the soil is wonderfully fertile. The chief product of Tafilalt is the palm-tree and the most developed industry is the preparation of goat-skins by the use of the bark of the mimosa which yields a tanning gall. Filali leather is famous and sought after throughout all north Africa. The population is dense, in the *ḥiṣār* of Tafilalt it was estimated in 1920 at 150—200,000. The historical capital of Tafilalt was Sidjilmāsa (q. v. for the political history of Tafilalt). Here we may simply state that the district was the cradle of the dynasty of the 'Alid Sharifs of Morocco, also called Filali Sharifs and still the ruling family. Many of these Sharifs after the accession of their family to the throne remained in or returned to settle in Tafilalt where they may be counted by thousands. A *ḥiṣār* of the Moroccan Sulṭān represents the authority of the *maḥṣūn* among them and in the valley of the Ziz. In addition to Sidjilmāsa of which only the ruins remain we may mention as small towns in Tafilalt the *ḥiṣār* of Bū'ām, the business centre of the district, and that of Tighmāst with defences built at the end of the xixth century by order of Sulṭān Mawlay al-Ḥasan.

Bibliography: cf. the article *SIDJILMĀSA*. A general description with a map will be found in P. Ricard, *Les Guides Bleus: Maroc*, Paris 1919, p. 285—288. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

TAFSIR (أ.), pl. *tafsīr*, explanation, commentary, verbal form: *faṣara* to explain. The name is applied to commentaries on scientific and philosophical works and is an alternative to *sharḥ*; it is regularly applied to the Greek and Arabic commentaries on Aristotle: the following are examples taken from Ibn al-Kifī's *History of Scholars*: Banas al-Rūmī wrote a *Tafsīr* on the *Almagest* and another on the tenth book of Euclid; Abu 'l-Wafā' al-Būrdjānī, the famous astronomer, wrote a *tafsīr* on the works of Diophantes and of al-Khwārizmī on Algebra; Muḥammad b. Zakariyā al-Rāzī, the famous physician, wrote a commentary on the commentary (*tafsīr al-tafsīr*) of Plutarch on the Timaeus of Plato. The Christian scholar Ḥunain b. Ishāq excelled in translations and *tafsīr*. The majority of the famous works of Greek science and some of Arab science have had commentaries made on them, translated into or written in Arabic.

In Islām the word *tafsīr* means particularly the commentaries on the *Qur'ān* and the science of interpreting the sacred book. This branch of learning entitled "Knowledge of *Qur'ān* and of the commentary" is a special and important branch of *Ḥadīth*; it is taught in the madrasas and the universities. There are in *Tafsīr* a few general works on the *Qur'ān* not written in the regular style; but the majority are continuous commentaries, in which the text of the sacred book is explained in regular order, phrase by phrase and sometimes even word by word. These commentaries are numerous: the most famous are those of Tabari, Zamakhshari and Baiḍawī.

Tabari (d. 310) is the great historian; his com-

mentary, a very extensive work, contains a large number of traditions handed down by authoritative chains of transmitters (*isnād*). Zamakhsharī (d. 538) is a very keen brain, a moralist of delicate sensibility and a philologist of consummate skill. His commentary (*al-Kaṣṣab*) is much valued and has in turn been commented upon by important theologians like Tafāzānī (d. 792) and Saiyid Sharif Dīrdjānī (d. 816). The commentary of al-Raiḍāwī (d. 685) is the most popular and is the one taught in the schools; it has fixed the beliefs of the pious Muslim as regards the interpretation of the sacred book and has been several times annotated. Among the other commentaries we may mention that of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606) which is called the great *Tafsīr* and that of Ismā'il Hakīmī of Brusa, an author much esteemed by the Turks (d. 1127). It is worth noting that the majority of these learned men belong to the Persian region.

The science of *tafsīr* is old and seems to date from the beginnings of Islam. Ibn 'Abbās for example (d. 68 A.H.) is said to have been an authority on the subject and a *tafsīr* is attributed to him (Hamidiya Library in Stambul). Recent criticism (Goldziher, Lammens etc.) has raised the question of the real value of the traditions contained in these enormous compilations. The answer so far has not been very favourable; the majority of the traditions seem to have been invented, either to settle a point of law or with some theological object or with a simple desire to explain or even merely as an amusement. There is, these critics say, no hope of finding much exact information in these commentaries about the circumstances under which the Qur'ān was composed and made public; they are nevertheless important for the minute study of Muslim law and theology as well as for the legends and philology. In our own day a learned Egyptian Shaikh Tanjawi has sought to rejuvenate the study of *tafsīr*; he is publishing a commentary into which he introduces many ideas borrowed from philosophy and modern science (cf. also TA'WIL).

Bibliography: The Catalogues of Arabic Books and Manuscripts under *tafsīr*: Goldziher, *Mohammedanische Studien*, Halle 1890, II, 206; do., *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koran-auslegung*, Leyden 1920, index; Carra de Vaux, *Les Peintures de l'Islam*, vol. III, Paris 1923, chap. XI.

TĀFTA (p. 'twisted'), a kind of silk, taffeta. Clavijo, ambassador of Henry III of Castile, found in the markets of Tabriz, of Sulṭāniya and of Samarkand, *taftanes* woven in the country itself. This material spread more and more in the West towards the end of the Middle Ages.

Bibliography: M. Devic, *Dict. des mots français d'origine orientale*, p. 214; Clavijo, *Narrative*, p. 109, 114, 190; W. Heyd, *Hist. du commerce du Levant*, French ed. by Raynaud, Leipzig 1886, Index. (CL. HUART)

AL-TAFĀZĀNĪ (SA'D AL-DĪN MAS'UD B. 'UMAR), a celebrated authority on rhetoric, logic, metaphysics, theology, law and other subjects and the author of several text-books used to this day in the *madrasas* of the East, was born in Šafar 722 (Feb.-March 1322) at Tafāzān, a large village near Naš in Khurāsān. He is said to have been a pupil of 'Aḡud al-Dīn al-Idrī (see above, II, 447 and Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, II, 208) and of Kutb al-Dīn al-Rāzī al-Tafāzānī presumably,

see Brockelmann, II, 209]. Lists of his chief works, giving, with variations, their dates and places of composition, are extant (*Mudjal-i Faṣṣḥ* under the year 787; *Rumāt al-Djannāt*, p. 309 (considerable variations in the dates); *al-Fawā'id al-bakiya*, p. 137; Ahlwardt, Berlin Catalogue, No. 1959), and provide some information concerning his migrations. His earliest work, the *Sharḥ al-Tafsīr al-faṣṣḥ*, was written by him at the age of sixteen, it is said, in Šahān 738 (1338) at Faryūd. The *Muparrat*, the *Mukhtasar al-Ma'āni* and the *Tahṭih* were completed in 748, 756 and 758 at Harāt; Ghudjuwān and Gulistan. According to Ibn 'Arabshāh al-Tafāzānī, like Kutb al-Dīn al-Rāzī, was one of the scholars attracted to the court of the Mongols of Western Kipčak, and the *Mukhtasar al-Ma'āni*, completed at Ghudjuwān in 756, is in fact dedicated to Maḥmūd Dīlī Beg. Khwāndamīr's statement that he settled at Khwāzizm is borne out by the fact that works completed by him in 768, 770 and 778 are said to have been written there. Khwāndamīr tells us that in 779 (1377-1378) he presented al-Djurdjānī [see above, I, 1066 and Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, II, 216] to the Muḥaffarid ruler of Fārs, Shah Shudjā'. The same author states that when Timūr invaded Khwāzizm [in 780-781 (1379) presumably] Malik Muḥammad Sarakhsī, son of Malik Mu'izz al-Dīn Husain Kurt, asked his nephew, Pir Muḥammad b. Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pir 'Alī, who was then in the suite of Timūr, to obtain Timūr's consent and send al-Tafāzānī to Sarakhs. Timūr agreed, but subsequently on learning how eminent a scholar al-Tafāzānī was, he sent to Sarakhs a request that he should come to Samarkand. Al-Tafāzānī at first declined on the plea that he was about to visit the Hūjūz, but on receiving a second summons he transferred himself to Samarkand, where Timūr treated him with great honour. The conquest of Shīrāz by Timūr in 789 (1387) was followed by the arrival in Samarkand of his old acquaintance al-Saiyid al-Sharīf al-Djurdjānī. The rivalry between them led to controversies and to an estrangement, which is reflected in the criticisms of al-Tafāzānī's views to be found in some of al-Djurdjānī's works. Al-Tafāzānī died at Samarkand in 791 (1389) (*Bughyat al-Wu'at*) or on the 22nd of al-Muḥarram 792 (Jan. 10, 1390) (*al-Fawā'id al-bakiya*, p. 135), or on the 22nd of al-Muḥarram 793 (Dec. 30, 1390) (according to a chronogram ascribed to al-Djurdjānī, see the Khedivial Library Catalogue, II, 242), or in 797 (1394-1395) (*Ḥabīb al-Siyar*). The date 787 given by Faṣṣḥ is inconsistent with the alleged dates of some of his works and with the statement that he and al-Djurdjānī forgathered after the capture of Shīrāz in 789. He was buried at Sarakhs.

Al-Tafāzānī seems to have had no pupils of great distinction. The two mentioned in the *Rumāt al-Djannāt* are Husām al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Ahlwardī, the author of a work entitled *Rabī' al-Djinnāt fī 'l-Ma'āni wa 'l-Bayān*, and Burhān al-Dīn Haidar (see Tashkōpūzāda, *al-Shakā'ik al-Nu'māniya*, transl. Rescher, p. 33 and *Id.*, XI, 61).

Al-Tafāzānī's merits impressed Ibn Khaldūn, who came across some of his works in Egypt and mentions him in his *Muḥaddims* (transl. de Slane, III, 129). He wrote both on Shāfi'i and on Hanafī law and has been described as a Shāfi'i by some authors (e.g. al-Kaffawī and Ḥasan Čelebi)

and as a Hanafi by others (e.g. Ibn Nujaim and 'Alī b. Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Kāfirī).

Among his works are the following (the dates assigned to these works in the *Rasāʾil al-Djannāt*, which in many cases differ considerably from those given elsewhere, are not always mentioned. For fuller information concerning the manuscripts, supercommentaries etc., Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, should be consulted):

I. Grammar

1. *Sharḥ al-Taṣrif al-ʿaṣat* (in India often called the *Saʿdiya*), a commentary on the Arabic accidence of al-Zandī (ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhīb b. Ibrāhīm, see Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i, 283) completed at Fayyūm in Shaʿbān 758 (1338) when the author was sixteen years of age. MSS. at Berlin (Ahlwardt, N^o. 6617—6618), Turin (Nallino, N^o. 39) and elsewhere. Editions: Constantinople 1253, Tihān 1270, 1884 (in a *muḥimma*), Delhi 1289, 1295 (with the *Miftāḥ al-Saʿdiya* of Ahmad b. Shāh Gul), 1886 (with the *Miftāḥ al-Saʿdiya*), 1319 (with the *Miftāḥ al-Saʿdiya*), Bombay 1292, Lucknow 1306, Cairo 1307. Of the supercommentaries, in addition to the *Miftāḥ al-Saʿdiya* mentioned above, that of Dede Khālifa has been printed (Bulāq 1255).

2. *al-ʿaṣad*, or (*al-ʿiṣṣad al-kūdi*), as Ḥādījī Khālifa calls it, an Arabic syntax written for his son and completed at Khawārim in 774 or 778 or 787. A manuscript exists at Vienna (Flügel, N^o. 206). Several commentaries are mentioned by Ḥādījī Khālifa, including those of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Djurdjānī (a son of al-Sayid al-Sharīf) and Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Bukhārī, which are preserved at Berlin (Ahlwardt, N^o. 6754—6755) and the Escorial (Derenbourg, N^o. 181) respectively.

II. Rhetoric

Al-Taftāzānī's three works on rhetoric are all connected directly or indirectly with the classical exposition of the subject contained in the third part (*ḥisn*) of the *Miftāḥ al-ʿUlūm* of al-Sakkāki (see below under al-Sakkāki and Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i, 294). Two of them are interwoven commentaries on the abridgment, *Talḥīṣ al-Miftāḥ*, written by al-Kazwīnī (Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān called the Khayb Dimashq; see Brockelmann, ii, 22).

1. *al-Mufaṣṣal*, as it is usually called, or *al-Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*, or *Sharḥ al-Talḥīṣ al-Mufaṣṣal*, completed in Safar 748 (1347) at Harāt.

Editions: Constantinople 1260, 1289 (with al-Djurdjānī's glosses), Lucknow 1265 (first part only), 1287 (first part only), 1878, 1300, 1889 (with Turbī ʿAlī's *Sūlat al-Uḍal*, a commentary on the verses quoted), Tihān [?] 1270, Delhi 1326 (with *al-Mufaṣṣal*, a commentary by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Rahmān). A Persian edition of 1274 (with commentaries by al-Fanārī, al-Djurdjānī, al-Samarḥāndī, and Muḥammad Riḍā Galpāyagānī) is mentioned in the catalogue of the Khedivial Library, iv, 153.

The glosses of al-Djurdjānī have moreover been published at Lucknow in 1312 and those of ʿAbd al-Hakīm Siyālkūtī at Constantinople in 1266.

2. *Mukhtaṣar al-Maʿnī*, as it is now commonly called, or *Mukhtaṣar Sharḥ Talḥīṣ al-Miftāḥ*, or *Mukhtaṣar Sharḥ al-Talḥīṣ*, or *al-Sharḥ al-Mukhtaṣar*, or simply *al-Mukhtaṣar* (the author having given

it no formal title), a shorter interwoven commentary, completed in 756 (1355—1356) at Ghudjduwan and dedicated to Maḥmūd Dīnī Bāg. Like the *Mufaṣṣal* this work is still studied in Eastern madrasas. Manuscripts are common and there are several supercommentaries.

Editions: Calcutta 1813, Lucknow 1261, 1312 (with al-Banānī's supercommentary), Bulāq 1271 (with al-Dasūqī's supercommentary) [1860?], 1285 (with al-Banānī's supercommentary), Cawnpore 1285—1286 (with al-Khatāʾī's [al-Khatṭāʾī's?] supercommentary), 1296 (with the same supercommentary), Meerut 1285, Constantinople 1301, 1301 (with al-Dasūqī's supercommentary), Lahore 1306—1307, Delhi 1286, 1324.

Extracts from this work have been published by Mehren in *Die Rhetorik der Araber* (Copenhagen and Vienna 1853).

3. *Al-Taftāzānī's* third rhetorical work, *Sharḥ al-Kism al-ḥalīth min al-Miftāḥ*, is a commentary on the third part of the *Miftāḥ al-ʿUlūm* itself. It is one of his latest works, having been completed at Samarkand in Shawwāl 787 (1385) or 789 (1387), and it has not enjoyed the same popularity as the *Mukhtaṣar al-Maʿnī* and the *Mufaṣṣal*. Manuscripts are preserved at the Escorial (Derenbourg, N^o. 26), the India Office (Loth, N^o. 847—848), Leyden (de Goeje and Houtsma, N^o. 298), Trinity College, Cambridge (Palmer, N^o. 18) and elsewhere.

III. Logic

1. *Sharḥ al-Risālat al-Shamīya*, or *Sharḥ al-Shamīya* (in India this work, like the *Sharḥ al-Taṣrif al-ʿaṣat*, is often called *Saʿdiya*), a commentary on the logical manual of al-Kātibī (Nadīm al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Kazwīnī; see Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i, 466) completed at Dījam in Djumādā II 752 (1351) (*Muḥimma*) or 757 (1356) (*al-Fawā'id al-bahiya*) or 762 (1361) (Ahlwardt, N^o. 1959) or 772 (1370—1371) (*Rasāʾil al-Djannāt*). MSS. are preserved at Berlin (Ahlwardt, N^o. 5266—5268) and elsewhere. Editions: Lucknow 1905 (1326).

2. *Tahdhīb al-Manṭiq wa ʿl-Kalām*, as it is usually called, or *Ghāyat Tahdhīb al-Kalām fi Tahrīr al-Manṭiq wa ʿl-Kalām*, as the author calls it in his preface, a manual of logic and scholastic theology completed in Rajab 789 (1387). Whereas the second part of this work, described by Ḥādījī Khālifa as an abridgment of the *Mafāḥid*, was evidently copied but rarely (and indeed no copies seem to be definitely recorded in the existing catalogues of manuscripts) the first part, on logic, became a favourite text-book and has often been published.

Editions: Calcutta 1243 (with al-Yazdī's commentary), 1328 (with an Urdu translation), 1333 (with the same Urdu translation), [Lucknow?] 1260 (preceded by the *Taḥḥīṣ*), Lucknow 1869 (in a *Madḥma-i Manṭiq*), 1288 (the introductory portion only with the commentary of al-Dawwānī and glosses by Mir Zāhid and ʿAbd al-Hayy Lakhnawī), 1293 (with the same), 1321 (with the same), 1290 (with al-Yazdī's commentary and glosses thereon by ʿAbd al-Hayy Lakhnawī), 1292 (with the same commentary and glosses), 1311 (with the same), 1877 (with Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Shahrastānī's Persian commentary), 1323 (in a *Madḥma-i ḥisn Rasāʾil-i Manṭiq*), Delhi 1264, 1276, 1283—1284, [1869], 1286 (all these Delhi editions with

al-Yasdi's commentary), Cawnpore 1278—1279 (in a *Maḡmū'a-i Manṣūf*), 1291 (with al-Yasdi's commentary and glosses entitled *Tuhfa-i Shāh Dīlānī* by Hāshī Bakhsh Faizābādī), 1296 (with the same commentary and glosses), 1881 (in a *Maḡmū'a-i Manṣūf*), 1915 (with al-Shahristānī's Persian commentary), Benares [1899] (with an Urdu translation).

IV. Metaphysics and Theology

1. *al-Muḥṣid*, a compendium of metaphysics and theology, completed with the author's own commentary at Samarqand in Dhū l-Ḳa'da 784 (1383) (in 774 according to the *Rawḍat al-Dīwān*). A Constantinople edition of 1277 is mentioned in the catalogue of the Khedivial Library (ii. 26) and there are manuscripts in the British Museum (Ellis-Edwards, p. 9), the India Office (Loth, N^o. 461—464) and elsewhere. As has been said above, the second part (*ḥim*) of the *Tahdhīb al-Manṣūf wa l-Kalām* is described by Hādījī Khalifa as an abridgment of this work.

2. *Tahdhīb al-Manṣūf wa l-Kalām*. See above under Logic.

3. *Sharḥ al-'Aḥd al-Nasafiya*, completed in Shābān 768 (1367) at Khārizm, a commentary on the extremely brief statement of Muḥammadan belief written by 'Umar b. Muḥammad al-Nasafi (d. 537—1142—1143; see Brockelmann, i. 427). This work also is a favourite text-book and several supercommentaries have been written on it.

Editions: Calcutta 1244, Delhi [1870], 1904, Lucknow 1876, [1888], 1890, [1894], Constantinople 1297 (with the supercommentaries of al-Kastālī and al-Khayālī and the glosses of Bihishti on the latter), Cairo 1297 (with al-Khayālī's supercommentary and Kara Khalīf's glosses thereon), Cawnpore 1903, 1330. Extracts are translated into French in d'Ohsson's *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol. i. and there is a German translation in J. T. Plant's *Birgini Riale* [sic], oder *Elementarbuch der Muhammedanischen Glaubenslehre* (Istanbul and Geneva 1790).

Of the supercommentaries that of al-Khayālī has been published at Delhi in 1870(?) and 1329 (with 'Abd al-Ḥakīm Siyālkūtī's glosses), at Lucknow in 1876, 1313 (with 'Abd al-Ḥakīm Siyālkūtī's glosses), 1326 (with the same glosses), at Constantinople in 1297 (with al-Kastālī and Bihishti) and at Cairo in 1297 (with Kara Khalīf's glosses); that of Hasan Shahīd (Abū l-Ḥasan b. al-Aḥd) at Bihār in 1328, and that of Ramaḍān Efendi at Delhi in 1327.

4. An attack on the heresies of Ibn 'Arabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* preserved in a Berlin manuscript (Ahlwardt, N^o. 2891), which bears on fol. 1^b the doubtful title *Faḥṣṣat al-Mulḥidīn*.

V. Principles of Jurisprudence

1. *al-Tawḥīd ilā Kaṣṣ Ḥaḍīṣ al-Tanṣīḥ*, completed 29th Dhū l-Ḳa'da 758 (1357) at Gūlistān, a commentary on the *Tanṣīḥ al-Uṣūl* of Ṣadr al-Sharī the Younger ('Uṣaid Allāh b. Ma'sūd al-Mahbūbī, d. 747 [1346—1347]; see Brockelmann, ii. 214).

Editions have been published at Delhi in 1267 (1851) (with Ṣadr al-Sharī's own commentary *al-Tawḥīd*), at Lucknow in 1281 (1864) (with the *Tawḥīd*), 1871 (with the *Tawḥīd*) and 1292 (1876) (with the *Tawḥīd*, and supercommentaries on the *Tawḥīd* by Ḥasan Ḍelebi, Mullā Khawraw and

Zakariyā' al-Anṣārī), and at Kazan in 1301 (1884) (with the *Tawḥīd*).

2. *Sharḥ Sharḥ al-Muḥṣid* fī 'Uṣūl, or *Sharḥ al-Sharḥ*, completed in Dhū l-Ḥijja 770 (1369) at Khārizm, a supercommentary on the commentary of al-Idrī (see above) on Ibn al-Jāzīb's *Muḥṣid al-Muntalā*, an abridgment of his own *Muntalā 'l-Su'āl wa l-'Aḥwāl fī 'Uṣūl al-Uṣūl wa l-Djadal*. A Bulaḡ edition of 1316—1319 is mentioned by Moh. Ben Cheneb in the article *IMN AT-JAZIRI*. MSS. are preserved at Berlin (Ahlwardt, N^o. 4376), the India Office (Loth, N^o. 302—4) and elsewhere.

VI. Law

1. *al-Miftāḥ*, on *Shāhī Furū*. A manuscript is preserved at Berlin (Ahlwardt, N^o. 4604).

In addition to this work a collection of Hanafī *Fatāwā* is mentioned by his biographers, but no copies seem to be recorded.

2. *Tahṭīq Sharḥ Talkhīṣ al-Dīwān al-Ḥabir*, an unfinished abridgment of the commentary of Ma'sūd b. Muḥammad al-Ghaddīdī on al-Khāṣṣī's abridgment of al-Shāhī's treatise on Hanafī *Furū* entitled *al-Dīwān al-Ḥabir* (see Brockelmann, G. A. L., i. 172 and H. Kh., ii. 401). According to the *Rawḍat al-Dīwān* this work was begun at Sarakhs in 785. A manuscript is preserved in the Veñī Dīwān (N^o. 428 *ḥi*).

At Delhi in 1870(?) was published an edition of the *Muḥaddimat al-Ṣalāt* or *Khulūṭa*, a treatise on the ritual prayers ascribed by some to al-Kāḍī (see Hādījī Khalifa, vi., p. 83), with commentaries alleged to be by al-Diyūdānī and al-Tafīṣānī, but it is not certain that the *Khulūṭa* existed in al-Tafīṣānī's time.

VII. Qur'anic Exegesis

1. *Kaṣṣ al-Abrūr wa l-Uddat al-Abrūr*, a Persian commentary on the Qur'ān (cf. H. Kh. v., N^o. 10674). A manuscript appears to be preserved in the Veñī Dīwān (see the catalogue, p. 80, N^o. 43).

2. *Sharḥ* (or *Ḥaḥṣiya 'alā*) *al-Kaṣṣ al-Abrūr*, H. Kh. v., N^o. 1872, annotations on the commentary of al-Zamakhsharī (see Brockelmann, G. A. L., i. 290), said to have been begun at Samarqand in Rabi' ii, 789 and left unfinished. These annotations embrace Sūras l.—x. 58 and xxxviii.—liv. Manuscripts are preserved at Berlin (Ahlwardt, N^o. 793), the British Museum (Ellis-Edwards, p. 3), the India Office and elsewhere.

VIII. Philology

1. *al-Nḥam al-mawābiḥ fī Sharḥ al-Kilām al-mawābiḥ*, a commentary on al-Zamakhsharī's collection of *sententiae* entitled *al-Kilām al-mawābiḥ*. Selections from this commentary were published by H. A. Schultens in his *Anthologia sententiarum arabicarum* (Leyden 1772) and it was printed at Cairo in 1287.

2. A Turkish versified translation of Sa'dī's *Būstān* made in 755 (see E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, i. 202).

Bibliography: Ibn 'Arabī, *Adjāib al-Maḥdūr*, ed. Golius, iii. 422; Faṣṣṣ, *Muḥṣid* (under the year 787; see E. G. Browne, in *Le Muséon*, series iii., vol. i., p. 57); al-Suyūṭī, *Buḥārāt al-Wu'at*, p. 391; Sulṭān Ḥusain b. Ma'nūr, *Maḥṣūṣ al-Uṣūl*, p. 287; al-Kafawī, *l'Am al-Aḥyār*; Khāndamir, *Ḥaṣṣ al-Siyar*, iii. 3, 87; Muḥammad Bākir Khānsārī,

Rasūl al-Djannūt, p. 309; 'Abd al-Hayy, *Lakhanawī, al-Faṣṣal al-bakiya*, p. 128—130, 134—137; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 215; Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, iii. 353—354; Hidayat Husain, *Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the Dhār Library*, p. 436—438. (C. A. STORIE)

TAGHLAK, or, more properly, **TUGHLUQ**, the correct vocalization being given by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, is the name of a dynasty which reigned at Dihli from 1320 until 1413, and is taken from the personal name of its founder, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq, a Ḳarawniya Turk, that is to say, the offspring of a Turkish father and an Indian mother. When Muḥarak, the last of the Ḳhaljis (q.v.), was murdered by his vile favourite, Khusrāw, Tughluq, who was employed on the north-western frontier, where his numerous successes against the Mughals had earned for him the title of Ghāzi Malik, marched on Dihli, defeated and slew the usurper in the neighbourhood of the city, and on September 8, 1320, ascended the throne. Early in 1325 the aged Tughluq, returning from an expedition to Bangāl, was murdered by Muḥammad, the ablest of his sons, who had already rebelled once, in the Dakan, and now contrived that a temporary pavilion, in which he welcomed his father, should be brought down on the old man's head. Muḥammad b. Tughluq (q.v.) was one of the greatest of the Muslim monarchs of India, but was eccentric to the verge of lunacy. Having extended his sway over the whole of India, he provoked his subjects to rebellion in almost every province, and when he died in Sind, in March, 1351, while endeavouring to suppress a rebellion in that province, the Dakan, Bangāl, and Sind had severed themselves from the empire. He was succeeded by his cousin Firūz b. Rāḍiyya (q.v.) who succeeded in recovering Sind, but failed to recover Bangāl, and did not even attempt to recover the Dakan, which became an independent and powerful kingdom. Firūz grew indolent towards the end of his reign and his kingdom fell into disorder. Before his death he associated his son Muḥammad with him on the throne, but the prince abused his authority, and when Firūz died, in 1388, he was succeeded by his grandson, Tughluq II, who, in attempting to remove possible rivals, alarmed his cousin, Abū Bakr. Abū Bakr rose in rebellion, and Tughluq fled, but was captured and put to death, and early in 1389 Abū Bakr ascended the throne. His uncle Muḥammad, who had been lurking in Sirmūr since the death of Firūz, invaded the kingdom, and in August 31, 1389, entered Dihli, where he was acknowledged as king after the flight of Abū Bakr. Muḥammad died at Djalesar on January 20, 1394, and was succeeded by his son, Humāyūn Khān, who took the title of 'Alā' al-Dīn Sikandar, but died within two months of his accession. The nobles raised to the throne his brother, Maḥmūd, who was at first entirely under the influence of Malik Sarwar (q.v.), a eunuch whom he appointed to the government of Djaunpūr. Here Malik Sarwar founded the Sharḳi dynasty of kings, and Maḥmūd fell under the influence of Mallu, entitled Ikbāl Khān. A party among the nobles raised Nusrat, a cousin of Maḥmūd, to the throne, and for some time there were two puppet kings in Dihli and its neighbourhood, each supported by his own faction. This was the state of affairs when the Amir Timūr (q.v.) in-

vaded India in 1398, but before he reached Dihli Nusrat Shāh had been driven from the capital, and Maḥmūd and Mallu were left to face the conqueror. They were defeated and fled, Maḥmūd to Guḍjarāt and Mallu to Baran, but returned after Timūr's departure. Maḥmūd retained the royal title, but was for the rest of his life a state prisoner, at first in the hands of Mallu, and, after Mallu's death in 1405, in those of Dawlat Khān Lodi, who succeeded Mallu as virtual ruler of the kingdom. Maḥmūd died at Kaithal in February, 1413, and with him ended the Tughluq dynasty. Within sixteen months of his death Dawlat Khān was overthrown by Khidr Khān (q.v.) who on May 28, 1414, entered Dihli and founded the Saiyid dynasty.

Bibliography: Barani, *Tārīkh-i Firūs Shāhī*, Calcutta 1862; Shams-i Sirāḍj 'Afīf, *Tārīkh-i Firūs Shāhī*, Calcutta 1892; Badā'unī, *Muntahab al-Tawārīkh*, text, and translation by G. S. A. Ranking, Calcutta 1869; Muḥammad Kāsim Firīshṭa, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, Bombay 1832. (T. W. HAIG)

TAGHLIB [See WĀIL]

TAGUS, Arabic Wādī Tāḍjoh, Latin *Tagus*, Spanish *Tajo*, Portuguese *Téjo*, the longest river in the Iberian Peninsula, rises in the Serranía de Guadalupe at about 6,000 ft. Its length to its estuary at Lisbon is 550 miles (of which 190 are in Portuguese territory). Among the numerous places on its banks one may mention going down stream: Aranjuez, Algodor, Toledo and Talavera de la Reina, in Spain; Abrantes, Santarem and Lisbon, in Portugal.

The Arab geographers describe the Tagus as an important river and mention it especially in their descriptions of Toledo and Lisbon. They also mention the famous Roman bridge built of granite in 105 A.D. by order of the Emperor Trajan on the Tagus at Alcantara, the ancient 'Kantarat al-Saif' of the Arabs. Cf. above, i., p. 251. See also the articles on LISBON and TOLEDO.

Bibliography: al-Idrīsī, *Sifat al-Andalus*, p. 187 of the text and 228 of the transl.; E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Algiers 1924, Index. (E. LÉVI-PROVENCAL)

TAHADJUD (A.), infinitive V from the root *ā-ḡ-ḡ* which is one of the roots with opposed meanings (*āḡḡad*), as it signifies "sleep" and also "to be awake", "to keep a vigil", "to perform the night ṣalāt or the nightly recitation of the Ḳur'ān". The latter two meanings have become the usual ones in Islām. The word occurs only once in the Ḳur'ān, Sūra xvii. 81: "And in a part of the night, perform a ṣalāt as a voluntary effort" etc., but the thing itself is often referred to. We are told of the pious (II. 17) that they sleep little by night and pray to Allāh for forgiveness at dawn. In Sūra xxv. 65, there is a reference to those who spend the night prostrating themselves and standing before their Lord.

From the Ḳur'ān it may be deduced that the old practice in Mecca was to observe two ṣalāts, by day and one by night (Sūra, xvii. 80-82); Sūra, lxxvi. 25: "And mention the name of thy Lord in the morning and in the evening [26] and in the night prostrate thyself before Him and praise Him the livelong night"; Sūra, xi. 116: "And perform the ṣalāt at both ends of the day and in the last part of the night". Tradition is able to tell us — and there is no real reason for scepticism — that

for a shorter or longer period (mention is actually made of a "period of ten years", Tabari, *Taṣīr*, xlii. 68), vigils were so ardently observed that Muḥammad and his companions began to suffer from swollen feet. The old practice is said to be based on Sūra lxxiii. 1: "O thou enfolded one, 2. stand up during the night, except a small portion of it, 3. the half or rather less, 4. or rather more and recite the Qur'ān with accuracy"; but its origin cannot be dissociated from the example of Christian ascetics. In the end however, this form of asceticism became too much for Muḥammad's companions. The revelation of verses 20 ff. of Sūra lxxiii. brought an alleviation: "See, thy Lord knoweth that thou standest praying about two thirds, or the half or a third of the night, thou and a part of thy companions. But Allāh measureth the night and the day; he knoweth that ye are not able for this; therefore he turneth mercifully to you with permission to recite as much of the Qur'ān as is convenient for you". By the institution of the five daily ṣalāts the obligatory character of the tahadjud was then abolished (cf. Abū Dāwūd, *Taṣawwuf*, B. 17 and Baiḥaqī on Sūra, lxxiii. 20).

Nevertheless Muḥammad is said not to have abandoned the vigils (Abū Dāwūd, *Taṣawwuf*, B. 18b); in Hadīth and Fiqh this is considered blameworthy for those who were wont to perform these ṣalāts (Muslim, *Ṣayam*, trad. 185; Nasa'i, *Kiṣām al-Lail*, B. 59; Bāḥiqī, *Ḥaṣṣiya*, I. 165). The performance is in general regarded as *sunna*. David is said to have spent a third of the night in these exercises (Muslim, *Ṣayam*, trad. 189; Abū Dāwūd, *Ṣayam*, B. 67); another reason given in justification of it is that the tahadjud loosens one of the knots which Satan ties in the hair of a sleeper (Abū Dāwūd, *Taṣawwuf*, B. 18). The tahadjud is particularly meritorious in Ramaḥān and in the night before each of the two feasts (Ibn Maḥjā, *Ṣayam*, B. 68; Nasa'i, *Kiṣām al-Lail*, B. 17 where the term *ḥayā' al-lail* is used [see also TAḤWĪṬ]).

Even at the present day the *mu'adhdhin* in some lands summons to a night ṣalāt (consisting of an even number of *rak'as* and therefore called *ṣalāt*; cf. WTR) shortly after midnight by an *adhān* to which special formulae are added (Lane, *Manners and Customs*, chapter iii. "Religion and Laws"; cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*; Juynboll, *Handleiding*, p. 74).

Bibliography: Besides the works quoted cf. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Muḥammad*, I. 321 sqq.; M. Th. Houtsma, *Lesever den dagelijken ṣalāt der Mohammedanen*, in *Theol. Tijdschrift*, 1890, p. 137 sqq.; R. Bell, *The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment*, London 1926, p. 143.

For the views of the different law schools cf. also I. Guidi, *Il "Muḥtaṣar" di Ḥaṣṣ al-Ḥaṣṣ*, Milan 1919, I. 97; Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī, *al-Tamhīd*, ed. A. W. T. Juynboll, p. 27; al-Ramlī, *Nihāyat al-Muḥtaṣar*, I. 488 sqq.; Ibn Ḥafjar al-Haitamī, *Tuḥfa*, I. 201 sqq.; Abū 'l-Kāsim al-Hillī, *Kitāb Shāra' al-Islām*, Calcutta 1839, I. 27; A. Querry, *Droit Musulman*, Paris 1871, I. 52 sq.; Nizām, *al-Fatāwa' l-'Alamgiriya*, Calcutta 1243, I. 157. (A. J. WENSINCK)

TAHĀRA (A.): grammatically *tahāra* is a *maṣdar* and means purity; it has also the technical sense of ceremonial, levitical purity and purification. It holds an important place in Islam,

for "purity is half the faith", a saying attributed to Muḥammad. Theologians divide defilements into material and mental; lawyers divide them into actual (*ḥaṣṣ*) and religious (*ḡibṣ*). *Fiqh* deals with bodily, material impurity only. Sexual intercourse, menstruation, and child-birth are religious impurities. Actual impurities (*maḥṣur*, q. v.) have a perceptible body. They are wine, pigs and dogs and what is begotten of them, dead bodies (except those of men, animals used for food, fish, and creatures that have no blood, i. e. insects), and certain discharges from the body. There are five things that are not unclean: any dirt left after defecation, dust or mud on the roads, the soles of shoes, the blood squashed out of a full-fed flea, and the blood or pus from a boil or pimple or from cupping. Tears, sweat, spittle and mucus are clean. The laws of purity are not meant to be burdensome. The usual means of purification is cold water but after defecation stones are also used. Water is pure if running, if from a pool above 100 sq. cubits (*dhira'*) in area, or from smaller quantities so long as the colour, taste and smell are not changed. Elaborate rules are laid down for the various cases. After micturition or defecation there is a preliminary cleansing with stones or earth (*istighmār*) and one with water (*istinja'*). On ablutions and baths, see *WUḍū'*, *GHUṢṢ*. When no water is to be had or, by reason of illness or some other cause, the use of it is feared, sand or dust may be employed [see *TAYAMMUM*]. The rules of the Shī'a differ in detail from those of the Sunnis. After helping to carry a corpse to the grave an ablution is necessary, not merely approved; and according to them a quantity of water amounting to two *ḡalla* (the meaning is uncertain, but it is generally taken to be a large jar) is clean.

Popular practices do not always agree with canonical rules; it is said that round Aden the defilement of micturition can be removed by helping to carry a bier on its way to the cemetery.

These processes must not be just mechanical; purpose (*niya*) must come first, and they must be accompanied by the thought of God and special prayers, which vary at different times and places. The theologians develop this side of the idea and say that purification consists of four stages: purification of the body from physical dirt; of the members from offences; of the heart from evil desires; of the spirit (*siir*) from all that is not God.

Tahāra has become the common name for circumcision and the ceremonies that accompany it [see *KHATN*].

Bibliography: The chapters *Tahāra* and *Nadīma* in the books of *Fiqh*; Ghazālī, *Ḥayā'*, vol. 1, book 3; Abū Ṭālib al-Makki, *Kut al-Kutub*, vol. 2, p. 91; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Moa. wet*, Leyden 1925, p. 165 sqq.; A. J. Wensinck, *Der Ursprung der musul. Reinheitsgesetzgebung*, in *Isl.*, v. 62; do., *Handbook of early Muhammadan Tradition*, v. Purity. (A. S. TRITTON)

TAHĀWĪ, ABU DĪ'FAR AHMAD b. MUḤAMMAD b. SALĪMA b. 'ABD AL-MALIK AL-AZDĪ AL-TAHĀWĪ AL-HADHRĪ. His *nisba* Tahāwī is derived from the name of a village in Upper Egypt named Tahā. He is considered the greatest Ḥanafī lawyer which Egypt has produced. His ancestors had settled in Upper Egypt and his grandfather Salāma when the news of the rebellion

of Ibrahim b. al-Mahdi reached Egypt threw off, with others, the allegiance to the caliph al-Ma'mun. The rebels appointed 'Abd al-'Aziz b. 'Abd al-Rahman al-Azdi in place of al-Sari b. al-Hakam, who fled at first, but finally returned and captured 'Abd al-'Aziz. Salama offered resistance in Upper Egypt, but after fighting he was captured and sent to Fustat. After being released he fled and joined al-Djarawi in Alexandria; the rebels being successful there, Salama returned to Upper Egypt, collected many troops and drove out the governors. Finally in 203 (818) an army was sent against Salama, and after fighting he and his son Ibrahim were captured, sent to Fustat and executed. From this we may conclude that Tahawi belonged to one of the leading families of Egypt. He himself was born according to his own statement in the year 239 (853/854) and received his first instruction under his maternal uncle Abi Ibrahim Isma'il al-Muzani, who was one of the most celebrated pupils of al-Shafi'i. Tahawi however did not advance in his studies to the satisfaction of his uncle, who said to him one day that he would never make a name. The nephew left his uncle and took up the study of Hanafi law under Abi Dja'far b. Abi 'Imran (Ahmad b. Musa b. 'Isa; he came to Egypt when Aliyib was made Finance Minister and stayed there). Muzani died 264 (878) and it is from him that Tahawi received the *Musnad* of al-Shafi'i, which by Brockelmann is erroneously enumerated as a *Musnad* of Tahawi. This work Tahawi heard in 252 and read to his pupils again in 317, according to the *Imad's* found in the best manuscripts. In 268 (881/882) he went to Syria and met there the Hanafi chief *Qadi* Abi Khazim 'Abd al-Hamid b. Dja'far, and others in Jerusalem, Ghazza and Askalon, but returned the following year to Egypt. He was in his early years very poor, but found a protector in Muhammad b. 'Abda, who was chief judge of Egypt from 277 to 283. The biographers record how the latter bestowed favours upon him and on one occasion caused Tahawi to receive the rewards intended for the *Qadi* and the ten witnesses in addition to the share of Tahawi himself. The latter in return, with his natural tendency for legal precision, did everything to impress upon persons coming to court the importance of the office of his master. He came into prominence when Abu 'l-Dja'ish, son of Ahmad b. Tulun, when required a document to be witnessed. All witnesses signed after the customary form: "The Amir Abu 'l-Dja'ish etc. made me witness....". When it came to Tahawi's turn he wrote: "I witness that the Amir Abu 'l-Dja'ish.... agrees to everything in this deed....". The Amir was surprised and made Tahawi a suitable present to the envy of all other witnesses. The result was that his antagonists found some cause for accusing him of mismanagement of the properties held in him of mortmain (*awqaf*) and he was sent to prison. How long he was there we are not told, but we get another glimpse from a statement of Maslama b. Kaim al-Andalusi, that a friend of his returning from Egypt to Spain in 300 A.H. told him that the people of Egypt were very excited about the legal mismanagements of Tahawi, especially in regard to a legal decision he had given concerning black slaves in favour of the Amir Abu 'l-Dja'ish. Though never gaining the office of *Qadi* he was continuously employed by the chief judges, and it

was in this capacity that he served also under Abi 'Ubad 'Abi b. Humayn b. Harib, who was chief judge from 293 to 311. He had the habit of saying to Abi 'Ubad in cases of differences, that Ibn Abi 'Imran used to say so and so. The judge finally got tired of it and said that he had known Ibn Abi 'Imran well, but sparrows become eagles in Tahawi's country. This stopped Tahawi, and made the saying proverbial. In his later years he devoted himself, besides the composition of his numerous works, to the giving of legal decisions (*fatwa*), but he had always the courtesy, if the questions were brought forward in the presence of the judge, to state that it was the opinion of the judge, unless he was given special licence by the judge to give the decision upon his own authority. He died according to the historian Ibn Yunus on the 6th of Dhu 'l-Qa'da 321 A.H. (Oct. 31, 933). Ibn Khalikan says, in the night of Thursday the 1st of the same month, and that he was buried in the Karafa cemetery. The *Fihrist* has wrongly the year 322.

Tahawi was in the first place a lawyer, and is unanimously praised for his skill in the art of drawing up valid contracts, but he also is counted among the traditionists and as such transmitted the *Musnad* of al-Shafi'i, but more than one authority states that *hadith* was really not his business. However his larger works abound in citations of traditions, but these are always cited with a legal aim in view. His works are many and several have been preserved in manuscript and printed. Those mentioned by his biographers are: 1) *Ma'ani 'l-Athar*, his first work; printed with glosses in Lucknow in a large 4^o volume; 2) *Ihtilaf al-Ulama'* (MS. at Cairo); 3) *Ahlum al-Kur'an* in 20 *kur'ans*; 4) *Mukhtasar fi 'l-Fiqh*, a work which gave the author much pleasure and has been the subject of many commentaries the earliest of which is by Ahmad b. 'Ali al-Djassas (MS. at Cairo); 5) *Sharh al-Djamil al-Saghir*; 6) *al-Shuruf al-Kabir*, which is preserved in an incomplete MS. at Cairo from which Schacht has published a portion (Heidelberg 1926); 7) *al-Shuruf al-Awsat*; 8) *al-Shuruf al-Saghir*; 9) *Mahadir, Saqillat, Waqiyat* and *Fardid*, these are perhaps several treatises as the *Waqiyat* are mentioned by some biographers separately; 10) *Sharh al-Djamil al-Kabir*; 11) *Nahd Kitab al-Mudharim* against al-Karami; 12) *al-Turikh al-Kabir*, probably a kind of biographical dictionary of lawyers; 13) *Manalik Abi Hamisa* in one volume; 14) a book on the Kur'an mentioned by the *Qadi* Iyad in his work *al-Ismal*; it contained about a thousand leaves and is perhaps identical with the *Mukhtil al-Athar*; 15) *al-Nawadir al-Fikhiya* in over 20 *kur'ans*; 16) *Hukm Arad Makha wa-Kim al-Fal wa 'l-Ghan'im*; 17) *al-Radd 'ala 'Isa b. Aban*; against the latter's book called *Khatat al-Kutub*; 18) *al-Radd 'ala Abi 'Ubad fi-ma ohlat'a fi Kitab al-Narah*; 19) *Ihtilaf al-Riwayat 'ala Madhab al-Kufayn*; 20) *Mukhtil al-Athar*, his last work; it is the final deposit of his studies and has been printed in Haidarabad in four large 4^o volumes, 1333 A.H.; this book has been abbreviated by the Maliki lawyer Ibn Rushd; 21) *Risala fi Uqul al-Din* (also called *Ahl al-Sunna wa 'l-Djama'a*) printed in Kasan 1893 and in India; it is a short pamphlet of about ten leaves, setting out the Sunni con-

session of faith in clear legal language. This little book has also found a number of commentators (cf. Brockelmann); 22) *al-Nawādir wa 'l-Iftikār* (cf. Brockelmann); 23) some biographers attribute to him two books with the title of *Muḥḥaṭṭar* distinguished as *al-Kābir* and *al-Saghir*, but it appears that it is the smaller one which is the one generally commented; 24) in the *Djauḥir al-Muḥḥaṭṭar* is mentioned also a book, the basis of which are the books on dismissal from office (*Kutub al-'Aḥḥ*), but I am not clear if I understand this correctly.

In books on Hanafī law Tahāwī is cited continually and the number of his pupils or such who came to Egypt to gain information from him is very great, and many are enumerated in the biographies, especially in the *Djauḥir* and the *Lisān al-Millān*; among them are mentioned: 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī, who became later Kādī of Egypt and superior to Tahāwī; Maslama b. al-Kāsim al-Kurṭubī; 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī al-Dā'ūdī, who was considered the head of the Zāhirī's in his time; the celebrated Kādī Ibn Abī l-'Awwām; Sulaimān b. Ahmad al-Ṭabarānī, the author of the *Mafjām* and many others.

Bibliography: *Fikrī*, ed. Flügel, p. 207; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, N^o. 24; ed. Cairo 1310, l. 19; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, G. M. S., p. 368v ult.—369r; *Djauḥir al-Muḥḥaṭṭar*, ed. Haddādī, l. 102—105; *Djauḥir al-Muḥḥaṭṭar*, ed. Haddādī, l. 274—282; Suyūṭī, *Ḥuṣn al-Muhājara*, l. 162; Ibn Kutlubugha, N^o. 15; Lakhnawī, *al-Fanā'id al-Bakīya*, Cairo 1324, p. 31—34; Ibn Taghribirdī, ed. Juynboll, l. 255 109; Yāqūt, *Muḥḥaṭṭar*, ed. Wüstenfeld, l. 516; Yāqūt, *Muḥḥaṭṭar*, l. 281; al-Kindī, *Wuṣṭā Miṣr*, passim; and Introduction, p. 18; Flügel, *Chrestomathie der hanafitischen Rechtsgelahrten*, 1861, p. 296 109; Brockelmann, G. A. L., i. 173; Haddādī, Khalifa, *Kaḥf al-Zunūn*, passim, cf. N^o. 4131. — He is cited in almost all books on Hanafī law. (F. KERNKOW)

TAHERT (we also have **THERT**), a mediaeval town of Algeria, on the eastern border of the present département of Oran. According to Idriṣī there used to be two large towns of this name: the one, Old Tahert, an old Roman site, perhaps the capital of a native dynasty, vassals or allies of the Byzantines (Gsell), rose from its ruins in the modern period and became the capital of Taret; the other, New Tahert, lies 6 miles w. & w. of Taret, not far from Tagdemti which was one of the strongholds of the amir 'Abd al-Kādir [q. v.]. It no longer has more than a few almost obliterated traces of its past grandeur.

New Tahert was the capital of the Abādī Imāms (or Ibādī, q. v.) of the Rustamid family for 147 years. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Rustam fled from Kairuān after the return of the Arab armies commanded by Ibn al-Ash'ath and sought refuge in this part of the central Maghrib where the Khāridjīs were numerous. He founded Tahert in 144 (761). The site was well chosen. The climate is severe (al-Bakrī tells us stories of the cold that prevails in Tahert) but the land around could be irrigated and produced excellent fruit. Tahert owed its wealth mainly to its trade. Placed at the foot of the Djabal Gersūl, at the end of the Tell on the northern border of the steppes in touch with the country of the nomads and settled lands, it was destined to become a great market like modern

Tiaret. The nomads flocked to it; the hope of making a fortune as well as attachment to Khāridjī doctrines brought many foreigners there, especially Persians. They had fine dwellings and silk and Tahert was known as "Little Irak". We also know how intense was the religious life of this capital of a theocratic kingdom and are told of the intellectual life of the Imāms and their entourage. It is no longer possible to know what the town and its buildings looked like; probably the latter were quite simple. Al-Bakrī speaks of four of its gates and its citadel commanding the marketplace.

Tahert taken in 296 (908) by the Shi'ī propagandist Abū 'Abd Allāh was utterly ruined. Henceforth it only plays a very minor role in the history of the Berbers. Taret inherited part of the economic prosperity of Tahert. This prosperity, which the Algerian centre, like the 13th century town, owes to its situation as the port of the steppes has increased again, since the plateau of Sersūl, which adjoins it, has become an important centre of colonisation.

Bibliography: al-Ya'qūbī, *Descriptio almughribi*, ed. de Goeje, p. 14; transl., p. 100—107; al-Bakrī, *Algiers* 1911, p. 66—69; transl. de Slane, 1913, p. 138—141; al-Idrīsī, ed. Dory and de Goeje, p. 87; transl., p. 100—101; Ibn 'Adhārī, *Bayān al-mughrib*, ed. Dory, i. 203 109; transl. Fagnan, l. 283 109; Ibn Saḥrī, *Chronique*, ed. and transl. C. Matylinski, in *Actes du XIV^e Congrès des Orientalistes*, Paris 1908; Gsell, *Atlas archéologique de l'Algérie*, t. 33, N^o. 14. (GEORGES MARCAIS)

TAHIR b. AL-HUSAIN, founder of the Tahirid dynasty [q. v.] in Khorāsān [q. v.], born in 159 (775—776), died in Djamāda II (Tabarī, l. 1065, 12) or Djamāda II (Ibn Khallikān) 207 (822). Tahir belonged to a family of Persian descent and also to the Arab tribe of Khuzā'a [q. v.]. His ancestor Rāfiq was a client of the governor of Sistān, Abū Muḥammad Ṭalḥa b. 'Abd Allāh al-Khuzā'i; Rāfiq's son Ma'ab took part in the fighting against the Umayyads under Abū Muslim as secretary (*kātib*) to the general Sulaimān b. Kathir al-Khuzā'i. The town of Būshandī [q. v.] in the district of Herāt [q. v.] was held by Ma'ab and afterwards by his son al-Husain (d. 199 = 814—815). Tahir himself took part in the fighting against the rebel Rāfiq b. Laith in Samarkand in the last years of the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (c. 193 = 808—809). In 194 (810), Ma'mūn's minister Faḍl b. Sahl [q. v.] gave him command of the army sent against al-Amin [q. v.]. In Sha'bān 195 (May 811) the enemy under 'Alī b. 'Isa was defeated; Tahir is said to have used his sword with both hands during the battle and for this to have been given the name *Dhu l-Yamain* (ambidextrous) by Ma'mūn. After the taking of Baghdad (198 = 813) Tahir was appointed governor of al-Djazīra [q. v.] with the supreme command over Syria and the west. When Ma'mūn went in 819 (203—204) from Khorāsān to the Irak, Tahir was ordered to leave Raḥḥa and come to meet the Caliph at Nahrāwān. In 205 (820—821) Tahir was given the governorship of all the lands east of Baghdad, especially of Khorāsān. There he died suddenly in his capital Merw, shortly after he had omitted the mention of the Caliph in prayer one Friday, and thus committed an act of open rebellion. The details are variously recorded

in the sources: cf. M. J. de Goeje in *Travaux de la 3^e Session du Congrès International des Orientalistes à St. Pétersbourg*, 1876, ii. 163 *sqq.*

Although his mother-tongue was Persian (cf. the utterances in Persian ascribed to him in Ibn al-Tāhir, ed. Keller, p. 130 and Tabari, iii. 1063 *infra*), Tāhir is said, like his descendants, to have been well versed in the Arabic language and culture. His letter written in 306 (821—822) to his son 'Abd Allāh on his appointment as governor of Diyār Rabi'a [q.v.] became celebrated even among his contemporaries; cf. *Kitāb Baghdad*, ed. Keller, p. 36 *sqq.* (German transl., p. 17 *sqq.*); Tabari, (ii. 1046 *sqq.*; Ibn al-Athir, vi. 258 *sqq.*, Russian transl. by A. Schmidt, *Bulletin de l'Univ. de l'Asie Centrale*, viii., 1925, p. 129 *sqq.*

Bibliography: esp. Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, N^o. 308; ed. du Slane, text, p. 331 *sqq.*; transl., i. 649 *sq.*

(W. BARTHOLO)

TĀHIR 'OMAR [See ZĀHIR 'OMAR.]

TĀHIR WAHID, MUHAMMAD, IMĀD AL-DAWLĀ, a Persian poet of Kaxwin, who was the secretary of the two Prime Ministers Mirzā Taqī al-Dīn Muhammad and Khalīfā Sulṭān; in 1055 (1645—6) appointed historiographer to Shāh 'Abbās II, he became minister in 1101 (1689—90) in the reign of Sulaimān; afterwards he retired into private life and died most probably in 1110 (1698—99) aged 90. The British Museum has five MSS. of his historical works. The *Asch-kad* (Bombay 1277, not paginated) says that his poems were mainly admired because of the rank of the author.

Bibliography: Hammer, *Gesch. Rösch. Pers.*, p. 380 (fragments transl.); Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, p. 189—190; E. G. Browne, *A History of Persian Literature in Modern Times* (Cambridge 1924), 258, 264; Ivanow, *Descriptive Cat. of the Bengal (Calcutta) 1924*, p. 371; Ethé, *Grundriss d. iran. Philologie*, ii. 312, 342.

(CL. HUART)

BĀBĀ TĀHIR, a mystic and poet who wrote in a Persian dialect. According to Ridā Kālī Khān (sixth century), who does not give his source, Bābā Tāhir lived in the period of Dailāmī rule and died in 401 (1010). Among his quatrains there is an enigmatical one: "I am that sea (*bahr*) which entered into a vase; that point which entered into the letter. In each *alf* ('thousand', i.e. of years?) arises an *alf-badd* (a man upright in stature like the letter *alf*). I am the *alf-badd* who has come in this *alf*". Mahdī Khān in the *J. A. S. Bengal* has given an extremely curious interpretation of this quatrain: the letters *alf-bd* have the value 215, the same as the letters of the word *daryā* (Persian equivalent of the Arabic *bahr* "sea") and those of the name of the poet Tāhir. If we add *alf-bd* (215) to *alf* (111) we get 326 (the same value by the way as the Persian word *hazār*, "thousand"; if we spell it *hā, sā, alif, ʿā*). In this way the phrase "an *alf-badd* come into the *alf*" would give the date (326) of the birth of Bābā Tāhir who may well have lived till 401.

In spite of the ingenuity of this explanation, it is nevertheless true that the only historical evidence that we possess about Bābā Tāhir is that of the *Rihāt al-Sudūr* (c. 601 [1204], *G. M. S.*, p. 98—99), the author of which "had heard" when the Saljuq Sultan Tughril entered Hamadān (in 447 = 1055), Bābā Tāhir addressed an ad-

monition to him ("O Turk, how you going to act towards the Muslims?") which much impressed the conqueror. The anecdote suggests for the death of Bābā Tāhir a date later than 447 but is in no way contradictory to the statement that Bābā Tāhir flourished under the Dailāmīs, i.e. under the Būyids and their relatives, the Kākūyids, whose rule in Hamadān lasted till the expedition of Ibrāhīm Yavānī in 435. Bābā Tāhir may well have been the contemporary of Avicenna (Abū Sīnā) who died at Hamadān in 428 (1037), but the legends which make him a witness of the execution of the mystic 'Ain al-Kuḍāt of Hamadān in 533 and the contemporary of Naṣīr al-Dīn Tūsī (d. 672) are pure inventions.

The sources sometimes call Bābā Tāhir Hamadānī (cf. the Arabic MS. 1903 of the Bibl. Nat. Paris, the *Sarandīb*, etc.), sometimes Lurī (Lūrī). This latter form — in place of Lur [q.v.] — is somewhat puzzling: does it mean some other connection than of origin between Bābā Tāhir and Luristān? It is certainly well to remember that in the 11th century there were very close links between Hamadān and Luristān and the poet may have spent his life between the two places. In Khurramābād there is a quarter bearing the name of Bābā Tāhir (cf. Edmonds, *Geogr. Journ.*, June 1922, p. 443). The association of Bābā Tāhir with Luristān in the beliefs of the Ahl-i Ḥaqīq [see below] is also significant. In the quatrains of Bābā Tāhir (cf. nos. 102, 200, 274 of the *Diwān*), Mount Alwand [q.v.] overshadowing Hamadān is frequently mentioned. The tomb of Bābā Tāhir lies on a little hill to the northwest of the town in the Bun-i bāsr quarter; beside the tomb of Bābā Tāhir are those of his faithful Faṭīma [see below] and Mirzā 'Alī Naḳī Kawtharī (sixth century); the building is a humble one and of no interest. The tomb is mentioned in the *Nuzhat al-Kulūb* (740 = 1340), *Gibb. Mem. Ser.*, p. 75; cf. the photograph in Minorsky, *Matériaux*, Moscow 1911, p. xi. and Williams Jackson, *A visit to the Tomb of Bābā Tāhir at Hamadān*, in *A Volume presented to E. G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, p. 257—260.

The stories one hears in Mīzandarān about B. Tāhir's connection with that province have no foundation and may have been brought by immigrants from Luristān (the Lak). Besides, all the nomads of Persia like to claim B. Tāhir as a compatriot.

The language of Bābā Tāhir. Since all the facts and traditions connect the poet with Hamadān and Luristān, it is reasonable to expect to find in his dialect traces of a dialect of this region of Persia. But as this dialect was very close to Persian and as so many different mouths have been trying to render more comprehensible the verses transmitted orally, there is little hope of reestablishing the text in its dialectic purity. It is not an improbable suggestion that B. Tāhir simply wanted to imitate the dialects of these adepts. In our own day a Kurd Christian claims to have made verses in the Gūrānī dialect, quite distinct from his own in order to "transmit the message" to the Ahl-i Ḥaqīq (Dr. Sa'īd Khān, in the *Moslem World*, Jan. 1927, p. 40).

The country between Hamadān and Khurramābād still has many dialects, but that of Bābā Tāhir is not connected with any definite one and seems to borrow from all. The closeness of the present

text of B. Tāhir to literary Persian is undeniable; on the other hand changes like *nām* > *nūm* "name", *dattam* > *dastum* ("my hand"), *raftam* > *raftum* ("I have gone"), *dār* > *dīr* (cf. Huart, xiv = *Diwān*, No. 82) are typical of the Lur dialects; the stems *šāfi* "to speak", *kar* "to do" are common to the Kurdish and central dialects; the forms *mi-kar-ū* "he does" and *āy-ā* "he comes" recall particularly the Gūrān spoken much further to the west. For certain peculiarities (*dāram* > *dārem*) we only find analogies at Kāzvin (near Shirāz).

Hadam's detailed analysis has plainly proved this mixture of dialects (*Dialektgemisch*) in the quatrains, at least as we know them now. The term "Muhammadan Pahlavi" proposed by Huart (1885) for the language of Hābā Tāhir has not been accepted by scholars.

The metre of the quatrains of Hābā Tāhir and of his ghazals is almost exclusively *ḥazaj muraḥḥat* *maḥḥaf* *u* --- | *u* --- | *u* --- which has made the new editor call the quatrains *da-ḥaf* (disticha) instead of *rubāʿi*, the last term being too closely associated with the metre *ḥazaj maḥḥaf maḥḥaf* *u* --- | *u* --- | *u* ---. The authenticity of some regular *rubāʿi* attributed to B. Tāhir seems doubtful. The metre of B. Tāhir is also found in popular songs (Mirzā Dīfār [Korach], *Gramm. Pers. Faylha*, Moscow 1901, p. 308).

HĀBĀ TĀHIR—poet. Down to 1927, all that was known of his poems was a rather small number found for the most part in anthologies of the xviiith and xixth centuries. Huart's researches produced in 1885, 59 quatrains and in 1908, another 28 and one *ghazal*. E. Heron Allen only found 3 new quatrains (they are moreover very doubtful). Lessertynski (who used the Berlin manuscripts) has translated 80 quatrains and one *ghazal* (a different one from Huart's). Finally Husain Wahid Dastgirdi Isfahānī, editor of the Persian review *Armāghān*, published in 1306 (1927) at Tihān a *Diwān* of B. Tāhir containing 296 *do-beit* and 4 *ghazals* of this poet; as an appendix the editor gives 62 *do-beit* found in the "different collections" and the 3 *rubāʿi* added by Heron Allen. The quatrains of the *Diwān* are arranged in the alphabetical order of the rhymes. The editor unfortunately gives no details of the manuscript of the *Diwān* reproduced in his edition. The new quatrains several of which mention Tāhir's name, the mountains of Alwand and Meymand (?) etc., confirm the characteristics already known of Hābā Tāhir, while making them a little more banal by the inevitable repetitions. The dialectic flavour of most of the quatrains is in favour of their authenticity, although the imitation of the peculiarities of the language of B. Tāhir would really not be a very difficult matter. The question of the authenticity of the quatrains of B. Tāhir certainly arises, as it did in the case of those of 'Omar Khayyām. Żukowski says that the quatrains of B. Tāhir are found in the *Diwān* of Mullā Muḥammad Šāfi Māzandarāni (xvth cent. A. H.). A certain Šāfir Beg Muḥammad, a modern poet of Hamadān, claimed to be the author of several "Kurdi (Pahlavi)" quatrains attributed to B. Tāhir; cf. *Diwān*, p. 21.

The choice of subjects in Hābā Tāhir is very restricted, but the poet's work bears the stamp of a distinct personality. We give an analysis of the 59 quatrains published by Huart to enable the reader to judge. As usual it is difficult to draw

a rigid distinction between the expression of mystical and that of profane love; 34 quatrains are almost equally divided between two categories of lyric poetry. Two quatrains are simple hymns to God. The rest is more individual and characteristic. B. Tāhir often refers to his life as a wandering dervish-kalandar, without a roof above his head, sleeping with a stone for a pillow, continually harassed by spiritual anxieties (Nos. 6, 7, 14, 28). Cares and melancholy torment him; the "flower of grief" alone flourishes in his heart; even the charms of spring leave him still unhappy (34, 35, 47, 54). B. Tāhir professes the philosophy of the true Šāfi, confesses his sins, implores pardon for them, preaches humility, invokes nirvana (*fanā*) as the only remedy for his misfortunes (1, 13, 45, 50, 58). One human failing is especially characteristic of Hābā Tāhir: his eyes and his heart do not readily detach themselves from the things of this world; his rebellious heart burns within him, leaves him no rest for a moment and the poet cries in anguish: "Art thou a lion, a panther, O my Heart, thou who art continually struggling with me. If thou faltest into my hands, I shall spill thy blood to see what colour thou art, O my heart" (3, 8, 9, 26, 36, 42).

Hābā Tāhir's psychology shows striking contrast to that of 'Omar Khayyām. Hābā Tāhir shows no trace of the hedonism of the latter (d. 517 [1123 ?]) nor of his serenity in face of the changes brought by death, while 'Omar Khayyām lacks the mystic fire of Hābā Tāhir (cf. Christensen, *Critical Studies in the Rubāʿiyyāt of 'Omar-i Khayyām*, Copenhagen 1917, p. 44).

What pleases in Hābā Tāhir is the freshness of his sentiments which Šāfi routine had not yet stereotyped, the spontaneity of his images, the naiveté of his language, when expressing terror. A new Fitzgerald might make of Hābā Tāhir a worthy rival to 'Omar Khayyām.

HĀBĀ TĀHIR—mystic. The Persian dervishes with whom Żukowski talked about Hābā Tāhir knew that he was the author of 22 metaphysical treatises (cf. also Riḍā Kāfi Khān) but it is only from Etché and Blochet that we have learned in Europe of the existence in Oxford and Paris of commentaries on the maxims of B. Tāhir. The complete treatise [*al-Kalimāt*] [*al-ḥikm*] ("The brief sayings") has now been published in the edition of the *Armāghān*. This treatise consists of 368 Arabic maxims divided into 23 *sab* dealing with the following subjects: knowledge (*ilm*); gnosis (*maʿrifā*); inspiration and penetration (*ilḥām*, *firās*); reason and the soul (*qalb*, *nafs*); this world and the beyond (*dunyā*, *ʿālam*); the musical performance (*ṣawā*) and the *dhikr*; sincerity and spiritual retreat (*ikhṭā*, *ʿirfā*) etc.

Here are a few specimens of these maxims: No. 86: "Real knowledge is the intuition after which the knowledge of certainty has been acquired" (*al-ḥikmāt al-muḥḥidat ba'da 'ilmi l-yaqīn*); No. 96: "Ecstasy (*waḥd*) is the loss (of the knowledge) of existing things and is the existence of lost things"; No. 368: "he who has been the witness of predestination (coming) from God remains without movement and without volition"; No. 300: "he whom ignorance has slain has never lived, he whom the *dhikr* has killed will never die".

The "Brief Sayings" seem to have enjoyed considerable popularity among the Šāfis. The Persian editor mentions the following commentaries

on this treatise: the Arabic commentary attributed to 'Ain al-Qudāt al-Hamadāni (d. in 533 but often associated in legends with Bābā Ṭāhir); another Arabic commentary by an unknown author; the Arabic and Persian commentaries by Mallāḥ Sulṭān 'Alī Gunābādī: the Persian commentary was printed in 1326 (1906) but is very rare. The editor of the *Amārahān* expresses the hope of being one day able to publish the "Brief Sayings" accompanied by one of the commentaries.

The Arabic manuscript 1903 of the Bibl. Nat. contains the first 8 chapters of the maxims of Bābā Ṭāhir in an abridged form (fol. 100^b—105^b), as well as a commentary on them (fol. 74^a—100^a) entitled *al-Futūḥāt al-rabbāniya fi l-ḥikmah al-Hamadāniya*.

The manuscript seems to be in the hand of the author of the commentary, Dīān Beg al-'Azīz, who began his work in Shawwāl 889 and ended it on 20th Sha'bān 890 (1485). The commentary was written at the request of a certain Shaikh Abū 'I-Bakā who had possessed the *l-ḥikmah* of Bābā Ṭāhir since 853. He had let them fall into the well of Zamzam at Mecca but the manuscript was miraculously recovered. The 'ulamā' had dissuaded Abū 'I-Bakā from writing a commentary on the text on account of its profundity and obscurity. Finally Abū 'I-Bakā engaged Dīān Beg to accomplish this task. The commentary deals with the text of the maxims of Bābā Ṭāhir word by word.

Bābā Ṭāhir — a saint. As is the case with the majority of the mystical poets ('Alī, Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, Ḥafīz), there are numerous legends of the life and miracles of Bābā Ṭāhir. It is related that when Bābā Ṭāhir had asked the students of the madrasa of Hamadān to show him the way to acquire knowledge, the students as a joke told him to spend a winter night in the frozen water of a tank. Bābā Ṭāhir carried out the advice and next morning found himself enlightened and exclaimed: *Amāna Kurdiyan wa-afāḥu 'Arabīyan* ("last night I was a Kurd and this morning I have become an Arab"). This story was heard by Żukowski in Teherān and by Heron Allen's informant at Bāghīr; it is widely current in Hamadān (cf. the preface to the *Dīwān*, p. 17 and the manuscripts from Hamadān). This Arabic utterance is found in the preface to the *Mathnawī* of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, where however it is referred to an unknown (mystic?) ancestor of Ibn Akhlī, a Turk of Usmiya. In the *Nafahāt al-Uṣṣ* of Djalāl, ed. Nassau Lees, p. 362—363, the phrase is attributed to Abū 'Abd Allāh Bābūnī.

Other pious legends represent Bābā Ṭāhir as making the snow on Mount Alwand melt by the ardour of his spiritual fire, tracing with the point of his great toe the solution of an astronomical problem which had been put him, etc. (Żukowski, Heron Allen, Leszczynski, preface to the *Dīwān*, manuscripts from Hamadān).

Gobineau, *Trois ans en Asie*, Paris 1859, p. 344, already knew that the adepts of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq sect were in the habit of "praising exceedingly and giving pride of place to the names of famous Sāfīs, notably of Bābā Ṭāhir whose poems in the Lur dialect are highly esteemed, and of his sister Bibi Fatima" etc. The discovery of the religious work *Sarunḡām* has enabled us to locate Bābā Ṭāhir in the theogony of the sect. The Ahl-i Ḥaqq believed in 7 manifestations of the divinity (the

first, that of Khāwandigār was in pre-eternity, the second is that of 'Alī, the third that of Bābā Khoshin, the fourth that of Sulṭān Isḥāq [q. v.]). Each of these manifestations was accompanied by a retinue of 4 angels, each of whom had special duties. Bābā Ṭāhir is regarded as one of the angels of Bābā Khoshin and the incarnation of Arrā'īl and Nuṣair. The mystic stage to which the period of Bābā Khoshin generally corresponds is the *marifa*. The events of this cycle take place in Luristān and Hamadān. The manuscript of the *Sarunḡām* recounts the visit of the "King of the World" to Bābā Ṭāhir in Hamadān. Bābā Khoshin is meant by the "King of the World" but the legend seems to be inspired by memories of the episode of Tughrīl, related in the *Rūḥ al-Sudūr*. Bābā Ṭāhir and Faṭima Lārā ("the thin") of the tribe of Bārā Shāhi (living in the Gūrān country), who was in his service, fed the whole army of the King with a *ṣār-yak* of rice. The latter tempts Bābā Ṭāhir with all the treasures of the world but he only desires the "beauty of the King". Faṭima wants to follow the king of the World; she lays her head on her knees and gives up the ghost. The King consoles Bābā Ṭāhir for his loss and promises that on the day of the Last Judgement he will reunite him to Faṭima so that they shall be like Lailā and Majnūn. 13 poetical fragments (mutilated but in the style of Bābā Ṭāhir) are so scattered through the text (cf. *Ministry*, p. 29—33, 99—103; these facts have been utilised by Leszczynski, *op. cit.*, p. 18—25). Faṭima Lārā, who is mentioned in the text is buried beside Bābā Ṭāhir. According to the custodians of the tomb of Bābā Ṭāhir, she is not to be confused with another Faṭima also buried in the same *Buḡa* (?). Gobineau and A. V. W. Jackson mention the sister of Bābā Ṭāhir, Bibi Faṭima or Faṭima Lailā. Azād-i Hamadāni (*Dīwān*, p. 16—21) speaks of the tomb of the *ḥāya* "nurse" of Bābā Ṭāhir: everyone seems to endeavour to translate into the language of everyday life the mystic relations of Bābā Ṭāhir to Faṭima.

The quatrain already quoted at the beginning of this article (*alif, alif-kadd*) may reflect some high aspiration of Bābā Ṭāhir.

Bibliography: The manuscripts containing the quatrains of Bābā Ṭāhir are as follows: Asiat. Soc. Bengal, pers. N^o. 923, Catal. Ivanow, p. 424 (a *waḥḥ* of 1000 [1592]); Preuss. Staatsbibl., Catal. Pertsch, p. 727, N^o. 697 (written in 1820 and used by Leszczynski); 56 quatrains; Bibl. Nat. de Paris, pers. 174, Cat. Blochet, ii. 290—292 (collection made by Bakḥāḥ 'Alī Karābāghī, dated 1260 [1844]); 174 quatrains and a *ghosāl*. In the library of the mosque of Sipāhsālār in Tīhrān, Żukowski found a manuscript, *Ḥafāṣ-i Bābā Ṭāhir bi inḍimām-i ash'arāsh*, but the title did not correspond to the contents of the manuscript. The manuscripts of the mystical treatises of Bābā Ṭāhir are as follows: Bibl. Nat. de Paris, Arab 1903 (Blochet, *o. l.*, ii. 291) and the Oxford MS. Ethé, *Cat. Pers. MSS. Bodleian Lib.*, N^o. 1298, fol. 302^b—343. The anthologies which mention the poet are: 'Alī Kulī Khān Walīh, *Kiṭāb al-ḥikmah*, 1161 (1748), cf. Leszczynski, p. 10; Luṭf 'Alī beg, *Atashkade*, 1193 (1779), Bombay 1277, p. 247 (25 quatrains); 'Alī Ibrāhīm-abbā, *Shuhuf-i Ibrāhīm*, 1205 (1791), unique MS. in the Preuss. Staatsbibl., Pertsch, p. 627, N^o. 663 (utilised by Żukowski and

Leszczyński); Rīdā Kulī Khān, *Maḥjma' al-fayāḥ*, Tihān 1295, i. 326 (10 quatrains); Rīdā Kulī Khān, *Riyāḥ al-urīḥ*, Tihān 1303, p. 102 (24 quatrains); 57 quatrains of Bābā Ṭāhir were published at Bombay in 1297 and 1308 (with those of 'Umar Khayyām); 32 quatrains (with the *Munāẓẓāt* of Anṣārī) at Bombay 1301; 27 quatrains (with those of Khayyām) at Tihān 1274; the *ghazal* of Bābā Ṭāhir is given in the appendix to the *Divān* of Shams-i Maḥrībī, Tihān 1298, p. 158, in the appendix to the *Munāẓẓāt* of Anṣārī etc. The *Divān* of Bābā Ṭāhir (cf. text) with the *Kalimat-i ḥifz*, a preface by the editor, a biography by Maḥmūd 'Irfān, a description of the tomb of Bābā Ṭāhir by 'Arād-i Ḥamadān etc. were published as a supplement to the 8th year of the magazine *Armaghān*, Tihān 1306 (1927), p. 1—124. — Huart, *Les quatrains de Bābā Ṭāhir 'Uryān en pehlvi musulman*, *J. A.*, series viii, vol. vi, Nov.—Dec. 1885, p. 502—545; Żukowski, *Kość i B. Ṭāhir*, *Głoski Zap.*, 1900, xiii, p. 104—108 (bibliography, 3 anecdotes, 2 new quatrains one of which = No. 146 of the *Divān*), cf. also *Zap.*, ii, p. 12; E. Heron Allen, *The Lament of Bābā Ṭāhir*, London 1902 (text of 62 quatrains, transl. by the editor and a verse transl. by Elisabeth Curtis Brenton); E. G. Browne, *A Liter. Hist. of Persia*, i. 83—87, ii. 259—261; Mirzā Mahdī Khān (Kaukab), *The quatrains of B. Ṭāhir*, *J. A. S. Bengal*, 1904, No. 1, p. 1—29 (new edition of the quatrains of Heron Allen [+ 1 quatrain] with important corrections and a very interesting commentary); Huart, *Nouveaux quatrains de Bābā Ṭāhir*, in *Spiegel Memorial Volume*, ed. J. J. Modi, Bombay 1908, p. 290—302 (28 quatrains and 1 *ghazal*) completing the collection of 1885 recently discovered: in an extract from the *Kaḥḥāl al-fuḥar* of which the original is in the Muḥammadiya mosque (Fāṭih) of Constantinople, in the *Divān* of Maḥrībī and in an album (*ḡunḡ*). This second collection of quatrains published by Huart contains very irregular pieces, the translation of which is not certain; Minorsky, *Materiali* (*Matériaux pour servir à l'étude des croyances de la secte persane dite les Ahl-i Haqq ou 'Ahl-i Ilāhī'), vol. xxxiii. of the *Trudy Leningr. Instituta*, Moscow 1912, p. 29—33 (transl. of the passages from the *Sarandūm*), p. 99—103 (Persian text of the intercalated poems and notes); G. L. Leszczyński, *Die Rubā'iyāt des Bābā Ṭāhir 'Uryān oder Die Gottestränen des Herren*, aus d. west-medischen [sic?] Originale, Munich 1920 (biographical and bibliographical, verse transl.); K. Hadank, *Die Mundarten v. Khunīr etc.*, in *Kord.-pers. Forsch.*, v. O. Mann, series iii, vol. i, Leipzig 1926, introduction, p. xxxvii—lv. (complete study of the question of the language of Bābā Ṭāhir, bibliography).

(V. MINORSKY)

ṬĀHIRIDS, a dynasty in Khorāsān, founded by Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusain [q. v.]. The foundation of the rule of the Ṭāhirids was later considered to date from the appointment of Ṭāhir as commander of the army of the Caliph Ma'mūn in 194 (810) and therefore the duration of their rule was put at 65 years (till the deposition of Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir in 259 [873]; cf. the biography of Faḍl b. Sahl [q. v.] in Ibn Khallikān No. 540, ed. de Slane, p. 577; transl., ii. 473 [where we have wrongly

*six and fifty']). Ṭāhir was succeeded in Khorāsān by his son Ṭāḥa, d. 213 (828); after him reigned 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir [q. v.] till 230 (844) and Ṭāhir b. 'Abd Allāh till Raddab 248 (862), both of whom are described as able rulers. The capital of the dynasty was Nishāpūr (Arabic: Naisābūr); from the time of 'Abd Allāh their territory comprised Ray and Kirmān, in addition to Khorāsān proper and the lands east of it as far as the Indian frontier and northward to the boundary of the Caliph's empire. Although the Ṭāhirids were nominally only governors for the caliphs, their authority was so firmly established in Khorāsān that the province could not be given to any other. After the death of 'Abd Allāh the Caliph al-Wāthiq appointed Ishāq b. Ibrahim al-Mayālī governor of Khorāsān, but this appointment was cancelled before the departure of the new governor and Ṭāhir b. 'Abd Allāh confirmed in office in succession to his father (Sūli, MS. in the Publ. Libr. in St. Petersburg, f. 18^v 199). At the same time from 237 to 253 (851—867) another of 'Abd Allāh's sons, Muḥammad, held the office of military commandant (*qāḥil ḡharḡ*) and deputy of the Caliph in Baghdad. He declined an offer to go to Khorāsān on the death of his brother Ṭāhir, as he knew that the latter had intended his son Muḥammad to succeed him; Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir was therefore appointed governor of Khorāsān by the Caliph Mustafā (Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtama, ii. 604). Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, in contrast to his predecessors, is described as a frivolous and pleasure-loving prince; his lands gradually passed to the Saffārid [q. v.] Ya'qūb b. Laith to whom Muḥammad himself had to surrender in his capital in 259 (873). Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, who lived till 296 (908—909) (Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 42) does not seem to have returned to Khorāsān, although he was liberated after the defeat of Ya'qūb at Dair al-Aḳīl in 262 (876) and thereupon and once again in 271 (885) appointed governor of Khorāsān. His brother Husain b. Ṭāhir continued the struggle with the Saffārids without much success. The last military commandant of Baghdad of the Ṭāhirid family was 'Ubad Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh who died in Shawwāl 300 (May 913); according to 'Arīb, p. 40, he was 81 years of age but Ibn al-Athīr says he was only born in 223 (838); until his death he was regarded as Shaikh of the Khuzā'a tribe (Ibn Khallikān, transl. de Slane, ii. 80, not in the text p. 382, nor in Wüstenfeld's edition No. 366). His son Muḥammad b. 'Ubad Allāh was for a period commandant of the eastern half of Baghdad and was dismissed from office in 301 (913—914); cf. 'Arīb, p. 45.

The Ṭāhirids seem to have occupied a unique position among the rulers of their time on account of their high education and literary activities (in Arabic). In the *Fihrist* (p. 117) a special chapter (*Al Ṭāhir*) is devoted to the Ṭāhirids: many of them, from Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusain to 'Ubad Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh are celebrated as poets and authors. According to 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir the "wisdom" (*ḥikm*) of the Ṭāhirids was particularly manifested in his nephew Manṣūr b. Ṭāḥa, the governor of Merv, Amul and Khwārizm, and author of several works. According to a statement of little credibility in Dawlatshāh (ed. Browne, p. 30), 'Abdallāh is said to have disapproved of Persian literature and to have ordered Persian books to be burned and destroyed.

Bibliography: *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, ii. 559 sq.; W. Barthold, *Turkistan down to the Mongol Invasion*, G. M. S., 1928, p. 207—222.

(W. BARTHOLD)

TĀHMĀN b. 'AMR AL-KILĀBĪ was a minor Arabic poet whose collected poems have by accident been preserved, while more important collections have been irretrievably lost. The time when he lived is fairly accurately known, as he was captured by the Ḥārūrī leader Nadjda b. 'Amr al-Ḥanaṣī on one of his expeditions and employed as a guide. During the night he tried to escape, took one of the best camels and went away. He was however pursued on horses and recaptured. As a punishment for theft the Ḥārūrī imposed the punishment of having the right hand cut off. When he later came to the caliph 'Abd al-Malik he recited to him his most celebrated poem, in which he deplors the loss of his hand and asks the caliph for the payment of the ransom as he had acted only as a loyal subject and had not deserved the punishment imposed upon common criminals. However, according to another account, he did not lose his hand at all and the poem was made solely for the purpose to save his hand when he deserved such punishment. He had been at a winshop and when drunk had robbed the owner of the money taken by this illegal traffic by breaking open the box in which he kept the money. In this account he is brought before the caliph al-Walid and not 'Abd al-Malik. That he lived to the time of al-Walid is confirmed by another poem (p. 82, a) where he praises this ruler and the Banū Umayya in general. As also other accounts and verses make allusion to the loss of his hand, the second account appears to be due to an interpolator who was not acquainted with these verses. Tāhmān was sensitive about the loss of his hand and he always kept it wrapped up. One day a man of the clan of Abū Rabbā b. 'Abd, as he was at the watering trough, threw the garment covering his hand back. Tāhmān bore the grudge till he surprised the man kneeling at some work and struck him with his sword thinking he had killed him, though he had only wounded him. He fled to the Yaman to the tribe of al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b and found asylum among the Banū 'Abd al-Maḍān, one of the noblest Yamanite clans, and sent from there some verses expressing his delight at having avenged the insult. He also had another quarrel in which he killed a man of the tribe of Qhānī on account of a woman; then he ran away and stayed two years in the South of the Yamāma, hiding during the day, robbing the people during the night. His plight however was so wretched that when some of his clansmen of Kilāb passed he asked them in some verses to obtain pardon for him from the governor of al-Madīna. A man named Šudāy b. Kaṣa went to al-Madīna and obtained the pardon and paid the blood-money to the relations of the slain Qhānawī. From all these scattered accounts we may arrive at the conclusion that he lived in the second half of the first century of the Hījra. Several of the fragmentary poems are simply love poems, several upon Ḥārithī, i.e. South-Arabian women, composed during his stay in the Yaman. The short *diwān* probably formed part of the collection of poems made by Abū Sa'īd al-Sukkarī under the title: *Kiṭāb Luḡat al-'Arab*, 'Book of the Arab Robbers'. A German translation exists

by O. Rescher, but as it is privately printed; I do not know the date of publication. The Arabic text is published in W. Wright, *Opuscula Arabica*, Leyden 1859, p. 76—89. Verses of Tāhmān are cited occasionally in other works, sometimes only as being by one of the 'Robbers'. In the *Lisān al-'Arab* he is cited only four times (iii. 492; ii. 132; xi. 298; xiii. 43, 432); Bakrī, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 413; Yāqūt and al-Kāṣī in places to be found from the indices.

Bibliography: cited above.

(F. KERNKOW)

TĀHMĀSP I, second ruler of Persia of the Saffawī dynasty, eldest son of Šāh Ismā'īl I born in 919 (1514); he ascended the throne at the age of ten years (930 = 1524) and was of course the plaything of the Kizilbash chiefs. He defeated the Uzbeks in 934 (1527) near Turbet-i Šaikh Djam. Summoned to Baghdat by the rebellion of Dhu 'l-Fakār of the Kurd tribe of the Mūslū, who was supported by the Kalhur Kurds and claimed to be under Turkish suzerainty (936 = 1530), he found him murdered by his brothers. He next went to Herāt which the Uzbeks had been besieging for 18 months, but the latter withdrew on his approach. In 940 (1534) the Ottomans occupied Mesopotamia and Tabriz. Sulṭān Sulaimān went to Sultāniya, then crossed the mountains to the south to occupy Baghdat; four years later he occupied Wān. The Persians had all the time been on the defensive. In 1541 the great Moghul Humāyūn, son of Bābur, driven from his throne by a rebellion, took refuge with Tāhmāsp. The magnificent festivities held on this occasion are commemorated in a wall-painting in the pavilion of Čihil-Sutūr in Isfahān, but Humāyūn was worried by the Šāh's insisting on his adoption of the Šī'a.

A rebellion of his brother Ilkhān-Mirzā in 954 (1547) who was supported by the Turks gave Tāhmāsp no rest; an Ottoman army occupied Ādharbāydjān and Isfahān; Ilkhān however quarrelled with his allies, the campaign led to nothing and the pretender was later captured and put to death. In 961 (1554) an armistice was concluded with the Turks and the peace signed the following year. Bāyard, son of Sulṭān Sulaimān, took refuge in Persia after his rebellion (963 = 1556) but he was handed over after two years' negotiations and Tāhmāsp ordered or allowed him to be put to death for a sum of 400,000 pieces of gold.

The last years of his reign were marked by Uzbek invasions of Khorāsān and a famine followed by plague (919 = 1571). Tāhmāsp died in 984 (1576), poisoned by the mother of a certain Haidar, chief of the Ustādjīn tribe. His reign had lasted 52 and a half years. He wrote his autobiography, publ. by P. Horn, *Dinkwārdigheiten*, Z. D. M. G., xlv, 1890, p. 363—649, transl. Strassburg 1891; it stops at the year 969 (1561) when Bāyard was handed over to the Turks. Copies of official letters addressed by him to contemporary sovereigns are found in various MSS. of the British Museum (Rieu, *Catalogue*, N^o. 390, 530, 809, 984). In his reign Persia was visited by Anthony Jenkinson, English Ambassador (1562) and Vincentio d'Alessandri, Venetian Ambassador (1571).

Bibliography: Rīdā-kulī-khān, *Rawdat al-Safā-i Nāzi*, Teheran 1274, viii., not paged; E. G. Browne, *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, Cambridge 1924, p. 81, 84—98; P. M. Sykes, *History of Persia*, ii. 246—253; Curtzen,

Persia, ii. 35; Cl. Huart, *Histoire de Bagdad dans les temps modernes*, Paris 1901, p. 34—36; P. Hunn, *Geschichte Irans in islamischer Zeit*, in *Grundriss d. Iran. Philologie*, ii. 582; L. Toussaint, *Z. D. M. G.*, 1883, xxxvii, p. 113—125; Malcolm, *History of Persia*, London 1815, i. 505—511.

Tahmāsp II, third son of Shāh Husain, proclaimed heir-presumptive during the siege of Isfahān by the Afghāns (1135 = 1722), escaped at the head of 600 men and tried without success to raise troops in Kāzwin. He made a treaty with Peter the Great who had just occupied Resht and Baku (the treaty led to nothing), held out at Farahābād in Māzandaran, with the support of Fath 'Alī Khān, chief of the Kādjār, and was joined there by the future Nādir Shāh, who then took the name Tahmāsp Kulī Khān (the Khān, servant of Tahmāsp) and brought him 5,000 men, Afghār and Kurds. After the assassination of Fath 'Alī Khān near Meshhed by Nādir, the latter was appointed commander-in-chief of the Persian troops, took Meshhed and Herāt, won a signal victory over the Afghāns at Mīhman-Dūst, near Dāmghān in 1141 (1729). Leaving Tahmāsp at Dāmghān, Nādir won a further success at Murde-Khart, entered Isfahān where Tahmāsp, whose father had been massacred by the Afghāns before their departure, followed him and found his mother there, where she had lived seven years disguised as a slave without being recognised. Tahmāsp rewarded his general for his services by giving him the governorship of Khōrāsān, Sījāsān, Kirmān and Māzandarān with the title Sultān. Nādir struck coins in his own name and paid his troops with them. Fired by the victories of his lieutenant, Tahmāsp wished to take command of the army, undertook unsuccessfully the siege of Erīwān and was defeated by the Turks at Kōreghān, near Hamadān in 1144 (1731); in the following year he concluded peace by ceding Transcaucasia, but retained Tabriz and the country S.E. of it. Nādir protested against the conclusion of the treaty, marched on Isfahān, seized Tahmāsp and sent him to be imprisoned in Khōrāsān putting on the throne a son of the Shāh, aged eight months, under the name of Shāh 'Abbās III; this son dying, Nādir (q.v.) had himself proclaimed ruler of Persia in 1148 (1736). In the course of the campaign in India, the son of Nādir, Rīdā Kūll, put Tahmāsp to death along with the greater part of his family at Sebzwār (1151 = 1739).

Bibliography: Mirzā Mahdī Khān, *Ta'rikh-i Djāhān-gushā-i Nādiri*, Bombay 1265, p. 9—114; Tiliuz 1266, p. 6—67; Rīdā Kulī Khān, *Kawqāt al-Safā'i Nādiri*, Teheran 1274, viii, not paged; P. M. Sykes, *History of Persia*, ii. 317—344; E. G. Browne, *Hist. of Persian Literature in Modern Times*, Cambridge 1924, p. 129—136; Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia*, London 1815, i. 636—637; ii. 21—96. (CL. HUART)

TAHMŪRATH, the second king of the Pishdādī dynasty in the Persian epic cycle.

The name Takhmō-arupa (*Avesta*), Takhmōrup (*Bundahish*) is compounded of *takhmā* ("strong, courageous") (cf. Rustam < Rostahm) + *arupa* (or *arupī*) (cf. Christensen, p. 140), "a certain animal of the dog family", cf. Bartholomae, *Altir. Wört.*, p. 1532, who, however, expresses doubts as to the real meaning of the name (Darmesteter, *Avesta*, ii, p. 583, interprets it "of sturdy shape"; cf.

Sanskrit *rūpa*?). Later forms are Takhmūraf, Takhmūras. The transcription into Arabic characters Takhmūraf (sometimes Takhmūrah) reflects an intermediate stage in the evolution of the final *p > f > ḥ > r*; the emphatic Arabic *f* seems to show retroactive influence of the *r*; cf. the forms Takhmāsp, and Tīhrān. In the *Shah-nāma* the Mandaitan Takhmūraf appears under the name Zairānayatā Takhmūraf.

As Windischmann points out, Takhmūraf is one of the most puzzling characters in the Iranian epic. Syncretistic imagination has been very much at work on the person of this king and each period has added some new features to his character. According to the majority of the sources, Takhmūraf is the son of Wiwandjshān (Avestan Vivahvant, Pahl. Vivanghō, who is the grandson or the great grandson of Hushang). The brothers of Takhmūraf are his successors Vīm = Djāmshēd, Spitūr (Spityura) and Nars. The *Shah-nāma* alone makes the order of reigns the same as the order of generations, by making Takhmūraf the son of Hushang and the father of Djāmshēd. The Muslim sources mention a son of Takhmūraf who according to Ibn al-Fakih was called Fāris (eponym of the Persians), according to the *Nuzhat al-Kulūb* (ed. Le Strange, p. 112): Lashkar; according to Herbelot's sources: Kahrāmān.

In the *Avesta* Takhmūraf has the epithet *mainorant* (*mainorant*), usually explained (cf. Hames and the *Majmil*, p. 166) as "armed" but according to Bartholomae, *Altir. Wört.*, p. 228 and 1651, having the sense of "watchful", "wide awake". Firdawsi does not mention this epithet unless he alludes to it when he says that Takhmūraf saddled (*sir*) Ahriman to serve as a steed for him.

According to the *Avesta*, *Yasht*, 19, 28, Takhmō Urupa "subdued all the demons and rode Ahri-Maiyu whom he transformed into a horse, for 30 years, from one end of the earth to the other" (transl. Darmesteter). The victory of Takhmūraf over Ahriman was won on the day Khordād of the month of Farvardin and this event is celebrated each year by the faithful who should make a special cake for the occasion (according to a Pahlavi treatise in West, *Pahlavi Texts*, iv, p. 314). The Persian *Khwāyār* (Spiegel, *Einführung*) which gives Mōbad-i Dīhlawī as its authority is full of curious details (absent in Firdawsi and elsewhere). Every day Takhmūraf, mounted on Ahriman, went three times round the world and three times covered the road from Mt. Alburz to the bridge Cinvad. Ahriman felled by mace blows from Takhmūraf lived only on the sins of men. By promises of honey and silk garments (on these impure things, cf. Spiegel, *Einführung*, ii. 153, 158) Ahriman persuaded the wife of Takhmūraf to ask her husband if in the course of his rounds he was ever afraid. Takhmūraf confessed that he was always afraid that Ahriman might throw himself from the summit of Alburz to the foot. Learning Takhmūraf's weak spot, Ahriman threw him and swallowed him. The angel Surōsh announced the disappearance of Takhmūraf to Djāmshēd and tells him what two things delight Ahriman, praises (or song) and sodomy (cf. Marquart in *Handel Amerya*, Vienna 1916, p. 100). Djām played on these passions and when Ahriman prepared to accede to his proposals, Djām slipped his hand into his entrails and pulled out his brother's body. Ahriman pursues Djām but the latter on the advice

of Sərōš abstains from looking him in the face and Ahriman thus impotent returns to hell. Djam purifies Tāhmūrath and builds an (*ajrōšān*) for him. The hand of Djam which had touched Ahriman became covered with leprosy. During a dream he learns that his malady can be cured. Hence the institution of the *dakhma* and the use of the *goms*, are connected in the *Ardešyār* with the death of Tāhmūrath. The *Muḡmil* expressly says that Tāhmūrath died a natural death.

The exploits of Tāhmūrath also earned him the epithet of *daband*, cf. the *Šāh-nāma*, the *Muḡmil* and the Persian *Ardešyār*. According to the Aogemide (*Avesta*, tr. Darmesteter, iii. 165), Tāhmūrath made a steed of Ganī-Mainyō, the demon of demons, and extorted from him the 7 kinds of writing. The *Minoḡharat* (tr. West, Ch. xxi. 32) explains that it was the seven alphabets hidden by Ahriman that were brought to light. Firdawsi does not seem to be aware of the ambiguity of his language, which here suggests the demoniacal origin of the alphabets, while, according to him, they were taught to Tāhmūrath by the *dev* whom he had subdued after their rebellion. Firdawsi speaks of "about 30 alphabets" (*mandik-i st*) but only mentions six by name, the *rūmi*, the *fāsi*, the *fārsi*, the *seghdi*, the *itali* and the *pahlavi*.

On this tradition there was in time superimposed the legend of the measures taken by Tāhmūrath to save the books at the Deluge. As Windischmann has already pointed out, this act of Tāhmūrath's connects him with the Babylonian Xisouthros (Berosius, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, ed. Müller, ii. 501). Hamza, ed. Guttwaldt, p. 197, says that in 350 (961) there was found at Dīsi (Isfahān) in the building called Sārwaīh or Sārōya a hoard of 50 bales of skins covered with unknown writings. (Ibn Rusta transcribes the name Sārō; this is also the name of the citadel of Hamadān, of the capital of Fārsān, of the tributary of the Dīaghātū and of the town of Sārōj near Bīredjīk). In this connection Hamza under 357 (962) quotes the story of the astronomer Abū Ma'shar (d. 272 = 885), according to which a similar find of manuscripts written on the *līz* of the white poplar (*līzandān*) had previously been made at Sārōya. On this occasion one of the manuscripts written "in old Persian script" could be deciphered. One of the old kings of Persia in it related that 231 years and 300 days before the Deluge, Tāhmūrath had known the date of its happening. As a true friend of knowledge and of scholars, he ordered his engineers to find the safest place to erect a building which was called Sārōya. Scientific works of different kinds including astronomical tables were put in it (but the Deluge, cf. al-Bīrūnī, did not come beyond the frontier of Hulwān).

There are several other traditions connected with Tāhmūrath. The reference is very old in the *Bundahish*, ch. xvii. 4, according to which in the time of Tāhmūrath "the people regularly passed on the back of the bull Sarsaok from (*Karshvar* [mod. Pers. Kashvar] central) Khvantras to the other regions". One night in the middle of the sea, the wind blew into the water the sacred fire which had also been placed on the back of Sarsaok, but the fire broke into three parts which shone so brightly that the people were able to cross the sea. This myth is symbolical of the peopling of the 6 *karshvar* of the periphery and of the origin of the three great pyres.

To Tāhmūrath (Hamza, p. 29—30) is attributed the building of Babylon, of the citadel (*kūhandū*) of Marw, of Kardādād (one of the 7 cities of Madā'in; another reading has: Kardābād; in the *Muḡmil al-Tawārīkh*: *Girdābād-i buzurgtarin*), of the two suburbs of Isfahān: Mihirū (Marbin, cf. Ibn al-Fakīh, p. 265) and Sārōya (formerly Kūk). According to Tabari, Tāhmūrath founded the town of Sībūr, and Mas'ūdī places there the residence of Tāhmūrath. To this list Herbelot's sources add Niniveh and Amid.

In the *Šāh-nāma*, Tāhmūrath is represented as the great initiator in the exploitation of the animal kingdom: from him dates the weaving of wool, the domestication of wild animals, of birds of prey, the rearing of horses and other animals for riding, of watch-dogs and of cocks and hens (cf. also the *Muḡmil* and the *Ardešyār*).

Along with Tāhmūrath the *Šāh-nāma* mentions his wise and pious minister (*dastūr*) Šōdāsp, whose name looks like a wrong reading for Būdāsp (Boddhisatva, Buddha). Blochet (*Études sur le Gnosticisme*, p. 28) has endeavoured to show from the system of writing Pahlavi the possibility of the substitution of *ghā* in place of *dāt* in the sense of demon. Tabari, i. 175 says that in the first year of the reign of Tāhmūrath, Būdāsp appeared who preached the doctrine of the Šābi'a [q. v.] and almost all the Muslim historians repeat this (cf. Windischmann and Christensen). Some writers (Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, B. G. A., viii. 90) even suggest that before Zardusht the Persians professed the Sabaeen religion preached by Būdāsp. According to Hamza, Yūdāsp (read Būdāsp) instituted fasting on the occasion of a famine in the time of Tāhmūrath. The same writer says that Tāhmūrath was tolerant in religious matters and in his reign idolatry had increased. This legend is exactly contrary to what the *Dinkart* (vii. 1, 19) says, that Tāhmūrath put down idolatry and caused the worship and adoration of the Creator to increase.

Tāhmūrath has no equivalent in Indian mythology. Windischmann and Spiegel have sought to unravel the Indo-European (Iranian?) from the Semitic elements in this complex character. To the former belong the genealogy of Tāhmūrath, his struggle with Ahriman etc. Are the elements dealing with the deluge, the saving of the books etc. Semitic? Windischmann, relying on the second element of the name Tāhmūrath (*urupa*), even suspected an animal origin for him (*Targitaos*) connecting him with certain Babylonian mythological figures.

An original theory has been advanced by Christensen, *op. cit.*, p. 136, 142: he says that it was after the separation of the Iranians from the Indians that Hūshang and Tāhmūrath, both keeping traces of the type of the "first man" and the "first king", were inserted in the mythological framework where they took a place before Yim, the Indo-Iranian type of the first man, and after Gayō-mard, the pre-anthropomorphic giant, who became the prototype of the human race. Christensen then proposes to assimilate Hūshang and Tāhmūrath to the personages of Scythian legend (Herodotus, iv. 5—7): Targitaos, the first man and his son Arpoxais, "eponym of the Scythian tribe Rpa" (*Arpa > Urupa; Christensen thinks he recognises this element in the toponymy of many places in nearer Asia which were the scene of Scythian migrations). Hence the genealogy, Tāhmūrath, son of Hūshang,

given by Firdawst is perhaps in keeping with the tradition, while the three generations introduced between Tahmurath and Hushang would only be misreadings of the name Vivanghān.

Later sources rationalised the legend; according to a Pārsi priest (Darmesteter, *Et. Iran.*, ii, 74), the victory of Tahmurath over Ahriman simply means his victory "over the impure desires of the flesh". Mirkhond seems to wish to substitute for the revolt of the *divs*, one of the nobles of the kingdom.

The later evolution of the story of Tahmurath in Muslim lands is very curious. According to E. Blochet the ware with a woman's head, al-Burāk, [q. v.], on whom at the *mī'rāj* Muḥammad traversed the world, is derived from Ahriman in the legend of Tahmurath. The name of Burāk is, he says, connected with the Persian word *būra* (*būrag*) which are actually used in the *Rivāyat* and Firdawst. On a Sāsānian vase in Vienna (cf. Arnoeth, *Monumente d. K. R. Münz- und Antiken-Cabinette in Wien*, 1850, *Die antiken Gold- und Silbermonumente*, pl. vi-vii) are figures of a man mounted on a monster with a bearded human head having some resemblance to the winged Assyrian bulls. Blochet thinks he recognises in these figures different phases in the exploit of Tahmurath. On the other hand, the same scholar has shown how Tahmurath, having passed through the avatar of the Muslim *ajinn* Samhūras or Shamhūras (metathesis of *h* and *w*?) has come to be confused with the complex figure of St. George. The figure of Samhūras is found in an old manuscript *Dafā'ih al-bāghīyah* (Bibl. Nat. Paris, Pers. fonds, N^o 174); in the accompanying text we are told that this spirit is the "great spirit of the atmosphere" and that his residence (*maḥḥa*) is in the island (sic!) of Ba'albak. He is represented as a warrior fully equipped (*mubārī*) killing a dragon with a blow from a sword in such a way that the dragon (*abḍakā*) is cut in two while seizing with his teeth the chest of the horse. Wherever two armies meet ready for battle, God orders this spirit to go to the space between them and it is he who gives his aid to the side which God desires to assist!

The name Tahmurath, frequent in the modern period among Pārsis, seems to be unknown in Muhammadan Persia. Since the xvth century it has been very popular among the Christian princes of Georgia (in the form *Tamuraz*). This curious fate of the name may be explained by the influence of the *Shirwānshāh* [q. v.] who were related to the Georgians and often bear names from the Iranian epics.

Bibliography: The principal sources mentioning Tahmurath are: *Avesta*, *Yasht*, Chap. 15, 11 and 19, 23; *Afrin-i Zartušt*, § 2; *Bundahish* (West, *Pahlavi texts*, i, Oxford 1880), Chap. 17, 4; 31, 2-3; 34, 4; *Dīn-i Mānīg-i Khirad* (West, *ibid.*, iii, 1885), Chap. 27, 21; *Rivāyat pārsi* on Tahmurath is found in Spiegel, *Einleit. in die traditionellen Schriften d. Parsen*, ii, Vienna 1860, p. 158-159 and 317-326 (197 Persian distichs; there is a prose version in a MS. of Munich; cf. Bartholomae, *Cat.*, p. 141); *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Mohl, i, p. 40-46; ed. Vullers, i, p. 202; Tabari, i, 174-175; Mas'adi, *Murūf*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, ii, 111; iii, 252; iv, 44, 49; Hamza Isfahānī, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 13, 25, 29-30, 197 (transl. p. 9, 17, 20, 151); Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāghiya*, ed. Sachau, p. 24;

Mudmil al-Tawārīkh, J. A., 1841, xi, 154, 166, 279, 292, 390, 413; Thā'libī, *Gharar Akhbār Mulk al-Fars* (before 412), ed. Zotenberg, p. 7-9. For the minor sources cf. Windischmann and Christensen, p. 192-203, D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orientale*, "réduite et augmentée" ed. of 1783, v, p. 451-456, s. v. Tahamurath, where are quoted the later additions from poems like *Tahmurath-nāma* and *Kahramān-nāma* [MS. Turkish of the Bibl. Nat. de Paris, N^o 321, 343 and 344; Kahramān is the son of Tahmurath], cf. Mohl, introd. to his edition of the *Shāh-nāma*, i, p. 74-76; there is no article Tahmurath in the original edition of d'Herbelot, Paris 1697, although the *Tahmurath-nāma* is quoted there s. v. Malik-al-bahr ā propos of the steed of Siyāmak, son of Kayūmarth. Windischmann, *Zoroastre. Studien*, Berlin 1863; *Tahmurath-nāma*, p. 196-212; Spiegel, *Erasmische Altertumskunde*, i, Leipzig 1871, p. 516-522; Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 1895, p. 320-321; Darmesteter, *Études iranienne*, 1883, ii, 24, 51, 74-75, 178; E. Blochet, *L'assimilation au ciel du prophète Mohammed*, R. H. R., 1899, vol. xi, p. 1-25, 203-236; do., *Études sur le gnosticisme musulman*, R. S. O., vol. ii, iii, iv, vi, tirage à part, Rome 1913, p. 1-193, esp. p. 1-17, 28; A. Christensen, *Le premier homme et le premier roi dans l'histoire légendaire des Iraniens*, Arch. Études orient., vol. xiv, Upsala 1918, p. 131-218; Höflang and Tagmōrow (complete analysis of all the sources). (V. MINORSKY).

TAHRIF (A.), corruption of a document, whereby the original sense is altered. It may happen in various ways, by direct alteration of the written text, by arbitrary alterations in reading aloud the text which is itself correct, by omitting parts of it or by interpolations or by a wrong exposition of the true sense. The Muslims found occasion to deal with this conception in connection with those passages in the Kur'an where Muḥammad accused the Jews of falsifying the books of revelation given them, i.e. the Thora, *harrafā* [cf. *Kōz'An*, vol. ii, 1066]. This accusation was really the only way of escape for Muḥammad out of a dangerous situation, when he came into closer contact with the Jews in Medina. He had from the beginning appealed to the evidence of the "peoples of a scripture", i.e. the Jews and the Christians, as he was firmly convinced that the contents of the Old and New Testament coincided with what he preached on the basis of his revelations. But his ideas of incidents and laws in the Old Testament contained such misunderstandings that they naturally provoked criticism and ridicule from the Jews and thus he was put in a false position. If his expositions were contradictory to the old revealed scriptures, his claim to have received them by divine revelation was at stake. But as his consciousness of his prophetic inspiration was unassailable, there was only one thing for him to do, namely to declare that the Jews had maliciously corrupted their sacred books while he himself had given their true content. It was a bold assertion but was made easier for him by the fact that these scriptures were sealed books to his followers, while they believed firmly in the truth of his words. In this connection Muḥammad uses the expression *harrafā* (Sūra ii, 70; iv, 48; v, 16, 45), more rarely the synonym *latū* (iii, 72; iv, 48) or *baddala* the meaning of which is

narrower, "to exchange", "to put in the place of something" (ii. 56; vii. 16). How he pictured this alteration to himself is not clear from his words and perhaps he had no very definite idea of it: he was more concerned with the fact itself than with how it was done. There is a direct charge of having falsified the text in Sūra ii. 73: "Woe to them, who write the Scripture with their hands and say: this comes from Allāh." On the other hand in ii. 72 there seems to be a reference to an alteration in the text while it is being read: "A part of them twist their tongue in the scripture so that you think that it is out of the scripture, but it is not out of the scripture; they say: it comes from Allāh, but it does not come from Allāh"; cf. iv. 48: "they twist with their tongue". In other passages he is content with the accusation that the Jews conceal and suppress all sorts of things in their scripture (Sūra ii. 154, 169). This is expressed in a peculiar fashion in vi. 91 where it is said "you make the scripture of Moses into leaves which you read out and suppress much of it"; which can only mean that in his opinion they removed the passages attesting the truth of his mission from the copies which they used in the disputations. He gives in ii. 156; vii. 16 a specimen of their alterations which is unfortunately not clear; he says that they used another word instead of the word *hitta* which brought a heavy punishment upon them. The examples quoted in ii. 98; iv. 48 are hardly meant as quotations from scripture. Among the suppressed passages, the scriptures make special mention of the law which punishes incontinence with stoning (Ibn Hishām p. 394 sq.) and the descriptions of Muhammad as the expected Prophet (*ibid.*, p. 353). Muhammad naturally extended this charge of *tahrif* to the Christians, of whom he also asserted that they likewise concealed the passages in their holy scriptures which contained evidence of the truth of his mission; cf. the appeal to the "possessors of a scripture" in Sūra ii. 141; iii. 64 and with reference to prophecy of Muhammad's coming. Ibn Hishām, p. 388, although he probably means that Jesus's refusal of the name God and the doctrine of the Trinity (e.g. v. 116) were based on falsifications of the scripture. His whole attitude was so peculiar that his opponents were able with justice to direct a charge of *tahdil* against the Prophet's revelations. It is true that in Sūra x. 16 he vigorously defends himself against the charge brought by his opponents that he had substituted another revelation in place of the one given him, but the not rare abrogations of earlier legal prescriptions (cf. KOR'ĀN) caused him no misgiving and in xvi. 103, Allāh clearly refers to his having occasionally substituted one verse for another, a thing with which his enemies did not forget to reproach the Prophet.

The vague way in which Muhammad in the Kor'an speaks of falsifications of scriptures by the "possessors of a scripture" resulted in the Muhammadan scholars who gradually became better acquainted with the "Old and New Testaments" and were fond of dealing in their polemical works with the charge of *tahrif*, *tahdil* and *taghyir*, coming to hold very divergent views in their opinions of the facts lying at the basis of the charge. Some continued to hold the opinion usual in the early centuries after Muhammad that the Jews had actually altered the text. A vigorous

champion of this view was the Spanish Arab Abū Muhammad 'Alī b. Ḥazm (d. 456 = 1064). Diametrically opposed to this was the view held by others that the texts of the "possessors of a scripture" were intact and that the divergent opinions of Jews and Christians were simply due to erroneous interpretations of the passages concerned. One of the earliest representatives of this view was the Zaidi of the Yemen, al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 246 = 860), in his polemical treatise directed against the Christians; among his later followers, special mention may be made of the great historian Ibn Khaldūn. As is usual in such controversies there was also a middle school, for some conceded the actual falsifications of the text by the "peoples of a scripture" but limited them to a minimum. Of these different opinions, the first was decidedly the simplest and most logical, for it was based on the first impression which the words of the Kor'an naturally made and had made in the early days of Islam, but it led to rather serious consequences which gradually came to be appreciated. When one had always to deal with the possibility that the texts of the earlier books of revelation had been falsified, they lost considerably in value and indeed the holders of this theory frequently speak slightly of it and warn against its use. But in this way one came up against a question of apologetics, to which the theologians were devoting themselves with ardour, namely the prophecy of Muhammad's coming as the Prophet to be expected from the Bible (e.g. Deut., xviii. 15), for this naturally presupposed the authenticity of the passage in question. This factor had such an influence that only a minority took seriously the charge of *tahrif* in its strictest form. But in its milder form it continued to play a principal part in Muslim polemics against Jews and Christians, as may be seen for example from Doughty's statement that in his conversations with Arabs he frequently heard this accusation made (*Travels in Arabia*, I. 298; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 204).

In the disputations between the different Muslim sects the charge of *tahrif* is also made, as the Shi'is have often insisted that in the orthodox Kor'an all sorts of things have been omitted or inserted with the object of disposing of or refuting evidence of the truth of their doctrine. The orthodox also naturally reply by making the same charge against the Shi'is.

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(Fr. Buhl)

TAHSIL is the *nomen actionis* of the second formation of the verb *ḥajala*, and signifies originally, "collection", "obtaining" or "acquiring". In India the use of the word is restricted to the collection of the revenue, and it is applied, in the United Provinces and Madras to a subdivision of a district (called *ta'alluqa*, or, cor-

raptly, *tāhū*, in the Bombay Presidency) with an area of from 400 to 600 square miles, or less in the United Provinces, forming an administrative and fiscal unit. In size the *tahsil* comes between the *pargana* and the *sarkār* of the Mughal empire, and the official in charge of it is designated *tahsildār* (holder of a *tahsil*) and exercises administrative and, except in Madras, magisterial powers. He is immediately subordinate either to a superior officer in charge of a sub-division comprising two or more *tahsil*'s, or to the District Magistrate and Collector.

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TAHSIN, MIR MUHAMMAD HUSAIN 'ATK' KHAN, with the *tahalluq* Tahsin, also known by the title *Muraṣṣa' Raḥim*; an Indian author, as it seems, from Ilāwā, son of Mir Bākir Khān, whose *tahalluq* was Shawk. The son of Tahsin, named Kāsim 'Alī Khān, was not only an author, but also a musician. The exact dates of Tahsin's birth and death cannot be fixed; the date of the completion of his most important work, the *Nawāris-i muraṣṣa'*, is ± 1195 (1780). The author was in the service of General Smith, whom he accompanied from Lakhnaw to Calcutta. Later on, Tahsin lived at Patna, then, after his father's death, at Faizābād. His patrons, in the last named place, were successively the Nawwāb Shujā' al-Dawla († 1189 = 1775) — in whose service he continued the composition of his *Nawāris*, which he seems to have begun at Patna — and the following Nawwāb, Āṣaf al-Dawla (1189–1212 = 1775–1797), under whose reign the work was completed. The author has added, to the preface of the *Nawāris*, a *ḥusnā* in honour of Āṣaf al-Dawla. It is said, that the reading of the works of the famous Hindustānī poet Mirzā Muḥammad Rafī Sawdī [† 1195 (1780) at Lakhnaw], induced Tahsin to devote himself to Hindustānī literature also.

Works. (1) *Nawāris-i muraṣṣa'*: a Hindustānī translation, in verse and prose, of a Persian original (named *Ḥiṣṣa-i lahūr Darwish*). This original is ascribed to Amir Khusrāw, but sometimes also to Andjāb or to Muḥammad 'Alī Ma'sūm. The *Nawāris* exhibits an elaborate literary style. This was the reason, why, for didactic purposes, another translation of the *Ḥiṣṣa-i lahūr Darwish* was begun in 1215 (1801) by Mir Amman of Dihli and completed in 1217 (1803); this translation is the well-known *Bāgh u-Bahār*. Editions of Tahsin's *Nawāris* appeared at Bombay (1846), Lakhnaw (1869) and Cawnpore (1874). The *Nawāris* itself has had a literary influence upon another Hindustānī author, 'Aḥmad Allāh, who, as he himself states in the preface of his romantic work *Ḥiṣṣa-i rangin Guṣṭār*, has imitated in that book the style of Tahsin's composition. On the other hand, we find in a manuscript of the India Office (No. 132 of Blumhardt's Catalogue), the Introduction and the tale of the first darwish in Tahsin's translation combined with a Hindustānī rendering of the stories resp. of the third darwish and the king Āṣādhakṣī by another literate, Muḥammad Hādī.

(2) Besides the *Nawāris*, Tahsin wrote in Persian an English grammar, called *Qawālib-i Angriṣī*, and a work, which seems to be historical, named *Tawārīkh-i Kāsim*.

It may be added, that, according to the *Tadhkirah* of Yūsuf 'Alī Khān, Tahsin was also renowned as a calligrapher. Besides this Tahsin, there is also another author of that name, likewise called Muḥammad Husain Khān, of whom a cycle of poems in the praise of the prophet, partly in Persian and partly in Hindustānī, was lithographed at Dihli, under the name *Gulshān-i Na'ī* (1873). There is also a collection of stanzas on Muḥammad, compiled from various sources by one Muḥammad Husain Khān Tahsin (the same?), named *Ḥamān-i Madhī Nabī*, edited at Dihli 1854.

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AL-TĀT LI-AMR ALLĀH (OF LI 'LLĀH) 'ABD AL-KARIM B. AL-FAṬL, 'Abbāsīd Caliph, born in 317 (929–930). His father was the caliph al-Mu'izz after whose deposition on 13th Ḥijā 318 (Aug. 5, 974) he was proclaimed Commander of the Faithful. His mother, who survived him, was called 'Uṭb. As Ibn al-Aṭhār justly observes (ix. 56), al-Tāṭ during his reign had not sufficient authority to be able to associate himself with any enterprises worthy of mention. He is only mentioned in history, one may safely say, in connection with certificates of appointment to office, letters of condolence and such like formalities, and his most remarkable feature seems to have been his extraordinary physical strength. The real rulers were at first the Būyids [q. v.] but after the most important of them, 'Aḍud al-Dawla [q. v.] who was the caliph's father-in-law, had died in Shawwāl 372 (March 983) his sons began to quarrel among themselves. In Sha'bān 381 (Oct./Nov. 991) Bahā' al-Dawla [q. v.] who was in financial difficulties and could not pay his troops was persuaded by his influential adviser Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. al-Mu'allim to overthrow the caliph and seize his treasure. At an audience at which the Būyid appeared with a large retinue the unsuspecting Tāṭ was torn from his throne by Bahā' al-Dawla's orders and taken to the latter's house where he was kept a prisoner. He was succeeded as caliph by his cousin Abu 'l-Abbās Ahmad, who took the name al-Kādir [q. v.]. In Rajab 382 (Sept. 992) the ex-caliph was allowed to come to al-Kādir's palace. Here he was well treated. He died on 1st Shawwāl 393 (Aug. 3, 1003).

Bibliography: Muḥammad b. Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawā'id*, ii. 3; Ibn al-Aṭhār, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, viii. ix., see Index; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Iḥār*, iii. 428, 436; Ibn al-Tikāzī, *al-Fakhri*, ed. Berenbourg, p. 391; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iii. 21–44; Muir, *The caliphate, its rise, decline, and fall*, p. 582; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbāsid caliphate*, p. 162, 270, 271.

(K. V. ZETTERSTEEN)

TAIBA [See AL-MADINA.]

TA'IF, a town in Arabia. It lies 75 miles S.E. of Mecca about 5,000 feet above sea level in the mountains of Sarat. Of the country round with its walled gardens Burckhardt says that it is "the most attractive that he had seen since his departure for Lebanon in Syria". The Beduins also describe it as a corner of Syria transported and placed under the inclement sky of the Hijāz and say this marvel is due to the all powerful intercession of Abraham, the friend of Allāh. This healthy and windy site — water sometimes freezes there — was not without attraction for the rich merchants of Mecca. They all aimed at possessing an estate or at least a pied-à-terre there in which to recuperate from the strain of the relaxing climate of Mecca, as their successors do to this day.

TA'IF was the capital of the tribe of Thakāfi [q. v.]. The Qur'ān (xlili. 30) phrase *al-haryāṭin* classes Mecca with TA'IF and suggests a link of importance between them. TA'IF is nowhere else mentioned in the Qur'ān. But it may be said that on the eve of the Hijra, it was regarded as the second city of Western Arabia and ranked next to Mecca. It had an advantage over the latter in the possession of fertile lands. The surrounding valleys supplied its export trade with ample materials, particularly easy to market in a region so unfavourable by nature as the Hijāz: wine, wheat and wood. The special industry of TA'IF was the manufacture of leather in its tanneries, which were so numerous, we are told, as to render the air around foul. It had a girdle of walls built to take machines of war. At the entrance and exit to the sea of sand, TA'IF offered the ships of the desert provisions in the varied produce of its soil and loads in the products of its industry. TA'IF seems to have had particularly close relations with the Yemen, for which it was able to save 3 or 4 stages as compared with its redoubtable rival Mecca. The people of the town were divided into two main groups, in reality, two adverse factions. Their struggles for supremacy paralysed the economic development of the town. The "Ahlāf" were the younger, less aristocratic section. They nevertheless succeeded in securing control of the national sanctuary of al-Lāt. Inferior to their rivals the Banū Mālik in wealth and in territorial possessions, they made up for their disadvantages by a very skilful diplomacy and by a more serious military organization. The best poets, the most respected leaders in TA'IF came from the Ahlāf.

To their habit of living on wheat, the Beduins attributed the cunning and finesse of the TA'IFIS which were proverbial. There was a kind of entente cordiale between Mecca and TA'IF, an entente cemented by matrimonial alliances between Quraysh and Ahlāf. Many Meccans lived, as we have seen, in TA'IF and had estates there. Hardly less numerous were the TA'IFIS in Mecca, *halif* of the great families notably of the Umayyads, the latter almost all landlords in the region of TA'IF. This explains the preponderating part taken by the Thakāfis in the Syrian caliphate.

On the eve of the Hijra, TA'IF was therefore unique among the towns of the Hijāz. Its bracing climate, its fruits, its grapes, the famous *sabb* of TA'IF and other products of the soil suggested Syria rather than the bare landscapes of western Arabia. As to intellectual development, the people of TA'IF seem "to have been notoriously above the average of Beduins and settled tribes". This is

how the acute encyclopaedist al-Jāhiz speaking of Haddjād summed up the fellow-citizens of the great Thakāfi. It is no wonder then that Muḥammad after the check to his mission in Mecca thought of winning over the intelligent citizens of TA'IF. Repulsed again here, the only course left him was to turn to the Anṣār. In their wars with Muḥammad the Quraysh had the military support of the Ahlāf of TA'IF. After the *fatḥ* of Mecca in 8 A.H. immediately after the defeat of the Hawāzin at Hunayn, Muḥammad laid siege to TA'IF, but without success. It was not till a year later that a deputation of TA'IFIS came to discuss at great length in Medina the adhesion of their compatriots to the new religion, which they adopted without enthusiasm.

The expansion of Islam beyond the bounds of Arabia no more benefited their town than it did Mecca. The latter declined while Medina prospered; the latter was at first the residence of the caliph and later under the Umayyads that of the governor general of the Hijāz, under whom TA'IF usually was now reduced to the rank of a sub-prefecture. This decline was at first checked by the initiative of the inhabitants. They succeeded in keeping in their bracing mountains the country resorts not only of the Meccans but also of the new Muslim aristocracy in Medina. Under the Umayyads they gave a further proof of their ability to adapt themselves to new circumstances. The economic decline of TA'IF and the loss of its autonomy coincided with the zenith of the political influence of the Thakāfis. They succeeded in pushing themselves into the highest offices and displayed the most varied talents in them. From the time of Mu'āwiya we regularly find Thakāfi lieutenants beside the Caliph. For a brief period with Ziyād b. Abihī, they were almost expected to get the throne. Under Walid I, when the Arab empire attained its apogee, the greatest man of the reign was not the Quraysh ruler but the Thakāfi Haddjād. They were all able to exploit the historical relations, the intimacy between TA'IF and Mecca, their old connections with the principal Quraysh families, especially with the Umayyads. They discovered in the past an indication of the proper orientation of their political activity.

The Abbāsids and Alids took care not to forget this. Tradition records their hatred of them and associates the Thakāfis with the disfavour that surrounds the Umayyads. From Kербela and the failure of the attempted restoration of the 'Alids they are represented as having been cursed by the Prophet. Combining hatred of the Shi'is with the political feuds of the 'Irāq, the Abbāsīd reaction vented itself with particular bitterness on the memory of the great Thakāfi officers of the Umayyad period. It endeavoured to put the town of TA'IF and its doughty citizens under a ban in history. The plot succeeded marvellously and to this day among the Beduins, the name of the Thakāfi is treated with scorn.

Abbāsīd rule showed itself frankly hostile to the Hijāz, where continued 'Alid risings were fomented (*Kutub al-Aghani*, iii. 94). TA'IF contained the tomb of 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, the ancestor of the dynasty who became the patron saint of the town. The possession of this sanctuary, a much frequented object of pilgrimage, did not disarm the hostility of the Abbāsīds who never forgave the population its former Umayyad sympathies and

left the town to decline gradually. It was the exception when we find 'Abbasid princesses taking an interest in Tā'if. The mother of the Caliph Muṭtadid and before her the celebrated Zubaida, wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd, acquired estates there; the latter no doubt in connection with the water-works which she built at Mecca. Along with the adjoining districts of the Sarāf, Tā'if has remained to the present day the fruit and corn market of Mecca.

From the fourth (tenth) century all the geographers who mention Tā'if describe it as *bulāida*, "little town", and even add the epithet "little". Its environs became depopulated and the encyclopaedists like Yāqūt and Bakrī could not find there the sites of the estates and villages mentioned in the time of the Umayyads. Since the establishment of the Ḥasanid amirate in Mecca, Tā'if has as a rule been under the Grand Sharīf. With its walls and its modest citadel, it was intended to defend Mecca against invaders from Naǧd. It only imperfectly played this role, especially in the wars between the Grand Sharīfs and the Wahhābīs under Ibn Sa'ūd. These sectarians captured and sacked it in 1802. It was taken from them in 1813 by Egyptian troops under Ṭaṣūn-Pāshā. Burckhardt, who visited it in the following year, found it half in ruins. In it he ate "very large grapes of most delicious flavour, figs, pomegranates and quinces". The bulk of the inhabitants consisted of Arabs of Thaqīf. "The majority of the rich Meccans had houses there, but most of the foreigners who have chosen it as a place of residence are of Indian origin".

Such still is the composition of its population. According to Philby, who was there at the end of 1918, its population is not over 5,000 but rises to 20,000 during the summer season. In April 1924, Tā'if fell again into the hands of the Wahhābīs in the course of their campaign against Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, ex-king of the Hijāz.

Bibliography: The literature will be found in H. Lammens, *La cité arabe de Tā'if à la veille de l'Égérie* (in *M. F. O. B.*, viii, 125—327); H. Lammens, *Ziād ibn Abīh, vice-roi de l'Iraq, lieutenant de Mu'awīya I* (in *R. S. O.*, iv.); Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii, 494—501; Ibn Hawqāl, *B. G. A.*, i, 27; Muḥaddas, *B. G. A.*, iii, 79; Ibn al-Fakīh, *B. G. A.*, v, 22; Hamdānī, *Dja'irat al-'Arab*, ed. Müller, p. 120, 121; Ibn Dībāir, *Travels*, ed. de Goeje, p. 120—122; 'Udjamī, *Aḥdā' al-Laf' min Akhbār al-Tā'if* (manuscript of the Nat. Libr. of Cairo, ex-Biblioth. khédiviale, Catalogue, section Histoire, under N° 87; on the author, 'Udjamī, cf. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii, 392, where this little monography is not mentioned); Burckhardt, *Voyages en Arabie*, transl. Eyries, i, 120—123; Philby, *The Heart of Arabia*, London 1922, i, 182—203.

(H. LAMMENS)

TAIM B. MURRA, a clan of the Meccan tribe of Quraysh. Its name, which is born by several other Arab tribes, means "servant" and must therefore be an abbreviation of an ancient theophoric name such as we find in Taimallāh-Taimallāt [q. v.] and in the inscriptions, Taim Manāt, Taim Ruḥā, *Θαυμας* etc. (cf. Wellhausen, *Reste*, p. 7; Lidbarski, *Handbuch d. nordsem. Epigraphik*, p. 385). The Taim b. Murra belonged to the Quraysh al-Baṭī'īh i. e. to the clans which were dominant in Mecca: but in spite of that

they do not seem to have possessed any political influence, while their real relatives, the Maḥmūd [q. v.] b. Yaḥyā b. Murra, rivalled in influence the descendants of Quraysh. The pre-Islamic history of Mecca makes almost no reference to them (cf. the scanty references in Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, Index vol. i—ii, p. 1506). The only person of note that they appear to have numbered among them on the eve of Islam is 'Abdallāh b. Lijūd'an, celebrated for his generosity; it was in his house which was still pointed out in the days of Islam that the Quraysh clans formed their alliance (*Sib al-fuḥūl*; cf. Caetani, *Annali*, Introduction, § 147), and he was the patron of the poet Umayyā b. Abī'l-Salt (*Agāthi*, viii, 2—5; cf. Schulthess, *Orientalische Studien, Th. Nöldeke*... *Grundriss*, i, 73 ff.; Goldziher, *al-Huṣūl*, *Z. D. M. G.*, xvi, 7).

The fame of the Taim b. Murra rests entirely on the fact that two of the most celebrated heroes of Islam came from them: — Abū Bakr and Ṭalḥa b. 'Uṭaidallāh.

A brief description of the quarter inhabited by the Taim b. Murra in Mecca is given by al-Azraqī (*Chron. d. Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 468).

Bibliography: Wüstenfeld, *Genes. Tabellen*, R. 16 (*Register*, p. 447); Ibn Duraid, *K. al-Istīṣṣāḥ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 59 ff.

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

TAIMĀ', an old settlement in a well-watered oasis in northern Arabia, four days' journey south of Dumat al-Djandal; according to Muḥaddas, three from Hīǧr and four from Wādī 'l-Qura. It lies in a depression the length of which Jaussen and Savignac put at 2 miles with a breadth of 500 yards. The subterranean waters collect and burst forth into a well 40—45 feet deep and about 60 feet in diameter, according to the two travellers just named. Taimā' is mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions and in the Old Testament as an important caravan station (Isaiah, xxi, 14; Jeremiah, xxv, 23; Job, vi, 19). To the Persian period belongs the old Aramaic inscription found by Euting, which throws a light on the important culture of the place. It is mentioned by the old Arabic poets e. g. Imra 'l-Kais, *Ma'allāḥa*, verse 76: "it (the rain storm) does not leave a palm-tree in Taimā' nor a house unless it is built of stone". Like other oases in North Arabia, it was settled by immigrant Jews or Jewish proselytes. Among them was Samaw'al [q. v.], the lord of the citadel of Ablak al-Fard, mentioned by A'ishā and other poets. The Jewish inhabitants were not inclined to be friendly to Muḥammad, but when they learned how their co-religionists in Wādī 'l-Qura had been treated, they voluntarily submitted and were thus allowed to retain their lands on payment of a yearly tribute; but they were expelled from the land, like the other Jews in Arabia, by 'Omar. In the tenth century, Ibn Hawqāl describes it as more thickly populated than Tabūk. Muḥaddas gives a more detailed picture of its situation in a well-watered wide depression with a spring, many wells, some of which have fallen in, fine gardens, and many palm trees with excellent dates; on the other hand he censures the avarice of the inhabitants and laments the lack of distinguished scholars from this town. In the next century al-Bakrī refers to its wealth in dates, figs and grapes. The densely populated town had a wall, a parasang in length running along a brook. Of modern travellers

Euting gives a good description of the town with its narrow streets and houses surrounded by orchards. Of antiquities he found the ruins of temples and a quadrangular building with towers at the corners. Of the citadel of Ablak, the ruins of which, according to Yāqūt, were still visible in his time (see *ABLAK*), he could find no traces; Jaussen and Savignac describe some peculiar round tumuli, the sides of which in the form of stairs led up to a small square building.

Taimā' at the present day shows signs of decay everywhere.

Bibliography: Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 34 ff.; *B.G.A.*, ed. de Goeje, i. 22; ii. 29; iii. 107, 250, 252; vii. 177; viii. 584; Bakri, *Geogr. Wörterb.*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 208 sq.; Yāqūt, *Geogr. Wörterb.*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 907 sq.; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia*, i. 285, 533, 549 sq.; Euting, *Tagebuch einer Reise in Innerarabien*, ii. 148 sq., 199 sq.; Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission archéologique*, ii. Texte, p. 133—163, Tafel Ixi—lxiv. (FR. BOHL)

TAIMALLĀH h. THA'LABA, an Arab tribe belonging to the branch of the Bakr b. Nizār (tribes of the 'Adnān) and forming part of the great ethnical group of the Bakr b. Wā'il. Genealogy: Taimallāh b. Tha'laba b. 'Ukaba b. Sa'b b. 'Alī b. Bakr b. Wā'il. We also find it mentioned under the form Taimallāt, which may be the correct name, for a Muslim (or Christian) alteration of the name al-Lāt to that of Allāh is not at all unlikely while the opposite is hardly conceivable. This tribe as usual with so many other tribes of Arabia formed an alliance (*ḥilf*) with the sister tribe of the Banū Nāsi b. Tha'laba, and each of them was closely associated with the Banū 'Idl and the Banū 'Auzā. This confederation bore the name *al-Lakhīm* (the word *lakhīm*, according to the lexicographers signifies the mastoid bone and similar expressions are not unusual to indicate the solidity of an alliance); it was afterwards extended to the Banū Māzin b. Sa'b and even, it appears, to the two great Bakri subdivisions, the Banū Dhahl and the Banū Shaibān. After Islām the Banū Hanifa, another Bakri tribe, also entered the alliance (*al-Mubarrad*, *Kamil*, ed. Wright, p. 276, 1—2; *Naḥḥid*, ed. Bevan, p. 47, 10, 305, 9, 764, 9 and especially 725, 15. Wüstenfeld, mislead probably by the statement in Ibn Kutaiba, *K. al-Ma'arif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 48, thought that the name *al-Lakhīm* referred only to the Taimallāh; cf. also Reiske, *Primas Latinae*, p. 253 note f, 255 note A). The Taimallāh took part with their allies in the wars of the Bakr b. Wā'il against the Tamimīs and we find them specially concerned with the battles of Zabāla, Nihādī, Taiḥal, Djadūd and al-Waḥḥ (the last two fall within the Muslim period). It does not appear, however, that they distinguished themselves by any particular exploits or that they numbered among their leaders any person of note. In the two latter expeditions, the command was held by al-Hawfaḥ b. Sharik and by Abdjār b. Dīḥir, both of the Banū 'Idl. At a more remote period, the Taimallāh had fought with the rest of the Bakris against the Lakhmīd tribes of al-Hira: they are mentioned in the stories of the *Yasaw' Umrā*.

The Taimallāh were Christians, like almost all the Bakr b. Wā'il (cf. Tabari, *Annales*, i. 2032 ult.) but they were early converted to Islām and we find them fighting in the wars of conquest

and the civil wars; one of them for example, Iyās b. 'Abīa, took part in the murder of the Caliph 'Uḥmān (*Naḥḥid*, ed. Bevan, p. 918 sq.). But it was mainly in the history of the eastern provinces that the Taimallāh played a part in the first two centuries of the Hidjra: among the members of this tribe who have made a mark in history the best known is 'Awa b. Tha'laba b. Zafar b. Wādī'a, who is also known as a poet (notice in Ibn Haddād, *Ḥaba*, Cairo 1325, i. 82, quoted from the *Tabaḥḥi al-Shu'arā'* of Dī'il and the *Muḥjam al-Shu'arā'* of al-Marzubān); verses in Yāqūt, *Muḥjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 830, with reference to two ancient statues at Palmyra) and was governor of Khorāsan; during the civil war of 65 A.H. he valiantly defended Herāt against the troops of Muḥḥ b. al-Zubair, commanded by 'Abdallāh b. Khāzin and held out for a whole year, with the support of all the Bakr b. Wā'il of Khorāsan, until he fell (Tabari, *Annales*, ii. 484—490; Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, p. 414—415). Another poet of the Taimallāh, Nāḥir b. Tawsi'a (who was called the best poet of the Bakr in Khorāsan) took part in the campaigns of Kutaiba b. Muslim, whom he had once satirised but finally joined. (Cf. Ibn Kutaiba, *K. al-Shi'r*, ed. de Goeje, p. 342 sq.; *Ḥamān*, ed. Freytag, p. 431 sq.; *Naḥḥid*, ed. Bevan, p. 359 sq., 364 sq., 368; Tabari, *Annales*, ii. *passim*; al-Kāfi, *Amālī*, ii. 201 sq., etc.).

There were several other tribes, especially in the south, called Taimallāh or Taimallāt; Ibn al-Kalbi mentions the following: T. b. Asud b. Warāra; T. b. Zahw(?) b. Murr b. al-Ghawth b. Taiy; T. b. Hīkāl... b. Māzin b. al-'Azd; T. b. Rūfida b. Thawr b. Kalb; T. b. 'Amir al-'Ajdār... b. Kalb; T. b. al-Namir b. Kāsi; T. b. Wadm b. Wabbalāt... b. Kalb.

Bibliography: Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, B 17 (*Register*, p. 447); Ibn al-Kalbi, *Djāmhārāt al-Amḥāb*, MS. Brit. Mus. Add., 23. 297, fol. 270b—229b; Ibn Duraid, *K. Iḥṭilāl*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 212 sq. (G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

TAIY, a tribe in early Arabia of Yamanite origin. According to the genealogists its ancestor, Djulhuma b. Udad, with the surname of Taiy, was a descendant of Kaḥḥān and a brother of Maḥḥidī and Murra, the ancestor of the large tribe of Kinda. Originally they were at home in that part of the South-Arabian Dīf in which Humāka was situated, on the way between Ḥanā and Mecca. Taiy, as well as 'Azd and other South-Arabian tribes, joined the migration which tradition connects with the break of the dam of Ma'rib. They settled in the Northern part of the Peninsula, near the Shammar-mountain (q. v.) to the South of the desert Nefūd. Mounts Adjā and Salma, S. and S.E. of Ḥā'il, were even called 'the mounts of Taiy', which proves that for centuries the tribe had a claim on that territory. The Djabol 'Awjā, about half way between Ḥā'il and Taimā, as well as Taimā [q. v.] itself, belonged to Taiy.

Through the immigration of Taiy the Muḥjar-tribe of the Banū Asad lost a part of its territory; nevertheless the two tribes fraternised in later times; it is related that they joined their forces and defeated the Banū Yarbū, who belonged to Tamim, at Ridjā al-Taiy.

Sub-tribes or clans of Taiy were: Thu'al, Djadila, Djarm, 'Adi, Ghawth, Ma'n, Nabḥān, as well as the three 'Tha'ālīh Taiy', which by this denomi-

nation were distinguished from the Bakrite Tha'laba, viz. Tha'laba b. Dihl, b. Ruman and b. Djal'a'. In the time of the Djahiliya, Taiy worshipped a God called Fila, who possessed a sanctuary on Mount Adja', which was destroyed, on Muhammad's order, by 'Ali b. Abi Talib aided by 150 Ansar; the expedition captured one of Hatim al-Ta'i's daughters. Another deity of Taiy was Rujla.

At least for some time Taiy was on friendly terms with their relatives the Lakhmids of al-Hira, as may be concluded from the fact that the last Phylarch, al-Nu'man IV, had two wives belonging to Taiy, viz. Far'a bint Sa'd and Zainab bint Aws, both of them from the family Haritha b. Lim. When, however, al-Nu'man fled before the Persian king and sought refuge with the Taiyites, they refused him hospitality, probably, with a view to their friendly relations with the Persians, which apparently were not of an altogether ephemeral nature. For after al-Nu'man's death the Taiyite Iyas b. Kabisa was appointed as Regent in al-Hira (602-611); he commanded the Persian and Arabian army against the Banu Bakr in the battle of Dhu Kar. Tabari and other authors call Iyas one of the *ḥudā*, because he was a Christian.

In 9 A.H. the Taiyites sent an embassy to Muhammad, to which belonged Kaib b. Djahdar who, it is said, was the first to embrace Islam and is reckoned as one of the *ṣaḥāba* (cf. *Ud al-Ghāba*, iv. 210).

The *nishā* of Taiy is *Tā'i*. It is especially the poet Hatim who became famous under the *nishā* al-Ta'i (his *Diwān* was edited by Schulthess); his proverbial liberality is the subject of numerous anecdotes and tales. Other Taiyite poets were: 'Arik al-Ta'i, Zaid al-Khail, Abū Zuhair, a Christian; 'Amr b. Miliḥ, 'Amr b. Saiyir b. Kirwāsh, and, after the rise of Islam, the Khāridjī al-Tirmāh, whose *Diwān* was edited by Krenkow (*G. M. S.*, xxv, 1928). Lexicon and *Diwān* have preserved specimens of the dialect of Taiy: *ḥaḥā* and *fana* for *ḥaḥiya* and *faniya*; *maḥḥa* for *maḥḥiya*; *palla* for *palliya*; *ayin* for *ayin*.

In Syriac 'Taiyites' became a name for 'Arabs' and Muslims.

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(H. H. BRAU)

TA'IZZ, an important town in South Arabia, formerly the capital of the Turkish sandjak of Ta'izziya, which according to the provincial law regarding the general administration of wilāyets *Taḥmil-i Weḥdī* (March 15, 1913) included the *kaḥḥas* of 'Udain, Ibb, Mukhā, Kamā'ira, Ka'aba, Hudjariya, and, according to R. Manzoni, also Makhādir, Dhi Sufal, Māwiya, i.e. the whole country between al-Hudaida and the independent lands northeast of 'Aden. The town, which lies in 44° 6' 45" East Long (Greenw.) and 13° 36' 55" North Lat., at 4,500 feet above sea-level, is built on the northern slope of the Djebel Sabr (in al-Hamḍān: Sabir) and has 2-3,000 inhabitants. The Portuguese called the town Teia, the Italians (Ludovico di Barthelemy and Andrea Corsatti) Taesa. It is surrounded by a wall 25-30 feet broad and 9-12 feet high which, like that of San'a', is flanked by towers which stand a further 6-8 feet above the wall and is built of large sundried bricks and covered with an outer

layer of baked tiles. The town wall forms an irregular quadrangle, which stretches from east to west. On the western side of this quadrangle is a polygonal spur of the hill in the south-eastern corner of which rises a steep rock 450 feet high, on the top of which is the citadel al-Kāhira, which is however now in a very ruinous state but was at one time regarded as a strong fortress. Corresponding to this in the north-east angle of the wall is a sharp spur, the top of which is a steep mound. There are five gateways in the town wall; in the east the Bab al-Kabir leads out to the Māwiya—'Aden and Ka'aba—Ibb—Yarim—San'a' roads, in the west the Bab Shakh Mūsā opens on to the road to Mukhā and Hais. The Bab al-Emdagher on the southwest is the gateway to the Hudjariya and Bent 'Alwān, in the south the Bab 'Ain Dumma leads to the Djabal Sabr and connects the hill with the fort of al-Kāhira, and lastly in the south-east we have the Bab al-Khudaira, which is still surrounded by a wall, also leading to the Djabal Sabr. These gates, which are not far from one another, are built in the Arabian style and flanked by two towers which rise above the town-wall and are surmounted by a third which defends the entrance. The town is provided with excellent drinking-water by subterranean pipes from the Djabal Sabr and has a large market. Since the troubles of the sixteenth century it has had a very neglected appearance. The once beautiful houses of stone which, as a rule, have only one storey above ground are for the most part in ruins. Barely 20 are still standing and others have been replaced by wretched huts. The southern quarter of the city has suffered particularly and ruins are scattered all over it. A number of beautiful mosques still testify to the past glory of the capital of the Rasūlids. One of these is the Ashrafiya founded by the Rasūlid al-Malik al-Ashraf Ismā'il b. al-'Abbās (1377-1400 A.D.), a quadrilateral in plan with two minarets and two rows of pillars with 3 domes richly decorated with coloured ornamentation; in the south of the mosque are the tombs of its founder and of his son 'Ali and of two slaves. Behind a grill of fretworked wood lie the three marble sarcophagi which contain the remains of the seven wives of the founder of the mosque; opposite them is a sarcophagus of limestone and brick surrounded by carved woodwork in which lies another of his slaves. The large and splendid mosque of the al-Muḥaffariya lies on the slope of the Djabal Sabr and is also a quadrilateral in shape with three rows of pillars and three great domes and two minarets. Its whitewashed walls make it stand out in striking fashion against the dark volcanic rocks of the hill. The front is pierced by a series of windows with grilles in front and adorned with vaultings which are supported by slender pillars. The surface is decorated with scrolls and interlacings. The well-preserved building, which is still the principal mosque, was not unjustly compared with the St. Maria Rotonda in Rome by the Bolognese traveller Ludovico di Barthelemy, who visited the town in 1508. Other mosques are the still well-preserved mosque of 'Abd al-Hādī and in the west outside the town wall the mosque of Shakh Mūsā, in the east the well preserved and splendid mosque of Shakh Afzal and his family of the first period of the Turkish conquest, from which period also dates the Makhḍabiya mosque in the south, the high

lying part of Ta'izz, which was built by an Abyssinian slave of Husain Pasha. It is a quadrangular building without a minaret, with a large court in the centre, in a peculiar mixture of Byzantine and Arabic style, richly ornamented with inscriptions, which are written on the doors of inlaid wood and on the walls and pillars. On the left side are large water-basins which were made for the ritual ablutions, but are now used for the hospital laundry. The mosque of Sharaf al-Din is destroyed except for the minaret; it was founded by the Imām Sharaf al-Din b. Imām Muṭahhar and like the Ashrafiya stands in the high-lying southern part of Ta'izz.

Ta'izz is richly provided with gardens, fields and meadows. The most beautiful, in the centre of the town, belongs to Sulaimān Pasha and is called Birkat Husainiya. In its midst stands a kiosk which contains a fine large room; before it is a large oval basin with a spring. In the garden also is the high *ḥabba* (mausoleum) of Husain Pasha, who is buried here. The gardens are amply supplied with water by aqueducts from the Djabal Ṣabr. The same plants and trees are grown here as in Ṣan'a' and Rawḍa except the nut-tree; the date-palm does not do very well. Bananas flourish exceedingly. The plain around Ta'izz is well tilled; the slopes of the Djabal Ṣabr north-east of Ta'izz are covered with little groves of tamarisk and carob trees, with many little hamlets near them. The Djabal Ṣabr itself is like a botanical garden, on the lower slopes of which grow almost all kinds of fruits, tamarinds, quinces, citrons, vines and on the higher slopes all kinds of aromatic plants in addition to the usual trees and shrubs. Cultivation is carried up to the highest points of the hill and barley and *ḥaḍra* flourish especially. The true wealth of the country however lies in the extensive plantations of *ḥaṭ* [q. v.] (*celastrum edulis* Forsk.), the aphrodisiac of which the people of Yemen are so fond. Glaser says the site of Ta'izz is exceedingly unhealthy and the climate malarial. Ta'izz has good caravan connections with Zabīd, Yarīm, Ibb and Ṣan'a', as well as with 'Aden and under Turkish rule used to have a weekly postal connection with al-Hudaida. The railway planned in 1912 to connect al-Hudaida with Ṣan'a' and the interior was intended to include a line al-Hudaida-Zabīd-Ta'izz-Ibb-Yarīm-Ṣan'a' but has never been constructed as a result of the Italo-Turkish war and the Great War.

Local tradition says that Ta'izz was founded in the pre-Muḥammadan period. It connects the Djabal Dabāt 'Alī N.E. of Ta'izz with the son-in-law of the Prophet, afterwards Caliph. The mountain which now has two peaks is said to have once been a solid mass. When 'Alī, engaged in the conquest and conversion of the Yemen, came to Ta'izz, its inhabitants showed themselves extremely hostile to him and the teaching of the Qur'ān. 'Alī laid siege to the town and took up his quarters on the summit of the hill which bears his name. The siege dragged on on account of the stubborn resistance of the inhabitants; 'Alī's envoys to the heads of the town talked to deaf ears and only received abuse, indeed, one embassy was ill treated and beaten by the inhabitants. 'Alī was so enraged at this that he took his celebrated sword and struck the summit of the hill such a blow that he made the long deep cleft which is still to be seen. Although not a tent was shaken in 'Alī's

camp and no man was injured, the houses in Ta'izz were all overthrown and even the most solid collapsed. Ambassadors thereupon came to 'Alī from Ta'izz who declared 'Alī a prophet and adopted Islām.

This story is of course quite unhistorical. The peculiar form of the hill has given rise to the legend. Several other places are also connected with 'Alī, for whom the people of Yemen have a particular fondness. For example, according to Glaser, on the Djabal al-Dīr (near Rubāḥ on the road to Ḍamar) on the roadside (probably at the highest point) 'Alī's footprint (*riḡl 'Alī*) is shown on a rock and close beside it, but to the left of the road, is a rock which seems to have been perforated, called *ḡarbat 'Alī*. Another legend is connected with the vicinity of Ta'izz, namely that of the Seven Sleepers, the scene of whose sleep Ibn al-Muḍāwir puts in a grotto of the Djabal Ṣabr. The South Arabian version of this legend says that the seven sons of a king were taken to king Dūḡayānīs al-Ḥuḍayr as hostages. When the king went to war, the hostages escaped and went into Mā Ḥumaid (near Ṭhaḥad) and did not reappear till they came out on the top of the Ḳaryat al-Miṣḥ on the Djabal Ṣabr where they lived. Dūḡayānīs sought them without being able to discover them. They lived there for 310 years and slept the whole time. They then awakened and it seemed to them as if only a single day had passed. They found some of the money that they had had with them and sent one of their number into the town to buy food. Wicked men seized him and found the money in his possession. They thought that he had found a hidden treasure and took him before the authorities; no one knew him in the place and as he had no home in the town he was thought to be mad and released. He returned to the cave and remains there still. Winds are now said to blow out of the cave. Glaser visited the spot on November 20, 1887. The Mosque of the Seven Sleepers (*Aḡāḥ al-Kāḥf*) is a very fine one, has wonderful wooden columns and a very good roof. The sanctuary proper is in the north-west corner of the mosque and is a simple walled space in the shape of a prism, on the right side of which there is a hole which the Arabs call *Maḡḥāra* (cave). Glaser investigated it very closely without tracing a current of air or any considerable orifice. He thought it probable however that the rocks were not close together so that a slight current of air blows through them. Saiyids live near the Maḡḡid. The place which Botta erroneously calls *Aḡ al-Kāḥf* was visited by him in 1837. At the foot of the Djabal Ṣabr near Ta'izz there was pointed out to him the entrance to the cave, from which the Seven Sleepers had made their way through the whole hill. It is not probable that Ta'izz was in existence in the pre-Muḥammadan period. The capital of this area was Sawwā and later Djabā, neither of which is far from Ta'izz. According to the *Djāḡān-nuḡā* of Ḥādḡdī Khalifa, Ta'izz was founded by the Ayyūbīd al-Malik al-'Azīz Saif al-Islām Zahr al-Dīn Abū 'I-Fawāris Tuḡtekin who came to the Yemen in 578 (1182—1183). According to Glaser, Ta'izz was built for the most part out of the material of the adjoining little town of Ṭhaḥad on the left bank of the Wādī Ṣāla. Ta'izz, according to his investigations, was called *Uḍayn* 5—600 years ago, but only the foundations of the walls of this

date survive; the walls themselves are of recent erection. The village of 'Udama lies 3–4 miles almost due east of Ta'izz on the slopes of the Djabal Šabr like Ta'izz itself. It is said to have been originally the residence of the kings until Ismā'il Mulk, a celebrated Sunnī saint, to whom many miracles are ascribed as patron of Ta'izz, built a mosque and his tomb on the mound of al-Kāhira, where the citadel later arose and the town grew up, so that the latter also like Mukhā, Bēt al-Fakih, Luḥaiya etc. owes its origin to a saint. On the other hand as a result of enquiries made in 1887 of Kādi Yahyā in Ta'izz, Glaser says that Ta'izz is older than Thā'ad, which was only founded under the Rasūlids or even later in the seventh century A.H. Ta'izz, he was told, existed under the name 'Udama as early as 133 (750–751 A.D.) and the town used to be much larger. How far this is true cannot be definitely ascertained. Yāhūt (d. 1229) already describes Ta'izz as a large and famous Yemen fortress and 'Udama as a suburb of Ta'izz. Ibn al-Muḍāwir (wrote about 630 = 1232–1233) calls Ta'izz a strong fortress and residence of the king of the country. Ibn Baṭṭuta who visited Ta'izz in 1332 A.D. describes this residence of the Yemen rulers as one of the finest and largest towns in the country and its inhabitants as arrogant, proud and uncultured. Of its three quarters one was inhabited by the ruler and his servants and Mamluks and nobles; the second called 'Udama was occupied by the military and officers, the third by private citizens; in the last was the great bazaar called al-Muḥallib. The town prospered exceedingly as the capital of the Rasūlids. Five educational buildings were founded by them in Ta'izz; viz. two by al-Malik al-Manṣūr 'Umar (1209–1250 A.D.), a third by his successor al-Malik al-Faḍl Muḍāhid (called the Muḍāhidīya), a fourth by al-Malik al-Aḥraf Ismā'il (1377–1400 A.D. the Ashrafiya) and a fifth by al-Malik al-Ma'āyad Dāwūd (1296–1321 A.D.) who left a library of 100,000 volumes and is buried in the maḍraza. The fortress does not seem to have been very strongly built, for in 1392 A.D. a part of the castle collapsed and killed two people. In 1516 Ta'izz was taken by Ḥusain al-Kurdi, the admiral and general of the Egyptian Mamlūk Sulṭān Qansūh al-Ghūrī, in 1545 by the Turks and in 1567 it passed to the Imāms of Ṣan'ā'. The French physician De la Grélandière, who passed through Ta'izz in 1712 describes it as a famous old town with fine walls built by the Turks. The citadel had 30 cannons and was used as a state prison. Under the rule of the Imāms of Ṣan'ā' who succeeded the Turks in 1635 the town had therefore recovered from all the blows it had suffered.

Later Ta'izz passed to the powerful tribe of Dhū Muḥammad who held it till Ibrāhīm Pasha took it from them and it was under Egyptian rule from 1835 to 1840. When the Turks began to reconquer the Yemen in 1871 Ta'izz fell to them on October 28 and they were able to hold it till the great general rising of the Yemenis under the Imām Aḥmad al-Dīn in 1892. The fortress was only temporarily in Zaidī hands, for the Turks reconquered it in 1893 and held it till the conclusion of peace in 1918. With the withdrawal of the Turks from the Yemen, Ta'izz has again passed under the rule of the Imāms of Ṣan'ā'.

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(A. GROHMANN)

TAKASH (Turkish pronunciation: Tekesh) = IL-ARSLAN, king of Khwārizm [q.v.] 567–596 (1172–1200), of the fourth and most glorious dynasty of Khwārizmshāhs [q.v.], was, before his accession governor of Dīwand on the lower course of the Sīr-Daryā [q.v.]; he had to fight for his throne with his younger brother Sulṭān Shāh, and in the struggle at first Takash and then his brother received the support of the Kara-Khitai [q.v.].

When the fight was finally decided in favour of Takash, Sulṭān Shāh succeeded with the help of the Kara-Khitai in establishing himself in Merw, Sarakhs and Tis and held this territory till his death in 589 (1193), being sometimes at peace and sometimes at war with his brother. The capital of Khorāsān, Nishāpur, had already been taken by Takash in Rabī' I or Rabī' II 583 (1187); Takash's eldest son Malik Shāh was governor there. After the death of Sulṭān Shāh, Malik Shāh was transferred to Merw and his brother Kuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad appointed his successor in Nishāpur. Of greater importance was the destruction of Saljuq rule in Persian Irāk ('Irāk 'Adjamī) by the victory over Sulṭān Tughlī II in 590 (1194). This victory raised Takash from the status of a local dynast to a ruler of a great power and henceforth he called himself on his coins no longer Khwārizmshāh but 'Sulṭān, son of the Khwārizmshāh'. Persian Irāk with al-Ray and

Hamadhān passed into the possession of Takash, who appointed his son Yūnus governor of Hamadhān; later he handed over Hamadhān to the ruler of Adharbāydjān, Abū Bakr, as his vassal, who sent his brother and ultimate successor Ōsbeḡ thūthir. In 592 (1196) an army of the Caliph Nāṣir was defeated at Hamadhān; the Caliph had demanded that Takash should vacate the conquered territory and retire to the east but Takash wanted not only to retain his conquests but to get Khūzistān also from the Caliph. Takash, like the Salḡjaks before him, including Tughrūl II, is said to have demanded that the Caliph should hand over to him the secular power in Baghdad itself and be content with a nominal sovereignty over the Muslim world. This dispute was not decided on this occasion, but was continued under Takash's successor, Muḥammad.

We know still less about the fighting between Takash and the Kara Khitai. The most important event in these wars, the capture of Bukhārā by Takash, is placed by Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg, xii. 88 sqq.) in the events of the year 594 (1198); there is however a document relating to it in the collection of state-papers made by Muḥammad b. Mu'ayyad al-Baghdādī of the years 576—579. In any case, the success was but a transitory one and in spite of his position of great power in the Muslim world Takash remained a vassal of the Kara-Khitai till his death.

Bibliography: Cf. especially G. M. S., xiv/l. (Hamd Allāh Karwīnī), p. 491—493; xvi/l. (Djūwainī), p. 17—46; New Series, ii. (Rāwandī), p. 375—399; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, index; W. Barthold, *Turkistan v epochān mongol'skogo vladavitsya*, ii. 361—374; do., *Turkistan down to the Mongol Conquest*, G. M. S., New Series, v., p. 337—349. — On the collection of state-papers mentioned above cf. *Catal. Lugd.*, i. 169 sqq.; excerpts in Barthold, *op. cit.*, i. 73 sqq. (W. BARTHOLD).

TAKBIR (A.), infinitive II from the root *k-b-r* in the denominative sense: to pronounce the formula *Allāh akbar*. It is already used in this sense in the Qur'ān (e.g. Sūra lxxiv. 3; xvii. 111 with Allāh as the object). On the different explanations of the elative *akbar* in this formula cf. *Liebn*, s.v. and the Qur'ānic elative *akram* also applied to Allāh (Sūra xcvi. 3) and a'la (Sūra xcii. 20; lxxxvii. 1).

The formula, as the briefest expression of the absolute superiority of the One God, is used in Muslim life in different circumstances, in which the idea of Allāh, his greatness and goodness is suggested. When Muḥammad had learned by supernatural means of the death of Nadjāshī in Abyssinia, he proclaimed the news to those around him, arranged them in rows on the Musallā and had him, a *takbīr* pronounced four times (Bukhārī, *Djānū'is*, bāb 4, 55, 61). On other occasions also Muḥammad is said to have called the *takbīr* four or five times over a funeral bier (Muslim, *Djānū'is*, trad. 72). The fourfold *takbīr* remained or became usual at the ṣalāt for the dead (Shāṭibī, *Kiṣāb al-Tanbīh*, ed. A. W. T. Juynboll, p. 47 sq.). The *Adhān* (q.v.) is also opened with a fourfold *takbīr*.

The Prophet is said to have uttered very frequently the *takbīr* during the Ḥajj, at the beginning of (Aḥmad b. Hanbal, *Muḥammad*, ii. 144), during (Bukhārī, *Djānū'is*, bāb 132, 133; but not too loudly, *op. cit.*, bāb 131) and at the end of

the journey (Ibn Hanbal, ii. 53, at the sight of the Ka'ba (Ibn Hanbal, iii. 320), at the Black Stone (Ibn Hanbal, i. 264), between Mīna and 'Arafa (Bukhārī, *Ḥodūd*, bāb 86), on Ṣafā and Marwa (Ibn Hanbal, iii. 320) etc.

The *takbīr* is prescribed by the law at the beginning of the ṣalāt (the so-called *takbīrat al-ihṣān*); during the ṣalāt it is five times repeated.

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TAKDİR. [See *QADAR*].

TAKHTADJI, lit. "woodcutter", the name of an Anatolian sect with Shi'a tendencies. The Takhtadji, like the Čepni or Četni (cf. F. Babinger in *Z.D.M.G.*, lxxvi [1922], 141 and F. Taeschner, *ibid.*, p. 282 sqq.) who are mentioned as early as the end of the xivth century, the Zeibeks [q.v.] and all the sub-sects comprised under the name Kizilbash, form a separate element in the population of Anatolia, as regards ethnography and religious history, the origin of which has not yet been satisfactorily explained. As to the Takhtadji, they are mainly found in Western Asia Minor; they are settled in villages and engage in cattle-rearing, agriculture, wood-cutting etc. They seem to have got their name *takhtadji* from their activities as woodmen. The origin of the Takhtadji is obscure. While F. von Luschan in his *Reisen in Lykien, Milyas und Kibyratis*, Vienna 1889, ch. xiii., thinks, mainly as a result of cranial measurements, that they are remnants of the original inhabitants of the country, G. Jacob has suggested (cf. *Islam*, ii. 232 sqq.) that the Takhtadji are the remnants of the brotherhood of the *ḡawṣiyya* (cf. F. Cumont in Pauly-Wisowa s.v. *Dendrophori*, also H. C. Maue, *Die Vereine der Fabri, Centenarii und Dendrophori im Römischen Reich*, Frankfurt a.M. 1896, Programm). These two views have little in their favour; the Takhtadji are rather Persian settlers from Persia at the end of the xvth century to western Anatolia, who were adherents of the Safawid sect [q.v.]. Of them we know that they were widely dispersed over Asia Minor even before the rise of Shāh Ismā'īl (cf. F. Babinger, *Scheich Bedr ed-Din*, Leipzig and Berlin 1921, p. 91 sqq.). In favour of this view is the striking similarity in customs and practices of the Takhtadji and of the Safawiye in the time of Shāh Ismā'īl. They are said to drink wine, eat pork and have ceremonies which recall baptism and communion. The women go, and have always gone unveiled, among them. Persians and Christians, but not Turks, are welcome guests among them and the Shi'a names 'Alī and Ismā'īl are especially popular among them; cf. W. Heffening, in *Der Neue Orient*, iv., Berlin 1919, p. 264 sqq. It is also noteworthy that the Takhtadji, according to the report of the Austro-Hungarian Consul of Adalia, Tibor v. Pözl (cf. *Osterr. Monatschrift für den Orient*, xli., Vienna 1915, p. 506 and F. Babinger in *lit.*, xii. [1921], 103), lived outside the authority of the Turkish government, and "until quite lately were regarded as Persian subjects according to old tradition." All these indications suggest a former very close connection with the Safawid kingdom. According to the same authority, the Takhtadji are specially numerous in the sandjak of Teke (around Adalia), spend the winter on the coast and in summer go with their

herds back to the mountains, where they dwell in tents and wretched huts and live by cattle-rearing.

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(FRANZ BAHINGER)

TAKI KĀSHI, TAKI AL-DIN MUHAMMAD B. SHARAF AL-DIN HUSAINI KĀSHĀNI, a Persian biographer, a native of the town of Kāshān, died in 1016 (1607). He wrote in 985 (1577-78) the *Khulāṣat al-Aḥbār wa-Zubdat al-Aḥbār*, and wrote the preface to the *Divān* of Muṣṭafāham, who was a poet of the time of Shāh Ismā'īl I and of Tahmāsp I.

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TAKI AL-DIN. (See AL-MUẒAFFAR).

TAKIYA (A.), caution, fear (see *Glossarium* to Tahart, s.v. *t-ḥ-a*) or *kitmān*, "disguise", is the technical term for dispensation from the requirements of religion under compulsion or threat of injury.

Muhammad himself avoided suffering in the cause of religion in dogmatics by doctism (Sūra iv. 156) and in everyday life by the *hiḍra* and by allowing in case of need the denial of the faith (Sūra xvi. 108), friendship with unbelievers (iii. 27) and the eating of forbidden foods (vi. 119; v. 5). This point of view is general in Islam. But, as he at the same time asserted the proclamation of his mission to be a duty and held up the heroic example of the old saints and prophets as a model (lxiv. 7; v. 71; iii. 40 etc.), no definite general rule came to be laid down, not even with the separate sects. Minor questions, which are very fully discussed, are whether *takiya* is a simple permitted alleviation (*rakhṣa*) or a duty, whether it is valid in private interest or in that of the community.

The *takiya* was not rejected even by the extreme wing of the strict Khāridjīs [q.v.] although among the Azrakīs in the related question of divine worship when danger threatens (*ṣalāt al-ḥawf*), it is often given as an example that one should not interrupt the *ṣalāt* even if his horse or his money be stolen from him during it. The advice is quite old: "God gave the believers freedom of movement (*wasṣa'a*) by the *takiya*; therefore conceal thyself!" The principle adopted by the Iḥādīs however was that "the *takiya* is a cloak for the believer: he has no religion who has no *takiya*" (Djama'iyyi; see *Bibl.*, xiii. 127 sq.).

Among the Sunnī authorities the question was not such a burning one. Nevertheless Tahart says on Sūra xvi. 108 (*Tafsīr*, Bulāḡ 1323 sqq., xxiv. 122): "If any one is compelled and professes unbelief with his tongue, while his heart contradicts him, to escape his enemies, no blame falls on him, because God takes his servants as their hearts believe". The reason for this verse is unanimously said to have been the case of 'Ammār b. Yāsir, whose conscience was set at rest by this revela-

tion when he was worried about his forced worshipping of idols and obsequiation of the Prophet. It is more in the nature of theoretical speculation, when in this connection the question of *hiḍra* is minutely investigated, that in certain circumstances e.g. threat of death, a Muslim who cannot live openly professing his faith may have to migrate "as God's earth is wide". Women, children, invalids and one who is tied by considerations for them, are permitted *wasṣa'a* ("commivance"); but an independent individual is not justified in *takiya* nor bound to *hiḍra*, if the compulsion remains within endurable limits, as in the case of temporary imprisonment or flogging which does not result in death. The endeavour, however, to represent the *takiya* as only at most permitted and not under all circumstances obligatory, as even some Sunnīs endeavour to hold on the basis of Sūra ii. 191, has resulted in the invention of admonitory traditions, e.g. *ra'ī al-ḥ' al-mudārāt* "to be good friends with unbelievers is the beginning of actual unbelief". To prove that steadfast martyrdom is a noble thing, the story is told of the two Muslim prisoners of Musailima, one of whom allowed himself to be forced to acknowledge the anti-prophet, while the other died for the Prophet. The latter is reported to have said: "The dead man has departed in his righteousness and certainty of belief and has attained his glory, peace be with him! But God has given the other an alleviation, no punishment shall fall upon him".

The *takiya* is of special significance for the Shī'a. Indeed it is considered their distinguishing feature, not however always with justice, as Nāṣir al-Dīn Tūsī in the *Talḥīq al-Muḥaqqat* protests against Rāst (see at the foot of his *Muḥaqqat Afḥār al-Mutakaddimin wa'l-Mutakhalḥīn*, Cairo 1305, p. 182, on 1). The peculiar fate of the Shī'a, that of a suppressed minority with occasional open not always unheroic rebellions, gave them even more than the Khāridjīs occasions and examples for extreme *takiya* and its very opposite; even the Ismā'īlīs, usually masters in the art of disguising their creed, made the challenge to their leaders: "He who has 40 men at his disposal and does not seek his rights is no Imām". The Zaidīs give as the number of helpers which removes the necessity of *takiya* from the Imām, that of those who fought at Badr. It is a common polemical charge of the Saenīs, quoted from the writings of the Shī'īs themselves, that the latter, as followers of fighting martyrs, are not justified in *takiya*, while the Twelvers in particular, while representing the Imāms as examples compelling one to resoluteness, appeal on the other hand to the conduct of 'Alī during the reign of the three first Caliph and to the *ḥabīb* of the Mahdī as the typical *takiya*. Belief is expressed by heart, tongue and hand; a theory of probabilities developed with considerable dialectic skill calculates under what real or expected injuries, "the permitting of what is pleasing to God and the forbidding of what is displeasing to God" is permitted. Observance with the heart is absolutely necessary. But if it is probable to any one (*law ḡhalaba 'alā ṣannihī*) or if he is certain that an injury will befall him, his property or one of his co-religionists, then he is released from the obligation to intercede for the faith with hand or tongue.

In Shī'ī biographies concealment is a regular feature; we are told that the hero broke the laws

of religion like the prohibition of wine under compulsion and not at all in an excusable way. But since for them also Muhammad is the Prophet, and since as among the Sannia a Prophet may not practice taqiya in matters of his office, because otherwise one could not be certain of the revelation, we have, in view of the double example of the Imāms, in the code of morals for the ordinary pious men of the Shi'a, the following sayings of 'Alī in juxtaposition: "It is the mark of belief to prefer justice if it injures you, and injustice if it is of use to you"; and as an explanation of Sūra alix. 13: "He among you who is most honoured before God is the most fearful (of God)", that is he who uses the taqiya most (*atqatun* = *at-taqatun* [*taqiyatun*]); and it is also said: "The *hikmah* is our *qibla*", but at the same time the *qibla* chapters are to be read with the implied understanding that the fighting is primarily against other Muslims. It is also to be noted that the taqiya of the Shi'a is not a voluntary ideal (cf. Kh. Khāsāt, *Kawāfāt al-Djannāt*, Teherān 1306, iv. 66 sq.), but one should avoid a martyrdom that seems unnecessary and useless and preserve oneself for the faith and one's co-religionists.

Lastly the taqiya is based on the intention and so we continually find the appeal made to the *niya* in this connection. The validity of the profession of faith as an act of worship is not only settled by the correct formulation of the intention to do it, but this is the essential of it, so that it alone counts, if under compulsion a profession of unbelief is made with the lips or worship performed along with unbelievers. God's rights alone can be injured by the taqiya. He has the power to punish the constraint, and only in certain circumstances will a slight portion of the punishment fall upon the constrained. The wiles used in this connection especially in oaths with mental reservations give however ample opportunities to injure one's fellow-creatures.

The moral dangers of taqiya are considerable, but it may be compared with similar phenomena in other religions and even among mystics. The ethical question whether such forced lies are not still lies, such a forced denial of the faith not still a denial, is not put at all by the one "who conceals himself", as he is not in a state of confidence which would be broken by lies or denial.

Bibliography: Goldziher, in *Z. D. M. G.*, ix. (1906), p. 213—226, where further references are given. — **Sunnīs:** Bukhārī, *K. al-Ibrāh*; al-Kutubī, *Mukhtasar*, Kasan 1880, p. 162; al-Nawawī, *Minhādī al-Jalīlīn*, ed. van den Berg, Batavia 1882—1884, ii. 433. — **Kh. Shi'a:** al-Basīwī, *Mukhtasar*, Zanāzar 1304, p. 123; Djumailī, h. Khānī, *Kānūs al-Shar'a*, Zanāzar 1297—1304, xiii. 127 sqq.; 157. — **Zaidīs:** Mas. Berlin 9665, fol. 35^r; 4878, fol. 96^b; C. van Ardenonk, *De ophomst van het Zaidietische Imamat in Yemen*, Leyden 1919, s. Index; R. Strothmann, *Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen*, Strassburg 1912, p. 90 sq. — **Imānīs:** Dāfar b. Hussain al-Hillī, *Shar'a al-Islām*, St. Petersburg 1862, p. 149 sq.; Ibn al-Mutahhar al-'Allāma al-Hillī, *Mukhtasar al-Shi'a*, Teherān 1323 sq., ii. 158 sq.; Horowitz, in *Isl.*, iii. 63—67. — **Druses:** Manuscr. Berlin, Ms. 814 (not in Ahlwardt), fol. 11^b; Ibn Hāsim, *al-Fairat fī 'l-Milal*, Cairo 1317, iii. 112 sq.; iv. 6; al-Shā'irī, *Balance de la loi*

musulmane, ed. Perron, Algiers 1898, p. 456 sq. — Modern general survey of the question: Mahmūd Shukrī Alust, *Mukhtasar al-Tahf al-Ithnā 'ashariya*, Bagdad 1301, p. 188—194. (R. STROTHMANN)

TAQLID (A.), "to hang something around the neck or on the shoulders", used as a technical term in the following three meanings:

1. *Taqīd* is the name of the custom originating in Arab paganism and surviving in the ancient practice of Islām and in Fiḥ, of hanging certain objects around the neck of the animals to be slain (*hady*) as a sacrifice in the sacred territory of Mecca (*haram*) (as *ḥilāḥ*, plur. *ḥilāl*). The *ḥilāl* are mentioned along with the *hady* in Qur'an v. 2 and 98 among the customs of the pilgrimage instituted by Allāh. The object of this rite was, along with the *izār* (branding by an incision in the skin), to mark the animal for sacrifice in the *haram* and to give it a kind of *ihram* (q.v.) which may be supposed to be analogous to that of the pilgrim. Connected with this, although not identical, is the custom of the pilgrim having round his neck and that of his steed on the return journey from Mecca the bark of certain plants, which is also called *ḥilāḥ* (an isolated form of the tradition regarding it gives this for the journey thither and mentions hair as the necklet for the return journey); this custom is still found in Islām but is usually opposed or ignored in the Fiḥ. The *ḥilāḥ* on the sacrificial animal is quite unlike this, for it consists of one or both shoes of the pilgrim or in default of them of a piece of leather; the animal so marked goes through all the essential ceremonies of the *ḥajj* along with the pilgrims including the sojourn in 'Arafa and is slain in Minā. One tradition records this with all details of the Prophet; although it is quite possible that Muḥammad did so, the tradition as well as those still to be mentioned can at most only be regarded as evidence of the practice of early Islām. The latter was not unanimous as to what consequences the sending of a sacrificial animal to Mecca and its *taqlid*, without the person concerned at the same time performing the *ḥajj*, had for him, a practice which may be specifically Muslim and foreign to Arab paganism. There is a group of traditions which — usually claiming to be based on a corresponding practice of the Prophet — impose upon the sender the obligations of the *ihram* from the time of the assumption of the *taqlid* by himself or down to the time of slaying the animal, but the traditions are far more numerous which — some with an obvious polemical intention — say that the Prophet did not assume the *ihram* in this case (thus the superscription and the bias of the tradition in al-Bukhārī, *Adḥā*, bāb 15, is strongly against the practice of observing the *ihram*, the existence of which term is quite evident from the text of the tradition); finally there is also an intermediate *ḥadīth* which leaves the assumption of the *ihram* to the choice of the individual (al-Nasā'ī, *Ḥadīth*, bāb 70). In the fully developed *fiḥ* there is no longer any place for this *ihram* and it is ignored (al-Shā'irī simply rejects it without troubling to refute it; *Kitāb al-'Amm*, ii. 183); it must have dropped out of use quite early; besides 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās who — without historical authority — appears as the great authority for the assumption of this *ihram*, 'Umar and 'Alī, also wrongly given in

this connection, and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar who is also quoted in support of the opposite view, this opinion is only ascribed to Kaïs b. Sa'd b. 'Uthāda, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī, 'Aṣā' and Muḥammad b. Sirīn; the brief reference to "others" does not mean much. In Sa'id b. al-Musayyib we have the essential alleviation but it still retains a main feature of the *iḥrām*, that one thing only, sexual intercourse, is forbidden on the Friday night. A further proof of the close connection between *iḥrām* and *taqlid* is the view reported of Saḥyān al-Thawrī, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Ishāk and others, that the pilgrim to Mecca becomes *muhrim* by putting on the *taqlid* alone, and the allied view that the *taqlid* put on by a pilgrim binds him to adopt the *iḥrām*; Mālik b. Anas says that it is at least undesirable for the Mecca pilgrim to separate the *taqlid* from the assumption of the *iḥrām*. The *Fikḥ* regards the hanging on of a *ḥilā'a* (two sandals, one sandal or a piece of leather) as desirable (*mustaḥabb*) in the case of camels or cattle or according to the Shāfi'is, Ḥanbalis and Aḥlī Thawr and Dāwūd in the case of smaller beasts also; of the Ḥanafis and Mālikis who do not allow it, the Mālikis entirely refuse to allow small animals to be used for sacrifices (*hady*). After the animal is slaughtered the *ḥilā'a* is dipped in its blood. When the pilgrims no longer brought the sacrificial animals with them from home and the market for them was instituted in Minā, the *taqlid* fell with oblivion.

In conclusion, we may note that a leather neck band, also called *ḥilā'a*, on the camel to avert the evil eye, especially if a bell hang from it, is suggested in one tradition.

Bibliography: Lane, *Arab-Engl. Lexicon*, s. v.; for the traditions: Wensinck, *Handbook*, s. v. Victims; Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwatta'* in both recensions; al-Zurkāni, *Kommentar zum al-Muwatta'* and al-Thawrī, *Sharḥ Ma'āni al-Āthār*, lithogr. 1300, i. 439; the *Fikḥ*-works; Gaudesroy-Demombynes, *Le Pèlerinage à la Mecque*, p. 279—285 (a very thorough treatment of the custom in paganism and Islām, although differing in minor points from the sketch given above).

2. *Taqlid* also means installation in a military office, which was done by girding on a sword; it then comes to mean investiture with any administrative office, including that of *ḥāḍi*.

Bibliography: Lane, *Arab-Engl. Lexicon*, s. v.; Sprenger, *Dictionary of the Technical Terms (Bibliotheca Indica)*, p. 1178.

3. *Taqlid* lastly means "clothing with authority" in matters of religion; the adoption of the utterances or actions of another as authoritative with faith in their correctness without investigating reasons (the derivation of the technical use from *ḥilā'a* is wrong). In this sense *taqlid* is the opposite of *istiḥkād* (q. v.). The historical beginnings of the *taqlid* coincide with the formation of the juristic *Madhāhib* (cf. MADHĀH), which in part at least arose through adhesion to particularly notable jurists. Al-Shāfi'ī in his *Riḍā'a*, 8, 18, uses the word in a sense very close to the later technical use, but al-Thawrī still uses it of the recognition of traditions or their use for the deduction of precepts of *fiqh*. When definite conceptions had been formed recognising the *muḥtadid* i. e. the person qualified for independent derivation of *fiqh* rules from the sources, and at the same time the

conviction of the cessation of unlimited *istiḥkād* from the third century on, and of the other kinds of *istiḥkād* correspondingly later, all later scholars or laymen were at once bound to acknowledge *taqlid* as regards earlier authorities. According to the general orthodox Muslim view, everyone is now and has been for centuries bound to what has been authoritatively laid down by his predecessor, no one may any longer consider himself qualified to give a verdict of his own in the field of *fiqh*, independent of that of the earlier *muḥtadid*. All later persons are called *muḥtadid* i. e. those who have to exercise *taqlid*. This obligation to *taqlid* is defended by saying that the *fiqh* only in the early centuries of Islām had possessed the real perspicuity and sufficient learning to deduce *fiqh* from sources and to form an opinion of their own about it, while this was quite beyond the powers of later generations, a view which is only a part of certain aspects of the history of the philosophy in orthodox Islām.

The *taqlid* has contributed to maintain the differences between the separate *madhāhib* but is not to be held responsible for the deadening of the stimulus to the development of *fiqh* in later times.

While it is the unanimous view that the layman as well as the scholar is bound to *taqlid*, it is occasionally demanded of the scholar that he should be aware of the correctness of the *istiḥkād* of his *muḥtadid*. If there are several *muḥtadids*, as is actually the case, the *muḥtadid* may follow any one of these he pleases (presuming of course that he remains within the bounds of the *ijmā'* i. e. does not choose a *muḥtadid* whose teachings are no longer recognised by the *ijmā'*; the obligation to *taqlid* is also based on the *ijmā'*); according to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and Ibn Shurāih, he has to decide to whom the preference is to be given and to follow him (this divergence of opinion is really confined to terminology). In theory the *muḥtadid* can make a new choice of a *muḥtadid* with each question that arises for him, but in practice he usually joins once and for all the *madhāhib* of one of the four recognised *muḥtadids*. There are a fair number of cases of transference from one *madhāhib* to another (cf. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islām*, p. 25; 2nd ed., p. 48—50); opinions are divided as to whether such a transfer is admissible in theory (cf. Juynboll, *Handleiding*, 3rd ed., p. 22). It very often happens that on a particular question the more convenient rules of another *madhāhib* are followed; the *fiqh* books themselves occasionally hint at the possibility of *taqlid*, but in such a case it is demanded that the business should be carried through to its conclusion, in keeping with the laws of the particular *madhāhib* once it has been chosen.

This all holds of *taqlid* in questions of *fiqh*; with regard to the *ashyāt*, the fundamental questions of dogma, e. g. the existence of Allāh, besides the opinion that *taqlid* is obligatory or that it is admissible, we also have the view that it is inadmissible, as on these questions knowledge is demanded which cannot be obtained by *taqlid* alone. It was the school of the Ash'aris which gave this originally Mu'tazilī view wide dissemination in Islām (cf. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p. 123 and 136, note 10; 2nd edition, p. 121 sq. and 327, note 72).

The principle of *taqlid* in law has not been enforced in orthodox Islām without opposition; even

in later generations there have been scholars who held that there must always be a *muftakid*, like Ibn Dāḥik al-Id (d. 702 = 1302) or al-Sayyidī (d. 911 = 1505) or some who were inclined to claim for themselves unlimited *iftikāh*, like al-Djauzī (d. 478 = 1085) and the already mentioned al-Sayyidī, and even some who held that *iftikāh* was obligatory for later scholars and condemned the system of *taklīd*, like Dāwūd b. 'Alī, Ibn Ḥarm and other authorities of the Zābirīs, and some Hanbalīs like Ibn Taimiyya and Ibn Kāyim al-Djauzī, who are already on the border of orthodoxy. The Wahhābīs, whose views go back to these Hanbalīs, beginning with their founder Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb reject *taklīd* (cf. the Hantah-Wahhābī works and propagandist pamphlets printed at the Manār press in Cairo and al-Shawkānī's brochure entitled *al-ḥawāṣi al-muṣṭafā 'adillat al-iftikāh wa 'l-taklīd*, which deals particularly with the *iftikāh-taklīd* question). Like the Hanbalīs, their extreme opposites, the modernists in Islām, for whom the Hanbalīs, it is true, paved the way, reject *taklīd* and demand and exercise a new *iftikāh* which in its lack of restrictions far surpasses even the most liberal of the early period of legal development (cf. Hartmann, *Die Krisis des Islām*, and the writings of the different modernist schools, some of the most important of which are quoted in the article *SHAR'Ā*). For reasons similar to those of the Hanbalī-Wahhābīs the Ibāḍīs also rejected *taklīd*. Lastly the Shī'īs reject the orthodox doctrine of *taklīd*; according to the Twelvers, during the period when the "hidden Imām" is concealed, there are *muftakids* who have to guide the faithful as his agents; as these have thus living teachers always in view in religious matters, *taklīd* towards a dead man is forbidden (cf. C. Frank, in *Islamica*, ii. 171 sqq.).

Bibliography: in addition to the works quoted above: Lane, *Arab-Engl. Lexicon*, s. v. and Sprenger, *Dictionary of the Technical Terms* (Bibliotheca Indica), p. 1178 (not wholly reliable); on the terminology; the *Uṣūl*-works; Juynboll, *Handleiding*, 3rd ed., p. 23 sqq. and note 13; Snouck Hurgronje, *Verbreide Geschiedenis*, ii., passim.

TAKLĪF is imposing a regulation or constraint upon any one; it requires an action in which there is difficulty and trouble (Lane, *Suppl.*, p. 3002; *Liṣān*, xi. 218: *amarahu bi-mā yashkūnu 'alaihi*). The verb is used in several forms seven times in the Qur'ān (ii. 233, 286; iv. 86; vi. 153; vii. 40; xlii. 64; lxi. 7) to express that Allāh does not require of any one what is beyond his capacity (*wuṣ'*). Technically it means the necessity which lies on the creatures of Allāh to believe and act as He has revealed to them. It is therefore defined legally by the majority of canonists as the requiring (*ilzām*) of an action in which is difficulty and trouble. On this definition, it applies only to things necessarily required and to things forbidden (*al-wājib*, *al-ḥarām*). But some canonists define it as an assertion of a belief that the action is one of the legal rulings (*al-ahkām al-shar'iyya*). On this definition, *taklīf* applies also to the recommended (*al-mundūb*), the disliked (*al-makrūh*) and the permitted (*al-mubāḥ*). Further, there is dispute as to who is *mukallaf*, i. e. under this divine requirement. It is accepted that every sane, human adult (*āḥil, insān, bāligh*) is thus *mukallaf* (Juynboll, *Handbuch*, p. 69). But the *jinn* are also under this *taklīf* so far as

the prophethood of Muḥammad is concerned; he was sent to the *jinn* and the other prophets were not. Similarly of the angels, although this applies only to their acts of obedience, as faith (*īmān*) exists of necessity (*ḥarūrī*) in them. Yet some assert that as their created nature is obedience, the prophetic mission of Muḥammad to them was only to glorify them (*li-taḥṣin*; cf. al-Baidjari on the *Kifāya* of al-Faḍlī, ed. Cairo 1315, p. 13). Some further extend this *taklīf* of the prophetic mission of Muḥammad even to inanimate things (*al-ḥayāt*), on the ground that in some of the miracles (*mu'jizat*) of Muḥammad reason was created in some inanimate things to the point that these believed in him. Another matter of controversy as to *taklīf* is the allowability of Allāh's requiring of a creature that which the creature has not power to do (*taklīf wa lā quṣṣa*). The Maturīdites asserted, in the language of the Qur'ān as above, that the creature is not required to do what is not in his capacity (*mā laisa fi wuṣ'ihī*; *Aḥkām* of al-Nasafi, ed. Cairo 1321 with commentary of al-Taftāzānī, p. 103). Al-Idjī in his *Mawāḥiṣ* (ed. Būlak 1266, p. 535 middle, 537 middle), as an Ash'arite, brings the question back under the general ruling that Allāh's will and action cannot be limited in any way; nothing is incumbent upon him and nothing is evil that proceeds from him. It is a general agreement of the Muslim people (*al-Umma*) that Allāh does not do an evil thing (*ḥabīb*) and does not leave undone a necessary thing (*wājib*). He adds that the Ash'arites put it that the *ḥabīb* and the *wājib* have no relationship to Allāh at all, while the Mu'tazilites hold that what would be *ḥabīb* from Him he does not do and what is incumbent on Him he does. See, further, in the passages cited above, long scholastic discussions of these points by al-Taftāzānī and al-Idjī.

Bibliography: Add to passages cited above the general discussion in *Dictionary of technical terms*, under "Taklīf", p. 1255.

(D. B. MACDONALD)

TĀKORONNĀ, a name given in Muslim Spain to the mountain massif of the south of Andalusia, now called *Serranía de Ronda*. This is undoubtedly a double of the Berber word which is frequently found in North African names, *tākronā*. Different writers have given different vocalisations of Tākoronnā: they may be found collected with references in a valuable note by W. Marçais and Abderrahmān Guiga, *Textes arabes de Tākronā* [in Tunisia], i., Paris 1925, p. viii, note 1. Cf. also Yāqūt, *Muṣṣam*, s. v. *SHIRAZ*; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *al-Sila*, ed. Codex, B. A. H., p. 185 and 302; Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Hinayā, *al-Kawf al-miṣr*, s. v. — Dozy, after thinking of explaining this name by a combination of the Berber prefix *tā-* and the Latin *corena*, wisely abandoned this etymology, which could hardly be defended (*Hist. des Mus. d'Esp.*, i., p. 343, note 2, and iv., p. 339; cf. also *Recherches*, ii. 43, note 1). In any case, according to the same authorities none of the proposed etymologies is satisfactory.

The capital of the district of Tākoronnā, later the capital of the little independent kingdom of the Banū Ifrān till its annexation to the kingdom of Seville, was Ronda; cf. the article Ronda for a resumé of the history of the region during the Muslim occupation.

(E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL)

TAKRIT (popular pronunciation **TIKRIT**, cf. **Yāḳūt**), a town on the right bank of the Tigris to the north of Samarra (according to Streck the distance is a day's journey) and at the foot of the range of the Djabal Hamrin. Geographically this is the northern frontier district of the 'Irāk. The land is still somewhat undulating; the old town was built on a group of hills, on one of which beside the river, stands the modern town. To the north is a sandstone cliff 200 feet above the level of the river, on which still stand the ruins of the old citadel. The traces of the old town stretch to the west of these two hills in a large circle, which shows that Takrit was once of considerable extent.

It has been suggested that the name may be recognised in a tablet of the time of Nebuchadnezzar (Strassmeyer, quoted by Streck, *ib.*, p. 311.) but the first certain mention is that of Ptolemy (v. 18, 19) who calls it *Birtha* (*Yāḳūt*, i. 861, in giving the latitude and longitude also refers to Ptolemy). Ammianus Marcellinus calls it *Virta*. Indeed the hill of the citadel is still known as *Burtha*. In Syriac literature the town is called *Teghrith*. From the fourth century it was the see of a Jacobite bishop until, in 1155, the diocese was combined with that of al-Mawsil (Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, I. 174, 465). The Arab writers attribute its foundation to the Sāsānian king Šābūr, son of Ardashīr; the town is said to have been called after a Christian woman named Takrit bint Wā'il; several legends are connected with its foundation (*Yāḳūt*, *loc. cit.*; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḥṣin al-Buldān*, ii. 288). Before Islām the town was temporarily occupied by the Arab Christian tribe of the *lyād* (al-Bakrī, *Muḍjam*, i. 46); they were driven from it, but the *lyād* remained for a long time afterwards in the neighbourhood (Hamānī, *Djāmirat al-'Arab*, p. 180) and in the period of the conquest the soldiers of the *lyād* in the garrison of Takrit secretly assisted the Arabs (cf. *Yāḳūt*). The first Muslim capture of the town seems to have been effected in the year 16 by 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mu'tam who was sent out by Sa'īd b. Abi Waḳḳās. Then in 20 A.H., the town again surrendered by agreement; tradition ascribes this second occupation to al-Nusair b. Daism or to his deputy 'Uḳba b. Furḳād or to Mas'ūd b. Hurāith b. al-'Abdjar. The last named was the first governor and built the *djāmi'* mosque there (*Yāḳūt*, *loc. cit.*; al-Balādhuri, p. 248—249).

Down to the middle of the tenth century, the Arab geographers reckoned Takrit as belonging administratively to al-Djazīra (Ibn Khordādhbeh, p. 94; Ibn Rusta, p. 106; Ibn al-Fakīh, p. 129; Kūḍāma, p. 245, 250; Isṭakhārī, p. 72, 77; Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 156; Mas'ūdī, *Kitaḥ al-Tanbih*, p. 36), but from the time of al-Maḳḍisī (p. 54, 115) the town is more often regarded as belonging to the 'Irāk (excepting by Idrīsī and Dimashī). In the early centuries of Islām the town was almost exclusively Christian. Ibn Ḥawḳal and Mas'ūdī (*op. cit.*, p. 155) mention the al-Khaḍra' church there, and there is still a ruin of this name in the south of the town. There were also other Christian buildings (like the monastery of Sa'āba on the opposite bank (*Yāḳūt*, ii. 673) and the Dair Mār Yuhannā, *Yāḳūt*, ii. 701). The name of the great Muslim sanctuary al-Arba'in, a quarter of an hour west of the old town, seems to indicate that it was formerly the site of a Christian building. Two

vaulted chambers decorated with stucco are still standing; the building goes back to the xiiith century. Takrit was celebrated for its manufactures of woollen goods (Maḳḍisī). In the xiiith and xivth centuries it is described as a large town (Ibn Djabair, p. 223; Ibn Battūta, ii. 133). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī says it is a town of average size. Idrīsī (transl. Jaubert, ii. 147) mentions the al-Dajjal canal which ran from the Tigris near Takrit and went on to Baghdad; this is probably identical with the Nahr al-Ishāki, dug, according to Abu 'l-Fidā', in the reign of al-Mutawakkil (cf. also Ḥadīdī Khalifa, *Djāhā-namā*, p. 434). Traces of this canal, which according to Ewliyā Celebi was cleaned out by Murād Paṣṣa in 1654 (quoted by von Hammer, *Wiener Jahrbücher*, 1821, vol. xiii. 235), are still visible.

Takrit never played an important part in history. In the eleventh century it belonged to almost independent lords until the Salḡūḳ Tughril Beg took advantage of the death of its lord to seize it (Ibn al-Aḥfir, ix. 448). From 1149 the town was part of the territory of the Begteginids and in 1190 it passed to the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs. It was the birth-place of Salāḍīn, whose father Naḍīm al-Dīn Aiyūb had been appointed commandant of the town under the Salḡūḳ. When the conqueror Tīmūr took it, it was in the possession of Arab brigands (Sharaf al-Dīn, transl. Pétis de la Croix, ii. 141—154). In the following centuries it remained a small place; Christians are mentioned in it for the last time by Tavernier (*Voyages*, ii. 87). Under Turkish rule, Takrit was a *sandjak* in the *vilāyet* of Raḳḳa (*Djāhā-namā*, p. 434), but after the reforms of the xixth century it was reduced to a *nāhiya* of the *paṣā* of Samarra (in the *vilāyat* of Baghdad). In the xixth century the population was probably never more than 4,000—5,000 souls. All travellers have been poorly impressed by it; the majority of the inhabitants of the present day make their living by navigating keleks, which change crews there. From the archaeological point of view Takrit seems to be promising. Herzfeld found there pottery of an interesting type belonging to the Sāsānian period and to the early centuries of Islām.

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(J. H. KRAMERS)

TAKRÜR, Taculor (French Toucouleur), is the name given to the population of negro stock which inhabits the greater part of the lowlands of Senegalese Futa and the larger part of Bundu. The first of these countries lying on either side of the river Senegal but more on the left bank, includes from west to east the provinces of Dimār, Tōro, Lāo, Yirlābe or Irlābe, Bāeya, Ngenār or Ganār and Damga. Bundu lies west of the lower Faleme. Taculor colonies are also found in different parts of West Africa, especially at Kayes (on the upper Senegal), at Nyōro (in Sudanese Sahel), at Segu (on

the Niger), at Pandjagara (eastern Māina), at Dingiral (east of Fūta Djallon); these colonies were founded in the middle of the sixteenth century by natives of Senegalese Fūta who had followed the fortunes of the conqueror al-Hājjī 'Umar. They are also found between the Niger and Chad, particularly at Sokoto [q.v.]; these last are descended from other natives of Senegalese Fūta who had accompanied 'Uthmān Fōdjo on the conquest of the Hausa country at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The word "Tuculor" is a slight corruption of the pronunciation among the Wolof of the Lower Congo of the name of the people in question. Among them the word assumes the form *Tokoror* or *Takaler*. We find it in the narratives of the early travellers and on old maps with the spelling "Toucoum" or "Toucourogne". The Arabs wrote it *Takrūr* and have made the ethnic *Takrūrī* from it, plural *Takrūrī*, which is applied by the Moors of the right bank of the Senegal to the Tuculors. It seems that at one time *Tokoror* or *Takrūr* was the name of a town near the river Senegal, as well as the name of the kingdom of which it was capital, which corresponded practically to Senegalese Fūta and lastly it was the name of the people of this kingdom. There is still a place called by this name (*Tokoror*) not far from Gede in the Tōro or district of Podor near the arm of the Senegal which is called the "marigot de Doné", this corresponds to the position assigned by al-Bakrī, Idrīsī and other Arab geographers of the middle ages to the town of *Takrūr*. In time Arab writers and following them the Sudanese chroniclers who wrote in Arabic extended the application of the word *Takrūr* to the whole of the Muslim Sūdān, from the Atlantic up to (but not including) the valley of the Nile and have made *Takrūrī* a synonym of Sudanese. This is why the European atlases have for long borne south of the Sahara, the inscription "Tekrur or Sudan". But this extension of the name is not in keeping with the facts, and *Takrūr* or *Tokoror* strictly means the true home of the Tuculors, i.e. Senegalese Fūta.

There is not absolute certainty about the origin of the present Tuculors, who seem to form a very mixed population. They are probably in part the descendants of the old autochthons of Senegalese Fūta, who are probably of the same stock as the Wolof and the Sérer; in part the descendants of the old negro autochthons of modern Mauritania and the Hodh (Hawd) who must have been of the same stock and migrated southwards when the southern Sahara began to dry up; partly the descendants of the Sarakollé (or Soninke) and of the Mandingoes (or Malinke) who came at a remote epoch and settled round the commercial centres of ancient *Takrūr*, and partly, descendants of Fula negro serfs called *Rimālibe*, belonging to the Fula of Termes (in the N. E. of Nyōro) who came with their masters to Senegalese Fūta before the sixteenth century; these Fula remained shepherds and settled in the highlands, while their negro serfs devoted themselves to agriculture in the valley of the river.

Whatever may be the origin of the Tuculor, they cannot, as has been said, be regarded as Fula half-breeds. Of course such half-breeds are found among them but as a whole the Tuculors are negroes of pure stock. The only thing they have in common with the Fula is the language

which is clearly a negro idiom related to the Wolof and very closely to the Sérer, probably borrowed by the Fula from the old negro autochthons of Termes and the adjoining districts. The Tuculors give to the Fula dialect which they speak the name of *Fulār*, and sometimes describe themselves as *Halfulārēn*, i.e. those who speak *Fulār*. The Fula has certainly been the mother-tongue of the Tuculors for a long time, although we cannot tell whether they already spoke it before the arrival of the Fula in Senegalese Fūta. In any case we know from a reference in al-Bakrī that in the sixteenth century the hippopotamus was known by its Fula name (*ngāhu*) to the people on the banks of the Senegal in the country of Fūta.

The Tuculors are in general agriculturists, but they have a natural fondness for fighting. In the sixteenth century, they successfully resisted the domination of the Fula in Senegalese Fūta, who from 1559 to 1775 exercised supremacy there under the leadership of the *zatigi* or *saligi* or *slatigi* (the "siratiques" of the early travellers) belonging to the Fula dynasty of Denianke. At the latter period they for long resisted the French conquest. They played a considerable part in 'Uthmān Fōdjo's conquests in the Hausa country in 1800 and in those of al-Hājjī 'Umar in the Mandingo country, the Bambara lands and the Māina, from 1848 to 1864, furnishing these conquerors, both natives of Tōro, with their best officers and finest troops. Since then they have enlisted in large numbers in the Senegal tirailleurs and have contributed to the black army of France a very large number of soldiers of great bravery and N. C. O.'s of a high order.

They include within their ranks professional castes which are perhaps of a different origin from the rest of the population, but are now at any rate completely incorporated with the rest and speak the same language. Such are for example the *Subalbe* (sg. *Tyuballe*) fishermen and sailors, the *Lambe* (sg. *Labbe*) joiners and basket-makers, the *Burnābe* (sg. *Burnābye*) potters, the *Wailube* (sg. *Bailo*) smiths, the *Walabe* (sg. *Galābe*) shoe-makers, the *Mabube* (sg. *Mabbe*) weavers, the *Wambūbe* (sg. *Bambūbye*) musicians, the *Wawube* (sg. *Gawbe*) bards or troubadours, the *Woubé* (sg. *Gowé*) and the *Dyūwambe* (sg. *Dyūwande*) courtiers etc.

The Tuculors are all Muhammadans and were among the earliest peoples of the Sūdān to be converted to Islām. This religion penetrated to Senegalese Fūta towards the end of the first half of the sixteenth century, at the beginning of the Almoravid movement and under its influence. Al-Bakrī says that the first ruler of this region to embrace Islām and spread it around him was a certain *Wār-Dyābī* or *Wār-Dyābē* or a third form *Wār-Ndyāli* (the variants in the manuscripts give these different forms), who died in 1041—1042 A. D.; his son *Lebbi* in 1056 supplied a contingent to the Almoravid leader *Yahyā b. 'Umar*, of the Berber tribe of *Lamtuna*, in his war with the Berber tribe of the *Goddāla*. Local tradition on the other hand gives the name of the first to spread Islām in Senegalese Fūta as *Abū Dardai*, who is sometimes confused with *Ndyadyan-Nāyāl*, the missionary of Djolof. In any case the Tuculors have never ceased to profess Islām since their conversion. In the period of domination of the pagan Fula, religious was added to nationalist

sentiment to stimulate the Tukulors to cast off the yoke of the Denianke kings. Tukulor was synonymous with Muslim as Fula was with pagan.

It was the *Torébe* section (sg. *Torédo*) among the Tukulors that always showed itself the most devoted and ardent Muslims. Sulaimān Bāl, who succeeded in casting off the suzerainty of the Fula kings, and in establishing in Senegalese Fūta in 1775–1776 shortly before his death, a Tukulor theocratic monarchy, belonged to this section. 'Uthmān Fōdjo and al-Hādīdī 'Umar were also *Torébe*.

Politically Takrūr or Senegalese Fūta has successively consisted of: 1, a series of provinces more or less independent of one another (before the ninth century of our era); 2, a kind of kingdom ruled by princes who came from Hodh (Hawd) via Tagant and were known as Dyāgo (ixth–xth century); 3, a more or less direct dependency of the Sarakollé kingdom of Dyāra (Sihel) under the government of Tukulor princes or Sarakollé governors (xth–xiiith centuries; this is the period of the Fula immigrations from Termes and the conversion of the Tukulors to Islam); 4, a dependency of the same Sarakollé kingdom, which was now in turn a vassal of the Mali or Manding empire (xiiith–xvth century); 5, still a dependency of this same kingdom, but the latter was now under the suzerainty of the empire of Gao or of the Songoi (beginning of the xvth century to 1558); 6, an independent kingdom ruled by the Fula dynasty of Denianke who were pagans, i.e. Koli Tengella and his successors (1559–1775); 7, an independent theocratic Muslim federation, the power being in the hands of Tukulors (1776–1858); 8, a series of Tukulor principalities separated from one another and gradually coming under French protectorate (1858–1890); 9, a series of provinces annexed to the colony of Senegal (1890 onwards).

The theocratic Tukulor state of Senegalese Fūta, founded in 1776, was ruled by a chief of a religious character, called *almāmi* (from the Arabic *al-imām*), elected by the notables and frequently destined by them to a very brief reign. The first *almāmi* of Fūta was 'Abd al-Kādir (1776–1805). He had 33 successors, some of whom had several reigns, like Yūsufu who had nine. The *almāmi* Muḥammad Birān, elected for the first time in July 1841 signed a treaty of friendship with France on Oct. 7 of the same year. In the reign of Sibawaihi (1854–1856) a fort was built at Podor in Tōro by the governor of Senegal, Faidherbe, who now set himself the task of leading the separate provinces of Fūta to leave the confederation and acknowledge French suzerainty. Under the *almāmi* Muḥammad (1858–1859), the French protectorate was accepted by the Dimār who became independent of Fūta. In 1859 the *almāmi* Muḥammad Birān, who was then reigning for the fifth time, abandoned his rights over Tōro and Damga, which were next year placed under French protectorate and the confederation of Fūta now comprised only the Lāo, Yirlābe, Bōseya and Ngenār. On Oct. 24 1877, the *almāmi* Muḥammad Aḥmadu ceded to France the provinces of Lāo and Yirlābe and finally in 1881, the governor Brière de l'Isle obtained from the *almāmi* Sire Bāhs Lih, the recognition of French suzerainty over what remained of the Fūta federation: the Bōseya and Ngenār. This was the last *almāmi*. He died in 1890 and on his death the seven provinces which had composed

the Tukulor state of Senegalese Fūta were annexed to the French colony of Senegal.

The Tukulors of Bundu had formed in their country a similar state, which made an alliance with France in the middle of the sixth century. The *almāmi* Buhakar Sa'ada who was then reigning in Bundu vigorously supported the governor Faidherbe in his struggle against al-Hādīdī 'Umar especially in 1857 and 1859.

It was in 1801 that a Tukulor, a native of Tōro, 'Uthmān, son of a certain Muḥammad called Fōdjo, i.e. the "learned", having raised an army among his compatriots of Senegalese Fūta and strengthening it with soldiers recruited in Mūsina, Liptako and Songoi, taking as an excuse the exactions of the king of the province of which the shepherds of Göber had complained, preached a holy war against the Hausa, seized Tsāwa, capital of Göber, then Sokoto, Katsēna, Zinder, Kāno, Zaria and other Hausa towns and founded between the Niger and Chad an empire the capital of which he made at Waro, near Sokoto, and whose boundaries he extended to Nupe in the southwest and Adamāwa in the southeast. He even invaded Bornu but was driven out again by the celebrated Kānemi, in 1810. He died in 1815 as a result of a kind of fit of mystic mania. His brother 'Abdullāhī assumed the government of the western part of the empire with Gando as capital, and his son Muḥammad Bello, that of the central part, called the kingdom of Sokoto; as to Adamāwa, it became practically independent. Muḥammad Bello, who reigned from 1815 to 1837, had to fight against the greater part of his subjects who rebelled against Tukulor domination and returned to paganism; he had also to fight against Bornu. He was a notable scholar and wrote in Arabic a number of historical and religious works. In 1828 he received with consideration the explorer Clapperton. He was succeeded by his brother 'Aḥkī (1837–1843) who was distinguished by his rigid puritanism and forbade dancing and music in his kingdom. 'Alī (1843–1855) who received Barth was the son of Muḥammad Bello; he allowed the royal power to slip from his hands into those of the governors of the various provinces, and the five last Tukulor kings of Sokoto never succeeded in recovering it: Aḥmadu (1855–1866), 'Alīyū Karamī (1866–1867), Aḥmadu, second of the name (1867–1872), Abūbakarī (1872–1877) and Moyās (1877–1904). The last named offered no resistance to the British troops under Sir Frederick Lugard who occupied Sokoto in 1904 and put an end to Tukulor rule in the Hausa country by re-establishing the authority of the native princes.

The other Tukulor empire of the sixth century founded by al-Hādīdī 'Umar had a shorter duration. Born at Alo'ar, in Tōro about 1797, 'Umar Tal in 1820 went to Mecca where he performed the rites of the pilgrimage and acquired the title of *al-Hādīdī* (the pilgrim) and received investiture as *khalīfa* for the Sūdān of the Tidjāniya brotherhood. On his return he spent a considerable time in Sokoto with his compatriot Muḥammad Bello, who gave him a daughter in marriage. In 1838 he established himself in Fūta Djallon, then in view of the hostility of the chiefs of this region took up his residence in the south of the Manding country at Dingirai where he built a fortress and raised an army, the principal con-

lingents of which he brought from Senegalese Fula. Preaching the holy war against the infidels, he conquered Mandingo and Bambak, marched against the Bambara and Kaarta, destroyed their kingdom and victoriously entered Nyōro in 1854. Then turning against Khāso, which had placed itself under French protection and had a French post established at Medina, the capital, by the governor Faidherbe, he laid siege in 1857 to the capital and the French garrison. Paul Holle who commanded the fort of Medina with a handful of men held out for three months. Just when, having neither food nor ammunition left, Paul Holle was going to blow up the fort with its defenders, Faidherbe, who had been waiting for the waters of the Senegal to fall, appeared with his troops before Medina, and routed the army of al-Hādīdj 'Umar. The latter went to Bundu where he had to fight the almāmi Būbakar Sa'ada, then went to Senegalese Fula, a part of whose population he forced to follow him to Nyōro. Having thus reconstituted his army, he marched against the Bambara of Ségou and took this town in 1861. He then turned his attention to the Fula of Māsina, who although Muslims had assisted the pagan Bambara, took their capital Hamdallahi and seized their king Ahmadu-Ahmadu, whom he beheaded in 1862. He then proceeded to sack Timbuktu, after which besieged by the rebel Fula he was brought to bay in a cave, where he was smoked to death in 1864.

One of his sons, Ahmadu, whom he had left in Ségou wished to succeed him, but he found rivals in his brothers and other relations installed at Dingirai, Nyōro and Bandyagara (Māsina). The empire founded by his father was divided into four kingdoms, all at variance with one another. Ahmadu tried to get rid of his brothers and of several of his brother's lieutenants by having them assassinated but he did not succeed either in gaining absolute power or in putting down the continual rebellions which his cruelty and capidity provoked among the Bambara and Fula. After professing a desire to negotiate with France, he committed acts of deliberate hostility and the French authorities decided to put an end to a tyranny which all the natives hated. Agibu, brother of Ahmadu and king of Dingirai, had joined the French. Colonel (later General) Archinard took Ségou on 6th April 1890, Nyōro on Jan. 1, 1891 and Bandyagara on April 26, 1893, thus destroying the Tuculor empire of the Western Sūdān and putting to flight Ahmadu; he sought refuge with Moyāou, king of Sokoto and died in Hausaland in 1898.

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(M. DELAFOSSE)

TALĀT' b. RUZZIK AL-MALIK AL-SĀLIH, Fa-
timid wazīr (495—556 = 1101—1161). The events immediately attendant on the treacherous murder of the 12th Fatimid caliph al-Zāhir (1154) called him forth, at the request of the ladies of the royal household, from his governorship at Ushūlūnain to play the rôle of strong man essential in the circumstances. Success crowned his march on Cairo with his followers from Upper Egypt. Then, following the deposition of 'Abbās, he was appointed wazīr to the child caliph al-Fā'iz in 549 (1154) with the title of *al-Sāliḥ al-'Iḥā*. His traitorous predecessor in office, 'Abbās, had fled with his wealth to Palestine and had there fallen into the hands of the Crusaders. Talāt' treated with the latter for the surrender of their prisoner, paying it is said about 10,000 dinārs (Ibn Iyās, i. 66). The exchange was effected and 'Abbās and his son Naṣr were cruelly tortured and crucified in Cairo. Talāt', as might have been expected of such a general, maintained a rigorous control of affairs. In his leisure hours he manifested a penchant for versification, which even obtruded itself in the style of his military despatches. Specimens of his poetry are quoted by Ibn Khallikān (i. 658). He seems to have been a liberal patron of Art and Letters, although he was not above grinding the peasantry with his taxes. The ruins of the mosque which he built may still be seen near the Ḥāb al-Zawīla in Cairo, bearing witness to his zeal for the faith. He was ever a strong supporter of the Imā'īlians. On the death of the little caliph in his eleventh year (1160), and the accession of another child, his cousin al-'Aḍid, the last of the Fatimids, Talāt' continued as wazīr and married his daughter to the caliph. Although virtually ruler of the country, it was only a question of time before his political enemies undermined his power. The restrictions he put on the royal harem, for one thing, earned for him the hatred of the caliph's aunt, whose intrigues led to the wazīr's assassination. Even as he lay dying his dominating spirit manifested itself in his ordering the lady to be put to death before his eyes. His death took place on the 10th Ramaḍān 556 (Sept. 1161). He was ultimately buried in the cemetery of the Karāfa. There is a story in Abū Sāliḥ's Chronicle (fol. 89b) that an aged Christian monk in Upper Egypt had foretold to Talāt', when he was still a provincial governor, that he would attain the highest rank in the state. When the prophecy was fulfilled the wazīr is said to have made a grant of land to the monastery. Whatever else he may have been, he was certainly a valiant warrior. He did his utmost by diplomacy, bribery and attack to drive the Crusaders from Palestine, but without success, chiefly due to the collapse of his negotiations with the orthodox Muslim ruler of Damascus. With his dying breath he is said to have regretted his failure to re-capture Jerusalem from the Franks. Amalric is said to have invaded Egypt during his wazirate.

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(J. WALKER)

TALĀḤ (A.), repudiation of a wife by a husband, a form of divorce, effected by his pronouncing the words *anti ḥaliḥ*. The root idea of the verb *ṭalaha* is: to be freed from a tether etc. (of a camel), to be repudiated by a man (of a wife; in this sense also *ṭalaba*), hence *ṭalaha*, to release (a camel) from a tether, to repudiate (a wife); *ḥaliḥ* means a camel untethered or a woman repudiated by a man (cf. Lane, *Arab. Etyl. Lexicon* s.v.).

I. The right to a one-sided dissolution of a marriage belonged to the man exclusively, among the pre-Muḥammadian Arabs. Long before Muḥammad this *ṭalāḥ* was in general use among the Arabs and meant the immediate definite abandonment by the man of all rights over his wife, which he could insist upon as a result of his marriage. Cf. Th. W. Juynboll, *De mohammedaanse bruidgast* (Diss. Leyden), p. 42—64, who corrects the view held by W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and marriage in early Arabia*, 2nd ed., p. 112 199, and J. Wellhausen, *Die Ehe bei den Arabern* (Nachrichten v. d. Königl. Ges. d. Wiss., Göttingen 1893), p. 452 199.

II. The Qur'ān lays down regulations which go into the *ṭalāḥ* with comparative thoroughness. From their fullness, and still more from the many admonitions to observe them exactly, it is evident that Muḥammad was here introducing new rules which had been previously quite unknown to his contemporaries. Muḥammad found particularly repulsive the apparently not uncommon exploitation in his milieu of the wife by the *wali* as well as by the husband, which took place especially in connection with the *ṭalāḥ*. The first Muslim regulation about the *ṭalāḥ* seems to be the prohibition to use it for extortions from the woman: Sūra iv. 24 (of the years 3—5, on the whole chronology, which is here given in further detail, cf. Noldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qurans*; the preceding verse 23 is directed against encroachments by the relatives of the deceased and by the *wali*): "If ye be desirous of exchanging one wife for another and have given one of them a certain sum (as *mahr*, or bridal gift) make no deduction from it; would ye take it by manifest slander and sin? (25) How could ye take it when ye have had intercourse together and they (the wives) have received a binding promise from you?" (Here Muḥammad recognises the *ṭalāḥ* as such as legitimate). The next passage which deals with the *ṭalāḥ* introduces an important innovation by the Prophet, namely the period of waiting (*idda*), which is on the one hand intended to leave no doubt about the real paternity of a child born from the divorced woman and on the other to give the man an opportunity of atoning for a too hurried pronouncement of the *ṭalāḥ* by withdrawing it; thus it is laid down in Sūra ii. 228: "The women who have been given the *ṭalāḥ* shall wait three *ḥurūḥ* (this expression which is variously explained means in any case phenomena connected with menstruation); it is not permitted to them to conceal what

Allāh creates in their bodies, if they believe in Allāh and the last day; their husbands have the full right to take them back during this period, if they desire to make atonement; they have to demand the same good treatment to which they were bound but the men are a step above them; and Allāh is powerful and wise" (the man is here given the right to take back the wife during the period of waiting even against her will). But this right now given to the man for the first time was very soon abused; the wife was taken back near the end of the period of waiting and a new *ṭalāḥ* at once pronounced over her so that she was permanently in a state of waiting, in order to induce her to purchase her freedom by giving back the *mahr* or making some other financial sacrifice; verse 229 was therefore revealed. "If the man has twice pronounced the *ṭalāḥ*, he may still keep his wife if he treat her kindly or let her go in a seemly fashion; it is not permitted to you to take away anything of what ye have given them . . . (In an interpolation the *ḥurūḥ*, the amicable purchase of her freedom by the woman in contrast to the extortions condemned above, is declared permitted). 230 If he pronounces the *ṭalāḥ* over her for the third time, it is not permitted for him to take her again unless she has married another husband; if the latter pronounce the *ṭalāḥ* over her, it is no sin for the two to return to one another if they think they can observe Allāh's commands; these are the commands of Allāh which make clear to those who have knowledge" (it is probable that the second part of verse 230 was induced by a concrete case in which a thrice divorced woman who had married another husband and received the *ṭalāḥ* from him also, desired to marry her first husband again). A further extension made necessary by the practice, which was intended to prevent abuses of the right of taking back the wife during the period of waiting, is given in verse 231: "If ye give women the *ṭalāḥ* and they reach their time, retain them with you kindly or let them go kindly; but do not keep them to harm them with hostile intent; he who does so only injures himself; make not a jest of Allāh's words!" (here it is forbidden to take back the wife under a show of reconciliation, and to keep her simply with the object of making her life uncomfortable and forcing her to purchase her release by the payment of a sum of money; the perhaps contemporary verse 232 contains warning admonitions to the *wali's* of divorced women). Later than Sūra ii. 228, which is presupposed, but still before the year 5 are the regulations of Sūra lxx. 1: "O Prophet, when ye pronounce the *ṭalāḥ* over women, do it with regard to their period of waiting (the meaning, not quite clear, of the Arabic expression seems to be that the *ṭalāḥ* is to be pronounced in such a way that the period of waiting can be easily calculated i.e. not during menstruation), and calculate the time exactly and fear Allāh your Lord; put them not out of your houses and they are not to depart of their own accord, unless they have manifestly done something shameful (i.e. committed adultery); these are the commands of Allāh and whose transgresseth them injures himself alone; thou knowest not whether Allāh after this may not bring about a change (in the attitude of the man to the woman so that he may take her back). 2. When they have reached their time, then either help them

with kindness or separate from them with good feeling, and take upright people from among you as witnesses and bear witness before Allāh. This is a caution for him who believes in Allāh and the last day 3. (further exhortations to observe the precepts). 4. If your wives can no longer expect a menstruation or have not yet had one and ye are in doubt (as a result, about the period of their waiting) their period of waiting shall last three months and if they are pregnant, the period shall be until they are delivered; Allāh will make his commands easy to him that feareth him. 5. (further exhortations). 6. Let them live where ye live, in keeping with your means and oppress them not by making their lives unpleasant; if they are pregnant, maintain them till they are delivered..." (here follow rules for the divorced woman while she is nursing); (in these verses certain obligations are laid upon men regarding the housing and maintenance of their wives during the period of waiting; this completes the work of protecting the woman against financial exploitation by the man in connection with the *talāq*, which Sūra iv. 24 had begun). Sūra xxxiii. 48 belongs to the end of the year 5: "O believers! when ye marry believing women and then pronounce the *talāq* over them before ye have consummated the marriage, ye have not to make them wait a period; provide for them and dismiss them in a suitable fashion." The general rule here given is stated more fully in Sūra ii. 237: "It is no sin for you if ye pronounce the *talāq* over your wives before ye have consummated the marriage or made a settlement (as bridal gift) upon them; provide fairly what is needful for them, the well-to-do according to his fortune and the impoverished according to his means; this is a duty for those who do what is right. 238. If ye pronounce the *talāq* over them before ye have consummated the marriage and have already made a settlement upon them (as *mahr*) ye shall give them half of what ye have settled unless they withdraw their claim, or he withdraws who has to decide about the contract of marriage (i.e. the husband); that you should withdraw your claim is nearer to the fear of God; forget not generosity to one another; Allāh sees what ye do" (this rule also seems to owe its origin to a concrete case in which doubts had arisen; on the legal significance of the withdrawal from the promise of marriage, which here appears as a *talāq* before consummation, cf. Juynboll, *op. cit.* p. 73).

In addition there are Sūra xxxiii. 28 (of the end of the year 3) and Sūra lxi. 5 (of the late Medina period in which Muḥammad threatens his own wives with the *talāq* as well as Sūra ii. 226 sq., where the *talāq* is mentioned in connection with the *ihā'*).

III. The *talāq* is treated hardly less fully in the Ḥadīth than in the Qur'ān. Besides numerous traditions which simply repeat the well-known precepts of the Qur'ān and therefore need not be dealt with here, there are also some which further develop the doctrine of *talāq*. A group of ḥadīths which endeavour to limit as much as possible the *talāq*, deserves particular attention: "Among permitted things the *talāq* is the most hated by Allāh"; two arbiters appear who are to negotiate between husband and wife; the wife cannot demand from the husband that he should pronounce the *talāq* over another wife on her account; Allāh

punishes the woman who seeks the *talāq* from her husband without sufficient reason. Sūra lxi. 1 is unanimously interpreted to mean that it is forbidden to pronounce the *talāq* during the woman's period of menstruation; such a *talāq* is regarded as a sin and error (*dhafā'*, contrary *ḥukm*) but its validity is not disputed; the man who has pronounced it should however withdraw it and if he insists on a divorce should pronounce a *talāq* in keeping with the rules. A question not yet conceived in the Qur'ān is that of the effect of a *talāq* pronounced three successive times; the traditions are divided regarding this; alongside of the approval of such a thing, there is the strongest disapproval, sometimes it is even held to be invalid; in the same direction points the ḥadīth that down to the caliphate of 'Omar such a *talāq* was considered to be a single one and that 'Omar was the first to introduce into jurisprudence his view that it was a threefold one, in order to restrain people by the fear of the undesirable consequences of this abuse. The traditions further mention as a third requirement for the *talāq* which is to be *ḥukm* i.e. in keeping with the prescriptions of the Qur'ān and of the Prophet, that the man in the period of purity in which he pronounces it, must have had no intercourse with the woman. The so-called *taḥlīl* which consists in marrying a thrice divorced woman and at once pronouncing the *talāq* over her, simply with the object of enabling her to remarry her first husband (cf. Sūra ii. 230) is strongly disapproved of and even cursed. In general the woman is only considered "permitted" (*ḥalāl*) for the first husband when the second marriage is actually completed. To check frivolous pronouncement of the *talāq*, a *talāq* pronounced in jest is considered legal and binding. As, on the other hand, the *talāq* means the dissolution of the marriage, a *talāq* pronounced before the conclusion of the marriage is of no importance. Whether a woman who has thrice received the *talāq* has a claim during the period of waiting on her husband for lodging and maintenance is not evident from the Qur'ān; the earliest differences of opinion are enshrined in a group of traditions, some of which completely deny any such claim, some of which recognise it only for lodging and some for maintenance also.

Talāq between slaves is not regulated in the Qur'ān; the ḥadīth gives the slave also the right to the *talāq* but (in analogy with other legal enactments) only twice and similarly puts the period of waiting of a slave-woman at two *ḥur'*-periods. Anyone who becomes a convert to Islām and has more than four wives is bound to keep four and pronounce the *talāq* on the others. If he has married two sisters, he must pronounce the *talāq* on one of them. Finally it should be mentioned that according to tradition, Muḥammad at once gave the *talāq* to women who took their refuge with Allāh before him and is said to have induced 'Abd Allāh b. 'Omar to separate from his wife by a *talāq* out of consideration for his father's dislike of her.

IV. The oldest jurists (down to the beginning of the formation of the *madhāhib*), some of whom go back to the time of the origin of the traditions, develop the doctrine of *talāq* on the lines indicated above; the most important views to be mentioned here are the following. The doctrine of *talāq* al-

sunna and its three requirements is further developed; it is ascribed among others to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, 'Abd Allāh b. Ma'sūd, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, al-Dahhāk, Hammād, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'i, 'Ikrima, Mujaḥhid and Muḥammad b. Sūri (such attributions to the oldest authorities must be regarded as unhistorical; they only become certainly historic with Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'i); this is also true of what follows); it is even applied to the case when a woman is pregnant; for this 'Abd Allāh b. Ma'sūd, Ḍabir b. 'Abd Allāh, Hammād, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'i are given as authorities. The *ṭalāq* pronounced three times in immediate succession is considered a sin but as three valid, by the overwhelming majority, including 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, 'Abd Allāh b. Ma'sūd, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, Hammād, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'i, al-Zuhri; sometimes the view is even described as the only prevailing one, against which no contradictory opinion exists; but at a somewhat later date there were nevertheless champions of the view that the *ṭalāq* of this kind is to be considered as only once valid. While according to the view of the majority, among whom are mentioned 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās and al-Dahhāk, the wife becomes *ḥarām* for the man after a threefold *ṭalāq* and can only marry him again after completing and dissolving a marriage with another man, these consequences, according to a view recorded of Mujaḥhid (among others), who follows Ṭabarī, and which goes back to a divergent interpretation of Sūra II, 229 f., come into force after a twofold *ṭalāq*, if the man does not withdraw it, but "allows the woman to go". That the second marriage must be actually consummated if the woman is to be *ḥalāl* again to the first man, is unanimously demanded e.g. by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Muḥarrak, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'i, Sa'id b. al-Musayyib, al-Zuhri. The validity of the *ṭalāq* pronounced in jest, is expressly affirmed by 'Abd Allāh b. Ma'sūd, Hammād, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'i and is regarded as generally recognised. The principle is unanimously affirmed that in ambiguous expressions the opinion of the speaker decides, but there is much difference of opinion as to whether certain expressions are to be considered ambiguous or not, and also whether the *ṭalāq* pronounced under pressure or under the influence of intoxication is valid or not. Here it is a question of the application of principles, important in other cases also, in a field, which on account of its practical importance had a great influence on its development. The validity of the *ṭalāq* pronounced before the consummation of the marriage is denied in agreement with the tradition of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, 'Alī, 'Ikrima, Mujaḥhid, Sa'id b. al-Musayyib etc. The *ṭalāq* pronounced on condition the marriage is consummated (if I marry thee, thou art divorced) is on the other hand recognised as valid by 'Abd Allāh b. Ma'sūd, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'i, al-Zuhri while others deny it. Any *ṭalāq* pronounced before the consummation of the marriage is irrevocable (cf. Sūra II, 238; xxxiii, 48); authorities for this are 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, Hammād, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'i, al-Zuhri etc. (this rule is undoubtedly in the spirit of the Qur'an; cf. Sūra xxxiii, 48). The different views found in the *fiqh* regarding the claims of the thrice divorced woman to lodging and maintenance are also found here: according to 'Abd Allāh b.

'Abbās, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and 'Ikrima she has no claim at all, according to al-Zuhri (who however also appears among the advocates of the first view but probably wrongly) only to lodging. According to 'Abd Allāh b. Ma'sūd, Hammād, Ibrāhīm and 'Umar to lodging and maintenance. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, Sa'id b. al-Musayyib and al-Zuhri allow the slave only the possibility of the twofold *ṭalāq*, whether in respect of a female slave or a free woman.

According to 'Abd Allāh b. Ma'sūd and Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'i on the other hand the deciding factor is the status of the woman as a slave, so that every husband of a slave, whether slave or free-man, has only the possibility of a twofold *ṭalāq*. The Qur'anic expression *ḥurū* (Sūra II, 228 f.) is sometimes interpreted as menstruation and sometimes as the period of purity; among the representatives of this former view are 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, 'Abd Allāh b. Ma'sūd, al-Dahhāk, Hammād, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'i, 'Ikrima, 'Umar and the *Irāqīs*; as adherents of the latter view 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, al-Zuhri (the first view is also wrongly attributed to him) and the Medinese are mentioned; 'Alī and Sa'id b. al-Musayyib appear in both groups. Less important differences of opinion are associated with the interpretation of different Qur'anic expressions in Sūra II, 228 and lxx, 1, 2, 4. There is unanimity on the point that the man has the right to withdraw the *ṭalāq* even against the will of the woman. This is expressly stated, for example by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, al-Dahhāk, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'i, 'Ikrima and Mujaḥhid.

V. The teachings of the *Fiqh* on *ṭalāq*, which can be briefly summarised as follows, are based on the above. The husband has the right to pronounce the *ṭalāq* on his wife even without giving the reasons, but his pronouncing it without good grounds is considered *makrūh* (reprehensible) and by the Hanafis even as *ḥarām* (forbidden); the *ṭalāq al-bid'a* also, i.e. one in which the requirements of the *ṭalāq al-sunna* (cf. above) are not observed is regarded as *ḥarām*; the validity of the *ṭalāq* is not in any way affected thereby. To be able to pronounce the *ṭalāq* the husband must have attained his majority and be *compos mentis*; the *ṭalāq* of a minor is regarded as valid only by one tradition of Ahmad b. Hanbal; the guardian acts for the legally disqualified husband. The *ṭalāq* is a personal right which the husband must exercise in person or through a mandatory specially appointed by him; he may even entrust this mandate to his wife, who can then pronounce the *ṭalāq* on herself. The *ṭalāq* presupposes a valid marriage; the *ṭalāq* pronounced on condition that the marriage is carried through (cf. above) is invalid according to the Shāfi'is and Hanbalis but valid according to the Hanafis and Mālikis (according to the latter however, not if it is expressed in quite general terms, e.g. "every woman that I marry, is divorced.")

The *ṭalāq* pronounced in delirium or by a lunatic is invalid. The *ṭalāq* of an intoxicated man has given rise to lively discussions in all the *madāhib*; in the case of culpable intoxication it is regarded as valid by the majority. The *ṭalāq* pronounced under pressure is valid according to the Hanafis, but not according to the Mālikis, Shāfi'is and Hanbalis.

Words referring unambiguously and directly to the *ṭalāq* bring it into operation, whatever may have been the intention of the speaker who uttered

them: if the speaker uses unambiguous circumlocutions, the Hanbalis, Hanafis and Shāfi'is demand also a corresponding intention, while the Mālikis pay no heed to the intention. In the case of ambiguous expressions or gestures the intention of the speaker is the only deciding factor. There is a great difference of opinion among the *madhāhib* on all these questions, when it comes to the individual case. The question of the validity of a conditionally pronounced *talāq* (apart from the above mentioned case) is also much disputed; the Hanafis and Shāfi'is make such a *talāq* come into operation on the fulfilment of the condition; the Mālikis regard it, according to the nature of the condition, as sometimes at once effective and sometimes void.

The woman's period of waiting begins at once after the *talāq* unless it is a question of a *talāq* before consummation of the marriage, which is always definite: in this case the woman does not need to have a period of waiting and has only a claim to half the bridal gift, if it was already fixed (if it was already paid, she has to pay back half of it) or to a gift at the discretion of the man, the so-called *maw'at* (cf. Sūra ii. 237). A distinction has further to be made between a revocable and a definite *talāq*. In the first case the marriage is still considered legally in existence with all its consequences and the woman has a claim upon the man for lodging and maintenance for the whole period of waiting; on the other hand the man has the right to revoke the *talāq* throughout the period of waiting. If he allows the period to pass without exercising this right, the marriage is definitely dissolved at its expiry. If the bridal gift was not yet paid, it is now due unless some later date was agreed upon for its payment. If a reconciliation then takes place between the two parties and they wish to marry again, they must draw up a new contract of marriage with a new bridal gift.

With a definite *talāq* on the other hand, the marriage is at once finally dissolved (with the single exception that a definite *talāq* pronounced by a man during his mortal illness does not abolish the wife's rights of inheritance: so the Hanafis, Mālikis and Hanbalis with *ihkāt al-ṭalāq* on details, while the Shāfi'is consider the opposite view the better). The woman has however in this case also to pass the period of waiting, during which she cannot conclude a new marriage; during this period she has a claim on the husband for lodging, but for maintenance only if she is pregnant. The husband's payment of the bridal gift is the same as in a revocable *talāq*. The conclusion of a new contract of marriage between the former partners is impossible, unless the woman has in the meanwhile lived with another man in a regularly completed marriage (cf. Sūra ii. 230); but even this way out is only open to them twice.

The third *talāq* is considered definite among freemen (cf. Sūra ii. 229 29.) and the second among slaves; it is a matter of indifference whether the separate repudiations were announced in one marriage or in several, not separated by *tahllil*. In mixed marriages between freemen and slaves the status of the man is decisive according to the Mālikis, Shāfi'is and Hanbalis, and of the woman according to the Hanafis.

The period of waiting for a woman is three *ḥurūṣ* (cf. Sūra ii. 228) i.e. according to the Mālikis and Shāfi'is three periods of purity, and

according to the Hanafis three menstruations; if she is pregnant, the period lasts till her confinement (cf. *ibid.*). For a slave woman the period of waiting is in the first case two *ḥurūṣ* and in the second a month and a half; if she is pregnant, the period of waiting again lasts till her confinement.

Sexual intercourse with a not definitely divorced woman during the period of waiting is not permitted according to the Hanafis and the better known view of the Mālikis; according to the Mālikis, Shāfi'is and the other Hanbali view, it is forbidden. In keeping with the views of the first class, it is regarded by them as revoking the *talāq* in every case; according to the Mālikis only if the man intends to do so, while the Shāfi'is only regard an utterance by the man as revoking the *talāq*.

VI. The Shī'a rules concerning *talāq* only differ in unimportant details from the Sunnī with which we have so far dealt. In a more strict interpretation of Sūra lxx. 2 the production of two legal witnesses is regarded as absolutely necessary for the validity of a *talāq*, while the Sunnīs dispense with them. All circumlocutions, ambiguous expressions and gestures are neglected, whatever may have been the intention of the speaker.

VII. As an institution of family law, the *talāq* has in practice to follow lines strongly dictated by the principles of Muslim law. The very frequent pronunciation of the *talāq*, often on the most worthless grounds and three times in succession has brought about the following usage: if the couple wish to marry one another again after the third *talāq*, they seek a suitable individual who is ready for a certain reward to go through the ceremony of marriage with the woman and at once repudiate her; the woman is then again *ḥalāl* for her first husband and he who undertakes this *tahllil* is therefore called *muhallil*. For this purpose a minor or a slave is used by preference. Nothing can be urged against the validity of such a procedure providing that at the conclusion of the intervening marriage the word *tahllil* is not used; its permissibility is defended by the Hanafis but disputed by the Mālikis and Shāfi'is; the Hanbali Ibn Taimiyya regarded the *tahllil* in general as invalid and attacked it in a special work (cf. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 155, 38) but he seems to be practically alone in this view.

The conditional pronunciation (*talāq*) of the *talāq* may have different objects: a man may pronounce such a *talāq*, for example, to drive his wife or himself to something or to refrain from something by threatened separation, or to give force to some statement made by him. In India, the Straits Settlements and a large portion of the Dutch East Indies, this *talāq* of the *talāq* has become a regular custom at the conclusion of a marriage; it is hardly ever omitted and serves to impose upon the man certain obligations towards his wife, on the non-fulfilment of which the marriage is dissolved by the *talāq*. Cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjehers*, i. 382 199.; *Verspreide Geschiedenis*, iv/1. 300 19.; iv/1. 370; Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de mohammedaanse wet*², p. 207 199.

On the practice of the *talāq* as it has developed in different countries under the influence of the Shī'a and under native customary law, cf. for example, for North Africa: Ubach and Rackow, *Sitte und Recht in Nordafrika*, p. 37, 97, 194.

277, 379; for Egypt: Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, chap. iii. and iv.; for Transjordan: A. Janssen, *Costumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, i. 3; for Northwest-arabia: do., *Costumes des Égyptiens*, § 4; for the Dutch East Indies the literature quoted by Jeynboill, *Handleiding*, p. 207, note 3; and ethnological works and travels in general.

Turkey with the introduction of the Swiss civil code in 1926 is so far the only Muhammadan state that has abolished the *talaḥ*.

Bibliography: In addition to the works already mentioned and the Arabic works on *Ḥadīth* and *Fikḥ*, cf. Roberts, *The Social Laws of the Qurʾān*, p. 18 sqq.; Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muhammadan Tradition*, s. v. Divorce; Sprenger, *Dictionary of the Technical Terms*, i. 920; ii. 921; Jeynboill, *Handleiding*, p. 203 sqq.; Sachau, *Muhammadanisches Recht nach schafitischen Lehre*, Book i.; Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, i. 201 sqq.; Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, s. v. Divorce.

(J. SCHACHT)

TALAḤĀN (TALĤĀN; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, i. 363^b), name of two towns in Persia.

1. A town in Tukhāristān, between Balkh and Merw al-Rūdī, three days' march from the latter. Situated in a plain, but quite close to the mountains (an arrow-shot, *zhaltwa*), it was the largest town of the province and had a large market; it was divided into several parts by two rivers: Khuttal-āb (correction of de Goeje) and Bar-āb. It was destroyed in 617 (1220) by Čingiz-Khān; ruins near Čāḡatū.

2. A town in Dailām, between Kāzwin and Abhar, capital of a district of the same name including several small towns. The birthplace of the famous minister, *ṣāhib* Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbbād, whose father Abū ʿI-Ḥasan ʿAbbād b. al-ʿAbbās, had the ethnic name of Talaḥānī. The inhabitants were suspected of sharing in the heresies of the Ismāʿīlis. Near it there is one of the two sources of the river Shāh Rūdī, tributary of the Safīd-Rūdī, as well as the source of two streams, the Karah-Rūdī and the Bih-Rūdī.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, iii. 491 = Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 376; Isfahānī, *B. G. A.*, i. 278; Muḥaddasī, *B. G. A.*, iii. 303; Mustawfī, *Nuḥat al-Kulūb*, ed. Le Strange, *G. M. S.*, London 1915, p. 65, 156, 217, 220, 222 = transl., p. 70, 153, 210, 213, 214; Ibn Khallikān, *Biographical Dictionary*, transl. de Slane, Paris 1842, i. 216; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 225, 423, 432; Abū ʿI-Fidā, *Géographie* (ed. Reinaud and de Slane, Paris 1840), p. 420, 458; Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols*, i. 278, note.

(CL. HUART)

TALAVERA, the name of several places in Spain; the Arabic form is *Talāḥira*. They are the following: 1. Talavera de la Reina, a town of 10,600 inhabitants, the *Cacerobriga* of the Romans, on a fertile plain on the banks of the Tagus about 100 miles below Toledo, at the entrance to the Sierra de Gredos: Towers dating from the period of Arab occupations may still be seen there: "the Torres Albarranas". The Arab geographers boast of the solidity of the *ḥiṣṇ* of this town; 2. ca. 30 miles south of the latter: Talavera la Vieja, the ancient *Augustobriga*; 3. Talavera la Real, a little village

on the south bank of the Guadiana, 12 miles above Badajoz.

Bibliography: al-Idrīsī, *Sifat al-Andalus*, ed. and transl. Dozy and de Goeje, text, p. 187, transl., p. 227; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, s. v.; Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, p. 92.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

TALBIYA (A.), infinitive of form II of the verb *labba*, which is formed from the term *labbaika* to mean "to pronounce the formula *labbaika*" etc. *Labbaika* is connected — and probably rightly — by the Arab lexicographers with *labān* which means "offering devoted service" as *labbaika* does "at your service". According to the native grammarians *labba* is a "frequentative" dual. It is difficult to say what is the significance of the element *ai* in this and similar forms like *sa'daika*. The explanation from the Hebrew proposed by Dozy (*Des Israélites de Mekka*, Haarlem 1864, p. 120) may be said to be now generally abandoned.

The formula is used in various forms and on different occasions. The *talbiya* of the Prophet is said to have been: *Labbaika allāhumma labbaika labbaika lā ʾḥarīka laka imma ʾl-ḥamda wa ʾl-ni-mata laka wa ʾl-mulka lā ʾḥarīka laka* (Bukhārī, *Ḥadīḥ*, B. 26), but shorter forms are given like: *labbaika allāhumma, labbaika wa-sa'daika* etc. It is usually referred to Allāh, in Ḥadīḥ also to Muḥammad, or to his helpers but only its briefest form *labbaika* (e. g. Bukhārī, *Kaḥmūlāt*, B. 4; Muslim, *Zakāt*, Tr. 32; Tirmidhī, *Sifat al-Ḥayyāt*, B. 36) and *yā labbaika* (Muslim, *Djihad*, Tr. 76). It is also placed in the mouths of pious men of the past like Adam and Nūḥ. According to a tradition in Muslim (*Ḥadīḥ*, Tr. 22) the heathen in Muḥammad's time used it in a false form. The *talbiya* is especially pronounced on the *ḥajj* (*q. v.*), at an early stage at the *ihram* which Muḥammad and others assumed with the formula *labbaika bi-ḥajjīn wa-umrat* (Bukhārī, *Ḥadīḥ*, B. 34) or *labbaika bi-umrat wa-ḥajjīn* (Tirmidhī, *Ḥadīḥ*, B. 11) or with the exclusive mention of the *ḥajj* (Bukhārī, *Ḥadīḥ*, B. 35). At the beginning of the *umra* ʿAḥḥa is said to have used the formula *labbaika bi ʾl-umrat* (Abū Dāwūd, *Manāḥik*, B. 23).

The *talbiya* is continually pronounced during the *ḥajj* up to the lapidation (e. g. Ahmad b. Hanbal, i. 114) and in a loud voice (Ahmad b. Hanbal, v. 192).

On the question whether the *talbiya* is obligatory or *sunna*, see al-Nawawī on Muslim, *Ḥadīḥ*, Tr. 22.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

TALHA b. ʿUBAIDALLAH, companion of the Prophet, one of the ten *mushāḥḥira*, i. e. those to whom the Prophet had promised Paradise. He belonged to the Quraysh clan of the Banū Taim b. Murra (*q. v.*); his genealogy was: Talha b. ʿUbadallāh b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAmr b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taim b. Murra and his *ḥanya*, Abū Muḥammad, from his son, celebrated for his piety and one of the first readers of the Qurʾān; both father and son were killed in the battle of the camel in 36 A.H. Talha was one of the earliest converts to Islam. According to tradition he had suffered along with Abū Bakr the threats and ill-treatment of the Quraysh. He went with Muḥammad on the Hijra and was henceforth one of his councillors and most intimate friends. At the battle of Badr, having been sent out to spy the movements of the Meccan caravan,

he was unable to return in time to take active part in the battle but was allowed to share the spoil equally with the other *muhājirūn*. In the unfortunate battle of Uhud, Talha particularly distinguished himself by his bravery: using his body as a shield to defend the Prophet in the retreat, he received numerous wounds and one blow cut the tendons of two fingers which remained paralysed. This exploit gained him a prestige during the lifetime of the Prophet and after his death and a place in the veneration of Muslims which the blots on his later career never destroyed. Talha also took part in the other expeditions organised by Muhammad; on the death of the latter his relations with the first two Caliphs seem to have been rather cool; he is said to have hesitated for a long time before recognising Abū Bakr and 'Umar. The latter in the turn were careful not to give high office to the powerful Companion whose ambition they had probably reason to fear. This did not prevent him from amassing immense wealth as a result of the Muslim conquests, in estates in Arabia and the 'Irāq and in specie: tradition tells us that his generosity was in keeping with his fortune. His prestige and his financial position made him a person of the first importance in the caliphate of 'Umar. That he along with al-Zubair and 'Ali was one of the instigators of the murder of this Caliph, as Caetani has held (*Annali dell' Islām*, v. 42—46), cannot be proved and it seems all the less likely as Talha was away when the murder took place in Medina (cf. *R. S. O.*, iv. 1060—1061); in any case he was a candidate for the succession and was bitterly disappointed when it fell to 'Uthmān. Thrown into opposition, Talha took advantage of the discontent soon aroused by 'Uthmān's rule to try once more to get the caliphate. The real character of the movement which cost 'Uthmān his life is difficult to understand at the present day, since the records of it are obscure and biased, but it seems certain that Talha was one of the chief actors in the drama, especially in its last days when the long discussions between 'Uthmān on the one hand and Talha, al-Zubair and 'Ali on the other, were abruptly broken off and the Caliph killed in his house by the mob. Talha thought his dream was about to be realised and it even seems that he was near being proclaimed Caliph when 'Ali was proclaimed in his stead. Here again tradition in spite of the mass of details which encumber it is not at all clear. 'Ali probably relied on the more turbulent elements which gained the upper hand in these troubled times while Talha (and al-Zubair who was working in accord with him, although for his own ends) seeking to take a middle course was thrust aside. In any case he found himself forced to recognise the new master; but immediately afterwards he fled from Medina with al-Zubair and reached Mecca where he joined 'A'isha — she being the enemy of 'Ali as she had been of 'Uthmān — who seems to have urged Talha's claims to the caliphate (perhaps on account of their ties of blood: they both belonged to the *Tamīm b. Marra*). The three allies went to Basra where they — Talha especially — relied on finding many partisans; they announced that they wished to avenge 'Ali's murder of 'Uthmān for which they disclaimed any responsibility. We know the unfortunate end of their enterprise; the defeat in the battle of the Camel (*yaum al-djmal*, *djmalā*

ii, 36) in which Talha and al-Zubair lost their lives and 'Ali won the 'Irāq, which however he could only hold for a few years. Talha's family however did not suffer by the fall of their head; his heirs entered into possession of his fortune and continued to enjoy a high position; many of them are known as traditionists, but they completely abandoned politics.

Talha was a brave warrior and a noble and generous character, so far as we can judge from the statements of tradition; he was ruined most likely by the fault, which is common to parvenus, of not being able to moderate his ambition. The unexpected successes of his career made him see no bounds to its possibilities; the qualities necessary to enable him to realise them were apparently lacking to him.

The judgment that should be passed on the conduct of Talha (as well as on that of al-Zubair and 'A'isha) has always been a very delicate question for Muslim orthodoxy. They decided it in the conciliating spirit that has always characterized them: Talha and his allies are sinners of good faith and their previous merits are sufficient to wipe out their faults. Many traditions even say that Talha repented before his death and that 'Ali for his part declared himself reconciled to his adversary. It is only the extreme Shi'is who have not renounced "cursing those lacking in faith" (*la'nat al-nakithin*).

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, III/i. 152—161, and the other sources for the biography of the companions. The texts relative to Talha are collected and translated in Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ix. 380—399 (cf. also in the same work the indexes to vols. I—II, III—V, and to vols. VIII and IX, the years 35 and 36 A. H.); cf. also G. Levi Della Vida, *R. S. O.*, vi. 434—449 (for the rebellion against 'Ali).

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

TALIK. [See ARABIA, i. 387*.]

TALISH, a district and people in the north of the Persian province of Gilān [q. v.], which since the peace of Gulistan (12/24th Oct. 1813) has belonged to Russia. The name according to Marquart, *Osteuropäische und Ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, p. 278 sq., is first found in the form T'alish in the Armenian translation of the romance of Alexander, Ch. 194 = II. 19, p. 76 (ed. C. Müller). In the history of the Arab conquest (Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 327; al-Jahiri, I. 2805) the country is called al-Tailasān; according to al-Aḡma'ī in Yaḡnī, III. 571, 19, the Persian pronunciation was Talishān (apparently a plural form). According to I. 812, 13, Talashān (so vocalised) was a district (*amāl*) of the province of Gilān. According to the itinerary given by Muḥaddasī (*B. G. A.*, III. 373) from Sālūs (on the frontier between Ṭabaristān and Gilān) to Shemākhā [cf. *shimākhā*], the last town belonging to Gilān was Kūhān-rūdh, 4 days' journey south of the Kur [q. v.]; Hamd Allāh Kāzwīnī (*G. M. S.*, xxiii. 180 ult.) mentions a village Tālīsh on the road between Sulṭāniya and Ardabil, 6 farsakhs from the latter town; the corresponding district (*wilāyat*) was called Tawālīsh (p. 162, 12). Before the wars between Russia and Persia, Talish seems to have been of no particular importance; under Persian rule it was governed by a special Khān and the capital was, as it still is, the town of Lenkoran. The narrow strip of land between the hills or "alps"

of Talish and the Caspian Sea has a very much moister climate than the plain lying to the north of it (the rainfall in Lenkoran is 52 inches, in Baku 10), belongs geographically to Gilān, is equally fertile and unhealthy and has a more varied fauna (including the tiger). The people, called by the Russians "Talishi" or "Talışinci", call themselves "Talış"; they are found to the north as far as the Mughan steppes, where the Talish lead a nomadic life and to the south up to about 30 miles south of the Russian frontier. The number of Talish living on Russian territory is 75,824 according to the last census (1922). Like the people of Gilān, the Talish are Shi'is; their dialect differs very little from that of Gilān.

Bibliography: Bibliography in the *Gr. Iran. Phil.*, 1/ii. 345; N. Marr, *Talışi*, Petrograd 1922, p. 24. — G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 173 sq.; E. Weidenbaum, *Futvoditel' po Kavkazu*, Tiflis 1888, index; *Spiro narodnostei S.S.S.R.*, pod redaktsiei I. I. Zarubina, Leningrad 1927, p. 9.

(W. BARTHOLO)

TALISMAN. [See ZAME'IL.]

TALKHİŞ, an Arabic *maḥjar* meaning to make a précis, means in the official language of Turkey a document in which the most important matters are summed up for presentation to the Sultan. The officials who had these papers prepared and presented them to the Sultan were the grand vizier and the *Shaikh al-Islām*. On account of its change of significance, *talkhīsh* is included among the *ghalāt-i maḥḥūra*, cf. Muhammad Hafid, *al-Durar al-muntakhabat al-maḥḥūra fi l-lugh al-ghalāt al-maḥḥūra* (1221 A.H., p. 115).

(J. H. KRAMERS)

TALKHİSDJI, or in the official style, **TALKHİŞI**, was the individual appointed to prepare the précis called *talkhīsh* [q. v.] and to take it to the palace where it was handed over to the chief of the eunuchs. The *Talkhīsdji* was therefore an official of the grand vizier's department; in addition to preparing the *talkhīsh*, he took part in several official ceremonies. The *talkhīsdji* of the *Shaikh al-Islām* was not — at least in the later period — in direct communication with the palace; documents presented by him had to pass first of all through the hands of the *Re'is Efendi* and of the grand vizier.

Bibliography: d'Ohsson, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman*, ii. 260; iii. 343; von Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung*, i. 31, 475.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

TALUT is the name of king Saul of the Bible in the *Kur'an* (ii. 248, 250). The name is explained as early as *Tha'labi* from the height (*tal*) of Talut. Talut recalls Djalut (Goliath), an assonance of pairs of names, like Hārit-Mārit, Hābil-Kābil, Vādjudi-Mājudi (Goldziner). Djalut itself is explained from the Hebrew מלח (Horovitz).

In the *Kur'an* (ii. 247—253) the following is told of Talut. After the time of Moses Israel demanded a king. God appointed Talut king but the people did not find him worthy of the throne. Talut was distinguished for the greatness of his knowledge and for his great physique also; it was a sign of his fitness to rule that angels brought back the ark (*al-hūt*) with the *sakina* and with what remained of the people of Moses and Aaron. Talut tested his people at a river; whoever drank from it did not follow him. Israel took the field

against Djalut; David slew Djalut and became king.

The more or less confused memories of the Biblical story in this version are obvious. The first book of Samuel relates that Israel demanded a king (viii.) but no respect was shown to the new king (x. 27; xi. 12). The sacred ark which Muhammad regards as a token of Saul's worth was recaptured in the Bible before his accession. The test by drinking water is made in the Bible, not by Saul but by Gideon (Judges, vii. 5—7).

Nöldeke sees in this *Kur'anic* story an effort by Muhammad to arouse the Muslims to courage and obedience by examples from Jewish history. Later Muslim tradition (*Tabari*, *Tha'labi*; *al-Kisa'*) often mentions that the number of the faithful who fought by Muhammad's side in the battle of Badr was that of those who passed Talut's test by water.

Muslim legend has more to say, explains every feature of the *Kur'an* story, and adds many new details. Later writers (*Tabari*, *Tha'labi*, *Ibn al-Athir*) also know the name Saul, son of Kish, (شاول بن كيش). In explanation of the name

Talut, we are told that at this time the future king of Israel was to be recognised by his height (*Tha'labi*); Samuel set up a measure, but no one in Israel reached its height, except Talut. As a miracle which took place to show the rightness of their choice, we are told that when Talut went to consult Samuel (*Shamwil*) about his lost she-asses, the coronation oil began to boil. *Tabari's Tafsir* mentions inspiration as another token. In explanation of the story in the *Kur'an*, that Talut appeared unworthy to the people, it is said that Saul was descended from Benjamin, that is neither from Judah, the tribe of kings, nor from Levi, the tribe of priests (*Tha'labi*). On the ark, the token of Talut's worthiness, Muslim legend has much that is marvellous to tell. This sacred ark had been handed down from the time of Adam from generation to generation through Ima'il to Kejdar. Kejdar gave it to Jacob. Within the ark were kept the *sakina*, the hearts of the prophets, the tables of the law, the rod of Moses, Aaron's turban and rod (*Tha'labi*). This ark had fallen into the hands of Djalut, the king of the Amalekites. When plagues fell upon the Amalekites, they sent back the ark on the advice of a captured Jew. Two cattle led by angels brought the ark to Talut and returned. According to another legend, the angels themselves brought it to Talut between heaven and earth. The people were then convinced of Talut's worthiness.

Talut's relations with Da'ud are fully described. Talut promised his daughter and one third of the kingdom to whoever should kill Djalut. Nevertheless he next demanded a nuptial gift of 200 slain giants. When the affections of the people turned to Da'ud, Talut wanted to slay his son-in-law. Warned by his wife, Da'ud put a wine-skin in his bed and Talut stabbed it. Da'ud on one occasion was saved by a spider spinning a web at the entrance to a cave. Da'ud showed his magnanimity by once leaving four (in *Ibn al-Athir*: two) arrows besides Talut; on another occasion he took from Talut, his cup, his jar, his arms, a piece of his garment and hair from his beard.

Saul's raising of the dead (I Sam. xviii) is completely transformed in Muslim legend. Some-

times it is Joshua and sometimes Samuel that is called up. Talut learns that there is only atonement for him, he must fight with all his family and die for Allah. Talut abdicates and suffers with his sons the "death on the path of Allah".

Bibliography: Tabari, ed. de Goje, i. 549, 559, 1297, 1298 (Badr); Tabari, *Tafsir*, Cairo 1321, ii. 357—375; Tha'alabi, *Kitaḥ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1325, p. 167—173; Ibn al-Athir, *Tārīkh al-Kāmil*, i. 150 sqq.; Kimḥi, *Vitas Prophetarum*, ed. Eisenberg, Leyden 1923, ii. 250—258; Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, Frankfurt a/M. 1845, p. 192—208; Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, Leyden 1893, p. 185—189, 192—195; Nöldke-Schwally, *Geogr. des Qurān*, i. 184. — On the name: Goldziher, *Der Mythos bei den Hebräern*, p. 232—234; Joseph Horowitz, in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, ii, Cincinnati 1925, p. 162, 163; do., *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 1926, p. 81—89, 106, 123. — On the spider's web which saved David: R. Basset, *La Borda du Cheikh el Bouiri*, Paris 1897, p. 81—86.

(BERNHARD HELLER)

TAMATTU'. [See IHRAM, MUTA']

TAMGRŪT, the principal town in the Wādī Dar'a (Dra [q. v.]), in the south of Morocco and the site of the mother-sāwiya of the religious brotherhood of the Nāṣiriya [q. v.]. It is a fair-sized town with houses of red clay, surrounded by groves of palm and fruit trees, on the left bank of the Wādī Dar'a, which is here 120 to 250 feet broad but of no depth and runs between hills about 300 yards apart. Tamgrūt is surrounded by low walls pierced by 4 gates: in the north, Fumm (class. *fam* = mouth) al-Sak, in the N.E., Fumm Ta'urrit, in the S.W., Bāb al-Riḥ and to the east, Fumm al-Sār. An important market is held there on Saturdays.

The sāwiya of Tamgrūt, which owes all its importance to the Shaikh Muḥammad b. Nāṣir, was founded in 983 (1575—1576) by a member of a Marabout family of the Wādī Dar'a, Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Aḥmad al-Anṣārī from the sāwiya of Saiyid al-Nās. It was the fame as mystics of two holy men who lived in the sāwiya of Tamgrūt, Saiyid 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥusain and Saiyid Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm, that incited the Ṣūfī novice Muḥammad b. Nāṣir, born at Ighlān in 1015 (1603), to settle there. On the death of Saiyid Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm, he became head of the sāwiya, and founded his order there, directly based on the teaching of al-Shādhilī [q. v.]. He died here in Ṣafar 1085 (May 1674) and his descendants from father to son without interruption have since been heads of the sāwiya of Tamgrūt. The latter contains the tombs of Muḥammad b. Nāṣir and his successors together in a mausoleum, rebuilt in 1869 after a fire and surmounted by a pyramidal cupola of green tiles, with a *ḡūmār* with three golden balls on top. It is also said to contain a very fine library, but it is unfortunately still impossible to attempt to catalogue it.

The sāwiya of Tamgrūt and the holy men who lived in it have formed the subject of a monograph by Aḥmad b. Khālid al-Nāṣirī al-Silāwī [q. v.], author of the *Kitaḥ al-Ittiḥād*, entitled *Taṣaf al-muḥṭarī* & *'l-Naṣab al-dīfārī* (2 vols., lith. Fās n. d. [1309]). Tamgrūt was the birthplace of Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Tamgrūtī, a noted official of the Sa'dian court.

Bibliography: De Foucauld, *Reconnaissance*

au Maroc, Paris 1888, p. 293; Depont and Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897, p. 467; H. de Castries, *Notices sur la région de l'Oued-Draa*, in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, vol. xx., 1880, p. 497 sqq.; de Segonzac, *Au cœur de l'Atlas*, Paris 1910, p. 89—98; M. Bodin, *La saouia de Tamegrout*, in *Archives Berbères*, Paris 1918, p. 259—295; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chérfa, Essai sur la littérature historique et biographique au Maroc du XVI^e au XX^e siècle*, Paris 1922, p. 99 note 1 and 354.

AL-TAMGRŪTĪ, ABŪ 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ b. MUḤAMMAD b. 'ALĪ b. MUḤAMMAD, a Moroccan writer, a native of Tamgrūt [q. v.], died at Marrākush in 1003 (1594—1595) and was buried in the sanctuary of Ḥādī 'Iyād. He held an official position at the court of the Sa'dian Sultān Abū 'l-Abbās Aḥmad al-Manṣūr al-Dhahabī (986—1012 = 1578—1602). He was placed by this ruler in charge of the embassy to Sultān Murād III in Constantinople along with another court dignitary Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Fishālī, d. 1021 (1612—1613). Al-Tamgrūtī prepared an account of his journey (*riḥla*) which he called *al-Nafahat al-miḥiya fi 'l-Sifarat al-turkiya*: it was afterwards used as one of his sources by the author of the *Nuḥat al-Ḥādī*, al-Ifrānī (or Ufrānī, [q. v.]). It contains interesting information about the court of Marrākush at the end of the xvth century. An edition, with a translation, of al-Tamgrūtī's work had been announced by H. de Castries, before his death in 1927.

Bibliography: al-Ifrānī, *Safwat man intaṣṣar*, Fās n. d., p. 106; al-Kādiri, *Nasḥ al-maḥāni*, Fās 1310, i. 31 (transl. in *Archives Marocaines*, vol. xxi., Paris 1913, p. 70), reproduced exactly by Ibn al-Muwaḥḥit, *al-Sa'adat al-abadiya*, Fās 1336, i. 90—91; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chérfa, Essai sur la littérature historique et biographique au Maroc du XVI^e au XX^e siècle*, p. 98—99.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

TAMIM b. MURR, an Arab tribe; their genealogy (Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, K. L.) Tamim b. Murr b. Udd b. Ṭabikha b. al-Yās b. Muḥar, puts them among the Muḥarī tribes where they take first place; indeed their name is often used as a synonym of the whole Muḥarī branch in contrast to the Kaïs and the Raḥī'a. Of the two latter, the Raḥī'a are most closely related to them, which is not apparent in the systematic genealogies (where on the contrary the Kaïs are descended from the Muḥar while the Raḥī'a are not), but from expressions like the dual *al-Dhaffān* (*Lisān al-'Arab*, x. 373) meaning the Tamim and the Bakr b. Wa'il together (the latter being the principal group of the Raḥī'a). In any case, the Tamim are much nearer geographically as well as historically to the Kaïs and Raḥī'a than the Kināna [q. v.] with whom the traditional genealogy closely connects them.

The Greek and Latin writers, who describe the Arabian Peninsula, having left no reference to the Tamim, we are dependent on native tradition for their early history, the beginnings of which are as usual related with a number of legendary details (the tomb of the eponymous Tamim at Marrān, Ibn Kṭāiba, *al-Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 37; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, iv. 479; birth and ad-

ventures of his sons Zaidmanāṣ, 'Amr and al-Hārith, Ibn Duraid, *Kit. al-Ishṭīṣāṣ*, p. 5 etc.) the true character of which it is impossible to ascertain, nor to distinguish what is fantastic fiction from what might be a mythical travesty of historical events. At the period when their history becomes better known to us, i. e. from the sixth century A. D., the Tamīm appear as a very large tribe, whose vast territory occupies a great part of the eastern coast of Arabia: nearly all Najd, a part of Bahrain and a part of al-Yamāma. To the south their lands stretched as far as the steppes of al-Dahna' and to the northeast to the banks of the Euphrates; their neighbours in the north were the Asad, the Bahila and Ghatafan [q. v.] on the southwest; within their own territory they were much mixed with parts of the tribes of the 'Abd al-Kais and the Hanifa (especially on the east and south coast) and with Bakr and Taghlib in the north. Essentially nomads, they never had any towns in the proper sense: Hadjar, al-Aḥṣā' and al-Djarā' (is the last the *Gerra* of classical authors? Cf. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, p. 132) are mentioned by the sources as places which they frequented on the occasions of markets and fairs but they were not their owners (cf. Hamdāni, *Djaṣirat al-'Arab*, p. 136; Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser und Araber*, p. 56) although they are said to have occasionally seized and held them for a time (cf. the *Ṣāḥib Hadjar*, Mundhir b. Sāwā who negotiated with Muḥammad belonged to the Tamīm group of the Banū Dārim not, as the sources allege, to the 'Abd al-Kais, cf. Ibn Hadjar, *Iḡāṣa*, Cairo, vii. 135, who quotes Ibn al-Kallāb, *Djamharat al-Ansāb*, Brit. Mus. MS., p. 65^a); their relation with these towns was probably that of Beduins harassing and holding to ransom the settled population, alternately at peace and at feud with them. The very imperfect development of the culture of the Tamīm is seen in their forms of worship, about which our information is extremely meagre. We know of the general Arabian worship of al-Ilāt, Manāt, and al-'Uzzā among the Tamīm only from the occurrence of the names of these deities in proper names and in oaths; that of the sun, Shams (in the dialectic variant *shams*) from a brief note in Yaḥyā (Mu'jam, iii. 19); the worship of Shams is said to have been common to the tribes descended from Uḍl: Tamīm, Dahb, 'Ukl, Taim 'Adi, Thawr under the leadership (*adana*) of the Tamīm tribe of the Ibn Aws b. Mukhāshin. The fact that they lived beside the Christian tribes of Bakr and Taghlib ought to have favoured the spread of Christianity among the Tamīm (cf. Cantani, *Annali dell' Islam* A. D. 9, § 3), but it does not actually seem to have met with much success. The only Tamīm group known to have been completely converted to Christianity is a part of the 'Ibād of al-Hira, the best known member of which is the poet 'Adi b. Zaid [q. v.], but these were a clan who had abandoned their native territory and completely altered their manner of life and their relations with the rest of the tribe.

The extent of the territory inhabited by the Tamīm early accelerated their division into numerous groups and subdivisions, each of which finally attained the importance of an autonomous tribe. This is what explains how the tribe never had a very strong feeling of solidarity so that the two Tamīm poets Djarir and Farazdaq, members of

different clans, were able in their poetical duels to insult in the most atrocious manner each other's clans. Indeed we find sometimes one and sometimes another of the Tamīm groups involved in wars and alliances in which the other groups took no part or even were on the other side. On the other hand events of special importance often induced these groups to combine their forces but always in the form of an alliance (*ḥilf*), in which each kept its autonomous character (e.g. *Naṣā'id*, ed. Bevan, p. 699, 752, for the alliance between the B. Yazbū' and the B. Nahshal). The famous genealogist Abū 'I-Yaḥyā Sulaim b. Djaḥf (d. 190 A. H.) seems to have devoted a special work to the alliances of the Tamīm among themselves (if, as seems certain, one should read in the *Fihrist*, p. 94, 24, *Kitāb ḥilf Tamīm ḥaḍīḥa ḥaḍīḥa* instead of *ḥaḍīḥa*, an absurd reading which the commentary on the text p. 44 explains in an even more absurd fashion). The principal branches of the Tamīm are the Zaidmanāṣ and 'Amr, the principal sub-group of the latter being the 'Anḥar, while the former is divided into Sa'd and Malik; to the Sa'd belong the Miṣḥar and 'Uḥayrīd, to the Ḥanzala and Dārim, who are again subdivided; from the Ḥanzala are descended the Yazbū', one of the most important clans, including among others the Riyāḥ and the Kulāib (Djarir's clan); from the Dārim the Nahshal and the Mudḡḡah' (al-Farazdaq's clan).

It is of course impossible here to follow out the vicissitudes of the various Tamīm clans, whose doings make up the history of the tribe in the pre-Islamic period. The information which we possess on this subject is very full and surpasses in quantity all that we have about the other Arab tribes. This is due in the first place to the large number of celebrated poets among the Tamīm whose verses formed, as usual, the nucleus around which historical traditions gathered as they were collected in later times by the philologists commenting on them. It is particularly to the zeal and erudition of Abū 'Ubayda [q. v.] and cf. also AYYAM AL-'ARAB that we owe the preservation of the greater part of the historical references to the Tamīm *ayyam*. Others are due to Ibn al-Kallāb [q. v.]. We owe this historical matter mainly to the great commentary on the *Naṣā'id* of Djarir and al-Farazdaq (ed. by A. A. Bevan, Leyden 1905-1912).

The *Kitāb al-Aghāni* and to a less extent the sections relating to the *ayyam al-'Arab* in the *Iḡāṣa* of Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (vol. iii.) and the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr (vol. i.) also preserved a certain amount of early Tamīm history which can be supplemented from other historical and philological texts. It would be difficult and would take too much time to try to arrange the chronological and historical sequence of the battles of the Tamīm from the confused mass of details supplied by tradition (for the difficulties of the chronology of the *ayyam* cf. above ii., p. 654): an exhaustive study of this subject, which has not been made since Caussin de Perceval, might however succeed in getting some kind of order, starting from those happenings in which the kings of Persia and al-Hira take part, whose chronology is known and comparing the results thus obtained with the series of genealogies which for this period are sufficiently reliable. Two facts may be gathered from all the stories: on the one hand the continual rivalry between the Tamīm and their neighbours Bakr b. Wa'il (and especially their subdivision 'Amir b.

Sa'ā'a): on the other their relations with the kings of Persia who, having brought the Bakr and Taghlib under their influence, endeavoured to extend their authority over the Tamim also whose presence was a continual threat to their communications by land with the east coast of Arabia and Yemen. Tradition retained the memory of two episodes in the relations of the Sāsānians with the Tamim: Shapur II's expedition to Hadjar Nöldeke, *Geogr. der Perser und Araber*, p. 56) and the sanguinary punishment inflicted on the Tamim by the representative of Khusrav II Parwēz, when they attacked a Persian caravan which was crossing their land from the Yemen to Ctesiphon (*Yasum al-Musāḥḥar*; Nöldeke, *Geogr. d. Perser und Araber*, p. 256 ff.). These are episodes of little importance, inevitable incidents in the colonial policy of the Sāsānians which no doubt were frequently repeated in the course of centuries. They alternated with periods of peace during which the kings of Persia and their vassals the Lakhmids of al-Hira endeavoured to attach the Beduin tribes to themselves by means of concessions, one of which at least is recorded by tradition, the *ridāfa*, a group of privileges of a military and fiscal nature. The Yarbū' were granted it in the time of Mundhir III (d. 544 A.D.) and it was he who, wanting to deprive them of it to give it to the other Tamim clan of the Dārim, was the cause of the battle of Tikhfa (Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lakhmiden*, p. 112—113; 133; *Naḥḥīd*, p. 66, 299).

The list of battles which follows, taken from the index to the *Naḥḥīd* (in the edition of which will also be found parallel passages from other authors), is only intended to refer the reader to the sources and to show the tribes with which the Tamim were on friendly or hostile relations:

Irāb (Yarbū' against Taghlib); Akrun (Dārim against 'Aba); Uwāra (Dārim against the king of al-Hira 'Amr b. Mundhir); Iyād (Yarbū' against Shaibān); Tiya (Sa'd b. Tamim against 'Amr b. Tamim); Dhābala (Tamim and Dhubyān against 'Amir and 'Aba); Hawmal (Yarbū' against Shaibān, commanded by Bisām b. Kais); Dhū Tuluḥ (Yarbū' against Lahzām and Shaibān); Dhū Naḥḥāb (Yarbū' against 'Amir); Rahrahān (Dārim against 'Amir); Raḡhūm (Yarbū' against Kilāb); Zubāla (Tamim against Bakr); Shāyitān (id.); Sarā'im (Yarbū' against 'Aba); Tikhfa (cf. above); Ghābit (Mālik and Yarbū' against Shaibān); Ghāwī (Yarbū' against Ghāḥḥān); Farūḳ (Sa'd against 'Aba); Kūshāwa (Yarbū' against Shaibān); Kulāb 2nd (Sa'd and Ribāb against Maḥḥibī); Marrūt (Yarbū' against Kūshair); Mulāik (Sa'd against 'Amir); Nibāḥ (Minkar against Bakr); Nisār (Tamim and 'Amir against Ribāb and Asad); Watidāt (Nahhal against Hilāl); Waḳīt (Dārim against Lahzām).

Islām found the Tamim, like the other eastern tribes outside the range of direct influence. It was only after Muḥammad's victory over the neighbouring tribes and after the supremacy of the Medinese theocracy had been imposed on Central Arabia that the Tamim saw the advantage of an alliance with Islām. They sent an embassy to Medina in the year 8 and made a treaty of friendship with Muḥammad but, it seems, without becoming converts. They were therefore the first to reassert their complete independence on the death of the Prophet. The part which the Tamim played in the *ridāfa* is notable for the share in it taken

by the prophetess Sadjāh [q. v.] whose true character is unfortunately unknown, distorted as it is by a biased tradition. In any case the vigorous campaign of Khalid b. al-Walid brought the Tamim back to the bosom of Islām and the conquests which followed immediately afforded an outlet for their warlike tendencies (cf. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, index to vols. i—ii.). The bulk of the Tamim warriors naturally went in the direction of Persia and, settling at first in the two great camps of Kufa and Bagra, later went to Khorāsān where in the 'Abbāsid period they formed the majority of the Arab population. In spite of the fact that the historical record of the conquests goes back for the most part to Saif b. 'Omar [q. v.], himself a Tamimi, and liable to exaggerate the exploits of the Tamim in the conquests (cf. *Annali dell' Islām*, 12 A.H., § 356, note 2), it cannot be denied that the latter continued to display as Muslims the same warlike spirit that had distinguished them during the Djabiliya. It was no doubt also to their character as true Beduins, — rebels against all authority by nature — that was due their active participation in all the rebellious movements of the Omayyad period. If they only played a small part in the struggle between Kais and Kalb, which was really quite foreign to them they distinguished themselves all the more as Kharijīs [q. v.]: it is among the Tamim that we find the most fanatical of these rebels at the beginning of the movement. The chief of the Azāriqa, Kaṭāt b. al-Fudjā'a [q. v.] and the most of his followers were Tamim. We find them equally numerous among the followers of the 'Abbāsid *dāwā* in Khorāsān. Finally we may note the success at a later period of one of the tribe, Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab, a descendant of the Sa'd b. Zaidmanāt, who founded the African dynasty of the Aghlabids [q. v.].

The grammarians and lexicographers have preserved for us a number of peculiarities of the Tamimi dialect which will be found in the works quoted in the article KAIS 'AHLAN and also in Vollers, *Volksprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien*, p. 8—23; Ahmad b. Fāris, *al-Sūḥbī*, Cairo, 1328, p. 24 *sq.* Many of these peculiarities are also found in the dialects of other tribes, e.g. the *kashkashā*, which other texts attribute to the Rab'a, the *'ana'na* which is also recorded of the Kais, the use of *i* for *a* in the prefix of the imperfect, etc. Other peculiarities are: the *ḥ* of the *nisha* pronounced like *ḥ*, "the letter between *ḥāf* and *kāf* etc". It would be imprudent to try to found on these statements, which are due merely to casual and sporadic observations and not the result of a systematic study of the different dialects, any generalisations about the character of the Tamimi dialect. What is certain is that it formed with the dialect of the Kais and Bakr the eastern group of dialects of ancient Arabia, clearly differentiated from the dialects of the west (cf. Vollers, *op. cit.*, p. 4 *sq.*). The Tamim were further reputed to be in poetry and eloquence the depository of the true *'Arabiya*: we find among them, as has already been mentioned, some of the most illustrious poets of all old Arabic literature: Aws b. Hattar, Salāma b. Djandal, Sulāik b. Salaka, 'Abda b. Tabih, 'Adī b. Zaid, Mālik et Mutammim b. Nuwaira, al-Mukhallab; in the Omayyad period besides Djarir and al-Farazdaq, al-Ba'ith, Kuthayyir, Thābit Kūṭub, Aws b. Maghira, al-'Adjdādī, Ruba, etc.

Bibliography: Wüstenfeld, *Register*, p. 442—443; Ibn Darsid, *K. al-Iḥṭāṭ*, ed.

Wüstenfeld, p. 123—160; Ibn Kūtaiba, *al-Ma'rif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 37—38; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Uyūn al-Akbar* (MS. British Museum Add., 23,297) f. 62r—96v; *Naf'ih al-Djair wa 'l-Faradik*, ed. Bevan, *passim*; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, II, 461—484, 569—604.

(G. LEVI DELLA VIGIA)

TAMIM b. AL-MU'IZZ, brother of the fifth Fāṭimid caliph al-'Aziz, is said to have been born c. 337 (948—949). He was noted in his day for his liberality and interest in *belles lettres*. A prince of culture and elegance with a reputation amongst his contemporaries as a poet of refinement and skill. He missed nomination as heir apparent, his brother al-'Aziz being preferred to him. Al-'Aziz seems to have been very fond of him, judging from his grief at the latter's death, which is stated to have taken place at Cairo in Dhū 'l-Ḥiǧ'a 374 (April 985). After the funeral prayers in the Karāfa Cemetery, his body was laid in the palace vault. But opinion differs as to the precise year of his demise. Ibn Taghribirdī dates this event in 368 A.H. Specimens of his verse are supplied by Ibn Khallikān in his Biographical Dictionary.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, transl. de Slane, I, 279 *sqq.*; Ibn Duqmāq, *Kitāb al-Intiqār*, IV, 85; Abū Ṣāliḥ, *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, transl. Evetts, fol. 410; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Annals*, ed. Popper, p. 23, 8; Ibn Sa'īd, *Kitāb al-Maghrib*, transl. Tallquist, I, 91 *sqq.*; Yāqūt, *Geogr.*, ed. Wüstenfeld, IV, 865.

(J. WALKER)

TAMIM b. AL-MU'IZZ, fifth ruler of the Saḥāḥīja family of the Banū Ziri, who reigned in eastern Barbary from 454—501 (1062—1108). He was born at Ṣāḥra-Man-Sūriya near al-Kairawān. Ibn 'Idhārī described him as a man of tall stature and handsome appearance, and gives some curious details about his way of living. He was a very highly cultured man and reckoned among the most distinguished poets who have occupied a throne.

He was 23 in 445 (1053) when al-Mu'izz, his father, appointed him governor of al-Mahdiyya [q. v.]. It was just after the appearance of the Banū Hilāl Arabs, who had already inflicted one or two severe defeats on the troops of al-Mu'izz and occupied a considerable part of Ifrīqiya. Four years later, in 449 (1057), al-Mu'izz left Kairawān, his capital, where his position was untenable and took refuge in al-Mahdiyya with Tamim who received him with deference. Tamim henceforth conducted the business of the state alone and on the death of al-Mu'izz (454—1062), he was officially recognized as sovereign. In the very difficult circumstances under which he came to power, Tamim showed very remarkable energy and ability. From the town of al-Mahdiyya, which was practically all his dominion, he set himself to regain all the cities of Ifrīqiya which former governors, Arab emirs, or mere adventurers had made into independent principalities. He had to fight against his relatives, the Banū Hammād of the Kal'a who were endeavouring to take advantage of the difficulties of the old kingdom of al-Kairawān. To this end he availed himself of the rivalries among the different groups of Arabs and gained the assistance of the most powerful, the Banū Riyāḥ. With the help of this alliance which was not without its dangers, he was able to foil the Hammādid al-Nāṣir's plans against al-Mahdiyya.

His activities, otherwise, seem to have been mainly directed against the towns of the coast. He sent many expeditions against them, the success of which could at best be ephemeral. He was able to retake Sūs, forced the Banū Khurāsān of Tunis to submit, failed before Gabes, then took it, laid waste the suburbs of Sfax and then entered it. His base al-Mahdiyya was itself much threatened. The Arabs besieged it closely in 1084.

Tamim's effort against the coast-towns is explained by the aims which sent him to the sea while the land was slipping from him. Following his father in this respect, he tried to prevent the conquest of Sicily by the Normans. Having failed, he intensified his piratical raids. On the Christian side, this produced an alliance of Genoese and Pisans who on Aug. 6, 1087 succeeded in occupying al-Mahdiyya and sacked it. In 1104 the Romans (?) made another attack on the town which ended disastrously for them.

Four years later (1108), Tamim died at the age of 78 and was buried in the Kaṣr al-Sayyida at Mornat.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, transl. de Slane (*Biographical Dictionary*), I, 281—284; Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān al-Maghrib*, ed. Dozy, I, 307—313; transl. F. Fagnan, I, 444—454; Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, I, 206—207; transl. II, 22—24; Ibn al-Athīr, *Aḥmīl*, ed. Tornberg, IX, 389; X, 10, 19, 30, 105, 109—110, 119, 132—133, 175, 314—315; transl. F. Fagnan (*Annales du Maghreb*), p. 460, 470 *sqq.*, 486 *sqq.*, 490, 501, 509—510, 515—517; Ibn Abī Dīnār (El-Kairawān), *Mu'nis*, transl. Pellissier and Rémusat, p. 145—147; al-Tijānī, *Siḥāḥ*, transl. Rousseau, in *J. Ar.*, 1852, II, p. 130 *sqq.*; 1853, I, p. 370 *sqq.*; Mas Latrie, *Traité des paix*, I, 29—30; Hasan 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *al-Muntahabāt al-Tunisiya*, Tunis 1337, p. 101—104; G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie*, p. 124—125, 134—139, 142—143.

(G. MARÇAIS)

TAMIM AL-DĀRĪ, a companion of the Prophet. His *nishā* al-Dārī is said to be derived from the clan of the Banū 'l-Dār (for 'Abd al-Dār, according to Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, IV, 108, note 4), a section of the tribe of Lakhm [q. v.]. Al-Nawawī however (*Tahdhīb al-Aṣmā'*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 178) gives him the *nishā* of al-Dairī, said to be derived from the convent (*dair*) in which he was a monk before his conversion to Islam. His genealogy was: Tamim b. Awa b. Khālid b. Sawād (var. Sūd) b. Djaḥsh b. Dārā' (var. Dhira', Wida') b. 'Adī b. al-Dār b. Hānīl b. Ḥabīb b. Numāra b. Lakhm (Wüstenfeld, *Gen. Tabellen*, 5—25; cf. Tabari, ed. de Goeje, III, 2542, 2545; Ibn Sa'īd, VII/II, 129—130 etc.). From Palestine, where he lived with his tribe, Tamim came to Muhammad at the head of ten of his relatives after the Khaibar campaign in 7 A.H. (Ibn Hishām, *Str.*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 777) or, what is more probable, after the Tabūk campaign in 9 A.H. which brought the Muslim army up to the frontiers of Syria (Ibn Sa'īd, I/II, 75, following al-Wākidī and Ibn al-Kalbī): the first statement may be due to some confusion that has arisen from the fact that Muhammad allotted to the Banū 'l-Dār the revenue from part of the lands taken at Khaibar (Wākidī, transl. Wellhausen, p. 287). Tamim embraced Islam and settled in Medina. The fact that he had been a Christian, like most of the Arabs of Syria, enabled him to advise the

Prophet on details of public worship which were adopted by him from the Christians, among them the use of oil-lamps in the mosque (cf. Clermont-Ganneau, *R.H.R.*, lxxxi. [1920], 247 sqq. = *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, viii. 216 sqq.: *La lampe et l'encens dans le Coran*). He is said to have been the first narrator of religious stories (ḥaṣṣ: cf. Goldziher, *Mus. Stud.*, ii. 161 infra; Nawawī, *Tuhfah al-Aminā*, p. 178) and it is really to this literary genre of the *fiṣṣa* (q.v.) that belong the stories of the end of the world and the coming of Antichrist (*al-Dajjāl* [q.v.]) and of the Beast (*al-Djannā*), which Tamīm communicated to Muḥammad and the latter published on his authority. Tamīm is said to have seen the two apocalyptic monsters with his own eyes and spoken with them in an island situated at the end of the world, where the tempest had thrown him on a voyage on the Syrian seas. On this island *al-Dajjāl* and *al-Djannā* are kept to await the day when they will be let loose on the world. This legend of Tamīm must have arisen at quite a remote period for it is already found with all its details in the earliest collections of ḥadīth: Muslim, Abū Dāwūd, al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Maḡā, Ahmad b. Hanbal (see the references by Wensinck, *A Handbook of early Muhammadan Tradition*, Leyden 1927, p. 50 s.v. *Dajjāl*). At a later period, the legend is located after the death of Muḥammad and put in a different setting: it is no longer as a result of a shipwreck that Tamīm comes to learn the mysteries of the other world; he is carried during the night from his house by a djinn and passes through a series of unknown countries, peopled with all kinds of fantastic beings, and after experiencing a number of weird and perilous adventures in which the meeting with *al-Dajjāl* and *al-Djannā* is only an episode, he is taken by an angel on a cloud and brought back to his home. His wife who had thought him dead and married again is in a most difficult position. The question laid before the Caliph 'Umar was referred by him to 'Alī who said that the Prophet had foreseen all that would happen to Tamīm and left the wife free to choose between the two husbands; she prefers to go back to Tamīm. This form of the legend which combines the two common motives of a journey to the realms of fable and the supposed dead man returning, was very widely diffused and it is known in Turkish, Malay and Spanish versions. A recension of the Arabic text to which these versions go back was published by R. Basset (*Les aventures merveilleuses de Tamīm al-Dārī*, in *Le Giornale della Società Italiana*, v. [1891], 3-26) from a manuscript in Algiers (to the MSS which he mentions in Paris, Oxford, Leyden and Tunis may be added those of the India Office, No. 1044 viii., and Berlin, 9069, 9070, 9105-9122. The text has also been printed in Cairo in a popular form). It is of course impossible to fix the date at which the legend took shape: Basset notes that al-Dimashqī (d. 727) gives a résumé of it in a form very like that of our texts (*Adjāib al-Barr wa'l-Bahr*, ed. Mehren, p. 149).

Another incident of quite a different kind has contributed to the fame of Tamīm al-Dārī. When he met Muḥammad he is said to have asked him to give him as a fief (*ḥaṣṣa*, cf. 173X) for himself and his descendants the district in which he lived with his family at Hebron al-Khail [q.v.]. The Prophet granted the request, although Palestine

was still under the Byzantines, and the grant was confirmed by a document which Tamīm produced at the Arab conquest of Palestine which secured him and the heirs of his brother Nu'aim (Tamīm had only a daughter) the possession of the districts of Ḥabrūn (var. Ḥibrā), al-Marjūn (var. Marjūn, Marjūn, al-Ruṭūm, Marjūn; perhaps the last is the correct form and in it should be recognised the word *al-marjūl* = *μαργάριον* with the usual substitution of *n* for *l* as in *Djibril*, *Djibrin* etc.), Bait 'Ainūn and Bait Ibrāhīm; this estate remained in the family till quite a recent period and at the present day the keepers of the *ḥaram al-Khail* claim to be descended from Tamīm al-Dārī. The significance of this gift is a double one. In the first place it is evidence of the supernatural powers of the Prophet and on the other, it is the earliest reference to a regular grant of an *ḥiṣṣa*. The text of the deed which was drawn up by 'Alī (although some sources say Mu'awiya b. Abī Sufyān) was handed down in two versions of which the first, the shorter one, only mentions Ḥibrā and 'Ainūn and is signed only by 'Alī (Ibn Sa'd, i. 21, 22, 3; Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, Bulak 1302, p. 132), while the other, a longer one, begins with the formula: *ḥiṣṣa mā anṣa* (var. *ḥiṣṣa*) *Muḥammad*... gives the four places mentioned above and is signed by the three first Caliphs, Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān, as witnesses. It is the latter text which was in the possession of the Dārīyūn, who guarded it jealously and always produced it when threatened with spoliation by the local authorities. When Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-Umari saw it on the occasion of a visit which he paid to the sanctuary of Hebron in 743 (*Maṣālik al-Aḥqār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*, Cairo 1342, i. 172-175), it was written on an old piece of skin which had been a part of one of 'Alī's shoes; the letters, in old Cufic characters, which were almost entirely obliterated and only a few faint traces left, but a certificate (*ḥukūda*) of the Caliph al-Mustaḍī (566-575) confirmed its authenticity and gave a copy of the text; the document was wrapped in a rich covering of silk and kept in an ebony casket. Muḍjir al-Dīn al-'Uṭaimī who saw the document about 150 years later (cf. al-Umari, *al-Uni al-djaili*, Cairo 1283, p. 428-429; the book was written in 900-901) gives practically the same information but the *ḥukūda* according to him was from the caliph al-Mustandjīd (555-566). Later, under Ottoman rule, the Dārī Taḡī al-Dīn gave the document to Sulṭān Murād who put it in his library and as a reward gave the Taḡī al-Dīn a post as *ḥāḍi* in Cairo. The Murād in question can only be Murād III (982-1003 = 1574-1595) or Murād IV (1032-1049 = 1623-1640) for the incident is recorded by one of the scholars of the *Kitāb al-Iḥṣān* of Ibn Duraid (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 226b.), a certain Muḥammad b. 'Umar who (p. 218a) says he was a descendant of the historian Muḥibb al-Dīn b. al-Shiḥna (d. 890 = 1485) (cf. the preface, p. v.; Wüstenfeld is wrong in thinking he was his grandson). The longer version is also given in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 195; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh Dimashq*, Damascus 1331, lii. 344-357, who also gives the shorter version in the very full and detailed biography which he devotes to Tamīm on which al-Kalkashandī relies entirely (*Suḥb al-Aḥḍā*, Cairo 1337, xlii. 118-122).

The apocryphal character of the document scarcely needs to be proved (cf. Caetani, *Annali*

dell' Islām, ii. 288—291 (9 A.H., § 69, note 1, § 70, note 2); Krenkow, *Islamica*, I. [1925], 529—532: the existence of the two versions is sufficient to show that the text is a complete fabrication. But the fraud must be old; not only is the document given in Abū Yūsuf, al-Wāḳidī, Ibn al-Kalbi (cf. above) which takes us to the end of the second century A.H. but we could take it back to the end of the first century if we can believe the anecdote recorded by al-Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, p. 129, 13—14) from Ibn al-Kalbi (it is given also in the *Djāmharat al-Ansāb*, Escorial MS., f. 70 *ab*), according to which the Caliph Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik, when passing by the fiefs of the Dāriyūn was careful not to stop there "for fear of bringing God's curse upon him". This is clearly an allusion to the document, which in the shorter version threatens with the curse of God any one who in any way infringes the *ḥaḥḥa* granted by the Prophet. Besides, there is another tradition according to which Muḥammad had only promised to Tamīm to grant his family the *ḥaḥḥa* of Hebron and the document was only drawn up after the conquest in the name of Abū Bakr (Ibn Sa'd, i/ii. 75, following Ibn al-Kalbi: the story of course naturally passed into later writers). Although Wellhausen (*Shiiten u. Verarbeiten*, iv. 126, note 1) considers this tradition to be a "spätere Korrektur", it seems on the contrary to be the older. It is easy to believe that the Muslims at their conquest of Palestine found the sanctuary of Abraham at Hebron occupied by a section of the Christian tribe of Lakhm, who perhaps exploited it by making charges to pilgrims who came to visit it; the *nisba* al-Dārī would not be an ethnic especially as, except for the family of Tamīm and other individuals mentioned in the story of the embassy to Muḥammad, we have no knowledge of a tribe of al-Dār; it could very well refer to the Dār "the sanctuary" (on this meaning of the word *dār* cf. the article KUṢAYY). These Lakhmids, converted to Islām, were probably able to keep the guardianship of the *ḥaram Ibrahimī*, which became sacred to the Muslims as it had previously been for Jews and Christians, and based their claim on an alleged grant made by Muḥammad to their chief Tamīm whose fame was gradually extended until he was made one of the inspirers of the eschatological beliefs and liturgical institutions of the young faith of Islām. It might even be asked if the traditions associated with the figure of Tamīm al-Dārī are based on any historical figure or if his personality is not completely legendary. Clermont-Ganneau in his article quoted above refers to his *Archaeological Researches*, ii. 463—464 (which are not accessible to me) for the "analogies which the grant of Hebron made to Tamīm al-Dārī presents with that of the same town made in similar conditions to the Caleb of the Bible". But the Calebites received Hebron (Joshua, xv. 13; cf. Judges, i. 10) on the occasion of the general distribution of southern Palestine among the families of the tribe of Judah of which they were clients; there is then no analogy with the grant made to Tamīm in quite special circumstances.

Tradition knows practically nothing of the life of Tamīm after the death of Muḥammad; it only narrates that he left Madīna after the murder of 'Uthmān in 35 and that he returned to his native land where he died at the end of the caliphate of 'Alī (40 A.H.).

Bibliography: Besides the sources and the authors quoted in the course of the article cf. the biographies of the companions; Wüstenfeld, *Register*, p. 441—442; Sprenger, *Der Leben und die Lehre des Muḥammad*, i. 408, 460; iii. 15, note, 432; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, x. 544—546 (40 A.H., §§ 400—404).

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

TAMMŪZ, the tenth month in the Syriac calendar. Its name is derived from that of the fourth Jewish month with which it roughly coincides. It corresponds to July in the Roman calendar and like it has 31 days. According to al-Birūnī, in Tammūz the lunar stations 8 and 9 rise and 22 and 23 set; the days on which one rose and the other, 14 days apart from it, set were the 10th and 23rd. According to al-Kāzwinī on the other hand, stations 7 and 8 rise, 21 and 22 set, on the 4th and 17th respectively. In the year 1300 of the Seleucid era (989 A.D.) according to al-Birūnī the stars of the stations mentioned by al-Kāzwinī rose and set on the 9th and 23rd.

Bibliography: al-Birūnī, *Aḥḥār*, ed. Sachau, p. 60, 70; 347—350 (in the English translation the pagination of the Arabic text is given at the side); al-Kāzwinī, *Aḥḥār al-Maḥḥāḥ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, I. 44 sq., 49, 78 sq. (German transl. Ethé, p. 93 sq., 101 sq., 160 f.); Ginzel, *Handbuch d. math. u. techn. Chron.*, I., 1906, p. 263 sqq.

(M. FLEISSNER)

AL-TANĀSĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. 'ABD AL-DJALIL ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH, Maghribī author of the 12th century, lived at the court of the Zaynīd rulers of Tlemcen whose historiographer he became and died in Djamāda II 899 (Feb. 1494). Besides several small works now lost and *fatwas* given by al-Wanḥarī in his *Mf'yār*, we have from the pen of al-Tanāsī a history of his patrons, *Naṣṣ al-Durr wa 'l-Iḥyān fī Ṣaraf Banī Zaynūn*, ed. and partly transl. by Burgès, *Histoire des Beni Zayan, rois de Tlemcen*, Paris 1852 and *Complément de l'histoire des Beni Zayan, rois de Tlemcen, ouvrage du shāikh... al-Tanāsī*, Paris 1887. It is, in the fashion of the period, not only a chronicle but also an anthology of poetry, literature, moral sayings and anecdotes.

Bibliography: Ahmad Bāḥ, *Nail al-Iḥḥādī*, Fās 1317, p. 353; Ibn Maryam, *Barā'id*, Algiers 1326 (1908), p. 248 sq.; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 241; Ben Cheneb, *Idjazz*, Paris 1907, p. 154, § 105.

(E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL)

TANĀSUKH, transmigration, metempsychosis; a belief widespread in India and among several sects of the Muslim world. Muhammadan authors who deal with it attribute it to the Indians rather than to the Pythagoreans.

Shahraṣṭānī in his article on the "people of metempsychosis" takes the word in a wide sense: to him it means the doctrine of the successive lives and rebirths of the world. The Indians, he says, are of all nations that which believes most in metempsychosis. They tell the story of the phoenix and then say it is the same with the universe; after a certain number of revolutions, the celestial spheres, the stars, all come back to the same point and the life of the universe is repeated. The length of this period of revolution is 30,000 years according to some and 360,000 according to others. Mas'ūdī (*Murūūj*, i. 163) also talks of this great revolution and gives the cycle a duration of 70,000 years: This idea was known

to the Greek astronomers who called it the "great year".

In another sense *tanāwūt* means the diffusion and distribution of the divine spirit among the beings of our world. The Ghulāt, who were extreme Shi'is admitted, says Shahrastānī, *tanāwūt* and the descent or incarnation (*ḥulūl*) of all or part of the divine principle in certain men. Belief in this kind of *tanāwūt* is found among many peoples, who received it from the Mazdaki Magi, Brahmins of Indian, philosophers and Sāhāra. Ḥudjwiri is acquainted with a sect of Sūfis whom he calls *Ḥulūlīs*; they assert that there is only a single spirit, eternal and divine, which is diffused and passes into different bodies. This view, says Ḥudjwiri, is that of many Christians, although they do not confess it, of the generality of Indians, Tibetans, Chinese, and it is found among the Shi'is, Karmāṭians and the Ismā'īlīs. There are four degrees of metempsychosis: *nashā*, *maṣā*, *faṣā* and *raṣā*.

In the popular sense, of passing from one body to another, the belief in metempsychosis is held by several Shi'is sects. Among the Mu'tazilīs, according to Shahrastānī, the disciples of Ahmad b. Ḥa'it taught that God first created beings in a kind of Paradise; then those who were guilty of some disobedience were sent by Him into our world in the form of men or animals according to the gravity of their sins; they then migrate from form to form until the effects of their sins have ceased.

The Ismā'īlīs did not admit the passage of the soul into the bodies of animals; but they did admit successive lives in which the souls are active in the world of birth and death until they have recognised the *ḥulūl*; they then rise to the world of light.

The Nuṣayrīs believe that the sinner of their religion will return to the world as a Jew, Saunī Muslim or Christian; the infidels who have not known 'Alī become camels, mules, asses, dogs or other similar animals. There are seven degrees of metempsychosis, according to the Nuṣayrīs; the faithful soul which has passed through the seven degrees rises into the stars from which in the beginning it had descended. Anz and Dussaud have connected this theory with the doctrine of the ascension of the soul through the seven heavens which originating on the Babylonian soil spread into Persian beliefs and then into those of the Neo-Platonists and the Gnostics. The Druses have taken some of their popular beliefs from the Nuṣayrīs, although their founder Ḥamza was opposed to them; they believe that the souls of the enemies of 'Alī will enter the bodies of dogs, monkeys and swine. The Kurds and the Yazidīs believe in transmigration into the bodies of men and animals and in successive existences separated by an interval of 72 years. According to Saiyid Sharif Djuṣṣānī (*Tarīfāt*) the *tanāwūt* is the passing of the soul to a new body without intervals on account of the inclination of the spirit for the body.

Al-Samarḳandī quotes curious legends about *maṣā* (a variant of *nashā*), according to which the monkey, the pig and other animals are descended from people who have been metamorphosed. The star Suhail and the planet Zuhra (Venus) are in the same way said to have been a king and a princess punished by God for their crimes and

placed — somewhat illogically — among the stars. Finally we may mention the stories of metamorphosis found in the *1001 Nights* and other tales.

Bibliography: Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milāl wa'l-Nihāl*, ed. Carleton, London 1842, II, 297 and *passim*; Ḥudjwiri, *Kaṣṣa al-Maḥṣūf*, transl. R. A. Nicholson, in *G. M. S.*, Leyden and London 1911, p. 260 *seq.*; R. Dussaud, *Histoire et religion des Nuṣayrīs*, Paris 1900, p. 120 *seq.*; W. Anz, *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung des Gnosticismus*, in *Texte und Untersuchungen* by v. Gebhardt und Harnack, xv, Leipzig 1897; St. Guyard, *Un grand Maître des Assassins au temps de Saladin*, *J. A.*, Paris 1877 (tales); Shaikh Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Samarḳandī, *Bustān al-ʿArīṣa*, Mecca 1300, p. 240; J. Menant, *Les Yézidis*, in *Annales du Musée Guimet*, Paris 1892, p. 87. (B. CARRA DE Vaux)

AL-TANĀWUTI, the *nishā* of many spiritual shaikhs of the Abāḍīs [q.v.]. To the fifth (eleventh) century belongs:

Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-Tanāwuti who often appears in later tradition. His son Ismā'īl but still more his grandson Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf b. Ismā'īl had the reputation of being very devout and miraculously gifted. The most important bearer of the name is the last-named's son:

Abū 'Ammār 'Abd al-Kāfi al-Tanāwuti, fellow-pupil and friend of Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Sadrāt al-Wardjālānī. He came of a wealthy family and had an allowance of 1,000 dinārs a year for his studies in Tunis, of which he gave half to his teachers. His interest in learning, particularly in Arabic philology, was so keen that he did not even stop to read the letters that accompanied the paternal remittances. When he opened them, as he was about to return home, he read in one of the death of his father and in another of the death of his mother. His principal teacher in theology was Abū Zakariyya Yahyā b. Abī Bakr al-Wardjālānī [q.v.] who also taught Abū Ya'qūb. Abū 'Ammār lived principally in Wargla (Wardjālān). In the spring he roamed with his herds far to the south among the oases of Mzab. His co-religionists revere him as one of the renewers of their religion (*muhayy al-dīn*). On the question of the verdict on the Caliph 'Alī, always a fundamental one with the Abāḍīs, he inclined to leniency. On the other hand he shared the general bitterness of the Berbers against the immigrant Arab Beduins [cf. *III. 1*]. He declared that the property they had acquired in the Maghrib was lost (*ghāṣb*) and, like his friend Abū Ya'qūb, he received a painful impression of the Beduins of the Hidsa on a pilgrimage to Mecca so that their consciences troubled them as to whether they who in the Maghrib carefully avoided any, even business, intercourse with the Arabs, could purchase from them in the Hidsa; they consoled themselves with the reflection that the Hidsa had belonged to the Arabs from the very beginning. — Among the writings of Abū 'Ammār are noted *al-Mudjib fi Tahsil al-Su'āl*, a "Refutation of all enemies of truth", i.e. one of those *farq* books in which the Abāḍīs used carefully to show that they were distinct from all other schools; also *Ṣarḥ al-Djāhālūt*, but particularly the *Sira* in which Masqueray recognised "le rôle des clercs", a fundamental work for the spiritual organisation of the 'anzāl leaders and their *ḥaṣṣa* disciples. A long illness prevented

Abū 'Ammār from ever answering a list of queries from 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Muḥammad b. Ghālib b. Numair al-Anṣārī regarding the Abāḍīs teaching regarding their differences from other sects. A reply was only given after his and 'Abd al-Wahhāb's deaths by Abū Ya'qūb al-Wārdjānī and is contained in the latter's *Kitāb al-Dalīl*. According to this Abū 'Ammār died before 370 (1174). — His teaching was continued, notably by Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-Tanāwutī, the younger, whose name is identical with that of the individual first named in this article.

'Adī b. al-Lu'lu' al-Tanāwutī, who lived for a time on the island of Djerba, is said to have been the first man in Wargla to be killed by the invading Arabs. His brother was the father of Umm al-Mu'min, a woman revered for her miracles. As in the cases above named, the brothers Yaḥyā and Abū 'I-Rabī' Sulaimān b. Aiyūb b. Muḥammad b. Abī 'Amr al-Tanāwutī are of interest to the biographers on account of their piety and miracles upon which they love to dilate.

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(R. STROTHMANN)

TANGA (or TANGĀ), the name of the small silver coin which formed the main currency of the Mongol world from the end of the viiith/ixth to the beginning of the xth/xith century. It varied in weight from 20 to 35 grains (1.3—1.95 grammes) and was struck by the later Khāns, the Khāns of the Golden Horde, the earlier Khāns of the Crimea and the early Tīmūrids. The Russians borrowed the denomination and the name in the form *denga* at the end of the xivth century from the Mongols: *dengas*, latterly of copper, were struck in Russia down to the first half of the xviiith century. The word *tanga* has survived in Central Asia as the name of a small silver coin of about 50 grains (3.25 grammes) which was struck till last century by the Shāhs of Persia, the Khāns of Khokand and the Emirs of Bukhārā. Tanga is to be connected with the Turki word *tangāz*, an official mark, a die (cf. *SIKKA*) and not with the Indian *tanba* [q. v.].

(J. ALLAN)

TANGIER, the ancient *Tingit*, Arabic *TANĠĠA* (old ethnic: *Tandjī*; modern ethnic: *Tandjāwī*), a town in Morocco, situated on the Strait of Gibraltar, 7 miles to the east of Cape Spartel [q. v.] at the point where the Atlantic coast begins. The town dominates a magnificent bay terminated on the East by Cape Malabata (Rās al-Manūr) and on the West by the citadel (*ḥaḥba*) and its slopes, at times fairly steeply, towards the sea. The town is divided into a number of quarters within the walls and others without. The former, fourteen in number, form the town properly speaking (*Madīna*, popularly *Māḍina*). Amongst the principal extramural quarters are those of Sidi Bū-Knādil (Saiyidī Abū Kanādīl), Marḡān (a large plateau 1,300 yards long, situated to the West

of the town along the sea), ed-Darādīb (al-Darādīb, that is "the slopes"), Ḥasnūna, Sūq al-Barī, Sūq al-Salfī, "the poplars", or San Francisco), al-Maḥallī (al-Maḥallī), es-Suwānī (al-Suwānī, the noria) etc. In the immediate vicinity of Tangier are the villages of Sharf and Tandja al-Bāliya, peopled by rustics of the tribe of Faḥḥ of Tangier. There are a comparatively small number of mosques in the town; there are seven Khutba mosques and six of less importance. The chief one, which had been transformed into a church at the time of the Portuguese occupation was the object of several restorations after being won back for the faith in 1684. The town in the strict sense is surrounded by a rampart more than 2,000 yards in length, built in stone, which dates in large measure from the time of the Portuguese occupation (1471—1661); it was later restored at different times. Several gates are pierced in it; most of them are recent. On either side of the rampart towers (*ḥorǧ*) are still standing; amongst them may be mentioned the *ḥorǧ al-na'īm*, Irish tower, the *ḥorǧ dūr al-burūd* (the York Castle of the English period), the *ḥorǧ al-salām*, with 29 bronze cannon of European origin. The principal monument of the town is the Sharīfian palace, which is situated in the East part of the citadel. It is here that the government of the town has been located for several centuries. The English during their occupation called it the Upper Castle. The present palace was built on the ruins of this Upper Castle by the Pasha Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Tamīmī al-Rifī before the year 1743, in which he was killed in a battle near al-Ḥaṣr al-Kabīr (Alcazar quivir, q. v.).

Tangier has now a rather mixed population amounting to about 50,000 inhabitants of whom 30,000 are Muslims, 12,000 Jews and a European colony in which the Spanish element was the dominant one until quite recently. From the nineteenth century, the town was the residence of the representatives of foreign countries at the court of the Sultāns of Morocco. This role of diplomatic capital of the Sharīfian Empire has given Tangier a character of its own. It is now the capital of the international zone which bears its name; the status of this zone has been recently defined.

The most varied legends are told about the origin and foundation of Tangier. There is not space to recall them here. The site was known to and first inhabited by the Phoenicians, and after that by Punic colonists. Tangier figures in the *Periplus* of Hanno (530 B.C.). It seems that the town was the capital of different petty native kings of whom the chief one was Bokkus I (c. 105 B.C.). In the reign of Bokkus III (in 38 B.C.) it was formed into a republic and was declared by Rome a free city until in the reign of Claudius (42 B.C.) it was raised to the rank of *Colonia*, with the name of *Julia Traiecta* and became the capital of the province of *Mauritania Tingitania*. In the year 291 at the time of the administrative reform of Diocletian, when Mauritania Tingitania was joined to the diocese of Baetica, Tangier became the residence of a *Comes*, and of a *Prætor* for civil administration. Tangier passed thereafter under Byzantine rule, but the residence of the representative of the Emperor of Constantinople was at Ceuta.

It was at the beginning of the eighth century that Tangier became Muslim; it was captured by

the celebrated Mūsā b. Nuṣair, who entrusted its government to one of his lieutenants, Ṭarīk b. Zayd al-Lalīḡhī, who concentrated close to the town the forces which were to carry out from Ceuta the first Muslim landing in Spain in the year 711. During the period of the governors nominated by the Caliphs of the East, Tangier became the capital of Morocco as far as the Grand Atlas, whence the expression *al-Sūs al-Adnā*, in opposition to *al-Sūs al-Aẓḡā* [q. v.]. The first governor who thus had Tangier as his residence was 'Umar b. 'Ubaid Allāh al-Murādī in the year 732. Soon afterwards, in the very suburbs of Tangier the revolt of Maṣāra broke out. Maṣāra was a Berber who, under cover of the Kharijī movement, desiring to rid Morocco of the Arab yoke, managed to win over to his cause a great number of followers and marched upon Tangier which he seized in the year 740. The troubles which he fomented lasted until 785.

It is at Tangier that the historians make the fugitive Idrīs I, who was to become master of all the country, land on his arrival from the East. Finding the position of this town not sufficiently central, he seems never to have thought of making it his capital and Tangier now lost its rank as the first town in Morocco, which it never regained. It fell at the time of the Idrisid partition of 829 to al-Kāsim, soon displaced by his brother 'Umar, who died in 835. All the North-West of Morocco had passed into the hands of this prince, and his descendants kept it from father to son in an almost independent manner for more than a century. It was not until 949, that Tangier was annexed to the possessions of the Umayyad Caliphs of Spain who appointed a governor, charged at the same time with the administration of Morocco, which had been reduced to the state of a vassal province of Cordova. It was thus that at the beginning of the 11th century the Idrisid 'Alī b. Hammūd was appointed governor of Tangier by the Caliph Sulaimān al-Musta'in bi 'llāh, before fomenting the rebellion which brought him to the throne of Cordova in 1016. All the revolts at the end of the Umayyad Caliphate thus had their repercussions on Tangier and also on the neighbouring Ceuta and the Berbers of the country, ever on the alert to what was taking place on the other side of the Strait, placed at their head two governors of the tribe of the Barghawāta [q. v.], Rikā Allāh at Tangier and Saḡkūt at Ceuta; under the quite nominal suzerainty of the Hammūdids of Spain.

Tangier was taken by the Almoravids in the year 470 (1077). It was there that the celebrated al-Ma'tamid [q. v.] disembarked in the year 1090. He was the last 'Abbāsid of Seville, and had been exiled to Morocco by Yūsuf b. Tāshīn. On the fall of the Almoravid dynasty the town passed at once under the Almohad domination. The first Caliph, 'Abd al-Ma'mīn b. 'Alī [q. v.], seized it in the year 542 (1147). During the whole of the period of the dynasty it remained a flourishing town, and a port which was much frequented on account of its proximity to Spain.

Tangier, like the rest of North-West Morocco, did not at once recognize the new Marinid dynasty, on the fall of the Almohad dynasty. While Ceuta passed under the rule of the local princes of the family of the Banu 'l-'Azāfi, Tangier took as its chief Abu 'l-Hadīdj Yūsuf b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Amīr al-Hamḍānī who was killed in the year

665 (1266-1267) after having declared himself first the vassal of the Hafsids of Ifrikiya, then of the 'Abbāsids of the East. In 672 (1274) Tangier was taken by assault by the Marinid Sultān Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. 'Abd al-Hakīm after a three months' siege. During the following century the town passed once more through an obscure period, and became involved in different rebellions, which mark the last period of the Marinid Empire.

It was in the first half of the 17th century that Tangier attracted, for the first time since its conversion to Islam, the covetousness of the Christian states of Europe. The Portuguese, masters of Ceuta since 1415, attempted by land to seize Tangier in 841 (1437). But this attempt remained without result as did those of 1458 and 1464. Finally they occupied the town on the 28th August 1471, during the reign of Alfonso V.

The occupation of Tangier by the Portuguese extended from 1471 to 1661, almost two centuries. Like the other Portuguese possessions in Morocco, Tangier passed nominally to Spain in 1581 under Philip II after the union of Portugal to the crown of Spain but it kept its own administration and its Portuguese garrison. This state of affairs lasted until 1643. After a revolution, Tangier again accepted the authority of the new Portuguese sovereign of the House of Braganza John IV.

In the year 1661, Tangier passed from the hands of the Portuguese into those of the English on the occasion of the marriage of Charles II to the Infanta Catherine of Braganza, the Portuguese possession being part of the dowry of the princess. An English squadron, commanded by the Lord Sandwich, came to take possession of the town and a garrison disembarked there at the end of November of the same year while the garrison and almost all the Portuguese population returned to their native land.

Before the passage of the town of Tangier to the Crown of England, the Portuguese had only been able to maintain themselves in the place with difficulties of all kinds. Numerous skirmishes with *Mudjāhidīn*, under the stimulus of a leader of a holy war, a member of the tribe of the Banū Gurfat, al-Khaḡir (the Moroccan form of al-Khidr) Ghailān b. 'Alī, had harassed them without cessation on the outskirts of the town, and they were almost forced on many occasions to abandon their possession of it. It continued to be the same under English rule. The governor, the Earl of Peterborough, tried at first to conclude a truce with the *Mudjāhidīn* by paying a sum of money but this truce was only respected during the years 1663-1664, after a check that the Muslims had suffered under the ramparts of the town. Hereafter the pact was broken and on the 3rd of May 1664, the new governor, the Earl of Teviot, fell into an ambush near Tangier and was killed with more than 400 of his soldiers.

The English, however, managed later to win over to their cause the chief Ghailān, who had set up as a pretender against the new 'Alawid Sultān Mawlay al-Raḡhū [q. v.]. An alliance was signed in 1666 between him and the governor Baron Bellasaye, but after being held in check by the troops of al-Raḡhū, Ghailān was forced to cease all activity in the north of Morocco. Up to the death of this chief in 1673, the English enjoyed a respite in Tangier and they made use of it to carry out a great scheme of fortification and the con-

struction of a mole. But the expense which these works necessitated along with other causes helped to make the occupation of Tangier very unpopular in England. Thus it was under very favourable conditions that the 'Alawid Sulṭān Mawlay Ismā'il decided to lay siege to the town. This siege lasted not less than six years. An army was gathered together to blockade Tangier and the attacks on the advanced position of the system of defences were successful from the year 1678. As the siege became more and more severe, the English decided to evacuate the town after blowing up the mole and the most important fortifications. On February 6th, 1684 the garrison and the English population embarked with the last governor, Lord Dartmouth, and Tangier became once more a Muslim town.

The Moroccan governor, who was appointed to the command of Tangier, named Abu 'I-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Tamīmī al-Rifī, at once proceeded to rebuild the town which had been left in ruins by the English. He, and after him his son, became sufficiently powerful throughout the district to be able soon to withstand Mawlay 'Abd Allāh, the successor of Mawlay Ismā'il, and to give an asylum to the pretenders to the dynasty. In later times also, the governors of Tangier who nearly all belonged to the same family had no hesitation in occasionally throwing off the authority of the sulṭāns. The history of the relations of these governors with the makhzen is the history of Tangier until the sixteenth century.

On August 6th, 1844 Tangier was bombarded by a French squadron under the command of the Prince de Joinville. Eight days afterwards the Moroccan forces were routed at the battle of Isly.

It is unnecessary to quote here the successive agreements come to between the European powers and Morocco which ended in the elaboration and adoption of the statute under which Tangier and its zone are at present ruled, along with the zone of Spanish influence and the zone of French influence in Morocco. A railway from Tangier to Fās and to Rabāt has been open since the year 1927.

Bibliography: A good monograph on Tangier with documents, statistics, illustrations and maps has been published under the title of *"Tanger et sa zone"* being volume vii, of the collection *"Villes et tribus du Maroc"*. Documents et renseignements publiés par la Section Sociologique de la Résidence Générale de la République Française au Maroc, Paris 1921. The *"Archives Marocaines"*, Paris 1904—1920 also contain a number of documents on Tangier. For the Portuguese occupation the principal contemporary source is the *"História de Tanger"* of D. Fernando de Meneses, Lisbon 1732. Tangier has been the subject of many descriptions by travellers (chiefly English) in the sixteenth century. A list of them can be found in Playfair's *Bibliography of Morocco*, London 1892. In conclusion, the Arabic dialect spoken by the citizens of Tangier has been the subject of a masterly study by William Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, Paris 1911, based on the works of Läderitz, Meisner, Blanc, Marchand and Kampffmeyer. These texts besides their linguistic interest contain valuable information about society and native life in Tangier.

(E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL)

TANKA, (Sanskrit *paṇḍa*, a weight of silver = 4 māyas); an Indian coin. When Mahmūd of Ghazna conquered northwestern India and struck bilingual coins for the convenience of his Hindu subjects, *ṭanka* was used in the Nigart legend as the translation of *dirham* in the Arabic legend. Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish, Sulṭān of Dehli (1210—1235 = 607—633) introduced a heavy silver coin of 175 grains (= 11.3 grammes) and gave it the name of *tanka* (although *ṭola* would have been more accurate); a gold *tanka* of the same weight was first introduced by Nāṣir al-Dīn Mahmūd (1246—1265 = 646—664). These two coins were henceforth to be the standard coins of India. The gold *tanka* was last struck by Muḥammad al-Dīn Muḥarrir (1421—1433 = 824—837) except for a few rare pieces of the Sūris. The coin itself was again struck by Akbar but was now known as the *muhr* [q.v.]. The silver *tanka* became gradually debased after the reign of Muḥammad b. Tughlak, being practically copper ("black *tanka*") under the Lōdīs. In the great reform of the coinage by Sher Shāh (1539—1545 = 946—952) it was restored to its original fineness and weight but was now called the rupee (*rupiya*). As the rupee, the denomination was taken over by Akbar and has continued the monetary unit of India to the present day. Akbar transferred the name *tanka* to copper coinage; his *tanka* was a piece of 2 dāms (640 grains = 41.5 grammes); he also struck a copper coin called the *ṭanki* which was $\frac{1}{10}$ of a *tanka* (64 grains = 4.15 grammes).

Silver and more rarely gold *ṭankas* were also the currency of the various contemporaries of the Sulṭāns of Dehli, in Bengal, Gujjarat, Malwa and the Deccan. The word still survives in Bengali in the form *ṭakā* and is the regular Bengali word for the rupee; in Southern India the name is still in use on the Portuguese coins of Goa where it is the equivalent of anna.

Bibliography: E. Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli*, London 1871; S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Coins of the Sultans of Dehli in the British Museum*, London 1883, p. xix—xxvii. (J. ALLAN)

TANRI (T.), Heaven; God. In the eastern dialects the vocalisation is usually palatal: Čaghṭai, *ṭāngri* (written تينگری) and similar forms in the other dialects. The trisyllabic forms in Telet (*ṭānāra*) and in the Altai dialect (*ṭānari*) are worthy of note; the Kasan dialect has alongside of *ṭāngri* (god) a word *tāri* = image of a saint, Ikon (we may here mention the proper name *Tāri-kirdi*, where *tāri* of course means God). Ottoman Turkish has a non-palatal vocalisation (*tanrı*) as has Yakutic which has also in addition a trisyllabic form (*ṭānara*).

For the lexicographical material cf. Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire Turco-Oriental*, s. v.; W. Radloff, *Vernach eines Wörterbuches der Türk-dialekte*, III. 823, 1043 sq., 1047 sq., 1065; O. Böhtlingk, *Über die Sprache der Jakuten: Jakutisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, p. 90; H. Vambergy, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Turko-Tatarischen Sprachen*, p. 168 sq.; and lastly al-Kāshghari (*Diwān Lughat al-Turk*, Constantinople 1333—1335, III. 278 sq.), who says: "*ṭāngri* means God; the infidels however call heaven *ṭāngri* and likewise everything that impresses them, e.g. a high mountain or a large tree. They worship such things

and they call a wise man *tängrikän*". This word *tängrikän* appears also as an old Turki title (cf. Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, iii. 1048; F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica*, p. 47: *tängrikän* = ruler). With the meaning "God" (in the Manichaean system) we find *tängrikän* for example in the Manichaean confession of sins (*Chuan-tuan-ist*, ed. A. von le Coq, 1911, p. 10). The word *tängrik* (i.e. *tängri* with the pronominal suffix of the first person) seems to be used in the Turfan texts in the titles of princesses or queens (cf. F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica*, p. 48, who compares the modern usage of *khanim* and *kigane*). We may here give a few derivatives of *tängri*: *tängrik* (in the Manichaean confession of sins, cf. *J. R. A. S.*, 1912, p. 289, 299) = preacher, chosen one (lit. man of God); *kuman*, *tehrilik* = "divine"; *Uigur*, *tengrilik* = "pious". The Mongol *tägr* (God) is a loanword from the Turkish (for this form cf. *Bibl. Buddhica*, xii. 51).

The etymologies proposed for the Turkish word (e.g. by Vambery and Barbier de Meynard, s.v.) are of no value. In most modern Central Asian dialects of Turkish *tängri* has the two meanings "God" and "Heaven"; in Ottoman Turkish on the other hand the (rather obsolete) word has apparently only the meaning "God". For idiomatic combinations of *tänri*, e.g. *tänri devağeyi* = thousand-footed, cf. the Dictionaries of Radloff and Barbier de Meynard (s.v.).

To define the conceptions implied by the word *tängri* so far as the beliefs of Turkish paganism is concerned, it will be advisable to deal first with the old Turkish inscriptions and then with the material collected in modern times from Teleut and Altai shamanism.

In the inscriptions *tänri* almost always appears as a divine power: it is by his will that the king attains to power; the king himself is "like *tänri*" and "born of *tänri*" (*tänriñiz tändridä bolmış*) and installed by *tänri* (*tänri yarattmış*). *Tänri* protects the Turkish people, secures their continuance as a nation and gives the Turkish chiefs victory over their foes: in this quality of special protector of the Turks he is described as *Türk tändri*. Alongside of the God of Heaven we find a certain power over the fate of the people and the individual conceded to the spirits of earth and water (*yır-sub*); the highest deity however is *Tänri*.

There are however some passages where the term *tänri* does not imply any real personality. The "blue heaven above" (*göl kök tändri*) is created like the "dark earth below" (*asra yagış yır*) and mankind. Who created them is not stated. An important passage (V. Thomsen, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon*, p. 112) records that a rising of the Oghuz took place "because heaven and earth were in confusion". Here we have clearly the influence of Chinese ideas of the nature of the universe, the theory which de Groot called "Universalism". This need not surprise us because the Turkish chiefs who had the Orkhon inscriptions prepared lived within the area of Chinese cultural influences.

On the conception of *tänri* in modern Turkish shamanism (i.e. mainly among the Teleut and Altai Turks) cf. H. Vambery, *Die primitive Kultur der Turko-Tatarischen Völker*, 1879, p. 150 sqq.; W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, 1884, ii. 1 sqq. and the texts collected by Radloff in the first volume of his *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen*

Stämme Süd-Sibiriens. This paganism as might be expected, did not remain entirely free from foreign, e.g. Christian and Buddhist influences; when, for example, in a shaman's conjuration we find the expressions *Pyrkan Tengri* and *Pyrkan Kan* (Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, ii. 33, 44), it is natural to recognise in *Pyrkan* the Mongol (also old Turkish) word *Burkhan* = Buddha. That the pagan Turkish creation myth shows traces of Jewish, Christian and Buddhist influences was noted by Radloff himself (*op. cit.*, ii. 5 sq.). When it is said that the evil spirit *Erik* created a heaven for himself, like the god of heaven, one is tempted to think of Zoroastrian influence (the "counter-creations" of Ahriman).

According to Turkish shamanism the most powerful god, *Tengere Kaira Kan*, created the heavens and also the evil spirit *Erik*, the good spirits, mankind and the earth. The form *tengere* (following the orthography in Radloff) corresponds to the Teleut *Tändri* and Altai *Tändri*. *Kaira Kan* must be identical with the Altai *Kairakhan* (cf. Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, ii. 22), a word used to describe gods and spirits; *Tengere Kaira Kan* is therefore the "god of heaven".

There are seventeen different regions in heaven arranged in succession one above the other; there the good spirits live. The highest of these minor deities are *Bäl Ulgön*, *Kysagan Tengere* and *Mergen Tengere*. The gods of heaven are not directly appealed to like the spirits of earth and of water but through the intermediary of the spirits of ancestors, i.e. a shaman (*šam*) is required for the purpose. In a Teleut shaman's prayer (Radloff, *Volksliteratur*, i. 238) the heavens above are appealed to as the Creator. In an Altaic myth (Radloff, *ibid.*, i. 61 sqq.) a hero seeks the hand of the daughter of the god of heaven; *Tämän Ökdä*.

When it is said of the thunderstorm in the dialect of Kasan: "The old man of the heavens (*tänri babai*) is thundering", this is a relic of old pagan ideas (cf. Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, ii. 1425; iii. 1047; iv. 1564).

Speaking generally one may say that, apart from foreign influences, so far as they can be eliminated, in the Turkish conception *Tänri* is regarded as the heavens as an element and also as the spirit ruling in heaven. This spirit was probably originally conceived as a kind of force, a something which would be called *mana* in modern ethnology. The conception of a personal god of heaven must have developed out of this.

When Turkish tribes took over other religions the word *tängri* became the name for the god or higher beings of these religions. The meaning "heaven" was naturally driven into the background. To convey the conception of heaven the word *kök* (Ottoman *göl*) was used, which is originally the name of a colour (cf. Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, ii. 1220). In old Turkish we also find *kök kailä*, the blue ether (*Uigurica*, p. 8, 18; Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, ii. 240).

In Buddhist old Turkish texts *tängri* corresponds to the Sanskrit *deva* "god"; in Buddhist mythology, a conception which is better conveyed by the word "angel" because this being lacks several qualities which to us are necessarily associated with the idea of "god". The feminine equivalent *debi* is given by *tängri khatun*; *tängri kës* is Turkish for *devakanyä* (divine maiden, *apsaras*). The king of the gods (*devaräjä*) *Indra*

is *tängri* like *Khormuda*; Brahma is called *Aerua tängri*. These beings have thus Iranian names, Ohrmazd and (perhaps) Zarwān. The goddess Cē is called *Kut Tängri Khātuni* or (without *Khātun*) *Kut Tängri*. The name *Kut Tängri* seems also to be given to Kubera (e.g. Müller, *Uigurica*, p. 45). In a collection of dhāraṇas for travellers, the *Tilastvutik* (ed. by W. Radloff and A. v. Staël-Holstein, St. Petersburg 1910 = *Bibl. Buddhica*, xii.), we find a *deva* named *Tängriḍām*, whom Radloff takes for Kubera so that the latter has therefore another Turkish name. But this is doubtful, for in one passage (p. 22) of this work, Kubera (*Kupir*) is mentioned by name and *Tängriḍām* is mentioned soon after as a different deity, but it must be allowed that in the text there are elsewhere illogicalities (cf. e.g. Turkish text, p. 23 *sq.*). For Kubera in this work cf. also p. 97, note 2; Buddha himself is often called *Tängri Tängri*. The god of heaven (*devaleka*) is called in Turkish *Tängri Yir* and the *Vaimānika* gods, as a rule peculiar to jaina mythology, but also found e.g. in the *Tilastvutik*, are called *Waimanuki-tängri*.

The Manichaean Turkish terminology which is influenced by Buddhist (cf. *Chuvastuanift*, ed. A. v. Le Coq, Berlin 1911, p. 5; *J. R. A. S.*, 1911, p. 278) shows the word in the following use: *Tängri* corresponds here to the Iranian *Yasid* (or *Bag*); in the first place this means the highest principle of the Manichaean system and secondly the subordinate spirits of light or gods (*yaruk tängri*) in contrast to the demons (*yaklar*). The first man is called *bish tängri*, five-god (from his five components known from the Manichaean myth: ether, wind, light, water and fire). The name *tängri* is also given to the five elements, e.g. *ot tängri* = god of fire. *Tängri* is found with the meaning "heaven" (e.g. *Chuvastuanift*, p. 16 = *J. R. A. S.*, 1911, p. 291, l. 167). Paradise is called *Tängri Yir*. This Manichaean terminology corresponds pretty well to the Buddhist. One or two peculiarities may still be pointed out: the occurrence of the already mentioned term, *tängrikān* (*Chuvastuanift*, p. 10; *J. R. A. S.*, 1911, p. 281, l. 22), in the name of a deity (*Aerua Tängrikān*) translated by von Le Coq (*J. R. A. S.*, loc. cit.) "Aerua the Lord" and the peculiar combination *Arāḥon Yir Tängri*, the "archon earth-god", in which perhaps the word *tängri* is used for one of the powers of darkness (cf. *J. R. A. S.*, 1911, p. 303, note 31).

In Christian Turkish usage is *Tängri* = God; *Tängri-Oghl* = "Son of God" and *Mähkka Tängri* = the God Messiah. In the Christian fragments published by F. W. K. Müller in *Uigurica* we also have the word *Tängriḍām*, which we frequently find in Buddhist Turkish; it occurs twice in these Christian texts and seems here to mean simply "God". The Kuman usage gives nothing worthy of special remark.

As regards the earlier Muslim Eastern Turkish texts, the Arabic and Persian terms (*Allāh*, *Khūdā*) naturally begin to compete with the Turkish *Tängri*. In the *Kudatuh Bilik*, so far as I am aware the Arabic name for God is of rare occurrence (practically only in Arabic quotations). The conception of God is however not exclusively conveyed by *Tängri* in this text but other Turkish words e.g. *Bayat* are used. The word *Tängri* occurs here also with the addition of *ta'ala*. In the *Bahar-*

nāma *Tängri* seems to be the usual word for the Deity, except in quotations; here also, following the Arabic usage, we sometimes find *Tängri ta'ala* (e.g. p. 408, ed. Ilminksky). That the word *Tängri* is disappearing in Eastern Turkish also before Arabic and Persian terms is perhaps to be deduced from Shaw's remark (*A Sketch of the Turkish Language*, ii, 69).

Proper names like *Tängribirdi*, *Tängrikull* may be modelled on Persian names like *Kāndādā* and *Khādābanda*. (V. F. BUCHNER).

TÄNSIN, of whom Shaikh Abu 'l-Faḍl said: "A singer like him has not been in India for a thousand years", was a native of Gwāliyar, and was at first in the service of Rām Cand the Baghela, Rājā of Pannā, who is said to have given him on one occasion ten million *tanhas*. Ibrāhīm Sūr vainly endeavoured to entice him to Agra, but Akbar, in 1562, sent a mission to Rām Cand at Kālingjar to induce Tänsin to come to his court, and Rām Cand, not daring to refuse the request, sent him with his musical instruments and many presents to the imperial court. On the first occasion of his performing there Akbar gave him 200,000 rupees. Most of his compositions are written in Akbar's name, and his melodies are still popular in Hindūstān. He had two sons, Täntarag Khān, also a singer at Akbar's court, and Bilās, whose son-in-law, Lāl Khān, was one of the best singers at the court of Shāh Jahan. Gwāliyar was famous for its musicians, and produced no fewer than eleven of the eighteen singers at Akbar's court.

Bibliography: Shaikh Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*, text and translation by H. Beveridge; *A'in-i Akbari*, text and translation by Blochmann and Jarrett; 'Abd al-Hamid Lahawri, *Pādshāh-nāma*, text; all in the Bibliotheca Indica series of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

(T. W. HAIG)

TANTĀ, an important town in the Egyptian Delta between the Rosetta and Damietta branches of the Nile, capital of the Gharbiya province, and a busy railway junction, of unprepossessing appearance, about 75 miles from Alexandria. Its Coptic name of **TANTAΘO** has assumed in Arabic the forms *Tandiā*, *Tantā* and *Tantā*. Formerly it was an episcopal city. Nowadays the place is famous for the tomb and mosque of the most celebrated of the Muslim saints in Egypt, Ahmad al-Badawi (q.v.). Throughout the year no fewer than three *Mawālid* or birthdays of this Saint are made the occasion of great fairs to which pilgrims flock from all parts. The presence of a large native population and the extreme veneration with which the spot is regarded have made it a centre of fanaticism. Tantā is one of those places where the worship of a Muslim Saint had displaced that of an earlier Coptic one.

The present town is built on one of those numerous mounds of accumulated mud-hut debris so characteristic a feature of the Egyptian landscape. The Ahmadiya mosque, which was rebuilt under 'Abbās I, is the principal building of any historic importance. It is now the second largest religious establishment in the country. A library, begun in 1898, contains about 9,000 volumes including over 1,000 MSS. The number of professors attached to the Tantā institute is over 100; the

students numbering about 2,600. Besides large Government Schools, there is a well-equipped American Mission Hospital. But the health of the people is not improved by the existence of an evil-smelling, muddy canal flowing through the town.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Difan, *al-Tuhfa al-saniya*, p. 85; Ibn Duqumk, *Kitāb al-Intiqār*, v. 94, also 82; Ibn Hawkal, *B. G. A.*, ii. 92; E. L. Butcher, *The Church of Egypt*, i. 269; van Berchem, *C. I. A.*, i. 684; Amélineau, *Géographie de l'Égypte*, p. 480; Quatremère, *Mémoires*, i. 356 sqq.; Boinet Bey, *Dictionnaire géographique*, p. 517; Baedeker, *Egypt*, index; *Egyptian Government Almanac*; *Moslem World*, July 1917, Jan. 1914; Napoleon, *Description de l'Égypte*, ed. Panckoucke, xv. 215 sqq.; Blanchard, in *Harvard African Studies*, 1917, i. — Other references will be found under AHMAD AL-SADAWI.

(J. WALKER)

AL-TANĀWĪ, MUHAMMAD 'AIYĀD (with his full name: AL-SHAKEH MUHAMMAD B. SA'D B. SULAIMĀN 'AIYĀD AL-MARHŪMĪ AL-TANDITĀ' AL-SHĀFI'Ī), an Arabic scholar of the sixteenth century, born in 1225 (1810) at Nidjrid (a small village near Tanja in Egypt), died Oct. 29, 1861 in St. Petersburg. His father, a travelling merchant, was born in Mahallat Marhūm, hence his *nisba*: *al-Marhūmī*. At the age of six he went to a *maktāb* in Tanja. At 13, he moved to his uncle in Cairo and studied at al-Azhar. Of his teachers the celebrated Ibrāhīm al-Bādjūrī (d. c. 1276; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 487) had a particular influence on him (see the ode dedicated by Tanāwī to him, *Z. D. M. G.*, iv. 245—246). He also studied with the poet Ḥasan al-'Aṭfār (d. c. 1250; Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, ii. 473, No. 1). Many of his fellow-students later became famous. His friend Rifā'a al-Tanāwī (Brockelmann, ii. 481, No. 6) sent to Paris as Imām of the first scientific mission (1825—1831) by Muhammad 'Alī was one of the founders of the new literary movement. Ibrāhīm al-Dasūki (1811—1883) was Lane's first tutor (Brockelmann, ii. 478, No. 4). After his father's death in 1243 (1827) al-Tanāwī had to stay two years in Tanja, where he continued his studies and gave lectures. Returning to Cairo he joined the teaching staff of the Azhar mosque; here he was one of the first to discuss literary and poetical texts. He had been a teacher for a time in an English school. F. Fresnel was the first to make his fame known in Europe (cf. *J. A.*, 3rd Ser., v., 1828, p. 60 sq.). Many young scholars after him studied with al-Tanāwī (G. Weil, Dr. Pruner, A. Perron, R. Frähn, son of the founder and first director of the Asiatic Museum in St. Petersburg). The latter brought his reputation to Russia and in 1840 (1256) al-Tanāwī was summoned to St. Petersburg as teacher of Arabic in the "Institut des Langues Orientales". In 1848 he was appointed Extraordinary Professor in the University and in 1854 ordinary. His teaching had hardly any permanent influence in Russia; his method was not adapted to the European University system. Of his pupils (1840—1842) the most noted was the Finn G. A. Wallin (1811—1852), the noted Arabian traveller, afterwards Professor in Helsingfors, who corresponded with him regularly till his death (see K. Tallquist, *Bref och Dagbokenanteckningar af G. A. Wallin*, Helsingfors 1905). A severe illness forced al-Tanāwī to go on leave in 1861 and in the same year he died. His tomb with inscriptions in Russian and

Arabic still exists in the Tatar cemetery in Leningrad.

His literary activity before he moved to St. Petersburg was almost exclusively confined to the old fashioned scholarship. He composed many *naẓm*, *ḥaṣṣ*, *ḥāshiya* and *ḥikāma* which exist in MS. in Cairo and Leningrad (University Library). Among his original productions of the same kind were his *Luḥūḥ al-Ṭarab fī Naẓm Buḥār al-'Arab* (in private hands in Cairo) and his *Urduḥna* with his own commentary, *Muḥṭaḥa 'l-Allāh 'alā Maṭālib al-'Arab fī 'Ulūm al-Ṭarab wa 'l-Djāwāb 'al-Hiṣāb* (Leningrad, MS. Or., 820). To the Russian period belongs his useful *Traité de la langue arabe vulgaire*, Leipzig 1848, which, besides the exercises, contains many letters and verses from his own pen (cf. Fleischer's observations, *Z. D. M. G.*, i., 1847, p. 212—213; iii., 1849, p. 474—475). His acquaintance with European literature and his command of French enabled him to make interesting critical observations (cf. *J. A.*, 4th Ser., ix., 1847, p. 351—354; *Mélanges Asiatiques*, St. Petersburg, i., 1851, p. 474—495; ii., 1855, p. 466—486). Many articles in Arabic from his pen are in the manuscripts left by him (e.g. on the Egyptian festivals, MS. Or., 838, ff. 50—60; a collection of stories and anecdotes in the popular Arabic of Egypt, MS. Or., 745; *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Sciences*, 1926, p. 23—26; an Arabic translation of Sa'di's *Gulistan* begun by him, *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Sciences de Russie*, 1924, p. 102 sqq.); an autograph copy of his work *Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb wa 'l-Aḥbār Bilād Rūḥiyya* of 1266 (1850) has been found in Constantinople (see Keschner, *Z. S.*, iii., 1924, p. 252; *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Sciences*, 1927, p. 181 sqq.).

His inestimable claim to fame in his large collection of manuscripts (c. 150) which passed after his death to the University Library (cf. C. Salemann and V. Rosen, *Indices alphabetici codicum manuscriptorum persicorum turcicorum arabicorum qui in Bibliotheca Imperialis Litterarum Universitatis Petropolitanae adservantur*, St. Petersburg 1888). Many manuscripts were copied or collated and corrected by him (cf. *Zapiski*, vi. 384—388). The collection contains few old manuscripts but has many unique and valuable copies, almost all from Egypt (s. e.g. *Zapiski*, xxii. 283 sqq.; *Zapiski* 2, i. 291 sqq.; *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Sciences*, 1924, p. 101 sq.).

Bibliography: al-Tanāwī's autobiography (to his settlement in Russia) was published by Kosegarten with a German translation, *W. Z. K. M.*, vii., 1850, p. 43—63, 197—200; important corrections to it are given by G. Gottwaldt, in *Z. D. M. G.*, iv., 1850, p. 243—248. The European articles are too scanty and inaccurate (Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 479; Huart, *Littérature arabe* 2, p. 420; Cheikho, *La littérature arabe au XIXe siècle*, ii. 59); more important are the recent Arabic biographies by Ahmad Tamir, in *Maḥallat al-Maḥṣa' al-'Ulmi al-'Arabi*, iv., 1924, p. 358—391 (corrections by Ign. Kratschkovsky, *ibid.*, iv. 562—564) and Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khatīb, in *al-Zahrā*, i., 1343, p. 417—428 (with picture), p. 554. — A description of his manuscripts in Leningrad and his biography is being prepared by Ign. Kratschkovsky. (IGN. KRATSKHOVSKY)

AL-TANUKHĪ, ABU 'ALĪ AL-MUḤASSIN, an Arab writer, was born in 939 or (according to Yāqūt) in 940—941 A. D., the son of a learned kāfī in Basra, and received his early education

there, from al-Šūlī [q.v.] and Abu 'l-Faraj al-Iṣṣāhānī [q.v.] and others. He chose a judicial career and rose to be *qāḍī*, first in Baghdad and then in Ahwāz; as a result of a change in the vizierate in Baghdad his office was taken from him in 969–970 and his property confiscated. He was not allowed to follow his profession for three years. During this period he seems to have lived mainly in Baghdad but also made a journey to Egypt. Then he was restored to office but fell into disfavour with the Būyid 'Adud al-Dawla [q.v.] (981–982) and is even said to have spent some time in prison because he had posed contempt on al-Shāfi'ī and his followers. He suffered many more hardships and much persecution before he died in Baghdad in 994.

The following are given as Tanūkhī's works: A *Diwān* which no longer survives, and three collections of anecdotes: *Kitaḥ Nizām al-Muḥādara wa-Akhḥār al-Mudhākara*, *al-Mustadīr min Fa'alāt al-Adwād* and, by far his best known book, *al-Faraj ḥad al-Shidda* (not composed before 984). This is a collection of proverbs, anecdotes and sayings on the theme "joy follows sorrow". Mada'inī [q.v.] a century and a half before had written a work similar in title and substance and Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā and the *qāḍī* Abu 'l-Ḥusain after him had published similar collections. Tanūkhī used these works and other literary sources but also drew upon oral traditions for his new compilation. He owed many a story to his father and his teachers; and was also able to draw upon his own experiences; but the bulk of the contributions not taken from literary sources were given him by secretaries and judges. The work begins with a brief introduction dealing with literary history in which Tanūkhī discusses critically the works of his predecessors. Then come the separate stories, most of which are introduced by a brief reference to their sources, divided into 14 chapters from the point of view of matter or form. While Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā's work was intended to be edifying in tone, Tanūkhī's collection was lighter and wittier. It found a wide welcome, was much read and copied and in later times played a part in Persian, Turkish and Jewish literature.

Bibliography: A. Wiener, *Die Faraj ḥad al-Shidda-Literatur*, in *IL*, iv, 1913, p. 270–298, 387–420, esp. 393–413 (full bibliography: p. 393, note 2 and p. 398, note 1; also Yāqūt, *Iṣṣāhān al-Aṭib*, ed. Margoliouth, vol. vi, p. 251–267); *al-Faraj ḥad al-Shidda*, 2 parts, Cairo 1903–1904. (R. PARET)

TANZIL. [See WAHY.]

TANZIMĀT, or rather TANZIMĀT-i KHAIRIYE ("beneficent legislation" from the expression: *tanẓīm amr* = "to draft a law") is the term used to denote the reforms introduced into the government and administration of the Ottoman empire from the beginning of the reign of Sulṭān 'Abd al-Majīd and inaugurated by the charter generally called the *ḥatt-ı ıshrāf* of Gālkhanē. The expression *tanẓimāt khairiye* is first found in the latter years of the reign of Mahmūd II. The other end of the period of the *tanẓimāt* is put about 1880, when the absolute rule of 'Abd al-Ḥamid II began.

The *tanẓimāt* are the continuation of the work of Sulṭāns Selīm III and Mahmūd II, undertaken to save the Ottoman state which had become enfeebled internally and externally. Mahmūd II had succeeded,

by getting rid of the feudal system at home and the reactionary element of the janissaries, in centralising and consolidating his power in home affairs but he had been unable to avoid the loss of Greece and Egypt. His work however was not yet constructive. This was reserved for his successors or rather for the great statesmen of his successors, for, since the sulṭāns themselves proved incapable of directing the reforms, the task of carrying them through became more and more the work of a reform party among the Turkish officials themselves. In the period from 1839 to the end of the Crimean War, the soul of the reforms was Muṣṭafā Kāshid Pasha (y.e., d. 1858), who was six times grand vizier; in the second period inaugurated by the charter called *ḥatt-ı ısmayīl* from Feb. 1856 the activities of the reformers were directed by 'Ali Pasha (y.e., d. 1871) and Fu'ād Pasha (y.e., d. 1869); the great figure in the third period (from 1871) was Midhāt Pasha (y.e., d. 1883).

The *ḥatt-ı ıshrāf* of Gālkhanē was not distinguished by any new ideas; in it the Sulṭān announced that henceforth he wished the honour and property of all his subjects to be secure, that the farming out of the taxes (*iltizām*) should be abolished and that recruiting for the army should be done in a more regular fashion; all criminals were to be tried in public and it was expressly laid down that all subjects, to whatever religion they belonged (*zhī-i ıslām wa-mill-i ṣā'ira*) should be equal before the law, without exception. To draw up the necessary legal enactments, the council of reform already in existence (*majlis-i aḥkām-i 'adliye*) was to be increased by a certain number of members. Although, in the preamble to the document, it was said that the former prosperity of the Ottoman state was due to respect for the Qur'ān, at the end it is stated that the new measures mean a complete change in ancient principles (*nizāl-i 'atika*). In fact the aim of Kāshid Pasha in drawing up the *ḥatt* had been as much to give satisfaction to the European powers, whose intervention in the domestic affairs of Turkey had become more and more serious (solution of the Greek crisis; agreement with Muhammad 'Alī), as to re-establish confidence in the home government. For the moment this double aim was achieved. But as soon as the attempt was made to carry out the reforms, numerous difficulties were met with. This was in the nature of things. The new institutions were based on the administrative systems of European states, notably France, and in introducing them problems and distinctions were created in the state which, under the old system, had never presented themselves in so threatening a form. Four groups of interests had to be dealt with: 1. the civilian officials and military officers who in the old order had been the slaves of the Sulṭān; 2. the free Muslim subjects of whom the 'ulamā were the most notable section; 3. the non-Muslim subjects, the rayas (*ra'īya*) and 4. the foreign interests. The consolidation of the first two groups offered least difficulty; religion united them and Mahmūd II and 'Abd al-Majīd had renounced their rights as sovereign over the lives and property of the officials; the ending of the feudal system by Mahmūd II had also been favourable to the combination of the Muslim elements. But to give the Christian and Jewish subjects equal rights to the Muslims

threatened to deprive the former of the considerable autonomy which they had enjoyed since the time of Mahammad the Conqueror; the attempts to deprive the Muslim ecclesiastics of their rights of jurisdiction and administration and the problems raised by the enrolment of non-Muslims in the army soon showed that the latter themselves did not regard the granting of equal rights as an unmitigated benefit and at the same time accentuated the hostilities and differences already existing between the different non-Muslim communities, differences often more serious than those between them and the Muslims. Lastly the foreign group, although numerically weak, with the liberties and privileges granted by the capitulations occupied a position which was all the stronger because foreign powers took advantage of it, not only for their own profit but also to make themselves the protectors of non-Muslim subjects in their struggles to keep their privileges (France by virtue of the capitulations; Russia by virtue of the treaty of Kütük Kainardji). The realisation of the reforms was bound to be in great part illusory so long as the privileged position of the foreigners, known as extra-territoriality, continued to exist in striking opposition to the centralisation of power which was the aim of the reforms. It is for this reason that the great difficulties of the tanzimât centred round the problem of the *rayas* (insurrections in Crete, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Lebanon and Bulgaria) and the intervention of the Powers (among them the Holy See) which was always the result. It was for this reason also that there was formed in Turkey itself a considerable party which regarded the tanzimât as dangerous to the empire. But the path once taken by Rashid Pasha could not be abandoned, because the old institutions themselves no longer offered guarantees. It was rare however, to hear serious objections from the religious point of view; the Shaikh al-Islâm was present at the reading of the *hatt-i sherif*, although it does not appear that he sanctioned by a *fatwa* the different laws which were promulgated as a result of it. The reforming ministers themselves always refused on the other hand to repeal definite sections of the *shari'a* such as that of capital punishment for apostasy from Islam or the non-validity of the evidence of a non-Muslim before a tribunal, although they were quite ready to pass any measures to which the *shari'a* did not refer.

The tanzimât were thus carried through in a very troubled atmosphere. A grand vizier could hardly ever carry through a programme peacefully; there were sudden falls from power often followed by equal unexpected returns to office. Thus Rashid Pasha was no less than six times grand vizier between 1846 and 1858 although the Sultân 'Abd al-Madjid was rather in favour of the reforms. The same changes in office took place under 'Abd al-Aziz, much more capricious than his predecessor; Midhat Pasha was grand vizier for three weeks in 1873 and for the second time for seven weeks (Dec. 19, 1876-Feb. 5, 1877). There were also periods when foreign intervention suddenly called for new efforts; this was notably the case during the deliberations which preceded the peace conference in Paris. Turkey's allies then wanted the Sultân to bind himself by an international agreement to carry out the reforms which were still in abeyance. The result was the *hatt-i humâyûn* of February 1856, which was nominally a spontaneous act of the

Sultân. In article 9 of the Treaty of Paris of March 30, 1856 the contracting Powers take note of the declaration by expressly stipulating that it would not give them the right of interfering in the interior administration of the empire. Now the *hatt-i humâyûn* is simply a more detailed confirmation of the promises made in 1839 regarding the equality of treatment of non-Muslim subjects; in it is particularly laid down that mixed tribunals shall be instituted for lawsuits between Muslims and non-Muslims and that the laws relating to them shall be codified as soon as possible. One further important point in this act is the right conceded to foreign powers to possess landed property in Turkey. The intervention of European powers did not cease, however, after 1856; thus in 1859 they demanded an enquiry into the European provinces. In 1867 the Ottoman government was again taken to task by the Powers; but they were not agreed among themselves as to the steps to be taken: while Russia demanded an extreme system of decentralisation, France encouraged the Porte to try a policy of fusing together the different categories of subjects. It was the latter view that prevailed for the moment; the opening of the lycée of Ghazala Serây for teaching French was one of the consequences. After 1870, foreign pressure became weaker on account of events in Europe (Franco-Prussian War); it is just this period that is marked by a strong tendency to decentralisation in Turkey, but of a kind which pleased neither the Powers nor the *rayas*. This policy had a certain amount of success, as for example the strengthening of Ottoman power in Tripolitania and Tunisia. The reaction was not long in being felt. The insurrections of 1875 in the Slav provinces resulted in "a European conference" at Constantinople in 1876 and in the following year came the disastrous war with Russia which separated Rumania and Serbia from the Ottoman Empire and created an almost independent Bulgaria (Treaty of Berlin, July 13, 1879). The act by which Turkey had tried to anticipate this intervention was the promulgation of the Ottoman Constitution on December 23, 1876, the day of the first meeting of the European Conference. But this remedy, already regarded very suspiciously by the new Sultân 'Abd al-Hamid, did not gain the success anticipated; the author of the constitution, Midhat Pasha, was banished two months later and soon the constitution was completely ignored by the Sultân. In the long "Hamidian" period which followed the War with Russia, the reforms were not, however, completely suspended; the laws of 1879 affecting the judiciary in particular in a way completed the legislation of the tanzimât.

We now give a rapid survey of the different reforms. The grand Council of Justice, also called the council of the Tanzimât, underwent several transformations in 1854, 1861 and lastly in 1868, when its activities were definitely divided into administrative and judicial functions — i.e. into a Council of State (*shûrâ-yi devlet*) which retained its form till 1918 and a High Court of Justice (*divân-i ahkâm-i adliye*). Immediately after 1839, Rashid Pasha had introduced a new system of administration in the provinces on the French model and abolished the *iltizam*. This proved to be too much centralised and in 1852 the powers of the governors had to be again extended; the

farming out of the taxes had again to be introduced because levying them directly did not bring enough into the treasury. The law relating to the wilâyets of 1864, completed in 1871 by another law, completed the system of provincial administration which lasted till 1918. This law of 1864 was further remarkable because it provided for each province new tribunals, different from the courts of the *kâdîs*, although the judges were very often 'ulamâ'.

Even before 1864 there had been created at Constantinople and several large provincial towns a commercial court and a mixed court (for law-suits between Ottomans and strangers); these two courts were amalgamated in 1860, but it was not till the legislation of 1875 and 1879 that all the non-religious tribunals were put under the Ministry of Justice. The first common law was the Commercial Code of 1850, based for the most part on French law, as were the Penal Code of 1858, the Code of Maritime Commercial Law of 1863, and the Code of Commercial Procedure of 1861. The Civil Code or *Medjelle* of 1869 on the other hand is an attempt at codification of the law of property and the law of guarantees according to the *Hanafi Madhhab*. This codification carried out by a council under the presidency of Ahmed Djewdet Pasha is not to be considered however as being obligatory in use; it is rather a manual for judges who have not studied Muslim law. The law regarding the execution of judgments and the Code of Civil Procedure, both of 1879, were not recognised by the foreign missions, so that they were never applied in mixed suits.

Legislation for the different non-Muslim communities was an extremely complicated task. The "Organic regulations" which in 1860 were published for the large communities had the tendency to give more power to the lay element in the administration, to the detriment of ecclesiastical authority. The communities in general kept their judicial autonomy. The Porte had frequently to deal with disputes within the communities and differences between the Roman Catholics and the Eastern sects "united" with the Holy See. Here again the European Powers had every opportunity to intervene, especially Russia in the question of the primacy of the Gregorian Armenian Church in Turkey and in that of the schism of the orthodox Bulgars who were recognised as an autonomous community in 1870. The enrolment of non-Muslims in the army, decided upon in 1855, when the *harâkî* was officially abolished, remained a dead letter during the tanzimât. It was replaced by an exemption tax (*hakef*).

In foreign relations all the attempts to obtain the abolition of the capitulations which had been begun at the Paris Congress remained fruitless. A slight change in principle was effected on the occasion of the law of 1873, which granted foreigners the right to possess real estate.

From 1845 a council had been instituted to elaborate reforms in education (*medjlis-i me'arif*). The President was Fu'ad Pasha and later Djewdet Pasha. In this field the tradition of religious instruction had to be combated. The creation of a university, in 1845, could not at first have any direct consequences and the creation of the secondary (*rüşdiye*) school and primary (*idâdiye*) presented considerable difficulties. Lastly the opening of the Lycée of Ghazala Saray in 1868 where

French was to be the language of instruction, meant the introduction of a foreign culture and was vigorously opposed. It was not till towards the end of the nineteenth century that these measures began to bear fruit.

The period of the tanzimât was comparatively poor in measures of an economic nature. The finances of the state were all the time in a deplorable condition, aggravated more and more by the foreign loans (from 1854) and by Sultan 'Abd al-'Azîz's extravagance. The international control of the national debt which was the result was not, however, taken in hand till after the financial catastrophe of 1879. The decree of 25th Maharram 1299 (Dec. 20, 1881; cf. Young, v. 69) established the International Council of the Ottoman Debt.

The following table of the more important legislative measures of the tanzimât gives the sources as far as possible. The references to the collection of laws, *Düstûr*, which contains the legislation down to 1886 are taken from Young, *Corps de Droit Ottoman* (Oxford 1905—1906), which gives most of the texts in a French translation. Where the text is not given the reference has been put in brackets. Most of the other references have been taken from Engelhardt, *La Turquie et les tanzimat*, Paris 1884. Although the statements in this book are not very accurate, they may help to complete the general survey of the reforms especially in the first period.

The period of the tanzimât also saw an intellectual effort in the Turkish Muslim element, which laid the foundations for the new Turkish culture. It was in this period that Shukri, Nâmiî Kemal and Ahmad Wefik worked, who created a new Turkish literary language. To it also belongs Ahmad Djewdet Pasha, famous as an historian, man of letters and legislator (cf. Fâtime 'Aliye, *Ahmad Djewdet Pasha wa-Zenân*, Constantinople 1332). Ziya Gökalp, the theorist of the modern Turkish nationalism, also recognises the high importance which the period had for the development of Turkish thought (cf. *Türkîyat-ı Eskiye*, Ankara 1339, p. 6; and Halide Edib, *Memoirs*, London 1926, p. 238 sq.).

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The Turkish historical sources on the tanzimât are not abundant: Ahmad Lutfi, *Ta'rikh* (Constantinople 1290—1328), vol. vi.—viii., covering the years 1255—1265; Othman Nuri, *'Abd al-Hamid (khan) wa-Dewr-i Saltanat*, vol. I., Constantinople 1327; there is no monograph on the tanzimât. — European works: Ed. Engelhardt, *La Turquie et les tanzimat*, vol. I.—II., Paris 1884; Chertier, *Les réformes en Turquie*, Paris 1868; A. Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie*, Paris 1855; do., *La constitution ottomane*, Paris 1879; Millingen, *La Turquie sous le règne d'Abdul Aziz*, Paris 1868; Rosen, *Geschichte*

3 Nov. 1839	26 Sha'b. 1255	Khatt-i sharif of Gülchâne.	D., i. 608; Y., i. 29; Lutfi, vi. 61
8 March 1840	1 Muh. 1256	Reorganisation of the Grand Council (<i>medjlis-i ahkâm-i 'adliye</i>).	Lutfi, vi. 92
1840	1256	Promulgation of a code of penal laws.	(Engelhardt, i. 40)
1840	1256	Institution of a tribunal of commerce (<i>tidjârî medjlis</i>) in the Ministry of Commerce.	(Lutfi, vi. 102)
6 Sept. 1843	1259	Law relating to the formation of the contingents of the army.	(Lutfi, vii. 74; Engelhardt, i. 71)
1845	1261	Assembly of provincial delegates in the capital.	(Engelhardt, i. 76)
1845	1261	Creation of a university and of establishments for secondary education.	(Engelhardt, i. 77; ii. 7)
1846	1262	Publication of an administrative code.	(Engelhardt, i. 82)
1847	1263	Creation of civil and criminal mixed tribunals.	(Engelhardt, i. 83)
1847	1263	Creation of a Ministry of Public Education (<i>ne-zâret-i ma'ârif-i 'umûmiye</i>).	(Lutfi, viii. 132)
24 May 1850	1266	Firman in favour of non-Muslims.	Y., p. 108
28 July 1850	18 Ram. 1266	Promulgation of a Code of Commerce.	D., i. 375; Y., vii. 55
28 Nov. 1852	1268	Firman on the administration of the provinces.	(Engelhardt, p. 105)
1854	1270	Division of the Grand Council into a Council for Reforms and a High Council of Justice.	(Y., i. 2)
7 May 1855	1271	Abolition of <i>khavâdj</i> for the rayas and decision to enroll them in the army.	Noradounghian, iii. 83
18 Feb. 1856	11 Djam. II 1272	<i>Shatt-i humâyûn</i> .	
30 March 1856	23 Radj. 1272	Peace Treaty of Paris.	(Y., v. 25)
1856	1272	Foundation of an Ottoman Bank.	D., i. 165; Y., vi. 45
21 April 1858	7 Ram. 1274	Promulgation of a Code of Lands.	D., i. 527; Y., vii. 1
9 Aug. 1858	28 Dhu 'l-H. 1274	Promulgation of a Penal Code.	
30 April 1860	9 Shaw. 1276	Appendix to the Code of Commerce, regulating the Tribunals of Commerce, which are amalgamated with the mixed tribunals.	D., i. 445; Y., i. 226
24 May 1860	1276	Regulations regarding the Armenian Gregorian Community (ratified in 1863).	D., ii. 938; Y., ii. 79
1861	1277	The two High Councils joined into one with three sections (administrative, legislative and financial).	(Y., i. 2, 27; Engelhardt, ii. 18)
1 May 1861	1277	New regulations for Lebanon.	(Y., i. 139)
14 Nov. 1861	1277	Code of commercial procedure.	D., i. 780; Y., vii. 155
1862	1279	Organic regulation of the Oecumenical Patriarchate.	D., ii. 912; Y., ii. 21
4 Feb. 1863	16 Sha'b. 1279	Concession of the Imperial Ottoman Bank.	D., ii. 976; Y., v. 30
20 Aug. 1863	6 Rab. I 1280	Code of maritime commerce.	D., i. 466; Y., vii. 103
1 April 1864	1280	Regulations for the Jewish Community.	D., ii. 962; Y., ii. 148
6 Sept. 1864	1281	Organic regulation for Lebanon.	D., vi. 695; Y., ii. 140
8 Nov. 1864	7 Djam. I 1281	Law of the wilâyets.	D., i. 4; Y., i. 29
16 June 1867	13 Safar 1284	Law granting foreigners the right to own property.	D., ii. 230; Y., i. 337
2 April 1868	18 Dhu 'l-H. 1284	Creation of a Council of State (<i>shûrâ-yi dewlet</i>) and of a High Court of Justice (<i>dikân-i ahkâm-i 'adliye</i>).	D., i. 703; Y., i. 3, 159
1 Sept. 1868	1285	Opening of the Lycée of Ghalata Serây.	(Engelhardt, ii. 10)
19 Jan. 1869	1285	Law on the Ottoman nationality.	D., i. 16; Y., ii. 226
4 April 1869	1285	Law on the competence of the <i>nişânîye</i> tribunals.	(Y., i. 197; Engelhardt, ii. 27)
1869	18 Dhu 'l-H. 1285	Elaboration of the Civil Code (<i>medjlis-i ahkâm-i 'adliye</i>); the 16 books of the code were promulgated between 1869 and 1876.	Y., p. 170; published with commentary in 1311 (1893)
10 March 1870	1286	Firman on the creation of the Bulgarian Exarchate.	(Y., ii. 61)
21 Jan. 1871	29 Shaw. 1287	Law on the administration of the wilâyets.	D., i. 625; Y., i. 47
1873	1290	Law on the secularisation of the <i>Evkâf</i> (never put into execution).	(Engelhardt, ii. 127)
1875	1292	Firman reorganising justice; the commercial tribunals transferred to the Ministry of Justice.	(Y., i. 159)
23 Dec. 1876	7 Dhu 'l-H. 1293	Promulgation of the Ottoman Constitution (<i>kânûn-i esâtî</i>).	text in the <i>Sûl-nâme</i>
20 May 1879	29 Djam. I 1296	Organic Regulation of the Ministry of Justice and Public Worship.	D., iv. 129; Y., i. 160
17 June 1879	27 Djam. II 1296	Regulation of the <i>nişânîye</i> tribunals.	D., iv. 235; Y., i. 166
17 June 1879	27 Djam. II 1296	Law on the execution of judgments.	D., iv. 225; Y., i. 198
22 June 1879	2 Radjab 1296	Code of civil procedure.	D., iv. 257; Y., p. 171

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(J. H. KRAMERS)

TARAB. [See MÜSİKİ.]

TARABULUS or **ATRABULUS**, the Greek Tripolis, a town in Syria near the coast of the Mediterranean, north of Djubail. It lies partly on and partly beside a hill at the exit of a deep ravine through which flows a river, the Nahr Qadisha (Arabic Abū 'Alī). West of it stretches a very fertile plain covered with woods, which terminate in a peninsula on which lies the part of al-Minā. The harbour is protected by a series of rocky islets lying in front of it and by the remains of an old wall. The old Phoenician name of the town, which is first mentioned in the Persian period, is unknown; its Greek name came from its division into three quarters each separated by walls, the Tyrian, Sidonian and Aradian. The old town lay on the site of the present port. It was protected by its situation and the defences of the quarters and was very difficult to take, but was constantly threatened by the danger of being cut off on the land side from all connection with the outer world and even from supplies of drinking-water. This was shown when Mu'awiya in the caliphate of 'Uthmān sent a body of troops under the leadership of an Ardi named Šufyān b. Mu'jib thither, who built a fort in order to cut off the town completely. The inhabitants were reduced to such straits that they sent to the Byzantine emperor and begged him to send ships with all speed to their assistance. The emperor did so and the Tripolitans succeeded in boarding the ships by night and thus escaped. To populate the empty town, Mu'awiya made a considerable number of Jews (Balādihuri; Ya'qūbī says Persians) settle there. Mu'awiya is said to have sent thither annually some troops under an 'Amīl, who, when navigation stopped, withdrew again except for the 'Amīl and a handful of men. The geographer Ya'qūbī (278 = 891) mentions the wonderful harbour which could hold one thousand ships. Fifty years later, Istakhri calls Tarābulus the harbour of Damascus and speaks of the extraordinary fertility of the district with its palms and sugar-cane fields and speaks approvingly of the high standards of the people. An excellent description is given by Nāṣir-i Khusrāw (438 = 1047) of the town under the Fātimids. The whole countryside, he says, consists of fields and gardens with sugar-cane, citrons, bananas, oranges, lemons and date-palms; the town was protected on three sides by the sea, on the land side by a wall with a broad ditch. In the centre stood a splendid mosque; the town had 20,000 inhabitants of whom the majority were Shī'is and many villages belonged to it. The garrison of the Sultan was maintained by the tolls paid by the many ships that arrived there while he himself had ships which used to go to the Mediterranean coasts from there.

In the Crusading period a county of Tripoli was created and given to Raymond of Toulouse

but the capital itself had still to be taken from the Muslims. Raymond began the siege in 493 (1101) and to isolate the town more effectively built a fort on a hill on the ravine of Qadisha, called Mons Peregrinus (by the Arabs Sandjil i. e. St. Giles), at the foot of which in course of time a little town arose. He died in 499 (1105) in this fortress without having attained his goal and it was not till July 12, 503 (1109) that the beleaguered town capitulated. Idriṣi, who wrote in 1154, mentions the fortress "built by the Frank Ibn Sandjil", and gives a list of towns and villages belonging to Tarābulus and of the rocky islets off the harbour. In 1170 the town suffered severely from a terrible earthquake. After the fall of Jerusalem in 1187 Tarābulus held out for another century as an important base for the Christians until in 688 (1289) the army of the Mamlūk Sultan al-Manṣūr Kalā'ūn appeared before it and it had to surrender on April 26. This proved a turning point in its history for the Sultan, learning a lesson from the past, built a new Tripolis on the Pilgrims' Hill while the old town was destroyed and sank to be an insignificant little harbour known as al-Minā (from the Greek λιμὴν). Dimishqī who wrote about it c. 1300 A. D. describes the plentiful supply of water in the town — in addition to the running water on all sides, an aqueduct 200 ells long, 70 ells high was built — and the gardens with excellent fruit in plenty. He also mentions the various localities belonging to Tarābulus including Botrys, Būka'ā and the Nusairian hills. Among the kingdoms (*mamlakāt*) divided among the descendants of Saladin was a kingdom of Tarābulus but this division was soon replaced by a division into five provinces, and Tarābulus was put under Damascus as its port. The town is now in a comparatively prosperous condition owing to the remarkable fertility of the surrounding country, the not inconsiderable shipping and the silk industry. Of non-Muslim inhabitants the orthodox Greeks are the most numerous. A series of towers along the seashore recalls the warlike past of the town.

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(FR. BÜHL)

TARABZUN, the Turkish form of the name of the town of Trebizond, in Greek Τραπεζούνα. Situated at the southeast corner of the Black Sea on a very hilly coast which is separated from the rest of Asia Minor and Armenia by a high range of mountains, this town, like the population of the country immediately around it, has always led a more or less isolated existence, from which it only emerged in those periods when

its geographical position made it become an important point on the great trade-routes. Trebizond is mentioned for the first time by Xenophon (*Anabasis*, iv. 8) and is said to have been a very early colony of the town of Sinope. In the early centuries of our era it was a frontier town of considerable importance for the Roman Empire but from the time of Justinian it was the town of Neo-Caesarea (Niksar) that became the most important centre in this region. After the Arab conquests had deprived Byzantium of large parts of Armenia, Trebizond became the capital of a theme under military government (Thema Chaldia: Const. Porphyrt., *De Thematisibus*, i. 30) which it remained till the foundation of the empire of the Comneni of Trebizond in 1204. During these centuries the town again acquired great commercial importance and it is in this connection that it became so well known to the Arab authors of the period. They call it Atrābarund or Tarābarunda and they called the Black Sea Bahr Tarābarunda (cf. e.g. Balādhūri, ed. de Goeje, p. 195). To the lands of Islām, Trebizond was an important seaport through which the products of the lands of the Rūm, especially rich cloths, were imported into the northern parts of the Muslim empire; this brought in an enormous revenue to the Byzantine governor of the town (Iṣṭakhrī, *B. G. A.*, i. 188; Ibn Hawkal, *B. G. A.*, ii. 132). Muslim merchants lived in Trebizond and dealt there with Armenians, Greeks and Caucasians (Maʿwūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, ii. 3, 46; Maḳdīsī, *B. G. A.*, iii. 148). Very probably the Muhammadan trade-route went by Kāhikālā, later Erzerūm, and then through Adharbāidjān and Transoxania, because the natural ports of the Muhammadan empire were the coast-towns of the Mediterranean. The conquest of the interior of Asia Minor by the Saldjūks again isolated Trebizond and its communications with Constantinople became more and more difficult, while the new masters of Anatolia had not for the moment any great interest in commerce; they had however possessed a part of the port of Şamsūn since 1194. But the foundation of the empire of the Comneni in 1204 by Alexius Comnenus secured for Trebizond as the capital of the new empire a predominant position. The empire stretched at first over almost all the south coast of the Black Sea but soon suffered considerable losses to the empire of Nicaea and by the capture of Sinope in 1214 by the Sultān ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaiḳobād (cf. *sinūs*). Soon afterwards the Mongol conquests had their effect on Trebizond; Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārizm Shāh after founding his new empire at Tabriz was attacked by the other Muslim rulers and in 627 (1230) was fought the battle of Khilāt in which the Khwārizmians were completely defeated by the forces of Rūm and Syria. The remains of their army took refuge in the territory of Trebizond (Abu ʿl-Farāj Barhebraeus, *Taʾrīkh Muḥḥataṭar al-Dawal*, Bairūt 1890, p. 429 and *Chronicon Syriacum*, ed. Bedjan, p. 467); it appears doubtful whether there was actually an alliance between Djalāl al-Dīn and Trebizond as Fallmerayer (p. 108) says. In any case the emperor of Trebizond very soon afterwards had to recognise the suzerainty of the Sultān ʿAlā al-Dīn Kaiḳobād, whom he had to assist with troops in his struggle against the Aiyūbids (Chalcocondylas *Bk.* ix.: Ibn Bibi, ed. Houtsma, *Récueil de Textes*, etc., iii. 134 sqq. alike reveal this state of dependence).

In 1240, the Mongols put an end to the hegemony of the Saldjūks. Trebizond was spared their invasion but the emperor Manuel had to declare himself a vassal of the Mongol empire (cf. e.g. William of Rubruck, ed. de Bacher, Paris 1877, p. 6; Haktuyt Society edition, London 1900, p. 46). In this period the Arabic sources change the orthography of the town to Tarābarūn or Atrābarūn (cf. especially Dimashki, ed. Mehren, p. 106, 145, 228 and Abu ʿl-Farāj, *Muḥḥataṭar* who writes Tarābarūn: Abu ʿl-Fidā, *Tahwīm al-Buldān*, p. 392—393; Yāqūt, i. 306 keeps the old orthography). After the Mongol conquest the city experienced a new commercial revival; the centre of political power having shifted to Tabriz, Trebizond became the corridor to Asia Minor, through which ran the great trade-route to the Far East which the Mongols had opened. The people of the town did not themselves take part directly in this traffic which was in the hands of Genoese and Venetians but they profited greatly by it, because it, for example, gave them an opportunity to export the products of the city itself (especially linen, silk and woollen goods and the minerals of the adjoining mountains). The Genoese colony in particular, with their own consul at the head, from the second half of the thirteenth century occupied premier place among the foreigners and, supported by its mother city, was sufficiently powerful to obtain extraordinary concessions from the emperors. The centre of their activities was the quarter called Leontocastrum. In proportion as the Mongol power declined (after 1320) the territory of the emperor of Trebizond suffered more and more from the attacks of the Turkomans of Asia Minor, who took possession of the strongholds in the mountains; at the same time civil wars were weakening the empire, while the trade-routes became impracticable. Its neighbours were now the little Turkish states which had replaced the empire of the Saldjūks, Kaşantuni in the west [q.v.] with Sinope, to the south, the dynasty of the Dhu ʿl-Ḳadr and the south-east the Ak-Ḳoyunlu Turkomans. The emperors of Trebizond in this period endeavoured to strengthen their position by marrying princesses of their house to Turkoman princes. This state of affairs lasted until the Ottoman Sultān Bāyazīd I after the capture of Şamsūn in 1396 and his victory over the Ak-Ḳoyunlu became a redoubtable neighbour. Timūr's advance saved Trebizond for the moment; in 1392 the emperor Manuel came to submit to the conqueror and a few years later had to assist him in his preparations against Bāyazīd; the fleet demanded by Timūr was not however required, as, before it was equipped, the battle of Angora took place (1402); a body of soldiers from the city seems however to have taken part in the battle against Bāyazīd (Fallmerayer, p. 229). Timūr's armies withdrew, going to the south of the mountains of Trebizond; this territory with the towns of Armenia and the Caucasus now passed to Khālīl Sultān, nephew of Timūr. It was during the period of Timūr's invasion of Asia Minor that the Spanish envoy Clavijo passed through Trebizond. The revival of Ottoman power once more became dangerous and resulted in the decline of Genoese influence and the rise of that of Venice. Under Murād II, Turkish ships in vain tried to seize Trebizond but after the fall of Constantinople the town was doomed. The emperor Kalo-Johannes then concluded

an alliance with Uzun Hasan to whom he gave his daughter in marriage. David, the successor of Kalo-Johannes endeavoured to extend this alliance to the Christian rulers of the Caucasus and the Muhammadan lords of Kāstāmūni and Karamān [q. v.]. But all these efforts were in vain. In 864 (1460) the Ottoman Sultan Muhammad II set out on his great campaign in Asia Minor which gained him Kāstāmūni and Sinope without a blow being struck. He then turned against Uzun Hasan, took from him the frontier fort of Kōila Hissar or Koyunlu Hissar and concluded a peace with him. He then marched on Trebizond in spite of the attempts of Sara Khānū (Sara Khātan in 'Ashik Pasha Zade), mother of Uzun Hasan, to persuade him to abandon his designs on the town. The Turkish fleet commanded by the grand vizier Mahmūd Pasha had already gone to Sinope. The emperor David was quite ready to capitulate when Mahmūd Pasha [q. v.] appeared with the vanguard of the Turkish army. The Sultan with some difficulty was persuaded to approve of the capitulation, by the terms of which David and all his family were taken to Adrianople; a few years later he was put to death by order of the Sultan. The Turks immediately installed themselves in the town and citadel and only allowed a third of the population to remain in the suburbs. The majority of the rest were carried off to Constantinople. The church of the citadel was converted into a mosque (Orta Djāmi') and also the church of St. Eugenius which was henceforth known as the Yeni Djāmi'; all the country conquered was granted as fiefs to Muslims. Trebizond never again became a town of great importance under the Ottoman empire; it became the capital of an eyālet to which also belonged the town of Bitum (Hādjdji Khalifa, *Djāhān-nūma*, p. 429 sq.). For some time it was the residence of Selim I as crown prince; the mother of the Sultan is buried in the Khātuniye Djāmi'. Trade was conducted mainly by sea; Ewliya Celebi, for example, only visited it from the sea; the road to the interior, to Erzerüm, continued to exist but it had no longer the commercial importance it once had. In 1834 this road was improved by Rashid Pasha, after the route through the Caucasus had been closed by the Russians (Rosen, *Gesch. der Türkei*, I, 214). After the introduction of the wilāyets in the sixteenth century the wilāyet of Tarabzun included the sandjaks of Tarabzun, Şamsün, Lazistan and Gümüsh-Khāne (Cabinet, I, 41); the present wilāyet, as reorganised since the war, is much smaller in area, with 6 kādīs and 356,259 inhabitants (cf. *Türkiye Sānūmeri*, 1926, p. 682). In the Great War, Trebizond was occupied by the Russians in April 1916, but as a result of the Russian revolution and the negotiations at Brest-Litovsk, the Turks had no difficulty in reoccupying the town on Feb. 24, 1918.

The centre of the town of Trebizond has been built on a plateau in the form of a table (hence the name) which runs down to the sea on the north side and terminates on the south in an elevation on which stands an acropolis (Orta Hissar). Above the acropolis again rises the citadel (*Şala*). The latter, called by the Turks Boz Tepe, is bounded on the east and on the west by ditches which have to be crossed by bridges to reach the suburbs. The country all round is mountainous and covered with vegetation. The suburbs, lying along the coast to the west and east of the old

town, have a mainly Christian population while since the Turkish conquest the centre has been Muslim. The eastern suburb is the centre of trade and navigation; the ships moor in the roads and one can hardly speak of a harbour. The population put at 35,000 by Cabinet, has always been very mixed. The Lazes (cf. LAZ), as the principal inhabitants of all the surrounding coast, form a considerable section of it and are mainly boatmen and fishermen. Ewliya Celebi found other aboriginal inhabitants there whom he declares to be the least agreeable section of the populace. The Turkish spoken there shows in its sounds considerable influence of local dialects. The Greeks (8,200 according to Cabinet) and Armenians (6000) form the Christian element. After the Turkish defeat in 1918 and in spite of the recent reoccupation, there arose in all the lands of the Pontus with Trebizond as centre, quite a strong movement, which aimed at reviving the old empire, but the victory of the Angora government put an end to these attempts at independence (cf. in particular, the government publication, *Pontus Mevâlihi*, Angora, 1338 (1922)). A section of the converted Greek population has preserved to the present day certain customs and rites of Christianity (cf. F. W. Hasluck, *The Crypto-Christians of Trebizond*, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xli, 199 ff.).

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TARAFÄ = 'ABD AL-BAKŪI is unanimously considered by Arab critics one of the foremost poets of the period before Islam and is the author of the longest of the poems known by the name of *Mu'allafāt*. He is at the same time one of the earliest poets of that period of whom poems are preserved. The editors of the *Mu'allafāt* and of his collected poems generally give a full genealogy from which however we can gain with certainty only that he belonged to the section of Bakr of the Wā'il tribes. His father's name is given as al-'Abd b. Sufyān, the name 'Abd being probably only an Islamic abbreviation of some theophoric name like 'Abd Manāt. The

biographies given in Arabic authors are exceedingly unsatisfactory, and generally attempts are made to draw conclusions from his verses. This much seems certain, that he had relations with the court of the kings of al-Hira, especially with king 'Amr b. Hind, who reigned approximately from 554 to 568 of the Christian era. The lands of the poet's tribe lay in South-eastern Arabia, in Bahrain and the Yamäma, which appears also to have been the home of the earliest Arab poets of whom we have any reliable knowledge and it is possible that Arabic poetry, as we know it, spread from this part of the country.

Tarafa is, in a legendary account, brought into contact with the still earlier poet al-Musayyab b. 'Alas, whom he is said to have corrected when he made a mistake in one of his poems. Generally Arab antiquarians describe Tarafa as extraordinarily precocious and argue from a poem (Ahlwardt, N^o. 1) that he was a mere boy, when he composed verses after the death of his father, when his uncles acted unjustly towards his mother Warda. He is also stated to have died very young. The latter is a conclusion arrived at from some verses of al-Khirkik, who is claimed to have been a sister and in the verses in question mentions the age of 26 years. As she is said to have been a daughter of a man named Hiflän it is more probable that her elegy, composed upon another unknown person, was assumed to refer to Tarafa, who may have died at a comparatively early age.

We obtain some light by comparing contemporary history. When 'Amr succeeded his father in 554 A. D. he gave to his brothers certain commands, but slighted his half-brother 'Amr b. Umäma. The latter went to South Arabia accompanied by Tarafa to obtain help from the Yamanite princes. Tarafa had left some camels belonging to (or inherited from) his father in the district where Kābūs, a brother of the king, and 'Amr b. Kāis al-Shaibāni were in command. 'Amr b. Umäma received the support of the Yamanite tribe Murād, the troops being under the command of Hubaira b. 'Abd Yaghūth. When they reached the Yamäma, Hubaira fell ill through drinking from a well and 'Amr b. Umäma sent to him a doctor who applied hot irons clumsily to his stomach in the effort to cure him and almost killed him. Believing that the doctor had acted under instructions of 'Amr, Hubaira had him murdered at a place called Qadib and he and his clansmen returned to the Yaman. The man who had slain 'Amr went with his family to al-Hira expecting a suitable reward from king 'Amr, but instead of this he and his family were burned alive. This event is mentioned by Tarafa in the first poem of his *Diwān* in the recension of Ibn al-Sikkit (not found in Ahlwardt's edition except for a few verses). The poet also claims in the same poem the return of the camels confiscated as being the property of his father who is here called Ma'bad. They were pastured near Tabāla (Ibn al-Sikkit, N^o. 2). In this poem which must be considerably later, he gives full vent to his feelings because the property is not restored and accuses also a man named 'Abd 'Amr b. Bishr, who was not a relation of the king as is generally assumed by the biographers. The latter seems to have benefited from the confiscation. This poem had not the desired effect and Tarafa composed

a violent attack upon the king in which he says that it would be preferable to have a sheep to rule than king 'Amr (this poem has 17 verses in the recension of Ibn al-Sikkit; only 9 verses are found in Ahlwardt, N^o. 7 and App. 17). This appears to have been the climax and from a poem by a sister of Tarafa, whose name Ibn al-Sikkit does not give, it appears that 'Abd 'Amr was to a great extent responsible for Tarafa falling into the hands of the governor of Bahrain (this poem is not in Ahlwardt nor Seligsohn). Ibn al-Sikkit tells us further that the governor was not willing to kill him and the king sent an official who killed the unwilling governor as well as Tarafa.

Against this we must set the tale of the letter. King 'Amr in a celebrated legend is stated to have given to Tarafa and his kinsman al-Mutallammi, after a visit to his court where he treated them with honour, a letter each containing a recommendation for suitable reward by the governor of Bahrain upon their arrival. Such a course of bestowing favours, though unusual, was plausible as the reward might consist of cattle, but al-Mutallammi, becoming suspicious, broke the seal and asked a youth at al-Hira to read the contents. Reading that the letter contained a command for their execution and afraid of his life, he decided to go to Syria and advised Tarafa to open his letter also, but the latter refused to do so, thinking it impossible that the king would dare to have him murdered among his own people. While al-Mutallammi fled to Syria and from there sent his *Hidjā*-poems to the king, Tarafa went to Bahrain and met with a cruel death, being buried alive after having been maimed. I believe that this account has been invented by ancient antiquarians who knew from the poems of al-Mutallammi that he made mention of a letter in his poems, the contents of which are not even known and may have been of an entirely different nature.

Ibn al-Anbārī in the introduction to his commentary on the *Mu'allafāt* claims an uninterrupted chain of authorities down to al-Mutallammi himself, a chain which has every semblance of being genuine, unless we cast suspicion upon Ḥammād al-Rāwiyā (ed. Rescher, p. 1). From the same commentary we learn that Tarafa had already received discourtesy from king 'Amr and his brother Kābūs when he visited the court during the reign of their father (*loc. cit.*, p. 5). I am inclined in consequence to believe that Tarafa never visited the court of king 'Amr at all during his reign, but took sides with his half-brother, 'Amr b. Umäma, went with him to the Yaman, where they stayed for some years, because 'Amr b. Umäma married there and had several children, before he undertook his expedition to the Yamäma (Commentary of Ibn al-Sikkit). This also makes it impossible that Tarafa died at a very early age; he had been at the court of al-Hira before the accession of 'Amr, probably as one of the notables of his tribe and spent several years in South Arabia. Young he may have been in comparison with other *Shāikh*s, but it would be rash to make any definite statements. As regards his religious views we can only say that from his poems we can glean nothing that would point to anything else than the customary pagan fatalism.

As regards his value as a poet we can only repeat the opinion of native critics who are

only undecided whether he is one of the greatest poets of the time of paganism or the greatest of all. His description of the camel in his *Mu'allaf* is justly celebrated and hardly surpassed by any other Arab poet. As regards the genuineness of his poems I must refer the readers to the conclusions of Ahlwardt and Geiger, though I should like to suggest that perhaps more is genuine than these two authorities will admit. If al-Mutalammis, al-A'ah, 'Ubad, the *rawf* of the latter, Simāk b. Harb, Hammād al-Rāwiyā and al-Haithanī b. 'Adī really handed down his poems we may expect that his poems did come down to the time when they were finally commented by grammarians and are preserved with a certain amount of accuracy. The best accounts we have of the poet are contained in the *Diwān* in the recension of Ibn al-Sikkī, where unfortunately the editor has mixed the latter's notes with those of al-A'ah and in the introduction to the *Mu'allaf* by Ibn al-Anbārī.

Bibliography: *Diwān of the six ancient Arabic poets*, ed. W. Ahlwardt, London 1870; *Diwān de Tarafa*, ed. M. Seligsohn with the commentary of al-A'ah, Paris 1901; *Sharḥ Diwān Tarafa*, ed. Ahmad b. Amīn al-Shīkhī, Kazan 1909 (contains the recension of Ibn al-Sikkī); L. Cheikhō, *Poètes chrétiens*, Bairūt 1890; Ibn al-Sūdī, *Makhtūrat*, Cairo 1888 (and new edition 1924); *Tharfaḥ Mu'allaf*, ed. Reiske, Leyden 1742; Jones, *The Mu'allaf*, London 1783; A. Th. Hartmann, *Die hellstrahlenden Pleyaden*, Münster 1802; J. Vullers, *Tarafa Mu'allaf cum Zuznī scholii*, Bonn 1829; P. Wolff, *Die sieben Preisgedichte*, Rotweil 1857; F. A. Arnold, *Septem Mu'allaf*, Leipzig 1850; Abel, *Die sieben Mu'allaf*, Berlin 1891; C. J. Lyall, *The ten ancient Arabic poems*, Calcutta 1894 (with the commentary of Tihizī); *Djūharat Aḥḥār al-'Arab*, Cairo 1890; O. Rescher, *Tarafa's Mu'allaf mit dem Kommentar des Abū Bakr . . . Ibn al-Anbārī*, Stambul 1329; B. Vandenhoef, *Nonnulla Tarafa poetarum carmina*, etc., Berlin 1895; B. Geiger, *Die Mu'allaf des Tarafa überliefert und erklärt*, W. Z. K. M., vol. xix. and xx.; W. Ahlwardt, *Bemerkungen über die Echtheit der alten arabischen Gedichte*, Greifswald 1872; G. Jacob, *Studien in arabischen Dichtern*, Berlin 1893. — Verses and fragments of Tarafa are cited in innumerable works; in the *Lisān al-'Arab* he is quoted 264 times according to my index to that work.

(F. KRENKOW)

TARANČI, Eastern Turki word for agriculturists; as the name of a people, applied to the colonists transported by the Chinese government in the middle of the xviii century from Kāshgharia to the Ili valley; cf. Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, iv. 841. The Taranči are said however, even in the Ili valley, to have described themselves as the native population (*Yärläk*, cf. Radloff, ii. 343). They numbered 6,000 families of whom 4,100 were settled on the right and 1,900 on the left bank of the Ili; for further particulars see Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, ii. 331 sq. According to a census of the year 1834 the number of families had increased to 8,000. Down to the beginning of the rebellions of the Muslims in Kāshgharia the lot of the Taranči is said to have been quite tolerable; but their prosperity was henceforth undermined by frequent requisitions for military purposes. After 1863 the Ili valley also became involved in

the rebel movement; after hard fighting an independent principality of the Taranči arose under Sulḥān Abū T-'Alā or A'la Khān (see article *QULIJA*). In 1871 this was conquered by the Russians and remained under Russian rule till 1882. The Taranči then numbered 51,000 of whom 45,373 went over to Russian territory, when the Ili valley was returned to the Chinese (treaty of St. Petersburg, Feb. 24, 1881). They were settled in the district of Semiryece (*Semiryenetskaya Oblast'*); the leader of these emigrants was a wealthy merchant, Wali Akhūn Yuldashev. The Taranči formed the majority of the population of the town of Džarkent which was founded at this time (in 1911: 16,000 of 25,000). Up to 1887 the lands allotted to the Taranči were several times taken from them for Russian Cossacks and the Taranči moved to other places. The Taranči are valued not only as agriculturists and gardeners but also as artisans and labourers; they are said to be unrivalled in building with clay. According to the census of 1897 they numbered 55,999; for a later date, larger numbers (up to 83,000) are given; the census of 1920 gave 62,303. The prosperity of the Taranči suffered severely with the rising of the Kāsh-Kirghiz in 1916 and the events of the revolution; in 1917 the number of Taranči living in towns in the administrative district of Džarkent was only 6,736 — compared with the previous figure of 16,000 in the town of Džarkent alone, a considerable reduction. In Soviet Russia, the Taranči do not form a political unit; they live in the autonomous republic of Kāshkistan; there is also a Taranči colony in Baitam-'Alī in Turkomeniān. The Taranči along with the Turkomans (Kāshgharlik) who later immigrated from Kāshgharia claimed they were Uighurs by race. This is due to a misunderstanding as the historical Uighurs never came so far west.

The number of Taranči remaining on Chinese territory was about 8,200 at the beginning of the xth century. Measures were taken at that time by the Chinese authorities, not without some success, to induce the Taranči who had emigrated to Russia to return to their original homes.

Bibliography: W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1893. ii. 331 sq.; W. Masalskiy, *Turkestanby Keal*, St. Petersburg 1913, p. 403 sq.; *Asiatikaya Rossiya* (off. publication), St. Petersburg 1914, i. 174; *Materiali po obshchestvennoy iuzimnogo i russkogo zemleposelovaniyu v Semiryenetskoj Oblasti* (off. publication); T. V. Taranči, *Cast I. Tekst. Cast II. Tablits*, St. Petersburg 1914; cf. also the *Bibl. to QULIJA*. — On present conditions: *Spišok narodnosti Soyuzn. Sov. Respublik, Zgod. redakciya I. I. Zarubina*, Leningrad 1927 (publ. by the Acad.), p. 34. — On language and literature: W. Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme*, vol. vi., *Diastet der Tarantuchi*, St. Petersburg 1886; N. N. Paninow, *Tarantuchskaya plemi*, St. Petersburg 1890 (*Zap. Imp. R. Geogr. Obshch. na sdel. etnogr.*, t. xvii., vlp. 1).

(W. BARTHOLO)
TARAWIH (A.), plural of the unusual sing. *Tarawha*, the salāts which are performed in the nights of the month of Ramaḍān. Tradition says that Muḥammad held these salāts in high esteem, with the precaution, however, that their performance should not become obligatory (Bakḥārī, *Tarawih*, trad. 3). Umar is said to have

been the first to assemble behind one *ḥārī*, those who performed their prayers in the mosque of al-Madina singly or in groups (*loc. cit.*, trad. 2); he is also said to have preferred the first part of the night for these pious exercises.

Canon law recommends the performance of the *tarāwīḥ* shortly after the *ḡalāt al-ḡiḡā*. They consist of 10 *ḡalāt*'s, each containing 2 *raḡ'a*'s; after every four *raḡ'a*'s a pause is held; hence the name *tarāwīḥ* "pauses". In the Mālikite rite they consist of 36 *raḡ'a*'s. They belong to the *ḡalāt*'s that are *ḡanna* and are as popular as any rite connected with Ramaḡān [q. v.]. Shī'a *ḡiḡā* prefers a thousand supererogatory *raḡ'a*'s throughout the month of Ramaḡān.

In Mekka people assemble in groups varying from 10 to 150 persons, behind one *imām* [q. v.], who acts in this case unofficially, even if he should be an appointed official. The recitation of the Kur'ān has a prominent place in these *ḡalāt*'s. Very busy people may perform even this prayer within a short space of time; other groups abide behind their *imām*'s reciting the Kur'ān once or several times in the nights of Ramaḡān. Even after the *tarāwīḥ* many people stay for pious exercises.

In Atchīn every night large crowds assemble in order to perform the *tarāwīḥ*. Usually, however, it is the *ḡinku* alone who takes the active part in them, the others limiting their part to a disrespectful joining in with the *imām* and the eulogies on the Prophet. The *ḡinku* receives the *ḡakāt al-ḡīr* as a remuneration for his endurance. In his *Arabic New-Year* (*Verh. Ak. Amst.*, new ser., xxv., No. 2) Wensinck traces the rites of Ramaḡān back to pagan times.

Bibliography: Bukhārī, *Tarāwīḥ* with the commentaries; Mālik, *Mawatta'*, *ḡalāt fi Ramaḡān* with Zurkānī's commentary; Abū Ishāḡ al-Shīrāzī, *Tanbīḡ*, ed. Juynboll, p. 27; al-Ramlī, *Nihāya*, Cairo 1286, i. 503 sqq.; Ibn Ḥadīr al-Haitamī, *Tuḡfa*, Cairo 1282, i. 205 sq.; Abū 'l-ḡāsim al-Hillī, *Sharḡ al-ḡilām*, Calcutta 1255, p. 51; Caetani, *Annali*, A.H. 14, § 229 sq.; Juynboll, *Handleiding*, Leyden 1925, register; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 81 sqq.; do., *Mekkanische Sprichwörter*, No. 49; do., *De Afghers*, i. 247 sqq.; d'Oshson, *Tahḡan ḡénéral de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1787, i. 214 sq. (to be used with caution); Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, London and Paisley 1899, p. 481.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

TARĀZ, Arabic name for Talas, a river in Central Asia and the town on it probably near the modern Awliyā Atā [q. v.]. The town was of pre-Muḡammadan, presumably Soghdian origin [cf. soghd.]; Soghdian and Turki were spoken in Tarāz and in Balāshghūn [q. v.] as late as the fifth (eleventh) century (Maḡmūd Kāshgharī, *Divān Luḡāt al-Turk*, i. 31). As a town (*ḡāḡra*) Talas is first mentioned in the report of the embassy of the Greek Zēmarkhōs (*Fragm. Hist. Great.*, iv. 228) in 568. About 630 Talas (Chin. Ta-lo-see) was described by Hsien-Tsang as an important commercial town (*Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, transl. by Stan. Julien, Paris 1857, i. 14: "les marchands des différents pays y habitent péle-mêle"). Islām was first introduced there by the campaign of the Sāmānid Ismā'īl b. Aḡmad [q. v.] in Muḡarram 280 (March–April 893): "the emir

and the diḡāns" had to submit; the principal church (*ḡilīḡ-i buzurg*) was turned into a mosque (Nargahkht, ed. Schefer, p. 84). This shows that Christianity had gained a footing in Tarāz earlier than Islām. In the account of the same campaign in Tabarī, iii. 2138, the name of the town is not given: Ismā'īl captures the town of the "king of the Turks". In Ibn al-Aḡḡir (ed. Tornberg, viii. 97) a *diḡān* of the region of Tarāz is mentioned under the year 310 (922–923). Under the Sāmānids Tarāz was an important trading centre on the frontiers of the lands of Islām and of the Turks (*B. G. A.*, ii. 391, 9). Coins were first struck in Tarāz under the Illek-Khāns [q. v.]. In the Mongol period we find alongside of Tarāz the name Yangī first in al-'Omari (*N. E.*, xiii. 234), where Yangī appears as a distinct town from Tarāz or Talas. Under Timūr and his immediate successors (*Zafar-nāma*, Ind. edition, i. 229 where it is wrongly given as Nabkī; ii. 633 where Tarāz is erroneously placed between Akhsikant and Kāshghar; Hāfiḡ-i Abrū [q. v.], Cod. Bodl. Elliot, No. 422, f. 155d; 'Abd al-Razzāḡ Samarkandī, Cod. Univ. Petrop., No. 157, f. 190a) Yangī is frequently mentioned, sometimes in the combination Yangī-Tarāz (so Mirḡ'and, in Barthold, *Uluḡbeg i ego vostoza*, St. Petersburg 1918, text, p. 8). According to Ḥaidar Mirā [q. v.] Yangī was the Mongol name for Tarāz. In Mā wair al-Nahr there were people who came from Yangī originally and were called "Yangīlig". There was no longer a town of Yangī; there were many ruins in the same region but even then it was no longer possible to say with certainty what ruins corresponded to the town of Yangī (or Tarāz) (*Tārīḡ-i Raḡḡdī*, transl. E. D. Ross, p. 364). At the present day no traces of the town of Tarāz are known. (W. BARTHOLO)

TARĪ, a gold coin, a quarter-dīnār. When the Fātimids conquered Sicily in the second decade of the fourth (tenth) century they struck quarter-dīnārs (*rubā'*) there in large numbers. This denomination was new to Muḡammadan coinage and the fact that it was also introduced into Syria by the Fātimids suggests that it was intended to take the place of the Byzantine *tremitis*. The issue of this denomination was continued by the Norman Dukes who succeeded the Fātimids. For the history of the *tarī* as an Italian denomination, which does not concern us here, see the article *tarēno* in E. Martinori, *La Moneta, Vocabolario Generale*, Rome 1915. No satisfactory etymology of the word has yet been given; the one usually given connects it with *dīrkam*. (J. ALAN)

TARĪF, leader of the first Muslim forces to land in Spain in 91 (710). The Arab historians are not agreed as to the origin of this client of the famous general Mūsā b. Nuḡair [q. v.]: some say he was a Berber, others an Arab. Al-Rāzī calls him: Abū Zur'a Tarīf b. Mālik al-Ma'āfir and Ibn Khaldūn: Tarīf b. Mālik al-Nakḡāt. He has also occasionally been confused with the other client of Mūsā b. Nuḡair, Ṭarīḡ b. Ziyād [q. v.].

We know that when Mūsā b. Nuḡair was urged by Count Julian to cross to Spain with an army he consulted his master, the Caliph al-Walīd; the latter ordered him to explore before any expedition the south of the Iberian peninsula with a small contingent of light troops. Mūsā b. Nuḡair therefore sent Tarīf with 400 foot and 100 horsemen, all Berbers. Tarīf with this little force crossed the Straits of Gībraltar and landed on the penin-

sula which since has borne his name (*Djāzirat Tarīf*, now *Tarīfa* [q.v.]). He raided the vicinity of Algeciras (*al-Djāzirat al-Khadra'* [q.v.]) and returned to Africa with rich booty and captives. This first reconnaissance was made in Ramaḍān 91 (July 710). It was followed by the great expedition of Tārik b. Ziyād; and after this we hear no more of Tarīf.

Bibliography: The Arab historians of Muslim Spain, especially the anonymous chronicle called *Al-ḥabar Maḥmūdā*, ed. Lafuente y Alcántara (*Ajhar maḥmūdā*), Madrid 1867, p. 6 of the Arabic text and 20 of the transl.; Ibn Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ed. Dozy, ii. 5–6; transl. Fagnan, ii. 6–7; al-Maḥḥarī, *Annales*, Index; R. Dozy, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, ii. 32; Pournel, *Les Berbères*, Paris 1875, i. 240–241; E. Saavedra, *Estudio sobre la invasión de los árabes en España*, Madrid 1892.

(E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL)

TARIF (A.), explanation, definition, description, from *ʿarafa*, to know; e.g. *tarīf* *ʾayā* *ṣāḥib*, description of St. Sophia; *Kitāb al-Tarīfāt*, book of definitions, a well-known treatise of Sayyid Sharīf Ḍjurdjānī on the explanation of Sūfi terms.

In administrative language, in the feminine form, *tarīfa* or *tarīfa* with a short *i*, the word has the meaning of tariff, tax, price of food, of transport, etc.; e.g. in Turkish: *gumruk tarīfesi*, customs duties; *dimir yol tarīfisi*, railway charges.

In grammar this word means the Arabic definite article *al*, which is called the particle of notification or *ilām* of definition: *ḥarf al-tarīf*, *ilām al-tarīf*.

(B. CARRA DE VAUX)

TARIFA, in Arabic *Djāzirat Tarīf*, 'island of Tarīf', from the name of the client of Mūsā b. Nuṣair, Abū Zurʿa Tarīf [q.v.] who landed there with the first Muslim force at the beginning of the conquest of Spain, a small town in Andalusia on the north shore of the Straits of Gibraltar, at the foot of a mountain range called the Sierra de la Luna, and almost the most southern part of the European continent. Tarifa, with Algeciras (*al-Djāzirat al-Khadra'*; cf. i., p. 277*) and Gibraltār (*Djābal Tārik*; cf. ii., p. 169 iv.) under Muslim rule had always considerable trade with the Moroccan ports on the other side of the Straits. Al-Idrīsī says that it was surrounded by a dry stone wall. A tower (*ḥurūf*) was built in it by orders of ʿAbd al-Rahmān III, in 349 (960) as we know from an Arabic inscription above one of the gates of the *castello* of Tarifa. Tarifa was taken from the Muslims in 1292 by the King of Castile, Sancho IV, and it was in vain that they endeavoured to retake it two years later when it was admirably defended by Gasman el Bueno of Leon.

Bibliography: al-Idrīsī, *Ṣifāt al-Andalus*, p. 176–212; Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Himyari, *al-Rawḍ al-miṣṣar fī ʿAdāb al-aḥḥār* (Spain), edition in preparation, No. 77.

(E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL)

TĀRIK b. ZIYĀD b. ʿABD ALLĀH, a Berber chief and leader of the Muslim forces in the conquest of al-Andalus. Ibn Idhārī gives a complete genealogy of him and connects him with the tribe of the Nafza. Idrīsī says he was a Berber of the Zamāta; Ibn Khaldūn calls him Tārik b. Ziyād al-Lalīḥ. Others again say he was a Persian, a native of Hamadān.

After the reconnaissance undertaken by Tarīf

[q.v.] in the south of Spain in Ramaḍān 96 (July 710), Mūsā b. Nuṣair, emboldened by its success, entrusted the command of an expedition on a larger scale to his client Tārik b. Ziyād, then leader of his advance-guard. He sent him to the Peninsula at the head of 7,000 men, for the most part Berbers, who crossed the Straits in small contingents in ships supplied by Count Julian. The crossing was probably effected in Radjab 92 (April–May 711). As his troops landed in Europe, Tārik concentrated them on a hill which took his name, the *Djābal Tārik* (Gibraltar, q.v.), the ancient *Calpe* on which the Almoḥad sovereign ʿAbd al-Muʿmin was later to build the town of *Djābal al-Falāḥ* (555 = 1160). Almost all the Arab chroniclers repeat in connection with Tārik's crossing the story of a vision which he had during the passage which foretold victory. Tārik lost no time in taking Carteia and Algeciras. The Goth king Roderick collected a considerable army to face the invaders in view of the danger that threatened his country.

Tārik then asked Mūsā b. Nuṣair for reinforcements; he sent him 5,000 Berbers in addition to the 7,000 he already had. The references in the Muslim and Christian historians are brief but sufficiently precise regarding the course of the conquest after the decisive battle fought between the Muslims and the Goths at the mouth of the Wādī Bekka (*Rio Barbate*) on the shores of the lagoon of the Janda. Tārik's 12,000 Berbers would not have held out for very long if Mūsā b. Nuṣair, in spite of his reluctance to increase the scale of the conquest, for it was only intended at first to be a simple reconnaissance and *razzia*, jealous of the bold and triumphant progress of his lieutenant had not decided to go himself to Spain, but this time with a purely Arab force. Leaving the government of Africa in the hands of his eldest son ʿAbd Allāh, he crossed to Spain in the early summer of 97 (712). His army numbered over 10,000 men, and in it were many Arabs of note with their Yamanī and Kaysī clients. This army after taking Medina Sidonia and Carmona laid siege to Seville and some months later to Mérida, which did not fall for a year, but a part of the Arab forces had been sent to fight the Goth prince Theodomir in Orihuela. After the surrender of Mérida, Mūsā b. Nuṣair advanced on Toledo and joined Tārik on the way. The latter after the defeat of the Goths had marched on Ecija, then on Toledo, at the same time sending three columns to take Cordova, Archidona and Elvira. At Toledo, Tārik, the Arab historians say, captured fabulous wealth and wrote to Mūsā b. Nuṣair to give him an account of his victory.

The meeting of Tārik and his master is a favourite subject with the historians who say that Mūsā inflicted the worst humiliations on his client. The conquest went on and soon the Muslim troops reached Saragossa and the highlands of Aragon, Leon, the Asturias and Galicia. When Mūsā b. Nuṣair with Tārik returned to Damascus to report their success to the caliph, Muslim Spain with its little nucleus of Berber and Arab soldiers had already practically attained its extreme geographical limits.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿAbd al-Hakam, *Fatāḥ Miṣr*, ed. C. Torrey, *Yale Oriental Series*, 1922–index; *Al-ḥabar maḥmūdā*, ed. Lafuente y Alcántara (*Ajhar maḥmūdā*), Madrid 1867, text,

p. 4 199., transl., p. 18 199.; Ibn al-Kaṣīr, *Ta'rikh al-Andalus*, Madrid 1926 (*Historia de la conquista de España de Abenalcotia el Cordobés*, transl. J. Ribera), text, p. 3 199., transl., p. 1 199.; al-Dabbī, *Bughyat al-muhtamīn*, *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispanica*, vol. iii., Madrid 1885, N^o 864, p. 315; Ibn Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ed. Dozy, ii. 6 199., transl. Fagnan, ii. 8 199. (cf. i. 28 of text); al-Idrīsī, *Deier.*, p. 176; the geographers, a. v. Djabal Tārik; al-Maḥḥārī, *Amalek*, Index; R. Dozy, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, ii. 32 199.; do., *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne*, 3^{re} ed., i. 21 199.; Fournel, *Les Docteurs*, Paris 1875, i. 236 199.; E. Saavedra, *Estudio sobre la invasión de los árabes en España*, Madrid 1892.

(E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL)

TARIQA (pl. *ṭarīq*). This Arabic term, meaning "road, way, path", has acquired two successive technical meanings in Muslim mysticism:

1. In the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. it was a method of moral psychology for the practical guidance of individuals who had a mystic call; 2. after the 11th century, it becomes the whole system of rites for spiritual training laid down for the common life in the various Muslim religious orders which began to be founded at this time.

Muslim mysticism itself in its origins, ideas and tendencies will be examined elsewhere [cf. the article TAṢAWWUF]; here we only deal with its results on society and the organisations which are the development of its practice by groups of devout Muslims.

In the first sense (cf. texts by Ḥunaid, Hallāj, Sarrāj, Kūshairī, Ḥudjwīn), the word *ṭarīqa* is still vague and means rather a theoretical and ideal method (*ṭarīqa*, *ṣulūk* are stronger) to guide each one who has had a call by tracing an *itinerarium mentis ad Deum* leading through various psychological stages (*maḥammāt*, *ahwāl*) of the literal practice of the revealed law (*sharī'a*) to divine reality (*ḥaqīqa*). This bold claim having provoked criticism and even persecution from the canonists, the teachers of mysticism devoted themselves to defining and restraining their activities on more orthodox lines, compiling rules calculated to avert suspicion (*ādāb al-ṭarīqa*), from Salāmī and Maḥḥārī to Ibn Tāḥīr Maḥḥārī (*ṣafwa*) and Ghazālī. In practice, while keeping as the goal direct access (*faṭḥ*) to reality, they gradually abandoned the freedom of musical assemblies (*ṣamā'*) stimulating themselves with the ecstasy of theopathic utterances [cf. *ḤATĪR*], often open to criticism, for regular recitations of litanies founded on the Qur'ān (*dhikr*): thus preparing the adept for a state of mental concentration (*tafakkur*) which he experiences in silence by himself, a state in which the successive perception of lights (*anwār*) differently coloured gradually denudes from its covering of words the "clarity" (of the recited litany) and "substantialises" it in the heart; which then participates in the divine essence of its prayer (*dhikr al-ḥaṣṣ*, *bi-tafakkur*, *nūr al-dhikr* fi 'l-ḥaṣṣ, says Suhrawardī on chap. xxvii. of the *Awārif*, li. 191).

Thus *ṭarīqa* comes finally to mean a common life (*ṣawākana*), founded on a series of special rules in addition to the ordinary observances of Islām: to become an adept (*ṣāḥib*, Pers. *darwish*) the novice (*murīd*, *ḡandūz*) receives initiation (*ba'a*, *taḥlīl*, *ḥadd*) before a hierarchy of witnesses

(*ḥaḥā* *al-saḍḍā* = Pers. *gīr* = Turk. *hāḥ*; *murshid*, *mubaddam*, *naḥīb*, *ḥaḥīfa*, *ṭarṭamān*, Pers. *rind*, *rāḥar* etc.); even if he is of an order allowing a wandering life (*ṣayāḥa*), he has to make periodic retreats (*ṣulā*, *ḥaḥwa*, *arḥāniya* = Pers. *ḥāḥ*) with them in a monastery (*ribā'*, *ṣāwīya* = Pers. *ḥaḥka* = Turk. *tekkiye*) of the order, supported by expiatory alms (*ḥaḥya*), generally built near the tomb of a venerated saint whose anniversary (*maḥlīd*, *urs*) is celebrated and whose blessing is invoked (*ṣayra*, *ḥaḥa*).

In the interior of the monastery the common life of the brethren (*ḥaḥwān* = Turk. *ḥāḥiler*, an Anatolian term of the 13th century; there were only attempts to found convents of sisters in Egypt and Syria in the 13th and 14th centuries) is at the same time distinguished by supererogatory exercises, vigils (*ṣahr*), fasts (*ṣaym*), invocations (*ṭawīd*; e.g. *yā laḥf*, repeated 100 or 1,000 times), litanies (*dhikr*, *ḥāḥ*) especially at certain festivals (a kind of liturgical office for the vigils, *ḥaḥ'a*, *ṣaḥā'ih*, *ḥaḥir*, and by dispensations (*ruḥḥa*), like the collections of alms (*ḥaḥama*, collected in the *ḥaḥḥāl*) and private assemblies (*ḥaḥra*, *waḥḥa*, *ṣaḥa*) in which in addition to litanies, platonic glances (*naḥar ila 'l-murād*), jesting (*miḥḥ*) even going as far as horseplay, dancing (*ṣaḥḥ*) and the rending of garments are allowed.

The actual ritual initiation, identical to that of initiation into trade-guilds of Karmatian origin, as Kahle has observed, was probably borrowed from them in the 13th century (Taschner, *Islām*, vi. 169—172, published a Turkish miniature of the 17th century representing the scene). The diploma of initiation (*iqḥāḥ*) is in use since 1227 (cf. Ibn Abī Usālib'a, *Uyūn al-ḥaḥ*, ii. 250) reproduces the *ṣawād* of the traditionists to give the new initiate his double chain of affiliation (*ṣulā*, *ḥaḥjara*). At the same time he is given a double frock (*ḥaḥḥat al-wīd*, *ḥaḥḥat al-taḥarruk*) to show his twofold taking of an oath ('*ahd al-yad wa 'l-ḥḥidā*' = *taḥlīl* and '*ahd al-ḥaḥḥa*'), his double adopted genealogy, instruction (oral transmission of the rule) and inspiration (individual illumination), to which his vow of obedience entitles him.

The orthodox canonists (*ṣaḥāḥ*) have constantly attacked the innovations (*bid'a*) propagated by the *ṭarīqa*'s: their supererogatory exercises and their dispensations, their special costumes (characteristic headaddresses with strips of colour, *kuḥḥ*, *ṭaḥḥ* etc.), their use of stimulants (coffee, *ḥaḥḥḥ*, opium), their jugglery, their belief in the supernatural efficacy of the *taḥlīl* and the *ḥaḥka*. They have devoted special attention to the critical history of the *ṣawād* of initiation, exposing the lacunae and the improbability of their chains [cf. TAṢAWWUF] and they have protested against the *ṣawād ilḥāmī* (spiritual) which bases the privileges of the order on the apparitions of a holy being, mysterious and immortal, al-Khaḥḥir [q. v.], whom all the orders revere as the "master of the path" (*ṭarīḥa*), since having been the guide of Moses (Qur'ān, xviii. 64—81) he is superior to the law (*sharī'a*) and the prophets and capable of guiding the soul of the mystic to the supreme reality (*ḥaḥḥa*).

In Turkey the government has often persecuted the orders on account of their Shī'a associations; and after a brief truce during which the pan-Islām of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd endeavoured to make use of them, they were dissolved in 1925 for reactionary conspiracy. In the other Muslim coun-

tries in spite of some attempts at reform interesting from the moral (India) or intellectual (Algeria) point of view they are in a state of complete decline. The acrobatics and juggling practised by certain adepts of the lower classes, and the moral corruption of too many of their leaders has aroused against almost all of them the hostility and contempt of the élite of the modern Muslim world.

The *tariqa* however cannot be completely neglected: and although their average moral level is very far below that of the great examples of the first *Sūfiya*, the great part that they have never ceased to play in the everyday life, humble but profound, of the Muslim community, promises important results to those who will undertake a thorough study of their rules and writings. Ethnologists like Tremearne and Westermarck have already shown that several of their rites, incorporated in an Islamic liturgical structure, in which they play an unexpected part, are in reality pre-Islamic survivals (e.g. in the East Indies and in Java) or animistic infiltrations (e.g. *nir* of the Gūlghaniya of Cairo borrowed from the Azande; sacrifices of the *Isawiya* of Meknes, modelled on the *beri* of the Hausa; cf. *R. M. M.*, xlv, 1—52). Comparative folklore and psychology will also have something to learn from the hagiographic history of the saints documentation of the great Muslim orders (cf. *M. R. Baurt*, 1923, i, 259—270 and *Journal de Psychologie*, 1927, p. 163—168).

INTRODUCTION TO THE LIST OF THE TARIQA OF ISLAM.

To get the data in this list into their proper historical setting let us recall briefly that the isolated attempts at a common life in Islam [cf. *TAṢAW-WUF*] only earned their adepts a generic name in 814 (Alexandria, Kūfa) that of *Sūfiya*. After 857 (Maḥādīh) this name begins to be applied in a rather loose way to all who had received a mystic call in the *Irāq* (where some denser nuclei were called *Sālimiya*, *Hallādiyya*); this name was then contrasted for over two centuries with the name *Malūmatīya*, applied to the more active and more strict mystics of Khurāsān, who profess "indifference to censure" and reproach the *Sūfiya* with their aesthetic quietism and their fondness for the *ṣamāʿ*.

For this primitive period, the list below only gives anachronistic names, artificially revived from the thirteenth century by Muslim hagiographers with the names of authentic doctrinal schools, incorrectly described as religious orders and names of heresies imagined by the Imāmī theologians.

After the thirteenth century on the other hand, the list reflects with sufficient accuracy the different foundations of orders the history of which may be briefly summed up as follows: birth among the *Sūfiya-Khāṣṣiya* of a secondary order, the *Kāzā-rūtiya* (1304) and among the *Sūfiya-Djānādiyya* of a larger order, directed by regular superiors (*Qūrdjānī*, *Fārmādī*, *Nassādī*, *Aḥmad Ghazālī*) an order finally divided in the thirteenth century into three: *Khawājagān* (Yūsuf Hamadānī, d. 1140), the *Kubrāwiya* (Kubrā, d. 1221) and the *Kādirīya* (although their founder died in 1166, their rule was not organised till half a century later). To these two last orders, Aḥmad Ibn al-Kāḍī (*Kawā'id Wafīya*, cf. Laleli, MS. 1478) adds: the *Rifā'iya*, *Madaniya* (the future *Shādhiliya*) and *Chishtiya* to form the group of "five primitive *khawājagān*".

Others were soon added: in the thirteenth century

Kalandariya, *Ahmadiya*, *Mawlawiya*; in the sixteenth century *Bektāshīya*, *Nakshabandiya*, *Safawīya*, *Khalwatiya* with their numerous later subdivisions; in the sixteenth century we have the reformation by Dīzālī in the Maghrib and rise of the *Shattāriya* in India and Sumatra; finally in the sixteenth century in the Maghrib we have with the reformation of the *Kādirīya* and of the *Shādhiliya*, the foundation of the *Tidjāniya*, *Darkāwa* and *Sanūsiya*.

None of the great orders is at the present day centralised except the *Sanūsiya* and the *Mawlawiya*; the bond which binds the adepts, being neither perpetual nor exclusive, becomes often extremely loose. As a rule the number of persons affiliated to the brotherhoods in any particular Muslim country is not over 3% of the population, the most widely disseminated orders at present are: the *Kādirīya* (Irāq, Turkey, India, Turkestan, China, Nubia, Sūdān, Maghrib); *Nakshabandiya* (Turkestan, China, Turkey, India, Malaya); *Shādhiliya* (Maghrib, Syria); *Bektāshīya* (Turkey, Albania); *Tidjāniya* (Maghrib, A. O. F.; Tchad); *Sanūsiya* (Sahara, Hijāz); *Shattāriya* (India, Malaya).

Several attempts at the federation of various brotherhoods were made in the Imāmī period; they took the form of a curious syncretist hierarchy associating a permanent body of four universal intercessors: *Rifā'i* (president), *Djilānī*, *Badawī* and *Dawūdī*, with the *abdāl* and the *ḥuṣṣ* of the present hour.

The Muslim orders not all having special articles in the *Encyclopædia*, the list below gives in alphabetical order the names of the principal *tariqa* with a brief note on its origin and its subdivisions, its geographical position and the date (A. D.) of death of its founder. The principal orders are in small capitals and those that still exist are preceded by an asterisk. The capital letters in the list refer to the nine sources used, given below; the numbers given on the right give the number of classification of each *tariqa* according to each source: The symbolic figures of 32 and especially 40 (the number of the *abdāl* who watch over the safety of the world) will be noted.

H = Hudjwiri, *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, ed. Shukovski, 1926, p. 218—340, and transl. Nicholson, 1911, p. 176—266 (11 names);

U = 'Udja'imī, *Fahraza*, MS. M. Fasi (40 names);

S = Sanīstī, *Saltāt al-mu'in*, MS. in my possession (40 names);

T = Ma'ūm 'Alī Shāh, *Farā'iq al-Haḥā'iq*, lith. Teheran 1319, ii, 136 sqq. (17 names);

O = d'Othson, *Tallem général de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1788, ii, 294—316 [in Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 117; and Brown, *Darwishes*, ed. Rose, 1927, p. 267—271 (32 names)];

G = Gümüşkhānī, *Djāmi' uḥl...*, Cairo 1319, p. 3 sqq. (40 names);

R = L. Rion, *Marabouts et Khawān*, Algiers 1885 (31 names);

F = Malcolm, *History of Persia*, 1815, ii, 271 (5 names);

M = Massignon, *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*, 2nd ed., 1926 (the figures refer to the pages).

U and S, Arabic sources, still unfortunately unedited, are of fundamental importance. H, T, P are Persian. O, G, Turkish, have been compared with *R. M. M.*, ii, 513—517; *Isl.*, vi, 149—169; *M. W.*, 1922, p. 52—56. R, of Algerian origin, has been compared with le Châtelier (*Confréries*

musulmanes du Hadjas, Paris 1887), Depont-Copponi (*Confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897) and Montet (in *E. R. E.*, 1918, p. 719-726) who utilised it.

LIST

- Adhamiya. — O² — artificial Turco-Syrian isnād of the xvth century, referring to a saint († 776).
- AHMADIYA. — U¹⁴ S¹² G⁵ M¹¹⁷ — Egyptian order (Tantā. — Badawī † 1276). Numerous branches: Shīnāwīya, Marāṣika, Kanoṣīya, Anbābiya, Hammūdiya, *Maṣā'ifiya, Sallāmiya, Halābiya, Zahidiya, Shu'ābiya, Tashlyaniya, 'Arabiya, *Safūhiya, Bundāriya, Muslimiya (= Sharunbulāliya), *Baiyūmiya.
- *Aidarūsiya. — U²¹ S²³ G³⁷ — Yemenite branch of the Kubrawiya (xvth century).
- Akbāriya. — G⁷ — = Hātimīya.
- *Alawīya. — G²⁵ — artificial isnād referring to the 4th khalifa¹).
- *Allawīya. — Algerian branch of the Darḳāwa (Mostaganem — Ben Alioua, since 1919).
- *Amirghaniya. — Nubian branch of the Idrisiya — († 1853).
- *Ammāriya. — M⁹⁰ — Algero-Tunisian branch of the Kādīriya (xixth century).
- *Arūsiya. — R⁸ — Tripolitan branch of the Kādīriya (Zliten, xixth century).
- *Ashikīya. — P² — heresy.
- Ashrafiya. — O¹⁹ — Turkish branch of the Kādīriya (İznik) — († 1493) — = Wāhidiya.
- *Awāmīriya. — M⁹⁷ — Tunisian branch of the Isawiya (xixth century).
- *Azūziya. — M⁹⁷ — small Tunisian order (xixth century).
- Bābā'īya. — O¹⁷ — Turkish order (Adrianople) — († 1465).
- Badawīya. — O¹¹ — = Ahmadiya.
- *Bairamiya. — O¹⁸ G²⁰ — Turkish branch of the Safawīya (Angora) — († 1471). Sub-branches: Hamrawīya, Shaikhīya, Khwādja-Himmātiya, Baiyūmiya, G²⁰ — cf. Ahmadiya.
- *Bakkā'īya. — R²³ — Sudanese branch of the Kādīriya († 1505). Branches (Kunta): Fadliya, Al Sidīya.
- Bakriya. — G²² — cf. Siddikīya.
- " — name sometimes given to the Bait al-Bakr (Shuyūkh al-Sūfiya of Cairo since the xvth century).
- " — U²⁰ S¹⁰ (J²⁰ R¹¹) — Syro-Egyptian branch of the Shādhiliya — († 1503).
- " — Egyptian reformed Khalwatiya († 1709).
- *Banzwa. — branch of the Kādīriya in the Dekkan (xixth century).
- *Bektāshīya. — T⁸ O¹⁴ G¹² — Anatolian (since before 1336) and Balkan order (Albanian branch autonomous since 1922; centre at Akçe Hisar).
- *Bibariya. — M²³⁴ — small Sicilian order (in 1924).
- Biṣṭāmiya. — G² — artificial Turkish isnād of the xvth century (cf. Taifūriya).
- *Bū'aliya. — M⁹⁷ — Algero-Egyptian branch of the Kādīriya (xixth century).
- Buḥūrīya. — G²⁰ — not identified.
- *Būnūhiya (= Būniyū). — small order in Southern Morocco (cf. *R. M. M.*, [viii. 141]).
- *BURHĀNĪYA (or Burhāmiya). — U¹³ S²⁰ — Egyptian order (Ibr. Dāsūki † 1277). Branches: Shāhīya, Sharānība.

Dardīriya. — Egyptian branch of the Khalwatiya († 1786).

*DARḲĀWA. — M⁹⁰ — Algero-Moroccan branch of the Džazūliya. — († 1823). Various branches: Būzidiya, Kittāniya, Harṛākiya, 'Allawīya.

Dasūkiya. — G⁷ — = Burhāniya.

Dhahabiya. — T⁸ — Persian name of the Kubrawīya.

Djahriya. — U¹² S²⁰ — Yemenite order (xvth century).

" — M^{261, 267} — orders authorising the dhikr in public, in China and Turkestan (Kādīriya); cf. Khafiya. — (xixth century)².

*Djalāliya-Bukhārīya. — Hindu branch of the Suhrawardiya (Makhḍūm-i-djāhāniyān, † 1383).

DJALWATIYA. — O²⁰ G¹¹ — Turkish branch of the Safawīya (Brusa, Pir Uftada † 1580). Branches: Hāshimīya, Rawshāniya, Fanā'īya, *Hudā'īya.

Djamāliya. — T¹¹ — Persian branch of the Suhrawardiya. — (Ardistāni † xvth century).

" — O³² — Turkish order — Stambul. — († 1750).

*Djarrāhiya. — Turkish branch of the Khalwatiya. — († 1733).

DJAZULIYA. — R⁹ — Moroccan reformed Shādhiliya. — († 1465). Its branches are: Darḳāwa, Hamādīsha, Isawiya, Sharḳāwa, Taibiya.

Djibāwiya = Sa'īliya.

Djilāla. — Moroccan name for the Kādīriya.

Djamāidiya. — H⁴ U³⁰ S⁴ R³ — doctrinal Baghdad school († 909) which was evolved in the Sūfiya in the xth century —, and gave rise to the Khwādjaṅān, Kubrawīya and Kādīriya — name revived in the xvth century for the artificial isnād of a dhikr.

Firdawsiya. — Hindu name of the Kubrawīya.

*Ghawthīya. — U²⁷ S²⁰ — Hindu branch of the Shattāriya (Ghawth, † 1562 at Gwalior).

Gharāliya. — G¹³ — doctrinal school of Gharālī († 1111).

*Ghāziya. — R¹⁴ — branch of the Shādhiliya in South Morocco — († 1526).

*Gūlshāniya. — O²² G¹⁴ — = Rawshāniya.

*Guramar. — Hindu branch of the Kādīriya.

*Hablīya. — R¹³ — branch of Shādhiliya in Taflelt († 1752).

Haddādiya. — G³¹ — not identified.

*Haddāwa. — wandering Moroccan order: at Tagzirt. — (xixth century).

*Hafawīya. — R¹⁷ — Egyptian branch of the Khalwatiya. — († 1749).

Haidariya. — Persian branch of the Kalandariya (xiiith century).

" — = Khāksār. — Persian artisan brotherhood (xixth).

Hakīmiya. — H⁷ — doctrinal school of Haktm Tirmidhi († 898).

Hallādīya. — H¹² U³⁸ S⁵ — doctrinal school of Husain b. Mansūr Hallādī († 922); name revived in the xiiith century for the artificial isnād of a dhikr.

Hamadhāniya. — U⁷ S²¹ — Kashmir branch of the Kubrawīya. — ('Alī Hamadhāni † 1385).

1) Cf. 'Umariya (G²⁹), 'Ulmāniya (G²⁴), 'Abbāsīya (G²⁶), Zaimbiya (G²⁷).

2) Cf. Ghaibīya (G²²), Ḥaḍariya (G²⁰).

- ***Hamādiya**. — Moroccan branch of the *Djārūliya* in the Zerhoun (xviiith century) with sub-branches: *Daghūghiya*, *Ṣādīkiya*, *Riyāhiya*, *Kāsimiya*, — at Meknès and at Salé.
- Hamāwīya**. — G¹⁰ — mixture of *Bairamīya* and *Milāmīya*.
- ***Hanṣaliya**. — R²⁰ — small Orano-Moroccan order. — († 1702).
- * — Chleuh branch of the *Nāṣiriya* — (xixth century).
- Hārīya**. — Hamranian branch of the *Rifā'iya* — († 1247).
- Hāṭimīya**. — doctrinal school of Ibn 'Arabi († 1240).
- Hudā'iya** = *Djalwāṭiya*.
- Hulmāniya**. — H¹¹ — *Hulūfiya* sect of the xth century.
- Hulūfiya**. — H¹¹ — heresy.
- Hurūfiya**. — heresy.
- Ihāfiya**. — heresy.
- ***Idrīsiya**. — M⁴⁴ — branch of the *Khādirīya* settled in 'Asir (xixth century).
- Ighit-Bāghiya**. — O² — Turkish branch of the *Khawwāṭiya* († 1544).
- Ighitshāhiya**. — T⁷ — *Khurāsān* branch of the *Kubrāwīya* (Ishāq Khāṭalānt, † xvth century).
- ***Iṣāwīya**. — R²¹ G²⁶ (?) — Moroccan branch of the *Djārūliya* at Meknès († 1524).
- Ishrākiya**. — doctrinal school of Suhrawardī Hālahi († 1191).
- ***Isma'īliya**. — Nubian order in Kurfān (xixth century).
- Iṭīḥādiya**. — heresy.
- ***Kādirīya**. — U²⁰ S²⁰ T¹² O⁵ G⁷ R⁴ — Baghdad order developed from the school of the *Djunaidīya* ('Abd al-Kādir Djalānt † 1166). — Many branches: in Yemen and Somalia, *Yās'iya* (xivth century), *Mushāri'iya*, *Uṣbiya*; in India, *Banāwa* and *Gurmar*; in Anatolia, *Ashrafīya*, *Hindiya*, *Khulūfiya*, *Nābulsiya*, *Rūmiya* and *Waslatiya*; in Egypt, *Fāridiya* and *Kāsimiya* (xixth century); in Maghrib, *'Ammāriya*, *'Arūsiya*, *Bā'aliya* and *Djilāla*; in western Sūdān, *Bakkā'iya*.
- Kālandarīya**. — U³ S²⁰ — itinerant order founded in Persia (Sāwījī † 1218), spread to Syria and India (xivth century—xvth century) now extinct.
- ***Karrā'iya**. — M⁴⁷ — small Tunisian order (xixth century).
- ***Karrāsiya**. — R²³ — *Shādhiliya* branch in Tafīlet (xixth century).
- Kāssāriya**. — H² — doctrinal school of the ixth century = *Malāmīya*.
- Kāzartīniya**. — Persian order descended from the doctrinal school of the *Khāfiyya*, at Shirāz. — († 1304).
- Khādirīya** (= *Khidiya*). — R²⁷ — Moroccan order (Ibn al-Dabbāgh † 1717) whence are derived the *Amrighaniya*, *Idrīsiya* and *Sanīsiya*.
- Khāfiyya**. — H⁹ U¹⁰ S²¹ — doctrinal school of Ibn Khafīf († 982); name revived in the xivth century for an artificial ismā.
- ***Khāfiya**. — surname of the *Naqshabandiya* in China and Turkestan (xixth century); cf. *Djāhriya*.
- ***Khāliya**. — M⁴⁷ — small Tunisian order (xixth century).
- ***Khawwāṭiya**. — U¹⁰ S¹⁰ T⁷ O¹² G¹⁰ R²⁰ — branch of the *Suhrawardīya* which arose in *Khurāsān* (Zahir al-Dīn † 1397) and spread into Turkey. — Numerous branches: in Anatolia, *Djārūhiya*, *Ighitshāhiya*, *Ushshākiya*, *Niyāziya*, *Sūnābāliya*, *Shamāziya*, *Gūlghaniya* and *Shadja'iya*; in Egypt, *Djāliya*, *Hafnawīya*, *Saba'iya*, *Sāwīya*, *Dardiriya*, *Maghāziya*; in Nubia, in *Hidjāz* and in Somaliland, *Sālihiya*; in Kabylia, *Rahmāniya*.
- ***Khawwāsiya**. — M⁴⁷ — Tunisian order (xixth century).
- Khawwāsiya**. — H³ U²⁰ S²⁰ — doctrinal school of Abū Sa'īd Kharrāz († 899); then artificial Turkish ismā of the xvth century.
- Khawwāsiya**. — U²⁴ S²² — *Hidjāzī* order of Madaniya (Ibn 'Arāḥ † 1556).
- Khawwāsiya**. — T¹⁰ — Persian order descended from the school of the *Djunaidīya* and spread in Turkestan (= *Wasawīya*). — (Yūsuf Hamadhāni † 1140).
- Kubrāwīya**. — U⁶ S²⁰ T⁶ O⁸ — *Khurāsān* order descended from the school of the *Djunaidīya* (Nadīm Kubrā † 1221). Branches: *'Aidarāsiya*, *Hamadhāniya*, *Ighitshāhiya*, *Nūrbakhshīya*, *Nūriya*, *Rukniya*.
- Kūniyāwīya**. — T¹² — doctrinal school of Saḍr Rūmī († 1273), descended from the *Hāṭimīya*.
- Kūshāiriya**. — U²³ S²⁰ — artificial ismā of the xvth century, referring to *Kūshāirī* († 1074).
- Madaniya**. — U²⁷ S⁷ — first name of the *Shādhiliya*.
- * — Tripolitan branch of the *Darqāwa* at Misrata († 1823).
- ***Madāriya**. — U²⁰ S²⁰ — wandering Hindu order (Shāh Madār, † 1438 at Maknagar).
- Maghribīya**. — G²⁹ — perhaps to be identified with the disciples of the Persian poet *Maghribī* († 1406).
- Malāmīya**. — U⁵ S¹⁸ — doctrinal school of *Khurāsān* (ixth—xixth century), opposed to the *Ṣūfiya* of the 'Irāq — name revived in the xvth century for an artificial ismā.
- Malāmīya**. — G²⁶ — (= *Hamawīya*) — branch of the *Bairamīya* of Turkey († 1553).
- Manṣūriya** = *Hallādiya*.
- Marāṭika**. — branch of the *Aḥmadiya* (xivth century).
- Mashṭahīya**. — disciples of the Moroccan saint Ibn Mashṭah († 1226), at first confused with the *Shādhiliya*, then regrouped in the xvth century.
- ***Matbūliya**. — G²⁸ — small Egyptian order († 1475).
- ***Mawlawīya**. — U¹¹ S²³ T² G⁸ O¹⁰ — Anatolian order (Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, † 1273 at Kūniya). Branches: *Pūstnāshīniya*, *Iṣhādiya*.
- Miṣriya** = *Niyāziya*.
- Muhammadiya**. — U¹ S¹ — devotional artificial ismā referring to the Prophet without intermediary; utilised in the xvth century by 'Alī Khawwāz and *Shā'rānt*; also used in connection with the recitation of *Dalā'il* of *Djārūlī*.
- Muḥāsibīya**. — H¹ — doctrinal school of Hārith Muḥāsibī († 859).
- Murādiya**. — O³⁰ — Turkish order in Stambul. — († 1719).
- Mushāri'iya**. — U²⁰ S²⁴ — Yemenite branch of the *Kādirīya* (xvth century).
- Muṭāwī'a** = *Aḥmadiya*.
- ***Naqshabandiya**. — U²⁶ S²⁴ T¹⁰ O¹² G¹ R¹⁹ — order in Turkestan, claiming descent from the school of the

- Taifuriya. — Branches in China, Turkestan, Kazan, Turkey, India and Java. — (Bahā' al-Dīn †1388).
- NAKSHABANDIYA. — Khālidīya. — reformed Turkish (sixth century).
- *Nāsiriya. — R¹⁶ — South Moroccan branch of the Shādhiliya, at Tanghrit (xviii century) with Tunisian sub-branch (Shabbliya).
- *NĪMATALLĀHIYA. — T² — the only order of the Persian Shī'a in Kirman: descended from the Kādīriya-Yās'iya. — (†1430).
- Niyāziya. — O²⁰ — Turkish branch of the Khalwatiya (†1693).
- Nubūwiya. — artisan brotherhood in Syria (xiii century).
- Nūr al-Dīniya. — O²¹ = Djarāhiya.
- Nūrbakshīya. — T² — Khurāsān branch of the Kubrawīya (Muhammad Nūrbaksh †1465).
- Nūriya. — H²⁵ — doctrinal school of Nūrī (†907).
- * — U⁹ S²³ — dissenting branch of the Rukniya (xiv century).
- * — heresy.
- Pir-Hādījāt. — T¹⁴ — Afghan order professing to be that of Anṣārī Harawī (†1088).
- *Rahhāliya. — order of Moroccan jugglers (xvii century).
- *RAHMĀNIYA. — R²⁰ — branch of the Khalwatiya in Kabylia. — (1793).
- *Rahhādiya. — R¹² — small Algerian order formed dissenting from the Yūsufiyya (xix century).
- *Rasūlshāhiya. — M²³² — Hindu order of Gujjarat (xix century).
- Rawshaniya. — branch of the Khalwatiya, in Turkey and Cairo (Gulshani †1533).
- Afghan branch of the Suhrawardiya (Bāyazīd Anṣārī, † end of the xvth century).
- *RIFĀ'ĪYA. — U²² S² T⁹ O⁸ G⁴ — South Iraq order — (†1175) — spread from its centre in Basra to Damascus and Siambul. — Syrian branches: Haririya, Sa'diyya, Saiyādiya; — Egyptian: Bāziya, Mālīkiya, and Habbīya (xix century).
- Rukniya. — U⁸ S²² — Baghdad branch of Kubrāwiya ('Alī al-Dawīa Simūnī †1336).
- Rūmīya. — G¹⁴ — Ashrafīya.
- Sab'iyya. — doctrinal school and wandering order of Ibn Sab'īn (†1268).
- *Sa'diyya. — O¹² G¹⁰ — Syrian branch of the Rifā'iyya (Sa'd al-Dīn Dīrbāwī †1335). — Branches: 'Abd al-Salāmiya, Abu 'l-Wafā'iyya.
- Safawīya. — T⁴ — Azēri branch of Suhrawardiya at Ardabil. — (†1334). It gave rise to the sect of the Kābilshāhiya, to the Persian dynasty of the Safawids, and to several Turkish orders.
- Sahlīya. — H⁶ U⁴⁰ S⁴⁰ — doctrinal school (Sahl Tustarī †896); name revived in the xvth century for an artificial isnād.
- Sakātiya. — O⁴ — Turkish artificial isnād of the xvth century. — (Sakātī †867).
- Salāmiya = 'Arūsiya.
- Salīmiya = Sahlīya (in the first sense).
- *Sammāniya. — Egyptian branch of Shādhiliya (xix century).
- *Sanāniya. — M⁰⁷ — minor Tunisian order (xix century).
- *SANDIYA. — R³¹ — military order, descended from the Khādiriya, at Djabub then Cufra, in the oriental Sahara. — (†1859).
- Saāniya. — artisan brotherhood in Syria and Anatolia (xiith—xvth century).
- Saiyāniya. — H¹⁰ — doctrinal school of the xth century.
- *Shābāniya. — G⁰⁷ — Turkish branch of the Khalwatiya at Kastamuni. — (†1569).
- *Shādhiliya. — U¹⁷ S³ T¹⁰ O⁹ G³ R⁶ — order founded by Abū Madyan of Tlemcen (†1197) and 'Alī Shādhilī of Tunis (†1256). — Maghrib branches: Ghāziya, Habbīya, Karāziya, Nāziya, Shaikhīya, Suhailīya, Yūsufiyya, Zarīkiya and Ziyādiya; — Egyptian: Bakriya, Khawāfiyya, Wafā'iya, Djawharīya, Makkiya, Habbīmiyya, Sammāniya 'Alfiyya, Kāsimiyya, 'Arūsiya, Haḍḍāhiya, Kawūkhiyya; — there are some at Stambul, in Rumania, in Nubia and in the Comores.
- Shāhmadāriya = Malang = Madāriya.
- *Shaikhīya. — R²⁴ — name given to the Shādhiliya 'Ulad Sidi Shaikh of Oran (xix century).
- Shamīya. — O²⁷ — Turkish branch of Khalwatiya. — (†1601) = Nūriya-Siwāsiya.
- *Sharḳāwa. — Moroccan branch of the Djazūliya at Bujad (1599).
- Sharḳāwiya. — Egyptian order of the Khalwatiya (xviii century).
- *SHATTĀRIYA. — U²⁴ S²⁸ G²⁴ — Hindu, Sumatra and Javanese order ('Abdallāh Shattār †1415 or 1428)¹. — Branches: Ghawthiyya, 'Ubaikīya.
- Shūdhīya. — wandering Spanish order of the xiii century based on the Sab'iyya.
- Shiddīkiya. — U⁴ S² R¹ — artificial isnād referring to the second Khalifa (invented by 'Alī 'Ilāh, xiii century).
- Sinān-Ummīya. — O²⁸ — Turkish order (†1668).
- Suhailīya. — R¹² — Algerian branch of Shādhiliya (xix century).
- *SUHRAWARDIYA. — U¹³ S¹¹ T¹ O⁷ G⁹ R⁵ — Baghdad order founded by 'Abd al-Kāfir Suhrawardī (†1167) and 'Umar Suhrawardī (†1234) who were called "Shiddīkiya" — descendants of the second Khalifa; found in Afghanistan and in India. — Branches: Djalāliya, Djamīliya, Khalwatiya, Rawshaniya, Safawīya and Zainiyya.
- *Sulḥāniya. — M²³¹ — order of Turkestan (xix century).
- *Sunbūliya. — O²¹ G²⁰ — Turkish branch of the Khalwatiya (†1529).
- *Tabbā'iya. — M⁰⁷ — Tunisian order (xix century).
- *Taibiya. — R²⁸ — Moroccan branch of the Djazūliya at Ouezzan (†1727).
- Taifuriya. — H² — doctrinal school of Dāstikānī and Khurkānī (xix century), descended from Abū Yazīd Taifūr Bisfāmī (†877).
- *Tālibīya. — small Moroccan order at Salé (xix century; cf. R. M. M., lviii. 143).
- Talkīniya. — P³ — heresy.
- *Tidjāniya. — R²⁹ — Algero-Moroccan order (†1815). From Temacin and 'Ain Mahdi, it has spread through Eastern and Western Sūdān.
- *Tshishītiya. — U³² S²⁷ G¹⁰ — Indo-Afghan order: centre at Adjmir (†1236).
- Tulāmiya = Taibiya.
- 'Ulwāniya. — O¹ — Turkish artificial isnād of the xvth century, referring to a saint of Djedda of the viiith century.

¹ Cf. biogr. in Ghulām Sarwar, *Akharinat al-Afīya*, Lith. Cawnpore 1893, li. 306—308.

- Ummi-Sināfiya. — O²⁴ — Turkish order. — (†1552).
 'Urābiya. — [2² S⁸ — branch of the Kādīriya (xvth century).
 'Ushākiya. — [3² S² — Hindu branch of the Shat-
 'āriya (Abū Yazīd 'Ishkī †xvth century).
 *Ushākiya. — O²⁸ G²¹ — Turkish branch of the
 Khawāfiya (†1392).
 Uwaifiya. — [2² S² G⁴⁰ R² — Turkish artificial ismā'īl
 of the xvth century, referring to a Shāhī.
 *Wafā'iya. — R⁷ — reformed Syro-Egyptian of the
 Shādhiliya (†1358).
 Wuhādīya. — P⁵ — heresy = Wudjādīya.
 *Wārith 'Alighāhiya. — Hindu order (end of the
 xixth century).
 Wushāliya. — P¹ — heresy.
 Yasawiya. — branch of the Khwājagan in Turke-
 stan (Yasawi †1167).
 Yūsufiyya. — wandering Syrian order (Shāhīnī
 †1222).
 *Yūsufiyya. — R¹² — Maghrib branch of Shādhiliya
 at Miliana (xvth century).
 Zarrūkiya. — U¹⁰ S¹² R¹⁰ — branch of the Shādhili-
 ya of Fes (†1493).
 Zāniya. — O¹⁶ — Turk branch of Suhrawardiya
 at Brussa (Khwāfi †1435).
 *Ziyāniya. — R²⁸ — Maghrib branch of the Shādhili-
 ya (xixth century).
 Zurnīkiya. — P¹ — heresy not identified (name
 perhaps wrongly transcribed).

Bibliography: The principal sources are enumerated at the head of the table given above. One may add those given by G. Pfannmüller, in *Handbuch der Islam-Literatur*, 1923, p. 292—315. — Cf. also in the *Encyclopaedia* the articles BERKĀSH, DERGĀWA, DERWĪSH, DHĪK, FUTŪWA, GULSHANĪ, HALLĀJĪ, ISKAWIYA, KALANDARIYA, ... SA'DIYA, SĀLIMIYA, SANDHIYA, SHADĪ, SHĀDHILIYA, SHĀTĪ, SHĀTTĀRIYA... (LOUIS MASSIGNON).
TA'RIKH (A.), i. history in general, annals, chronicles. It is the title of a great many historical works, like the *Takmilat Ta'rikh al-Tubari*, supplement to the *Annals* of Tabari; *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, *Makbu* etc., history of Baghdad, of Mecca etc.; *Ta'rikh al-Andalus*, history of Andalusia. The word has also been applied to works of a very different kind, like that of al-Bīrūnī on India, *Ta'rikh al-Hind*, which is rather a study of the state of learning in India, or to special dictionaries like the *Ta'rikh al-Hukama'* of Ibn al-Kifī, a biographical and bibliographical dictionary of early scholars and Arab continuers of the Greek tradition.

2. Era, computation, date. Besides their own era of the Hijra [q. v.], the Muslims have had several other eras: that of the Creation or of the world (*ta'rikh al-'alam*), a very uncertain computation which shows great variation among Jews, Christians and Magi. Al-Bīrūnī and the Christian historian Abu 'l-Faraj (Bar-Hebraeus) reproach the Jews with having reduced the number of years since the Creation so that the date of the birth of Jesus is no longer in agreement with the prophecies relative to the Messiah; thus they placed the birth of Seth, son of Adam, 100 years too soon and have done the same with the other patriarchs down to Abraham so that their computation gives 4,210 years from the Creation to the age of the Messiah instead of 5,586 approximately

given by the Torah. The Jews, according to al-Bīrūnī, expected the Messiah at the end of the year 1335 of Alexander, so that Christ was born, in the general opinion, in the year 311 of this era. — The Era of the Deluge, which also shows differences between Jews and Christians; the astronomer Abū Ma'shar used it in his *Canon*. — The era of Nebuchadnezzar (the first Bukhārassar) used by Ptolemy in the *Almagest* concurrently with the Cycles of Callippus. — That of Philip Arrhidæus, father of Alexander, used by Theon of Alexandria in his *Canon*. — The era of Alexander, with Greek months, or era of the Seleucids, dates from the entry of Seleucus Nicator into Babylon, twelve years after the death of Alexander, in use among the Syrians and Jews (era of the Contracts); the Rūmīs also used it with a slight variation. Muhammad was born in the year 812 of the era of Alexander. — An era of Augustus; one of Antonius used by Ptolemy for corrections in the position of the stars. — The era of Diocletian or era of the martyrs which dates from the first year of the reign of Diocletian, in 596 of Alexander; it is that which was used by the Copts. — In Persia and among the Zoroastrians, the two eras of Yazdegerd III are dated one from his accession and the other from his death.

Under Muslim rule in Persia an interesting reform of the calendar took place when the Caliph al-Mu'tadid brought the *Nawrūz* or Persian New Year day, which the abolition of the intercalation had advanced too much, back to a date more in keeping with agricultural work. The Khānīan, the era of the Ilkhāns, was introduced into Persia by Ghāsan Mahmūd on Rājab I, 701 A. D.; it is a solar era. Another reform is that of the Seldjūk Sultān Malik Shāh who instituted the Djalālī era. — On March 1, 1676 (old style) the Ottomans adopted a solar calendar based on the Julian, and called it "The Ottoman fiscal calendar". The Julian year began about 11 days before the lunar year, the dates of the calendar did not keep in agreement with those of the Hijra. The Ilāhī era was established by Akbar in the 30th year of his reign. It dated from the 5th Rabi' II, 963 (Feb. 19, 1556), the date of his accession; the years are solar. In modern times, Muhtār Pasha Ghāzī has prepared another solar calendar of remarkable accuracy, which would only show an error of 0.28 of a day in a 100 centuries. — In 1926 the Kemālist Turks abandoned the Muhammadan lunar calendar and adopted the European system.

While talking of dates it may be worth mentioning the system of notation called *ijmal* (chronogram) which is sometimes found in texts of a literary character: it consists in dating by forming words, the numeral value of the letters of which gives the date. Thus the sentence *Nadjar al-khalq min al-kufi li-Muhammad*; "Muhammad saves the world from unbelief" gives, when the total value of its letters is added up, the date 1335 (an example from al-Bīrūnī).

Bibliography: al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology of ancient nations*, ed. and transl. E. Sachau, London 1879, chap. iii. and *passim*; Abu 'l-Faraj, *Ta'rikh muhtasar al-Duwal*, ed. Shāhīnī, Beyrouth 1890; E. Lacombe, *Table de concordance des dates des Calendriers arabe, copte, grégorien, israélites*, etc., Paris 1891.

TARIM, local (Turkish) pronunciation *Terim*, the principal river of modern Chinese Turkistan (length about 1,200 miles). It is probably the *Oikhardes* of Ptolemy (vi. 16). In the first (seventh) century the river is mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan-Cuang (Hsüen-Tsang, *Memoires*, transl. Stan Julien, ii. 220) under the name *Si-to* (Sanskrit *Śitā*). In the fifth (xth) century Mahmūd Kāshgharī (i. 116) mentions the river *Umi Tarim* "which flows out of the land of Islām into the land of the Uighurs and loses itself in the sand there". According to the same source (*op. cit.*, p. 332), *Umi-Tarim* was a place near Kučs on the frontier of the land of the Uighurs along which the river flowed. The name *Tarim* then as now was apparently applied to the lower course of the river; in its upper course, often also down to its mouth, it is called after the capital of Chinese Turkistan, Yārkand Daryā. The source of the Yārkand-Daryā is the Raakem-Daryā which lies in the mountains of Karakorum on the frontier of India. In the history of Timūr (*Zafar-nāma*, Calcutta 1887—1888, ii. 219), a place called *Tarim* is mentioned not far from Bāi and Kūsan (Kūšā). *Tarim* appears also in the *Tārīkh-i Rūshdi* of Muḥammad Ḥaidar (transl. E. D. Ross, p. 67) as the name of a district, along with *Turfān*, *Lob* and *Katak*; the name of the river is not mentioned in these sources. According to the *Tārīkh-i Rūshdi* (*op. cit.*, p. 11), the town of *Lob-Katak* (or the towns of *Lob* and *Katak*) was destroyed by a sandstorm in the viith (xivth) century. As Sven Hedin (*Through Asia*, London 1898, p. 850) has ascertained, legends about the destroyed town of *Katak* ("Šāhr-i-Kattak or else *Šāhr-i-Katak*") have survived to the present day, although no one has seen the ruins of this town. An arm of the *Tarim* in its lower course is called *Ketek-Tarim* (Kornilow, *Kashgariya*, Tashkent 1903, p. 164). In the time of Mahmūd Kāshgharī, Islām had apparently not yet spread on the lower course of the *Tarim*. The people of town and desert of *Lob* on the other hand are described as *Muḥammadans* by Marco Polo (Ch. 57).

The Yārkand-Daryā leaves the mountains and enters the plain at the village of Kārčun and receives on the left bank the Klāf-Su or Kāshghar-Daryā, the Aqsu or Aqau-Daryā, the Muzart or Shāh-Yār-Daryā and the Kōnde-Daryā, on the right the Tizab, the Khatan-Daryā and the Keryā-Daryā. The right hand tributaries only reach the *Tarim* when they are flooded. Below the mouth of the Aqsu the *Tarim* is about 400 yards broad; in this region it is divided into several arms; the principal arm, the Ugen-Daryā, is 170 yards wide at Terek where Sven Hedin crossed it (*Through Asia*, p. 847). The separate arms are lost in the basin of the *Lob* or *Lob-nor* (Mongol: Lake *Lob*) in which the Čerčen-Daryā also flows; the Su-li-ho also flows into it from the east. *Lop* (or *Lob*), according to Sven Hedin (*Through Asia*, p. 871), is now the name applied to the whole region from the mouth of the Ugen-Daryā and the *Tarim* in the north to the village of Čarkhlik (south of Čerčen-Daryā) in the south; as Pelliot (*Journ. As.*, Ser. xi., vol. vii. 119) suggests, the same word *Lop* is reproduced at the beginning of our era in Chinese by Leou-lan. As the terms *Lop-nor* and *Tarim-gol* (gol, Mongol: river; the latter on the map by J. Klaproth of 1829) show, the earliest accounts of the lake basin and lower course of the *Tarim* reached European scholars from

Mongol (or Kalmük) sources. Quite recently the geographical conditions and the archaeological remains on the lower course of the *Tarim* have been investigated by numerous expeditions and many endeavours have been made to connect modern sites with references in the literary, especially Chinese, sources. According to Sir Aurel Stein's most recent explorations (1914; cf. *Geogr. Journ.*, Aug. and Sept. 1916), there has probably been a large delta in the now almost completely dried up bed of the *Lob*, but never a large lake within historic times.

On account of its continental climate, the *Tarim* in spite of southern situation is covered with ice about three months of the year. On the lower course of the *Tarim* the natives (*Lop-lā*) catch fish in special boats. Sven Hedin explored the region of *Lob-nor* in one such boat; there has never been any navigation in the proper sense on the *Tarim*. As in the time of Mahmūd Kāshgharī, the river was swallowed up by the desert before it reached the bed of the lake; the fishing village of *Kam-čapghan* is described by Hedin (*op. cit.*, p. 884) as "the entrance to the tomb of the *Tarim*".

Bibliography: A particularly full account of the most important sources is given in Kornilow, *Kashgariya*, Tashkent 1903, p. 157 sqq., from his own researches and the narration of Przewalski, Hedin, Plevtsov, Kozlov etc.

(W. BARTHOLO)

TARİM, 1. an old town and still one of the most important in northern *Ḥaḍramūt*, on the left side of the main wādī which traverses the whole of *Ḥaḍramūt* and is called *Wādī Maslā* east of *Shihām* or *Wādī Ḥaḍramūt* or simply *al-Wādī*; others distinguish *Wādī Maslā* and *Wādī Ḥaḍramūt*, but are not agreed on the position of the confluence of the two (cf. Stieler's map 60 in his *Handatlas* [Göttingen 1905] and the *Map of Ḥaḍramūt* [surveyed by Imam Sharīf Khan Bahadur] in Th. Bent, *Southern Arabia*, London 1900, p. 70). The statements of the Arab geographers regarding *Ḥaḍramūt*, especially the interior (already in part utilised by Ritter, *Erkunde*, iii. [Berlin 1846], *passim* and brought together in a critical survey based on all texts, so far accessible, by M. de Goeje, *Hadhravant, Resur Coloniale Internationale*, ii. 1886, p. 101 sqq.) are exceedingly scanty and do not give the impression of being based on the accounts of eye-witnesses, but contain the same matter as the isolated references in the travellers before Wrede and his own information about districts which he was not able himself to visit. The Arab geographers describe *Shihām* and *Tarīm* as two (principal) towns in *Ḥaḍramūt*, without further defining their situation, e.g. Vāḡūr, *Muḍjam*, ii. 284; iii. 247; i. 746; al-Idrīsī (see Jaubert, *Géographie d'Édrisī* [Paris 1836], p. 149 sq. and 53) and others (see below). Al-Ḥamdānī, *Qasra*, p. 87, calls *Tarīm* a large town (as he does the Tarta northeast of *Shihām*), *Shihām* the great capital (p. 86). Of no importance are the mere references as in al-Ḥamdānī, p. 177 (along with *Tarīm*) etc., or references in poets in al-Ḥamdānī, p. 182; al-Bakrī, p. 107, 184 etc. K. Niebuhr, as early as 1763 (see his *Beschreibung von Arabien* [Copenhagen 1772], p. 286 sqq.) received in *San'a'* and *Maskat* from Arab stories of the existence of *Tarīm* and *Shihām* (on p. 286 the mention of "these two most prominent towns of *Ḥaḍramūt*" is quoted from the *Geographia*

Nubiensis (the Latin synopsis of al-Idrîsî, Paris 1619) and Abu 'l-Fidâ'. Ritter and others have given mistaken accounts of the geographical position of Tarim; according to the best available map of Hadramût (that of L. Hirsch) it is approximately in 49° 55' E. Long. and 16° 44' N. Lat.

L. W. C. van den Berg, from his official position in Batavia, was able to get very full particulars of their native land from Arabs from Hadramût, who had migrated to the Dutch East Indies, as their countrymen still do; most of his informants came from the district of the principal Wâdi between Shibâm and Tarim. This information he worked up in his *La Hadramaut et les Colonies Arabes dans l'Archipel Indien* (Batavia 1886) (cf. C. Smuck Hargronje, *Arabie en Oost-Indië* (Leyden 1907, p. 19 sqq., French translation in *Revue de l'Histoire des Rel.*, lvii., 1908, p. 74 sqq.)). Along with much other information we owe to van den Berg the first more accurate details of Tarim. According to him it was the old capital (Maltian marks Tarim on the map in his *Krist* as "capital of Hadramaut proper"); Sai'un (p. 13), he says, is the modern capital. On p. 26 he describes the wâdis that come from the north from the al-Wofl mountains. On p. 18 sqq. he gives distances for the various stations on the road from al-Shihîr to Tarim. Tarim is surpassed by Sai'un in all respects in which it once had the supremacy in the land, number of inhabitants, trade, industry and it is more advanced generally. Several houses were already uninhabited, streets deserted, a large number of mosques no longer visited or fallen into disrepair. The decline of the town is said to have begun as early as the thirties of last century and to have been brought about by the constant feuds between the tribes of the district. According to a not very probable report in the Arabic newspaper *al-Djowâ'ib* of 18th Rabi' I 1299 (Feb. 8, 1882, Constantinople), Tarim had about 25,000 inhabitants (cf. Wrede's statement); according to the results of van den Berg's enquiries (p. 52) it had only 10,000 (which coincides with Wellsted's statement). Tarim was formerly the centre of the textile industry of Hadramût, which however was only carried on in private houses and in his time (p. 78) was still of importance, although it had begun to decline as a result of European competition. So early a writer as Seetzen (*Zeich's Monat. Correspondenz*, 1811, xxviii., p. 240) knew that silk shawls embroidered with gold thread were made in Tarim. The town was at one time also the centre of higher education in the land (grammar, theology and law): Sai'un has now taken its place in this respect also (p. 88).

In the collection of Hadramût stories collected by C. Landberg (*Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, I., *Hadramût*, Leyden 1901) from the lips of natives, Tarim is mentioned (p. 175 [185], 432) (in the last passage there is a reference to the school there, *Rûs Tarim*; further particulars of it on p. 450 sq.).

The first European to visit Shibâm, Sai'un and Tarim, (July 1893) and to be able to report on the town from his own experiences, was Leo Hirsch (*Reisen in Südarabien, Makra-Land und Hadramût*, Leyden 1897). His description of the journey from Shibâm to Tarim (p. 209 sqq.) and his account of the latter town are full of information. Tarim, he says, lies on the left bank of the Wâdi Mâlle (going from Shibâm) on the side of a hill, according to his map on the southern slopes; v. d. Berg's state-

ment: "Terim (est situé sur le versant) de la chaîne des montagnes septentrionales" (p. 22) should therefore be corrected. On p. 227 sqq. Hirsch gives a fuller description of the town and its situation. Here we will only mention that whole quarters of the town, especially the southwestern part, present a desolate appearance and among the houses which are mostly in ruins — as v. d. Berg already mentioned — there are very few distinguished for size or good repair. The number of mosques, the well kept whitewashed minarets of which rise up among the houses, is not very large according to him (p. 229) (according to v. d. Berg over 300). With his statement "The medrese, where theology and law are taught, is joined to the Rubâi Mosque" we may compare the reference quoted above from Landberg and v. d. Berg's note (p. 88) that the high school, also a hostel for students, at Sai'un, an annexe of the great mosque there, is called *Rubâi* (cf. *rubâi* in the meaning: "hostel for poor Muslim students"). According to Landberg's information, the school at Tarim was closed and its place taken by that at Sai'un (see also v. d. Berg). Hirsch learned from a sayid of the town, who was lamenting its increasing decline, that it had consisted from early times of five *biḥāl* (quarters) and its population was then 3,810. The Sultân of the town had only a nominal authority and was in reality in the hands of the great sayids (p. 231). Tarim like Sai'un belongs to the Kathiri tribes; it has its own coins of silver and copper (a collection in the Berlin and British Museum; some reproduced at the end of Hirsch's book; see also Sir John A. Bucknill, *A Note on some coins struck for use in Tarim, Southern Arabia*, in the *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. III, part I, [April 1925] with a plate). On account of the hostile attitude of the population, Hirsch had to leave Tarim after a few hours' stay only and return to Shibâm next morning; he had no time for a thorough examination.

From a comparison of his statements with the second-hand information of earlier writers, it is evident that, apart from the points of difference already indicated from v. d. Berg, in the latter's map the places from Shibâm to Tarim are put too far to the east and that he has also not given correctly the size and population of the three important towns. Shibâm the largest town — as it was even in al-Ḥamdânî's time — which has about 6,000 inhabitants (Hirsch, p. 198 and Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 148; on the other hand v. d. Berg, p. 42 says only 2,000), is considered an important town and far surpasses Sai'un (with c. 4,500 inhabitants, according to v. d. Berg on the other hand 15,000) and Tarim as a centre of life and activity (Hirsch, p. 205), is put by him too far below Sai'un, whose Sultân is said to be recognised in Tarim also, and even below Tarim in importance. The opinion of D. G. Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia* (London 1905), p. 222, that "the rivalry of these towns is such, and the changes in them are so frequent, that it is not impossible that Van den Berg was right at the moment, in regarding Sai'un as the capital of Hadramawt, with Tarim for its only peer", is hardly plausible in view of the shortness of the interval. We may note here the reference to the "journey of Mu'allim 'Abd from Ghish to Terim" in W. Hein (*Südarabische Itinerarien*, M. G. G. W.,

lvii. [1914], p. 37 *sqq.* published by his widow from his literary remains), according to which Sal'ūn is larger than Tarim, and Shibām smaller than these two towns and larger than the others (p. 43), which would rather agree with v. d. Berg's estimate. Against this view however are the statements according to which Shibām is 7 to 8 days' journey from Tarim (p. 42). Here again Hirsch's testimony seems to be preferable.

In January of the year after Hirsch (1894) Bent and his wife succeeded in reaching Shibām; they did not get to Tarim. Bent also says (*l.c.*, p. 119), in contrast to v. d. Berg and others, that the Salhāns of Sal'ūn and Tarim have no authority outside their towns (on the southern Arabian Saltānates, cf. C. Smoock Hargreaves, *L'interdit siculier* ... en Hadramūt, *Revue Africaine*, 1905, p. 92).

Bibliography: the works quoted in the text, especially those of Hirsch, v. d. Berg, de Goeje, Hein, Sprenger, Wiese-Maltzan, Ritter, and the Arab geographers (al-Hamdāni, Yāqūt, al-Idrīsī, Bakrī). (J. TKATSCHE)

TARIM. 1. According to Ḥajjājī Khaliḥ, *Djizān-namā*, p. 490 (cf. Hammer-Purgstall, *Über die Geographie Arabiens, Jahrbücher der Literatur*, Vienna 1841, xciv., p. 93 and following him Ritter, xii. 727), a fortress on the road which runs from the coast-town of Djizān on the Red Sea eastwards via *Newidje and the castle of Feleki (according to v. Hammer's transcription, which seems not quite certain) to Sa'da; that is in the Upper Yemen. From the mention in the verse of Kuthaiyir referred to by al-Hamdāni, *Sifat*, p. 182 and quoted by al-Bakrī, p. 184 (cf. 107) and 196, the situation of the place cannot be more accurately deduced. Al-Hamdāni, immediately after mentioning Humayn lying between Mecca and Kārn, i.e. a place in the southern Ḥijāz, mentions Baidah and Tarim only on the authority of Kuthaiyir without saying anything about its position. Al-Bakrī mentions (p. 195) Tiryam, for which he gives references from poets, and (p. 196) the Tarim occurring in al-A'shā and Kuthaiyir, which either has this vocalisation on account of the metre or is another place, and only then proceeds to deal with the town of the same name in Ḥadramūt (cf. No. 1) under *Tarimu*. Tarim is certainly to be distinguished from Tiryam. The verse refers, in a purely poetical simile, to a "desert of Tarim" without any geographical precision, a reference which like so many topographical references in the poets seems to be quite a conventional one, for the poet was not at all concerned with its geographical position. As regards Kuthaiyir it is certain that he is not thinking of either of the two places in Ḥadramūt of this name (No. 1 and 2). Al-Shu'ayb, mentioned by him in the same verse immediately after Tarim, is said by al-Bakrī, p. 184 to be a coast-town on the Yemen road, which is in keeping with the order in al-Hamdāni. The verse of al-A'shā, which also mentions Tarim without further precision, is quoted by Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, i. 846, as referring to the town in Ḥadramūt, while al-Bakrī quotes it along with Kuthaiyir's verse without however giving his opinion of the localisation of the Tarim mentioned by the two poets, p. 196, s. v. *Tiryam*, and not when discussing the Tarim in Ḥadramūt. — The *Ta'jī al-A'ar* (viii. 211) which gives further places named Tarim, gives as the first of them in almost the same words as the *Lisān al-Arab* (xiv. 332) the

form Tiryam (on the authority of al-Djauharī; the *Kānūn*, s. v. knows only this form) and then, after others, Taryam (cf. al-Bakrī, p. 195 *sq.*, and records the statement that it is a wādī near al-Naḥī' — which is disputed by many on the ground that al-Naḥī' is a wādī near Madīna — according to the contrary view, a wādī near Yanbu' in the Ḥijāz (cf. al-Hamdāni, p. 181 and Yāqūt, i. 846; cf. thereon al-Bakrī, p. 195 and 548). In any case it is different from the Tiryam mentioned by Yāqūt (*op. cit.*) which is in the north near Madyan (the Turiam of the Admiralty Chart; on it cf. Ritter, xiii. 282; Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 23). According to the *Ta'jī*, Tiryam is also a place in the desert of Bayra. He then goes further than the *Lisān* and, after mentioning the Tarim in Ḥadramūt, says, that there is a Tarim in Syria and then goes on to deal with the "Yemen town". — Wāstenfeld, *Yemen im XI. Jahrhundert* (*Abhandl. der Kön. Ges. d. Wissensch.*, xxxii.), Göttingen 1885, p. 39, only mentions, in connection with the history of Hasan Paṣha (from al-Muḥibbi) that Tarim should be read for Tiryam in the list of fortresses taken by the Emir Sinān in 1006 (1597—1598). This is correct, but the reason given that "Tarim is in Ḥadramūt" is not. There is certainly a Yemen Tarim also, but the geographical situation of these fortresses, which are in the Ṣan'a' region, shows that it is not the one in question. Stieler's *Handatlas*, 9th ed., Gotha 1905, *Karte von Arabien* (ed. by Habenicht), marks Tarim west of Sa'da in approx. 43° 20' East Long. and 16° 57' N. Lat. which agrees with the statement of the *Djizān-namā*; the English General Staff map of the coast (Sheet 3, *Sinai*, 1916) does not mark it.

Bibliography: given in the text.

(J. TKATSCHE)

TARKIB BAND is a poem composed of stanzas of from five to eleven couplets. Each stanza, like a *ghazal*, has its own rhyme, the first two hemistichs and the second hemistich of each succeeding couplet rhyming with one another, but the rhyme of each stanza varies from that of the others, though the metre must be the same throughout the poem. After each stanza occurs a couplet in the same metre as the rest of the poem, but with its own rhyme, the two hemistichs rhyming with one another. When the same couplet is repeated after each stanza, as a refrain, the poem is called *Tarkib Band*, but the older writers on prosody applied this name to all poems in this form, whether the couplet was repeated or varied.

Bibliography: Shams al-Din Muhammad b. Kaṣī al-Rāzī, *al-Maḥjam fi Ma'ayir al-Af'ān*, edited by Mirzā Muḥammad and E. G. Browne, G. M. S.; Naṣir al-Din al-Ṭūfī, *Mi'yar al-Af'ān*, lithographed edition by Muḥammad Sa'd Allāh Murābbāḥī, Lucknow 1282; Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique et Prosodie des Langues de l'Orient Musulman*, Paris 1873, 2nd edition. (F. W. HAIG)

TĀROM (TĀRUM), 10. district on the Ḳāzī-Uzūn (cf. SAVID-ROD).

The name. The Arabs call it Tarm, Tirm (Mutanabbī), Tirm (*B. G. A.*, vi. 404, 405). Yāqūt mentions it on two occasions, under Tarm and Tāram. Mustawfī uses the Arabic dual *Tarumain*, the "two Tārams". The modern Persian pronunciation is Tārom. Although Tārom is now the name of the district, there is also a little town

named Tārom on the right bank of the Kīlī-Uzān (between Wenisārā and Kallādj); another village of Tārom (<Tārom) lies to the right of the direct road from Ardabil to Miyāna outside of the district of Tārom.

Tārom, like Khalkhāl, which adjoins it, is not yet sufficiently explored.

Below Miyāna [q. v.] the Kīlī-Uzān reaches its most northerly point near the Pardālā bridge. From there to its junction with the great Shāh-Rūd [q. v.], the Kīlī-Uzān — for a distance of about 100 miles — follows the general direction of N.W. to S.E. Tārom roughly speaking lies on the middle section of the river.

To the south the mountains of Čila-Khānā etc. separate Tārom from Zandjān [q. v.]. To the east the boundary of Tārom is the junction of the great Shāh-Rūd with the Kīlī-Uzān above the Mandjil bridge. To the N.E. the mountains of Gilān separate the basin of the Kīlī-Uzān from Masūla (Gilān). To the north and northwest Tārom is contiguous with Khalkhāl. To the southwest it is bordered by the districts dependent on Zandjān (notably the old canton of Kāghadh-Kunān).

In its northern bend, the Kīlī-Uzān cuts itself a passage through an impassable defile the depth of which is 2,200—2,700 feet. The villages and arable lands of Khalkhāl are on the high plateaus (5,200—6,000 feet high) above the sides of the defile. The ravine runs for a distance of 60 miles to Miyānsarā where on the left bank the Kīlī-Uzān receives the waters of the little Shāh-Rūd (to be distinguished from the great Shāh-Rūd, which comes from Talakān and flows into the Kīlī-Uzān on the right bank to the west of Mandjil). Below the ravine the valley of the Kīlī-Uzān widens for a distance of 60 miles and there are quite a number of villages on both banks. Near Darband the cliffs contract the water-course but afterwards the valley broadens again till just before Mandjil (12—13 miles).

Tārom properly so-called begins where the Kīlī-Uzān leaves its gorge and the gorge at Darband divides it into two parts, an upper and a lower. Details of districts of Tārom are given in the *Nushat al-Kulūb* (1340) but the names of the villages are corrupted in the manuscript.

a. The upper district includes the following cantons: 1. Dizābād-i Sufiā with 25 villages; its position on either side of the Kīlī-Uzān at the mouth of the defile is indicated by the villages Nimahil, Gul-čīn and Kalāsar (Kihār?). We may further note that the upper part of the same canton (*Dizābād-i 'Ulyā*, *Nushat*, p. 66) used to belong to the town of Kāghadh-Kunān (the old Khūnād), the exact site of which has not been identified. 2. The canton of Tārom-i 'Ulyā in the strict sense (with 100 villages) lies on both banks of the Kīlī-Uzān. Its position is indicated by the villages (still in existence) of Qalāt (cf. Yāqūt: Qilāt), on the right bank of the Kīlī-Uzān and to the right of the road from Zandjān via Akh-gādak, and Darrām on the left bank. The position of the canton of 3. Nābār(?) Bīdān(?) is not clear, unless the first name corresponds to Pābar(?) which the Russian map puts on the left bank near the Ōbar mentioned by Rawlinson. According to the latter, Upper Tārom (which should be called Tārom-i Khalkhāl?) consists only of the narrow strip on the right bank while the left bank bears the name of the Pušt-i Kūh

(*the back mountain", with reference to Gilān?). The evidence of the *Nushat al-Kulūb*, as well as that of Fortescue however suggests that Tārom includes some villages on both banks of the Kīlī-Uzān. On the other hand the strip on the right bank is not very narrow; many torrents descend from the mountains which separate Tārom from Zandjān and before reaching the Kīlī-Uzān disappear in the irrigation canals.

b. The cantons of the lower district are 4. that which is commanded by the fortress of Shamīrān (50 villages) and which is situated on both banks (on the right bank there is still the village of Kallādj mentioned in the *Nushat*; 'A'wā' must be Altun-Kush on a little tributary on the right; cf. the *Mir'āt al-Buldān* and the Russian map); 5. the canton of the fortress of Firdāwa (20 villages), the situation of which is indicated by the village of Surdān (on a right bank tributary above Altun-Kush). Another passage in the *Nushat al-Kulūb*, p. 217, adds that the canton of 6. Bara, where the great Shāh-Rūd rejoins the Kīlī-Uzān also belongs to Tārom. A passage in the *Ālām-ārā*, p. 335, shows that in the Safawid period, even Mandjil and Kharzawī to the east of the Shāh-Rūd went with Tārom. At the present day the important town of Mandjil which may correspond to the old Harkūn (Yāqūt, iv. 963) and which commands the entrance to Gilān by the valley of the Safid-Rūd, belongs to Gilān (Rasino, *R. M. M.*, xxiii. 259). Lastly, according to the *Nushat al-Kulūb*, p. 67, the revenues of the cantons of 7. Tirak(?), Mirdmān(?) and Andīdjan (cf. Yāqūt: Andīdjan) were divided between Tārom and Kharwīn. These cantons must be at the source of the Yūz-Bashī-Čai (the gorge of Miḍā 'Alī) the waters of which flow from the left bank into the Shāh-Rūd [on the Russian map we find here the villages of Marčīn and Anda marked].

Khalkhāl. The frontiers of Tārom are little known on the Khalkhāl side. Tārom in general was included in the dependencies of Irāk-i 'Adjam (cf. Schwarz, p. 736 and *Nushat*, p. 65 sq.). As to Khalkhāl, it formed part of Ādharbāidjān (or more exactly of its *tawān* Ardabil, *Nushat*, p. 81). The name Khalkhāl is not found before Yāqūt, ii. 459.

The name Khalkhāl of Ādharbāidjān must be connected with that of the old town of Khalkhāl of the district of i ti in Transcaucasia [cf. 𐎧𐎠𐎧𐎡] which Greek and Armenian authors mention between the second and fifth centuries as the winter-residence of the kings of Armenia and later of those of Albania (Arian); cf. Marquart, *Erzählung*, p. 116. It is possible that in the early centuries of Islam, the whole country between Ardabil and the Kīlī-Uzān was known as al-Bahr (the reading is not quite certain; Noldeke, *Geographie*, p. 481). This old term is frequently used alongside of Tallān = Tallah; cf. Balāghuri, p. 318, 322, 327; Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 57, 119; Kutiāma, p. 245, 261; Dinawari, p. 197; Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj*, i. 287. The Kīlī-Uzān forms a serious barrier to communication and thus formed a convenient administrative boundary between Ādharbāidjān and Irāk-i 'Adjam. The name Khalkhāl comes from the town of this name which became the capital after the disappearance of the ancient centre Fīrāzān (now Kābakh). Khalkhāl practically coincides with the valley of the left bank tributary of the Kīlī-Uzān. One of

the arms of this river comes from the north (from the pass of Kizil-Yokush, on the Ardabil-Pardalis road) and runs past the village of Sandjawa (Yakūt, iii, p. 160: Sindjādū) or Sindjābādū; *Nushat*, ed. Le Strange, p. 180, 223: Sandjila etc.; Olearius [1663], p. 472: Sengoz). The source of the other arm is to the northeast on the western slopes of the mountains of Tāligh (near the present capital of Khalkhāl: Herow < Hirāhād). This arm is called after the village of Kūl (*Nushat*, ed. Le Strange, p. 223: Gadiw, Kadpa, but p. 84: Kūl). The two arms join near the village of Kabakh; finally the river receives on its left bank the stream from the old town of Khalkhāl (there are now several villages of this name in the valley) and flows into the Kizil-Uzān a little below the bridge of Pardalis (cf. *Nushat al-Kulūb*, p. 81: Bardalis, p. 180: Barūllā). The river Kūl describes a wide curve from east to west. To the south of the town of Herow is the high massif of Akh-dagh, the ramifications of which separate the valley of the Kūl from that of Tārom. From the south face of the Madjara (or Barandak) pass exactly south of Herow comes the little Shāh-Rūd (*Nushat*, p. 223: Shāl-rūd, from the name of the village of Shāl which still exist) which flows into the Kizil-Uzān from the left side near the Miyān-Sārā (where the Kizil-Uzān leaves the gorge). Among the dependencies of Ardabil, the *Nushat*, p. 82, mentions the valley of the little Shāh-Rūd (30 villages) as well as a considerable district of Dārmazān (100 villages) which has not been identified. In any case Khalkhāl, Dārmazān and Shāh-Rūd leave little room for dependencies of Tārom on the left bank of the Kizil-Uzān.

Communications, Products. The principal route between Ardabil and Zandjān (by the old bridge of Pardalis in the middle of the gorge of the Kizil-Uzān) passes via Khalkhāl to the west of Tārom. The caravans which take a shorter route through Tārom (Ardabil-Herow-Barandak-Kālūt-Akh-gādūk-Zandjān) have to cross the Kizil-Uzān in boats (*hātāt*). The traffic between Ardabil and Zandjān is not important; under the Pahlavi regime the question has been raised of joining Fūmen (in Gilān) to Zandjān by a road through Tārom.

According to Yakūt, Tārom is very mountainous and in spite of that fertile (*ma'a dhā'ika mu'abihā* "rich in herbs?"). The cotton of good quality, the name of which, according to Yakūt, was associated with Tārom must have come from the canton of Dizbād for the factories of Kāghadh-kunān (literally "place where paper is made") could not have existed without cotton. The high plateaus of Khalkhāl were still at the beginning of the sixteenth century regarded as the granary from which 'Abbās Mirā drew his supplies of wheat. Rawlinson saw in Tārom many orchards but in 1921 the district made a very poor impression on Fortescue. According to the *Mir'at al-Buldān*, Tārom has lead, copper and vitriol (*sūf*) mines.

Towns and Villages. According to the *Nushat*, p. 65, the capital of Tārom was at first Firzābād (in the lower district and quite distinct from Firzābād of Khalkhāl). In the Mongol period Andar (F in the upper district) took its place. According to Rawlinson, Wenisard (the Russian map: Venisārā) on the right bank was the centre of Tārom; according to Fortescue, this is Banari (left bank). The new centres seem to

be gravitating towards the Ardabil-Herow-Zandjān road.

The fortress of Samirān (Shamirān) was of much more importance: it was visited by Mi'sar b. Muhalhil, Nāsir-i Khusrāw and Yakūt. The site of Shamirān has not been discovered but the itinerary of Nāsir-i Khusrāw enables it to be fixed with sufficient accuracy. The traveller coming from Kāzwān arrived at Kharrāwil (below Mandjil); from there after a descent of 3 farsakhs, he arrived at Brzalkhyr (?), a dependency of Tārom. He then came to a village of Khandān on the Shāh-Rūd near its mouth. At Khandān a toll for crossing (*hāf*) was levied by the Amīr (of Tārom). From here to Shamirān, Nāsir-i Khusrāw reckons it 3 farsakhs. In reality the distance from Kharrāwil to the Shāh-Rūd in a direct line is not over 5 miles. In the more open country to the west of the Shāh-Rūd, 3 farsakhs would be the equivalent of a longer distance in miles. According to Yakūt, Samirān was "on a large river"; all these details enable us to locate Shamirān near Darband. Indeed Rawlinson mentions the ruins there of a "large and very strong fort" (3 miles below Gilwān) and the Russian map shows the "ruins of a fortress" on the cliff on the left bank (c. 7 miles above the mouth of the Shāh-Rūd). The strategic importance of Shamirān was that it guarded at its narrowest point the entrance to Tārom by the valley of the Kizil-Uzān while the fort of Kālūt commanded the entrance from the Zandjān side.

History. We do not know who were the early inhabitants of the district of Tārom. Rawlinson located in this part of the Kizil-Uzān, the ancient people of the Cadusii and relied for this on the authority of Dīhānī (*Akhāl al-'Alam*?) who still (sixth century?) calls all this district Kādūstān (?). The wild and remote country of Tārom-Khalkhāl only played a part in history in the period of the Musāfirid dynasty (q. v.) which, with Shamirān as its capital, ruled Adharbāidjān, Arrān, Gilān and the country as far as Kaly. As early as 316 (928) we find Sallār b. Aswār lord of Shamirān; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 142. Mi'sar b. Muhalhil (c. 330) quoted by Yakūt speaks of 2,850 large and small buildings in Shamirān. From the interesting letter of the Buyid vizier Šāhib b. 'Abīd Talakānī, quoted by Yakūt (s.v. Samirān) it seems that Tārom was at first under Kāzwān, from which it was detached by Muḥammad b. Musāfir, who coveted the district for its fortress. Šāhib pays a high tribute to the importance of Shamirān by calling it "sister of the fortress of Almut" (Muḥaddasī, p. 360) and mentions the ornamentation of the fortress of Samirān (sic!) in the form of lions in gold, the sun and the moon. In 379 the Buyids acquired Shamirān by a matrimonial alliance, but after the death of Fakhr al-Dawla, the Musāfirid Ibrāhīm seized Zandjān, Abhar, Sardjūhān (a district to the north of Abhar near Sa'in-kal'a = the old Kāhūd) and "Shahrizār" (reading uncertain, but the place must be identified with "Shahrizār", *Shahrizār*) which the *Nushat al-Kulūb*, p. 65 mentions among the dependencies of Lower Tārom. Shamirān is not explicitly mentioned among these domains but in 438 (1046) Nāsir-i Khusrāw found at Shamirān (Samirān) a Musāfirid prince and a garrison of 1,000 men. The traveller says that the fortress on a cliff commanded the town (*qasaba*); it was surrounded by a triple wall; a subterranean passage (*āris*) going

down to the river enabled water to be procured. According to Vākūt, the fortress was destroyed by the Ismā'īlīs in circumstances which are still unknown. Gilān in the time of Vākūt was occupied by the lord of Alamūt.

Under the Mongols, especially when the capital was transferred to Sulṭāniya [q. v.], Tārom gained in importance and the *Nuḥat al-Kulūb* (740 = 1340) gives evidence of the exact knowledge then possessed of this district. Under Ūldjān, Tārom was ruled by a certain *Shoḥna* Girāy (?) who is mentioned as sending the expedition into Gilān in 700 (1307) (Dorn, *Auszüge*, p. 139). Under the Timurids the *khāns* of Khalkhāl (cf. TARRH and the year 787 [1385]) and of Tārom (Shalkh Zāhid Tāroul; Dorn, *Auszüge*, p. 229, 231, 234, 382) played a role of some importance. Shāmīān also must have been rebuilt for the historians of the Gilān tell how after the death of Vākūh, the Ak-Koyunlu (896), the *Kār-kiyā* Mirzā 'Alī seized the fortress by a stratagem. Later a certain Mir Zain al-'Abidin Tāromī rebelled against Mirzā 'Alī but without success. In the reign of Rustam-beg, the Ak-Koyunlu (897—902), his general Iḥād-beg with 10,000 men recaptured the "fortress of Tārom" but later during the struggle between the Ak-Koyunlu Alwand and Muhammadī (905—906), the general of *Kār-kiyā* Mirzā 'Alī "freed Tārom from Turkish rule" (cf. *Mir'at al-Buldān*, p. 236).

Under Ismā'il I, Tārom was on the most convenient route between the lands of the *Kār-kiyā*, where the young monarch was in hiding and Ardabil, the ancestral home of his family. The route followed in 905 by Ismā'il in his famous march was by Tārom—Barandak—Nāzā—Kū'i—Hifz-abad—Abaruk—Ardabil; cf. E. D. Ross, *The Early Years of Shāh Ismā'il*, *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 332. Tārom is several times mentioned in the *Tūrikh-i 'Alam-ārā* as the place where the Safawid spent the winter of 921 and hunted (1002, 1003) and from where they sent expeditions against Gilān.

The Turkish elements gradually absorbed the Irānīan (Dailamī and Gilānī) elements. Under Nādir, the Amārlī Kurds were settled in Mandjil and in the Puḡht-i Kāh of Tārom. According to Rawlinson, they were of the Lūllū tribe (Lūllū, traces of which are still found in Upper Syria [i.e. Coq], near Teherān [Brugsch] etc.), but in his time they had already become turkicised. Rabino however (*R. M. M.*, xxiii, p. 261) distinguishes between the Righwand Kurds (of Sulaimāniya) settled near Mandjil by Abbās I and the 'Amārlī Turks (?) who came in the time of Nādir. In any case Tārom has now a Turkish population; according to Fortescue after Gilwān the peasants do not understand Persian. In the toponymy also a Turkish layer gradually obscures the old Irānīan names (cf. Pardalis [from **prā*, bridge], Nimahlī, Niyāb, Gālmī etc.). A study of the old Irānīan toponymy in Aghardjūdjan has still to be made, but it is evident that the local dialects belonged to the group called "Northwestern" [cf. TAT].

According to the *Mir'at al-Buldān*, p. 335, the Kādjarā made Tārom a separate domain and gave it as a fief (*ikfā' wa-hyāt*) to Muhammad Khān Dawlā, to his son Allah-yār Khān Aḡā al-Dawlā etc. After the accession of Rīdā Shāh a punitive expedition was sent to Khalkhāl and several local Khāns (Rashīd al-Mamālīk etc.) were hanged.

Bibliography: cf. the articles SAVIT-RUD and SHAR-RUD (in the latter the localisation of the

canton of Barā should be corrected); Hamdallāh Mustawfī, *Nuḥat al-Kulūb*, ed. i.e. Strange, p. 65, 81, 180, 223; Hādjdjī Khālifa, *Djāhān-namā*, p. 297; Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Sanī' al-Dawlā, *Mir'at al-Buldān*, Tihān 1294, i, p. 334—337; Olexius, *Motewittische und persian. Reisebeschreibungen*, Schleswig 1663, Chap. 28, p. 471—475 (Buzun-Sengoa [= Sandjāwā]-Pardalis); Murier, *A Second Journey*, London 1818, p. 256—258 (Ardabil—Herow—Paras—Mamas—Ak-kānī—Zandjān); Janbert, *Voyage en Arménie*, Paris 1821, p. 195; Ardabil—Hiris—"Chendjān" (?)—Khalkhāl—Zandjān; Monteith, *Journal of a Tour through Azerbaidjan* (sic!), *J. R. G. S.*, 1883, iii, p. 10—12; Miyāna—Mandjil along the left bank of the Kīfī-Uān (somewhat confused); Ritter, *Erkunde*, viii, p. 633—639; Rawlinson, *Notes on a Journey from Tabriz*, *J. R. G. S.*, 1840, i, (Zandjān—Ak-dagh—Kishlak—Darrām—Kawkānd—Char—Darband—Mandjil); Savre, *Reise v. Ardabil nach Zenderkan*, *Pet. Mitt.*, 1899, xiv, p. 215—217 (Kōrām—Sandjāwā—Ferdjī—Afshar—Pardalis); de Morgan, *Etudes géographiques*, i, 1894, plates 194, 191 and 191b ("pont de Leis", read: Pardalis!); Le Strange, *The Lands of the East*, Culphate, p. 170, 225—226 (with several mistakes); Fortescue, *The Western Elburz and Persian Azerbaijan*, *J. R. G. S.*, April 1924, p. 301—318 (Mandjil—Banari—Barandak—Nimahlī—Kara-bulak—Kadjiul—Pardalis—Miyāna); Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter* (vii, 1926), p. 736—739 (for which the Arabic sources have been utilised). — For details on Khalkhāl, cf. Khandkov, *Map of Azerbaijan*, in *Zeitschrift d. allgem. Geographie*, 1863, xiv.

2^o. A town of Fārs [Vākūt: Tirm; *Fārs-nāma*, ed. i.e. Strange: Tār(u)m] situated at the extreme east of the province of the Kirmān side. The town seems to correspond to Tārawā in the land of the Vautiyā (Behistan, iii, 7). Tārom is now a nāhiya of the bulūk Sab'a, cf. Ḥasan Fāsī, *Fārs-nāma-ji Nāpīr*, Tihān 1314, p. 217—218. Cf. Iupré, *Voyage en Perse*, i, 372—376; Ritter, *Erkunde*, viii, p. 743; Sanī' al-Dawlā, *Mir'at al-Buldān*, p. 338; Preece, *Journey from Shiraz to Jaskh Supp. Papers, Proc. R. Geogr. Soc.*, 1885, i, part 3, p. 403—437; Le Strange, *The Lands...*, p. 292—295; Schwarz, *Iran*, ii, (1910), p. 107—108; Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wörterbuch*, col. 648, 868, 908, 1854. (MINORSKY)

TARRAGONA (Arabic TARRĀKUNA), a little town in the north-east of Spain on the Mediterranean and capital of the province of the same name. This town, which now has a population of 21,300, occupies the site of the ancient acropolis of Tarraco, which became one of the centres of Roman domination in Spain and from the time of Augustus, the capital of the province of *Hispania Tarraconensis*. The Muslims when they occupied Tarragona retained its old name. They sacked it in 724, then occupied it for the whole of the Umayyad Caliphate of Cordova, not without having twice to retake it from the Christians, once from Louis of Aquitaine and the second time from the Catalan prince Ramon Béranger. It was taken from the Muslims definitely by Alfonso el Batallador in 1120.

The Arab geographers sometimes call Tarragona (as they do Granada) "the town of the Jews", which shows they formed a notable part of the population. In the cloisters of the Cathedral of Tarragona is preserved a blind arcade in the form

of a niche of marble with commemorative inscription in the name of 'Abd al-Rahmān III and the date 349 (960).

Bibliography: al-Iḍṭī, *Sifāt al-Andalus*, p. 191—231; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḥwīm al-Bulḍān*, ed. Reinaud, II, 37 and 261; Vākūt, *Ma'djam al-Bulḍān*, s. v.; E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Algiers 1924, Index; Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Himyari, *al-Rawḍ al-mi'fār fī 'Adjāib al-aḥṣār* (Spain), ed. in preparation, N^o 76; G. Marçais, *Manuel d'art musulman*, I, p. 260. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL.)

TARSŪS, a town on the frontier between Asia Minor and Syria, the birthplace of the apostle Paul. It lies in a very fertile plain through which flows a river (Cydnos, later Nahr Baradin). Situated at the junction of several important roads and not far from the sea, even in ancient times it played an important part as a trading centre and was distinguished in the Hellenistic period for the activity of its intellectual life. Christianity spread early there and bishops and metropolitans of Tarsūs are mentioned in the *Acts* of the Councils. When the Arabs had conquered these regions, the Umayyads rebuilt the fortifications of Tarsūs and the other towns on the Byzantine frontier. These towns which formed a girdle were later called "the protectors" (*al-Awāṣim*, q. v.). According to the Arab division, they belonged to the most northerly *ghund* but were separated from it by Hārūn al-Rashīd. Their situation was very exposed and dangerous and Tarsūs especially, being a rich commercial city, suffered a good deal. In the continual fighting between the Muslims and the Byzantines, marauding bodies of troops attacked and plundered it, sometimes from one side and sometimes from the other, and the inhabitants had frequently to save themselves by flight, whereupon the victors sometimes brought a population from other districts and settled them there. In 162 (779) the Ṭāyī Ḥasan b. Kaṭība brought the caliph a description of the ruined Tarsūs, which in his opinion could hold 100,000 inhabitants, and when Hārūn al-Rashīd at a later date learned that the Byzantines intended to rebuild the town, he gave orders to anticipate them and Tarsūs was restored in 172 (788), populated by Arabs and given a mosque. It must have again been lost by the Muslims soon afterwards, but after a truce between Muslims and Byzantines for a period, the caliph al-Ma'mūn in 215 (830) undertook a campaign against the 'Awāṣim, which brought Tarsūs and Mopsuestia east of it into his power. The Caliph himself was buried in Tarsūs, where his tomb was to be seen in later days. There is a reference to Muslim judges in Tarsūs at this period (Ibn Sa'd, VII, 93, 3). In 269 (882) Ibn Ṭūlūn conquered the frontier country but Ṭūlūnīd rule did not last long. In the middle of the 10th/11th century Tarsūs passed into the hands of the Hamdānids, when Saif al-Dawla conquered northern Syria, but shortly afterwards in 354 (965) the Byzantine emperor Nicephorus succeeded in taking Mopsuestia and Tarsūs with other towns of the 'Awāṣim and Tarsūs now remained for a considerable period in Christian hands. Nicephorus had the Kur'ān burned and mosques torn down and gave the Mubammadan population the choice of adopting Christianity, migrating or remaining on payment of a *ḡizya* (q. v.). The majority preferred to emigrate but not a few went over to Christianity.

In the period which ended in this way, Tarsūs was in a flourishing condition as a result of its industrious exploitation of the fertile country round. The population was continually being increased by immigrants from adjoining lands, who wished in their glowing enthusiasm for Islām to take part in the holy war till they met their death. Particulars of the town towards the end of the period are given by several Arab authors. Mas'ūdī says that it had originally a garrison of 8,000 men, and that one of the gates was called *Ḥab al-Djihad* because those who set out to fight the infidels left the city by it. Iṣṭakhri in 340 (951) calls Tarsūs a large town with a double wall and a garrison of 100,000 men, infantry and cavalry. People came thither from all parts of the country and usually settled there. Ibn Ḥawqal (367 = 978) repeats this description but with some additions: the well built city had a large population, several of whom were distinguished for their wisdom; pious men came thither from all the lands of western Asia, as every nation had there their *ṣāḥ*, where they lived on the gifts sent thither from all parts until they fell in battle. As Ibn Ḥawqal wrote after the taking of the town by Nicephorus, his description is not of the town of his time but is taken from an older source; on the other hand the well informed Muḥaddasī says that he will not give a description of Tarsūs as the town was in the hands of the Byzantines.

The Crusaders combined the 'Awāṣim with the principality of Antioch. According to Iḍṭī's description Tarsūs was then a large town with a double wall in a very fertile region. Vākūt expressly remarks that in his time it was in the hands of the Byzantines (beginning of the 10th = 11th century). He also mentions the double wall, the broad ditch surrounding it and the six city gates. Before the Byzantine conquest the town was very prosperous and a series of highly gifted men came out of it. In 1275 the country of Tarsūs and Adhana was plundered by the Mamlūk Sultān Baibars and later it was conquered by Saif al-Dīn Kalā'ūn. In the middle of the 15th/16th century, Khālīl al-Zahiri mentions it as under the jurisdiction of Halab; the town then had a wall and a fine castle and was surrounded by a number of villages.

At the present day Tarsūs is a wretched little ruined town without any memorial of its great past. The Baradin now flows at some distance from the town and the overflow has turned the immediate vicinity into a swamp.

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TARTŪS, earlier Anazarūs, frequently Antarsūs (by analogy with Tarsūs), a town on the Syrian coast; the ancient Antarados opposite the island of Arados (Arabic Qasrat Arwād, also written Arwād; now Ruwād). Under the Roman empire, Antarados was called Constantia but the old name remained alongside of this and in the end drove the latter out again.

The Muslims took the fortress of Tartūs under

'Ubadā b. al-Sāmīt in 17 (638). The town was destroyed and remained for a long time uninhabited. Ma'awiya rebuilt it, fortified it and settled there and in Maraṭiya and Bulayyā soldiers to whom he allotted lands. It was only after the conquest of Cyprus that Ma'awiya was able to take the island of Arwād also from the Greeks (Dimashki, transl. Mehren, p. 186; Theophanes, *Chronicle*, ed. de Boor, p. 344). The Qur'an of the Caliph 'Uthmān is said to have been kept in Tartūs Ibn Khurdādhbih includes the district (*kūra*) of Tartūs in the territory of Hims; according to Ya'qubi (*B. G. A.*, vii, 325) the people of the town (here wrongly written *Anṭarṭūs*, cf. M. Hartmann, *Z. D. P. V.*, xxii, 163, No. 28) belonged to the tribe of Kinda.

When in 357–358 (968) the Byzantines under Nicephorus conquered Northern Syria, the strong defences of the town protected it from capture by the enemy according to the evidence of the contemporary Ibn Hawkal (*B. G. A.*, ii, 116). On the other hand about a generation later, Yahyā b. Sa'īd of Anṭakiya reports that the Emperor took Tartūs, Maraṭiya and Hīn Djabala (Yahyā, ed. Kračkovskij and Vasiliev, *Patrol. Orient.*, xviii, 816). In 386 (996–996) the emperor Basil II took the town (Yahyā and Djamāl al-Dīn b. Zāfir in Rosen, *Zapiski Imp. Akad. Nauk*, xlv, 32, 35 sq., 241; Schlumberger, *L'Épopée byzantine*, ii, 95 sq., who wrongly distinguishes Tartūs from Tortosa). At the beginning of the year 1099 the Crusaders took Tartūs but soon afterwards lost it. It was not till 495 (1102) that they finally attained possession of it under Raimund of Toulouse (Rohricht, *Geich. d. Kgr. Jerusalem*, p. 33; van Berchem, *Voyage*, p. 322). After Raimund's death Count William of Cerdagne was given Tartūs and Djabala as a fief (Weil, *Geich. d. Chalifen*, iii, 176). By the treaty of Devol (Sept. 1108), Arwād and Tartūs among other places were promised to the Byzantine emperor Alexius Comnenus (Anna Comnena, *Ἀλεξιάς*, ed. Bonn, ii, 241: *Ἀρράδαος περὶ τῆς ἡνίκά ἤνικα Ἀνθαρῖδας* in Antonin. Placent., ed. Geyer, p. 159; cf. Dussaud, *Topogr. hist. de la Syrie*, p. 124). The town later passed into the possession of the Count of Tripoli (references in van Berchem, *Voyage*, loc. cit.). From a poem dedicated to Usūm b. Munkidh by the Egyptian vizier al-Malik al-Salih Ibn Ḡhārāt Talā' b. Fuzrik, it is evident that the town must have already been in the hands of the Templars before 1158 (Derenbourg, *Ousūma*, p. 293). In July 1188 Saladin advanced on the town, and found it deserted by its defenders, as they had retired into two strong towers on the city walls. Saladin occupied the town in less than an hour; one of the towers was stormed by his vassal, the lord of Irill, and Saladin had it destroyed and the ruins thrown into the sea. The other which was built of large hewn stones and surrounded by a well-watered garden was so bravely defended by the commander of the Templars that Saladin raised the siege and contented himself with destroying the walls and famous Church of the Virgin (van Berchem, *J. A.*, 1902, p. 424 sq.; *Voyage en Syrie*, i, 322 sq.). The earthquake in May 1202, which devastated the whole Syrian coast, is said also to have affected Tartūs but to have spared the Church of the Virgin, which had been rebuilt in 1188 (van Berchem, *Voyage*, i, 323, 332). This edifice,

celebrated for the miracles and cures wrought in it, which contained a valuable image of the Virgin, was considered her oldest sanctuary in Syria (Dimashki, ed. Mehren, p. 208); Idriat apparently already knew it (he wrote in 1154 or later?, cf. Pardi, *Revue géogr. ital.*, xxiv, 1917, p. 308 sq.) although he seems wrongly to transfer it to the island of Arwād (Dussaud, *Rev. Archéol.*, 1896, i, 317, note 3; van Berchem, p. 331 sq.). In the year 611 (1214–1215) Count Raimund of Tripoli, son of Bohemund IV of Antioch, was murdered by Isma'īlis; in revenge, the prince led an expedition against the fortress of Khawābi (Kamal al-Dīn, transl. Blochet, *R. O. L.*, v, 48; Ibn Furāt in Rohricht, *Geich. d. Kgr. Jerusalem*, p. 271, note 1; 715, note 4). The Church of the Virgin lay within the area of the sanctuary of the apostle Andrew, as appears from a letter from Pope Clement IV to Bishop William of Tortosa of April 26, 1265 (Sbaraglia, *Bullar. Francisc.*, iii, Rome 1759, p. 4, note 6).

In the treaty of 1229 between the Emperor Frederick and the Sultan, Tarābalus, Hīn al-Akrād, Saftūha, Marṭab, Tartūs and Anṭakiya were not included; the Emperor had to pledge himself to remain neutral in case of a war between these lands and the Muslims (Rohricht, *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Kreuzzüge*, i, 41, 77 sq.; do., *Geich. d. Kgr. Jerusalem*, p. 785).

When Balbars in 666 (1267/8) was advancing on Antioch via Tarābalus, envoys from the Templars of Saftūha and Anṭarṭūs appeared before him with presents and 300 Muslims, lately prisoners, and thus succeeded in having their territory spared (al-Makrizi in Quatremère, *Hist. des Sultans Mamelouks*, i/ii, 52; Rohricht, *Geich. d. Kgr. Jerusalem*, p. 953). An attack by the Sultan on Tartūs and other towns in 669 (1270/1) met with no success of note (Makrizi, *op. cit.*, i/ii, 84; Mufaddal b. Abi 'l-Faḡāl II, *Histoire des sultans mamelouks*, ed. Blochet in *Patrol. Orient.*, xii, 528). Later however the Templars found themselves forced to conclude a treaty with him by which their territory and that of Marṭab and Bāniyās was divided between them and the Sultan (Makrizi, *op. cit.*, i/ii, 151; Mufaddal, *op. cit.*, xii, 536; xiv, 445; Rohricht, p. 953). The Master of the Templars, William of Beaujeu (de Bellojoco), in 681 concluded a truce with al-Malik al-Manṣūr for Tartūs and the district around for ten years and ten months (from April 15, 1282) and the possessions of the two parties were accurately delimited. To Tartūs belonged 37 districts of the region round 'Araima (now Kala't 'Araime) and Mi'ār (now Burdj Mi'ār) (Makrizi, *op. cit.*, i/ii, 177 sq., 221–223; Rohricht, *Regesta regni Hierosolym.*, p. 377, No. 1447; do., *Geich. d. Kgr. Jerusalem*, p. 984). After the conquest of 'Akkā, Tartūs was taken from the Franks by Sultan Khalil, being one of the last towns to fall, on 5th Sha'ban 690 (Aug. 3, 1291) (Makrizi, *Sult. Maml.*, ii/ii, 126; Abu 'l-Fida', *Annales Muslim.*, ed. Reiske, v, 98; *Recueil des hist. ar. d. Crois.*, i, 164; Weil, *Geich. d. Chalifen*, iv, 181, note 1; Rohricht, *Geich. d. Kgr. Jerusalem*, p. 1026 sq.; van Berchem, *Voyage*, p. 234).

The Templars temporarily succeeded in establishing themselves again in Tartūs in 1300–1302 from the island of Arwād (A. Trudon des Ormes, *Maisons du Temple en Orient.*, R. O. L., v, 1897, p. 426–428; van Berchem, *a. a. O.*). The island was not taken till 702 (1302/3) in the reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir, the Christians there put to

death or carried into captivity and the defences razed to the ground (Maḡzi, *Sult Maml.*, II/ii. 195; Abu 'l-Fida', ed. Reiske, v. 180; al-Idrisi, cod. Bodl., No. 887, in marg., in Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 400; Weil, *Geogr. d. Châl.*, iv. 256).

Henceforth Tartūs was a little district under the *nāḥi* of Tartāḥim (Ḥalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-ʿaṣr*, in Godefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, p. 116, 228; Umari, *Tarīf*, p. 182 in R. Hartmann, *Z. D. M. G.*, lxx., 1916, p. 36, note 14). The town declined more and more; the castle of the Crusading period serves the few inhabitants of the present Tartūs (Tortosa) as a dwelling place. The Church of the Virgin still survives in its later form (for further particulars see van Berchem, *Voyage*, I. 329—334; cf. also Enlart, in *Syrie*, II., 1921, p. 333 and M. Pillet, in *Syrie*, VII., 1926, p. 420); also the fortifications (*Syrie*, III., 1922, p. 269 sq., for Jusseland's defences).

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TARUDANT, the principal town in the district of Sūs, to the south of Morocco on the right bank of the Wādī Sūs, about 100 miles S.W. of Marrākush and 45 E. of Agādīr on the Atlantic. These two towns may be reached from Tarudant by tracks passable by vehicles. It is a little town with about 7,000 inhabitants. For further details and the history of the town see the article *AL-SŪS AL-AḤṢĀ*, especially p. 569b.

(E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL)

TARWIYA is the name for the 8th Dhū 'l-Hijja (*yawm al-tarwiya*). The Muslim Ḥajj begins on this day; on it the pilgrims go from Mecca to Minā and as a rule after a short stay there go on again to be able to pass the night in 'Arafāt. In Muhammadan works the term *yawm al-tarwiya* is usually explained from the fact that the pilgrims on this day give their animals a plentiful supply of water in preparation for the ride through the waterless area or from their taking a supply of water with them themselves. But *tarwiya* properly means rather "pouring" than "watering" animals or "taking water with one". It has been suggested that the expression goes back to some kind of sympathetic rain-charm with which the rite of the pilgrimage was introduced in the oldest period. With this one might compare the pouring and sprinkling with the sacred water of Zamzam as observed by Ibn Djubair in Shaʿbān 579 (1183) among the Meccans and by al-Batānūnī among the B. duins during the pilgrimage in 1909. See also *ḤADJ*.

Bibliography: Lisān al-ʿArab, xix. 65; *Tarḡ al-Arār*, x. 159; Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, II. 113; Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, p. 1195; R. Dozy, *Die Israeliten zu Mekka. Aus dem Holländischen übersetzt*, Leipzig/Haarlem 1864, p. 110—115 (the explanation from the Hebrew proposed here is no longer accepted); Houtsma, *Het Skopelisme en het steenwerpen te Mina (Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde, 4. Reeks, 6. Deel, 1904, p. 185—217, p. 211 sq.; Snouck Hurgronje, Het Mekkaansche Feest, Leyden 1880 (Verspreide Geschriften, I. 1 sqq.)), p. 126—128; A. J. Wensinck, in *Acta Orientalia*, I., 1923, p. 164; do., *Arabic New Year and the Feast of Tabernacles (Verh. A. W. Amsterdam, Letterk., N. R., xxv. 2)*, Amsterdam 1925, p. 28; Godefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, Paris 1923, p. 101, 236 and note 4; also p. 83—85, 88; W. R. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, 1927, p. 231 sq.; Ibn Djubair, *Nihāya*, p. 139 sq.; Muḥammad Labīb al-Batānūnī, *al-Riḥla al-ḥijāziyya*, p. 104; Ibrāhīm Rifāt Pīshā, *Mir'at al-Haramain*, Cairo 1344 (1925), I., p. 35, 313. (R. PAKET)*

TAŞAWWUF. 1. Etymology — *maḡdar* of form V, formed from the root *ṭāf*, meaning "wool" to denote "the practice of wearing the woollen robe (*labā al-ṭāf*)" — hence the act of devoting oneself to the mystic life on becoming what is called in Islām a *ṭāfī*.

The other etymologies, ancient and modern, proposed for this name of *ṭāfī* may be rejected: such are *ahl al-qūfa* (devotees seated on the "bench" of the mosque at Madīna in the time of the Prophet), *ṭāfī awwāl* (first row of the faithful at prayer), *banū Sūfa* (a Beduin tribe), *ṭawfāna* (a kind of vegetable), *ṭawfāt al-biḥā* (a lock of hair on the nape of the neck), *ṭāfiya* (passive of form III. of the root *ṭāf*, to be purified; at a very early date — the eighth century A. D. —, this passive is found in puns on the word *ṭāfī* "mystic clothed in wool") and the Greek *σωφές* (the attempt has even been made to derive *taşawwuf* from *theosophia*); Nöldeke (*Z. D. M. G.*, XLVIII., p. 45) refuted this last etymology by showing that the Greek *signa* regularly became *sin* (and not *ṭāf*) in Arabic and that there is no Aramaic intermediary between *σωφές* and *ṭāfī*.

The individual surname *al-ṭāfī* first appeared in history in the second half of the eighth century with Djābir Ibn Ḥaiyān, a Shī'ī alchemist of Kūfa, who professed an ascetic doctrine of his own (cf. *Khawāṣṣ Nasʿī*, d. 253 [867], *Itihāna*, s.v.) and Abū Ḥāshim of Kūfa, a celebrated mystic. As to the plural *ṭāfiya* which appears in 199 (814) in connection with a minor rising in Alexandria (al-Kindī, *Kuḍāt Mirʿ*, ed. Guest, p. 162, 440), it means about the same date, according to Muḥāsibī (*Mabūdī*, Pers. MS., p. 87) and Djābir (*Ḥaiyān*, I. 194), a semi-Shī'ī school of Muslim mysticism which originated in Kūfa, the last head of which, 'Abd al-Ṣafī, a vegetarian legist, died in Baghdad about 210 (825). The name *ṭāfī* is then at first clearly confined to Kūfa.

It was destined to have a remarkable future. Within fifty years it denoted all the mystics of the 'Irāq (in contrast to the Malāmītiya mystics of Khurāsān) and two centuries later, *ṭāfiya* was "applied to the whole body of Muslim mystics as

our terms *Ṣūfī* and "*Ṣūfism*" still are to-day. In the interval the wearing of the *ṣūf* or "cloak of white wool", considered in too (719) as a foreign and reprehensible fashion of Christian origin (with which Farqad Sabakhi, a disciple of Ḥasan Baṣrī, is reproached), had become what it henceforth remained, an eminently orthodox Muslim fashion; numerous *ḥadīths* (handed down and probably invented by Ḍhawḥiyārī) even make it Muḥammad's favourite dress for a religious man.

2. Origins. The mystical *tafsīr*'s on the *Kurʾān* and the mystical *ḥadīths* of the inner life of Muḥammad, about which we know so very little, are comparatively late and therefore suspect. But the tendencies to mystical life, which are of all countries and of all nations, were not lacking in the *Islām* of Arabia of the first two centuries A.H. and when once the later legends are eliminated, Ḍḥāḥīz and Ibn al-Ḍjawzī (*ḥuṣṣī*) have preserved for us the names of over forty authentic ascetics of this period, among whom the "interiorisation" of the rites of worship show distinct features of the mystic life. It cannot, however, be any longer asserted that Muḥammad *a priori* excluded mystics from the Muslim community, for it is now known that the famous *ḥadīth*: *Lā raḥbāniyā fī 'l-Islām*: "no monasticism in *Islām*" to which Sprenger had given this meaning, is apocryphal, and that it must have been invented at latest in the third century A.H. to encourage and strengthen a new, deprecatory and interdictive interpretation of a famous verse of the *Kurʾān* (lvii. 27) where *rahbāniya* (monastic life, vows of chastity and seclusion) is mentioned: a verse unanimously interpreted in a permissive and laudatory sense by the exegists of the first three centuries, like Muḍjahīd and Abū Imāma Bāḥilī (cf. my *Essai*, p. 123—131) and by the more cautious of the old mystics (cf. Ḍjunaid, *Ḍurūṣ*) before the opposite interpretation became disseminated and Zamakhsharī made it predominant.

Muslim mysticism may claim among the *Ṣaḥāba* two real precursors in Abū Dharr and Hudhayfa (the cases of Uwais and Suhail are not conclusively proved). After them came ascetics (*nussāk*, *nakhāḥ*), penitents or "weepers" (*ḥakāḥūn*) and popular preachers (*ḥuṣṣī*). At first isolated, they gradually tend to fall into two individual schools, like the adepts in other branches of Muslim thought, schools which had their headquarters on the Mesopotamian frontier of the Arabian desert, one at Baṣra and the other at Kūfa.

The Arab colony at Baṣra, of Tamīm origin, realist and critical by nature, enamoured of logic in grammar, realism in poetry, criticism in *ḥadīth*, the *suḥna* with Muʿtazilī and Ḳadiri tendencies in dogmatics, had as teachers of mysticism: Ḥasan Baṣrī (d. 110 = 728), Mālik b. Dīnār, Faḍl Raḳḳāḥ, Ralāḥ b. 'Amr Kaḥl, Siliḥ Murri and 'Abd al-Wahīd b. Zaid (d. 177 = 793), founder of the famous cenobitic group of 'Abḥādān.

The Arab colony of Kūfa, of Yemen origin, idealist and traditionalist by temperament, enamoured of *raḥawāḥ* in grammar, Platonism in poetry, Zāhirism in *ḥadīth*, the *Shī'a* with Murji'ī tendencies in dogmatics, had as teachers of mysticism: Rabī' b. Khaytham (d. 67 = 686), Abū Isrā'īl Mula'ī (d. 140 = 757), Ḍḥāḥir b. Ḥayyān, Kulāib Saīdāwī, Maṣṣūr b. 'Ammār, Abū 'l-Atāhiya and 'Abdak. The three last-named spent the latter part of their lives in the capital of the empire, Baghdād,

which became the centre of the Muslim mystic movement after 250 (864): the date when the first meeting-places for religious discussions and sacred concerts (*ḥalḥa*) were opened, with the first public lectures on mysticism in the mosques.

This was also the period in which the mystics had their first open encounter with the theologians, the trial of Ḍḥu 'l-Nūn Miḡrī (240 = 854), Nūrī and Abū Ḥamīz (between 262 = 875 and 269 = 882, according to Ibn al-Ḍjawzī, *Talḥīz*, p. 183) and Hallāḍj, before the *ḥalḥa* of Baghdād.

3. The part played by *Ṣūfism* in the Muslim community. The early Muslim mystics had not foreseen that they would come into conflict with the administrative authorities of the Muslim community. If they lived rather retired lives in voluntary poverty (*faqr*) it was in order to be the better able to meditate on the *Kurʾān* (*taḥarrā'a* is the old synonym of *taqawwā'a*) by seeking to draw near to God in prayer. The mystic call is as a rule the result of an inner rebellion of the conscience against social injustices, not only those of others but primarily and particularly against one's own faults: with a desire intensified by inner purification to find God at any price; this which is already clearly seen in the life, examples and sermons of Ḥasan Baṣrī (cf. Schaefer, *Isl.*, xiv. 1-72, and Massignon, *Essai*, p. 152-179), is magnificently expounded in the moving autobiographies of the two great mystics, Muḥāsibī in his *Wasāyā* (transl. in Massignon, p. 216-218) and Ḡharālī in his *Munḥidh* (transl. Barbier de Meynard), but this does not yet threaten established order, however unrighteous may be the conduct of the ruler. But it was the canonists and professional theologians, *fuḳahā'* and *mutakallimūn*, who, very displeased at seeing people speak of searching their consciences and judging one another by this inner tribunal — since the *Kurʾān* law had only legislated for an external tribunal and punished public sins and had no weapon against religious hypocrisy (*nifāq*) — tried to show that the ultimate results of the life led by the mystics were heterodox, since they held that the intention is more important than the act, that practical example (*sunna*) is better than strict letter of the law (*ṣarf*) and that obedience is better than observance.

Among the Muslim schools, the *Khāridjīs* were the first to display their hostility to *Ṣūfism*, in the case of Ḥasim Baṣrī; then the *Imāmīs* (Zaidīs, Twelvers and *Ḡhulāt*) in the third century A.D. condemned all calls to the mystic life as introducing among believers a kind of unusual life (*ṣūf*, *ḥalḥa*) finding expression in the search for a state of grace (*riḡa*) dispensing with devotion to the twelve *Imāms* and an apostolate, contrary to their custom of *ṭaḥya*.

The Sunnis were slower in declaring their attitude and there was never unanimity among them in condemning mysticism. The attacks on mysticism came from two sections among them: on the one hand from conservative circles (*ḥakāḥūn*); Ibn Ḥanbal accuses mysticism of developing meditation at the expense of open prayer and of seeking for the soul a state of personal friendship with God (*ḥuṣṣī*), henceforth freeing it from the observances prescribed by law (*ḥalḥa*); his immediate disciples, *Khāḥḥīh* and Abū Zurʾa, put it in a special subsection (*raḥāniya*) of the heresy of the *sanāḥīh*.

On the other hand, the Mu'tazilis and Zāhiris denounce as absurd the idea of a common life (*ṣaḥā*) uniting the Creator to his creatures, for it implies in theory anthropomorphism (*taḥbīḥ*) and in practice, contact and incarnation (*mulāmat* and *ḥulūl*).

As a matter of fact, however, moderate Sūfism has never been excommunicated by Sunnī ṭalīm, which has always borrowed its practical morality and its life of prayer, from the popular little books of Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥanẓā (d. 281 = 894) to masterpieces like the *Kut al-Ḥulūl* of Abū Ṭalīb Makrī (d. 386 = 996) and especially the *ḥyā'* of Ghazālī; learned Sunnīs, who were hostile to mysticism, like Ibn al-Djāwī, Ibn Taimiyya and Ibn al-Kāsiyyī, respected the great moral authority of Ghazālī and it was only against the monism of the disciples of Ibn 'Arabī that the fulminations of the late Sunnī canonists were thundered, without much success however. The founder of the Wahhābīs, prejudiced against mysticism as he was, himself wrote a commentary on the *Waḥy* of the Ṣūfī Shāhīk to Ḥātim al-'Aẓamm.

4. The history of the evolution of the conception of mystic union. Primitive Sūfism was based on the two following postulates: a. the fervent practice of worship engenders in the soul graces (*faṣāḥid*), immaterial and intelligible realities (a postulate rejected by the Hashwiyā); b. the "science of hearts" (*ḥikm al-ḥulūl*) will procure the soul an experimental wisdom (*ma'rifa*), which implies the assent of the will to the graces received (a postulate rejected by the Mu'tazilis, who are content with a theoretical psychology). The Sūfis assert that there is a dynamic character in the "science of hearts"; it traces their itinerary (*saḥar*) to God, marks it by a dozen stages (*maqāmāt*) and steps (*ahwāl*), some virtues acquired, other graces received, as in the *Scala Sancta* of St. John Climacus; their double list varies with different authors (cf. Sarraḍī, Kūshairī, Ghazālī) but contains almost always well known terms like *tawba*, *yake*, *tawakkul*, *ridā*. Without laying stress on the individual variants of this mystic itinerary the Sūfis aimed especially at defining the ultimate goal when, triumphing over its attachment to the flesh, the soul finds the true God to whom it is aspiring, the Real (*al-Ḥaqq*), a word used as early as the third century A. H. and perhaps borrowed from the pseudo-theology of Aristotle. But how are we to define in orthodox terms this supreme state in which the soul enters with God into this ecstatic dialogue of which the first revelations are made by Rā'īn, Muḥāsib and Yaḥyā Rā'ī, a state which raises the difficult question of theopathic conversation (*ḥaḥḥ* [q. v.]).

The mystics are obliged henceforth to have recourse to the theological vocabulary of their time; they borrow from it here and there technical terms of which they twist the sense a little, without giving a fixed meaning to them. Thus Shāhīk introduces *tawakkul*, Miskī and Ibn Karrām *ma'rifa*, Miskī and Bisṭāmī *fanā* (opp. *baḥā* = cf. Kur'an iv. 26-27), Kharrāz *ain al-djām*, Tirmidhī *wilāya*, etc. In doing this, primitive Muslim mysticism involved itself in the snares of the metaphysics of the first mutakallimūn, atomism, materialism and occasionalism in metaphysics, denying the spirituality and even the immortality of the soul, confounding ontological unity with arithmetical unity, which makes it necessary to classify the

attempts at explanation of the first Muslim mystic schools with the heresy of the Ḥulūliya. If we take the Karrāmīya who desire to emphasise the actual interest which God has in the souls, Ash'arism accuses them of inserting accidents into the being of the Eternal; or the Sālimīya who wish to assert that ardent souls became capable of adhering to the divine presence, the Hanbalīs say that they introduce God into the tongue of the reciter; finally when the Ḥallāḍīya conclude from the ecstatic dialogue, from the intermittent change in subject which is then produced in the depth of the soul, that God has made living testimonies (*sharāhid*) out of the saints, this view is accused of becoming blasphemous and impossible, of implying the usurpation of the divinity by the humanity of a perishable body, since two substances cannot occupy the same place at one and the same time.

In the fourth century A. H. infiltrations from Greek philosophy, which had been continually increasing since the early Karmatian gnostics [q. v.] and the physician Rāzī down to Ibn Sīnā, brought into existence a more correct metaphysical vocabulary implying the immateriality of the spirit (*rūḥ*) and of the soul, the consideration of general ideas, the chain of secondary causes. But this vocabulary became amalgamated with the pseudo-theology of Aristotle, with Platonic idealism and the Plotinian doctrine of emanation, which influenced profoundly the further development of Sūfism. The learned mystics of this period hesitate between three explanations of mystic union: a. the *ittihādīya*, from Ibn Masarra and the Iḥwān al-Ṣafā to Fārābī and Ibn Kāsiyyī, explaining this union as the formation of concepts by an impression of the active intellect, a divine emanation (identified with the *nūr muḥammadi* of the Karmatians and the Sālimīya) on the passive soul; b. the *ishrākiya* from Sahrawardī, Ḥalālī and Dildakī to Dawwānī and Ṣadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī, teaching the essentialisation (*taḥawwur*) of the soul, the divine spark reviving under the illuminations of active intellect; c. the *waḥḍīya* from Ibn Sīnā to Ibn Ṭufayl and Ibn Sab'īn confining itself to stating that the soul attains agreement with God, then taking on consciousness of a total indifferentiated existence in which there is no longer number nor discrimination of any sort. We may note in passing that Ghazālī (*Muḥāsib*, p. 74) refuted the thesis of the *ittihādīya*, a thesis which Ibn Sīnā had admitted into his *Nafīs* (Cairo, p. 402, 481) but rejected in his *Iḥṣārāt* (ch. ix., p. 118; cf. Ibn 'Arabī, *Taḥḥilīyat*) and that Ibn Sab'īn, a convinced hylamorphist, sees in God only the form (*ḥura*) or principle of individuation (*amniya*) of all created beings.

The third and last period in the development of Sūfī doctrine begins in the viii (xiii) century; its predominant school has been justly given by its adversaries the name of *Waḥḍīya* (or *Wuḥḍīya*) as professing the doctrines of existential monism (*waḥdat al-wuḥūd*). The doctrine of the *Waḥḍīya* claims a long descent: it turns to its advantage the Kur'an verses (ii. 109; xxviii. 88; i. 15), the primitive Ash'arī *kalām* regarding every spiritual happening as an immediate act of God and extravagances of language of the early mystics like Bisṭāmī and Ḥallāḍī (in those that 'Ain al-Kuḍātī Hamadhānī collected in his *Tamhīd*), the word *wuḥūd*, derived from *wajūd*, ecstasy, still means the qualification by God of a creature

in opposition to *ṣawm*, his extension in space). It is however really derived from the identification, proposed as early as the third century A.D., of the *nūr muḥammadi* of Muslim gnosticism with the active intellect of the Hellenistic doctrine of emanation (from which Ibn Rushd himself is not free, since he asserts in the *Taḥṣīl* that divine prescience is the superior degree of the existence of things and that souls ought to unite in it like a single passive intellect in the active intellect). Ibn 'Arabi (d. 678 = 1240) was the first to formulate the doctrine of existentialist monism; for him at bottom "the existence of created things is nothing but the very essence of the existence of the Creator" (*wuḥūd al-maḥḥūḥūṣāt 'ain wuḥūd al-ḥāqīqīyeh*, Ibn Taimiyya justly remarks). He teaches in fact that things necessarily emanate from divine prescience in which they pre-existed (*ḥuḥūt*) as ideas, by a flux evolving in five periods and that the souls by an inverse involution logically constructed re-integrate the divine essence. Farḡānī and Ḍijlī only add a few touches of detail to this main theory, which to this day has remained that of all Muslim mystics. It is the one which the Persian poets have sung interminably in the simplified form which Kuniyawi, putting into order the ideas of 'Aṭṭār expresses thus: "God is existence in as much as it is general and unconditional"; it is that which flows, like the sea under its waves through the fleeting forms of individual beings; and at the end of the xviiith century of our era, Kawrānī and Nābulusi aroused the indignation of orthodox Sunnīs by concluding that this pantheistic monism is the only correct interpretation to give to the monotheistic profession of faith of Islām (cf. Massignon, *Hallāj*, p. 784—90); in their eyes, the *ḥadīṣa* by which Islām had thought to affirm the pure transcendence of the one God signifies the absolute immanence of God in his creation and that the totality of all beings in all their actions is divinely adorable. This quietism, which established the supremacy of the divine decree over legal precept, led the Sūfīs among other paradoxes to the rehabilitation of Iblīs (supported by Ḍijlī) and of the Pharaoh of the Exodus (the celebrated thesis of Ibn 'Arabi).

5. The other characteristic features of Sūfism and the study of its sources: The other doctrinal peculiarities still to be noted are a. the *isnād* or spiritual genealogy imagined to link up, as is done in the case of ḥadīṥs, the chain of teachers of mysticism to the direct teaching of the Prophet. The earliest known *isnād* (*Fikrīst*, p. 183) is that of Khulūdī (d. 348 = 959) which claims to go back to the Prophet by the following links: Ḍjunaid (7), Saḳāṭī (6), Ma'rūf Karḳhī (5), Farḳādī (4), Ḥasan Baṣrī (3), and Anas b. Malik (2). Twenty years later Daḳḳāḳ (d. 405 = 1014; cf. *Kuṣṣairī*, p. 158) goes back to the same names except that he only gives the name of Dāwūd Tā'ī (4), before Karḳhī. Finally the classic *isnād* fixed in the xiiith century (Ibn Abī Uṣayb'a, *Uyūn*, II, 250) and since adopted by all the great religious orders, gives after Ḍjunaid (7), Rūḍḥārī (8), Abū 'Alī Kaṣīb or Zudjīdī (9), Maghrībī (10) and Gurgānī (11), and, going back before Dāwūd Tā'ī (4), Ḥabīb 'Adjamī (3), Ḥasan Baṣrī (2), 'Alī (1). Ibn al-Djāwī and Dhahabī have shown that the four oldest links in this *isnād* are false, since these men never met one another. Some religious orders utilize an *isnād*

which goes back (before Ma'rūf Karḳhī) to the nine first Shī'ī Imāms and is still more apocryphal.

A. The invisible hierarchy of believing souls in the world (*riqāṭ al-ḥayāt*); the world is supposed to endure, thanks to the intercessions of a concerted hierarchy of "averting" saints, fixed in number, the place of one who dies being immediately filled. These are the 300 *nubalāḥ*, the 40 *ahbāṭ*, the 7 *umamā*, the 4 *amūd* and their *ḥuṣṣ* (pole or mystic axis of the world = *ḥawṭā*).

c. The privileges and dispensations (*rūḥḥat*) on which is founded the communal life of the Sūfīs, (cf. *TARĪQA*): privileges frequently of an anarchical and unusual character from the distant days of Bistāmī, Shiblī and Abū Sa'īd down to the more or less irresponsible and scandalous *Majdhūbīn* of modern times. At their assemblies the Sūfīs recite special poems; this literature, which is very characteristic of Islām, has developed everywhere in extreme profusion and as a rule has not escaped either monotony or dullness; it is intended to provoke among listeners a psychic excitement by aesthetic means so as to release a sort of artificial ecstasy.

This literature extols in mystical language wine (*ḥamr*) interdicted by the law in this world and reserved for the Paradise of the elect, the loving-cup (*ḥaṭṭ al-maḥabbah*) which the cup-bearer (*ṣāḳī* = *ḥammāl al-dār* = *teruḥḥat*) sends round and gives them, detailed allegorical descriptions with an enthusiasm of a frequently dangerous kind which the majority of western translations prudently star over. Among such poems the following are specially famous in Arabic, those of Ibn Fāriḍ and of Shuṣṭarī; in Persian, the quatrains of Abū Sa'īd, the long *mawḥināt* of 'Aṭṭār and Rūmī (cf. his monistic apologue: "Who is there? — It is Thou" etc.), the *ghazal* of Hāfiz and the various poems of Ḍjāmī, in Turkish the works of Neṣrī and Niyāzī. This kind of literature has become naturalised in Urdu and in Malay, where it still survives at the present day although it has now disappeared in the nearer East; the modern Muslim elite are more and more abandoning it.

The critical study of the sources of Sūfism is far from being completed. Surprised at the profound dogmatic difference which lies between its present monism and strict orthodoxy, the early students of Islām thought Sūfism could be explained as a doctrine of foreign origin, derived either from Syrian monachism (Merx) or Greek Neo-Platonism or Persian Zoroastrianism, or from the Vedānta of India (Jones). Nicholson has shown that in this simple form the hypothesis of borrowing is untenable; indeed from the very beginning of Islām, it can be observed that the formation of the theses peculiar to Muslim mystics went on from within in the course of assiduous recitations of and meditations on the Qur'ān and Ḥadīṥ, under the influence of social and individual crises in the very centre of the Muslim community. But if the initial framework of Sūfism was specifically Muslim and Arab, it is not exactly useless to identify the foreign decorative elements which came to be added to this framework and flourished there; in this way it has been possible for recent students to discover several devotional elements derived from Christian monachism (Asin Palacios, Wensiock, T. Andrae) and several Greek philosophical terms translated from the Syriac; the Iranian analogies (suggested by Blochet) have hardly been examined;

as to the Indian elements (Horten's theory) few arguments have been added to the old similar conjectures of al-Bīrūnī and Dārā Shikūh on the parallels between the Upanishads or the Yōga Sūtra and the ideology of primitive Sūfism. On the other hand, it is probable that the critical student of the material processes producing the *ḥikm* of the modern congregations [cf. TAKIḤA] would establish the infiltration of certain methods of Hindu asceticism.

Bibliography: The list of western sources to be consulted on Sūfism has been prepared with much care by G. Pfannmüller in his *Handbuch der Islam-Literatur*, Leipzig 1923, p. 265-292. From this long list the best general works are those of R. A. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, London 1914; *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Cambridge 1921; and *The Idea of Personality in Sufism*, Cambridge 1923. — On special points may be consulted: on the origins, acute articles by Goldziher (*R.H.R.*, xxxvii, 314; *W.Z.K.M.*, xiii, 35; *Z.A.*, xxii, 317; *Z.D.M.G.*, lxxviii, 544; *Isl.*, ix, 144); Massignon, *Essai sur les Origines du Lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1922; and *La Passion d'al-Hallāj, martyr mystique de l'Islam*, Paris 1922. On Ghazālī: Asin Palacios, *Alghazālī*, Saragossa 1901 and in *Cultura española*, 1906, p. 209, and *M.F.O.*, 1914, p. 67; Obermann, *Der philosophische und religiöse Subjektivismus Ghazālīs*, Vienna 1921. On Ibn al-Fārīd: Nallino (in reply to Di Matteo, in *R.S.O.*, 1919-1920). On Ibn 'Arabi: Asin Palacios, *El místico Murciano Abenarabi*, Madrid 1925-1926, 3 vols. On Huda Sūfism of the xviith century, see von Kremer, *J.A.*, 1869, p. 105; and on the general psychological methods of Sūfism, the documents of Esfaki (translated by Huart in *Les Saints des derviches tourneurs*, Paris 1918) and the remarks by D. B. Macdonald, *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, Chicago 1908. — As to the original texts, we have the fine editions by Nicholson of Sarrāqī, 'Aḥār, Ibn 'Arabi and Rūmī, the translations by Richard Hartmann (of Kūshairī) and Huart (Dārā Shikūh, in *J.A.*, 1926, p. 285), the commentaries of Gairdner on Ghazālī (*Al-Ghazālīs miḥāsāt al-amūr*, London 1924), of Horten on Suhrawardī Halabī (*Die Philosophie der Erleuchtung nach Suhrawardī*, Halle 1912), of Köprülüze Mehmed Fūād on the early Turkish mystics (*Türk Edebiyatında ilk mutasavvıflar*, Stambul 1919), of Nyberg on Ibn 'Arabi (*Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-'Arabi*, Leyden 1919) etc. The fundamental sources in Arabic are the works of Muḥāsibī, Makki, Ghazālī and Ibn 'Arabi, favourable to Sūfism; and those of its two great opponents: Ibn al-Djawālī (*Taḥṣīs ḥikm*, Cairo 1340) and Ibn Taimiyya. (LOUIS MASSIGNON)

TASHBĪH (A.), infinitive II from *ṭ-sh-b*, saying *Subḥān Allāh* [q.v.].

TASHBĪH, assimilating, comparing (God to man), anthropomorphism, and *ṭā'īl*, emptying, divesting (God of all attributes), are the names of two opposite views of the doctrine of the nature of God in Islam; both are regarded as heresies and grave sins in dogma. The fierce dispute over these conceptions, by which even the dogma of the Qur'ān is influenced, is explained by the central position of the doctrine of the nature of God in Islam. The formal cause is to

be found in the Qur'ān, which strongly emphasises the absolute uniqueness of God and yet at the same time naively describes him in the language of anthropomorphism, giving him a face, eyes and hands and talking of his speaking and sitting. The commentaries, such as, for example, Tabari on the Throne-verse ii. 256 (cf. also Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*², Heidelberg 1925, p. 102 sqq.) enumerate the most diverse interpretations, most of which can no longer be verified; these vary from crude emphasis of the literal meaning to its explanation as allegorical. Instead of the name *taḥbīh*, which came very early into use and means not merely referring to God in phraseology which is ambiguous because generally used of man, but which had, one might say, the sanction of the Prophet, we find *taṭbīh* also used in connection with Sūra, xlii. 9 where the possibility of anything like God is excluded, while the verb *ṭ-sh-b* II is found only in Sūra, iv. 156, applied to the docetic description of the death of Jesus. *Ta'wīl*, the rational interpretation of the anthropomorphic literal meaning, is also found, it is true, as a means and introduction to *taṭbīh* but not uniformly as the root *ṭ-sh-b* II in the Qur'ān has not a censorious sense. Here again the Sūnna plays its double part. There are ḥadīths which are devoted to the question, not only purely tendentious sayings, which originated in this dispute and were coined for the purpose, but also such as are quite free from dogmatic prejudice, just as in certain Sūfi circles the longing aroused in the mystic worship of youth may have found expression in the strongly anthropomorphic visions of God in the form of a noble-looking youth (Ritter in *Isl.*, xvii. [1928], p. 257; cf. also his references in earlier pages to manuscripts). Other ḥadīths again were cited as arguments in the dispute on the strength of a superficial interpretation, e.g. that of the nightly descent of God to earth, in itself really soteriological and edifying, in which the real point actually lies in the hearing of prayer.

It is exceedingly difficult for us to approach the question, since, so far as we can see, none of the Muslim theologians declares frankly for one of the two views of God, but rather every one asserts that he stands for *taḥbīh*, keeping (God) pure, against *taḥbīh*, and *taḥbīh*, positive determination on the basis of *taḥbīh*, the recognition of the revealed text, against *taṭbīl*. All the more eagerly however, do they accuse one another of one or even both transgressions. The use of these terms is quite relative and the grouping of their alleged representatives is equally relative. There are no definite *mu'aṭṭila* and *muḥabbika* sects; on the contrary, the differences in the teaching about God's nature and attributes do not run parallel with any other statements about God and still less do they coincide with other differences in dogma and religio-political theory. Little is known of Dja'd b. Dirham, said to have been the first *mu'aṭṭil*, whom even Ibn Taimiyya, in *al-Furqān* (cf. *Maḥimāt al-Raṣā'il al-Kubrā*, Cairo 1325, i. 137, 11 sqq.) still makes responsible for the fall of the last Omayyad, who is definitely called a Dja'dī and in remarkable contrast also responsible for the Baṭiniyya of the Assassins and the Rāṣūfiyya of Syria. The exponent of *taṭbīl* most frequently mentioned, the somewhat younger Djaḥm b. Saḥwān al-Rāṣiḥī [q.v.], put to death in 128 (745), was described by the Shī'ī Ibn al-Rawandī as a Mu'tazilī Unitarian (*mu'aṭṭil*) and was re-

jected from the Mu'tazila (as "the *imān* of the *muṭabbihā*") by the Mu'tazilī Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Khayyāṭ in the *Kitāb al-Intiqār* (*Le Livre de triomphe*, ed. Nyberg, Cairo 1935, p. 133 ult., 134, 2) on the authority of a poem cursing him by Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir and, on account of the one principle in common, — that God's knowledge of things only comes into existence at their creation — elapsed with the ultra-Shi'ī Ibn al-Hakam (see below) (p. 126, 20), the "Shaikh of anthropomorphism"; al-Khayyāṭ as a rule attributes anthropomorphic views particularly to the Nābita, i.e. the 'Uthmānī-Omayyad party (p. 145, 9 sq.); Ibn Ḥazm (*Fihl*, Cairo 1320, iv, 205, 13) classes Ḍjāḥm among the Murji'is along with al-Ash'arī, Shāristānī (ed. Cureton, p. 61) and the Ḥādī Abū Sa'īda Muḥammad al-Ḥaṣṣī (on the margin of *Ḍjānawūn*, *Kitāb al-Waḥf*, Cairo 1335, p. 70) put him with the Ḍjāḥmīs who believe in predestination. Although the description of Ḍjāḥm as a *mu'awḍ* seems to be general, the writers on heresies can only be used as authorities with the greatest caution. While Kashshā al-Nisā'ī (d. 253 = 867; see Massignon, *La passion d'al-Hallaj*, Paris 1922, p. 635 and note 2) calls the dogmatics of Ḍjāḥm *ṭaghāḥim* (purifying from any attributes of a created being), and Ash'arī, *Mabāḥith al-Iḍā'iyin* (ed. Ritter, p. 267, 11 sq.) and similarly Baghdadī in *Faṣṣṭ al-Firaḥ* (Cairo 1328, p. 199, 12) only point out that Ḍjāḥm from fear of *ṭaghāḥ* did not teach "God is a something", Ibn Ḥazm also quotes the negative denial: but also "not a not-something", which reveals the same anxiety about *ta'ṭil* or its intenser form *ṭāṭil*, destruction, annihilation, nihilism. Of the numerous pamphlets against Ḍjāḥm that of Ibn Ḥanbal is accessible in *al-Radd 'ala 'l-Zanūṭiyya wa 'l-Ḍjāḥmīya* (see *Nāḥiyet Fekūl'tel Madjūmū'at*, 1917, p. 313—327). Ibn Ḥanbal allows his opponent to say very little and the latter's arguments must not be taken as authentic without further evidence; the subject of the dispute and arguments from *Kar'ān* and *Sunna* are however clear. Ḍjāḥm is said to have denied that God can be seen by the blessed in Paradise, that he talked with Moses and that he sits on a throne. Here however Ibn Ḥanbal interprets Ḍjāḥm's fear of fixing God to a definite place in such a literal and anthropomorphic manner that he says the logical consequence for the Ḍjāḥmīs is to believe that God is in their bodies, in the bellies of swine and in latrines. He himself has however to explain God's being among men in *Sūra* lviii, 8; xx, 48; ix, 40 etc. as metaphorical *ta'ṭil*, which shows how little it is possible to draw a dividing line: on the one side Sunnis with verbal exegesis and on the other Mu'tazilīs with *ta'ṭil*! At the same time Ibn Ḥanbal earns from Ḍjāḥm the grave reproach of hypostasizing after the fashion of the Christian Trinity for his dogma that God is eternal with all his eternal attributes, for which he unhesitatingly uses the metaphor of the palm-tree consisting of root, trunk, branch, twigs, leaves, and sap.

Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal has become the great orthodox authority against *ṭaghāḥ* and *ta'ṭil*. Al-Ash'arī [q. v.] relies on him for his confession of faith in *Mabāḥith*, p. 277, 3. He gave his views on the subject in many special treatises especially on the possibility of seeing God. The happy mean which he struck by simply recognising the hands, the face and the sitting down of God "without a how" (*bi-lā Kaif*) is continually developed by his

followers, as every Muslim of himself states the problem. It has however been brought against him as "the entrance to the doctrine of the anthropomorphists" by Ibn Ḥazm, who at the same time regards Ibn Ḥanbal as an authority (il. 166, 17—19); Ibn Ḥazm for his part attacks the Mu'tazila toning down of the conception with equally colourless *ta'ṭil* (cf. il. 166, 18 sq. to 167, 6 sq.). That the Ash'arī doctrine of the nature of God was always considered *ṭaghāḥ* by the Ḥādīs is shown quite recently by al-Kāsim b. Sa'īd al-Shammūkhī in *al-Kawā al-maṭnā f. 'l-Radd 'ala 'l-Muḥallifin* (Cairo 1324, cf. esp. p. 67, sqq.). His verdict is no more lenient than that of the Almohad Ibn Tūmārt (see *Le Livre de Mohammed ben Thumart*, i, ed. Goldziher, Algiers 1903, p. 261, 2, 232, 6) on the *ṭaghāḥ* of the Almoravids.

In the effort to keep as near to Ibn Ḥanbal as possible while averting the suspicion of *ṭaghāḥ* the Maturids rather emphasised the negative: God is not bounded, not numbered, not divided, not compounded; e.g. Abū Ḥafṣ al-Nasāfī (cf. D. B. MacDonald, *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory*, New York 1903, p. 309). This brought upon them, as it had on their fore-runner Bishr al-Māzinī from 'Uḥmān b. Sa'īd al-Darīmī, and on Ghazālī from strict Ḥanbalīs like Ibn Taimiyya (*op. cit.*, i, 425, 14) the reproach of the "divesting" *ta'ṭil*. But the Ḥanbalī school of theologians did not remain at one. In *Daf' Shubḥat al-Taghāḥ wa 'l-Radd 'ala 'l-Muḍḍarima* (ed. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Kaṣṣī, Damascus 1342, esp. p. 5 sqq.) Ibn al-Djāwzī attacks three fellow Ḥanbalīs for lack of purity of conception. On the other hand it is Ibn al-Djāwzī's celebrated pupil Ibn Taimiyya who is regarded, along with men like Abū 'Amr M. b. Sa'īda al-Kurashī, as a bad anthropomorphist since the too much quoted note of Ibn Battaṭa that he said that "God comes down just as I am now coming down (from the pulpit)". More serious than the striking note on this by Ḥusām al-Dīn (in Ibn Ḍjāwzī, *op. cit.*, p. 48, note) may be the attack in his own works on the idea "Look like my look, hand like my hand!" (*Furqān*, i, 119, 13); also his explanation of God's being among men, which may with equal justice be called rationalistic *ta'ṭil* (l. 456 sqq.); then the constant endeavour to transfer anthropomorphic expressions applied to God to a sphere *ni'wān*, but particularly his opinion on all grossly material *ḥādīths* of God's coming down to earth as deliberate forgeries of the *ṣūfīs*, invented to make the Sunnis appear ludicrous (l. 280, 2) and in general his continual attacks on *ṭaghāḥ*, and *ta'ṭil* (i. 270, 14 sqq.; 395, 1 sqq. etc.) which at least reveal his aim and his personal conviction.

The case is worse with Abū Muḥammad Ḥishām b. al-Hakam (d. c. 199 = 814) since we possess none of his writings. Ash'arī however in *Mabāḥith*, p. 29, 3 sqq., reveals the lack of agreement among the notices of him when collected. Among them is a definite testimony that this Ḥishām was free from actual *ṭaghāḥ* and a concise positive indication of the view held, of an affinity and correspondence (*mutaḥabbab*), in *Iḍḍārāt* on *Idjī*, *Mawāḥif*, ed. Soerensen, Leipzig 1848, p. 347, 2, 3 and 31: *mutaḥabbab*, which first of all makes possible the relation of God to what is created and only makes his knowledge possible by his emanating penetration, which is only to be conceived in this way. When then in spite of this, Ash'arī opens his section on

the anthropomorphists with this Hishām "who compared the object of his adoration to a man", we have a glimpse of the origin of this careless labelling such as became common among the later historians of heresies. The very full special expositions of the Shī'is are themselves contradictory. Among them another Hishām, Ibn Salīm al-Djāwālīqī, seems to be the crudest because he talked of God's hair and sides, citing the ḥadīth "God created man in his own image" and referring the "his" to God (Kashshī, *Muṣṣafat Akhbār al-Riḍāʾ*, Bombay 1317, p. 183; Astarābādī, *Munhaḍḍ al-Mukāḥāt fī Taḥḥīḥ al-Riḍāʾ*, Teherān 1306, p. 167). Hishām b. al-Hakam on the other hand with all his care for *ikhṣās* and anxiety about *ikhṣāl*, which made him choose the term "body" (*ajṣam*) beside the vague expression "a something" (*shayʾ*), yet tried much to keep his distance from anthropomorphism. Generally speaking *taḥḥīḥ*, i.e. attributing to God a body, should not without more ado be ranked with *taḥḥīḥ* a sits crudest form, since the very phrase "not like our body" is expressly added, for example even by Hishām b. al-Hakam. In spite of the efforts of later Shī'is to clear their ancestors from the stain of heresy, Astarābādī still passes the damning verdict upon him as the pupil of the even more mythical "Daḥḥān" Abī Shākīr. Perhaps the most suggestive remark is that of Ashʿarī who says that Hishām b. al-Hakam expressed five different opinions on the nature of God in the space of one year. This is quite possible in one who, as Shī'ī sources record, was a highly strung temperament, a member of the circle of the Imām Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiq at a time when dogmatics were still in a very unsettled state, as is shown by the many polemics of the circle which include some of the two Hishāms against one other. The Shī'is themselves therefore have drifted widely apart. The Nusairis under Ibn Hamdān al-Kharrābī are classed as Muḥabbīḥīs. The Baḥīnīs who differ considerably among themselves are usually branded as symbolising nihilists; but one of their leading exponents, Naḥr-i Khusrāw, in his *Zāḥid Muḥabbīḥīn* (Berlin 1923, p. 250 *seq.*) champions a doctrine of the Creator which with its emphasis on the body rather recalls the principles traditionally attributed to Hishām b. al-Hakam, although it cannot be brought into a class of the scheme, with its causal conditionality of God, His unlimitedness in space and its divesting Him of an independent will.

The Twelvers have waged a vigorous war on *taḥḥīḥ* and *taḥḥīḥ* with due emphasis. It is true, on *ikhṣās*, but with especial Muʿtazila suspicion against degrading *taḥḥīḥ*. Their views will be found under the rubrics (with reference to God) "denial of a body, of a form and of *taḥḥīḥ*" and "denial of time, space, movement, change of place" in the encyclopaedia of Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār*, book II, Teherān 1306, p. 89—105. It is only in the later authors since Kulainī, Ibn Bābūya, and Ṭūsī that we can verify the statements attributed to them.

The dangers, which Hishām b. al-Hakam sought to avoid in such varied ways, show the immanent dogmatic difficulty felt between "the two limits (*ḥudūd*)". The problem is not so simple that it could be clearly defined in general terms as a twofold struggle over the recognition of God as a purely spiritual being on the one hand and over His in some way personal reality on the other. For where in that case would be put Ashʿarī, for

example? The one thing certain from the history of Muslim dogma is that every Ashʿarī would object to the classification of his master in one of two so distinct classes. *Taḥḥīḥ* is dreaded as a transition to idolatry and paganism, *taḥḥīḥ* as a preliminary to atheism and pantheism, but both are felt to be originally related. It was because Djāḥim imagines God's speaking only as a stomach, coming from a tongue and two lips, i.e. anthropomorphically, that, according to Ibn Ḥanbal, he fell into his "divesting" interpretations of the passages in question in the Qurʾān; Ibn Taimiyya calls him a "divester of anthropomorphism" (*Muṣṣafat Mumathḥil*, I, 127, 9).

Bibliography: The sections mentioned in the historians of heresies and anecdotes of theologians are, in view of the relativity of the points of view, not simply to be dismissed as malevolent inventions; at the same time they can only give indications of some value as to what views were considered to be particularly expounded on one side or the other. The value of the polemics also as authority for the doctrines of those they attacked is in the same way only preliminary. They can only be regarded as authentic sources for the views of the authors of the polemics, just as for any one the only criterion is his own exegesis of the Qurʾān and dogmatics, e.g. Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*, book I, 2: *Kawāʾid al-Aḥād* and book IV, 5 and 6: *al-Tawḥīd waʾl-Tamakkul* and *al-Maḥabbah*; cf. H. Baner, *Die Dogmatik al-Ghazālī's*, Halle 1912, 48 *seq.*; J. Obermann, *Der philosophische und religiöse Subjektivismus Ghazālī's*, Vienna 1921, 197—200, 127; Abū Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Kāhīr al-Baḥḥādī, *Uṣūl al-Dīn*, Istanbul 1218, I, 73—130 (not so much a systematic treatise as an account of *ikhṣāl* on the lines of his above mentioned *Farḥ bāin al-Firāḥ*).

(R. STROTHMANN)

TASHFĪN n. ALĪ, one of the Almoravid [q.v.] Sovereigns.

TASHKENT, usually written *Tashkend* in Arabic and Persian manuscripts, a large town in Central Asia, in the oasis of Čirčik, watered by one of the right bank tributaries of the Sir-Daryā [q.v.].

Nothing is known of the origin of the settlement on the Čirčik. According to the Greek and Roman sources there were only nomads on the other side of the Vaxartes. In the earliest Chinese sources (from the second century B.C.) mention is made of a land of Yu-ni, later identified with the territory of Tashkent; this land is later called Čo-čī or Čo-čī or simply Shī. The corresponding Chinese character is used with the meaning of "stone", and this is connected by A. Chavannes (*Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. 140) with the later Turkish name (*taş*, "stone" and *kend*, "village" = "stone village"). The Chinese transcription must certainly correspond to the native name Čač, known in the Muḥammadan period; the Arabs here as usual reproduce the sound č by ṭ. The Arabic form *Shāsh* gradually drove the original name out of use in the written as well as the spoken language. If and how the modern Turkish name, first found in the fifth (vith) century, is connected with Čač or *Shāsh* is still doubtful. The etymology (Tashkent = town of the Tāsh i.e. the Arabs) proposed by E. Polivanov (*İşā al-Djāmān*, for W. Barthold,

Tashkent 1927, p. 395-397) will hardly find favour.

Details of the land of Čāč and its capital, the circumference of which was about 10 li (less than 3 miles), are first found in Chinese sources of the third century A.D. In the time of Hsiao-Cung (*Memoires sur les contrées occidentales*, I, 1857, p. 16) there was no ruler in Čāč to whom the whole country was subject, as in other countries. The separate towns were under the suzerainty of the Turks. In the history of the wars of conquest of the Arabs in the second (eighth) century there is frequent reference to a "king (*malik*) of Shāsh"; his capital is given by al-Balādhuri (ed. de Goeje, p. 421) and al-Tabari, (II, 1517 and 1521) as the town of Tārband, not otherwise mentioned in the Arabic geographical literature; that we have here, as the editor (D. H. Müller) assumes a "forma contracta" for Tūrbānd (*B. G. A.*, III, 61 infra) is more than doubtful. The ruling family was presumably of Turkish origin. The suzerainty of the Turkūb Khāns was at times replaced by that of the Chinese. In 751 the Chinese governor Kan Siēn-Či (Chavannes, *Documents* etc., p. 297; F. Hirth, *Nachrichten zur Inschrift des Tsinshuk*, 1897, p. 70) executed the prince of Shāsh and his son appealed for assistance to the Arabs. Ziyād b. Šālih, sent by Abū Muslim (q. v.), inflicted a severe defeat on the Chinese in Dhu 'l-Hijja 133 = July 751 (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, v, 344) on the Talas (q. v.) and Kan Siēn-Či was killed in the battle. This battle established the political supremacy of Islām in Central Asia. No further attempts were made by the Chinese to dispute it.

Under the Caliphs, the territory of Shāsh was regarded as the frontier of Islām against the Turks; the settled lands were protected from the raids of the nomads by a wall, remains of which still exist (*G. M. S.*, N. S., v, p. 172). Nevertheless the land was conquered by the Turks, probably for a short period only, in 191 (806-807). A "prince (*qāhīr*) of Shāsh with his Turks" is mentioned as an ally of the rebel Rāfi' b. Laith (al-Tabari, III, 712). Under al-Ma'mūn, Shāsh again belonged to the Caliph's empire; when in 204 (819) the Sāmānids became governors of various districts in Mā warā al-Nahr, one of them, Yahyā b. Asad, was granted Shāsh (cf. SĀMĀNIDS; in contradiction to what is there stated we know not only the year but also the very day of the death of this Yahyā: it was Thursday five days before the end of Rabi' II, 241 (Sept. 12, 855); cf. *G. M. S.*, xx, 286b). In 225 (840) the eldest of the brothers, Nāh b. Asad, the senior governor of the lands entrusted to the Sāmānids, by conquering Isfijāb (the modern Sairām) succeeded in advancing the frontier further north. About the same time a canal in Shāsh was restored, which had become silted up in the early days of Islām. The Caliph al-Ma'tasim (833-842) contributed 2,000,000 dirhams towards the work on these canals (al-Tabari, III, 1326).

To the period of the Sāmānids belong almost all the surviving geographical descriptions of Shāsh (and indeed those of most Muslim lands). Shāsh appears in these only as the name of a country: the capital is called Binkath; on coins the mint is always given as "Shāsh", rarely with the addition of "Binkath". The territory was 1 farsakh (3 1/2 miles) in length and breadth. The modern Tashkent is of much greater extent, but the position of Binkath or the distance given by the Arabs geographers corresponded roughly to that of Tashkent (W.

Barthold, *Turkestan, G. M. S.*, New Series, v, 711, not to the position of Iki-Tashkent as in Le Strange's *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 480); there is still shown in Tashkent the tomb of the Shāshī scholar Abū Bakr al-Kāfil al-Shāshī who died in 365 or 366 (975-977).

Whether the name Tashkent was in use before the Turkish conquest (before the final collapse of the Sāmānid dynasty, the whole Sīr Daryā territory had been ceded to the Turks in 386 [996]) is doubtful. So far as we know the name "Tashkent" is first found in al-Bīrūnī (*Tarikh al-Hind*, ed. Sachau, p. 149, translation, I, 298); from the etymology of the name al-Bīrūnī wrongly identifies it with the *Alāna* *ṣūrya* of Ptolemy (J. Marquart, *Iranische*, Berlin 1901, p. 155). Mahmūd Kāshgharī (i. 369) mentions "Terken" (otherwise unknown) as a "name of Shāsh" in addition to Tashkent. The name Tashkent first appears on coins in the Mongol period. In the second half of the fifth (xith) and in the sixth (xith) century coins were struck in Banāket, Fanāket or Banākit, which lies quite close to it on the right bank of the Sīr Daryā; it is possible that this town at this time was of greater importance than Tashkent. In Djuwainī's account of the Mongol campaign (*G. M. S.*, xvi, 70 sq.) Tashkent is not mentioned; only the taking of Banāket is recorded. Under Mongol rule Tashkent, for reasons unknown to us, had a better fate than Banāket. Tashkent continued to exist as a town and was occasionally visited by the Khāns (cf. *ḤURĀḤ KHĀN*); on the other hand Banāket, although it had offered not resistance to the Mongols, was in ruins at this date, and it was not till 1392 that Timūr rebuilt it under the new name of Shāhrakhiya.

After the decline of the Mongol empire of Čaghatāi (q. v.) Tashkent belonged to the empire of Timūr and the Timūrīds; in 890 (1485) the town with the lands belonging to it was ceded to the Mongol Khān Yūnus who died there in 892 (1487) (*Tarikh-i Rashidi*, transl. Rose, p. 114 sq.). His tomb is in the mosque of Shāikh Khāwend-i Tuhūr (popularly Shākhātatur), a local saint; on his period (viii = xiv century) cf. A. Semenov in *Protokoll Turk. Kulsha Ljub. Arkh.*, xx, 1915, p. 29. Khān Yūnus was succeeded by his son Mahmūd Khān; after 1503 Tashkent belonged to the kingdom of the Ōzbegs who had, however, to give it up only a short time after the death of the founder of this kingdom, Shāhān Khān (q. v. and cf. SHĀHĀNIDS). During the centuries following, Tashkent was sometimes under the rule of the Ōzbegs, sometimes under the Kazak (q. v. KAZAK) and in 1723 it was conquered by the Kalmūcks, but not at once occupied by them; the town continued to be governed by a prince of Kazak descent who was now a vassal of the rulers of the Kalmūcks. Sometimes its rule passed into the hands of the Khodjas, the descendants of the local saint (e.g. *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxviii, 311).

During these centuries, the possession of Tashkent was frequently the cause of heavy fighting. Some of the accounts of these battles are of importance for the understanding of the topographical conditions of the period. The records of the battles of Tashkent in the time of 'Abd Allāh Khān b. Iskan-far (q. v.) clearly show that the town of Tashkent had not yet assumed its present form. It is not till the sixth (xvith) century that the

division of the town into four quarters (Kukča, Shaikhantaur, Sibir and Besh-Agha) with a common bazaar is mentioned. Occasionally each quarter has a chief (*kākin*) of its own; each quarter formed an entity by itself and was very often at war with the others.

About 1780 Yūnus Khodja, the chief of the Shaikhantaur quarter, succeeded in combining the whole town under his rule. Yūnus Khodja fought successfully against the Kazak but suffered a severe reverse at the hands of the Özbeks of Khokand under 'Alim-Khān; after his death, in the time of his son and successor Sultān-Khodja, shortly before 1810, Tashkent had to submit to the rule of the Khāns of Khokand. For its history in this period cf. KHOKAND.

On June 15/27 1865, Tashkent was taken by the Russians under Černyšev. As capital of the Str-Darya territory and of the governor-generalship of Turkestan, Tashkent attained great prosperity. Alongside of the old "Asiatic" town, a new Russian city arose as the residence of the officials, and the two parts together formed one town from 1877 with joint municipal institutions, but the Russian town, although its population was nothing like the size of that of the "Asiatic" town, enjoyed special privileges; little attention was therefore paid to the old town. The Russian part alone had a civic life in the European sense; in it were the government offices, the schools, the scientific and learned societies and associations. The number of the population (of the old and new Russian town together) amounted to 155,673 according to the census of 1897.

As a result of the revolution Russian Tashkent has lost all the privileges it had over the old town. Since the recognition of the principle of nationality in Central Asia and the foundation of national republics, Tashkent has lost all political importance. The town belongs to Özbekistān while its northern suburbs are in Kazakistān; the seat of government of Özbekistān is in Samarqand [q. v.]. As the largest town in Central Asia, Tashkent has however retained its importance as a commercial and educational centre. It is the meeting-place of the "Economic Council" (*ekonomičeskij soviet*) for the whole of Central Asia, has a University founded in 1920, a very large "Central Asiatic" library, the "principal Museum" (*glavnyj muzej*) of Central Asia, the Central Asiatic section of the Russian Geographical Society etc. Commerce is declining, as elsewhere, but the number of inhabitants is larger than formerly.

Bibliography: A. J. Dobrosmislov, *Tashkent v proshlom i nastoyashem*, Tashkent 1912; Fr. v. Schwartz, *Turkestan*, Freiburg i. Br. 1900, p. 140 sqq. (refers to the Tashkent of 1874—1890 and should be used with caution); V. Masal'skiy, *Turkestan'kiy Krai*, St. Petersburg 1913, p. 607 sqq.; *Tashkent 1877—1912. K tridecatipjatiletiyu gorodskoye obshchestvennogo upravleniya*; W. Barthold, *Itoriya kulturnoi žizni Turkestana*, Leningrad 1927, p. 163 sqq.; *Sredne-aziatskiy gosudarstvennyj universitet. K desyatiletiyu subiteyu sktyabskoi revoliucii*, Tashkent 1927. — On the principle of Nationality: J. Varrakis i S. Zelen'skiy, *Nacionalno-gosudarstvennoe razmežovanie Srednei Azii*, Tashkent 1924. (W. BARTHOLD)

TASHKÖPRÜZADE, the name of a family of Turkish scholars, taken from the village

of Tashköprü near Kastamūnt [q. v.] in Anatolia (cf. KÖPRÜLÜZADE, called after the adjacent village of [West]-Köprü).

1. Muṣṭafā b. Khalil al-Dīn, born at Tashköprü in 857 (1453), studied at the high schools of Brussa and Stambul, became professor in Brussa, afterwards (901) in Angora, Üsküb and Adrianople, was for a time tutor to the prince, afterwards Sultān, Salīm I, then again professor in Amasia and Brussa. He never took up the office of judge in Aleppo, which was given to him. He died in 935 (1528) as professor in Brussa. Muṣṭafā b. Khalil was the author of a number of commentaries on books on law but, as a result of his busy life, he was never able to put them into final shape.

2. Ahmad b. Muṣṭafā b. Khalil, son of 1, a distinguished Ottoman encyclopaedist and biographer, born on 14th Rabi' 1901 (3rd Dec. 1495) at Brussa, studied under his father at Angora and Brussa and later in Stambul and Amasia. At the end of Rabi' 931 (May 1525) he became professor in Dimotika, in the beginning of 933 (Oct. 1526) in Stambul, at the beginning of 934 (Oct. 1527) he went to Üsküb. Five years later he again became professor in Stambul, was transferred on the 4th Rabi' 945 (March 25, 1539) to Adrianople, but went back to the capital in the same year in the capacity of "guardian". He again held a teaching post in Adrianople, then reluctantly became *kāfi* in Brussa, but soon returned to his chair. On Shawwāl 27, 958 (29th Oct. 1551) he became judge of Stambul. Three years later his eyes became affected and ultimately he went quite blind. He died on the last day of Rabi' 968 (April 16, 1561) in Stambul, and was buried there in the 'Ashik Pasha quarter in the mosque of the 'Ashik Pasha monastery. Ahmad b. Muṣṭafā had an encyclopaedic mind of astonishing versatility. He compiled an encyclopaedia of arts and sciences in Arabic, which was afterwards translated by his son (see 3) into Turkish and in this form it has been printed under the title *Meṣnū'at al-'Ulūm* (Stambul 1313, 844 and 712 pp.). The number of his other works is considerable. The most important is the *Shakā'ik al-Nu'māniya* written in Arabic in which he gives biographies of 522 'Ulamā' and *shāikh* of orders divided into ten classes (*fahāṣil*) according to the reigns of the ten Ottoman Sultāns, 'Othmān to Sulaimān. At the end he gives his own autobiography. The work, which was finished on Ramaḍān 30, 965 (July 16, 1558) is our main source for the intellectual history of the period. It was several times translated into Turkish and has been brought down almost to the present day (cf. F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 86 under *Fortsetzungen*). While the original work has been printed in the Arabic version, and in the expanded Turkish translation of Mehmed called Medjidi of Adrianople, and also in the first continuation by 'Atā', the important continuations to the present day still exist in manuscript only, an almost incredible neglect of the most important sources for the history of Ottoman scholarship. On the printed editions cf. F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 86 sq.; a German translation of the basic work was published in Constantinople in 1927 by O. Rescher (iv. 361 pp., 4th).

Bibliography: Autobiography at the end of *Shakā'ik*; German translation in F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, p. 241 sqq.;

Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 425 sq. (with Bibliography); further references in F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 84 sqq.

3. Kemâl al-Dîn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, son of 2, Turkish historian. Kemâl al-Dîn Muḥammad was born in Sтамbul in 939 (1532), became professor and kâdî successively in Salonica, Scutari, Aleppo, Damascus, Brussa, Cairo and Galata. Later he was kâdî in Sтамbul and repeatedly held the post of kâdî 'asker of Anatolia or Rumelia. In this capacity he took part in the Wallachian campaign, fell ill and died on his way back to Sтамbul in Ishâkçe (Isağçi, in Rumania). His body was taken to the capital and buried beside that of his father. As a poet he wrote under the *muṣṣḥaf* of Kemâl. He was a translator (see under 2) and also an historian. Under the title *Ta'rikh-i ṣâf* or *Tuhfat al-Aḥbâb* he composed a history of the Ottoman empire down to Aḥmad I (1603/17), to whom he dedicated the book. He is also said to have composed a poetical *Shāhnāme*, but no trace of the work seems to have survived; cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 149. His *Ta'rikh-i ṣâf* was printed in three fascicules in Sтамbul in 1287.

Bibliography: 'Aṭā, p. 641 sq.; Riyāḍi, *Tadhkirat*; *Sijill-i 'othmānī*, iv. 80; J. v. Hammer, *G. O. D.*, iii. 602, 693 sq.; *M. O. G.*, i. 164 (F. Babinger); Brüssli Muḥammad Tahir, *'Othmānī Mufassṣṣat*, i. 347; F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 149, where further references are given.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

TASHRÎH (A.), general sense: opening, exposition. It has two special meanings: 1. exposition of a science, commentary on a book, like *ṣharḥ* [q. v.]; 2. the science of anatomy which is the "opening" and exposition of the structure of the body. The two meanings are found in one sentence in Ibn al-Kifṭī: "Galen was the key of medicine, its *ṣharḥ* and its *tashrîḥ*, that is to say, it was he who expounded it and commented upon it... No one ever surpassed him in the science of *tashrîḥ* and he wrote 17 books upon it." The reference here is to anatomy.

Anatomy was not a very popular science in Islām; the reproduction of the human figure was forbidden and on religious and moral grounds dissection objected to. This was not practised among the Muslims any more than among the ancients, except at Alexandria. Galen took advantage of the opportunities he had to study the anatomy of man, but in general he worked on the monkey. Muslim observers also took advantage of any chance opportunities of advancing this science; we have an example of this in the travels of 'Abd al-Laṭīf: the author, with his friends, having learned that there was at Maks in Egypt a hill formed of human remains went to examine the skeletons and made notes.

In spite of the disadvantages under which they laboured, several Arab scholars studied anatomy, in which they followed the Greeks, notably Galen, Oribases and Aetius. A number of works of Galen were known to the Arabs and translated into their language, for example the *De Anatomia*, the *De Venarum Sectione*, the *De Musculorum Dissectione*, the *De Ostiis*, as well as the treatise on the pulse. Books x—xv. of the great work of this scholar, the *De Anatomicis Administrationibus*, were preserved only in Arabic. A German translation has been published by Max Simon.

P. de Koning has published three long extracts from works on anatomy as known to the Arabs, one from Avicenna, another from 'Alī b. 'Abbās, a Zoroastrian physician born in Persia (d. 384), and the last from the famous Razes (Muḥammad b. Zakariyā al-Rāzī, d. 320). The chapters from Razes, which are the least advanced, come from his book *al-Manṣūri*; those of 'Alī b. 'Abbās from his "Royal Book" (*al-Malūk*) and those of Avicenna from his *Kāmil*. These three works have practically the same arrangement, which is clear and logical and is found already in the classical writers. They begin with osteology: first generalities about the bones, then a detailed study from head to foot of the human frame: bones of the head, the belly, the vertebral column, the thorax, bones of the upper limbs and of the hands, the lower limbs and of the feet. The subject of dentistry was not then a separate one. — Next came the study of the muscles, myology: they are enumerated and analysed in the same order; — next the nervous system and the arteries: nerves, brain, spinal fluid, arteries and veins; — then the description of the external organs, organs of sight, taste, hearing, the tongue, larynx, lungs, heart, stomach, intestines, liver, spleen, kidneys, bladder and organs of generation.

Opposite the same chapters of Avicenna, de Koning has placed the corresponding passages from Galen and Oribases: they deal among other subjects with the trapezius muscle, the flexor muscles of the fingers, the pulmonary artery, the valves of the heart, the iris of the eye and the bone of the heart.

All this anatomy is already quite advanced, and very analytic; it is also quite final: every bone, every organ, every muscle is described from the point of view of its function and object. We may note that Arab anatomy has a vocabulary of its own. Unlike medicine and botany, it does not use Persian and Greek words, and on the other hand, unlike mathematics, astronomy and alchemy, it has not given us any technical terms. We do find a few in the Latin translations of the middle ages, like "meri" which is Arabic *marī*, oesophagus; "myrach" which is Arabic *marāḥ*, "abdomen"; "siphao" which is *ṣifāḥ*, peritoneum; but these terms have not come down to our time.

In surgery 'Abulcasis who is Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Zahrāwī, physician to 'Abd al-Rahmān III of Cordova (ivth = xth century), and Avenzoar (Ibn Zohr, d. 595) of Seville are the greatest representatives of science and experiment among the Arabs. The former wrote a book entitled *al-Taṣrif*, the anatomical and surgical part of which is taken mainly from Paul of Aegina. The latter is a late Byzantine author, a contemporary of the beginnings of Islām, who travelled in Arab lands and was much admired by the Arabs for his skill as an operator. Abu 'l-Kāsim deals with operations, describes and gives drawings of instruments. We have a number of his works illustrated in this way. This work was translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona in the xiiith century and published in 1497 at Venice, and at Basle in 1778. Adapted by Guy de Chauliac (1300—1368) it had a great influence on western science. — As to Avenzoar, a progressive and practical mind of great skill, he cast off to a large extent the authority of Galen and substituted his own experience. He is the main source for Arnaud de Villeneuve. — We may

conclude with a mention of the earliest western translator, Constantine Africanus (1020—1087) who translated 'Alb. b. 'Abdā.

The Arabs also knew ophthalmics as a special subject. To them also we owe observations on the anatomy of animals, on hybrids and on monsters.

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(B. CARRA DE VAUX)

TASHRIK is a special name for the last three days of the Muhammadan Hajj (11th—13th Dhu 'l-Hijja: *Ayām al-Tashrik*), during which the pilgrims, having finished their regular rites, stay in Mīna and have to throw seven stones daily on each of the three piles of stones there. In the early period of Islam the name *tashrik* was also given to the solemn *salāt* on the morning of the 10th Dhu 'l-Hijja. The term is probably a survival from the pre-Islamic period and therefore could no longer be explained by the Muslims with certainty. For example the obvious explanation which derives the term from "cutting into strips and drying" the sacrificial meat left over on the Dhu 'l-Hijja is doubtful. An isolated tradition derives *tashrik* from the recitation of the words '*ashrik* *ḥabir* *ḥimā* *muḥir*' (cf. *tahrik*, *talbiya* *tahbir*). One would therefore have to assume that this formula was originally used not only, as we are told, on the 10th Dhu 'l-Hijja before sunrise but also at the lapidation on the following days and that as an essential element it later became the name for the whole ceremony. In Islam this lapidation is accompanied by *tahbir* (pronouncing "*Allāhu akbar*") among other exclamations. This is perhaps why Abū Hanīfa explains *tashrik* as *tahbir* (*Taḍj al-ʿArūs*, vi. 393). Cf. also the article **HADJ**.

Bibliography: *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xii. 42 sq.; *Taḍj al-ʿArūs*, vi. 393 sq.; Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, p. 1541; R. Dozy, *Die Israeliten zu Mekka*, Leipzig-Haarlem 1864, p. 118—126 (the proposed explanation from the Hebrew is now rejected); Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkanische Feest*, Leyden 1880 (*Verspreide Geschriften*, I. 1 sq.), p. 171—174; Wellhausen, *Reise arabischen Heidentums*, p. 80, 190, note 1; Th. W. Juynboll, *Über die Bedeutung des Wortes Tashrik* (*Z. A.*, xxvii., 1912, p. 1—7); Gaudetroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, Paris 1923, p. 273, 291, 299, 302 note.

(R. PARET)

TASM n. **LUMH** n. **SĀM** b. **NUH**, a legendary tribe of the prehistoric period of the Arabs, closely connected by descent, dwelling-place (in al-Yamāma), conditions of life (agriculturists and cattle-breeders) and history with the Djadis [q. v.] (with whom they are always numbered) b. Ḥāshir b. Iram b. Sām b. Nūh. The story, frequently mentioned in Arabic literature, of the

fall of the two sister-tribes is in its main outlines as follows: They were at one time under the tyranny of a Tasmī named 'Amīk (or 'Amīk). Appealed to in a matrimonial dispute of a Djadis woman named Huzaila he gave an arbitrary verdict. Enraged at the opposition of the woman, he claimed the *jus primae noctis* over all the brides of the Djadis. After exercising this tyranny for 40 (?) years, a highborn Djadis woman named 'Afira bint 'Ifar who had fallen a victim to it roused her tribe to vengeance and open rebellion. Her brother al-Aswad, however, advised cunning and carried his plan through against her proposal. He invited 'Amīk and his tribe to his sister's wedding. During the feast the Djadis fell upon and killed the Tasm with weapons which had been hidden in the sand. Only one escaped, Riyāh b. Murr, who fled to the Himyarite prince Ḥassān b. Tubba' and persuaded him to undertake a campaign of vengeance against the Djadis. When the army had come within three days' journey of Dīaww, the settlement of the Djadis, Riyāh advised branches to be cut and carried by each rider to conceal him. For in Djadis there was a wise woman named Yamāma (or Zarkā) who could see anyone approaching at three days' journey distant. She, however, was able to recognise the enemy force in spite of their covering and advised her fellow tribesmen to get ready to defend themselves. They paid no heed to her and were surprised and the men killed and the women, including Yamāma, taken prisoner. Ḥassān had her eyes torn out and crucified her dead body on the gate of Dīaww, which was henceforth called Yamāma. This is the legend. In many of its features it is quite mythical but it may in part relate to a historical event [cf. *Djadis*]. The fragments preserved in the sources of old couplets in the style of a folksong are probably the remains of a ballad form of the legendary material.

Bibliography: Tabart, I. 771 sqq.; *Kitāb al-Aghāni*, x. 48 sqq.; commentary of Nashwān on the Himyar Kaṣida, extracts from which are given in D. H. Müller's *Sudārah. Studien*, p. 67 sqq.; also very fully in the commentary on the 17th verse of the 13th poem of Aḥḥa Maimūn, ed. by R. Geiger; *ibid.* (p. 74, note 12) an exhaustive list of Arabic sources for the Tasm-Djadis-saga. (H. H. BRAU)

TASMIYA. [See **HAEMALA**].

TASNIM, 1. name of a fountain in Paradise, occurring in the *Kurʿān*, Sūra lxxiii. 27, where it is said, that its water will be drunk by the *muḥarrarūn*, "those who are admitted to the divine presence", and that it will be mixed with the drink of the mass of the inhabitants of Paradise. The commentaries are uncertain, whether *tasnim* is a proper name — which, according to the *Lisān* is inconsistent with its being a diptote — or a derivative from the root *s-n-m*, a root conveying the meaning of "being high". In the latter case the meaning of the verse would be: "and it (viz. the drink of the inhabitants of Paradise) will be mixed with water which is conducted to them from a high place".

Ab-Tabart mentions a third explanation, viz. "hidden things gladdening the inhabitants of Paradise".

Bibliography: al-Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra lxxiii.; al-Tabart, *Tafsīr*, xxx. 59; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzi, *Mafātīḥ al-Ghaib*, vi. 502 and the other

commentaries on the *Ḥurān*; *Litān al-ʿArab*, xvi. 199.

2. Infinitive II of *a-n-m*: "raising graves above the level of the earth". It is said that Muhammad's grave was *muṣannam* (Bukhārī, *Ḍjanāʾiz*, b. 96). On the other hand it is said that Muhammad ordered that graves should be levelled (Muslim, *Ḍjanāʾiz*, trad. 92, 93; Ahmad b. Hanbal, *Muṣnad*, vi. 18 bis, 21). Al-Shāfiʿi's opinion was that graves should be raised only so much that they could be recognised as such, lest people should sit or walk on them (al-Tirmidhi, *Ḍjanāʾiz*, b. 56). The Mālikites, however, preferred *ṣanāʾa* (al-Nawawī's Commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo, 1283, ii. 344).

(A. J. WASSINK)
TASUḌJ (and **TASSUḌJ**), 1. Arabicised forms of the Persian word *tarū* (Phl. **tarūk*, cf. Phl. *tarum* "fourth" < **tārūma*; cf. Salemann, *Manich. Studien*, I. 128; Tedesco, *Dialectologie der west-iranischen Turfantexte*, p. 209) which means the 24th part of certain measures (Vulliamy, i. 445). According to the *Farhang-i Shāhī*, two *ḡaw* = a *ḡabba*; two *ḡabba* = a *tarūfj*; four *tarūfj* = a *dāng*; six *dāng* = a *ḡinār*. In the *Divān* of Kāsim al-Anwār (Bib. Nat. de Paris, Sup. Pers. 717, fol. 174) is a verse giving to *tarū* some mystic sense. The word is found in Armenian *thasa* and in Aramaic *tyruga*; cf. Hübschmann, *Arm. Gram.*, vi. p. 266.

2. A territorial division. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, p. 16, contrasts the term *tarūk*, *tarūfj* ("office") meaning a district in the "Irāk with that of *rustāf* ("pariah") a division of a *kūra* (from *χώρα*) in Fārs. The province of the Irāk, according to Ibn Khurdādhbih and Qādīmā, was divided into 12 *astān* (*astān*?) each of which contained a certain number of *tarūfj*; the total number of the latter was usually put at 60 (Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, p. 79). The term *tarūfj* however (the phonetical form of which actually belongs to the S.W. dialect) is known throughout Persia. The province of Abarsāhr in the strict sense (Nishāpūr) was divided into 13 *rustāf* and 4 *tarū* (Ibn Rustā, p. 171; *arṣat arṣat*) namely Ziwand, Takāb, Bushāta Furūshān(?) and Māzul. Ibn Rustā, p. 155, mentions a *tarūfj* of Kūdh among the dependencies of Isfahān. There is also a district of *Tasūdj* in the province of Fārs (Istakhrī, p. 102) on the right bank of the Kurr near Lake Bakhtigān; its capital is Khurrama (cf. also Stolze, *Persepolis*, 1888, preface). The division into *tarūfj* must have been based on irrigation. The water of a river in theory forms 6 *dāng*; thus the two watercourses into which the Kārūn divides at Shāghar (the Shūlāf and Gargar) are called in the *Zafarnāma*, i. 591 and 599, "the river of 4 *dāngs*" and "the river of two *dāngs*". A *tarūfj* seems to represent the area irrigated by a quarter *dāng*.

3. *Tasūdj* is more particularly the name of a small town in Adharbājdjān, on the north bank of Lake Urmīya to the south of the Mīshow range. It is the capital of the district of Gūney (in Turkish "exposed to the sun") including the north shore of Lake Urmīya. The old name of the district still used in government documents is Arwanak-wa-Anzāb. Since Arwanak means particularly the eastern part of the district (*Nushat al-Kulūb*, p. 79) *Tasūdj* seems to be in Anzāb. The town of Tasūdj (*Tasūdj*) lies about 3 miles from the lake; it is watered by a stream from the Kāll-dagh. Near the town which is surrounded by

gardens are quarries of rock-salt, gypsum and limestone. The population is not more than 1,000 but the fact that it is divided into 12 quarters and has 50 mosques (1) shows its former importance. The town must date from before Islām. The Armenian historian of the eighth century, Lerout, p. 134, mentions it among the places in Adharbājdjān which king Gagik passed through coming from Thofnavan (in Vaspurakan): Zarevand, Zidfoy (?), Tasak, Garnak, Ormī, Surenapat. The importance of *Tasūdj* in the Mongol period is seen from the fact that in the *Nushat al-Kulūb* Lake Urmīya is regularly called *daryā-yi shūr-i Tasūdj*. The revenues of the district however were not over 5,000 *ḡinārs*; this sum was earmarked for the maintenance of the pious foundations of the Khān Abū Saʿīd.

Clavijo in 1404 who had to pass through *Tasūdj* on his way from Khōi to Tahriz seems to call it as *Caza* ("a populous fine township which lies in a plain and is surrounded by many orchards that are irrigated by numerous streams"; transl. Le Strange, London 1928, p. 150 and note on the form *Caza-Taza* on p. 352).

Ewliya Çelebi (ii. 242; iv. 319) calls the town *Tasūj* and its river *Irīs* (?). According to him, it was a *rustān* of some importance with about 3,000 soldiers and artillery. The town had 3,000 houses, 7 mosques etc. The people were *Shīʿis*; Ewliya says it was founded by Yezdegerd in honour of his wife *Tasūhān* (?). It is said to have been destroyed by Timūr (? cf. Clavijo) and rebuilt by Dīlshāhshāh (of the Kara-Koyunlu). To the east of *Tasūdj* is the village of Kūmla (Khumla) known from the fortifications erected there in 998 by Farhād Pasha at the time of the conquest of Tabriz [q. v.] in the reign of Murād III; cf. Ewliya, *ibid.*

European travellers have rarely visited *Tasūdj*; cf. E. G. Browne, *A Year among the Persians*, p. 56. (V. MINORSKY)

TAŞWIR (A.), fashioning, forming; an image, a picture; for the prohibition of images and pictures of living beings by the Muslim jurists, see *Ṣūra*; here an account will be given of the artistic activity in the Muslim world that has produced sculptures and pictures, despite the condemnation of the theologians. Examples of the former are rare e.g. in Egypt, Khumārāwāh [q. v.] had statues of himself, his wives and singing-girls made, and in Spain, ʿAbd al-Rahmān III [q. v.] set up a statue of his favourite wife al-Zahrā, in the palace he called after her name, while the marble lions supporting the fountain constructed in the Alhambra for Muhammad V, in the latter part of the xivth century, still exist. The Seljuks princes of Asia Minor employed sculptors to decorate their capital, Konya [q. v.] and several stone figures, both human and animal, of this period are preserved in the museum of that city. The first statues of Muhammadan potentates known to have been erected in public places, are those set up in the city of Cairo by Ismāʿīl Pasha [q. v.]. Under the Fatimids in Egypt a large number of bronze ewers and perfume-burners, in the form of birds and animals, were made, and rock crystals of the same period often have animal forms cut upon them. The metal-workers of Mawjil and their fellow craftsmen who carried the same art into Persia, Syria and Egypt, made lively representations of court life, the monarch drinking among his servants and musicians, hunting, playing polo, or engaged in battle; some of these metal-

workers were certainly Christians, but their patrons were Muslim princes who paid no heed to theological opinion on the matter. A similar disregard of the prescriptions of the *shari'a* is found on the pottery of Raiy (xiith and xiiith centuries), with its brilliantly coloured representations of princes, musicians, singing-girls, dancers and knights, as well as animals of various kinds, both real and imaginary. Figures are also found on the pottery from other towns, but not with the same wealth of imagery. Carvings in wood, particularly under the Fatimids and Mamluks in Egypt, often represent figures, human or animal; figures also form part of the decoration of carpets, ivories and glass. Such objects, of these various classes, as have survived the many cataclysms that have swept over the Muhammadan world, or have escaped destruction at the hands of fanatical iconoclasts, probably form only a small part of the total number that once existed.

More abundant evidence of the existence of representational art and the use of figure-forms, in the Muhammadan world, is found in paintings, especially in Persia, India and Turkey. The existence of fresco-painting as a decoration of the palaces of Muslim princes is testified, for the Umayyad period, by the pictures of royal personages, dancers, musicians, gymnasts etc. in Qusair 'Amra (see 'AMRA, I, 338), and for the early 'Abbāsid period, by the pictures of dancing-girls, animals, birds etc. at Sāmarrā (see E. Herzfeld, *Die Malereien von Samarra*, Berlin 1927). There is ample literary evidence for the practice in the palaces of later Muslim monarchs, and remains of frescoes executed in the xvth and early sixth centuries for Persian Shāhs still exist.

But the majority of Muslim paintings are to be found as illustrations in MSS. and to some extent also on separate sheets of paper. Hardly any examples of paintings on paper have survived, of a date earlier than the xiiith century. Among the earliest books of Arabic literature so illustrated were the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hariri, *Kalīla wa-Dinnā*, works on astronomy, medicine and mechanical science, etc. Persian literature has much more abundantly received the attention of the painter, and writings of many different kinds contain pictures. Poetical works are most commonly illustrated, e.g. the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsi, the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī, the *Kulliyāt* of Sa'di and a large number of other poets. Illustrated MSS. of historical contents are less common, but there are MSS. of the *Diyānāt al-Tawārīkh* of Rashid al-Din, the *Rawdat al-Safā* of Mirchānd, the *Zafar-nāma* of Sharaf al-Din 'Alī Yazdī, and various works on Indian history, with pictures. The illustrations in MSS. of the *Kisās al-Anbiyā'* by more than one author, and of the *Madjālīs al-'Ushshād* by Sultān Husain Mirzā (himself a generous patron of painters) are of special interest as providing Muslim representations of the history of the holy personages of Islāmic history. Later, illustrated prose romances became common. Besides Arabic and Persian, MSS. in Çaghatāi Turki (especially those produced in Harāt in the latter part of the xvth century), Hindūstānī, Faḡhī and Ottoman Turkish have been illustrated by Muslim painters.

In addition to the illustrations in manuscripts prepared for royal personages and men of wealth, mention must be made of instances of popular disregard of the prohibition of representations of

living beings; most noticeable among these are the figures used in the shadow-plays, popular in Java, Egypt and Turkey. The houses of the poor are often decorated with crude drawings of animals, especially in Egypt, painted to celebrate the return of a pilgrim from Mecca, and cheap pictures of Borāq [q. v.] are common.

The sources of Muslim pictorial art are obscure, but influences are traceable from Christian (Jacobite and Nestorian), Manichaean, Sāsānian and Chinese paintings. In Persia, the pre-Muslim artistic traditions re-appear in the later art, and in India Hindu painters worked for Muhammadan princes and contributed elements characteristic of the country.

Some attempt has been made to distinguish different schools of Muhammadan painting, but there is little agreement in the suggested divisions. The Primitives of the xiiith century form a group apart; and there are special characteristics that mark the work of the painters in the service of the Mongol rulers of Persia at the beginning of the xivth century, the Timūrid princes of the xvth century, the Safawids of the xvth and the Mughals in India during the xvth and xvth centuries.

Of the personality of the painters very little is known; the greater part of their work is anonymous, and it often happens that no biographical material is available in cases where paintings bear a signature. Even of the greatest of Persian painters, Bihzād [q. v.], little is known, except the names of the princely patrons for whom he worked, and critics are not agreed as to which of the pictures that bear his signature, are authentic. Historical material regarding the Persian painters begins to be available in the xvth century, and for Indian and Turkish painters a little later; but the details provided are very meagre and in no instance are they sufficient to render identification of any particular picture possible.

Finally, mention may be made of coins bearing the effigy of a Muslim monarch. The earliest of these are obviously imitations of Byzantine coins, and cease after 'Abd al-Malik's [q. v.] reform of the coinage about 77 A. H. There are isolated examples of coins bearing the portraits of the 'Abbāsid Caliphs Mutawakkil, Mu'tadid and Ma'fī. But coins with human figures become more common under the Seldjūqs of Asia Minor, the Urtukids of Diyarbakr and Zangids of Aleppo; but they are generally imitations of some foreign coinage, and in no instance appear to be portraits of the monarchs whose names and titles they bear. In India, however, Djahāngīr [q. v.] struck coins bearing his own effigy, and even ventured to outrage Muslim sentiment so far as to represent himself as holding a wine-cup in his hand.

Bibliography: The chief sources of information are given in K. A. Ikonstantsev and J. I. Smirnov, *Material' dlia bibliograficheskoi musul'manskoi arkhologii*, St. Petersburg 1904; A. Creswell, *A Preliminary bibliography of painting in Muhammadan art*, London 1921; W. Björkman and E. Kühnel, *Kritische Bibliographie islamische Kunst 1914-1927*, (Ist., xvii.), Berlin 1928. — Later publications are T. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, Oxford 1928; A. Grohmann and T. W. Arnold, *Denkmäler islamischer Buchkunst*, Munich 1929. — The most comprehensive works are E. Kühnel, *Islamische Kleinplastik*, Berlin 1925, and E. Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman*, 2nd ed., Paris 1927. (T. W. ARNOLD)

AL-TASYIR (in the west: *stazis*, *stazis*, *athazis*, *directio*, *prorogatio*, *stazis*, *théorie apbétique*) is a process used in astrology of artificial continuation of a planet or of an astrological house or any other definite part of the heavens to another star or its aspects, or other houses with the object of ascertaining the equatorial degree situated between these two places, the figure of which is used, by converting it into a definite period of time, to prognosticate the date of a future happening, either good or evil.

The astrological magnitude ascertained by this process played a very prominent part among the ancients as well as among the Arabs and in the west, for on the one hand it made possible a *judicium speciale* (i.e. definitely laid down the time of fulfilment of statements made in the *judicium generale* of a nativity about future good or ill fortune and in particular enabled the length of life to be calculated or the choice of particularly auspicious days [*al-ḥaṣṣiyā*] for beginning a journey, for holding weddings, for founding a city, for beginning a reign, etc.), and on the other was distinguished by special complexity in the method of its calculation.

The astronomical calculation of the arc of special importance for our task (we call it briefly the *tasyir* arc) is not particularly difficult if once the limits of the places in the heavens defining the arc, the "advancing" planet or place (*al-mutaqaddim*, *al-kāṭib*, signifier) and the "succeeding" or second (*al-ḥānī*, promisor) are ascertained. In fig. 1 (and 2) A is the signifier, B the promisor, P the visible pole of the celestial sphere, NBS (NAS) the circle of the promisor (signifier), C the intersection of the circle parallel to the circle of position drawn through A (B) and C cut out the *tasyir* arc ac (bc). The *tasyir* arc is thus the curve of the equator, which in general does not exceed 90°, which crosses over the circle of position during the period in which the signifier (promisor) is transferred by the apparent daily revolution of the celestial sphere on its parallel circle to the circle of position of the promisor (signifier) assumed to be fixed within this period (for further information on the conceptions that occur, see the article *ASTROLOGY*).

According to the respective positions of the signifier and promisor, two kinds of *tasyir* are distinguished:

a. Direct *tasyir* (*directio directa*) when the signifier precedes the promisor in the order of the signs of the zodiac. Here the signifier is the place to be "directed", the promisor regarded as fixed (fig. 1).

b. Indirect *tasyir* (*directio conversa*) when the signifier precedes the promisor in the order of the daily motion of the celestial sphere. In this case the promisor is moved to the circle of position of the signifier which is assumed to be fixed.

A special form for application of the calculation of the *tasyir* (a kind of inversion of the process) was developed in choosing days in this way that the position of only one star was given and also a definite time or what is the same thing on account of the conversion of periods of time into degrees of the equator, a definite number of *tasyir* degrees. The problem is to find the degree which corresponds to the end point (the "goal") of the

tasyir arc. Judicia could then be deduced from the conjunction of planets occurring at this degree.

The mathematical calculation is a problem in spherical trigonometry and goes back to simple formulae with equinoctial time as the basis. In the equation $tasyir\ x = \beta - \alpha - B' - B''$ (fig. 1), the right side is known, for α = right ascension B - right asc. A and the magnitudes B' and B'' are found from the formulae:

$$I. \cos B' = \sin (\angle DSB') \cos SD.$$

$$II. \sin \beta B' = \operatorname{tg} B \operatorname{ctg} B'.$$

$$III. \sin B'' = \operatorname{tg} C \operatorname{ctg} B'.$$

The Arabs however used other approximative methods of calculation based on hours of mean time (*ṣamāniya*) which are given in the following formulae:

I. (According to al-Battānī, al-Bīrūnī etc.):

number of *tasyir* degrees:

$$= x \pm (\alpha - \beta).$$

$$\frac{\text{dist. } B \text{ from upper [lower] culm. point}}{\text{half day [night] arc } B},$$

where

$$\alpha = \text{right asc. } A - \text{right asc. } B,$$

$$\beta = \text{obl. asc. } A - \text{obl. asc. } B.$$

The signs \pm before the round bracket depend on whether α is greater or less than β , the expression in the square brackets are used when B is below the horizon.

Special cases:

$$a. B \text{ in the meridian: } tasyir = \text{right asc. } A - \text{right asc. } B,$$

$$b. B \text{ in the horizon: } tasyir = \text{obl. asc. } A - \text{obl. asc. } B.$$

II. (Second rule of al-Battānī):

$$\text{Number of } tasyir \text{ degrees} =$$

$$= \left| \frac{\text{dist. } B \text{ from upper [lower] culm. point}}{\text{half day [night] arc } A} \pm \text{right asc. } A - \text{right asc. of the upper [lower] culm. point} \right|,$$

where the — before the round bracket is for the case when A and B belong to the same hemisphere, the + when A and B belong to different hemispheres. The expressions in the square brackets are used for the western hemisphere or for the case when the lower meridian lies between A and B .

In both cases the total result is positive in direct and negative in indirect *tasyir*. For indirect *tasyir* B and A in the above formulae are to be interchanged. The number of degrees in the *tasyir* arc thus obtained was converted into a period of time in this way: If it was a question of length of life for example, 1° was equated to a solar year, 5' = 1 month, 1' = 6 days, in other cases 1° = 1 day.

The difficulty, continually emphasised by the Arabs, of calculating a *tasyir* is on the one hand due to the regard paid to astrological demands and on the other particularly to the amount of separate necessary astronomical calculations and measurements, which it would take too much time to detail here fully. The necessary knowledge of the different methods for accurately calculating the time of birth and the astronomical significance of the different times of being born, of the different houses of the heavens of the signs of the zodiac, of the seven planets and their aspects, of the most important fixed stars, first in themselves,

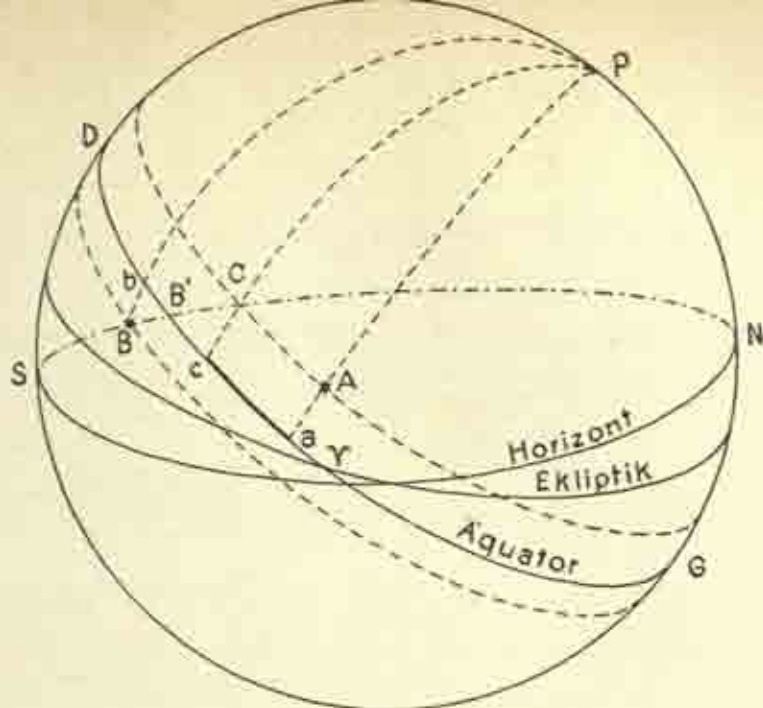


Fig. 1

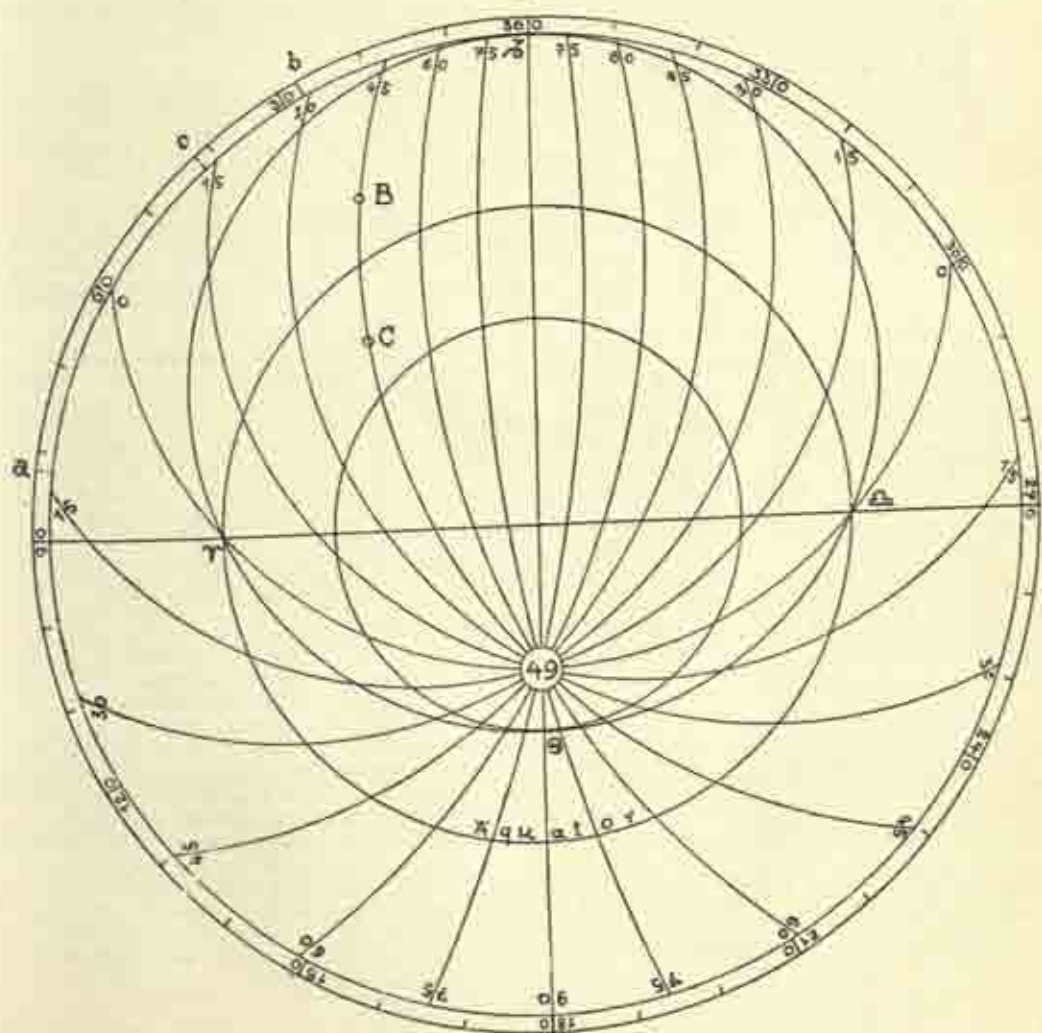


Fig. 3

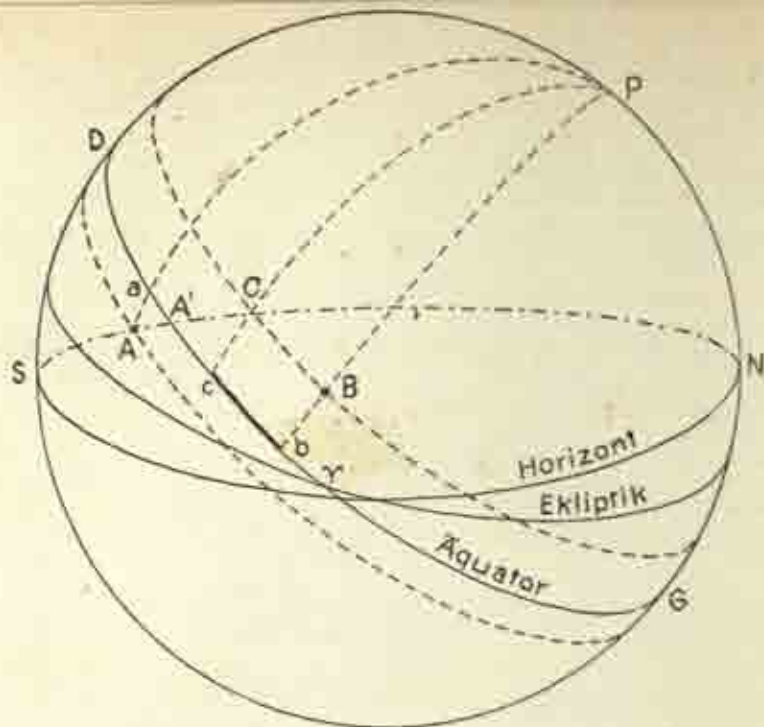


Fig. 2

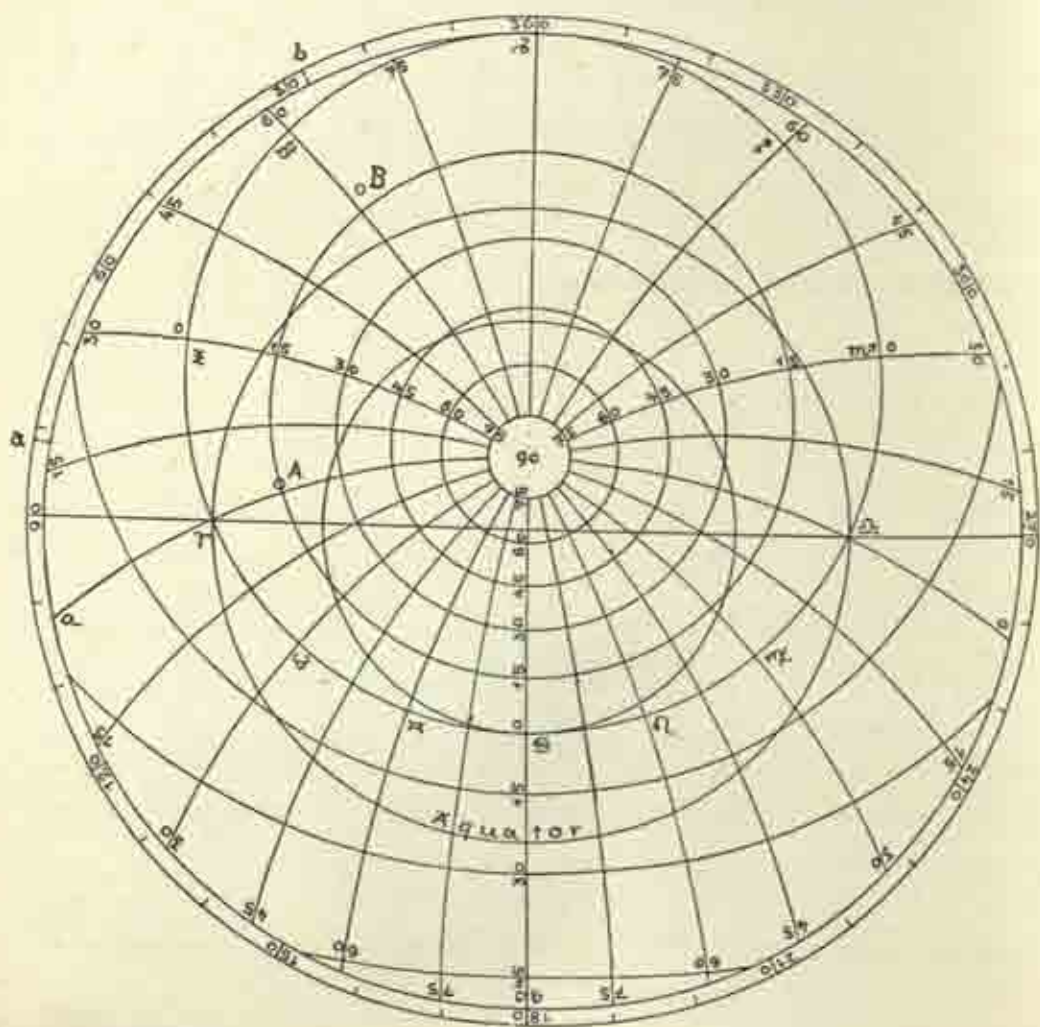


Fig. 4

then with respect to one another and with regard to their special positions (house, degree of elevation, triplicity, injury, fall) taking into consideration the very many rules for the strength, weakness or moderation, the beneficial or dangerous influence of the various planets and their aspects, of the houses and the arrow of fortune (*isām al-idāda*), the calculation of larger, smaller or medium numbers of years for length of life according to the position of the influential planets, the choice of a lord of birth and of the horoscope after definite rules (ascendant, *al-falā*), of an interpreter of life (significator), of a foreteller of death or misfortune (promissor), of a giver of years (*al-kadhūḥ*), the knowledge of the great, little or medium effect of definite direction, of auspicious or inauspicious directions and other things, demanded a perfect command of the astrological knowledge of the period. In addition, considerable skill in the carrying out of the necessary astronomical calculations was necessary, the reduction of the time to the meridian on which the Ephemerid tables were based; the longitude, latitude and declination of the most important fixed stars, the planets and their aspects and the application of their values in the time of birth, the astrological houses in the heavens and the signs of the zodiac and planets in them; the arrow of fortune, the circles of position of significator and promissor etc. Simply for the calculation of the curve of the *tasyir* after ascertaining its termini there are necessary: right asc. of *A* and *B*, their distance from the meridian, their declination and half-day or half-night curve, the elevation of the pole over the circle of position (distance of the intersection of circle of position and equator from the meridian).

To simplify the long and tiresome process and to carry out an observation without calculation the Arabs used mechanical (nomographic) aids either single planes ("plane of the *tasyir*" in al-Bīrūnī) which were placed in the astrolabe or a special instrument ("estrumento del levantamiento" in Alfonso X of Castile) which was mainly used to obtain the *tasyir* but also facilitated other calculations. The essential part of this instrument was a plane which contained on the front the projections of as many circles of position as possible or of hours for the latitude of the point of observation concerned (it is the same plane as the plane of the *tasyir* in al-Bīrūnī; cf. fig. 3) and on the back the projections of the circles of longitude and latitude according to the system of the ecliptic (fig. 4). On the axis of the instrument, common to the two sides, was an undivided alhidade with two movable pointers placed as required on the front or back and kept in position by a fastener ("cavallo", *al-faraz*). On the back could also be put the net ("spider") with the projections of different positions of fixed stars which is made exactly as in the astrolabe.

The mechanical calculation of the *tasyir* curve was carried out as follows when latitude and longitude of the places in the heavens *A* and *B* (cf. fig. 1, 3 and 4) were known:

1. Place the moveable pointer of the alhidade on the place *B* on the back, read the degree of the equator *A* to which the alhidade now points.
2. Move the alhidade to the front, place it on the degree of the equator *A*, ascertain the circle of position (from *B*) on which the moveable pointer falls.

3. Place the moveable pointer at the place *A* on the back, read the degree of the equator *A*.

4. Move the alhidade to the front, place it on the degree of the equator *A*, turn the alhidade until the pointer running through the parallel circle from *A* points to the circle of position of *B* (in *C*).

5. Read the degree of the equator *C* through which the alhidade now points: the curve *ac* is the *tasyir* curve desired.

Works in Arabic on the *tasyir* or the plane of the *tasyir* were composed by Muḥammad b. 'Omar b. Farrūkhān (H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker u. Astronomen der Araber* etc., Abhdlg. z. Geogr. u. math. Wissensch., xlv., Heft 10, 1900, No. 34); al-Battānī (Suter, No. 89); Abū Ljā'ay al-Khazīn (Suter, No. 124); al-Bīrūnī (Suter, No. 218). But the complete astrological works of the former have not survived. The "Book of the Ataqir" in the astronomical works of Alfonso X is by Rabi Čag de Toledo (Isaak ibn Sid), the editor of the Alfonsine Tables, but seems to be merely a translation of an Arabic original.

In the "History of Scholars" by Ibn al-Kāḍī the following astronomers are honorably mentioned for their particular ability in calculating the *tasyir*: al-Ḥasan b. Miḡbāḥ (p. 163); al-Marwāzī (p. 170, Suter, No. 22); al-Khāḍim, (p. 281, Suter, No. 206); Sind b. 'Alī (p. 206, Suter, No. 24); al-'Abbās b. Sa'īd al-Djāwharī (p. 219, Suter, No. 21); Ibn Yūnus (p. 203, Suter, No. 178); Ibn al-A'lamī (S. 235, Suter, No. 137); Muḥ. b. Ibrāhīm al-Fazārī (p. 270, Suter, No. 1); Muḥ. b. Khālid al-Marwāzī (p. 281, Suter, No. 46); Yaḥyā b. Abī Manṣūr (p. 357, Suter, No. 14); Yaḥyā b. Saḥl al-Saḍīd Abū Bighr al-Takrītī (p. 365); Abū 'I-Faḍl b. Yūnis (p. 426).

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(O. SCHIRMER)

TĀT (TAT), a Turkish word, meaning "the foreign elements included in the lands of the Turks" (Thomsen).

1. The term has a rather complicated history. Its occurrence in the Orkhon inscriptions (viiith century) was first noticed by Vambery (*Noten zu d. alttürk. Inschriften*, *Mém. Soc. Finno-Ougr.*, xii., Helsingfors 1869, p. 88—89). Thomsen (*Turcia*, *ibid.*, xxxvii., 1916, p. 15) proposed to translate the words *en aḡ ḡghlān tatika ḡgi*, "up to the sons of the Ten Arrows (= The Western Turks) and their *tāt* (= their subjects of foreign origin)". Thomsen passes over the question of the origin of the name in which (**tāt*) Korsch thought he could recognise a contraction of the name *Tangut*.

(*Slove "kaldak" i dolgotan turetskikh yashkakh*, *Zvezda Starina*, 1909, fasc. II—III, p. 156—161). For the history of the name Tat there may be some importance in the name *Taqat*, *Tangut*, *Tant*, which the Woguls and the Ostiaks give to the river Irtysh; cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 499.

According to the *Imān Lughat al-Turk* (466 = 1075), II, 224, the word *tat* (sic!) means the Persians (*al-Fārisiyya*) among all the Turks; more particularly among the Yaghma and Tukhai tribes the term refers to the Uighur. In both cases *tat* has a contemptuous sense as is evident from the proverbs: "grasp the thorn by the root and strike the Tat in the eye", "but for the Tat there would be no Turk, just as but for the head there would be no hat (to cover it)".

Later in the language of the conquering Turks the word Tat became especially associated with the conquered Persians. Even Ḥalāl al-Dīn Rūmī in his Turkish poems (Gibb, *A. Hist. of Ottoman Poetry*, I, 150 and especially Martinović, *Zap.*, xxiv, 1917, p. 221) uses the terms *taj* (sic!), *taj-zia* for the Persians and their language. In a curious passage, (already noticed by Khanykov), Pietro della Valle, French travel 1603, II, 468—469 who uses the current phraseology of the Safawid period contrasts the *Kizil-bash* [q.v.] "a certain race of men who were introduced... with the King Ismail Sofi" with the Tat "the dregs of the populace but descended in a direct line from the true old stock of the Persians". The Turkish tribe of *Kashgha'i* (in Fārs) also uses the word Tat in the sense of "non-Turk"; cf. Romaševič, *Persi kashkaiyan*, *Sborn. naučnykh Antrop. pri Akademii nauk*, VII, p. 587. The Turkish speaking followers of the religion of the Ahl-i Haqq in Aḥarshatjan also seem to use the word Tat with the meaning which it must have had in the mouths of their presumed ancestors, the Kara-Koyunlu Turcomans; cf. Minorsky, *R. M. M.*, XLV, p. 242; cf. the article MAXU.

The Turcomans of the Transcaucasian territory give the name Tat to the Iranian Tadjiks; formerly, according to Samoilović, they gave the name to the people of Khiva. (Is this a memory of the old Iranian population of Khazaria? Cf. now A. Z. Walid, *Hwarezmische Sätze*, *Islamica*, III/II, 1927, p. 190—213).

The term Tat has however been applied to other ethnic elements. Schildberger (1394—1427) tells us that the "infidels" give the name "Tat" to the inhabitants of Karckert (probably Kizil-yer = Çifut-kaf's in the mountains S.W. of the Crimea). In another passage he says that one of the languages spoken in the Crimea is called Kathin and that the "infidels" call it Tat ("die zielebte sprache heisst Kathin sprache und die heiden heissen sie Tat"). From this it is evident that the name Tat in the language of the Muhammadans of the Kiptak of the xvth century was applied to the Goths of the Taurus (whose kingdom was destroyed by the Ottomans in 1475).

Later, beginning with the yarlık of İljani-beg Giray, dated 1037 (1628) (cf. Vellaminov-Zernov, *Materiali dlia istorii Krims. khantvo*, St. Petersburg 1864, p. 26), we find in the title of the Khans of the Crimea, the official reference *tat dlia Tawghaff-nih ulu gh padishah*, Budagov, *Slovar*, I, 329, explains it here as the Genoese without giving reasons (the meaning of *Tawghaff* in the title is still quite obscure). At the present day the Noghai Tatars of the northern Crimea give the name Tat to all

the Muhammadans of the southern coast of the Peninsula, who represent a mixture of nationalities that have become turkicized (personal information from Samoilović); cf. also Radloff, *Vermischte Wörterbücher*, III, col. 899, rub 5^b.

It may be also mentioned here that a section of the "Greeks" (i.e. Orthodox) settled at Marioupol in 1778 is called Tat. These Tat migrated from the south coast of the Crimea and speak a Greek dialect. The name Tat is, however, not applied to the other section of the "Greeks of Marioupol" who speak Turkish (which they write in Greek characters) and who seem to be the true descendants of the Goths of Tauris. Cf. Grigorovitch-Blaug, *Über die griechisch-türkische Mischbevölkerung in Mariupol*, *Z. D. M. G.*, xxviii, 1874, p. 576—583 and *ibid.*, p. 562—576; Tomaschek, *Die Gothen in Taurien*, Vienna 1881, p. 5, 48; Th. Brunn, *Mariupolische Griech.*, *Zivara Starina*, St. Petersburg, VII, 1890, p. 78—92.

According to Tomaschek, *ibid.*, p. 45, the Magyars call the Slovaks Tat (< "Tat").

The primary meaning of the word Tat (= "non-Turk, foreigner") is given in the *Ġaghatali-Ottoman dictionary* of Shalikh Sulaiman Efendi (ed. Kunn, p. 184): "nations that have passed under the rule of the Turks, e.g. the Tadjik". [On p. 179 however, the author says that the people of foreign origin who speak Turkish are called Tat and those who speak Persian are called Tadjik. In this connection may be noted the statement of Zaki Walid, according to which the term Tat was applied in Turkestan (in the sixth century?) to all the settled elements of the population, including the Turks settled in the country before the coming of the Mongols.] Ahmed Wefik, *Lihafiyi 'Othmani*, Istanbul 1306, p. 286, whose interpretation of the word seems to be influenced by local Ottoman conditions says, "the former Kard (sic!) and Persian inhabitants of the provinces subjected to Turkish rule". Barbier de Maynard in his *Dictionary* adopted Ahmed Wefik's explanation, but thought it applied to Turkestan.

The *Ġaghatali dictionaries* also give the secondary meanings of the word *tat*: "the class of subjected people living outside the town" (cf. above Zaki Walid), "vagabond" etc. Cf. Vellaminov-Zernov, *Slovar "Ġaghatali-turetskii" ("Abshak")*, St. Petersburg 1868; Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire turc oriental*, 1870, p. 194; Radloff, *Vermischte Wörterbücher*, III, col. 899, rub 5c and d. Melioransky, however, who has specially studied the word Tat, *Zap.*, XII, 1899, p. 0154—0158, has shown that the examples of these meanings taken from the works of Mir 'Ali Shir Nava'i are very doubtful.

2. In a special and evidently secondary sense the term Tat is applied to certain Iranian peoples whom the Persians themselves regarded as distinct from them. These Tat groups are found in Persia and in Transcaucasia.

A. In northern Persia, there are little islands of people speaking their own dialects. The "southern" dialects of Fārs are called Tadjiki among the Persians [only the *Kashgha'i* Turks use the term Tat in Fārs, cf. above]. Even as applied to people speaking northern dialects the term Tat is only used in Persia for certain dialects of the North-west. It has not yet been found for example in the region of Kāshān.

The most important group of the Tat is found to the west and south-west of Kāshān; the Tat

live in the villages of Ishthārd, Cal, Ispiawaru Isfawāru, Shādmān, Sāgar-ābād, Ibrahim-ābād, Khayārak, Damsfān, Siyādhūn. This last-named town at the bifurcation of the roads from Kāzwin to Hamādān and Zandjān has 2,000 houses. The Tāt population is not distinguished externally from the other peasants of the country round Kāzwin. The "Tāt" dialects spoken in Persia are very little known. The dialect of Siyādhūn is, like those of the region of Kāshān and Isfahān, studied by Žukovsky and O. Mann. Here are a few characteristic words: *āpā*, "dog"; *āir*, "gate"; *āi*, "throe"; *āi mīnā*, "I know"; *ānā mīnā*, "we know"; *āi āmānā hāmā mīnānā*, "these men all know"; *āghar*, "look"; *āi māgo hā āi*, "where do you want to go?"; Žukovsky, *Materialien zur pers. mundartl.*, I, p. 9, gives also a few glossaries in the language of Aztekhārd (= Ishthārd). Cf. also the notes by Brugsch, *Reise*, I, 337, on the dialect of Kūshāz (on the Tihān-Hamādān road). It is possible that this group of dialects may be connected with the so-called "pure Pahlavi" which, according to the *Nushat al-Kutub*, p. 62, was spoken in the 14th century in Zandjān.

According to Rabino, *Le Gullān*, R. M. M., xxii, p. 210, Tāt is spoken in the district of Rustamābād on the left bank of the Sāfūd-rūd where Tālishi and Kurd are also spoken. The same author, *Māzandarān and Aharābād*, G. M. S., 1928, p. 63 and 70, mentions the existence of Tāt at Aghraf and Sādan-Rustāz. Nothing is known of their language. In Agharhāidjān, there is the little island of Tāt of Hārān (between Marānd and Džulfa). Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, I, p. 186-187 gives the following words from the dialect of Gūlin-kaya: *āi*, two; *hāra*, three; *āi*, dog; *āpā bīndar*, the horses are yoked. In the dialect of the village of Hārān, (information supplied by Muhammad Khān Kāzwin) they say *āi*, "here", *ānā*, "to-day", *āir*, "yesterday", *ānāmānā*, "the Andjumanas". The forms *ānā*, *āir*, *ānāmānā*, which correspond in Persian to *ānā*, *āir* and *ānāmānā* are particularly interesting on account of the regular change of intervocalic *d* (*āi*) to *r* (cf. below). The dialect of Hārān is quite different from the Tāt of Siyādhūn. The existence of still undiscovered islands of Tāt in Agharhāidjān is possible. In his article on the gipsies (cf. 1911) Father Amstutz mentions vaguely a tribe of Tāt in the "Uski" mountains (read Uskū, Uskūya south of Tabriz). The dialect of Kiliid (on the left bank of the Araxes, near Ordubād), which has now disappeared, may also have belonged to the Tāt group of Agharhāidjān. Cf. Paskhalov, *Kiliid*, in *Sborn. mater. dlia etnograf. kamebaza*, Tiflis, xiii, 1892, p. 334-343.

B. In the Caucasus the term Tāt is applied to the Iranian Muslim peoples speaking the Tāt dialect. This peculiar dialect is also spoken by several other communities, Jewish and Armenian. Besides these three principal divisions, the dialect has several varieties not yet clearly distinguished.

The Tāt of the Caucasus is mainly known from the works of Vsevolod F. Miller. Its most characteristic feature is its rhotacism (*āirān* = Pers. *āirān*; *āir* = Pers. *āir*) on which cf. above. The following table gives an idea of some other peculiarities of Tāt:

Tāt	Persian	Northern Dialects
<i>ān-</i> (to know)	<i>ān-</i>	Kurd <i>an</i>
<i>gāl</i> (flower)	<i>gāl</i>	Simnani <i>yal</i>
<i>āirfānār</i> (snow)	<i>āirf</i>	Kurd <i>mafr</i>

Tāt very rarely has *āirfān*: its place is taken by an original construction: *ānā ānān* = Pers. *ānān-āi ānān* etc. The dialect is rich in postpositions (*-ānān*, "with") and in gerundives: (*ānān ānānān*, "things being so"). The vocabulary is full of Turkish loan-words. Like most Persian dialects, Tāt is not very regular in its characteristic features. Broadly speaking, it occupies a position intermediate between modern Persian and the Caspian dialects (where rhotacism is also found sporadically).

The Muslim Tāt who form the bulk of the people speaking Tāt, live in the districts of Bākū (q. v.), Kūbā (q. v.), Shamākh and Gāk-āi. There are some in the province of Ganjā and in southern Daghestān (the districts of Kālak-Tabasrān immediately west of Darband; cf. Kornobsky, *Pamiat knizhki Daghestan*, *oblasti*, Temir-khān-shura, 1895, p. 314).

The majority of the Tāt live on the two slopes of the eastern extremity of the Caucasus range and the peninsula of Apsheron (Abshāra) except its south-east point. On the ethnographic map of the Caucasus by Kittich (before 1877) the total number of Tāt is put at 64,656; Kondratenko's ethnographical map appended to vol. xviii of *Zapiski Kavk. Otd. Russ. Geogr. Otd.* gives for the district of Bākū (in 1886): 58,621 Tāt. The *Great Russian Encyclopedia*, vol. xxxii/ii, 1901 gives the total as 135,000. The Soviet census of 1923 gives 98,020 Tāt "by language" and 28,705 "by nationality". In the former are included 970 "Tāt" of the Transcaspien (i. e. the Tādjik whom the Turkomans call Tāt). In addition in the Soviet republic of Agharhāidjān there are 11,000 individuals speaking "Fārsi" which must include some Tāt. In all we may say about 90,000 people speak Tāt. The decrease in the number of Tāt may be the result of their gradual turkicisation.

The Jews speaking Tāt (the "mountain Jews" in Turkish *Dagh-Jahūt*) numbered in 1886: 21,000, 10,000 in villages and 11,000 in towns. Their largest colonies were at Kūbā (6,280), at Darband, Temir-khān-shura, Grozni, Nātk (a Circassian district of Kabarda). They are also found on the Kābun [q. v.]. The dialect of these Jews is remarkable for its guttural articulation: in it we find *ā*, *sin*, *š* and *g*, even in purely Iranian words (*hāf*, "seven"; *ān*, "horse"; *gāmānā*, "know"; *far*, "wet"). V. F. Miller thus defines the character of Jewish Tāt: "It is an Iranian dialect, spoken with the Semitic articulation, the phonetics of which (in part) and the morphology (in part) have been formed on the Turkish model". As to articulation, it could be explained by the fact that these Jews had formerly spoken Arabic, or more simply by the proximity of the peoples of Daghestān who not only have the sounds *sin* and *š* but have always cultivated a knowledge of Arabic, in which until quite recently, correspondence in Daghestān was conducted. For the rest, the Muslim Tāt also have the sounds *sin* and *š*. The influence of Turkish on Tāt is in any case not to be exaggerated. The morphological phenomena and even the vocalic assimilation in the syllables of the same word discovered by V. F. Miller have purely Persian parallels. Iranian influence on these Jews is not confined to language; Jewish folklore reflects it also (*sār-ār*, "spirit of the waters"; *āldakū-mār* "dragon" etc.).

The Tāt of the Armenians (the little town of Matnāsi [Madrasa], Kīlāl etc.) is marked by the

simplification of vowel sounds ($\delta > a$) and by the aspirated character of certain consonants.

The Tats of the Caucasus are at the present day entirely surrounded by Turkish and Daghestanian peoples. Their present habitats must always have been separated from the main body of Iranians. Their geographical distribution along the eastern chain of the Caucasus with an out-thrust to Darband seems to suggest the idea, which decided their settlement in these regions, namely the desire to reinforce the natural line of defence by Iranian colonies to meet invasions from the north. It would be tempting to recognise in the Tat remains of ancient colonies transplanted to Daghestan in the period when the Sāsānians were fortifying Darband. According to Balāḥshūrī, p. 194, Anāshirwān (531—579) had settled the region of Darband-Shāhīrān (cf. *ṣayḥwān*) with people from Sisakan (*al-siyāḥḡīn*). This last province was situated on the left bank of the Araxes (practically the district of Nakḥtawān with the surrounding mountains) immediately north of Ādharbāḡdīn. The people of Sisakan were Christians, but from the political and linguistic point of view held a special position in the kingdom of Armenia. In 571, they begged the Sāsānian king to detach their province from Armenia and include it in Ādharbāḡdīn; cf. Marquart, *Erānlahr*, p. 120—122, Hübschmann, *Die altarmen. Ortsnamen*, *Indog. Forschungen*, xvi., 1904, p. 263—266, 347—349. The late *Darband-nāma*, ed. Kazem-beg, *Mém. présentés à l'Académie des Sciences par divers savants*, vi., St. Petersburg 1851, p. 461, says, Anāshirwān peopled the new towns in the vicinity of Darband with people from Ādharbāḡdīn and Fārs and the towns to the south of Darband (the region of Shābrazan-Mashkūr; cf. the word *gūssa*) with people from the 'Irāk and Fārs. According to the same source (p. 530) however, the fortresses around Darband were re-built under the 'Abbāsīd al-Manṣūr (754—775) and on this occasion Arabs from Mawā'il and Syria were placed in them. Among the places fortified are especially mentioned Muṣṣā, Kamākḡ, etc. which at the present day are inhabited by Tats. It might be concluded from this that the presence of Tats at Muṣṣā etc. represents a migration later than the eighth century, but the text of the *Darband-nāma*, the original Persian of which has not yet been found (cf. Barthold, in *Iran*, i., Leningrad, 1926, p. 42—58) is not certain (according to Klaproth's version, three hundred families settled in Muṣṣā came from Tabasaran!). The historical sources at our disposal thus only reveal the ethnical complexity of the colonies established in Darband. On the other hand, Tat in its general characteristics is a modern dialect which (apart from rhotacism) does not show any special traces of antiquity such as might be expected if it had long been isolated. The question of the Tat Jewish dialect is only a subsidiary one, the Jews even if they had been in Daghestān before the coming of the Tats (cf. Miller, 1892, Introduction) may have adopted Tat in place of their old language (Arabic?).

As to the affinities of Tat the rhotacism of its dialects has analogies in the Iranian islands of Persian Ādharbāḡdīn at the present day. For the region of Arbil, we have examples from the 14th century (Ahmad Kirawī *Adhari*, *Zabān-i ḡstān-i Ādharbāḡdīn*, Tihān, 1304 [1927]). The early borrowings made by Armenians from

Iranian (*Mar* < *Māra*; *ṣarapet* < *ṣpānpet*) also suggest the existence at a very early date of this peculiarity among the Iranian neighbours of the Armenians (Marquart, *Erānlahr*, p. 174, note 6; Bartholomae, *Indogerm. Forsch.*, Suppl. to vol. xix., 1906, p. 43, note 1). The other curious feature is the name of the town of Lāhīj inhabited by Tats (at the sources of the Gök-čai) and perhaps mentioned in the Georgian *Chronicle*, Brosset, I, p. 364, under the year 1120 (Lidātha or Laidj). The inhabitants themselves believe they came from Lāhījīn [q. v.]. The investigation conducted on the spot by V. F. Miller in 1928 has shown that the dialect of Lāhīj has certain special features. It is possible that some colonies of Tats were settled in Transcaucasia later than others and that the dialect of the principal group exercised a levelling influence on the neighbouring dialects (according to the *Gullistan-i Irām*, of Bekt-Khanov, Baku 1928, p. 14, the people of Miskindja in the district of Samur came from Astarābād in the time of Tahmāsp I).

Bibliography: Bérézine, *Recherches sur les dial. persans*, Kazan 1853, p. 2—24 (grammar of Tat); on Dorn's Materials see his *Caspī*, Russian edition, St. Petersburg 1875, p. xli, 203, 353, 493 and especially Miller, 1907 (quoted below); Vsevolod F. Miller, *Materiali dlia izučeniya yevrejsko-tatskogo yazika*, St. Petersburg 1892 (bibliography [30 articles in Russian], introduction, text [8 histories], vocabulary); *Armiansko-tatskiye slovari*, *Sbornik materialov dlia izučeniya Kavkaza*, Tiflis 1894, vol. xx/2, p. 25—32; Geiger, *Die kaspischen Dialecte*, *Grundr. d. iran. Phil.*, 1/2, p. 345—373 (passim; very meagre); V. F. Miller, *Očerki sintaksis yevr.-tat. narečija*, *Tруды по востоку*, *Lazar. Instituta*, fasc. iii., Moscow 1900; do., *Očerki morfoloģii yevr.-tat. narečija*, *ibid.*, fasc. vii., 1901; do., *Tatskiye slovari*, part i., *ibid.*, fasc. xxiv., 1905 (p. 1—29: 11 histories in the dialect of the Muslim Tats of Lāhīj; p. 33—79: Tat-Russian vocabulary); part ii., *ibid.*, fasc. xxvi., 1907 (grammar); do., *Yevr.-tat. ma'nī*, *Zap.*, 1913, xxi., fasc. iv., 0017—0029; Korsch, *Shāhī dialect. rhotacismus v sredneper. yazike*, *Drevnosti vostoka*, ii/3, Moscow 1903, p. 1—10. On the Tats of the Caucasus cf. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus und seine Völker*, Leipzig 1887, p. 220; Kowalewski, *O yuriditskom stān Tatov*, *Izvestiya Obšč. Ljubli. Yevrejskomaniya*, Moscow 1888, xlii., fasc. 2, p. 42—9. On Lāhīj cf. Mamed-Hasan Efendiev, in *Sborn. mater.*, xxix., Tiflis. — On the mountain Jews cf. Miller's bibliography and H. Rosenthal in *Jewish Encyclop.*, iii., 1902, p. 628—631; Kurdov, *Gorskije yevreji Daghestana*, *Russ. antropol. journal*, Moscow 1905, fasc. 3 and 4, p. 57—88; do., *Gorsk. yevreji Shemakhsk. uezda*, *ibid.*, 1912, fasc. 2 and 3, p. 87—100; do., *Tat Daghestana*, *ibid.*, 1907, fasc. 3—4, p. 56—66 (the author shows that from the anthropological point of view the Tats of the 7 villages west of Darband are very different from the Tats of Baku and from the Persian, and more closely related to the Turks).

(V. MINORSKY)
TATAR, written Tatār, Tatāc and Tatar, the name of a people the significance of which varies in different periods. Two Tatar groups of tribes, the "thirty Tatars" and the "nine Tatars", are mentioned in the Turkish Orkhon inscriptions of the eighth century A. D. As Thomsen (*Interpretation*

de l'Orkhon, Helsingfors 1896, p. 140) supposes, even at this date the name was applied to the Mongols or a section of them but not to a Turkish people; according to Thomsen, these Tatars lived southwest of Baikal roughly as far as Kerulen. With the foundation of the empire of the Kitai [see KARA KHITAI] the Turks were driven out of modern Mongolia and Mongol tribes took their place. The district of Ötügen, continually mentioned in the Orkhon inscriptions as the dwelling-place of the Turks, lay, according to Mahmūd Kashghārī (i. 123) in his time (second half of the 10th—11th century), in the land of the Tatars. That the language of the Tatars was different from Turkish was known to Mahmūd Kashghārī (op. cit., i. 30). A number of Tatar clans had joined with Turkish peoples and moved farther westwards. In the anonymous *Hudūd al-'Alam* (cf. Zapp., x. 121 sqq.) the Tatars are described as a part of the Taghuzghus [cf. GHUZZ] (cf. W. Barthold, *Ötügen a p'edukhe v. Sednanyu Aziyu*, St. Petersburg 1897, p. 34), by Gardizi (op. cit., p. 82 sq.) as part of the Kimak [q.v.] on the Irtysh [q.v.]. In the anonymous *Muḥmil al-Tawārīkh* (c. 520 = 1126), in the list of titles of rulers (in Barthold, *Turkestan*, i. 20), is given a Tatar ruler *Sinūn buyūy* (or *biwi*) *ghayūr*, nowhere else mentioned. In the reports of the campaigns of Salḡān Muḥammad b. Takash [see KHAWARIZM-SHĀH] against the Kipčak [q.v.] is mentioned a campaign by him in 615 (1218–1219) against Kadir Khān, son of the Tatar Yūsuf (*Tutakāt-Nāḥi*, transl. Raverty, 1881, i. 267).

In the accounts of the Mongol conquests of the 13th (xiliḥ) century the conquerors are everywhere (in China, in the Muslim world, in Russia and Western Europe) called Tatars (Chin. *Ta-ta*); the same name is given in Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg, xii. 178 sq., 236 sq.) to the predecessors of Čingiz Khān, the Naiman under Kälük (see KARA KHITAI); according to Ibn al-Athīr (op. cit., p. 237), these were the "first Tatars" (*al-Tatar al-awāl*). Rashīd al-Dīn, who apparently knew nothing of the use and dissemination of the word Tatar before the Mongol period, speaks of the Tatars as if they were a separate people distinct from the Mongols, whose main centre had been the country on the Buir Nor (S. E. of Kerulen). After the conquests of Čingiz Khān many of the people subdued by him had, says Rashīd al-Dīn, adopted the name "Moghūl" (Mongol); the Tatars previously had been equally powerful; many peoples had been so called; therefore "in Khitai, Hindustān, Čin, Māchin, among the Kirghiz, in Kelār (Poland), Hāshkind (Hungary), in the steppes (*ḍawāt*) of Kipčak, in the northern lands among the Beduins, in Syria, Egypt and in the Maghrib, all the Turkish peoples are to this day called Tātār" (text in *Truḍl. Vest. Oid. Arab. Obsh.*, vii. 64).

The peoples of Mongol origin and language had apparently always called themselves Tatar. After the time of Čingiz Khān, this word was completely supplanted in Mongolia and Central Asia by the word "Mongol" (in Muslim manuscripts *Moghūl* or *Moghūl* and in the every day language of the descendants of the Mongols in Afghanistan, who have kept their language to the present day, *Moghūl*), officially introduced by Čingiz Khān. In the most western parts of the Mongol empire, the word Mongol never became predominant, although it was also introduced there officially,

as we know from European travellers (John of Pian de Carpin and William of Rubruck; *Habl. Soc.*, 1905, Index s.v. Mongol and Tartar). The people of the kingdom of the Golden Horde [see KATU KHAN and BERKE] and of the later minor kingdoms in the same region are always called "Tatar". As the many documents preserved in the Public Library in Leningrad show, the Turkish speaking peoples of the Crimea were not only called "Tatar" by the Ottomans (as by the Russians) but also called themselves Tatars.

A Mongol force had been transferred to Asia Minor at the time of the conquest. Their descendants (who no doubt became turkicised) were called "Black Tatars" (*Kara Tatar*); at the time of Timūr's campaign they were leading a nomadic life in the country between Amasia [q.v.] and Kaḥariya [q.v.]; they numbered 30–40,000 families (*Zafar-nāma*, Ind. edition, Calcutta 1888, ii., p. 502 sq.). Timūr had these "Tatars" deported to Central Asia, according to Ibn 'Arabshāh (ed. Manger, ii. 338), on the advice of Sulḡān Bāyazid; there they were allotted dwelling-places in Kashghār on an island (which now no longer exists) in Lake Issik-Kul [q.v.] and in Khwārizm; a section of them succeeded in escaping to the lands of the Golden Horde. After Timūr's death, the Black Tatars returned to Asia Minor; in 1419 they (or a part of them) were deported to the Balkans and settled west of Philippopolis; the town of Tatar-Pazardjik takes its name from them (J. von Hammer, *GÖRZ*, Feath 1834, i. 292).

Later in Russia and in Western Europe we frequently find the name Tatars applied to all the Turkish peoples with the exception of the Ottomans; this use of the word is still found in Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, Leipzig 1884, passim. After the example of the Chinese, the name has been extended to the Mongols also and especially to the Manchus (cf. the "Tatar town" in Peking). As the name of a particular people, the word Tatars is used only for the Turkish speaking people of the Volga basin from Kazan to Astrakhan, the Crimea, and a part of Siberia; in the printed list (*spisok*) of the year 1927 of the peoples of the Union of Soviets, the Tatars in the Crimea, the Tatars of the Volga, the Tatars of Kasimow [q.v.] and the Tatars of Tobolsk are therefore given as separate peoples, in addition to the Tatars of White Russia whose ancestors were deported to Poland as prisoners from the Crimea. They have adopted the language of the White Russians but have remained faithful to Islām. The name "Tatar" is now rejected by the people of the Crimea. The Turkish speaking people of Astrakhan according to the most recent investigation belong to the Noghai stock. In the central course of the Volga also the "Tatars" are usually given this name by their Christian fellow-countrymen, the "Kryashen" (from the Russian *kryashen* "baptised") (Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, iii. 101 sqq.). They prefer to call themselves "Muslims" rather than "Tatars" which was more fitting their heathen ancestors, just as the Ottomans have for long preferred not to be called "Turks". Even in the last year before the Revolution when the principle of nationality had already come to the front it was disputed whether they should be called "Turks" or "Tatars" (*M. I.*, i., 1912, p. 270 sqq.); the name "Tatars" has now prevailed; since 1920 there has existed an autonomous Tatar Socialist Soviet Republic with capital

Kazan [q. v.] and a population of 2,780,000 of whom rather less than half (1,306,292) are Tatars. Cf. the ethnographical survey (*isrâḥ*) by Prof. D. Zolotarev in the book of travels *Povolnye*, 1926, p. 99 sqq. (the figures are given on p. 123 and 126).

Bibliography: given in the article.

(W. BARTHOLO)

TATİL a technical term used in dogmatics meaning the divesting of the conception of God of all attributes; see the article **TAYYİN**.

TAWADDUD, the heroine of a story which is preserved in the *1001 Nights* as well as in an independent form. Tawaddud (as a personal name not found elsewhere in Arabic literature — however frequent it is as a *nomen verbi* — is of similar formation to *Tamannī*, *Tadīmmī* and similar women's names) is the slave of a merchant who has fallen into poverty and, following her advice, offers her for sale to the caliph Hārūn to free him from his difficulties. Hārūn declares himself ready to pay the high price demanded on condition she shows by an examination that she possesses all the knowledge she claims. In the tests made by a number of learned men, including Ibrāhīm b. Saīyār al-Nazzām, Tawaddud answers all the questions put to her in the field of theological knowledge, astronomy, medicine and philosophy, solves all the riddles put to her and proves herself an expert in chess, backgammon and playing the lute; finally she in her turn puts questions to her examiners which they cannot answer and in this way she puts even the proud Nazzām to shame. When the caliph then asks her to beg a boon of him, she asks to be given back to her former master, which the caliph does and gives her a present besides, and makes her master one of his boon companions.

For the date of the story the name of al-Nazzām (d. 331 = 845–846), preserved in all versions even the Shī'a and Christian forms (see below), gives a *terminus post quem*, while the oldest Spanish version going back probably to the 13th century gives a lower limit; but we shall hardly have to go beyond the 11th or 12th century. Several manuscripts which contain the story as an independent story give the name of the narrator but it is not always the same and his identity has so far not been established. The essential features for him are the questions and answers which take up most of the space; the story of Tawaddud only forms the framework which he fills out with these. Several motives, such as the magnanimity of the purchaser, are found in other stories of the *Arabian Nights* and outside this collection also; the didactic purpose however and the form in which the learned matter is conveyed, ally the story to the books of questions found among the Persians, in the Christian east and European middle ages and in Arabic literature also. The Arabic books of questions are sometimes like the *Kitāb al-Tarīf wa 'l-Tadwīr* of Dīhāz; intelligible only to the learned, sometimes for popular instruction like the questions of 'Abd Allāh b. Salām, which have passed into other Muslim literatures. Tawaddud belongs to the latter group although the theological in the didactic part of the story is by no means so predominant as in the questions of 'Abd Allāh. A Shī'a version of Tawaddud is found in the *Hasanīya* of Abū 'l-Futūḥa popular in Persia in Malcolm's time.

A Christian version is the Spanish *Historia della donzella Theodor*, of which we still possess

an older form free from the Christian insertions of the later. The *Historia della donzella Theodor* — the manuscript in Madrid of the *Hikāyat al-Djūriya Tāzur* already has this corruption of the name — was repeatedly reprinted as a chap-book down to the sixties of the last century, and in the Portuguese translation down to the first decade of the twentieth.

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(J. HOROWITZ)

TAWĀF (ا) from *fāṣa* with *ā* of place) encircling; in the language of ritual the running round or circumambulation of a sacred object, a stone, altar, etc. There are traces of the rite having existed among the Israelites, cf. especially Ps. xxvi. 6 (xxvii. 6, lxxi.) and the ceremony of the feast of booths in the time of the Second Temple, where the altar is circumambulated once on the first six days and seven times on the seventh. The rite however was also found among Persians, Indians, Buddhists, Romans and others and is therefore very ancient. It played a very important part in the religious ceremonial of the ancient Arabs. We find the synonymous *dawār* (from *dāra*) also used. Thus Imru 'l-Qais, *Mu'allaf*, 63, compares the wild cows with young women in long trailing robes, who perform the circumambulation (*dawār*, a circumambulated idol like *dawā* in *Antara* 10, 2, if *dawār* is not to be read here). In Mecca the Ka'ba which enclosed the Black Stone sacred from very ancient times used to be circumambulated and Muḥammad adopted this old custom when he established the rites of his religion and centred them round the Ka'ba. When, in the year 8, he made his victorious entry into his native town, he is said by Ibn Hishām, p. 820 and Tabari, i. 1642 to have performed the *tawāf* riding on his camel, touching with his crooked staff the *rukn* (the eastern corner of the Ka'ba where the stone was). This was however something exceptional and according to Ibn Hishām, it was only shortly before his death at the "farewell pilgrimage" that he laid down the authoritative rules for the circumambulation. It may however be assumed with certainty that he observed ancient traditional forms ("handed down from Abraham"; cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 51, =) so that we can deduce from Muslim practice what the ancient pagan custom was; one feature of the latter was that the circumambulation had to be performed seven times in succession (cf. above on the feast of booths) the three first at a greater speed, beginning at the black stone and ending there and during the course keeping the Ka'ba on the right; one should make a special effort to kiss the stone or at least touch it. On the contrary, if Wellhausen is correct, it was an innovation that the *tawāf* which previously took place only at the *'umra* [q. v.] was inserted by Muḥammad in the great *ḥajj* when the pilgrims visited Mecca. This suggestion is however disputed, cf. HALLIDAY, ii. p. 199 where Sura iii. 91 is quoted against it, but the expression *ḥajj al-bait* is hardly decisive,

since Muhammad may have decided on the expansion of the rites of the ḥajj, when he conceived the verse, if the expression was not inserted in the text later. The following special courses are certainly Muslim innovations: the *ṭawāf al-ṭahīya* or *al-ḥudū* (circumambulation of greeting or arrival) and the *ṭawāf al-wada'* (circumambulation of departure, cf. Burckhardt, *Reisen in Arabien*, p. 439) which are, it is worth noting, not obligatory. Of the old pagan customs, one at least was strictly forbidden by the Prophet, making the *ṭawāf* naked; see Sūra vii. 29; Ibn Hishām, p. 921; cf. Ibn Sa'd, iii. 6, 11, where there is a reference to a wooden object at the Ka'ba, where the heathen laid their clothes at the circumambulation. The pavement surrounding the Ka'ba on which the course was run is called *al-Maṣāf*. At the al-Hajm wall (see ii. 585) they run close to the outer side of it, not as usual along the Ka'ba.

The *ṭawāf*, except for the special forms above mentioned, is strictly compulsory and therefore it became an important factor in Islam. It is therefore significant that the caliph 'Abd al-Malik, when the rule of the anti-caliph 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair made the visits of the faithful to Mecca difficult, proclaimed that a *ṭawāf* around the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem would have the same value as that around the Ka'ba (cf. Goldziher, *Muslimische Studien*, ii. 35). The complete omission of this rite would have meant a serious gap in Muhammadanism. But the innovation soon disappeared with its cause and in orthodox Islam any *ṭawāf* except that around the Ka'ba became more and more pointless. That the old ritual custom survived in the lower strata of Arab life is revealed in an interesting fashion by 'Udjalī, who says the Beduins endeavoured to perform the *ṭawāf* not only around the graves of their ancestors but also around the tomb of Ibn al-'Abbās in Tā'if.

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TAWAKKUL, trust in God, is enjoined by the Qur'ān, but the *mutawakkilūn* whom God loves (iii. 153) do not form a special class of quietists like those known by the same designation in the iind and iiird centuries A. H. The doctrine of the latter, closely connected with that of *taḥḥid* [q. v.] and probably developed under Christian influence (cf. Matt. vi. 24—34), was sometimes carried in practice to such lengths that the comparison of the *mutawakkil* to a corpse in the hands of the washer who prepares it for burial (Kushairi, *Bāb al-Tawakkul*) seems quite appropriate. According to these zealots, *tawakkul* is directly opposed to every sort of *taḥḥid* ("acquisition", personal initiative and action): how can a man seek to help himself if he really believes that God is the only Provider? The answer given by Kushairi, that a man's activity in making use of the means which God provides need not impair his inward trust in God's providence, indicates the line of advance by which the old ascetic school of Sūfism was left behind.

Bibliography: Abū Ṭalīb al-Makkī, *Kitāb al-Zuhd*, ii. 2—38; Goldziher, *W. Z. K. M.*, xiii. 41—56; Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, p. 153 sqq.; R. Hartmann, *Kuschairis Darstellung des Sufismus*, p. 25 sqq.; Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, book i., p. 900—991.

(R. A. NICHOLSON)

TAWAKKUL R. BAZZĀZ (Tukli [?] b. Ismā'īl), a darwish, author of the *Sifwat al-Safā*, which is a biography of the grand Shaikh Saḥī al-Dīn of Ardabil (650—735 = 1252—1334), ancestor of the Safawid dynasty. The book was written in 750 (1350) under the direction of Shaikh Sadr al-Dīn, son of Saḥī al-Dīn, whom Tawakkul quotes as an authority. Later under Shāh Tahmāsp I the text of the work was revised by a certain Abū 'l-Faḥr Ḥasāni. The Persian text was published in Calcutta in 1329 (1911). The *Sifwat al-Safā* is a work of considerable length, about 216,000 words. It is purely hagiological in form but the historical and geographical details, important as supplementing our knowledge of the history of N. W. Persia, are overlaid with the miraculous elements. In it we find for example specimens of the old Irānīan dialect of Ādharbīdjan (xivth century). The *Sifwat al-Safā* does for the grand Shaikh of Ardabil what the *Manāẓib al-Arifin* of Allāqī [q. v.] does for the grand masters of the Mawlawī order of Koniya. Like the history of Shāh Ismā'īl (by Khwāḍja 'Abdullāh Murwīd [?]; cf. *J.R.A.S.*, 1902, p. 170) the beginning of which was translated by E. D. Ross in the *J.R.A.S.*, 1895, p. 249—340, the *Sifwat al-Safā* is a valuable document for the study of the moral and religious factors in the great Safawī movement out of which modern Persia arose. It enables us to watch the formation of the Safawī "secret doctrine"; the belief in the sanctity of Saḥī al-Dīn (of which historical orthodoxy has no doubt) later led to the extremist Shi'a doctrine, the aberrations of which are evident in the poems of Shāh Ismā'īl himself (cf. KHATĀ'Ī).

Bibliography: Khanykov, *Lettre à M. Dorn*, *Mil. Asiat.*, 1852, i., p. 543—558; cf. Dorn, *See d'Ardabil par les Georgiens vers 1209*, *ibid.*, p. 580—583; Rieu, *Catal. Pers. MSS.*, p. 345—346; Horn, in *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, ii., p. 586; E. G. Browne, *Pers. Lit. in Modern Times*, p. 34—35; 38 (cf. E. G. Browne, *J.R.A.S.*, July 1921, p. 417).

(V. MINORSKY)

AL-TAW'AMĀN, the Twins, the constellation Gemini. According to al-Kāzwinī, it contains 18 stars and seven which do not belong to the figure, and represents two men with their heads to the N. E. and their feet to the S. W. The two bright stars in the head are also called *al-Dhīr* and *al-mabrūḥa*, the outstretched arm, and form the seventh station of the moon; the two at the feet of the second twin form the station of the moon also called *al-Han'a*. The whole constellation is also called *al-Qiṣar*, like Orion; hence the name Ras algeuse for the star β (Pollux). In Ptolemy the stars now known as Castor and Pollux are called Apollo and Heracles, which become Avelar and Abracaleus in the Latin translations of Alī's commentary on Ptolemy.

Bibliography: al-Kāzwinī, *Adjāib al-Makhlūqāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 36; L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, 1809, p. 150 sqq. (J. RUSKA)

TAWASHI, one of the many words used as a euphemism for eunuch. According to al-Makrīzī, the word is Turkish and was originally *tawāshī*. The reference is clearly to the word which is *tawāshī* in Ottoman Turkish and means "servant". The word has therefore undergone the same change of meaning as *khadim* [q. v.] and refers not to the physiological peculiarity of a eunuch — *sharīf* is used for this — but to a particular "servant", an official in a definite position which was usually filled by a eunuch. Thus we find the word in the language of administration in Egypt, where it means a military rank in the bodyguard (*khawāṣṣ*); *tawāshī* being also used alongside of it.

Bibliography: al-Makrīzī, *Histoire des Sultans Mamelouks*, transl. Quatremère, 1 fol. (1840), p. 132, note 163; the Turkish Dictionary and Brockelmann, *Mithatürk Wortbuch*, p. 195; Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, p. 334 sqq., esp. 334 and note 4; Wüstenfeld, *Geographie u. Verwaltung von Ägypten*, p. 179.

(M. FLEISSNER)

TAWBA (أ), repentance, originally meaning "return", is a verbal noun derived from *tāba*; the verb is often used in the Qur'an, either absolutely or with *ilā*, of one who turns to God with repentance, and also with *alā* of God, who turns with forgiveness to the penitent, for He is *tawwābun raḥīm*, "very forgiving and merciful" (Qur'an, ii. 35 sqq.). The validity of tawba depends on three things: 1. a conviction of sin, 2. remorse (*nadam*), 3. a firm resolution to abstain from sin in the future (Ghazālī, 1390, book iv., where the subject is discussed in detail; Qur'an, iv. 21, 22; ix. 105; xlii. 24). If these conditions are fulfilled, God always accepts repentance, not from obligation (*maḥḥab*) as the Mu'tazilites hold, but in virtue of His eternal will; on the other hand "a deathbed repentance" is unavailing (Qur'an, iv. 22). Sin being an offence against God, tawba is indispensable for salvation, though Ahmad b. Hanbal and others deny this (Massignon, *La Passion d'al-Hallaj*, p. 666). The Sūfīs, rising above the legal notion of sin, attach a correspondingly higher significance to tawba. Amongst them the term denotes the spiritual conversion which is the necessary starting-point for those entering on the Path (*ṭarīq*), and which is represented as an act of divine grace. In its most proposed sense tawba is not so much an acknowledgement and renunciation of sin as a new orientation of the entire personality, so that the penitent is wholly turned towards God. Any recollection of sin or thought of remorse is wrong; for to remember sin is to forget God, and self-consciousness is the greatest sin of all; hence, according to a well-known Tradition, the Prophet sought forgiveness of God seventy times a day.

Bibliography: L. Massignon, *La Passion d'al-Hallaj*, p. 665 sqq.; Haddad, *Kaḥf al-Mahḥab*, ed. Schukovski, p. 378 sqq.; transl. by Nicholson, *G. M. S.*, xvii., p. 294 sqq.; K. Hartmann, *Al-Kutub al-Dawā'ir*, ed. Sūfī, p. 107—110; Margaret Smith, *Rūḥ al-mayyit*, Cambridge 1928, p. 53—58; R. A. Nicholson, *Mystics of Islam*, p. 30—32.

(R. A. NICHOLSON)

TAWHID (أ), infinitive II of *ṭawāḥḥa*, means literally "making one" or "assembling oneness" (Lane, p. 2027). In consequence, it is applied theologically to the oneness (*maḥḥabīya*, *ṭawḥīd*)

of Allāh in all its meanings. The word does not occur in the Qur'an, which has no verbal form from this root nor from the kindred *ṭawāḥḥa*, but in the *Lisān* (iv. 464, 465, 466 from below) there is an elaborate philological statement of the usages of the different forms from these roots as applied to Allāh and to men. Technically "the science of *ṭawḥīd* and of the Qualities" (*ilm al-ṭawḥīd wa-l-iḥṣān*) is a synonym for "the science of *ḥaḍar*" (see article *KALAM*) and is the basis of all the articles of the belief of Islam (Introduction by Taḥṣīlāt to the *Al-Faḥr* of Naṣafī, ed. Cairo 1321, p. 4 sq. and the marginal commentaries thereon; *Dict. of techn. terms*, p. 22). In this definition the Mu'tazilites would exclude the qualities and make the basis *ṭawḥīd* alone. But unity is far from being a simple idea; it may be internal or external; it may mean that there is no other God except Allāh, who has no partner (*sharik*); it may mean that Allāh is a Oneness in himself; it may mean that he is the only being with real or absolute existence (*al-ḥaḍar*), all other beings having merely a contingent existence; it may even be developed into a pantheistic assertion that Allāh is All. Again, knowledge of this unity may be reached by the methods of systematic theology (*ilm*) or by religious experience (*ma'rifa*, *maḥḥab*); and the latter, again, may be pure contemplation or philosophical speculation. In consequence, *ṭawḥīd* may mean simply "There is no god but Allāh" or it may cover a pantheistic position. There is a good statement of these developments in *Dict. of techn. terms*, p. 1468—1470; cf. also, p. 1463—1468.

(D. B. MACDONALD)

TAWIL, the first metre in Arabic prosody, has one *arḥūḍ* and three *ḥarḥ*; the paradigm is: *fa'ūlun maf'ūlun fa'ūlun maf'ūlun* in each hemistich.

The *arḥūḍ*, or last foot of the first hemistich, is always *maf'ūlun*. The first *ḥarḥ*, or last foot of the second hemistich, is *maf'ūlun*; the second, *maf'ūlun*; the third, (*maf'ūlun*) *fa'ūlun*.

The *fa'ūlun* foot often loses its *nūn*; the dropping of this is recommended for the foot which immediately precedes the foot forming the third *ḥarḥ*.

The first *fa'ūlun* of the first hemistich of the first verse of a piece may lose its *fa*, and combined with the loss of the *nūn*, we have: (*alun*) *ḥun*, and (*alun*) *ḥun*.

Maf'ūlun may lose its *f* or its *nūn*, but one of them must be retained.

Bibliography: cf. the article 'ARḤŪḌ

(Mons. BEN CHEKKE)

TA'WIL (أ), originally means quite generally interpretation, exposition. In some of the passages in which the word occurs in the Qur'an it refers definitely to the revelation delivered by Maḥammad. The use of the word *ta'wil* afterwards became more and more limited to this special meaning and it meant exposition of the Qur'an, and was for a time synonymous with *tafsīr*. In time the term seems to have become more specialised although not yet confined to this one meaning; it became a technical term for the exposition of the subject-matter of the Qur'an. In this latter sense *ta'wil* formed a valuable and necessary supplement to the more external philological exegesis of the Qur'an, which was now distinguished as *tafsīr*. So long as it did not come into contradiction with the obvious literal meaning of the Qur'an or with Tradition, orthodox theology had no reason to

deny its right to exist. The question was altered however when *ta'wil* no longer satisfied these conditions. Sufis, the Ikhwan al-Safā, the Shī'is, especially such schools of thought as, without abandoning Islām itself, diverged to any extent from the path of orthodoxy, saw in *ta'wil* a suitable instrument for bringing the views held by them into harmony with the literal text of the Qur'anic revelation and even for deriving them from it. Alongside of the literal interpretation of the text there grew up a biased allegorical exposition which found the most far fetched ideas concealed in the text. With the extreme schools, this transformation of the "external" meaning came to be the only way of looking at the Qur'ān so that the traditional exposition fell into disrepute and the legal enactments of the Qur'ān were even declared not to be binding.

Details in the method of using allegorical *ta'wil* may, as Goldziher (*Richtungen*, p. 210 sqq.) has suggested, be ultimately traced back to the influence of the Neo-Platonists, especially Philo. The method itself however was the direct result of the necessity of sanctioning new views by a new interpretation of the words of the revelation that had been handed down; allegorical *ta'wil* may be considered essentially of native Muslim origin.

Bibliography: Litān al-'Arab, xiii, p. 34 sqq.; Ta'wil al-'Arab, vii, 215; Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, p. 126 sq.; Sayyid, *Itkān*, ii, Cairo 1287, p. 204-206; Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranhermeneutik* (*Veröffentlichungen der 'De Goeje-Stiftung'*, No. vi.), Leyden 1920; do., *Streitschrift des Gassāl gegen die Bāṭinīya-Sekte* (*Veröffentl. der 'De Goeje-Stiftung'*, No. iii.), Leyden 1916, p. 30 sq. and Arabic text No. 10. (R. PAKET)

TAWILA, a town in South Arabia, formerly the headquarters of the Kā'imīyah of the Qadā of Kawkabān, to which the town already belonged in Niebuhr's time. It lies on a tongue-shaped spur of the Djebel Dhūl on the left bank of the Wādī Lā'a which forms a continuous chain of four rocky hills, the second (from the east) of which is called al-Huṣn. In the SSW. of the town a little lower but not 500 yards away stands the Masjid al-Zāhir, a mosque now in ruins with a fine cistern, from which a well-made paved road (*ṣarḥat*) leads eastwards towards the town. Barely 200 yards east of this ruin or rather of the ruin built of its stones (*isṣera*) is a huge building of blocks of black rock, from which another paved road leads to the town. The town is small and unvalled but has a considerable market. The administrative buildings used by the Turks when they ruled here lie to the extreme S.W. of the town, which was visited by the explorer E. Glaser on Dec. 2-3, 1885.

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TAWILA, a South Arabian coin, see the article LARIN.

TAWKĪ (A.), lit. "a document with the signature or device (*alāma*) equivalent to a signature of a ruler"; hence generally, edict, decree of a ruler, and its preparation in written form. *Tawkī* has the special meaning of the titles of the ruler (roughly equivalent to the *tughra* [q. v.]

of the Ottomans) to be inscribed in the chancellery, which gives the document validity, in contrast to *alāma*, the mark or device of the ruler put on it with his own hand, which was regarded as his signature. The use of the two words is however to some extent indiscriminate, for *tawkī* was also used for motto.

In the *Inshā'*-literature edicts (*tawkī*) of the Sāsānian kings are mentioned. Under the Omayyads it is said to have arisen the custom — no doubt really an old Oriental one — of the Caliph himself deciding (*waḥḥa'a*) in public audience on complaints (*ḥisās*) brought to him; the secretaries had then to put the Caliph's *tawkī* into writing. For the 'Abbāsīd period, Kāṣimā mentions a special *Diwān al-Tawkī* (office for edicts). It may be considered an important increase in the power of the visier under the 'Abbāsīds that Hārūn al-Rashīd for the first time entrusted the Barmecide Dja'far with the right of dealing with petitions (*tawkī 'ala 'l-ḥisās*). According to Ibn al-Sairafī, there was in the Fātimīd *Diwān* a special secretary for dealing with petitions. This secretary for the *tawkī 'ala 'l-ḥisās* was one of the highest in rank. Under the Mamlūks the private secretary (*Kātib al-Sirr*) received the right of *tawkī 'ala 'l-ḥisās*. As a general rule, however, the sultāns exercised it themselves here also.

In the Mamlūk administrative system, *tawkī* was also used as the name of particular classes of diplomas of appointment, and according to Ibn Faḍl Allāh, it was applied to the diplomas of all officers, the lower as well as the upper, up to the great governors (*nawwāb*), and therefore became the word most used for appointment generally. Ibn Faḍl Allāh however says that it was only used for the appointing of the lowest ranks of officials. A little later it came into use for the appointments of "turban-wearers" (*muta'ammimūn*) i.e. the ecclesiastical and *Diwān* officials. According to Kalkashandī, *tawkī* is the fourth and lowest as well as the most extensive group of diplomas of appointment (*ṣifāt*).

In the Ottoman empire the imperial edicts were dealt with by a special official, the *nishāndji* or *tawkī*, who was responsible for the documents bearing the Sultān's style and titles. He was one of the highest officials in the kingdom (the *Er-bān-i Devlet*) and a member of the imperial *Diwān*. A device written by the Sultān himself was no longer in use here; in Ottoman diplomatic, *alāma*, like the Persian word *nishān*, means the imperial sign-manual (the *tughra*), the style of the Sultān drawn in the chancery of the *nishāndji* by a special assistant, the *tughrakāsh*. *Alāma* was in this case synonymous with *tawkī*.

Lastly *tawkī* meant a special style of script in use at the close of the middle ages (xiii—xvth century), which was specially used for documents of this period in the Mamlūk as well as the Ottoman dominions. In the great period of Ottoman history (xvth century downwards) it was ousted by the *Diwān* script.

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Paris 1830, p. 350; Fr. Kraelitz, *Orientalische Urkunden in türkischer Sprache*, Vienna 1921, p. 18 sqq. — On Tawhī' in the name of a script cf. Kraelitz, *op. cit.*, p. 8; L. Fekete, *Einführung in die osmanisch-türkische Diplomatik der türkischen Botenmissionen in Ungarn*, Budapest 1926, p. 22. — On Tawhī' and *Alāma* cf. e.g. Abū 'l-Fidā', *Ta'rikh*, Istanbul ed., iii, 155; 156, 158 = Cairo reprint of 1325, iii, 148, 149, 151; Tawhī' in the sense of *Alāma* so motto used e.g. in Ibn Bihār, ed. Montana, p. 288 (cf. also Kraelitz, p. 23, note 2).

(F. TAUSCHNER)

TAWRĀT, Hebr. *Tôrā*, is in the *Kur'ān* of the Medina period (cf. also an alleged verse of the Jewish poet Saunāk in Ibn Hishām, p. 659) the name of a holy scripture revealed after the time of Ibrahim (iii, 58) and Isrā'īl (= Jacob; iii, 87) and afterwards confirmed by Yās (iii, 44; v, 50; xl, 6) which contains the *ḥukm Allāh* (v, 48). While obedience to it brings a reward in Paradise to the "people of the book" (v, 70), those who do not take upon themselves the tawrāt imposed upon them are "like asses who carry books" (xii, 5). The Tawrāt also contains a prophecy of the coming of the *Nabi al-ummi* (vii, 156) i.e. Muhammad, and in it Paradise is promised to the faithful who "fight on the path of Allāh" (ix, 112). A sentence from the Tawrāt is quoted in v, 49, which repeats approximately the text of Exodus xxi, 25 sq., while the parable quoted in xlviii, 29 from Tawrāt and Injil comes not from the *Tôrā* but, although only in its gist, from the *Psalms*; cf. for example, Psalm i, 3; lxviii, 16; xciii, 14. In iii, 87 the Jews are challenged to read from the Tawrāt the law (Genesis, xxiii, 33) which corresponds to the substance of iii, 87a. On the other hand the sentence quoted in v, 35, comes not from the Tawrāt but the *Mishnā Sanhedrin*, iv, 5. Besides such express references to the Tawrāt, the *Kur'ān* contains, frequently repeated, a number of stories from the Pentateuch — usually in their Haggada form and not infrequently adapted to Muhammad's special purposes — and many laws from the Pentateuch, both without mentioning their origin. Of the books of the Old Testament, in addition to the Tawrāt, Muhammad only knows the *Zabūr*, i.e. the *Psalms*; perhaps, as the Jews themselves sometimes do, he meant by Tawrāt the whole of their holy scriptures (see Bacher, *Exegetische Terminologie*, i, 197).

In Hadīth the Tawrāt is also frequently mentioned and in several passages Mūsā is named as he who observed it (Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra ii, bāb 1; do., *Tawhīd*, bāb 19, 24; Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 322; Ibn Mādjā, *Zuhd*, bāb 37). While the Jews pride themselves on having a great treasure in the Tawrāt (Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra xvii, trad. 12; cf. for example *Prov.* iv, 2) it is on the other side pointed out that its possession has availed them nothing and the Tawrāt contains nothing equal to the *Umm al-Kur'ān* i.e. the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Maḥmūd* (*op. cit.*, *Tafsīr*, Sūra xvii, trad. 3; *Fiḍā' al-Kur'ān*, bāb 1). The description which the Tawrāt gives of Muhammad and which according to Bukhārī (*Tafsīr*, Sūra xlviii, bāb 3; do., *Buyū'*, bāb 50) has passed in part into Sūra xxviii, 34; xlviii, 8, in the form given, *loc. cit.* proves to be only a rather inaccurate paraphrase of *Is.*, xlii, 1-4 (cf. similar passages in Ibn Sa'd, *ṭī.*, 87 sqq.). In Bukhārī, *Tawhīd*, bāb 34, 47;

Manāzil al-Salāt, bāb 47, the *Abū al-Tawrāt* in a hadīth modelled on the parable of the labourers and their hire, complain that the reward of those who obey the *Kur'ān* is larger than theirs, although the former are "less in work" *afallā 'amālun* than they, a reference to the greater number of the Jewish prescriptions. In explanation of Sūra iii, 87, Bukhārī (*Manāzil*, bāb 26; *Tafsīr*, Sūra iii, bāb 9; *Tawhīd*, bāb 51) says that the Prophet put the question to the Jews asking how they dealt with adulterers. They tried to give him a wrong answer and to conceal from him the passage in the Tawrāt, in which the punishment of stoning is prescribed (*Deuteronomy*, xxii, 23 sq.) but they did not succeed. According to Ibn Mādjā, *Aḥkām*, bāb 39, it is said in the Tawrāt "The *wasḥ* is the *ḥarām* of meals", a statement which ascribes the Jewish command to wash the hands before meals to the *Tôrā*, in which the Jewish students of the scriptures also claim to find it indicated (*Hullin*, fol. 106a).

The *Kur'ān*ic allusions early aroused in Muslim scholars the desire to have a closer acquaintance with the contents of the Tawrāt, a knowledge which was however not without its dangers because it brought out certain contradictions which existed between the *Kur'ān*ic and the Biblical revelation. How this danger was to be met, the Prophet himself gives a hint in an utterance several times quoted by Bukhārī (*Tawhīd*, bāb 51; *Ṭiḥṣūṣ*, bāb 21; *Tafsīr*, Sūra ii, bāb 11): the *Abū al-Kirāb* were in the habit of explaining the Hebrew text of the Tawrāt to the Muslims in Arabic, whereupon the Prophet commanded the latter "Declare ye the statements of the *Abū al-Kirāb* neither true nor false but say 'we believe in Allāh and what He has revealed'" — an utterance, which Bukhārī, as the title of his paragraph shows, wants to be able to apply to the decision of the question whether the translation of the holy scriptures of foreign religions into Arabic is permitted. While in Bukhārī, *Shahāda*, bāb 29, asking members of another faith about the substance of their revelations is deprecated, just as they should put no questions to Muslims about the contents of the *Kur'ān*, there is no lack of references to distinguished men of piety (Ibn Sa'd, vii/1, 179) who studied the Tawrāt in the original or even (*op. cit.*, p. 161) had read it through to the end in a week. The numerous quotations from the Tawrāt, which cannot be identified in the Pentateuch, preserved in Hadīth, canonical and extra-canonical, as well as in edifying literature, have tempted Chaiḥo (*M. F. O. R.*, iv, 39 sq.) to the untenable thesis that there was a book called Tawrāt different from the Hebrew *Tôrā*, from which these quotations were taken; in reality the passages in question are either pure invention or inaccurately modelled on sayings in the Bible of the Talmud.

An intimate knowledge of the text of certain parts of the *Tôrā* is shown by some chronological or genealogical statements about the Biblical period, such as are given by Ibn Ishāq (d. 150 = 767) in his *Maḥabba*, while Ibn Hishām (d. 213 = 828) in his still unpublished *Kirāb al-Ṭiḥṣūṣ*, quoting Wāḥb b. Munabbih (d. 110 = 728), gives certain Biblical names not only in their Hebrew but also in their Syriac form. That he checked the statements of Muslim tradition by the Biblical text is recorded in his *Kirāb al-Ma'arīf*, p. 13, by Ibn Kūṭayba (d. 276 = 889) who also gives in this

work word for word quotations from Genesis; the Biblical quotations in others of his works do not always correspond exactly to the original and the same is true of the quotations in *Ushūq al-Nadī* 'ale 'I-Najīd. On the other hand in another contemporary of Ibn Kutilba, the convert to Islam, 'Alī b. Rabhān al-Jabart, we have many literal quotations from all parts of the Old Testament canon in his "Book of Religion and Empire" written about 240 (854-855) (ed. by A. Mingana; in *M. P. O. B.*, x, 242 199.); some also are to be found in the *Risāla* of 'Abd al-Mas'ūh b. Ishāq al-Kindī. While the text of the Bible was accessible without difficulty to converts like 'Alī b. Rabhān, the Biblical quotations in authors born Muslims were either learned orally from Jews or Christians or from another Arabic translation of the Bible. Ahmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Salām al-Indjili (whose relationship to 'Abd Allāh b. Salām, the Jewish convert of the time of the Prophet, cannot be certainly established) is said to have made one such, notably a translation of the Tawrāt, and according to the *Fihrist*, p. 22 in the reign of Harūn al-Rashīd. Three further translations are mentioned by Mas'ūdī (*Tanbih*, p. 112): that of the Nestorian Hannan b. Ishāq (d. 260 = 873-874) based on the LXX and two by the learned Jews Abū Kaḥlīl (between d. 321 = 933 or 329 = 941) and Sa'īd b. Yūsuf al-Fayyūmī, best known under the name of Sa'adya Ga'on (d. 331 = 943) from the original Hebrew. Of all these translations only that of Sa'adya has survived (ed. Derenbourg, Paris 1893) and the only other of the period in existence is one made in Spain in 345 (956) from the Latin. Of all later translations from the Coptic, Syriac or Hebrew by Christians and Samaritans, bibliographical details are given in the article "Bibelübersetzungen, Arabische", in Herzog: *Realenzyklopädie*.

Sura vii. 156 firmly convinced believers that the Tawrāt contained a prophecy of the coming of Muḥammad. Attempts to prove this go back to the earliest period of Islam (see below) but it is not till the middle of the third century that definite verses of the Pentateuch and other books of the Old Testament are quoted in a literal translation and interpreted as prophecies of Muḥammad's coming. From an unnamed work of Ibn Kutilba, Ibn al-Djāwī in his *Kitāb al-Wafā* quotes several passages of this kind and many others are given about the same time by 'Alī b. Rabhān al-Jabart (see above) and these recur again and again in the apologetics and polemics of the following centuries with greater or less completeness. From the Pentateuch the verses *Gen.*, xvi. 9-12; xvi. 20; xxi. 21; *Deut.*, xviii. 18; xxxiii. 2, 12, play a prominent part in these polemics. Since according to *Gen.*, xxi. 21, Fārān was the abode of Ishmael, and according to Sura ii. 119 he stayed in Mecca, Fārān is identified with Mecca. On the basis of the same identification, *Deut.*, xxxiii. 2 is referred to Muḥammad, as in xviii. 18, and in xxxiii. 12 a reference to the *Kitāb al-Nuḥumma* is found.

Even in the Qur'ān we find the Jews reproached with "displacing phrases from their context" (iv. 45; v. 16, 45) and an example is given in iv. 45; further they are charged with having forgotten or concealing a part of what had been revealed to them (v. 16; iii. 64; vi. 91). We have already had from Ḥadīth an example of this

concealing: the Jews wished to keep from Muḥammad the verse of the Tawrāt which prescribes the punishment of stoning for adultery. The reproach of "altering the words" is more precisely defined by Bukhārī, *Shahāda*, bāb 29, who says that the "possessors of the scripture" had altered the book of Allāh with their own hands and said it was Allāh's. Not all Muslim apologists go so far, however, as to assert deliberate falsification of the text; the milder school ascribes to the Jews only distortions of the meaning. The most distinguished representative of the stronger view is Ibn Huzm (d. 456 = 1064) who raises objections to no less than 57 passages in the Tawrāt and collects the impossibilities and contradictions which he had found in it.

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TAWRIYA (ا), syllepsis in oratory, a figure of rhetoric (*bad'*) which consists in using a word having two different meanings, one obvious and the other secondary, veiling the second sense by the first so that it is the first sense which strikes the listener first. Tawriya is called *ihām* (disimulation) because he who uses it conceals the remoter meaning he had in view by the primary sense which is seized on first. It is sometimes called *ihām* ("act of concealing or masking").

There are two kinds of tawriya: 1. that which is "deprived" of everything that might indicate the meaning one has in view (*muḥfarada*), for example "The Merciful is seated (*istawā*) on his throne" (Qur'ān, xx. 4); here the remoter sense of "to make oneself master of" is in mind and there is nothing in the phrase which might suit the nearer sense of "to rest; to establish oneself, to sit"; 2. that which includes something which suits the obvious sense, for example "And the heavens which We built with power" (Qur'ān, ii. 47), literally "and the heavens which we built with our hands" in which one notices that "hand" here, taken in the secondary sense of "power", is accompanied by the verb "to build" which suits its primary meaning of "part of the body at the end of the arm". The figure is also used by the Persians who seem to have borrowed it from the Arabs.

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al-Fajr, Cairo 1317, p. 113; Muhammad Saḍī Ḥasan Khān Bahādar, *Ghāṣṣ al-Bān al-mawrī* bi-Muḥammadi al-Bayān, Constantinople 1296, p. 24; Ibn Ḥudjja al-Hamawī, *Kaṣf al-Liḥāb 'an Waḍḥ al-Tawriya wa 'l-Istikhḍām*, Bairūt 1312; al-Djurdjānī, *Ta'rifāt*, Constantinople 1307, p. 49, s.v. tawriya, and p. 27, s.v. al-ḥām (especially); S. de Sacy, *Science de Hariri*, Paris 1847—1853, p. 88; Yahyā b. Ḥamza b. 'Alī b. Ibrahim al-Alawī al-Yamani, *Kitāb al-Tirāz*, Cairo 1332, iii. 62; Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf al-Sakkākī, *Miftāḥ al-'Ulūm*, Cairo 1318, p. 180 ("al-ḥām"); Kāsim al-Bakrādī, *Ḥilyat al-Badī' fī Maḍā al-Nabī al-ḥafī'*, Ḥalab 1293, p. 210 (tawriya, ḥām, takhyil); 'Abd al-Ḥamid Kaddas b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Khaṣīb, *Taḥf al-Salā al-raḥī' fī Shārḥ Nūr al-Badī' 'alā Naḥḥ al-Badī'*, Cairo 1321, p. 75; Ibn Ḥudjja al-Hamawī, *Khiṣṣat al-Adab*, Cairo 1304, p. 239 (ḥām, tawḍīḥ, takhyil); 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nūbuluāt, *Nafaḥāt al-Aḥbār 'alā Naḥḥ al-Badī'*, Bulaq 1299, p. 188; Djalāl al-Dīn al-Karwīnī al-Khaṣīb, *Taḥf al-Miftāḥ* (with notes by 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Barkūkī), Cairo 1322 (1904), p. 355; Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Mawānī*, Constantinople 1318, p. 180; do., *al-Mufaḥḥal*, Constantinople 1304, p. 425; Ṭahkōpürāde, *Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda*, Haidarābād 1329, ii. 334; 'Abd al-Ḥādī Nadjā al-Abyārī, *Sa'ād al-Mawānī*, Bulaq 1283, i. 315. — Specimens: 1. Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī, *Mukhtaṣar 'alā Taḥf al-Miftāḥ*; 2. Ibn Ya'qūb al-Maghribī, *Mawāḥib al-Faṭāḥ fī Shārḥ Taḥf al-Miftāḥ*; 3. Bahā' al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Arūs al-Aḥbār fī Shārḥ Taḥf al-Miftāḥ* and in the margin; 4. al-Khaṣīb al-Karwīnī, *al-Iḍāḥ*; 5. al-Dusūqī, *Ḥāḥiya 'alā Mukhtaṣar al-Taftāzānī*, Bulaq 1317, iv. 322; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Kaīs al-Rūsī, *al-Mu'jam fī Ma'āyir Aḥbār al-'Aḥdām*, Leyden 1327 (1909), p. 326 (ḥām); Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique et prosodie des langues de l'Orient musulman*, Paris 1873, p. 90. (MOH. BEN CHIENEN)

AL-TAYĀLISĪ SULAIMĀN b. DĀWUD b. AL-DĀKĀDĪN AND DĀWUD, a collector of traditions and a author of a *Musnad*. The *nisba* is derived from *al-tayālīs*, the plural of *ṭayālīs*, a piece of clothing that covers the head-dress and sometimes also the shoulders (see Dory, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les arabes*, p. 278 sqq.).

Al-Tayālīsī was born at Bayra in 133 (750—751) and died in 203 (818—819). It is also said that he reached the age of 72 years. He has handed down traditions on the authority of Shu'ba, Sufyān al-Thawri and other well known traditionists. In his turn he was an authority for Ahmad b. Hanbal, 'Alī b. al-Madīnī, Abū Bakr b. Abī Shaiba etc. It is said that he knew 30,000 traditions by heart and that he did not make use of notes in handing them down. He is reputed to be trustworthy, although slips of his memory are on record. He contracted elephantiasis in consequence of a frequent use of *batāḥur*.

The text of his *Musnad*, which was printed in Haidarābād in 1321, has been handed down by Abū Bishr Yūsuf b. Ḥalīb, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Dja'far b. Ahmad b. Fāris, Abū Nu'aim Ahmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ahmad b. Ishāq, Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥaddād al-Makḥārī, Abū 'I-Makrīm Ahmad b. Ahmad . . . b. Muḥammad b. Kaīs al-Labbān († 597 = 1200—1201).

The work consists of the single *anwāḥ* of over six hundred ṭaḥāḥ's and is arranged in the same way as other works of the kind. It contains 2,767 traditions; this means that its bulk is about one tenth of Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* or $\frac{1}{10}$ of Ibn Hanbal's *Musnad*. The contents cover the whole field of classical *ḥadīṡ*; all subjects of some importance are represented, though on a moderate scale. It may be remarked that the materials concerning some persons who played a part in Muḥammad's history are perhaps more scanty than in any of the other collections; there are e.g. no traditions on Khadija, Zainab bint Jajāh, Abū Sufyān, 'Amr b. al-'Ās, Abū Muḥ al-Ash'arī, 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy, 'Abd Allāh b. Salam, Ibn Sa'īd, Ka'b b. Mi'lik, Khālid b. al-Walid, Sa'd b. Mu'adh, Salmān al-Fārisī.

The book contains scarcely any tradition which is not to be found in the classical collections; in rare cases the wording may be helpful for the understanding of difficult traditions.

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(A. J. WENSINCK)

TAYAMMUM (أ.), the recommendation, or permission to perform the ritual ablution with sand instead of water in certain cases, is based on two passages in the Qur'ān, Sūra iv. 46 and v. 9. The latter passage runs as follows: "And if ye be impure, wash yourselves. But if ye be sick, or on a journey or if ye come from the privy or ye have touched women and ye find no water, take fine clean sand and rub your faces and hands with it. Allāh will not put a difficulty upon you but He will make you pure and complete His favour upon you, perhaps that ye may give thanks". Sūra iv. 46 is somewhat more briefly expressed but the law is formulated there in almost identical words except that the phrase "with it" is lacking from the sentence "and rub your faces and hands with it". According to the Shāfi'is (see Baiḥaqī on Sūra iv. 46) "with it" means that there must be some sand in the hand. The Hanafīs on the other hand consider the rite valid even if the hand has only been touched by a smooth stone.

In his *Miṣbāḥ al-Kubrā*, Cairo 1279, i. 143 sqq., al-Shāfi'ī gives 14 such points of difference between the *maḥḥad's*; they refer to a. the material (earth, sand etc.); b. the obligation to look for water; c. the question how far face and hands are to be rubbed and into what legal categories these rubbings fall; d. the question what one should do if he finds water after he has already begun the *ṭayāt*; e. the question whether a single *tayammum* suffices for two *ṣalāt* rites; f. the question whether one who has performed the *tayammum* before his *ṭayāt* may act as *imām* for persons who have performed the ablution with water; g. the question whether *tayammum* is permitted before the *ṭayāt* at festivals and for the dead, if one is not on a journey; h. the question whether one who is not travelling, and has difficulty in getting water for a *ṭayāt* the legal time for which is about to expire, should

repeat the *ṣalāt* performed after *tayammum* as soon as he has found water; i. the question whether it is permitted to use the little water one has for a partial washing and do *tayammum* for the rest; ii. the question what is to be done in cases of injury; iii. the question whether the *ṣalāt* is to be repeated in four cases, in which it has been performed after *tayammum*.

There is agreement among the *mudhhab* on the point that *tayammum* is only done for the face or hands, whether after a minor or major *ḥadaṭh* [q. v.], whether in place of a washing of all or any parts of the body is a matter of indifference (al-Nawawī, on Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1283, i. 406).

From various traditions it is evident that 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd and 'Omar had misgivings about declaring the *ṣalāt* valid after *tayammum* in cases of *ḡunāḥa* (cf. e. g. Bukhārī, *Tayammum*, lib. 7; Muslim, *Ḥiḍḍ*, tr. 110). On the other hand the mainly Abū Dharr, who had similar misgivings, is made to say that the Prophet had disposed of them by saying: "fine sand is a means of purification when one cannot find water, even if he should look ten years for it" (Aḥmad b. Hanbal, *Musnad*, v. 146 sq.).

The permission is said to have been revealed when an expedition of Muhammadans was held up so long looking for a necklace of 'Ā'isha's that its water became exhausted.

In the *Tahmid* (*Berakot*, fol. 15^v) a permit to use sand in case of want of water similar to that of the Qur'ān is given and Cedrenus, *Annales*, ed. Hylander, Bude 1566, p. 206, tells how on an occasion in a journey through the desert, Christian baptism was performed with sand.

Bibliography: Cf. also the commentaries on Qur'ān, Sūra iv. 46 and v. 9; Noldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Korāns*, i. 199; A. Geiger, *Was hat Moh. aus dem Judentume aufgenommen?*, p. 86; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handriding* etc., Leyden 1925, p. 58; A. J. Wessink, *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, s. v. *Tayammum*. (A. J. WESSINK)

TĀZĀ, a town in eastern Morocco, about 60 miles E.N.E. of Fās, in a great depression, called the "trough of Tāzā" which separates the Rif from the northern spurs of the Central Atlas. To some authors of the middle ages (*Ṣiḥḥ*, al-Marrākushī) Tāzā marks the boundary between the extreme and central Maghrib. The great importance of the great natural route from the east to west through this depression, the strategic and economic advantages secured by the occupation of the site in part defended by the ravine of a wādī, must have early encouraged a foundation of some importance at Tāzā. Prehistoric settlements have been discovered there and many tombs of uncertain date in the cliffs on which the town is built.

In the beginning of the middle ages (viii–xth century) Tāzā was the most important settlement in the region occupied by one of the groups of the Mikhāṣa, semi-nomadic Berbers. According to Ibn Khaldūn, it was they who founded the *ribḥ* of Tāzā. This statement is evidently inaccurate in this form. Tāzā was not yet reckoned a *ribḥ*. It must nevertheless have played an important part in the defence against the Idrisids as partisans of the Fātimids of Kairawān, then against the Fātimids as partisans of the Omayyads of Cordova. Tāzā however, as a fortified town and a *ribḥ*, was

properly a foundation of the Almohads. In 528 (1133) 'Abd al-Mu'min, having made himself master of the High and Central Atlas, had arrived in the depression of Tāzā. There the conqueror seems to have suspended his advance. It was not till later that he tackled the ranges of the Rif and did not yet attempt to descend into the plains to meet Almoravid forces. He seems however to have felt the necessity of holding the important strategic point, of building a citadel there and placing a garrison in it. Those who held this frontier post of the Almohad dominions were naturally assimilated to the men of the *ribḥ*'s (we know that the struggle against the Almohads had the attractions of a holy war). To call the new fortress a *ribḥ* was giving it the value of a pious work. As a matter of fact Tāzā never played the religious part of a *ribḥ*. It remained, as before, a military post guarding the road to Fās. A great part of the ramparts built by 'Abd al-Mu'min seems to have survived. It is a curtain of rubble flanked by towers unequal in size, with the remains of an outer wall in front of it at places.

For lack of defenders, Almohad Tāzā hardly made any resistance to the Marinids who took it in 613 (1216). Its new lords also devoted attention to its defences; they restored the great mosque on two occasions (1294 and 1353) and endowed it with medreses. In their time Tāzā for once at least did its duty in guarding the pass, when it was attacked by the Sulṭān of Tlemcen, Abū Hammūd II, who besieged it for a week in 784 (1382) and was forced to retrace his steps.

In the beginning of the xvth century, we have a description of Tāzā by Leo Africanus. He regards it as the third town of the kingdom; it was administered as a kind of apurage allotted to the second son of the Wattāsid Sulṭān of Fās. The population which numbered about 5,000 householders, including many Jews, lived under a continual menace from the mountaineers around.

To secure control of the springs which watered the town, and to protect himself against the attacks of the Turkes of Algiers, a Sa'dian Sharif—perhaps Aḥmad al-Manṣūr—provided it with a *ḥaṣṣa*, which still stands in the S. E. corner of the enceinte. It is noteworthy however that in the result this fortress of Tāzā never served as a defence against enemies from the east, but rather became "a citadel ready at hand for every pretender who rebelled in those regions against the Makhzen who had built it" (H. Basset and Campardon). This was the case in 1596 when al-Nāṣir, a nephew of al-Manṣūr, rebelled against the Sulṭān and made Tāzā his base of operations, and again in 1664 when the first of the 'Alawid Sulṭāns al-Raḥid made it his headquarters for his attack on Fās, and in 1673 when Aḥmad b. Muḥrīz held out there against his uncle, Sulṭān Mawlay Ismā'īl. Lastly in 1902 the agitator Abū Ḥamra in his struggle with 'Abd al-'Azīz made Tāzā his capital. It was occupied by French troops on May 10, 1914.

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TAZĪR (A.), punishment, intended to prevent the culprit from relapsing, to reform him (*li-taẓīr*). — The Qur'ān does not know this kind of punishment; on the contrary it classifies several transgressions afterwards punished with *taẓīr* merely as sins, e.g. slander, for which there is no *ḥadd* punishment (Sūra iv. 112) and the bearing of false witness (Sūra ii. 283; iv. 134). Tradition has very little to record about it. According to one tradition of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Omar, in the time of the Prophet, those who bought provisions wholesale without measures or weights in order to sell them again were punished by whipping (Bukhārī, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 43); disregarding the development in legal theory of this tradition by the commentators, it is clearly one of the many traditions which attack speculation in the necessities of life (cf. C. H. Becker, *Papiri Schott-Rimhardt*, Heidelberg 1906, p. 51); it is in any case based on later usage in commerce. According to another tradition of Ibn 'Abbās, the Prophet is said to have threatened with 20 lashes any man who insulted another by calling him soft or effeminate (Ibn Māǧja, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 15). Very frequently on the other hand we find a tradition (of Abū Burda, of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Djabir, of Abū Huraira), according to which the maximum that can be inflicted except for *ḥadd* is 10 lashes (Bukhārī, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 43; Muslim, *Ḥudūd*, tr. 39; Ibn Māǧja, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 32; Ibn Ḥanbal, iii. 466; iv. 45). These traditions however can only have arisen later in the difference of opinion about the amount of *taẓīr*, especially as the later law-schools admit a much larger number of lashes. In any case *taẓīr* is a kind of punishment, which only found its way into Muslim law at a comparatively late date. For this view it is noteworthy that tradition does not connect the later technical sense with the verb *'azzara*. It is true that it occurs in the above mentioned tradition in Ibn Māǧja, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 32: *li-taẓīr*; but in a tradition of Anas b. Mālīk the verb *'azzara* is used with reference to the *ḥadd* punishment for drinking wine in contrast to its later technical sense. (Ibn Ḥanbal, iii. 180; a duplicate of this tradition in Ibn Ḥanbal, iii. 115 uses *ḥalala* in this passage).

According to the *ḥikm*-books, *taẓīr* is inflicted for such transgressions as have no *ḥadd* punishment and no *kaffāra* prescribed for them, whether it is a question of disobedience of God such as neglect of the fivefold *ṣalāt* or of fasting, or a question of crime against man such as deceit, bearing false witness, theft of an article of trifling value (cf. *ṣāḥiḥ*) etc. In the second group however there is also a breach of the divine law (*ḥuḳḳ Allāh*) as well as the breach of man's law (*ḥuḳḳ al-nās*).

The most remarkable condition for the application of *taẓīr* is that the delinquent must be in full possession of his mental faculties (*'aql*). The

kind and amount of *taẓīr* is left entirely to the discretion of the judge; he may administer a public reprimand, expose him in a public place, banish him, confiscate his property (but there is a difference of opinion, for the goods and chattels of a Muslim are regarded by some as inviolable in this case), throw him into prison or have him whipped. Except in the Mālikī school however, the number of lashes must not be more than in the *ḥadd* punishment; according to the Shāfi' school, the maximum for a freeman is 39, for a slave 19; according to the Hanafis, the maximum is 75 (some take the *ḥadd* for drinking wine, others the *ḥadd* for slander [*ḥudūd*] as the maximum); the Hanbalis on the other hand only allow 10 lashes, relying on the above tradition. There are also very minute and varying rules regarding the administering of the lashes in the different schools.

As the primary object of the *taẓīr* is reformation, and the degree of punishment to cause this varies with each individual, men are classified systematically by some jurists for this purpose. Al-Kāshīr, for example, distinguishes four classes: 1. the most distinguished of the upper classes, i.e. officials and officers of the highest rank; for them a personal communication from the judge through a confidential messenger is sufficient; 2. the upper classes, i.e. the intellectual elite and *ṣuḥabā*; they are summoned before the judge and admonished by him; 3. the middle classes, i.e. the merchants; they are punished by imprisonment; 4. the lower strata of the people; they are punished with imprisonment or flogging. Other jurists however reject this external classification according to social status and lay stress on the inner worth of the individual, his attitude to religion and his mode of life.

If it seems advisable, the judge can completely remit the *taẓīr*, in so far as it concerns the divine law; but the portion based on the law of man is not dropped even if the person injured renounces it.

The process of trial is simple in contrast to that for *ḥadd*. *Taẓīr* is inflicted on a confession, which however cannot be withdrawn, or on a statement of two witnesses, one of whom may even be a woman; *ḥukūda 'ala ḥukūda* (cf. *ḥukūda*) is also admitted. According to some, it is even enough if the judge alone has knowledge of the transgression.

How these cases for punishment left by the *shari'a* to unfettered judgment were dealt with by those in authority is very clearly seen from the stories in the *1001 Nights* (cf. Rescher in *lit.*, ix. [1919], 68 *seq.*). On the other hand the attempt was made to escape this arbitrary punishment by bribery. Frequently also the secular legislation of rulers interfered, regulating the sentence left to the *ḥadī*'s discretion by laying down definite punishments for a series of transgressions, as is the case in the *ḥikm-nāme*'s of the Turkish Sultāns, where moreover a fine is always provided for besides the flogging (cf. Mehmed II's *ḥikm-nāme* in *M. O. G.*, i. [1922], 13 *seq.*).

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Krešmarik, *Beiträge zur Beleuchtung des Islam. Strafrechts*, in *Z.D.M.G.*, lviii. (1904), 65, 556 sqq. — For the traditions see Wessink, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, Leyden 1927, s. v. *Punishment*. (HEFFVENING)

TAZIYA (A.), a. expression of sympathy in general, & the passion play of the Shi'is. The word, a verbal noun from *taziya* II, is not found in the *Kur'ān* (but cf. *ta'iz* in lxv. 37), but occurs in all schools of fiqh at the end of the book on public worship in the section, or in the separate book, *al-jana'iz* = burial, where sympathy is requested for the relatives. Among the Shi'is it means in the first place the lamentation for the martyred imāms, which is held at their graves and also at home. In particular, however, it is mourning for Husain. The *tasbūt*, a copy of the tomb at Kerbelā', in popular language is also called *taziya*. It is a model kept in the house, often very richly executed. *Taziya* however means particularly the mystery play itself. The time for its performance is the first third of the month of Muharram especially the 10th *Ras-i Kāfi*, the day of the murder of Husain and of the 'Ashūrā' festival [q. v.]. The local usages in Persia and in the Shi' regions of Mesopotamia and India are very varied. In a wider sense the plays include the street processions such as the cavalcade with Husain's horse, the marriage procession of Husain's son al-Kāsim with Hasan's daughter Fātima (see below), the procession to the cemetery with the *tasbūt*, all popular celebrations of a kind at which the deepest grief does not exclude a part being played by comic figures.

Lastly *taziya* means the actual performance of the passion play itself. The stage is erected in public places, in caravanserais, even in mosques and in *imām-hāṭṭā* specially erected for the festival. The chief properties required for the stage are a large *tasbūt*, receptacles in front to hold lights, also Husain's bow, lance, spear and banner. The participants in addition to the players are the *raṣṣa-shāhīn*, the poet, lit. he who pronounces the eulogy for the dead. He speaks the introduction and with gestures indicative of lamentation chants a *khusha* [q. v.] with many laments in a voice of lamentation surrounded by a choir of boys called *peš-shāhīn*, lit. announcers, while the *nūṣa-shāhīn*, dressed as mourning women utter the lamentations of the women and mothers. The spectators are separated according to sexes. They are given *mukh*, cakes of earth from Kerbelā' steeped in musk, on which they press their foreheads in abject grief. While on the stage the hunger and particularly the thirst of the martyrs is most realistically expressed, water and other refreshments are provided for the spectators. The gratuitous provision of the whole spectacle and everything connected with it including payment of the poet is not only an obligation on the well-to-do but a meritorious pious work "for he builds himself the palace in Paradise" when he builds the stage. The sayids play a prominent part in these festivals, for their descent from Husain gives them a special claim to gifts from the charitable, which they often demand with great pertinacity.

The motives and to a great extent the words are the same in the great number of such plays which are often touched up and expanded by the poets (cf. the catalogues of MSS.). The commonest are Persian but they also exist in Arabic and Turkish.

The term drama can only be applied with reservation to the series of sometimes 40–50 independent tableaux which constitute the performance. The events, especially the actual death of Husain, are prophesied from the beginning in all details by Gabriel to the early prophets and Muhammad himself, foreseen in dreams, foretold and afterwards narrated again and again.

The characters in the play are, in addition to the angels, principally taken from the story of redemption including the Old and New Testament. Their fate is frequently compared with that of the martyr. Jacob and Joseph confess that Husain and his children have suffered more than they have; Eve, Rachel and Mary understand the mother's anguish of Fātima; Muhammad, given by the angel of death the choice of surrendering to him his little son Ibrahim or the little Husain, abandons to him the former so that the latter may be preserved to die as a redeemer. Muhammad and 'Alī are only brought in as subsidiary to Husain, who even as a child plays the principal part in their thoughts and hours of death. The brother Hasan and his relation to Husain is very much idealised. Of the latter's nearer relations, there appear in addition to the spirit of his dead mother Fātima, his sisters Kulthūm and Zainab, his wife Shahrabānū, daughter of Yazdegird III, and his son 'Alī Akbar, who falls in battle. Very popular is the wedding of his and Shahrabānū's daughter Fātima with Husain's son al-Kāsim celebrated just before the catastrophe, in which the bridegroom is almost immediately killed. The death of a little son and a small nephew who are struck by an arrow, while clasped to his bosom aims at producing a great effect on the spectators, while the surviving son 'Alī Zain al-'Ābidin plays the main part in the mournful procession which brings the head and the captured women and children to the caliph Yazid I. If this procession spends a night on the way in a Christian monastery, the prior pronounces the Muslim confession faith before the head. Similar scenes are introduced with Jews and pagans and with Christian ambassadors at the caliph's court. The humility of a lion which pays homage to the head of the martyr produces a great effect on the audience.

More important, and also more serious, is the fact that these spectacles produce a completely biased view of the figures of early Muslim history upon the Shi'is: such are Salma-i Fārisi, Abū Dharr, Bilāl, al-Hurr who goes over to Husain, all on the Shi'a side and the enemies of Abū Bakr and 'Umar who are represented as depriving Fātima of her inheritance, the oasis of Fadak, with cruel blows. No distinction is made among the non-Shi'is: 'Alī's slayer Ibn Muljam is not for example branded as a *khāridjī* [q. v.]: his murder likewise is laid to the charge of the Sunnis. Ibn Sa'd, the leader of the hostile force, Shammar who is said to have dealt the fatal blow, and especially Yazid I are painted in the blackest colours. The fury against the Sunnis is so pronounced that non-Muslims are tolerated as spectators but certainly not non-Shi'a Muslims. National hatred of Arabs (and also Turks) is seen in such scenes as that in which Husain's widow Shahrabānū returns to her home in Persia or the young Fātima II is rescued by a Persian king.

The scenes mainly written in the *hasadī*-metre have grown out of various sources, but the material

and the words are often old: verses of the Qur'ān, interpreted from the Shī'a point of view, and particularly old traditions with Shī'a bias, which are clothed in a form calculated greatly to impress the hearers; sentences from the *khutbas* are found as early as Tabari. Whole sermons, curses and prayers are already found in the earliest Shī'a literature [cf. *SHI'A*], in Ibn Bābiyya, Kulaini, Shaikh Tusi, especially in the chapters *Ziyārat* (visits to tomb) in the books on pilgrimage and the imāmate and also in the *maṣṣūf* works. There also are found many hymns, while on the other hand songs of lamentation are still written in modern times.

Judged from the effect on the spectators the *ta'ziya* is a most impressive spectacle. Strangers, who cannot appreciate the inner significance of it, may find its broad realism repulsive, especially in the closing scenes where the decapitated head is the principal speaker and actor. They might easily get the idea that the spectators are simply revelling in the pain and cruelty of the spectacle. The real significance can only be ascertained from an unprejudiced examination of what is actually said. As already indicated the plays are full of dogmatics with emphasis on Shī'a *hadiṭh*. It is possible that with the primitive nature of the production, touching and exciting scenes are introduced simply for their own sake. But the leading idea is a soteriology that rules everything and is brought out, in harmony with the text books but in much more clear fashion. Here we will only refer the reader to one of these mysteries easily accessible in Chodsko (see *Bibl.*). In the very first scene "The Messenger of God" Gabriel, representing Hsuan as sharing his brother's fate, announces to Muhammad: "Thy two grandchildren shall fall under the blows of a very contemptible enemy, not because they have in some way transgressed God's laws; no, the filth of sin has never soiled a member of thy family, o Phoenix of the Universe! Rather are they sacrificed for the salvation of the people who adopt Islam so that the law of the martyrs shall eternally reflect the brilliance of the elect of God. If thou desirest the forgiveness of the sins of these evil-doing peoples, do not oppose the two roses of thy garden being plucked before the time!" (p. 5 *sq.*) And after this theme of the vicarious death for the forgiveness of sins has been again and again clearly formulated, the mystery comes to its logical conclusion in the last scene, in which the whole hierarchy of patriarchs from Adam to Hsuan's mother Fātima is assembled round the sacred head. To Fātima her father Muhammad (p. 215) says: "Thou art right to weep for thy slain child soaked in his noble blood; but there is a secret about the true reason of this martyrdom; as the price of this martyrdom God us the Day of Judgment will give into our hands the keys of Paradise and of Hell!" How old such ideas of this salvation by intervention are, is seen from the prayers of those "penitents" under Sulaimān b. Šurād who fortified themselves to fight to the death against the Omayyads by doing penance at Hsuan's grave four years after the battle of Kerbelā; they wanted to atone for their guilt which they had brought upon themselves by not having fought or died with the dead Hsuan. One of them, 'Abd Allāh b. Wāh al-Taimi, calls Hsuan and his brother and father the "bond (of reconciliation) (*waṣīla*) with God on the Day of Judgment". Tabari, II,

347, records this from Abū Mikhnaf but on the authority of an 'Alid, Hsuan's grandson Muhammad al-Bakir, through a Shī'a authority Salama b. Kūhall; but the latter, generally considered a Zaidi, does not belong to an ultra-Shī'a school.

In their elaborate form, the *ta'ziya* are recent and at one time could not be carried through without opposition from the motives on account of their crude dogma and irreligious accompaniment of dances and processions. Adam Olearius who witnessed great celebrations in Ardabīl in 1637 does not mention *ta'ziya*, nor does J. H. Tavernier (cf. *Vierzig-jährige Reisebeschreibung*, Nürnberg 1681, p. 178 *sqq.*) mention any special play among the Muharram ceremonies in Isfahān in 1667; on the other hand it was noted for example by J. Morier in 1811 in Teheran. It is probable that ancient rites of earlier mythological festivals like the Tammuz and Adonis cults have survived in the subsidiary plays which in India have been adapted by some Sunnīs and even Hindus; the banners for the processions, a large staff, the hand which is carried round by those who summon to the festival and is now interpreted as the hand of Hsuan which was cut off, have thus their ancient prototypes. That the significance of the sacred properties has altered is shown by the fact that among the Shī'a Tatars the *ta'ziya* is called the "marriage house of Kāsim". In many places there are accompanying rites with water, which were originally indigenous; the throwing of the *ta'ziya* into water among the Indian Shī'a may be due to Hindu influence. Even the style of the mourning garments is partly influenced by earlier forms. But the passion play itself is the popular expression of that religious feeling which has its roots in the historic fact of Kerbelā.

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(R. STROTHMANN)

TAZWIDJ. [See NIKAH.]

TCHAD. [See TSH.]

TEBESSA, a town in Algeria, 106 miles S. E. of Constantine and 12 from the Tunisian frontier in 35° 25' N. Lat. and 8° 5' E. Long. (Greenwich); the population is 10,399 of whom 1,614 are Europeans. It is the capital of a mixed commune of 425 sq. miles, corresponding to the territory formerly occupied by the confederation of the Nammascha, with 56,991 inhabitants, of whom 56,963 are natives.

Tebessa lies in the centre of a plateau of an

average height of 3,000 feet bounded by the masses of the Osmor and of the Djebel Dukkân, eastern extensions of the Aurès, well watered by wells coming from the mountains; this region was once covered by dense forests; now almost entirely cleared of trees except in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, which is surrounded by a girdle of gardens, it is very well fitted for growing cereals, which is done by both natives and Europeans. This circumstance, along with the position of the town at the intersection of the roads from the plateaus of Numidia to central and southern Tunisia, made Tébessa an important market. Since the beginning of the 20th century the exportation of the phosphates worked in the vicinity of the town and sent southwards by rail to Sûk Ahras has brought increased activity to Tébessa.

Tébessa corresponds to Thēvesta, where in 25 B.C. Augustus established the head-quarters of the Third Legion Augusta. The town which grew up around the camp had 30,000 inhabitants by the time of Trajan. Raised to the rank of a colonia by Septimius Severus, it was at this time considered the most important and most populous town of Roman Africa next to Carthage. Some writers give it a population of 100,000. It declined after this period. After suffering considerably in the social and religious troubles of the fourth century, it was taken and sacked by the Vandals in the fifth century. Recaptured by the Byzantines, it was restored by Solomon. He built fortifications around it partly out of materials from old buildings and thus made it a vast citadel. Nevertheless it passed into the hands of the Moors i.e. of the Berbers in 597, then to the Arabs in 682 (45 A.H.) after a battle the memory of which is preserved in the *Futûh Ifrîkiya*. Tébessa henceforth shared the destinies of this part of Africa. It belonged to the Aghlabids, to the Fâtimids (from whom Abû Yâsîd took it temporarily), then to the Zirids and the Almohads. The Ghâniya took it on two different occasions without being able to hold it permanently. It finally fell to the Hafsids who held it for centuries but their hold on it seems always to have been rather precarious. The Turks took it, probably at the end of the 15th century, and put a garrison into it to watch the lands on the Tunisian frontiers which were being disputed by the powerful confederacies of the Hanafis and the Namângha. At this date Tébessa consisted of the town itself enclosed in the Byzantine walls and the village of the *amviya* inhabited by the descendants of the marabout Sidi 'Abd al-Rahmân and by freed negro slaves.

The population of the town is very heterogeneous: families originally from the neighbouring small towns of Oukes and Bekaria, immigrants from Tunisia from Djârid, Kulugla, born of the union of soldiers of the garrison with women of the country. The last element finally became predominant and forced the Hanafî ritual upon the majority of the population. After the capture of Constantine by the French in 1837, the Turkish garrison fled into Tunisia and the town was left defenceless against the attacks of the nomads. To put an end to this some of the notables appealed to the French. French troops appeared before Tébessa in 1842, and again in 1846; a permanent garrison was established there in 1851 and a European colony soon began to gather round the military establishments.

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TEHERAN (TEHRÂN), i. the capital of Persia.

The name. The Arab spelling Tihirân survived down to the beginning of the 20th century. The Arabs frequently rendered by *t* the initial *t* of Persian names (aspiration?). The Arab Yâqût however admits the pronunciation Tihirân; the Persian Zakariyâ Kâzwinî only gives this form. The short *i* in modern Persian is regularly pronounced like a short *e*, whence the European transcriptions: Teheran etc. (already in Clavius and della Valle; Chardin; Thérân). The pronunciation Tâhrân is unknown in Persia but the Turks of Constantinople, whose language sometimes preserves the oldest form of Persian words, say Tahran.

The origin of the name is uncertain. The popular etymology: *tâh* + *rân* "he who chases the people to the depths of the earth" is clearly based on Yâqût's story. *Tâh* might correspond to *tâh/tik* "depth" in a northern dialect. We know several names combined with *tâh* (Stack, i. 97; ii. 13: *tâhdâsh* < *tâh-dâsh*). It is tempting to see in the second element *-rân* a contraction of the name Raiy (Raghân > Raiyân > Rân); the whole would then mean "at the bottom, down from Raiy", but this suggestion is difficult as there is another Tihirân near Isfahân. It is however curious that the name of the latter has become Tihirân > Tihirân, while the capital has retained its original form.

H. Schindler, *East Pers. Irak*, London 1896, p. 131 sees in Tihirân, *tih-rân* "plains" (Vullers, i. 486, *etc* "planities, desertum"). In order to explain *tih-r* we have to start from its final form *tr*, but certainty will only be attained when the word in its original form *tih-r* is found in documents. The preservation of *-r* (< *tr*) shows a word of the northern group (in the south *tr* becomes *r*). H. Schindler compares the name Tihirân to that of the mountain *Shimrân* (written *Shamrân*; cf. below) in which he sees a plural of *shamar*, "mountain on which the water is kept to supply the plain" (*Shamrân-i Sâfî*, without an example). *Shamar* as a rule means "pond, reservoir" (Vullers, ii. 462) which gives quite good sense. In any case the name must have a common origin with that of the Dailam castle *Shamrân* (cf. *TAROM*).

Position. Teheran lies in 51° 25' 28" E. Long. and 35° 41' 6.83" North Lat. in a depression (*land*) below the outer spurs of the Alburz. The pass of Sar-i Tawâl, which is a dozen miles north of the town, is 12,000 feet high. This chain does not form the watershed with the Caspian basin: from behind Sar-i Tawâl rise the rivers of Karadj and Djâdjârd, both of which run towards the Central Persian desert. A southern spur of the chain runs along the right bank of the Djâdjârd and forms a barrier to the east of the plain of Teheran. It is called Se-Pâyâ ("tripod"). The little town of Shâh 'Abd al-'Azîm lies at its southern end. The ruins of Raiy (q.v.) lie between this town and Teheran. The altitude of Teheran is 3,810 feet (H. Schindler). The ground rises im-

mediately to the north of the town and forms 3 stages from Teheran to Kaş-i Kādīr (3 miles), from there to Zarganda another 3 miles (alt. 4,500 feet), from there to the foot of Tawāl.

Here on the slope of the mountain is the verdant district of Shīmrān, which not only gives a cool retreat for the people of Teheran in the summer (May–Sept.) but also provides the city's water-supply. Teheran has no river; water is brought to it by some thirty deep subterranean conduits (*qanāt*, *kāris*) from 5 to 10 miles in length, which come from the springs in the mountain.

The climate of Teheran, agreeable in winter, is unhealthy in summer; typhus and other fevers and dysentery are endemic there; every evening mist rises from the soil which is soaked by irrigation and envelops the town. Otherwise the climate is dry. According to the observations of H. Schindler, *Klimatafelde aus Persien*, *Pet. Mitt.*, 1899, p. 361–370, made in Teheran during 17 consecutive years (1892–1908), the annual snowfall and rainfall varied between 134.25 (1901) and 330.75 (1904) millimetres. The winter of 1894–1895 was distinguished by a complete absence of snow or rain. During the summer of 1905–1906 there was not a drop of rain. The snowfall in winter varied between 16.50 and 96.25 mm. The average fall in mm. and the temperatures $^{\circ}$ C per month were as follows:

November	32.26	10.8 $^{\circ}$ C	May	12.66	23.9 $^{\circ}$ C
December	34.20	5.8	June	1.58	29.7
January	46.03	1.1	July	1.11	29.7
February	28.12	5.5	August	1.30	28.9
March	47.72	8.6	Sept.	1.31	25.5
April	35.56	15.5	Oct.	8.64	18.9

The mean annual temperature is 16.9 $^{\circ}$ C with the extreme limits of +42.2 and –16.1. Other meteorological observations are given in Brugsch, *ii*, p. 475–481 and in Stahl, p. 52.

The choice of Teheran as capital is represented by certain writers (Kinnaird, Curzon) as proof of the wisdom of the Kādīrs who wanted to control the northern frontier. In reality, the choice of Teheran was dictated primarily by the desire of the Turkish dynasty of the Kādīrs not to be too remote from their ancestral fief of Astarābād and to remain in contact with the Turkish tribes of northern Persia. The majority of early travellers (Olivier, v. 87; Dupré, *ii*, 187; Flandin, *i*, 235) emphasise the disadvantages of the site of the capital (want of water, bad climate, distance from the great roads). Some of these defects have been considerably mitigated by the improvements introduced since their day, but the main inconvenience, the eccentric position of the capital, will be felt when the development of the natural resources of the south of Persia will make clear their importance for the life of Persia. The following distances have been calculated by H. Grothe, *Persien*, Frankfurt 1911, p. 98–99:

Teheran—Anzali	220 miles
Teheran—Tabriz	360 "
Teheran—Meshhed	578 "
Teheran—Muhammara	660 "
Teheran—Bughahr	764 "
Teheran—Bandar-Abbas	980 "

Routes. Fairly good natural roads connect the capital with the provinces. For communication with Māsandsarān a road passable only by horses

and mules, was built by the Austrian engineer Gasteiger Khān in 1875. Between 1883 and 1892 a carriage road was begun by the Persians and finally finished of the English company of Lynch Brothers (95 miles). Communication with Russia used to be by Karwin–Tabriz–Djulfā–Tiflis. In 1850 a regular line by Russian steamers began to run between Baku and Anzali. Although, as the crow flies, the distance between Teheran and the Caspian is only 70 miles, the passage of the Alburz was always very difficult. In 1893 the Russians obtained the concession to build a carriage road from Rasht to the capital (it was opened as far as Mandjil on Jan. 1, 1890 and to Teheran on Sept. 15, 1890). Henceforth the great majority of travellers took this route, which has also become of considerable commercial importance. Since the Russian revolution, all kinds of Russian enterprises have been introduced into Persia. Since 1917 there has been a motor-car service between Teheran and Baghdād, recently continued to Basra (Syria). An aeroplane service has put Teheran within a day's journey of Baku. Since the accession to power of Rūfī Shāh, a plan for a trans-Persian railway has been drawn up and even partly put into execution (1928). It is to connect Teheran on the one hand with the Persian Gulf (Khōr-Mūak through Lūriān) and on the other with the Caspian (Bandar-Gaz via Fīrūkūh).

The province of Teheran. It consists of six districts (H. Schindler): 1. Shahrīār on the N.W. on the right bank of the Karadj; 2. Sawdibulāh (q.v., No. 2) to the N.W. of Shahrīār; 3. Fashāwiya (Pāshāpūya) to the S.W. of the town in the direction of Rabat-Karim; 4. Waramin (q.v.) to the S.E.; 5. Shīmrān to the north of the town, with 63 flourishing villages, of which the principal is Tadjīn; the villages of Kolhāk (Gulhāk) and Zarganda are occupied by the British and Russian legations respectively, to which they were given in 1835 by Muhammad Shāh; 6. Kārān, to the north of Shīmrān on the upper course of the Dīdārūd. As subdivisions of less importance, the Persian map gives Ghār immediately to the south of Teheran (with the little town of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīm); Lawānūt to the east of Shīmrān; Kand (Kan) and Sawlāqān to the west of Shīmrān; Shahrīstān to the north of Kand; Arange between Kand and Karadj.

Early references. De Goeje (*Istakhrī*, p. 209 k) proposed to identify with Teheran the *MITAN*, *MITAN* or *MINAN*, mentioned by *Istakhrī*, p. 209, Ibn Hawqāl, p. 366 and Mukaddasī, p. 375. This hypothesis has again been revived by Muhammad Khān Karwīn, *op. cit.*, p. 39. But according to Yāqūt, *i*, 769 (although late and not very explicit), the place Bihān which represented the old site of Rai lay 7 farsakhs (?) from this latter town, while the same geographer places Teheran as one would expect 1 farsakh from Rai. The earliest reference to Teheran is provisionally that of the *Fārināma*, *G.M.S.*, p. 134 (written before 510 = 1116); its author talks highly of the pomegranates of Teheran, also mentioned by al-Sam'ānī (in 555 = 1160), *G.M.S.*, p. 373. But independently of these references, the village of Teheran must have existed before the time of *Istakhrī* (in 340) for Sam'ānī mentions his ancestor Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad b. Hammād al-Thirānī al-Rāzī, who died at 'Askalān in Palestine in 261 (874). According to the *Kādat al-Shādūr* (written in 599 = 1203), G.

M. S., p. 293, in 361 the mother of the Saljuq Sultan Arslān, who was on her way from Raiy to Nakhicawān made the first stop (the regular *naqli mākan* of the Persians) "near Teheran". The Sultan himself occasionally stayed near Dulāh (the name of a place to the S.E. of Teheran, where the Russian cemetery now is). Ibn Isfandiyyār in the history of Tabaristān (written in 613 = 1216; G. M. S., p. 19) narrating the wars of the kings of the Persian epic says that Afrasiyāb's camp was pitched at the place where "Dulāh and Tihān" now are. Eight years later, Yāqūt gave a brief note on Teheran which he had visited just before the Mongol invasion. It was a considerable town with 12 quarters. As the dwellinghouses in Teheran were built underground and the gardens around the town were very thick, the town was well protected and the government in its dealings with the inhabitants preferred to be tactful with them. Civil discord raged to such an extent in Teheran that the inhabitants tilled their fields with the spade from fear lest their neighbours should steal their animals. Kāzwinī (674 = 1275) compares the dwellinghouses in Teheran to the holes of yarbūb (*ku-nāghāzi 'i-yarbūb*) and confirms Yāqūt's account of the character of the inhabitants; cf. *Aḥḥār al-Bilād*, p. 228.

All later writers note the subterranean dwellings, but only Ker Porter (I. 312) says in this connection that 200—300 yards from the Kāzwin gate he saw inside the town "an open space full of wide and deep excavations or rather pits", which served as shelters for the poor and stables for the beasts of burden (cf. plate 57 in *Hommaire de Hell*). This must be a reference to the old *darmāza-yi naw* (*ghāghāgh*) to the south of which the quarter is called *Ghār* ("caves"). This name is also applied to the whole district stretching to the south of Teheran. As to the troglodyte life in the vicinity of Teheran, cf. Eastwick, I. 294: a village to the east of the bridge of Karāfi, and Crawshaw-Williams, *Rock-dwellings at Rainah*, J. R. A. S., 1904, p. 551; 1906, p. 217.

The growth of Teheran was the result of the disappearance of other large centres in the neighbourhood. The decline of Raiy dates from its destruction by the Mongols in 617 (1220). In the Mongol period Teheran is occasionally mentioned in the *Djāmī al-Tawārikh*: in 683 (1284), Arghūn, after the victory gained near Ak-Kh'wāja (= Sāmikān, *Nushat al-Kulūb*, p. 173) over al-Yanak, Ahmad Takūdār's general, arrived at "Tihān of Raiy" (cf. Muhammad Kāzwinī, *op. cit.*, p. 38). In 694 (1294) Ghāzān coming from Firūzkūh stopped at "Tihān of Raiy" (Dorn, *Antiquaire*, p. 138). According to the *Nushat al-Kulūb* (written in 1340; G. M. S., p. 55), Teheran was a considerable town (*ma'tsar*) with a better climate than Raiy. Formerly (*mā qabl*) the inhabitants of Teheran were very numerous. The last remark may support the hypothesis of the identity of Teheran with BIZĀN (?).

In the Timurid period the village of "Tihān of Raiy" is mentioned in 806 (1403) as the place where the Shāh-sāde Rustam spent 20 days to assemble the troops with whom he marched against Iskandar-Shāikh Calāwi (*Zafar-nāma*, II. 572 = *Maḥḥal al-Sādān*; Dorn, *Antiquaire*, p. 175). About the same time (July 6, 1404) Teheran ("ciudad que ha nombre Teheran") was visited for the first time by a European traveller, the Spanish

Ambassador Clavijo (ed. St. Petersburg 1881, p. 186; transl. Le Strange, London 1928, p. 166). At this time the province of Raiy was governed by Timur's son-in-law, the Amir Sulaimān-shāh (*Zafar-nāma*, II. 591; Clavijo, p. 189, 351; Zuleman or Cumalexa Mirassa). He lived in Warāmin (Vatami). The town of Raiy (Xahariprey) was not inhabited ("agora deshabitada"). In the tower of Teheran was a representative of the governor and there was a house where the king stopped on his visits ("una posada sule el Señor sule estar quando alli venia"). Teheran had no walls.

The Safawids. Under the Safawids the capital was moved in turn from Ardabil to Tabriz and then to Kāzwin and finally to Isfahān. The district of Raiy was no longer of great importance. There were only two towns of note in it: Warāmin, which after a brief spell of glory under Shāh Rukh had rapidly declined, and Teheran. According to Ridā Kull Khān (*Rawdat al-Safā-yi Nāqiri*), the first visits of the Safawids to Teheran were due to the fact that their ancestor Saiyid Ḥama was buried there near Shāh 'Abd al-Azīm. The prosperity of the town dates from Tīmāshp I who in 961 built a bazaar in it and a wall (*kāra*) round it which, according to the *Zinat al-Madā'ir*, was a farsakh in length (*Mir'at al-Buldan*: 6,000 *gām*, "paces"). The wall had 4 gates and 114 towers, the number of the Sūras of the Qur'ān (on each of the towers a sūra was inscribed). 114 towers are still given in Berzin's plan (1842). The material for the construction of the citadel was procured from the quarries of Čāl-i Maidān and Čāl-i Hīḡir, which have given their names to two quarters. Ahmad Rāji, himself belonged to the district of Raiy, talks in laudatory terms of the incomparable abundance of the canals and gardens of Teheran and the delights of the plateau of Shāmīrān, and of the neighbouring district of Kand and Selaḡān (MS. Bibl. Nat., Suppl. Pers., N^o. 357, fol. 436—467, the greater part of which is devoted to the great men of the old town of Raiy). According to the *Madā'ir al-Ma'mūn*, the village of Sulāghān was founded by the celebrated Saiyid Muhammad Nūrakhsh, founder of many religious movements, who died in 869 (1464).

In 985 Teheran was the scene of the execution of Prince Mirzā, whose enemies had accused him to Shāh Ismā'īl II of aiming at the throne. In 998 (1589) Shāh 'Abbās I going against the Uzbek 'Abd al-Mu'min Khān fell severely ill at Teheran (*Alam-nāra*, p. 275), which enabled the Uzbeks to seize Meshhed. It is said that this gave Shāh 'Abbās a great dislike for Teheran. It is however from his time that the building of the palace of Čahār Bāgh dates, the site of which was later occupied by the present citadel (*ark*). Pietro della Valle visited Teheran in 1618 and found the town larger in area but with a smaller population than Kāshān. He calls it the "town of plain-trees". At this time a heglerbegi ("gran capo di provincia") lived in Teheran; his jurisdiction extended as far as Firūzkūh. In 1627 Sir Thomas Herbert estimated the number of houses in Teheran at 3,000.

The Afghāns. On the eve of the Afghān invasion Shāh Husain Safawi made a stay in Teheran and it was here that he received Durri-Efendi, the ambassador of Ahmad III (at the beginning of 1720; cf. *Relation de Dourri Efendi*, Paris 1810).

Here also was dismissed and blinded the grand vizier Fath 'Ali Khān 'Ismā' al-Dawla ("Athemar" of the Europeans) which precipitated the debacle; cf. Krusinski (publ. by Du Croccon), *Hist. des évén. de Perse*, 1742, i. 295. Shāh Husain only returned to Isfahān (June 1, 1721; La Mamyre Clairac, i. 200) to lose his throne. Tahmasp II made a stay in Teheran in August 1725, but, on the approach of the Afghans, he fled to Māzandaran. European writers say that Teheran resisted and Ashraf lost many men (Krusinski, *op. cit.*, p. 351; La Mamyre Clairac, *Hist. de Perse*, 1750, ii. 230; Hanway, ii. 234). Some time afterwards Teheran fell in spite of the feeble attempt by Fath 'Ali Khān Qājār to relieve the town (cf. Olivier, v. 89 and *Mir'at al-Buldān*). According to this last source, the *Darwāzay-i Darda* and *Darwāzay-i Arā* gates date from this period, for the Afghans everywhere showed themselves careful to secure the ways of retreat. The reference is of course to the old gates of those names.

After the defeat of Ashraf at Milimāndūst (6th Rabi' I, 1141 = Sept. 20, 1728) the Afghans in Teheran put to death the notables and left for Isfahān. The inhabitants fell upon the impediments they had left and through negligence a powder magazine was exploded (*Histoire de Nadir Chah*, transl. Jones, London 1770, p. 28). Ashraf himself was soon driven out of Warāmin and Shāh Tahmasp II returned to Teheran.

Nadir. In 1154 (1741) Nadir gave Teheran as a fief to his eldest son Rūḡa Kuli Mirza, who had hitherto acted as ruler of all Persia. The nomination to Teheran was preliminary to the fall and blinding of the prince; cf. Jones, ii. 123; Hanway, ii. 357, 378; 'Abd al-Karim, *Voyage de l'Inde à la Mecque*, ed. Langlès, 1825, p. 93.

During the fighting among the successors of Nadir, 'Ali Shāh 'Adil (1160 = 1747) took refuge in Teheran but was seized and blinded by Ibrahim's supporters (*Tārīkh-i Isfahān-i Nadirīya*, ed. O. Mann, p. 34). After the fall of the Nādirids, Teheran passed into the sphere of influence of the Qājārs, rivals of Karim Khān Zand.

Karim Khān. In 1171 (1757) Sulṭān Muḥammad Hasan Khān Qājār, after an unsuccessful battle with Karim Khān near Shirāz, retired to Teheran where his army was disbanded. Having learned that he had withdrawn from Teheran, Karim Khān sent his best general Shaikh 'Ali Khān there with an advance-guard. With the help of Muḥammad Khān Dawala, Muḥammad Hasan Qājār was killed and Karim Khān with his army (*ordū*) arrived at Teheran in 1172 (1759). The head of Muḥammad Hasan Khān was buried with all honour at Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīm. The next year the order was given to build at Teheran a seat of government (*Imārat*) "which would rival the palace of Chosroes at Ctesiphon", a *dhūm-khāna*, a *harām* and quarters for the bodyguard; cf. Sadiq Nāni, *Tārīkh-i Gilt Gulshān*, Bibl. Nat., Suppl. Pers., N^o 1374, fol. 29. Sanī' al-Dawla added to these buildings the garden Dānān and says that Karim Khān intended to make Teheran his capital. It was to Teheran that 'Alī Muḥammad Qājār, captured in Māzandaran, was taken to Karim Khān, who treated him generously, for which he was very badly requited later. In 1176 however, Karim Khān decided on Shirāz to which he moved the machinery of government. Ghaffar Khān was left as governor in Teheran.

The rise of the Qājārs. Karim Khān died on the 13th Safar 1193, by the 20th Safar 'Alī Muḥammad was in Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīm and the next day he ascended the throne (*Qānu*) in the vicinity of Teheran (*Mir'at*, i. 325). Teheran however passed into the sphere of influence of 'Ali Murād Khān, half-brother of Dīlār Khān Zand (*Tārīkh-i Zandīya*, ed. Beer, p. 8, 13, 25). In 1197 (1783) 'Alī Muḥammad Khān made a first attempt to get possession of Teheran but the governor Ghaffar Khān Tihāni managed to procrastinate and an outbreak of plague forced 'Alī Muḥammad to withdraw to Damghān (*Mir'at*). After the death of 'Ali Murād Khān (1199 = 1785) the town was beleaguered by 'Alī Muḥammad's troops. The inhabitants did not wish to surrender the fortress (*ka'sa*) before 'Alī Muḥammad had taken Isfahān. The news of the advance of Dīlār Khān Zand from Fārs caused 'Alī Muḥammad's troops to disperse. He was however received with open arms by the chiefs of Teheran (*ākhūn wa-amūl*) and henceforward the town was his capital (*maḥzar-i salṭanat*, *dār al-salṭana* and later *dār al-khilāfa*), from which he led the expeditions which united all Persia under his rule. According to the *Ma'āthir-i sulṭani*, transl. Brydges, *Dynasty of the Kajars*, p. 18, Teheran became the capital in 1200 (1786) and the foundations of the palace were laid then. After the capture of Shirāz all the artillery and munitions of the Zands were taken to the new capital. The last Zand king Luṭf 'Ali Khān, blinded and kept prisoner in Teheran, was put to death there in 1209 and buried in the sanctuary of the *imām-shāh* Zand; *ibid.*, p. 25, 30, 76, 82, 101.

After the assassination of 'Alī Muḥammad Shāh (21st Dhu 'l-Hijja 1211 = June 16, 1797) his brother 'Ali Kuli Khān appeared before the capital but the prime minister Mirza Shaf' would not allow him to enter. In the meanwhile the heir to the throne Bābā Khān (= Fath 'Ali Shāh) was able to reach Shirāz and after the defeat of the second claimant Sadiq Khān Shakaki was crowned at the beginning of 1798. The Shākaki [q. v.] prisoners were employed to dig the ditch of the capital (cf. Schiechtel-Wesshrid, *Fath 'Ali Shāh una sine Thronrivale*, *Stb. A. W. Wien*, 1864, ii, p. 1-31).

During the period of Anglo-French rivalry a series of ambassadors visited Teheran: on the one side Sir John Malcolm (1801 and 1810), Sir Harford Jones Brydges (1807), Sir Gore Ouseley (1811) and on the French side Gen. Komier (d. at Teheran in 1806), A. Jaubert (1806), Gen. Gardane (1807). The Russians concentrated their efforts on Tabriz, the residence of the Persian Crown Prince. It was only after the treaty of Turkmanīn (q. v.; 1828) that the Russian minister A. S. Griboyedow paid a short visit to the capital. Just before his return to Tabriz, Mirza Vaḡūb, one of the Shāh's chief eunuchs, an Armenian of Erjān forcibly converted to Islam, presented himself at the Russian legation and asked to be repatriated by virtue of article 13 of the treaty. This "apostasy" provoked an attack on the Russian embassy and on Feb. 11, 1829, 45 members of it were massacred (Griboyedow, his secretaries, Cossacks and servants). The tragedy took place in the legation's quarters (house of the *zambānkāh-sāzi* near the old Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīm gate; now the street called Sar-pūlak in the Zargashāh

quarter). On the death of Griboyedow, celebrated in the annals of Russian literature, cf. *sub anno* Rīdā-Khān, *Ruṣiyyat al-Safā-yi Nāqiri*, Tih-rān 1274 (1858); Mirzā Taqī Khān, *Tārīkh-i Kāfīrīyye*, Tih-rān 1273 (1857), i. 221; Sam' al-Dawla, *Tārīkh-i Muntazim-i Nāqiri*, ibid., 1301 (1883), p. 144; *Rélatien des événements qui ont précédé et accompagné le massacre de la garnison ambassade russe en Perse*, *Novae Annales des voyages*, 1830, part. 48, p. 337-367; Berge, *Smart Griboyedowa*, *Russ. Starina*, 1872, xlii. 162-207; Mal'akhinsky, *Podlinnoye slovo*, *Russ. vestnik*, 1890, vi. 160-233; Zukovski, *Persidskiye letopisy*, *Novoye Vremia*, 1890, No. 5068; Allahverdiants, *Konklna Griboyedova po arkhivnim isbraniyam*, *Russ. Starina*, 1901, No. 10, p. 44-58; Minorsky, "Tana krevi" Griboyedowa, *Russ. Mysl*, Prague 1923, iii. 1-15.

When the death of Fath 'Alī Shāh (Oct. 19, 1834) became known in the capital his son 'Alī Mirzā Zill-i Sultān proclaimed himself king under the name of 'Adil Shāh and struck coins. But the heir to the throne Muḥammad Mirzā arrived from Tabriz, accompanied by representatives of Britain and Russia, and entered the capital without striking a blow on Jan. 2, 1835. 'Adil Shāh only reigned for six weeks (cf. Tornau, *Aut. d. neuesten Geschichte Persiens*, Z. D. M. G., 1849, p. 1-15). The succession of the next three Shāhs took place without incident (cf. Kāshgharī) (even after the assassination of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh on May 1, 1896). The history of Teheran under these Shāhs is that of all Persia. The tranquillity of the town was only disturbed by epidemics and the periodical migrations caused by famine; cf. the rioting on March 1, 1861 described by Eastwick, *op. cit.* and Ussher, *Journey from London to Persia*, London 1865, p. 625.

Among the more important events may be mentioned the persecution of the Bābīs [q. v.], especially in 1850 after the attempt on Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. The movement against the concession of a tobacco monopoly to the Tobacco Monopoly Corporation in 1891 also started in Teheran; cf. Browne, *The Persian Revolution*, Cambridge 1910, p. 46-57.

The Revolution. Since the Persian revolution, the capital, previously somewhat isolated from the provinces, has rapidly become the political and intellectual centre of this country. The chronology of the events of the period is as follows: The *hast* of the merchants in the *Mangīd-i Shāh*, Dec. 1905. The *hast* of the constitutionalists at the British legation from July 20 to Aug. 3, 1906. The opening of the *Madjilis* in the palace of Bahārīstān on Oct. 7, 1906. The heir to the throne Muḥammad 'Alī Mirzā signs the constitution on Dec. 30, 1906. Death of Muḥammad al-Dīn Shāh on Jan. 8, 1907. The assassination of the Atābeg Amin al-Dawla on Aug. 31, 1907. Counter-manifestations by the "absolutists" from Dec. 13-19, 1907. Bombardment of the *Madjilis* on June 23, 1908. Capture of Teheran by the nationalist troops commanded by the Sipahdār-i A'zam of Rasht and the Sardār-i As'ad Bakhtiyārī on July 13-15, 1909. Abdication of Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh on July 16, accession of Sultān Ahmad Shāh on July 18, 1909; cf. Browne, *Persian Revolution* and D. Fraser, *Persia and Turkey in Revolt*, London 1910, p. 82-116; on the events of May 12, 1911 to Jan. 31, 1912, information will be found in

Morgan Shuster, *The Strangling of Persia*, London 1912. In 1915 Teheran became involved in the Great War. The representatives of the Central Powers nearly carried Shāh Sultān Ahmad off to Kum with them. The capital was outside of the zone of military operations proper but on several occasions movements of troops took place in its vicinity (skirmish on Dec. 10, 1915 near Rahāt-Karīm between Russian Cossacks and the Andr. Highmat's gendarmes who were on the side of the Central Powers; cf. Emellanow, *Persidskii front*, Berlin 1923). Down to 1917, Russian troops controlled the region between the Caspian and Teheran. From 1918 English troops took their place; cf. Dunsterville, *The Adventures of Dunsterforce*, London 1920. The division of Persian Cossacks commanded by the old Russian instructors was also employed to protect Persia against a possible offensive from the north. The Russian officers were dismissed on Oct. 30, 1920. The greater part of the division was stationed at Kāzin where an English force under General Ironside was still quartered. On Feb. 21, 1921, 2,500 Persian Cossacks who had come from Kāzin under the command of their general Rīdā-Khān occupied the capital. Sayyid Dīyā' al-Dīn formed the new cabinet (Feb. 24-May 24) and Rīdā Khān was appointed commander-in-chief (*Sardār Sipah*; cf. J. M. Balfour, *Recent Happenings in Persia*, London 1922). Towards the end of 1923 the Shāh Sultān Ahmad left the country at the same time as the prime minister Kāwām al-Saltāna (from June 4, 1923), who was accused of intriguing against the Sardār Sipah. The latter remained master of the situation and was finally crowned on April 25, 1926 (cf. PAHLAWI).

Growth of the town. Yāqūt's account of the houses of Teheran suggests that the oldest part of the town is in the south (the Ghār quarter) and that it developed from south to north (i.e. from the desert to the mountain and to the springs). There is little left in Teheran of the Zand period. The modern town has been entirely created under the Qājārs.

Olivier who visited Teheran in 1796 says that the town, which looked entirely new or rebuilt, was in the form of a square of a little more than 2 miles (3), but only half of this was built upon. The population did not exceed 15,000 of whom 3,000 were soldiers and Olivier remarks with justice that "the gold scattered around the throne" did not fail to attract inhabitants. The palace in the citadel was built in the time of Ākā Muḥammad Shāh. In the *Tālār-i tahdāt-i Marmar* were placed the pictures, glass and marble pillars taken from the palace of Karīm Khān in Shirāz. Under the threshold of a door were buried the bones of Nāṣir Shāh so that the Qājār prince could trample over them every day (Ouseley). On the accession of Rīdā Shāh the bones were taken from there.

According to General Gardane (1808), only the poor remained in Teheran in summer, but in winter the population reached 50,000.

Morier (1808-1809) says Teheran was $4\frac{1}{2}$ —5 miles in circumference. Kinneir about the same time put the summer population at 10,000 and the winter at 60,000. The town was surrounded by a strong wall and a great ditch with a glacis but the defences were only of value in a country where "the art of war was unknown".

Usuley (1811) counted 6 gates in Teheran, 30 mosques and colleges and 300 baths; he put the population in winter at 40–60,000. Ker Porter (1817) mentions 8(?) gates before which large round towers were built (cf. his plan) to defend the approaches and control the exits. In winter the population was from 60–70,000.

Fath 'Ali Shāh had considerably improved the town but towards the end of his reign it passed through a period of neglect. According to Fraser (1838), there was not another town in Persia so poor looking; "not a dome" was to be seen in it. Under Muhammad Shāh things were improved a little.

Bernsin has given a particularly detailed description of the palace (*dar-i dawlat-khāna*) with its four courts and numerous buildings (Dawlat-khāna, Daftar-khāna, Kulāh-i firangī ["pavilion"], Sandūk-khāna, Zargar-khāna, 'Imarat-i Shīr-i Khosrōshid, Sarwistān, Khalwat-i Shāh, Gulistān). The same traveller gives a plan of the palace and of the town, very important for the historical topography of Teheran. At this date (1842), the town within its walls measured about 3,800 Persian *arṣā* (roughly yards) from west to east and 1,900–2,450 from north to south, i.e. occupied an area of about 3 square miles (Polak's calculation, *op. cit.*, p. 223: 83,750 square metres is obviously wrong). The citadel (*arṣ*) was in the shape of a parallelogram (600 *arṣā* W. to E. by 1,175 N. to S., i.e. a fourth of the whole town). The north side of the *arṣ* touched the centre of the northern face of the outer wall. Gardens occupied the parts of the town next the wall. The most animated quarter was that which lay to the S.E. of the citadel in the direction of the Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīm gate. Only five gates are marked on this plan. The only open space, the Maidān-i Shāh close to the citadel on the south side, was not large (cf. the plate in *Honnaitre de Hell*). Among the mosques that of the Shāh and the *imām-i ʿāli* of Zaid and Yahyā alone are of any importance. Gardane had seen the *Masjid-i Shāh* being built in 1807. Its inscription from the hand of the court calligrapher Muhammad Mahdī is dated 1224 (1809), but according to Schindler, the mosque was not finished till 1840 (cf. Fraser above).

The plan by Krzib (1857) much resembles that of Bernsin, but around the town he marks by dotted lines the bounds of a new extension of the town, which according to an explanatory note by Dr. Polak, had been begun considerably before 1857. Polak himself in 1853 had built a hospital to the north of the north gate of the town. These new buildings were few in number and not built under any regular scheme. In 1861 the town was still within the old square; the population was 80,000 in summer and 120,000 in winter (Brugsch).

The new town. A radical change took place in 1860–1874 (cf. Carzon, Stahl and H. Schindler; the official figures on the projects for the development of the town have not yet been discovered). The town was extended on all sides. The old ditch and the bulk of the walls disappeared. Teheran assumed the form of an irregular octagon surrounded by new fortifications (bastions of earth, with fosses) modelled on those of Paris but of no military importance. According to Carzon, i. 305, the work was done during the famine of 1871; cf. Brittenbank, *Persia during the famine*, London 1873. The town was given 12 gates. The

old gates were retained within the city but their names were transferred to the corresponding gates on the new lines of fortification. The latter are 20,000 yards in length; the area now occupied by Teheran is $7\frac{1}{2}$ square miles (H. Schindler). Before the old Dāwar gate the important Tūp-khāna (arsenal) 250×120 yards was built, surrounded by the artillery barracks. A camp de Mars (*Maidān-i Mash*) even more spacious (550×350 yards) was laid out N.W. of the Tūp-khāna. Two parallel and important arteries, Khayāṭān-i 'Alī al-Dawla and Lāṭāfi, now run from the Maidān-i Tūp-khāna to the north. The old promenades outside the walls, Lāṭāfi, Nigristān etc., were incorporated in the town. The new quarters attracted first of all the foreign legations. The first French (Gardane) and British (H. Jume, Usuley) missions had been lodged in the house of Amin al-Dawla near the old Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīm Gate. In the time of Usuley a British legation was built on land belonging to the Zamburakī-bashi which the Shāh gave to the English (it was near another estate of the same owner that Griboyedow was assassinated). The new British legation was built in 1870 at the end of the 'Alī al-Dawla avenue. When the Russian legation was definitely established in Teheran in 1834 it was lodged in the house of the grand vizier Fāḥr al-Mīrā Agha in the *arṣ* itself. In 1880 the Russians built themselves a legation in the Pāmīnār quarter (east of the *arṣ*) but in 1915 they finally settled in the "park of the Atabeg" immediately to the north of the English. The Turkish and French legations are east and west of the English. The European shops and the Persian notables have followed the legations but the centre of trade is still the old bazaar, which is entered to the south of the *arṣ*.

Teheran has no fine public buildings. The mosque of the Sipāhsālār (Mirzā Husayn Khān, d. 1298 = 1881) is the most imposing edifice in Teheran in the new quarter on the N.E. beside the Bahārīstān palace, which has been occupied since 1906 by the Majlis; the building was begun in 1296 (1878), cf. *Ma'āthir al-Aḥbār*, p. 83, and finished about 1890. Its Madrasa bears the date of 1302 (1884).

The principal beauty of Teheran is the large private houses with their gardens and fountains. Around it there are many country houses and palaces of the Qājār style, which is not negligible from the artistic point of view and which continues the traditions of Safawī architecture. Such is 'Iḥsāt-ābād just north of Teheran; see the picture in Carzon, i. 34 (cf. p. 226 and in d'Allemagne the pavilion of the Shams al-'Imāra in the *arṣ*). The chateau of Kāz-i Qājār is now in ruins (cf. the plates in Saltykoff, de Coste and *Honnaitre de Hell*). The hunting-lodge Yowshān-tāp, "hill of hyssop" (popularly called Dowshān-tāp = "hill of the hares"), situated at the foot of the mountain of So-pāyā (to the east of Teheran), is connected with the town by a good road (3 miles) opened on Oct. 14, 1874 (Sorena). Pious people of the town make the pilgrimage to Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīm, a little town beyond the ruins of Raiy [q. v.]. The railway from Teheran to this sanctuary is 5 miles in length (with two branch lines, one a mile long and the other $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles); it was built between 1888 and 1893 and till 1915 was the only railway in Persia. The use

of gas was introduced into Persia in 1875 (Serena); electric light began to be used about 1905.

Under the Pahlavi regime considerable public works have been undertaken in the town. A Society of Friends of Old Teheran was founded in the capital in 1926 and it is to be hoped that it will be able to describe and protect what there is remarkable among the buildings of the Qājār period.

Teheran which still continues to grow towards the north, is now the largest city in Persia. In 1878 Mme. Serena reckoned the population at 200,000 in winter and 80,000 in summer. In 1900 Stahl gave 250,000 in the city and 350,000 in the 670 adjoining towns and villages. Balfour (1921) quotes a Persian testimony to the effect that the minimum number of inhabitants of Teheran is 250,000 while the "reasoned highest figure" may be 380,000 (for the province of Teheran these figures are 700,000 and 800,000).

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2. A village in the province of Isfahān (in the district of the lower Kārwān, to the N.W. of Isfahān). Sam'ānī, p. 373, knows the two Tihāns of which "that of Raiy is better known than that of Isfahān". He mentions several traditionists born in the village, the oldest of whom is 'Uḡlīl

b. Yahyā Abi Sālih, d. in 358 (871); cf. also Yahā. The name is now pronounced Tiran; cf. Čirlikov (1850), *Persian Journal*, p. 138, but Hingsch, ii, 39 writes Tehran. According to Hontom-Schindler, *East. Persian Trav.*, p. 124, 127, 131, near Isfahan there is still a Tihān ("Tiran Ahangaran"). The Tiran canal (which runs from there?) waters the Mahalla-yi now and Rūdāūd quarters of Isfahan. (V. MIKORSKY)

TEKE or **TEKKE**, a Turkoman tribe. They are not mentioned among the 22 (30 Mahmūd Kāshgharī, i, 56 sqq.) or 24 (30 Kāshgharī al-Dīn, ed. Beresin, *Trud. Vost. Ost. Arkh. Obsh.*, vii, 32 sqq.) Oghuz tribes. At a later date they are described as descendants of the Salar [q. v.]. Abu 'l-Ghāṣī [q. v.] comprises the Teke with two other tribes, the Sarīk and the Yomut, under the name "Outer Salar" (*ahli Salār*; ed. Desmaisons, p. 209). In his still unprinted history of the Turkomans, Abu 'l-Ghāṣī describes the Sarīk and Teke as descendants of the Salar Toi-Tutmas (transl. Tumanskiy, p. 67). From certain passages in Abu 'l-Ghāṣī's great work (see index in Desmaisons' edition) it is evident that the Teke in the xth (xvth) century and xth (xvth) century lived on the Balikhān [q. v.] and Kūren-Dagh. There were also traders in this nomad tribe (cf. *ibid.*, p. 324: *rawdagar*).

Towards the end of the xvth century the Teke began to move eastwards, where they gradually displaced the Emreli (descendants of the old tribe of Kīmūr) and the Karadaghlī (descendants of the old tribe of Yarghūr or Yargh) from the Akhal [see AKHAL-TEKKE] and the Sarīk from Sarakhs [q. v.] and Merw. The final occupation of Merw by the Teke did not take place till 1857 and 1859 under Kowshut-Khān (d. 1878); in the fighting with him in 1855 the Khān of Khīwa (see KHĪWA) was killed at Sarakhs and in 1860 the Persians were defeated at Merw.

After the establishment of the Russians on the Balikhān (foundation of Krasnovodsk in 1869) the Teke had to be conquered. Fighting began in 1877 (occupation of Khat-Arwat by the Russians and the attack by the Teke on Čikighar and Krasnovodsk itself in 1878) and was only ended in 1884 by the conquest of Merw, although the whole tribe of the Teke according to the Russian calculations only numbered about 300,000 and did not form a single political unit. There were a large number of separate leaders who claimed the title of Khān; but even those among them who distinguished themselves by personal ability or valour (in addition to Kowshut-Khān, especially Nūr Weird Khān who died in 1880 in Gök-Tepe) could only influence a small section of the tribe. The fighting during the siege and storming of Gök-Tepe (Jan. 12–24, 1881) was particularly bitter. This was the only fighting in Central Asia in which the Russians lost standards and guns.

Since the establishment of Russian rule, more especially since the revolution, the various tribal names included that of Teke have lost their special significance before the general term "Turkoman".

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TEKE-ELI, a district in Asia Minor, formerly the land of the Teke-oghlu [q. v.] in Pamphylia and Lycia.

Teke-eli, i.e. land of the goat (*teke* = goat, not *tekke*, from which we find the name erroneously derived as early as J. Leunclavius), lies in Southern Anatolia and comprises roughly the land around Finika, Elmali, Istanos, Istawros and the two ports of Adalia [q. v.] and Ala'ya [q. v.]. In the north, Teke-eli was bounded by the districts of Karaman [q. v.], Hamid-eli [q. v.], in the east by Is-eli, in the west by Mentesh-eli [q. v.]. In the south the sea forms the natural frontier. The early history of Teke-eli, like that of the petty dynasty of the Teke-oghlu, is rather obscure. Connections with Persia must have existed very early and it is to them that must be traced the peculiar position of this country from the religious point of view. A certain Spanish Sadr al-Din had formed a strong religious community there, which was spared by Timur in his campaign through Asia Minor. Teke-eli and the adjoining country of Hamid-eli from this time onwards has been particularly partial to "Persian Shakhism" (cf. F. Bahlinger, *Scheich Bahr al-Din*, p. 85 sq.; cf. also J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii, 344 for Djanab's evidence). It is a fact that many 'Alid risings have taken place in Teke-eli, as for example that strange rebellion of Baba Shāh Kull of Bazarjile (near Adalia; cf. F. Bahlinger, *ibid.*, p. 88 sq.) in April 1510, which was closely connected with Safawi rule [q. v.] in Persia, and Teke-eli is inhabited by 'Alid sectarians like the Tahhtadlis [q. v.] whose position is peculiar in several respects. In the history of the trade of the Levant, the ports of Adalia and Ala'ya play a prominent part. In the ninth (sixteenth) century they were the most important centres for the export of the products of Asia Minor to Alexandria and Damietta; Adalia was able to maintain its independence till 1450 while Ala'ya did not pass to the Ottomans till 1477. On the history of Teke-eli cf. the article **TEKE-OGHLU**.

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TEKE-OGHLU, a dynasty in Anatolia, which ruled over Teke-eli [q. v.]. The origin of the Teke-oghlu has not yet been elucidated. It is more than probable that they

are connected with the Teke Turkomans just as the Ughs 'Khadis-oghlu' (q.v.) are presumably to be connected with the Torgghulus (cf. *Isis*, xii. 102). The history of the Turkoman tribes scattered over Asia Minor who included also the Warsak (the *Sapradie* of Chukomylens, p. 243) is wrapped in obscurity. As to the Teke Turkomans, they are known to have frequently changed their place of settlement (cf. J. v. Karabach, *Zur ar. Altertums-kunde*, iv.: *Muhammad. Kunststudien*, in the *S. B. Ak. Wien*, vol. 172, *Abhandl.* 1, Vienna 1913, p. 32 sq.); they belonged to the Kizilbash, who were known to have been disseminated over Teke-eli. The ancestor of the Teke-oghlu is given as a somewhat legendary Teke Beg, also called Teke Pasha, who ruled over Adalia under Seldjuk suzerainty. His son Yunus Beg succeeded him but nothing is known of his reign. When in 733 (1333) Ilm Hattüta travelled through Adalia, he found Yunus' son Khidr Beg ruling as chief of Teke-eli (cf. HAMID). He was succeeded by his brother Mahmud Beg, about whose reign we are no better informed. In 774 (1372) we already find his son Mehmed Beg in his place (cf. Salimân Fikri, *Anfüllung Tâ'rihi*, p. 62). Ewliyâ Celebi in his *Travels (Seyâhat-nâme)*, cf. *T. O. E. M.*, No. 2 (79), p. 81 mentions an Arabic inscription of 774 (1372) dating from him. Otherwise we know practically nothing of Mehmed Beg's activities. In 794 (1392) Sultan Bâyezid I Yildirim put an end to the principality of Teke-eli and incorporated it in the Ottoman empire (cf. Sa'id al-Din, *Tâ'ri al-Tawârikh*, i. 128 sq.). Ottoman rule only lasted till 805 (1402) when a son of Mehmed Beg named 'Othmân Celebi appears as ruler. Two years later he made an alliance with several other rulers who had meanwhile risen to power. Twenty years afterwards (827 = 1424) 'Othmân Celebi again appears in history, when he was defeated and slain at the siege of Adalia by the Ottoman governor of Karahisar-Sâhib (q.v.), Hamza b. Firâs Beg (cf. *Solâk-nâme, Tâ'rihi*, p. 155 sqq.; J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 425). A sister of 'Othmân Celebi passed into Ottoman captivity; cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 425. With her the line of the Teke-oghlu probably became extinct. Its genealogical table is as follows:



The Teke-oghlu *Derebeyi* (q.v.) mentioned by European travellers in the region of Adalia as late as the reign of Mahmud II can hardly be connected with the dynasty of the name; on them, see F. Beaufort, *Karamania*, London 1817, p. 118 sqq.; W. Turner, *Journal of a Year in the Levant*, London 1820, iii. 386; C. R. Cockerell, *Travels in Southern Europe and the Levant*, London 1903, p. 182 and V. Cuiet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i. 860.

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E. v. Zambaur, *Manuel de Géologie*, Hanover 1927, p. 155; Ahmad Tawhid, *Über die Inschriften von Adalia*, in *T. O. E. M.*, No. 83, 1924, p. 336.

(FRANZ BÄHRINGER)

TEKĪ-KHĀN, Mīrzā, better known by his title of Amīr-i Nīzam, prime minister of Persia. Of humble origin (his father was cook and later maître d'hôtel to the Ḳā'im-mahmūd, prime minister to Muhammad Shāh), he entered the service of the commander-in-chief of the army and accompanied Khusrāw Mīrzā on his embassy to St. Petersburg. By rapid promotion he became visier of the army in Ādharbāidjān, representative of Persia on the frontier commission of Erzerūm, and chief officer of the heir presumptive, Nāsir al-Dīn, who appointed him prime minister when he came to the throne in 1848. He refused the title of Sāde-i A'zam (q.v.) and took that of Amīr-i Nīzam.

He undertook to remedy the abuses which were ruining the country, such as the sale of the public taxes, the enormous number of pensions given to unworthy individuals, the embezzlement of public funds practised by officers at the expense of the soldiers. He succeeded in putting the finances of the state on a sound footing. He became brother-in-law of the Shāh.

He had made many enemies and a conspiracy was made to assassinate him; but it was discovered in time. He persecuted the Bābī movement, arrested the principal followers of the new teaching and ordered the officers of state to proceed with their execution. The soldiers regularly paid were devoted to their chief; this state of affairs disturbed Nāsir al-Dīn who dismissed Tekī-Khān. The Russian minister having said the Czar would protect him, he was exiled to Kāshān but assassinated two months later in his palace at Fin (1851). The loss of this able and energetic man was a great misfortune for Persia.

Bibliography: de Gobineau, *Trois ans en Asie*, Paris 1859, p. 238 sqq.; E. G. Browne, *History of Persian Literature in Modern Times*, Cambridge 1924; P. M. Sykes, *History of Persia*, ii. 441, 442, 448, 449; Polak, *Persien*, Leipzig 1865, ii. 6 sqq.

(CL. HUARY)

TEKUDER (the name is also written Tagudar and Teguder in learned works), as a Muslim called Ahmad (e.g. on his coins with inscriptions in the Mongol alphabet and language), a Mongol ruler (Ilkhān, q.v.) of Persia, 681—683 = 1282—1284. On his brother and predecessor see ABĀKA, on his fall and successor see ARGHUN. Tekuder is said to have been baptised in his youth with the name Nicolas (*Mosheimi Historia Tartarorum Ecclesiastica*, Helmstedt 1741, p. 71). Immediately after his accession, his conversion to Islam was announced. According to some sources he turned churches and temples of idolaters into mosques; on the other hand, Bar Hebraeus says he was tolerant of all creeds, especially the Christian. His adoption of Islam was taken as a basis for negotiations with Egypt for the establishment of friendly relations between the two kingdoms; cf. the letter of the Ilkhān of the middle of Djumādā I 681 (Aug. 1282) and the reply of the Sultan of Ramadān (December) of the same year, in d'Ohsson from Wassaf. During these negotiations, however, two fortresses in the frontier lands of the Mongol empire were occupied by Egyptian troops.

Bibliography: d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iii. 550 sqq.; Hammer, *Geschichte der seldschuk*, i. 320 sqq.; Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii. 285 sqq.

(W. BARTHOLO)

TELL, a term applied by the European geographers to the district of north Africa lying near to and along the sea-coast. It is the Arabic word *tell* "hill". The Tell area is an undulating region covered with ranges of hills belonging for the most part to the Atlas system interspersed with plateaus of varying extent and height. As a result of the beneficial effect of the moist winds from the Ocean and the Mediterranean, the Tell is the best watered region in North Africa. It is the land of systematic agriculture and forests in contrast to the desert and prairie. As a result of the arrangement of the hills of North Africa, the Tell zone is by no means uniform in breadth; very broad on the Atlantic side of Morocco, it is reduced to a very narrow strip in Algeria and Tunisia. Cf. the articles: ALGERIA, ATLAS, BEKERS, MOROCCO, TUNISIA.

(G. VYER)

TELL AL-AMARNA, site on the right bank of the Nile, opposite the little town of Mallawi, in the province of Minya. The distance between the Nile and the mountains (here called *Djabal al-Shaikh Sa'id*) is about 3 miles, while to the north and the south the mountains come close to the river, leaving an area of about 5 miles in length. One of the villages situated here is called al-Tell (or al-Till); Tell al-Amarna seems to be a "European concoction" (Flinders Petrie) and is properly Tell al-Amārina, from the tribe of the Banu 'Imrān (or 'Amrān), who live here and on the opposite bank of the Nile. The site is famous for having been, during 20 or 30 years, the residence of Amenophis IV., to which he retired from Thebes after having instituted the worship of the sun-disk; his town was called Ekhet-Aton. As the place never was a town again, the remains have been preserved in rather good condition. Excavations have been conducted since 1888 by the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft and by Prof. Flinders Petrie, and, after the war, by the Egyptian Exploration Society. Of particular importance were a large number of clay tablets, found in the "Rolls House" to the east of the town, and containing in cuneiform script the correspondence of Asiatic rulers with the Egyptian king. These tablets are for the greater part in the Berlin Museum.

The antiquities of Tell al-Amarna seem to have been scarcely known to the Arab writers. To the north lay the now nearly deserted town of Anṣīnā (Antinoö) and, on the other side of the Nile, al-Ashmūnain; Ibn Hawqāl (p. 105) and Yāqūt (i. 670) know a place called Būṣīr lying opposite this last town, but do not give further indications. Quatremère identifies al-Tell with the place Pīnauia, where, in Roman times, there was a garrison (cf. also *Description de l'Égypte*, 2nd ed., Paris 1829, vol. xviii/iii, p. 100).

Bibliography: 'Alī Pasha Muḥarrak, *al-Khiṭāṭ al-fīnānīya*, x. 43; Quatremère, *Mémoire géographique et historique sur l'Égypte*, Paris 1811, i. 39 sqq.; W. M. F. Flinders Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, London 1894, p. 2; Baedeker, *Ägypten*, 1928, p. 237 sqq.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

TELL BÂSHIR, a fortress in Northern Syria, on the Nahr Sâḡūr near 'Aintālā, two days' journey north of Aleppo. It lies in a broad plain and according to Abu 'l-Fidā' was mainly inhabited by Armenian Christians; the Armenians explained its name Tīpēshār as a translation of the Armenian T'īl Avestē, i. e. "hill of the glad tidings (*avēstē*)" which it formerly bore (Matthēos Uhiyēc'i, ed. Dulanier, p. 330, 433 sq.). It had markets and a suburb (probably the modern Tell Bâshir Mezra'at S. E. of the fortress) and was surrounded by well watered gardens.

The town is mentioned as early as Assyrian times as Tīl Bâsērē (Salmannassar, *Mosulitā*, rev., i. 17; Dussaud, *Topographie hist. de la Syrie*, p. 468); on the other hand it has no connection with the hill Bâshīr nor with the Biblical Telesar (Sayce, *P. S. B. A.*, xxiii. 175; Dussaud, *op. cit.*, p. 464). Its name is not mentioned in classical antiquity; but the Tabula Peutingeriana mentions a *Thalassar* 15 Roman miles from Tigranocerta (Sachau, *AM. Pr. Ab. W.*, 1880, Berlin 1881, Abh. ii, p. 53; Markwart, *Handb. Arabisch*, xxx., 1916, col. 118 sq.).

Arab authors do not seem to mention Tell Bâshir before the Crusades. In 489 (1095—1096) Ridwān in alliance with Djanāl al-Dawla took from Yaghī Shāhān of Antākīya the fortresses of Tell Bâshir and Shīl al-Dair (Kamāl al-Dīn, transl. de Sacy, in Röhrich, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Kreuzzüge*, i., Berlin 1874, p. 216). In 1097 Tell Bâshir and Rāwandān were taken by Count Baldwin of Bourg, Godfrey's brother, and made part of the county of Edessa (Matthēos, *op. cit.*, p. 218, ch. cliv.). In 1102 Baldwin gave the towns of Kūrus (*Cortium*), Dulūk (*Tulupa*), Tell Bâshir (*Turberet*), 'Aintālā (*Hasab*), Rāwandān (*Rauindel*) and Sumānāt (*Samozatum*) to his nephew Joscelin de Courtenay as fiefs (*Recueil hist. or. crois.*, iii. 623; Will. of Tyre, x. 24; Röhrich, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerusalem*, p. 49, note 8). In 496 (1102—1103) the Franks moved from Tell Bâshir to the district of Halab, took Bâsarūt and were only repulsed at Kafarīthā by the Banī Ulāim (Kamāl al-Dīn in Röhrich, *Beitr.*, i. 231). After the defeat at Harrān in which Joscelin was captured by the enemy, his companions from Tell Bâshir went into captivity as hostages for him after a ransom had been fixed and he had been released to procure it (Michael Syrus, iii. 195; somewhat different in Frankish sources, cf. Röhrich, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerusalem*, p. 75, note 3). In 502 (1108—1109) Joscelin along with his uncle Baldwin (Baghdūwīn) and Dīwālī, with Tell Bâshir as his base, fought Tancred (Tanukt) of Antioch allied with Ridwān (*Rec. hist. or. crois.*, i. 266; Matthēos, *op. cit.*, p. 267; Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 75 sq.). A large Turkish army sent by Sultān Muḥammad under the Amīr Mawḥūd of Mawṣil, who appeared with the lords of Khilāt, Marāgha etc. In 504 (1111) before Tell Bâshir, besieged it for 1½ months in vain (*Rec. hist. or. crois.*, i. 282, 287; iii. 496, 542 sq., 599 sq.; Matthēos, *op. cit.*, p. 275; Michael Syrus, iii. 216; Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 90 sq.).

Ighātī at the end of May 1120 after being defeated by Joscelin between Kālīm and Bahasūl advanced against Tell Bâshir, which he besieged for several days without success (*Rec. hist. or. crois.*, iii. 623 sq.; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annal. Muḥ.*, ed. Reiske, iii. 396). In the following years the Halabīs were often harassed by raids from Tell

Bāshir (Kamāl al-Dīn, in *Rec. hist. or. crois.*, iii. 625 sq., 634). In 1124 Nūr al-Dawla Balāḥ was planning a campaign against Tell Bāshir, but he was mortally wounded before Manbidj [q.v.]. A note, not quite clear in Michael Syrus, iii. 211, seems to say, which is incorrect, that he took Tell Bāshir and three other fortresses from the Arabs and Franks. Joscelin I died towards the end of 1131 (Michael Syrus, iii. 232). He was succeeded by his son Joscelin II of Edessa, whose mother was a daughter of Leo I of Little Armenia. Unlike his valiant father, he was from youth upwards given to drinking and debauchery and spent his time in his palace in Tell Bāshir in riotous living (Will. of Tyre, xiv. 3; *convivationibus supra modum deditus, Veneris operibus et carnis delectatione immunditias, usque ad infamiam notam*). The region of Tell Bāshir had therefore soon to suffer repeated raids by Saif al-Dīn Sawār of Ḥalab (*Rec. hist. or. crois.*, iii. 665; Michael Syrus, iii. 230, 233; Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 197 sq.). The Emperor John II Comnenos invaded Northern Syria in 1142 and appeared before Tell Bāshir (Will. of Tyre, xv. 19; *Turbetur; est autem praedictus locus castrum opulentissimum circa Euphratem, ab eo distant miliaribus XXIV vel modicum amplius*); Joscelin II had to give hostages and gave him his daughter Isabella to wife (Will. of Tyre, *loc. cit.*).

The raids of the Saljūq Sultan Maṣ'ūd (Michael Syrus, iii. 294—296; Röhrich, p. 263, note 1) and his ally Nūr al-Dīn who defeated the Franks at Tell Bāshir in 546 (1151—1152) (*Rec. hist. or. crois.*, iv. 16, 68) still further weakened Joscelin's power. When, in May 1150, he was taken prisoner and interned in Ḥalab, Maṣ'ūd who had already attacked Tell Bāshir in the previous year (Matthæos, *op. cit.*, p. 330; Michael Syrus, iii. 296) took the fortresses of Knstīm, Bahasā and Raḥān, but could not take Tell Bāshir (Matthæos, p. 333; Michael Syrus, iii. 296 sq.; Will. of Tyre, xvii. ch. 15; Röhrich, p. 265 sq.). After he had withdrawn, the king of Jerusalem came to Tell Bāshir and brought the wife and children of Joscelin including the young Joscelin III from there to Jerusalem to safety. In Tell Bāshir, 'Azāz, al-Rāwandān, Rūm Kal'a, al-Bira and Samasā, he left garrisons of Byzantine soldiers, whom he had brought with him; but they could not restore the Franks (Michael Syrus, iii. 297; Will. of Tyre, xvii. 16). The garrison of Tell Bāshir by the 25th Rabi' I 546 (July 8, 1151) found themselves forced, after the fall of Dulūk to offer the keys of their town to Nūr al-Dīn, who appointed Ḥassān al-Manbidjī to receive their capitulation (*Rec. hist. or. crois.*, i. 29, 31, 497; iv. 73 sq.; Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reiske, iii. 516; Matthæos, *op. cit.*, p. 333; Michael Syrus, iii. 297). The Franks and Armenians were granted liberty to go to Antākya (Matthæos, p. 333; Röhrich, p. 281, note 2, where mention is wrongly made of an 18 months' siege of the fortress). Nūr al-Dīn handed Tell Bāshir over to Ḥassān who restored its defences and provided it with provisions for several years (*Rec. hist. or. crois.*, i. 498). On 12th Shawwāl 565 (June 28, 1170) Nūr al-Dīn went from 'Aḥṭarā via Ḥalab and Tell Bāshir to Mawṣil (*Rec. hist. or. crois.*, iv. 150). The emirs of 'Aintāb, Tell Bāshir and other places in northern Syria submitted in 1176 to Salāḍīn (Michael Syrus, iii. 366). In his retinue before 'Akkā was the Amir Badr al-Dīn Duldirim b. Bahā'

al-Dīn al-Yarūḳī of Tell Bāshir, who had successfully defended the stronghold in 579 (1183) against 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī (*Rec. hist. or. crois.*, iii. 71). In his pursuit of Ibn al-Muḥaddam, who had fled to Badr al-Dīn in Tell Bāshir, al-Malik al-Zāhir in 599 (1202—1203) took the fortress (Kamāl al-Dīn, transl. Blochet, in *R. O. L.*, v. 1897, p. 38) but lost it again (*R. O. L.*, v. 59). Badr al-Dīn was still ruling there in 615 (1218—1219) when Kalkā'ūs of Rūm took the fortress (*R. O. L.*, v. 57; *Rec. hist. or. crois.*, ii/1. 145). In the very same year al-Malik al-Aḥraf again took Tell Bāshir from the Saljūq Sultan and gave it with other places to Shihāb al-Dīn Tughril, Atābek of the young prince of Ḥalab (*R. O. L.*, v. 57; *Rec. hist. or. crois.*, ii/1. 146 sq.; p. 166; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annal. Muslim.*, ed. Reiske, iv. 266). Al-Malik al-Aḥraf of Ḥalab in 629 (1231—1232) seized the fortress and installed a governor in it and deposed the *nāib* of his Atābek Shihāb al-Dīn (*R. O. L.*, v. 82).

The Khwārizmians in 638 (1240—1241) attacked 'Aḥṭar, Tell Bāshir and Burdj al-Raḥḥā (*R. O. L.*, vi. 5). The ruler of Ḥalab, al-Malik al-Nāṣir, sent in 646 (1248—1249) a force under the leadership of the Armenian Shams al-Dīn Lūlū against him, the Amir of which, al-Malik al-Aḥraf, was forced after a two months' siege to surrender his town and was given Tell Bāshir instead of it (Abu 'l-Fidā', *op. cit.*, iv. 494). In 658 (1260) al-Malik al-Aḥraf of Tell Bāshir paid homage in Ḥalab to Ḥullāḡū who thereafter gave him back Himy (Abu 'l-Fidā', *op. cit.*, iv. 585; Weil, *Geogr. d. Chalifen*, iv. 13).

Sultan Baibars is said to have destroyed the fortress of Tell Bāshir (Ibn al-Shūḥnā, Bairūt ed., p. 170).

Bibliography: Yāḡūt, *Muḥjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 864; Saḥī al-Dīn, *Marāḥij al-Iḥṣā'*, ed. Juynboll, i. 210; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḥwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud, p. 232; *Annales Muslim.*, ed. Reiske, *passim*; Ibn al-Aḥṣar, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, Index, ii. 705; al-Dimishqī, ed. Mehren, p. 206; Kamāl al-Dīn, transl. Blochet, *R. O. L.*, iii. 524, note 2; Barhebraeus, *Chron. Eccl.*, ed. Abbeloos-Lamy, ii. 482; *Chron. Syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 316; Ibn al-Shūḥnā, *al-Durr al-muntakhab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab*, ed. Bairūt, p. 169 sq.; Matthæos Uhiayecī, transl. Dulaudrier, Index, p. 543; Michael Syrus, ed. Chabot, Index, p. 72; al-Makrīzī, transl. Quatremère, *Hist. d. Sult. Maml.*, ii/1. 205; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x. 1033; xvii. 1684; Rey, *Les colonies franques en Syrie aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, Paris 1883, p. 322; Sachau, *Reise in Syrien u. Mesopot.*, Leipzig 1883, p. 162—165; Ainsworth, *A personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, ii. London 1888, p. 412; Le Strange, *Palentine under the Moslems*, p. 42, 542; Sayce, *P. S. B. A.*, xxxiii. 1911, p. 175; R. Hartmann, *Z. D. M. G.*, lxx. 1916, p. 34, note 14; Gaudiefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, 1923, p. 92, 95, 219; Dussaud, *Topographie histor. de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, p. 436, 464, 468. (E. HONIGMANN)

TELL AL-KERĪR, a village in the Egyptian Delta, with a station on the Cairo-Zakāzīk-Ismā'īliya-Suez line, about 30 km. distant from Zakāzīk, 50 from Ismā'īliya. The station is some distance from the village on the north bank of the Ismā'īliya Canal. A market is held every Thursday. The Bedouin tribes of the neighbourhood

are the Hnadi, the Nafa'at and the Tūmīlāt. Wide stretches of sand-dunes and undulating desert land extend north and south of the Wādī, with traces of ancient fortifications and the grounds of buried cities. In the depression here, known as the Wādī Tūmīlāt through which flows the fresh-water canal, rich agricultural land is to be found. The province (*amḍīya*) is al-Sharḥīya; the district (*markaz*) Zuhārik. It is a police outpost. The inhabitants, as given by Boinet Bey, are 3,194, being the population of 3 *ahḥā* and 5 *ḥaḥra*. There are 4 *ahḥā*s and 3 *ḥaḥra*s. In modern times the place achieved fame as a result of the short but fierce encounter in 1882 between the British under Sir Garnet Wolseley and the Egyptians under 'Arabi Pasha. A small graveyard with the names of British soldiers who fell in the fight may still be seen.

Bibliography: Boinet Bey, *Géogr. Econ.*, p. 224; C. Royle, *The Egyptian Campaign*, London 1886, i. 312 *seq.*; Stanley Lane-Poole, *Watson Pasha*, p. 168 *seq.*; Prince Ibrahim Hilmi, *Lit. of Egypt and the Sudan*, v. v.; C. G. Gordon, *Journals*, p. 60; Milner, *England in Egypt*, p. 116; E. L. Butler, *Church of Egypt*, ii. 389; W. Scawen Blunt, *My Diaries*, ii. 38-39; Baedeker, *Egypt*, Index.

(J. WALKER)

TELLOH, a site in 'Irēk, consisting of a number of artificial mounds, covering an extent of 4-5 miles. It is situated on the eastern side of the Shaḥ al-Hayī, which links the Tigris to the Euphrates, at 8-10 hours from Nāsiriya. Here the French consul in Bagda, Ernest de Sarzec, discovered in 1877 archaeological remains. Under his guidance excavations were begun in 1880, as a result of which the site proved to be that of the Sumerian town of Lagash or Sirpurla. The greater part of the material excavated — including numerous statues of Gudea — was placed in the Louvre in Paris. After de Sarzec's death, in 1901, the excavations were continued by Cros.

Telloh is a local name, containing no doubt the word 'tell'. According to Schefer, the name may perhaps be derived from Tell al-Lawh, 'tablet-hill'.

Bibliography: E. de Sarzec, *Decouvertes en Chaldée*, Paris 1884-1912.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

TEMUČIN. [See ČINGIZ-KHAN.]

TENES, a town in Algeria on the coast, 125 miles from Algiers, 100 miles E. of Mostaganem and 35 N. of Orleans, a town in the valley of the Chelif; its position is 36° 30' 50" N. Lat. 1° 18' E. Long. (Greenwich). The town is built on a rocky plateau commanding the sea; the harbour lies below in a bay sheltered from the east winds by the bulk of Cape Tenes, but unprotected against the north and west which makes the anchorage unsafe in spite of the considerable work done to secure the protection of ships. Trade is confined to coastal traffic and the total of merchandise handled in the port hardly exceeds 19 to 20,000 tons per annum. A railway recently opened to connect Tenes with the valley of the Chelif will probably increase the trade of the port. Two miles south of the European town is a native village, with about 1200 inhabitants, called Old Tenes. It is built on a plateau along which runs on the east like a natural fosse, the Wādī Allala. Tenes is a commune de plein exercice with

6,207 inhabitants of whom 4,620 are natives; it is also the capital of a mixed commune with 51,959 inhabitants of whom 50,728 are natives.

History. The modern town occupies the site of Cartennar, a Phœnician and Carthaginian factory which became a Roman colony under the Empire. Sacked by the Vandals, then by the Arabs, Cartennar disappeared almost completely. In the time of al-Bakri, all that was left was a castle built on the shore and at the present day only insignificant traces of it have been found (remains of ramparts, cisterns and tombs). In the 13th (14th) century a new town was built two miles from the sea by adventurers from Spain. This is the modern Tenes. Al-Bakri dates its foundation to 262 (875-876) and attributes it to Spanish sailors who used to winter in the port. They invited thither people from Elvira and Marice some of whom, dismayed by the fevers, soon went back to the Peninsula; the others remained in Africa and were reinforced by Berbers from Saḥ Hādīm, a place in the valley of the Chelif. The primitive settlement of these immigrants, who were at first content to encamp in the fortress built by the Spanish Moors, gave place to a town surrounded by walls with a mosque and bazars. Traces of it still survive in Old Tenes where a part of the ramparts still exists, a bridge and notably the mosque mentioned by al-Bakri. In spite of the unhealthiness of the climate, Tenes rapidly prospered owing to the fertility of the environs which produced in abundance fruits of all sorts and cereals which, according to Idri, were exported abroad. Governed by a family of 'Alid origin, Tenes recognised the suzerainty of the Omayyads of Spain, who seem to have regarded this town as a place to which to deport any one they had reason to complain of. From the 10th (11th) century the town passed in turn under the dynasties who disputed the possession of the Central Maghrib: Fatimids, Saḥāḥja, Maghribwa, Almoravids and Almohads. After the dismemberment of the Almohad empire, it passed to the Ziyānids of Tlemcen, then in the second half of the 12th century threw off this yoke and formed an independent little principality ruled at first by members of the royal family, then by local shaykhs, the last of whom became a vassal of Spain. 'Arūdī [q.v.] took it in 1517 and a few years later Khair al-Dīn [q.v.] definitely established Turkish power there. Tenes was given a *ḥā'id* and a garrison. Henceforth its prosperity declined rapidly. The trade in corn with Europe which still went on in the xvth-xviii centuries completely ceased in the early years of the xviii century. The town was several times pillaged by the natives and rebelled against the Turks.

After 1830, Tenes was for a period independent. 'Abd al-Kādir who had incorporated this town in his possessions, tried without success to revive the trade of the port. In 1843, the inhabitants submitted without resistance to the French. Bugrand at once began to erect buildings intended to facilitate the provision of supplies for the troops operating in the valley of the Chelif. This was the origin of the present town.

Bibliography: al-Bakri, transl. de Slane, revised by Fagnan, p. 128; Idri, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, p. 73; transl., p. 96; Leo Africanus, transl. Schefer, iii. 56; Deussen-Lamare and G. Marguin, *La mairie du Vieux Tenes*, R.A., 1929.

(G. YVES)

TEPTYAR, a Turkish people who call themselves Tipter or Baghkir. According to Vambéry, the name is derived from a verb *tepte* "to roam" and means "rovers"; in Radloff's *Wörterbuch* (III, 1114) no such verb is mentioned and the word *tepter* only quoted as the "name of a tribe in the gouvernement of Orenburg". In Russian documents of the xviiith century the word *tepter* is frequently associated with the word *solit*, which is of course not a tribal name but means "peasant without land and family". According to Karasmin (vol. I, note 73), the Tepter were a mixed people composed of Ceremiss, Votyaks, Čuwash and Tatars, who had fled in the xvth century after the fall of the kingdom of Kasim [q. v.] to the Baghkir [cf. BAGHİR]. According to the modern view, the Tepter are a mixed people in which the Baghkir element predominates, but other elements from the Volga and Ural territory are represented. Their language is Baghkir. The Tepter took no part in the great Baghkir rising of the year 1755. At the present day, the Tepter live mainly in the gouvernement of Orenburg and also in the former governments of Ufa and Perm; their territory belongs to the autonomous Baghkir republic; they engage in agriculture and bee-rearing. Their numbers still are about 100,000, the figure given in older accounts. According to Vambéry there were beside Muslims, pagans among them and more recently also Christians. At the present day the Tepter are all regarded as Sunnis.

Bibliography: Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk in seinen ethnologischen und ethnographischen Beziehungen*, Leipzig 1883, p. 520 sqq.; I. Zarubin, *Sprache nordwestlicher Sibirien Sov. Sov. Respublik*, Leningrad 1927, p. 29, № 114.

(W. BARTHOLD)

TERDJUMĀN, turkicised form of the Arabic *tarjūman* (cf. Muhammad Hafid, *al-Ġhulāt al-mawḥūḥa*, p. 110) meaning an interpreter. The word is of Aramaic origin and early entered the Arabic language. Interpreters must have always played an important part in the commercial and diplomatic relations of Islamic states with foreign peoples, but their activity begins to enter into clearer historical light only in the vith (ixth) century; from that time date the earliest known treaties between Christian towns or states and Muslim rulers of the countries around the Mediterranean. From the treaties with the states in Northern Africa, as published and studied by de Mas Latrie, it appears, that the "torcimani" (for the other numerous Latin and Romance forms in that time cf. de Mas Latrie, *Introduction*, p. 189 sqq.) were an indispensable class of functionaries in the commercial chanceries, called "donane" (from *dinān*), that existed in the sea-ports accessible to foreign trade. Nearly all commercial transactions took place through the intermediary of these interpreters, who often formed a kind of hierarchy; evidence given by them was accepted everywhere. Special duties were levied on merchandise negotiated through their intermediary. These interpreters were originally appointed by the local authority; they were Muslims, Christians or Jews; in certain places a particular interpreter was charged with the interests of each foreign nation. Some of these functionaries had to be present at the still more important business of concluding treaties and, when needed, of interpreting treaties, when there were difficulties

concerning the text. In these cases the name of the interpreter was specially mentioned in the text of the treaty. It appears likewise from those texts, that some of them were especially attached to the local ruler. The existence of interpreters in Syria is also mentioned by the French sources on the Crusades.

Under the Ottoman Empire the position and the function of the interpreters in the different administrations remained practically the same as it had been in former centuries. But, as commercial and diplomatic relations became more frequent and more important in time, the need of good and reliable interpreters increased and so we find more and more mention of them in historical sources. The most common name for them in European sources is the Italian form "dragoman" or "dragoman", at the side of which the French "truchement" remained a long time in use. In the many Turkish sea-ports all the Turkish government offices had their dragomans, as was also the case with the consulates of foreign nations that were established there. The position of the dragomans in the capital was naturally more important; the foreign embassies had many in their service.

The most important post was, however, that of dragoman to the Turkish government. As a special office, it was perhaps already in existence under Muhammad II, but the first dragoman to the Porte, who is mentioned was the *pa bashi* 'Ali Beg, who brought the peace treaty of 1502 to Venice. After him came Yunus Beg, who died in 948 (1541—1542) and went often as emissary to Venice; he was the builder of a mosque in Constantinople called Darughman Masdjidi (*Sicill-i 'Othmāni*, iv, 677; *Hadikat al-Djauāmi*, № 226). Yunus Beg was a Greek and his successor Ahmad was originally a German from Vienna called Heina Tulman. Another dragoman in the service of the Porte in the xvth century was Murad Beg, a Hungarian who was captured in the battle of Mohács, and known as the author of an apologetical treatise on Islam and especially of a trilingual hymn in Turkish, Latin and Hungarian (published by F. Bahlinger, in *Literaturdenkmäler aus Ungarns Türkenzeit*, Berlin 1927; cf. also p. 38 sqq. of this book for historical data about the dragomans of the Porte). About this time there probably were already several dragomans in the service of the Porte, one of whom was the *pa bashi terdjumān*; they were almost without exception Christians (Greeks, Germans, Italians). As the foreign relations between the Ottoman Empire became more important and more complicated, the influence of the interpreters of the Porte increased, until, in the xviiith century, the position of dragoman of the Porte became almost hereditary in the powerful Greek families of Mavrogordato and Ghika; it became the custom that, after having occupied the office of dragoman, they were appointed as prince of one of the Danube principalities. As it was still a rare exception, at this time, for Turks themselves to know European languages, the influence of these mediators on the foreign policy was necessarily very strong; on the other hand executions of former chief interpreters were not rare. It was only under the reign of Mahmūd II that, together with the increased importance of the activity of the Re'is Efendi [q. v.], the Turkish government was able to liberate itself from the help of these not overtrustworthy ser-

vants. A special study of the rôle played by the Porte dragomans on Ottoman policy has not yet been made. An incomplete list of them is given by von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vii. 627.

The dragomans of the embassies and consulates were often no less powerful international mediators. They generally belonged to the same class of people, i.e. local Christians, as those in Turkish service. The treaties or capitulations and also the diploma's (*berâts*) granted to them by the sultan, guaranteed them the protection of the nation which they served in the consulate or the embassy. One of their special functions, which is expressly mentioned in the capitulations, derives from the right of the consuls to be represented by their dragomans in the processes before Turkish tribunals, in which their subjects were involved. This function had developed very naturally from the part played by the dragomans since the middle ages. As, however, since the xviiith century, the influence of European Powers and their representatives in Turkey became preponderant, the interference in Turkish affairs, exercised by the dragomans, became insupportable to the Porte; moreover the consulates made a too extensive use of their right to appoint Turkish subjects as dragomans, withdrawing them thereby from the authority of their government. As a result of the remonstrances of the Porte, an agreement with the foreign missions was reached in 1863, by which the power of the embassies and consulates to appoint native dragomans was restricted. About this time, most of the European governments had begun, however, to create a special interpreter service from their own subjects, for which a proper training was required. In the second half of the xixth century and the beginning of the xxth century, the chief dragomans in the embassies of the great powers at Constantinople were still the acknowledged authorities for conducting negotiations of all kinds with the Porte, especially with regard to the interpretation of the capitulations and the application of the special extra-territorial rights derived from those treaties. When, however, in 1914 the Turkish Government abolished the capitulations, it refused at the same time to recognise foreign diplomatic or consular functionaries with the title of dragoman. Accordingly the title is no longer officially used in Turkey.

Bibliography: L. de Mas Latrie, *Traité de paix et de commerce et documents divers concernant les relations des chrétiens avec les Arabes de l'Afrique Septentrionale*, Paris 1866, p. 186 sqq., 285 sqq.; von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, index; Martens-Skeet, *Das Consularwesen und die Consularjurisdiction im Orient*, Berlin 1874; G. Pellissier du Ransay, *Le Régime des capitulations dans l'Empire ottoman*, Paris 1910; H. Alukvint, *Ein Dragoman-Diplom aus dem vorigen Jahrhundert*, Upsala 1891. (J. H. KRAMERS)

TERDJUMAN, in the terminology of Turkish mystics, has two meanings:

1. a member of a *tarikâ*, who accompanies a neophyte of the order during his initiation, as a spiritual interpreter. When a *mürîd* is initiated in the Bektaşî *tarikâ*, he is led by two *terdjumân*s into the presence of the *Shâikh* and eleven other persons representing the eleven *imâm*s. During the ceremony the *terdjumân*s guide him and say for him the formulas he has to recite (cf. J. P. Brown, *The Dervishes or Oriental*

Spiritualism, ed. H. A. Rose, London 1927, p. 206 sqq.).

The function of these *terdjumân*s is analogous to that of a certain class of functionaries in the organisation of Islâmic guilds, after the *Futûwa*-books, who are called *maklûb*, but also *terdjumân al-hân* or *terdjumân al-kudâm*. During the ceremony of the reception of a new member in the guild, these *terdjumân*s play a similar part to those mentioned with the *Bektâshîs* (cf. Thörning, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des islamischen Vereinswesens*, Berlin 1913, p. 106 sqq.).

2. With the Bektaşîs, *terdjumân* means also a prayer. Only special prayers, recited at special occasions, are called *terdjumân*. It is also said to be the name of the secret word or phrase of the Bektaşîs (cf. Brown, *The Dervishes*, p. 180, 199).

(J. H. KRAMERS)

TEREK, a large river in the Caucasus (length about 300 miles, breadth in some places up to 500 yards). In its upper course it is a mountain torrent and even in its lower course so swift that navigation is impossible upon it.

During the golden period of Arabic geographical knowledge (ixth—xth century) the land of Terek must have belonged to the kingdom of the Khazar [q. v.]. This portion of the Khazar dominions is not described by Arab geographers and the Terek not mentioned. The name seems to appear for the first time in the history of the fighting between Berke [q. v.] and Hulağa [q. v.] at the beginning of 661 (Nov.—Dec. 1261) in Rashid al-Din (ed. Quatremère, p. 394). Hamid Allâh Kāwini (*G. M. S.*, xliii. 259) mentions the Terek (in Le Strange's translation, p. 250: Turk) along with the Sîl (Volga) as a river in Dasht-i Kipchak [cf. *gürçak*]. The land of the Terek at that time belonged to the kingdom of the Golden Horde and probably adopted Islâm at the same time as the latter in the viiith (xivth) century. A few years after the conquest of Astrakhân [q. v.] in 1554, Russian Cossacks began to appear on the Terek and formed the "Turkish Cossack army" (*Turkîye kazâne volod*); at first independent of Moscow it was afterwards incorporated in the Russian empire. For the political life of the Muslim world, the Terek lands have never been of great importance; even the fortress of Kizlar on the north bank of the Terek was, in spite of its Turkish name, built by the Russians in 1735.

Bibliography: In addition to the works quoted in the text see E. Weidenhamm, *Paleovostok po Kuvshinu*, Tiflis 1888.

(W. BARTHOLO)

TERNATE, a small volcanic island, west of Halmahera in the eastern part of the Malay Archipelago. From the administrative point of view, it forms with several other small islands and groups of islands a subdivision of the residency of Ternate in the government of the Moluccas. Only a part of the island is directly under the rule of the Dutch East Indian government; the other part belongs to the autonomous district of Ternate, which includes several portions of Halmahera, the Sulu Archipelago and some other islands. From early times the trade in spices has brought many foreigners to these islands; the population, especially that of the area under the government, is therefore much mixed; the main element shows a strong resemblance to the native population of northern Halmahera. The standard of living is

not high, partly because the natives are not fond of work; they live mainly by fishing and a primitive agriculture. The language, Ternatan, is the *lingua franca* of the Molacca Archipelago; it belongs to the (non-Indonesian) north Halmahera group of languages and is a rather degenerate specimen of it.

The early history of these regions is little known. In the period when our knowledge begins to increase, the north-east corner of the archipelago was divided into 4 kingdoms: Ternate (then called Gapi), Djallolo, Tidore and Batjan. There must have been some connection between these kingdoms (tradition traces them back to one single kingdom). But they seem to have been continually at war with one another. Djallolo originally had a certain predominance but had later to give way to Ternate; and especially in the xvth and xvth century Ternate showed a great desire to extend its power. We have very little, and that unreliable, information as to the time and manner in which Islam spread here. According to one tradition, a Javanese merchant named Husain (or Dato Mawla Husain) preached Islam in Ternate as early as the reign of Katiil Gapi Baguoa (also called Marhum) in 1465-86 and he is even said to have been successful in converting this ruler. In native chronicles, however, this king is not numbered among the Muslim rulers, the series of whom begins with his son Zain al-'Abidin (1486-1495?) who was also the first to replace the old title *Kolano* by that of Sultan. Under him the whole population is said to have been converted to Islam; we are also told that he made a journey to Java in order to be more accurately instructed in the principles of Islam. Islam is now found here in the same form as in other parts of Indonesia; several old pagan customs still exist but the principal precepts of Islam are followed with comparative fidelity, especially at the courts. There is no fanaticism.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to conclude a treaty with Ternate (beg. of the xvth cent.); when in the beginning of the xvth century the Dutch appeared in the Moluccas, an unceasing struggle began between them and the Spaniards and Portuguese; in 1683 Ternate recognised the sovereignty of the Dutch East India Company. In 1915 the reigning Sultan was deprived of his throne for his disloyal attitude; since then the autonomous area has been governed by a council of notables.

Bibliography: A full account of Ternate is given in T. S. A. de Clercq, *Bijdragen tot de kennis der residentie Ternate*, Leyden 1890; see also: *Legende en geschiedenis van Ternate*, in *Tijdschrift van het Binnenlandsch Bestuur*, II, 310. (W. H. RASERS)

TESHRIŖ, the name of the first two months of the Syrian calendar. It is found as early as the Palmyrene inscriptions and there means only one month, namely the first (in the Jewish calendar, the seventh) while the next was called Kānūn [q. v.]. In the calendar of the Syrian church however, we find this name applied to two months, the third and fourth Syrian = ninth and tenth Jewish, Kislūw and Tebbāth, while the original Kānūn was replaced by a second TeshriŖ month. As a stage in the development of the four first Syrian names of months from four different to two pairs A. v. Gutschmid has recognised the calendar of Heliopolis, the first four months of

which bore the names Ag, Thorin, Gelōn and Chana. The last three names correspond to Tishri, Kislūw and Kānūn. The development from Gelōn to Kānūn is explained by a change of letters, while the replacement of Ag by Tishri might be due to Jewish influence. The Syrians distinguished the two TeshriŖ by the epithets *ḡdīm* and *ḡrāy* (so al-Birūnī) for which the Arabs used *al-awwal* and *al-ākhir* or *al-thāni*.

In time, the two months coincide with the October and November of the Roman calendar and have 31 and 30 days. In the two months the four first stations of the moon set and the 15-18 rise. The days on which this happens are, according to al-Birūnī, the 10th and 23rd T. I and 5th and 18th T. II, according to al-Kazwini, the 18th and 31st T. I and 13th and 26th T. II. In 1300 of the Seleucid era (= 989 A. D.), according to al-Birūnī, the stars of the four stations rose or set on the 22nd T. I and on the 5th, 18th and 31st T. II.

Bibliography: al-Birūnī, *Āthār*, ed. Sachau, p. 60, 70, 347-349; al-Kazwini, *Ādīb al-Mukhlifāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, I, 42 sqq., 47 sq., 75 (Germ. transl. by Ethé, p. 88 sqq., 98 sqq., 153 sqq.); S. A. Cook, *A Glossary of the Arabic Inscriptions*, 1898, s. v. *تشرى*; G. A. Cooke, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, 1903, s. eadem v.; A. v. Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften*, II, (1890), 647 sqq.; Ginzel, *Handb. d. math. u. techn. Chron.*, I, 264; III, 33. (M. PLESSNER)

TEWFIK MEHMET, called Çaylak TewfiŖ, a Turkish author and publicist, born in Constantinople in Şa'ban 1259 (Sept. 1843), the son of a certain Mustafa Agha who was connected with the Janissaries, and a freedwoman, and died in 1311 (1893) in the same city. After a rather scanty education he entered the War Ministry as a clerk. Introduced to journalism by Filib Efendi, founder and editor of the newspaper *Waḥḥet* and *Mukhbir*, he devoted himself more and more to this and to authorship, which was only interrupted by longer or shorter tenures of office as secretary in Constantinople and in the provinces (Brussa, Serajevo, and Bihac). Things nowhere seem to have gone well with him and he had to drink to the dregs the bitterness of a journalist's life under the despotic measures of the government against the press. He was apparently also a lecturer on rhetoric, although it was style that offered him the greatest difficulties at the beginning of his career. He contributed to the newspapers *Mukhbir*, *İtambel*, *TeraŖfi* and *Basiret*, founded for the walls of Brussa the printing press and official organ of the wilāyet, *Kānūn-i-ḡdī* in Brussa, and independently the political papers *Ajr* and *'Othmānī* and the humorous papers *Gazet*, *LeŖā'if-i-Āthār* and *Çaylak*.

At the same time he showed great activity as an author, especially in the literature of anecdote. His works are especially important for Turkish folklore as he saw the great importance of recording the old customs which were gradually disappearing. His *İtambella bir Sene* in particular secures him lasting recognition. His works usually appeared in parts and therefore some were never completed; they include the following: *LeŖā'if-i-İnḡā'*; *AkhiŖār-ı Nizām-i 'Aleḡ TeraŖemeti*; *KāŖā'if-i-Şu'arā'*, 1290; *Muḥbir-i-'Othmāniye*, 1293; *Āthār-i-periŖān*; *Madḡarāt-ı Seyāhat-nāme*, 1294; *Ḥarā'ib-i-Hikāyāt*; *LeŖā'if-i-Nay*

ed-Din, 1299; *İstanbul'da bir Senâ, 1299—1300*; *Buadem*, 1299—1302; *Tahrid-i Kharâbât*, 1300; *İki gün Odâ, 1301*; *Türîkâ-yâkûd bin yûs yemînîş Dîvânıyterî*, 1302; *Kâzîmî-i Lafîzî*, 1303; *Levîf-i Zevâif*; *Uşak-ı İlmî â-Kîrâbet*; *Şamuruk-ı Edebi*.

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(TH. MENZEL)

TEWFIK FIKRET, whose real name was Mehmed Tewfik, the poetical name of Fikret being assumed later instead of Tewfik Nazmi which he first took, an important Turkish poet and metricist, founder of the modern Turkish school of poetry.

Born on the 24th Sha'ban 1284 (Dec. 25, 1867) in Constantinople, the son of the secretary to Fâtima Sultan, afterwards mütepparîf Husein Efendi (descended from a family of notables of Çerkes in Anatolia) and Khadija Ref'ia Khawim, a Turkish lady from the island of Chios (probably originally of Greek descent), received a careful education; he went first to the Mahmûdiye-Walide Rüşdiye school in Akserai. When the latter was closed on account of the influx of the *muhâğgir* in the Russo-Turkish war, he entered, at the age of nine, the Galata High School (*Galata Seray Sultanisi*), with which he was to remain connected for almost his whole life. At eleven he lost his mother, who had gone with her elder brother on the pilgrimage to Mecca, where both died of cholera in the desert (Fikret, who only came to realise his loss fully when his sister died, devoted to her his touching *merhiye: Hemşirem İsm* in 1318 = 1900). As a child, he was unmanageable and self-willed but later obtained a masterly control of himself and became serious, almost misanthropical and hypersensitive. In 1304 (1886—1887) he passed out of school as its most distinguished scholar, entered an office of the Porte, which he left in 1311, as the inactive life, then typical of a Turkish government office, did not satisfy his honourable nature. At the same time he taught French, Turkish and calligraphy in the commercial school in Gedik Paşa. In 1306 (1888—1889) he became teacher of Turkish at Galata Serai High School, which he left in 1311 (1893) because the government cut down his salary. In 1312 (1894—1895) he became a teacher at the Robert College in Rumeli Hisâr, where he remained till his death. In Rumeli Hisâr he built himself a house which he decorated according to his own artistic ideas (he was also an artist) with a splendid view, where he lived the peaceful idyllic life of a poet with his wife who was also his cousin, whom he had married in 1306 (1888) and his son Khalûk, to whom he dedicated a volume of poems. (It was a remarkable decree of fate that while his mother died while on the pilgrimage, his son Khalûk became a Christian in Glasgow, is now working as an engineer in America and is therefore lost to the Turkish cause).

From 1307 he was a contributor to the periodical *Mîrâd*, which was edited by the poet İsmâ'il Şefâ. In 1309, along with a few friends of like literary tastes he founded the *Ma'âmûr*, which

was suppressed by the censorship after 24 numbers. In 1311 he undertook the literary editorship of the illustrated periodical *Zîrret-i Fânî* founded by Ahmed İhsân in 1890. His wide literary activity was then begun which in a short time made him a most famous author. After suffering all kinds of restrictions under the regime of 'Abd ul-Hamid, after the revolution in 1908 he was appointed Director of the Galata Serai High School by the Young Turkish government, when he refused the Ministry of Education. He endeavoured to make the school a modern Turkish seminary, but soon came into conflict with the conservatism and red tape of the Ministry of Education and finally retired in 1910 (1327) to devote himself entirely to his poetry and his teaching in the Robert College. To this period belongs his scheme of educational reform for a new type of Turkish school (*yeni mektep*), which however was never carried through. After a long illness, he died on Aug. 18, 1913 (1331).

At the early age of 14, Fikret began to write *ghazals*, of course in the old style (*Mustakabât-ı Terzümân-ı Hâkikat*, p. 533). He developed his literary abilities under his teachers of literature, Feizi, Mu'allim Nâdî and particularly Redjâ'î-sâde Ekrem, who won a lasting influence over him as on the whole of the younger generation. It was Ekrem also who decided him to become chief editor of the *Zîrret-i Fânî*. With Fikret's accession to the staff, a new era began for the *Zîrret*. The periodical set the standard for the whole of modern Turkish literature, which is known as the Tewfik Fikret (poetry) and Khalîd Ziya (prose) period. Very soon all the collaborators of the *Mekteb*, edited by Husein İhsân on western lines, joined the *Zîrret*, whose staff included 'Ali Ekrem, 'Abd ul-Hakîk İhsânî, Djenâb Shehâb al-Din, Khalîd Ziya, 'Ali Nâdî, Husein Nâim, Ahmed Rehid. The Oriental trend in the new literature was represented by the *Muawwez Ma'âmûr*.

Two years after taking up his duties Fikret published his principal work: *Rubâ-i şikeste*, "the Broken Lane" (*Edebiyat-ı Şedide Kütüb-Khânisi*, No. 2, Stambul 1314 [1896]) which had an unparalleled success and went through many editions (later with the addition of his later works). In 1317 (1899) he wrote *Sîr* (Mist), his most vigorous poem directed against the despotic rule of 'Abd ul-Hamid. At the present day, it reads rather tamely. After the revolution he published his *Rudjâ*. In 1318 (1900) he wrote the *merhiye: Hemşirem İsm*; in 1322 (1904) on the occasion of the unsuccessful attempt on the life of 'Abd ul-Hamid: *Lahza-i t'ehhîr*; in 1908: *Miller Şarh-ı*. In No. 1 of the paper *Tanin* founded by him he published *Sîr* and *Rudjâ*, which had previously passed secretly from hand to hand. In 1329 (1909) appeared *Doğan kurtu doğdu*, which found whole-hearted approval in a special number of *Fedî-i an*, *Rubâin Dîvânî*, *Khalûkî Dîvânî* (in facsimile in the *Edebiyat-ı Şedide Kütüb-Khânisi*, No. 31). In 1328 (1910) appeared the poem *Kanyagema*, in 1330 a collection of songs for children in *Parmak Hîsâr*: *Shermin*, his last work at all.

The amount of his work is not large but its importance for Turkish literature is unique.

Fikret is now a much disputed personality. While he was praised to the skies in his life-time

and lauded as a classic poetical genius, since his death an attempt has been made to minimise his importance and even to deny that he is a real poet and to describe him as a mere virtuoso and skilful metricist. A reaction has followed his incredibly rapid rise to fame. The following criticism sums up this modern attitude to him: "Fikret is immortal in Turkish literature as a technician, unforgettable as a man, but as a poet perhaps already forgotten".

Like every poet, Fikret is to be studied in his period and milieu, in order to do justice to him. He is a finished master of technique, the creator of the Turkish renaissance, the main representative of the westernising school. The preceding period (Kemal, Hâmid, Ekrem) had abolished the dominion of Persian and Arabic forms but left the Oriental spirit. The task now was to get rid of the Muslim outlook on life and replace it by the western, i.e. French, point of view. For models Fikret took the French, especially François Coppée, Leconte de Lisle and Sully Prudhomme along with Musset, Lamartine, Baudelaire and Verlaine.

He created a new language of poetry, made new rules for rhyme on the principle that rhyme is not intended for the eye, as in the case with Ekrem and 'Abd ul-Hakk Hâmid, but for the ear. With his fine taste and sound judgment, he succeeded in developing the language in spirit and structure on Turkish lines, doing away with linguistic anarchy, turkicising the foreign elements and rhythms, although from the point of view of vocabulary he had no objection to overloading Turkish with Arabic and Persian words and his poems contain many rare non-Turkish words. Fikret did for the language of poetry what Nâmilî Kemal had done for prose. The rules laid down and followed by him are now so generally adopted that they are no longer felt to be innovations. The main object of his attention was language as such, much more than had been the case with other poets. In accuracy of language he resembles Mu'allim Nâdil and surpassed them all in command of language. He recalls to some extent Platen not only in the perfection of his language and the freedom from error of his verse, with which even the opponents of the "Decadence" like Ahmed Midhat could find no fault, but also in the soulfulness of its marble smoothness.

Even in his earliest ghazels his own special characteristics are apparent, although he is still entirely under the influence of the older school. His mastery of language and rhythm developed very rapidly and it is this that distinguishes him from all others and which have made him a model for all other poets.

In contrast to the old school, which made each verse end as a closed unit in itself (which is why, particularly in the ghazal, the verses are so arbitrarily transposable), Fikret makes the sentiment run through a series of verses. His verses have thus a flexibility and naturalness which is still lacking in the verse dialogues composed by Hâmid. The language of his verses endeavours to adapt its melody to the subject matter, which Nefî before him had tried to do. Specially noteworthy is his introduction of the sonnet, which has since been much cultivated in Turkish.

In his metres he is still absolutely quantitative, with the exception of his poems for children. Otherwise the followers of the old school could

not have so readily felt that he was indisputably a poet.

Fikret's was a hypercritical intellect which dealt with the moral, religious and political problems of his time, unswervingly following the voice of his heart and conscience. But he was not a philosopher who could solve the problems of humanity, no metaphysician who could penetrate into the depths of the soul. His mental processes were of a very ordinary, almost trivial nature. His *İnna'at İhtiyatı* and his *Ta'rihi-i Şadim* are typical of the unbelief of his time. In the poisoned atmosphere of 'Abd ul-Hamid's despotic rule and later in the time of the unrestricted and one-sided administration of the young Turks, with his pure personality, with his steadfast confidence in himself, his earnest devotion to duty and his sacred enthusiasm, by his poems he performed a duty to his country nobly so that the appeal was made to the young men of the day: "To thyself be like Fikret, to thy country like Nâmilî Kemal!" As there is something to be learned from every one of his poems, he had a great influence as an educative force on the youth of Turkey. He had a great belief in the value of education.

Tewfik Fikret is a poet although not of the greatness that his contemporaries thought. He lacks the poetic fervour of Nâmilî Kemal, especially in the poems of his second period. The poems in which he scarified despotism, like his fervent *Sir*, which in its day was accepted like a gospel by the young men, now seem colourless and unreal. They are not born of desperation like those of N. Kemal. Fikret also celebrated in his verse the smallest and most insignificant things, going much further than Ekrem, who although he said that everything is poetry, in practice only applied it to flowers, clouds, water, dawn etc. A number of poems which Fikret wrote, following the practice of the day, for pictures in periodicals, were published in the *Ruhû-i Şikvî*. Special mention may be made of the clearly outlined poems characterising Nedim, Nefî, Fuzûlî and Hâmid. That he wrote verse with difficulty and had to struggle with words and matter until he completed a poem, is clear not only from his own confession and the labour and pains that many poems reveal, which takes from their effect as works of art, but also from the not very great volume of his production.

Bibliography: Besides the mentioned works of Tewfik Fikret and his poems scattered through periodicals and anthologies: *İddâm*, No. 6648, 20th August 1915; Brusall Mehmed Tahir, *Osmanlı Muvallifleri*, İstanbul 1333, il. 380; Nuhbet Hâşim, *Millî Edebiyâtı doğru*, İstanbul 1918, p. 159; Rüben Eshref, *Tewfik Fikret*, *Hayâtına dair kâğıtlar*, İstanbul 1919; İsmâ'il Hâbib, *Türk Tefekkürü Edebiyât Ta'rihi*, İstanbul 1340, p. 440—457; Köprülü-zâde M. Fe'âd, *Bugünkü Edebiyât*, İstanbul 1342, p. 324—329; İsmâ'il Hikmet, *Türk Edebiyâtı Ta'rihi*, Baku 1925, p. 713—797; Sâlih Nigâr Keramet, *Fikretin Hayât ve Eşkeri*, İstanbul 1926; İbrahim 'Alâ ed-Dîn, *Tewfik Fikret*, *Büyük Adamlar Serisi*, i., No. 34, İstanbul 1927; Dawl, İstanbul, No. 7, 13; Horn, *Geschichte der türkischen Moderne*, Leipzig 1902; Wl. Gerdlewski, *Ozerki po novoi osmanli literatur*, Moscow 1912; Th. Menzel, *Die türkische Literatur*, in Hinneberg's *Kultur der Gegenwart*, i., part vii. 2, Leipzig 1925. (TH. MENZEL)

TEWFIK PASHA, Khedive of Egypt (1879—1892), was born on December 15, 1852 as the eldest son of the Khedive Isma'il Pasha. He was educated in Egypt and began his political career at the age of 19 as president of the Council of State (*al-madjlis al-ikhtisari*). On March 10, 1879, after Nubar Pasha had resigned, he was appointed Prime Minister by his father. In his cabinet, as was the case in the former, an Englishman was Minister of Finance and a Frenchman Minister of Public Works. But already on April 9 of that year, Isma'il, by a kind of "coup d'état", dismissed this new cabinet and Sharif Pasha [q. v.] became Prime Minister. Soon afterwards political difficulties led to Isma'il's deposition by the Sultan (June 26) and Tewfik followed him on the throne according to the law of succession promulgated in 1866.

At the very beginning of his reign Tewfik Pasha had to face considerable difficulties. The draft of a constitution, submitted to the new Khedive by Sharif Pasha, shortly after his accession, was disapproved and Sharif tendered his resignation (August 18). For a short time Tewfik became his own Prime Minister, but soon Riyad Pasha was appointed to that post, to keep it for about two years, till the outbreak of the army rebellion of 'Arabi Pasha. In the meantime the "dual control" of England and France over finance was re-established and in 1880 Egypt seemed to have entered a new prosperous period. In January 1880, however, occurred the first troubles in the army, which led to the nationalist revolt of September 9 on the return to power of Sharif Pasha; 'Arabi Pasha [q. v.] soon appeared as the most prominent man in the nationalist movement. The Khedive had no strong party on which he could rely to keep up his authority against this movement, and likewise the position of Egypt's sultan, the Turkish Sultan and natural protector of the Khedive's government, was too weak to be of any importance. So, in the period that followed, the Khedive could not but play a passive part and allow the nationalists to take the measures they thought fit. One of these measures was the convocation of a national assembly of notables, but although at first the nationalist leaders showed moderation, the international financial troubles brought about at last a serious anti-foreign feeling in the country, which culminated in the massacre in Alexandria (June 11, 1882), followed on July 17 by the bombardment of that town by the British fleet. The Khedive with his government had already fled from the capital to al-Ramla near Alexandria, while 'Arabi, now in open revolt against the ruler, retired to Kafr-Dawar, a few miles distant. This was the most difficult time of Tewfik Pasha's reign; he had to choose between the nationalists and foreign intervention and, at the same time, the Sultan contemplated his deposition and the installation of his uncle 'Abd al-Halim in his place and even the despatch of an army to Egypt, from which he was prevented by the attitude of the European powers. At last the nationalist insurrection was crushed by the military intervention of England (battle of Tell el-Kebir on September 13, 1882), followed by the military occupation of the country. After the battle, Tewfik had returned to Cairo, but the only possible way, in these circumstances, to keep his throne was now to fall in with the wishes of the occupying power. In fact, the Khedive's government, again presided

over by Sharif Pasha since August 1882, was now quite impotent. All the measures after the English occupation, taken with regard to the administration of Egypt, the new Organic Law of May 7, 1883, the international regulation of the financial administration in 1884, had to be accepted. There was, however, a loyal collaboration between the Khedive and the British resident with the title of Consul General, the later Lord Cromer, in the difficult years that followed. One of the most disastrous events in this time was the Mahdist rebellion in the Sudan and the abandonment of this province by Egypt, much against the personal wish of Tewfik, after the vain struggle to defeat the Mahdi (fall of Khartoum in January 1885). It was only towards 1890, that a more prosperous time announced itself for the country; soon afterwards, on January 7, 1892, Tewfik Pasha died unexpectedly in his palace at Heliwan, to be succeeded by his eldest son 'Abbas Hilmi.

Tewfik Pasha is said not to have had a character strong enough to face the overwhelming political difficulties; especially the weak attitude of himself and his government towards the first manifestations of rebellion in the army seems to have led inevitably to the complete loss of control over the course of events. On the other hand this Khedive has left the reputation of a mild and enlightened personality, who was esteemed by all those who had personal intercourse with him, amongst them Lord Cromer and other European statesmen who have given descriptions of him. At the age of 21 he had married a lady belonging to the Khedivial family and he remained strictly monogamic during all his lifetime.

Bibliography: Djirdji Zaidin, *Mashahir al-Sharq*, Cairo 1910, I. 48 sqq.; Lord Cromer, *Modern Egypt*, London 1911, esp. p. 715 sqq.; A. Hasenclever *Geschichte Ägyptens im 19. Jahrhundert*, Halle a. S. 1917, esp. p. 198 sqq. (J. H. KRAMERS)

TEZKARA. [See TADHIKIRA.]

THA, the name of the fourth letter of the Arabic alphabet with the numerical value 500. Its form is a horizontal stroke, curved upwards at its ends, with three dots above it. By these three dots it is distinguished from the third letter of the alphabet, *ṭā* [q. v.], which has two dots only. This similarity explains also the place of *thā* immediately after *ṭā*.

Of the other Semitic alphabets it is only the South-Arabic which has a special form for the sound *thā*.

Etymologically *thā* corresponds to Canaanitic *ṭ*, Aramaic *ṭ* (early-Aramaic *ṭ*), Assyrian *ṭ*, Aethiopic *ṭ*. In Arabian its place is sometimes taken by *f*.

(A. J. WERNICK)

AL-THA'ALIBI, Nisba of three Arab authors:

1. **ABU MANṢUR 'ABD AL-MALIK B. MUHAMMAD B. ISMA'IL**, one of the most fertile intellects of the 10th (10th) century, of whose life we only know that he was born in 350 (961) in Nisibis and died in 429 (1038). His numerous compilations, in which he deals by no means scrupulously with the intellectual property of his predecessors and repeats himself frequently, deal mainly with the poetry of his time but also with lexicology and rhetoric.

His most famous and, for us most important, work is the *Yatimat al-Dahr fi Maḥasin al-Aḥl al-Aqr* on the poets of his own and the preceding

generation, arranged under countries, in the main an anthology with biographical notes as a rule very brief. Like most works of its kind, it went through several recensions as may be seen from Yaḥyā's statement in the *Irshād*, ii. 320 that he read the story given in the Damascus edition, iii. 33, at Cairo in a copy given by the author to Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, while it is not found in the usual texts. To the manuscripts given by Pertsch, *Verz. der ar. Hss. zu Göttingen*, No. 2127 and *G. A. L.*, i. 284 may now be added those in Paris (Blochet, *Catalogue des mss. ar. des nouvelles acquisitions*, Paris 1925) No. 6442, in Cambridge (E. G. Browne, *Handlist*, 1900) No. 1224 and in Nicholson's possession (*J. R. A. S.*, 1899, p. 912), as well as an anonymous synopsis in the Brit. Museum Or. 7743 (*Descriptive List*, p. 61); to the printed edition (Damascus 1304) may be added the index of Mawlawī Abū Mūsā Aḥmad al-Ḥaḥḥ entitled *Fa'idat al-'Aḥr*, a comprehensive index of persons, places, books etc. referred to in the *Yatimat al-Dahr*, the famous anthology of Tha'ālībī, Calcutta 1915, *Bibl. Ind.*, N. S., No. 1215. The first continuation of the work was written by the author himself and entitled *Tatimmat al-Yatima*, quoted by Yaḥyā, *Irshād*, vi. 411 and in the Paris mss. No. 3308 (s. Mirzā Muḥammad on Samarkandī's *Caḥār Maḥāla*, p. 129; on a ms. in Aleppo s. *Revue de l'ar. de Damas*, vii. 529-535), in other mss. like the Berlin (s. *G. A. L.*, loc. cit.) it is simply called *Dhail*; s. also al-Badr (Tunis 1340), i. 2, 38 seq. A further continuation in part coinciding with the *Tatimmat* was written by al-Bukhārī (q.v.). An anthology arranged under subject matter is the *Kitāb Aḥṣān mā zama'ra* which is much larger in the ms. of the Köprülü library (s. Rescher, *M. S. O. S. Ar.*, iv. 164) than in the printed edition of the ms. in the Khedivial library in Cairo (Cairo 1324), transl. by O. Rescher in *Et-Ta'ālībī*, Heft 3, Leipzig 1916. Subsidiary to it is the *Kitāb man ḡāba 'anhu 'l-Muṭrib*, the autograph of which is in the Iḥlāl mosque in Istanbul (No. 1946, cf. Rescher, *M. O.*, vii. 105). It is printed in the collection *al-Taḥfā al-saḥiyya* (Istanbul 1302), p. 230-294 and Bairūt 1309, transl. by Rescher in *M. O.*, xvii. 31-198; xviii. 81-109. Similar anthologies, in which however the poet's names are not given, are the *Kitāb al-Bayt al-Kabīr*, Cairo 1326, the *Kitāb al-Muntaḥal*, pr. with commentary by Aḥmad b. 'Alī as *al-Muntaḥal fī Tawāḥḥim Shu'arā' al-Muntaḥal*, Alexandria 1321, and the *Kitāb Tarā'if al-Turaf* in the Aya Sofya mss. 3767 (*Z. D. M. G.*, lxiv. 504), Köprülü 1336 (*M. S. O. S. Ar.*, xiv. 176) and Top Kapu Serai (*R. S. O.*, iv. 696). For the especial use of secretaries he prepared the *Kanz al-Kutub*, 2,500 passages from 250 poets, s. Flügel, *Die ar. etc. Hss. der K. K. Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, No. 242; on this the Turkish poet Lāmī wrote a commentary, s. Toderini, *Lit. Turca*, ii. app. xxxiv. Here also we may mention his prose versions of the verses in the anthology *Mu'nis al-Udabā'* of an unknown author which he prepared by command of the Kh'arismshāh Abū 'l-Abbās entitled *Nazḥ al-Naḥm wa-Hall al-'Iḥd min mukhṭar al-Sh'r almuḥḥi yaḥṣamū 'alāhi 'l-Kitāb al-mutarajim bi-Mu'nis al-Udabā'*, pr. Damascus 1300, Cairo 1317.

A second series of his works belong to the field of entertaining literature but also contain all kinds of useful information especially historical

anecdotes. Among these are the *Kitāb Laṭā'if al-Ma'arīf*, ed. P. de Jong, Leyden 1867, the *Kitāb al-Farā'id wa-'l-Kalā'id* or *Kitāb al-'Iḥd al-nafis wa-Nuḥat al-ḥāl*, pr. Cairo 1317 (on the margin of the *Nazḥ al-Naḥm*, 1324, the *Kitāb al-Mubḥiḥ* (or *al-Mubḥiḥ*), pr. Istanbul n. d., Cairo 1324 and the two works on praise and censure of things, that old topic of school adab entitled *Kitāb al-Laṭā'if wa-'l-Zarā'if* and *Yawāḥiṭ al-Mawāḥiṭ*; to the MSS. quoted in *Cat. codd. ar. bibl. ac. Lugd. Batavæ*, No. 455 may be added: Paris, *op. cit.*, No. 5934, Petersburg, No. 857, Nicholson, *J. R. A. S.*, 1899, p. 913, Haupt, No. 268. The two books are worked into one by an unknown hand in the Leyden ms. No. 456 and by Abū Naḥr Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Razzāk al-Makḥḥī: the latter was lithographed under the title of the former at Baghdad 1282 and printed as the *Qamā'a fī-mā байна Kitāb al-Tha'ālībī* etc., Bulaḥ 1296 and Cairo 1300. Finally must be mentioned the *Kitāb Ghurar al-Balāgha wa-Turaf al-Barā'a*, MS. in Berlin, No. 8341, or *Ghurar al-Balāgha li-'l-Naḥm wa-'l-Naḥr* (thus in Köprülü MS. 1290, s. Rescher, *M. S. O. S. Ar.*, xiv. 197) or with the addition *wa-'l-Barā'a* in the Brit. Mus. 7758 (*Descriptive List*, p. 63), another MS. also in Nicholson's possession (*J. R. A. S.*, 1899, p. 913). Wrongly ascribed to him in the *Khams Rasā'il*, Istanbul 1307, and on the margin of the *Nazḥ al-Naḥm*, Cairo 1317, are the *Kitāb al-Amḥāl*, Cairo 1327, the *Kitāb al-Farā'id wa-'l-Kalā'id* of al-Aḥwālī (1544 = 1053) and in the Gotha MS., No. 1873 a *Maḥāsin al-Maḥāsin*, s. Z. S., iii. 78, 254.

He also compiled several collections of proverbs and sentiments, notably the *Kitāb al-Tamaththul wa-'l-Muḥādara* (to the MSS. given in the *Cat. Lugd.*, No. 454 add Paris, No. 6019), and the *Kitāb aḥṣān Kalīm al-Naḥl wa-'l-Saḥāba wa-'l-Tābbīn wa-Mulūk al-Diḥlīyya wa-Mulūk al-Islām wa-'l-Wuḥarā'* wa-'l-Kutub wa-'l-Balāgha wa-'l-Ḥikmah wa-'l-Ulamā' (*Cat. Lugd.*, No. 453; Paris, No. 8201, 2), from this is taken *Talibī syntagma dictorum brevium et acutorum*, ed. J. J. Ph. Valetton, Leyden 1844; this work was later included in the larger *Kitāb al-'Iḥd wa-'l-Iḥd*, pr. in *Khams Rasā'il*, Istanbul 1301 and Cairo 1897. To the same class belong the *Kitāb Ḥiyat al-Muḥādara wa-'l-Uḥd al-Muḥādara wa-Ma'idin al-Muḥādara*, Paris, No. 5914 and the *Kitāb Laṭā'if al-Saḥāba wa-'l-Tābbīn*, cf. *Selecta e Tha'ālībī libro facieturum*, ed. P. Cool in the *Chrestomathy to Roorda's Grammatica arabica*, Leyden 1835. Cheikho published another collection of wise thoughts in *Machriq*, v. 831-834. Finally he also compiled an *adab* work called *Mu'nis al-Waḥid* (in Ḥāḥḥī Khālifa, No. 13454) which seems to survive in the Cambridge MS. (Browne, *Suppl. Handlist*, No. 1287, while the text publ. by Flügel entitled *Der verante Gefährte des Einsamen* is only a portion of the *Muḥādarat* of Raghīb al-Isfahānī; s. Gildemeister, *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxiv. 171. According to Ḥāḥḥī Khālifa, No. 7343 he also wrote a mirror for princes entitled *Strat al-Mulūk* or *al-Kitāb al-mulūk*. It still has to be investigated whether this survives in the *Sirāḥ al-Mulūk*, an ethical work ascribed in the Brit. Mus. Or. 6368 (*Descriptive List*, p. 64) to Tha'ālībī; a counterpart of this is the *Kitāb al-Wuḥarā'*, in Gotha, No. 1886. Shorter *adab*-works are the *Kitāb Mir'at al-Murū'at wa-'l-Aḥl al-ḥasanāt*, pr. Cairo 1318 and

the *Kitāb Bard al-Abbūd* f. 'A-dūd, Samsul 1301.

A third group comprises his philological works in the narrower sense. The most famous of them is a work on Arabic synonyms composed very late in life to which he first gave the title *Sūm al-Adab* f. 'al-mūl al-'Arab. It consists of two parts, synonyms in the narrower sense, entitled *Asrār al-Lughā al-'arabiya wa-khawāṣṣihā* and notes on style entitled *Maḡāzī Kalām al-'Arab bi-Rusūmihā wa-mā yata'allahu bi 'l-Naḥw wal-'Irāb minhā wa 'l-Istiqṣād bi 'l-Kur'ān 'alā akḥarihā*; the bulk of this second part is taken word for word from the *Kitāb Fiḥ al-Lughā* of Aḥmad b. Fāris. In this oldest form the work only exists in the Leyden MS., No. 66 and Berlin, No. 7032—7033. He later published the first part separately as *Fiḥ al-Lughā*; in this form it attained very great popularity, cf. *Proverbia et specimen lexicæ synonymici arabici* Atholli, ed., verit., notis illustravit J. Seligmann, Upsala 1863; Fleischer, *Kleine Schriften*, iii. 152—166 and the printed editions Paris 1861 (ed. R. Dahdah), Cairo 1284, 1317 (with the original form *Asrār al-Lughā* on the margin), 1325, Bairūt 1885 (bowdlerized). In the Cairo editions 1284 and 1325 the second part of the original version is also printed as the *Sirr al-'Arabiya fī Maḡāzī Kalām al-'Arab wa-Silātihā wa 'l-Istiqṣād bi 'l-Kur'ān 'alā akḥarihā* also printed as the *Sirr al-Adab fī Maḡāzī 'Ulūm al-'Arab* along with Maiddīn's *al-Samī fī 'l-Aṣmā* lith. in Teheran n.d. and to be found separately in the Paris MS. No. 5989 with the error in the title *Maḡāzī* for *Maḡāzī* also found elsewhere (e.g. Ḥādīdī Khalifa, ed. Flügel, iv. 590). The work was put into verse by an unknown author in 742 (1341) as the *Nāṣir Fiḥ al-Lughā*, in the Leyden MS. No. 67; cf. Weijers, *Orient*, i. 360 *sqq.* In 400 in Nisābūr he wrote a handbook of Rhetoric with special references to Metaphor for the Khwārmīshāh Ma'mūn b. Ma'mūn, which in the MSS. is sometimes called *al-Kifāya fī 'l-Kināya* (so Paris, No. 5934), sometimes *al-Nihāya fī 'l-Tarīq wa 'l-Kināya* (so Brit. Mus., Suppl. No. 1110, 1), sometimes simply *al-Kināya wa 'l-Tarīq* (so Berlin, No. 7336). It has been printed under the last named title at Mecca 1301 and Cairo 1326 along with al-Djurdjānī's *al-Muntakhab min Kināyāt al-Uḍabā' wa-Iḥwāt al-Bulaghā'*. A collection of elegant Arabic expressions is the *Kitāb Siḥr al-Balaghā wa-Sirr al-Barā'a* (to the MSS. enumerated in *G. A. L.*, i. 285, No. 7 may be added Cairo (see *Fihrist*, iv. 183) and Paris, No. 6724, from which extracts have been printed in Samsul (Reuther, *Vers.*, i. 32, 3). Finally he compiled a collection with annotations of constant genitive combinations entitled *Ṭimūr (Thamar) al-Kalūb 'l-Muḡāf wa 'l-Manūb*, which he dedicated to the Amir 'Uḡaldallāh b. Aḥmad al-Mikālī (d. 436 = 1044); to the MSS. in *G. A. L.*, i. 285, No. 9 add Paris, No. 5942, Cambr. Suppl., No. 354, and Brussels B. K. O., vii. 81, pr. Cairo 1320. A supplement is the *al-Tadwīl al-marḡūb min Thamar al-Kalūb*, which collects the names of famous men, in the Paris MS., No. 6029. A synopsis entitled *Imād al-Balaghā* was composed by 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Munāwī (d. 1031 = 1622); cf. *Codd. ar. Hbl. reg. Hafn.*, No. 206; *Revue de l'az. ar. de Damas* vii. 574; *Fihrist Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriya*, iii. 3; *Z. D. M. G.*, lxxviii. 855 (on a MS. in Brussels). It was put into alphabetical order by Muḥ. Amīn al-Muḥibbī († 1699) entitled *Mā yu'awwad 'alāthī fī*

'l-Muḡāf wa 'l-Manūb Iḥāṭi; MSS. in Cairo, *Fihrist*, iii. 285; Top Kapu, No. 2455; *'Ahl*, No. 2247 (*R. S. O.*, iv. 727; *M. F. O. B.*, v. 496), Aya Sofia, No. 4136, *M. O.*, vii. 132.

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2. ABD MANṢŪR AL-ḤUBAIN B. MUḤAMMAD AL-MARḠHANI (from Marḡhan in Ḡhūr, Afghānistān), an Arabic historian of whom we only know that he dedicated his work, *Ḡhūr al-Siyar*, to Naḡr, brother of Maḥmūd of Ḡhazna who died in 412 (1021). It gives the history of mankind from Adam down to Maḥmūd Subuktegin. The first part is in Samsul in the Ibrāhīm Pāshā library, No. 916 and in Paris No. 5053. Zotenberg published the history of the Persians from it (*Histoire des rois des Perses*, Paris 1900); in the introduction he sought, without convincing reasons, to show that it was written by the better known man of the same name (No. 1). This part of the book is specially valuable because it gives the sources used by Firdawsi for his *Shāhnāme* in many places more accurately than even Tabari. The author apparently translated fairly literally the book of kings prepared in Persian about 950 by four men for the ruler of Tūs, Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Razzāk but he also used Tabari, Djawīdī and other Arabs quite uncritically. Of the four volumes which accords to Ḥādīdī Khalifa No. 8592 (ed. Flügel, iv. 319, where he is wrongly called al-Marṣūṭ) only one survives in the Bodleian (d'Orv., x. 2). This covers the period 745 to 158 A.H. It is a very laudable endeavour to cast off the fetters of the purely chronological arrangement of Arab historiography, and give history in its psychological setting. From this work Houtsma published the account of Bihārūd, *W. Z. K. M.*, iii. 30—37.

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3. 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. MUḤAMMAD B. MAḤMŪD AL-DJAFARI AL-DJAZ'IRI, North African theologian, b. in Algiers 788 (1386), studied from 802 (1399) in Bidjaya, Tunis and Cairo, made the pilgrimage from there, returned to Tunis where he died in 873 = 1468 (so his tombstone, while Aḥmad Bāhā gives 875). His principal work is the commentary on the *Kur'ān* finished on 25th Rabi' 1, 833 (Dec. 23, 1420) entitled *al-Djāwāhir al-ḥiṣān fī Tafṣīl al-Kur'ān*; to the mss. given in *G. A. L.*, ii. 249, 3, 1 may be added Paris, No. 5283 and 5379; Escorial 2, No. 1324; Fās Kāzaw, No. 126/27; Algiers, No. 132/37. Of his works an eschatology has been printed, *al-'Ulūm al-fakḥira fī 'l-Naḡar fī Umūr al-Aḥkira*, Cairo 1317—1318 and a portion of his ethics *Djāmi' al-Ummahāt fī Akḥām al-'Ibādāt* entitled *Nubḡha min al-Djāmi' al-kabir*, i. l. 1911. To the list of his minor works in *G. A. L.*, i. c., may be added a

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(C. BROCKELMANN)

THĀBIT b. KURRA, mathematician, physician and philosopher, one of the greatest figures among the promoters of Arab learning in the third (ninth) century. Born in 836 (826?) at Harrān, the ancient seat of the worship of the planets, he belonged to a prominent family settled there, which produced a long series of scholars. The later names in his genealogy (Thābit b. Kurra b. Zahrūn [Marwān] b. Thābit b. Kaṭīr b. Māriūs b. Mālaghriyūs [Μαλαγγριος]) take us back to a time when the Greek character of the life of the town was seen in its nomenclature, although it is not safe to suppose without further enquiry that Thābit was descended from Greek colonists. The biographers record that Thābit was originally a money-changer. In any case an inherited fortune enabled him to acquire a thorough philosophical and mathematical training during a stay in Baghdad. His liberal philosophical opinions brought him into conflict with the pagan community of his native town. Brought before the religious court, and compelled to recant his philosophical heresies, he escaped further molestation by moving to the village of Kafartūḥā near Dīr. Here he is said to have met Muhammad b. Mūsā b. Shākir on his return journey from Byzantium to Baghdad and the latter, recognising his mathematical talent and linguistic ability, took him with him to Baghdad, to recommend him to the Caliph Mu'taḍid, who appointed him one of his court astronomers. In Baghdad Thābit spent the greater part of his life translating and expounding Greek mathematicians, composing his own mathematical works, in philosophical studies and the practice of medicine, and died there at the age of 67 on Feb. 18, 901.

The great prestige which Thābit enjoyed at the Caliph's court benefited the Sābians in Harrān and other places. The Syriac writings which Thābit — probably while still in Harrān — wrote on the doctrine and worship of his co-religionists, were still known in part to Barhebraeus (d. 1286) but seem now to have disappeared. They would now be of the greatest value for the religious history of late Hellenism. Lists of Thābit's Arabic works are given in Chwolson, Suter, Steinschneider, Brockelmann and Wiedemann in the works quoted below. Much that is valuable and worth publishing still exists in manuscript. A survey is given by H. Suter, *Mathematiker und Astronomien der Araber*, p. 36-199. E. Wiedemann in *Beiträge*, lxiv., *Über Thābit ben Qurra, sein Leben und sein Wirken*, S. B. P. M. S., Erlangen 1920-1921, p. 210-217, has given a list of Thābit's writings, classified under subjects, which is useful as a preliminary survey. The works of Thābit which have been edited or translated are given below in the *Bibli-*

graphy. On Sinān b. Thābit and other later members of the family see the full treatment in Chwolson, *Die Sābier*, i. 566-610.

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(J. RUSKA)

THĀBIT, whose personal name was 'ALĀ' AL-DĪN, an important Ottoman poet of the transition period (mainly under Sultan Ahmad III [1703-30]) with a distinct style of his own, quite outside of the usual. Born in Ūtica in Bosnia about 1060 (1650) of humble origin and of Serbo-Croat parents, he was related to the poet Wuslat 'Alī Bey Pašić of Ūtica and Māhīrī 'Abd Allāh of Serrajevo. He died in Constantinople in 1124 (1712-13). He adopted a theological career and went to Constantinople at the end of his studies, where as a result of his early developed poetical talent he soon became famous and gained patrons but also the hostility of many of his colleagues. As a result of the prevailing corruption and

nepotism in the appointments to public offices, in spite of his acknowledged ability he never succeeded in rising higher than *mülâzim* which rank he reached in 1089. He therefore resigned from the *Müderrişlik*, which alone formed the stepping-stone to higher offices and adopted a judicial career, which took him to Corin, Burgas, Adrianople (1097), Kassa, Rodosto, Serajevo (1112), Konia (1117), Diarbekir (1119—1121 to which he had been particularly anxious to go). As the tenure of office was as a rule only one year, and after each period there was a considerable period of enforced inactivity (*‘asf*) without a pension, he had continually to struggle with financial worries and difficulties, especially as he was ashamed to enrich himself by irregular means. His high moral character was recognised even by his enemies. At the same time he suffered heavy blows from fate; he lost all that he owned through the outbreak of war; a portion of his family was massacred and others carried off into captivity. When he died in 1124 he had been for some considerable time without a post.

Thäbit had an impediment in his speech which hindered his advancement in his official career; he was however all the more fluent with the pen. Various peculiarities of language reveal his non-Turkish origin. His command of vocabulary and language is very powerful. His Turkish vocabulary is one of the richest and most valuable in the whole of Turkish literature, especially for its idioms. One of his characteristics is the frequent use of proverbs and popular sayings, even the most trivial ones. His language surprises us with its youthful vigour, power of expression and its wealth of bold imagery.

In spite of his reputed membership of the Melâmî-Bairâmî order and his not infrequent use of Sûfî nomenclature, there is nothing of the mystic in him. His feeling for the real is very pronounced, a feature he has in common with other Ottoman poets. What gives him a note of his own and raises him high above the level of other Turkish poets is the manner in which his own individuality comes out in his poems. He was able to invigorate the tonelessness of Turkish poetry, usually abstract to the verge of desperation, by colouring it with his personality which breaks out everywhere and fills it with the spirit of a warm-blooded man. In spite of the fact that, with his remarkable jugglery with words, he does not reveal great depth of feeling, he is yet a true poet. But what always won hearts and secured him a certain popularity is his inexhaustible humour and his sarcasm, which compel laughter and are not found in a similar form in other Ottoman poets. He is always full of jokes and witty remarks and punning allusions and double entendres, not always easy to understand. The strong contrasts which follow in rapid succession are typical of him: the simple and involved, even tortuous, beautiful and coarse, pious and frivolous, even obscene.

Although he is not a popular poet in the proper sense of the word (there are for example no *‘arâzî* by him and his great learning makes his poems not easy to understand) he was much admired at all times in many circles. The number of manuscripts is large as his *Diwân* was often copied. The fact that he has not been printed is probably due to the large number of manuscripts available. Modern Turkish literary criticism has now,

but not quite justly, rather turned against him.

His works consist of a *Diwân* with 37 *kapitulas* (incl. his *Mîrâdîyya*, which is said to have been lithographed, and 2 *na‘îs*), about 364 *ghazel's* (the *ghazel's* are the weakest part of his poetry), a few *hikmet's*, riddles, 60 quatrains, 100 *misfredâs* and about 50 chronograms; also of a number of *mehtemû's*: A *Zafer-nâme*, composed for Sellâm Girey (pr. Stambul 1299 and 1311); *Edhem u-Humâ* (*Edhem-nâme*); *Berber-nâme*; *Dero-nâme* (*Hikâyet-i Khodja Fezâd*, *Hikâyet-i Donlu Dervî*) and *Hikâyet-i ‘Amr u-La‘lâ*.

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THAKİF. On the eve of the Hijra, the tribe of Thakif, settled in the district of Tâ'îf, claimed a common ancestor called Thakif. His real name is said to have been Kâsî and Thakif a surname. A malicious tradition has identified this Kâsî-Thakif with Abû Righâl, the traitor, who guided the Abyssinian army from Abrahâ to Mecca, and whose tomb used to be stoned on the road from Tâ'îf to Mecca. It was when they wished to ascend beyond this eponymous ancestor that divergences began. Some connected Thakif with Yâd, others with Hawâzin [q. v.]. Genealogists were still hesitating between these two schemes in the second century A. H. Most of the Thakifis declared themselves for the descent from Hawâzin. This was in order to connect themselves with the group of this name which was itself a subdivision of the mass of tribes connected with Kâsî. Their interests, their geographical position suggested this opportunist solution to the Thakifis in a district inhabited by the Banî Hawâzin, where the influence of the latter was predominant. Only among the *Ahlâf* of Tâ'îf did the theory of Yâdî descent have any partisans.

The town of Tâ'îf was the urban centre of Thakif. The tribe seems to have included only a small proportion of nomads. As for the town and the surrounding gardens, it contained the fertile country villages of Waht, of Lyya and others which stretched in the direction of the Yemen. Its Islamisation took place at the same time as that of Tâ'îf. It shared the reputation for trickery of the Tâ'ifis, took part with them in the conquests of Islâm, above all in the 'Irâk, where the foundation of Baṣra was due to them. Like them, the tribe rallied readily to the Omayyad régime, an attitude which earned them the hostility of the 'Abbâsîd rulers and also that of the 'Abbâsîd and 'Alîd traditionalists.

Meanwhile a slight movement of the tribe towards the south took place, all along the farms which they were developing in this direction. From the third century A. H. small numbers of Thakifis are found as far as the Yemen, in the Banî Hamdân country and in the district of Naḍrân, on intimate terms with the tribes of the country. It is thus that we find them in the Yemen supporting the Zaidî restoration of the 'Alîd al-Hadi lîa 'î-Hakî, studied by Van Arensdonk. For the rest the history of the tribe is not distinct from that of Tâ'îf, the

centre round which the majority of the tribe remained settled.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the traveller Burckhardt described the "Thakīf" as a "very powerful tribe; it possesses the fertile country round Taif, its gardens, and other sites on the eastern slopes of the mountains of the Hedjaz. A great many Thakīf have fixed abodes. Half the inhabitants of Taif belong to this tribe; others continue to live in tents. The Thakīf have very few horses and camels but they are rich in sheep and goats.... They can turn out two thousand men armed with rifles; they defended Taif against the Wahhābīs, in 1803. One of the last European visitors to Taif, Mr. Philby, found them on the slopes of mount Karā, between Taif and Mecca, where they devote themselves to agriculture.

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THĀLAB, ABU 'L-'ABDĀS AHMAD B. YAHYĀ B. ZAID B. SAYYAR (or: YASĀR) al-SHAIDĀNĪ (= Mawālī of the Banū Shāidān), an Arab grammarian, although regarded as of the "Kūfa" school (see below), spent his life in Baghdad. Born in 200 (815), at the age of 16 he began to devote himself to the study of the Arabic language. Abū 'Abd Allāh b. al-A'arabī, al-Zuhair b. Bakkar were among his teachers. He also studied with great enthusiasm the works of al-Kisā'ī and especially of al-Farrā'; he is said to have known all the latter by heart at the age of 25. Later he himself taught publicly and privately and in this capacity received a considerable salary from the court at the suggestion of the vizier Ismā'il b. Balbul. His best known pupils were Abū Bakr b. al-Anbārī and Abū 'Umar al-Zāhid. For thirteen years he was also private tutor to the son of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Tāhir, governor of Baghdad. His scientific activity also found expression in a number of publications of a philological, especially grammatical, nature. Of most only the titles have survived. Only two of them (*Kitāb al-Faṣḥ* and *Kawā'id al-Sha'ir*) have been printed. Thālab's hearing became very defective in his old age. This defect was the cause of an accident which he suffered on his way home from the mosque one day, of the results of which he died in Jumādā I 291 (904). As he had led a simple life, he was able to leave his daughter a considerable fortune. His extensive library was purchased after his death by the vizier al-Ḳāsim b. 'Ubayd Allāh.

The later Arab grammarians class Thālab as belonging to the so-called Kūfa school, which is said to have reached its zenith and also its end in him. He himself indeed declared he was an ardent follower of al-Farrā', the Kūfan xar' ἑξάρχης; he also waged a constant feud with al-Muḥarrad, his famous contemporary of the "Baṣra" school. But, as G. Weil has shown, one cannot really talk of a regular school of "Kūfan" grammarians; when its alleged representatives are considered to form an independent group, this is simply an invention of the later grammarians, who considered themselves the natural continuers of the Baṣra tradition and thought that the state of affairs in

grammatical study with its opposing schools in their time must also have existed in the past. Thālab no doubt continued the tradition of al-Farrā' but he was no more able than the other "Kūfians" to do more to establish his grammatical method, still less to develop it. His interest also was too much devoted to accumulating material to be memorised and to acquiring a knowledge of special linguistic forms, to enable him to develop a fruitful activity in the field of method.

Bibliography: Fihrist, ed. Flügel, p. 74; Yāqūt, *Ishād al-A'ib* (G. M. S., vi.), ii. 133–154; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, N^o. 42, transl. de Slane, i. 83–86; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'd*, Cairo 1326, p. 172–174; Abū 'l-Barrakāt b. al-Anbārī, *Nasbat al-Alibā'*, Cairo 1294, p. 293–299; Muḥammad Bākī, *Kawā'id al-Djannāt*, Teheran 1307, i. 56 sq.; F. Krenkow, *Il "Libro delle Classi" di Abu Bakr az-Zuhairi* (R. S. O., xiii. 107–156), N^o. 78; G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber* (Abh. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, ii. 4), p. 164–167; G. Weil, Introduction to *Abū 'l-Barrakāt Ibn al-Anbārī, Die grammatischen Streitfragen der Baṣra und Kufer*, Leyden 1913, esp. p. 65 sq. and 75–81; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 118; J. E. Sackin, *Muḥḥam al-Muḥḥam al-'Arabīya wa 'l-Baṣra*, Cairo 1928, esp., col. 662 sq.; Thālab's *Kitāb al-Faṣḥ*, ed. by J. Barth, Leipzig 1876; *L'Art poétique d'Abū 'l-Abbās Ahmad b. Yahyā Thālab*..., ed. C. Schiaparelli (*Actes du huitième Congrès International des Orientalistes*, II, A, p. 173–214), Leyden 1893. (R. PARET)

THĀLABA, a common old Arab proper name (more rarely Thālab) and eponym of a number of subdivisions of the larger tribal divisions of ancient Arabia. Thus we have the Thālabā b. Uḡāba of the great tribe of Bakr b. Wā'il (Yamama as far as Bahrain); the Thālabā b. Sa'd b. Dhuhayn of the tribe of Ghatafan in the Nejd region; the Thālabā b. Yarbū' of the tribe of Tamim; the Thālabī Tayi clans of the Tayi [q.v.]. A Thālabā b. 'Amr b. Mudjalid is mentioned as the first pylarch of the Ghassanid dynasty. The "Roman Arabs of the house of Thālabā" mentioned by Joshua Stylites as taking part in the wars with the Lakhmids are either of Ghassanid origin (Nöldeke) or belong to the Bakri Thālabā (Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lakhmiden in al-Hira*). In the south Arabian tribes we have Azdi and Kināni Thālabā. A Thālabā clan of the Aws in Yathrib and a Thālabā b. al-Fityūn (in Caussin wrongly Ghutayūn) of the Jewish Kainukā may also be mentioned. A member of this clan, called Muḥābir, distinguished for his learning, generally hostile to the Prophet, is said to have adopted Islām and fallen at Uḡud (Tabari, i. 1424; Ibn al-Athir, iii. 24 sqq.).

Bibliography: Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishā'iq*, ed. Wüstenfeld; Tabari, ed. de Goeje, index, s. v.; Wüstenfeld, *General Tabellen und Register*; Caussin de Perceval, *Histoire des Arabes*. (H. H. BRÄU)

AL-THĀLABĪ, AHMAD B. MUHAMMAD B. IBRĀHĪM ABU ISHĀK AL-NISĀBŪRĪ, a famous theologian and Kur'an exeget, born in Muḥarram 427 (Dec. 1035). His great work is the commentary on the Kur'an entitled *al-Kaṣf wa 'l-Bayān 'an Tafṣīr al-Kur'ān* which Ibn al-Djāwī (according to Ibn Taghribirdi, p. 660; ed. Popper, ii. 166)

criticisms on the ground that it accepts weak traditions, especially in the early Sūras, but which according to Schwally (in Noldeke's *Geschichte des Qur'ān*, ii, 174), must be one of the most useful works on the subject, as he uses about 100 sources in addition to Tabari in an intelligent fashion, and with every endeavour to attain completeness the work is only twice the size of Balḍawī. Nevertheless the work which was still very widely used in Yāqūt's time and had a criticism written on it by Ahmad b. al-Mukhtār al-Rāzi about 631 (1233) (see *Fihrist al-Kutub-hiḥne al-Khediwiye*, i, 198) has now fallen into oblivion and has never been printed. Much more popular is his *History of Prophets*, which grew out of his Qur'ān exegesis and was to be a supplement to it; it gives all the stories in very great detail but keeps on the whole clear of the worst feats of imagination of the *ḥuffāḥ*, such as we find in al-Kisā' [q. v.]. The book has been often printed e.g. Cairo 1297, 1303, 1306, 1308, 1310, 1314, 1321, 1324, 1340, Bombay 1306, and a Tatar translation by Muḥammad Amir b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ya'qūbi, Kasan 1903. As it became a popular work, the text was not treated with care, for example in the Paris MS. 1923, it is worked into that of al-Kisā'.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Irḥād al-Arīb*, ii, 104; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1299, No. 30; al-Suyūṭī, *De interpretibus Corani*, ed. Meurainge, No. 5; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, No. 185; *G. A. L.*, i, 350.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

THAMUD, the name of one of those old Arabian peoples, which like the 'Ad, Iram (Aram), Wihār (Joharitat) had disappeared some time before the coming of the Prophet. A series of older references, not of Arabian origin, confirm the historical existence of the name and people of Thamūd. Thus the inscription of Sargon of the year 715 B. C. mentions the Tamud among the people of eastern and central Arabia subjected by the Assyrians. We also find the Thamudaei, Thamūdenses mentioned in Aristo, Ptolemy, and Pliny. The latter mentions as settlements of the Thamudaei Domatha and Hegra, which are probably to be identified as the modern Dumat al-Djandal in Džof and al-Hijr on the Hijāz railway north of al-'Elā'. Old Arab tradition also locates the Thamūd at the last named place. The older poets mention the Thamūd with the 'Ad as examples of the transitoriness of worldly glory, e.g. al-A'ḥḥā and Umāyia b. Abi l-Salt who quotes several legendary features of their story. In the Qur'ān the fate of the Thamūd along with that of the 'Ad serves as a warning from native history along with the foreign ones from the Bible: for example in Sūra vii, 71-77; xi, 64-71; xv, 80-86; liv, 23-31. Arab tradition of the fall of the Thamūd, which was further developed by the earliest exegetas from the references in the Qur'ān is in its main lines as follows. Just as there was a prophet named Hūd among the 'Ad so there was one called Šalih (b. 'Ubalid b. 'Amir b. Sām, q. v.) among the Thamūd. Challenged by his opponents, whose leader is said to have been Djuḥda' b. 'Amr, to give a sign of his divine mission, he conjured up a pregnant she-camel out of a rock. The tendons of this animal, sacred and inviolable as 'Allāh's camel, were however cut along with those of its foal by the scoffers. In punishment the whole

people was doomed to destruction. The manner of their destruction is said in Sūra vii, 76 to have been *radīfa*, earthquake, in Sūra xli, 12, 16, *ṣifīḥa*, a thunderbolt. These expressions make it probable that tradition associated the fall of the Thamūd with one of the volcanic outbreaks which led to the formation of more or less extensive fields of lava called *ḥarra* in Arabia. West of al-Hijr lies one of the largest of these *ḥarra* (cf. B. Moritz, *Arabien*, Hanover 1923, p. 28). E. Glaser thinks the Thamūd are closely connected with the Lihyan [q. v.], the Lechiani of Pliny, that Thamūd was the older, Lihyan the later name of the people still surviving in the two Lihyan clans of the Haddhalia, and that the decline of the Thamūd coincided with the end of the Lihyan kingdom, somewhere between 400 and 600 A. D. The rock inscription found by Häber, Kuting and others in al-'Elā', al-Hijr and neighbourhood are called by epigraphists Lihyan or Thamūdene.

Bibliography: The commentaries on the Qur'ān passages quoted; Tabari, *Annales*, i, 219 sqq., 244 sqq.; al-Makḥḍī, *Libre de la création*, ed. Huart, iii, 39 sqq.; Ma'ṣūḍī, *Mu'arraf*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, iii, 84 sqq.; al-Tha'labi, *Kitaḥ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1290, p. 58 sqq.; Abu l-Fidā', *Historia antislamica*, ed. Fleischer, register; Caussin de Perceval, *Histoire des Arabes*, i, 24 sqq.; Sprenger, *Alte Geographie Arabiens*; E. Glaser, *Skizze zur Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, vol. ii. (H. H. BRAC)

THANAWIYA, Dualism, means the doctrine that light and darkness are the two equal eternal creative principles. There is not a regular Thanawiya sect or school in Islām. The term, as the characteristic name of a school of thought, is limited to three non-Muslims and their adherents: Ibn Daiḡān, Mānī and Mazdak [see these three articles].

A danger arose to Islām through the tendency to dualism within its ranks from the mass conversions of Persians, as was seen for example at the beginning of the Abbāsīd period in the disturbing figure of Ibn al-Muḥaffa'. He was attacked for example by the Mu'tazilī Zaid al-Kāsim b. Ibrāhīm Tabāṭabā', *al-Radd 'ala l-Zindiq Ibrāhīm al-Muḥaffa'* (ed. M. Guidi, Rome 1927). In the further course of dogmatic development, the charge of dualism is often raised and is not by any means confined to one party. Several ultra-Ši'is of the third (ninth) century had the accusation made against them: Abū Ḥafṣ al-Haddād, Ibn Dharr al-Dharrāfi and Abū l-Ḥalī al-Warrāk, the authority on heresies, who himself, originally a Mazdazān, even after his conversion is said to have "supported the Thanawiya by his writings". But the classification, for example, of the latter among the Manichaeans is based on his agreement with them on other, not metaphysical points, for example the prohibition of killing. Even the heretic who gets his usual epithet from a Thanawiya group, the Raḡīḡ Abū Šakir al-Daiḡān got the name, so far as we can see, because he attributed a body to God, i.e. an opinion not in itself dualistic and the *Fihrist* (ed. Flügel, 338, 8) classifies him more generally among the "secret Zindiqs". In fact the distinctive Daiḡānī dogma, the derivation of bodies from the black and the white element (see Aḡḡarī, *Maḡālat al-Ilāhiyyin* [ed. Ritter], p. 335) seems so far not to be traceable in Abū Šakir; besides the branding of an opponent on the ground of a single, often quite subsidiary

tertium comparationis is an all too frequent and confusing habit of the Muslim champions of orthodoxy.

The above charges against the three last-named are taken from al-Khayyāt, *Kitāb al-Itiqān*, "Le Livre du Triomphe" (ed. Nyberg, Cairo 1344, p. 150, 4; 149, 9; 155, 14; 171, 47; cf. also the index under the names mentioned here and below). To appreciate his opinions properly, one must remember that they are counter-attacks on Ibn al-Rawandī, who in his *Kitāb Fadhilat al-Mu'tazila* had branded several leaders of the Mu'tazila [q.v.] as dualists. It is true that these circles produced many polemics against Thanawiya, Manichaeans and Daiṣānīs; but Ibn al-Rawandī seized upon the Mu'tazila endeavour to make God not the originator of evil. Even al-Djāhīz is said to have endangered monotheism by the assertion that "the bodies develop out of their nature" and that "God cannot destroy them" (*op. cit.*, p. 168). Ibn al-Rawandī particularly characterized Ibrāhīm al-Nazzām, the teacher of Djāhīz, although he wrote against the Thanawiya (*op. cit.*, p. 17, 12), as a downright dualist Manichaean and Daiṣānī (*op. cit.*, p. 38, 3; 40, 6; 17, 19; 43, 17, 19; and pass.) chiefly on account of a view of the absolute opposition between good and evil, as between light and heavy. So long as the original works are not available, we must accept with caution the distorted reproduction of his opponents' views by Ibn al-Rawandī and the evasive exposition by al-Khayyāt. It is, however, not only these opponents who suspect the Mu'tazila, who take pride in calling themselves the people of true monotheism and not only the Mu'tazila mentioned who have become suspect, but several others like 'Alī al-Aswari and Abū Bakr al-Aṣamm (cf. also de Boer, *Geschichte der Philosophie im Islam*, Stuttgart 1901, p. 47; Horten, *Die philosophischen Systeme der spekulativen Theologen im Islam*, Bonn 1912 and his other works by index under Dualismus). The Mu'tazila counter-attack however was able to reproach the Sunnis with their Qur'an which they asserted had existed from the beginning alongside of God.

Dualism is said to have been distinctly taught by some disciples of al-Nazzām. Just as they are said to have intensified his Shi'i tendencies till they became ultra-Shi'a, so they developed his christianising logos-theory into the doctrine of two creators: God and God's word. The latter however, identified with the Messiah, does not mean complete incompatibility with monotheism, as it is only a created creator, an intermediary. Even the names of these heretics are, it must be confessed, uncertain. In Shahrastānī (ed. Cureton), p. 42 whose authority is Ibn al-Rawandī they are called al-Faḍl al-Hadāthi and Ahmad b. Khāṭi. The latter is also the name given in Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* (ed. Barbier de Meynard), iii. 266, but in another classification; in Ibn Hārm, *Fihl* (Cairo 1331), iv. 197, 80 sq.; Ahmad b. Khāṭi and al-Faḍl al-Harbi (cf. Nyberg on Khayyāt, p. 148 on p. 222 sqq. and Friedländer, *The Heterodoxies of the Shiites*, in *J.A.O.S.*, xxix. [1909], p. 10 and Index). The ultra-Shi'i al-Bayān b. Sim'an al-Tamīmī is said to have interpreted Sūra xliii. 84 to mean that there is one God of heaven and another, inferior however, of the earth, and Abū 'l-Khaṭṭāb Ḥaṣṣ and a certain al-Sarri are said to have agreed with him (al-Kashshā, *Maṣrif al-Akhḍār al-Riḡāl* [Bombay 1317], p. 196, 3 sq.). This seems to lean towards those Ghulāt [cf. NUṢAIRIYA] who see in 'Alī not so much the incarnate iden-

tity with God as the demiurge under the highest God. It is often insisted by theologians and philosophers (cf. Ibn Hārm, *Fihl*, iv. 37; see also Schreiner, in *Z.D.M.G.*, lli. [1928], p. 479 sqq. and Nallino in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, li. 91 sqq.) that the participation in rule by the stars as second forces in addition to God, because it is dualism, is no less infidelity than the purely atheistic paganism of an absolute astrology.

To Islam with its striving after monotheism, duality means the abolition of the very idea of God (cf. on Sūra xvi. 53: al-Rāzī, *Mafāhīḥ al-Ghāib* [Cairo 1308], v. 327, 24, 36; al-Baidāwī, *Anwār al-Tanzīl* [ed. Fleischer], p. 517, 12; al-Naisabūrī, *Taṣṭīr* [on the margin of Ṭabari, *Taṣṭīr*, Bālik 1323 sqq.], xiv. 74). Thanawiya thus became a term of contempt, but even in this use, it is not absolutely free from ambiguity but is used to some extent synonymously with the commoner word *indīk*, the application of which is much wider. Of the philosophical systems the Peripatetic brought a dualistic system, of metaphysics into the Kaḥīm of Islām. Ghazālī very strongly emphasises its halfway position, full of contradictions, between the true belief in tawḥīd on the one hand and complete infidelity on the other, as taught by the Dahriya [q.v.], naturalism, erroneous it is true, but quite conceivable: "the philosophers think that the world is eternal, but in spite of this they assume a creator; this is a self-contradictory proposition which requires no refutation"; Ghazālī insists it is only hiding and not bridging over the difficulty when the empiricism of the Peripatetics summons to its assistance, from the Neo-Platonic doctrine of emanation, after the fashion of the Brethren of Purity [cf. IGHWAN AL-ḤAKK], a being intermediate between God and the universe: "a caused (creative intermediary) alongside of the prime cause gives two creators and those eternal" (cf. *Tahāfut al-Falāṭifa* [ed. with the works of the same name by Ibn Rushd and Khawāḍjāde, Cairo 1319], p. 33, 27 and thereon J. Obermann, *Der philosophische und religiöse Subjektivismus Ghazālīs* [Vienna-Leipzig 1921], p. 43 sq., 57 sqq., 63 sqq.). It is at the same time (p. 35) strongly emphasised that from the Aristotelian Neo-Platonic point of view of Fārābī or Ibn Sīnā a proof of tawḥīd need not be given. He is therefore not all impressed in any way by the fact that the latter tries to remove the danger, which he himself feels of a "second Necessarily Existing One" (see Horten, *Die Metaphysik Avicennas* [Halle 1907], p. 542 sqq.; esp. p. 551 on Ibn Sīnā, *Kitāb al-Shifā'*, iv., treatise 9). Even more uncertain sound the monotheistic assertions of Ibn Sīnā in the narrower scope of his *Kitāb al-Naḍāt* (Cairo 1331), p. 327 sqq., 356 sqq., 374 sqq. etc., in view of the granting of the independence of the hylie substratum of creation, as it is reflected in his dualistic anthropology also.

How the contamination of Muslim monotheism by dualism from outside Islām presents itself to the Sunnī Ash'arīs may be seen, for example, in 'Abd al-Kāfir al-Baghādī. In *Farḥ bain al-Firāḥ* (Cairo 1328) he expresses surprise even more ironical than Ibn al-Rawandī (see in Khayyāt, p. 30, 1) at the fact that al-Nazzām in his arch-dualism (*Farḥ*, p. 120, 121: *taḥlīḥ al-'ainīk* [and al-Thana'awīya]) wrote against the Thanawiya and the Manichaeans (p. 117, 5; 120, 12; 123 ult.,

124, a). Al-Baghdādī in *Uṣūl al-Dīn* (Sambūl 1928, p. 54) associates al-Nazzām directly with the Thanawiya outside Islām, among whom he in error includes the Marcionites, unlike the other heresiologists: He describes the Bāṭinīs [q.v.] without qualification as dualists (p. 322): "They were originally Majūs and Thanawī, then in the time of al-Ma'mūn their prophets like 'Abd. Allāh b. Ma'mūn al-Kaddāb [q.v.] and Ḥamīd b. Karmat preached that there were two creators whom they called the first and the second; but this is in substance the teaching of the Thanawīya about light and darkness and the substance of the teaching of the Majūs about Yazdān and Ahriman". Who are meant by the "two creators" is not recognisable with certainty from the brief general observation. It might be thought that al-Baghdādī had arbitrarily emphasised only the *nūr* *shāhādāt* and the *nūr* *ṣūfī* out of the series of emanations [see KARMAṬIANS] in order to assert the Majūs character of the Bāṭinīs. The known monotheistic tendency of the Bāṭinī Nāṣir-i Khusrāw (*Zād-i Mas'ūm*, Berlin 1923, p. 74 199, 150 199, 160 199) does not support the idea of a duality of this kind (cf. also Schaefer, *Die islamische Lehre vom vollkommenen Menschen*, in *Z.D.M.G.*, N. S., iv. [1925], p. 222 199, esp. p. 231). The subordination of the second god would, it is true, not fit the comparison with the Majūs made by al-Baghdādī but it is just this point that would not be regarded as proper dualism in the usual language of the Muslim heresiologists. They expressly excluded the Majūs from the Thanawīya, distinguishing them from the three groups mentioned at the beginning of the article, because, according to their dynamic monarchicalism, Ahriman-darkness was a secondary creation of Yazdān-light or, as the sub-group of the Zoroastrians (Zaradushtīya) teach, both are equal to each other, but are subordinate to a supreme God as the first things created by him.

Bibliography: Besides the books mentioned in the text, cf. the works quoted in the articles cited.

(R. STROTHMANN)

THĀNISARĪ, MAWLĀNĀ, whose real name was Ahmad, was a disciple of Shaikh Naṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Ġirāgh-i Dihlī (d. 757 = 1356), and was distinguished for his learning and piety. When the news of the arrival of Timūr (d. 807 = 1404) spread in Dihlī, most of the 'Ulamā' left the place but Thānisarī stayed till he and his dependents became prisoners of Timūr. As his fame was widespread and Timūr had previous knowledge of his learning, he was set at liberty and was received by him after order had been restored. A discussion arose about the precedence in the assembly between Thānisarī and Shaikh al-Islām who was the descendant of 'Alī b. Abī Bakr al-Faṛghānī al-Marghinānī (d. 593 = 1197), the author of *al-Hidāya*. Timūr took the side of Shaikh al-Islām and said that the latter was a descendant of the author of the *Hidāya*, meaning that preference should be given to him. On which Thānisarī replied that it was no wonder that Shaikh al-Islām had committed one mistake, for his ancestor, the author of the *Hidāya*, had committed many mistakes. Whereupon Shaikh al-Islām became very angry and asked him to point out the mistakes. Thānisarī told his pupils to do so. But Timūr stopped the discussion, in order to prevent further disturbance. When Timūr left India, Thānisarī also went away

from Dihlī and settled at Kālpī where he engaged in teaching till his death in 820 (1417) and was buried in the fort of Kālpī.

Among his compositions the *Kaṣīda Dāliya* is very famous.

Bibliography: 'Abd al-Hakīm Dihlāwī, *Aḥkār al-Aḥyār*, p. 142; Azād Bilgramī, *Sukhat al-Mardjān*, p. 37; Siddiq Hasan, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, p. 892 and *Ḥadīq al-Hamāsiya*, p. 313. (M. Hidayat Hossain)

THĀR. [See KĪṢĀṢ.]

THAWBĀN & **IBRĀHĪM.** [See DĪW 'L-NUN.]

AL-THAWR, the constellation of Taurus, the second in the zodiacal circle. The figure is the front half of a bull whose head is turned to one side so that the horns face east. The constellation consists of 32 stars in the figure and 11 outside it. On the sector (*ṣaf*, *arcus*) are said to be four stars in a straight line; in reality the stars *ε* *ζ* *η* *θ* form a curve. The bright star of the north horn also belongs to the constellation of the Steersman. The eye of the bull, *Ain al-Thawr*, the star with a red light of the first magnitude *α* in the centre of a thick group of smaller stars, the Hyades of the Greeks, is given many names by the Arabs. The name *al-Fanīḥ*, the "large camel", seems to be genuinely Arabic; around it are grouped the other stars or *al-Ḫilāṭ*, "little camels". Other names of *α* are connected with the Pleiades. As this constellation is called *al-Naḡm* "the group of stars" by the Arabs, *α* is called *Ḥādī 'l-Naḡm*, the "driver of the stars", or *Tāḍī 'l-Naḡm* and *al-Daharān*, the "follower of the stars". This last name has passed into our star-maps in the form Aldebaran. The stars *ν* and *κ* near the ear of the bull are called *al-Kalbān*, the "two dogs", i.e. of the driver.

Bibliography: al-Kāzwīnī, *Al-Jawāhīr al-Makhlūṣāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 35; transl. by H. Ethé, as the *Kosmographie*, p. 74; L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, p. 136. (J. RUSKA)

AL-THUGHÜR (A., plur. of *ṭaghūr*, "cleft, opening"), the zone of the fortresses built against the Byzantines in the Syrian and Mesopotamian marches (hence also *Ṭaghūr al-Rūmiya*). In Constantinos Porphyrogenetos they are called *τὰ Στεῦρα* (*De Cerimoniis*, ed. Bonn, i. 657; cf. Reiske's note, ii., p. 777 = Migne, *Patrol. Graec.*, cxii., col. 1220, note 38), by the Syrians "the land of Tagrā" (Michael Syrus, ed. Chabot, iii. 2039, 467; Barhebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, ed. Abbeloos-Lamy, i. 339 29.).

This frontier zone ran from Tarsūs [q.v.] in Cilicia along the Taurus on to Malatya [q.v.] to the Euphrates and served to protect the frontier province of the 'Awāṣim [q.v.] from enemy invasion. It corresponded in object (but not in position) to the ancient *limes*, and a distinction, analogous to the old division into *Limes Arabicus*, *Syriacus* etc., was made between the Thughūr al-Shamiya and the Thughūr al-Djaziyya. The most advanced town in the former was Mar'ash [q.v.] and in the latter Malatya [q.v.]. Al-Ḥakīmī mentions in the Thughūr the fortresses of Malatya, al-Hadath, Mar'ash, al-Harriniya, al-Kantaa (= Kantat al-Sawda'), Ain Zarba, al-Maṣṣiya, Adhana and Tarsūs; al-Dimishqī gives the following as the fortresses on the Mesopotamian frontier: Malatya, Kanakh, Shīmkhāt, al-Bira, Hīn Manṣūr, Kal'at al-Rūm, Hadath al-Hamra' and Mar'ash, on the Syrian

Tarsis, Adhana, al-Massisa, al-Harāniya, Sia and Aiyās. In the viiith (ixth) century there belonged to the marches of the Mamlūk kingdom, the 'Awāṣim and Thughūr (so al-Kalkashandī, *Ṣiḥḥ al-ʿArab*, Cairo, iv, 228; it would be more correct to give only the Thughūr here), the 8 *niyāḥas* of Malatya, Dabragi (Diwrigi), Daranda, Abulustain, Aiyās, Tarsis and Adhana, Sirfandakār and Sia, and to the Mesopotamian marches the 3 *niyāḥas*, al-Bira, Ka'at Dja'bar and al-Ruha. But the name Thughūr, at this time probably only survived in learned tradition.

For the pass of Baḥlān [q. v.] in the Mamlūk period the usual name was *Thaḡar al-Ikandariya* (H. E. Weijers, *Summa operis Durrai ad-Asfāk fī Dawlat al-Atrāk, in Orientalia*, ed. Juynboll, ii, 1846, p. 323, 429, 451, 464, 468, 489).

Sometimes the frontier of Diyār Bekr [q. v.] is known as *Thughūr al-Bakriya* (Kudāma, *B.G.A.*, vi, p. 254).

According to Abu 'l-Fida' (*Ṭabaṭai*, transl. Reinaud-Guyard, i/l. 14; ii/l. 257), the name al-Thaḡar or al-Thughūr was also used for the marches in al-Andalus and Mā warā' al-Nahr.

Bibliography: al-Iṣṭakhri, *B.G.A.*, i, 55 sq.; Ibn Hawkal, *B.G.A.*, ii, 108; Yāqūt, *Muḡam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 927; Saḥī al-Dīn, *Marāḥiḥ al-Iṭṭilā'*, ed. Juynboll, i, 228; al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 163—171, 184—192; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, index, ii, 707; al-Tabari, ed. de Goeje, indices, p. 684; al-Dinshiqi, ed. Mehren, p. 214; Abu 'l-Fida', *Annales Musulm.*, ed. Reiske, ii, 60; iii, 486 [here: al-Thaḡar]; Kamāl al-Dīn in Freytag, *Z. D. M. G.*, xi, 183, note; Ibn al-Shihna, *al-Durr al-muntakhab fī Tārīkh Ḥalaḥ*, ed. Bairūt, p. 178; Rosen, *Zapiski Imp. Akad. Nauk*, xlv, 2, 90, 140, 142, 233, 311, 315; Sachau, *S. B. Akad. Berlin*, 1892, p. 319; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 26 sq.; 37 sq.; do., *The Lands of the Eastern Caliph*, p. 128; Gaudelroy-Demonbynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, 1923, p. 96. (E. HONIGMANN)

THULĀ, THULĀ, a town in South Arabia, at the foot of a reddish range of hills, which branches off from the great chain of Kawkabān, Hadjar al-Shaḥh, Dhi Bin to the east (S.E.) and forms the southern boundary of al-Baḥn. According to E. Glaser who visited it on Dec. 5, 1883, the town is very clean, and has narrow streets and very high regularly built houses of yellowish-red limestone, which is hewn into neat blocks of about 10 inches by 4 and shows the same character in the whole town. The town is built against the eastern side of 1,000 feet high sandstone cliff, on the top of which is the castle (*ḥuṣn*) el-Nāṣir and is surrounded by a wall with 4 gates, beginning and ending against the cliff; it is at least twice as large as Shibām and one and a half times as large as Kawkabān and after San'a', one of the largest and finest towns in the Yemen. The citadel, which was entered through a great archway, which spanned a deep cleft, but was later destroyed, is extraordinarily strongly built and apparently very old. It is said to have been previously called *Ḥuṣn al-Gharāb* (castle of the Raven), the name of the famous fortress on the coast at the old harbour of Kane (el-Madjdhaba). It is one of the finest castles in the Yemen; unfortunately the Turks at the conquest of the country destroyed all the outer works. The entrance gate of the castle

is at a height of 15 feet in an absolutely perpendicular wall, over a ravine 60—100 feet deep. Besides a fine mosque, the castle had also a large dwelling-house in the extreme east on the highest part of the hill, which looks at a distance like a low square tower; beside it a little lower is a higher tower, also square. Water was supplied from 4 or 5 deep well cemented cisterns; 15—20 granaries (*madāḥin*) cone-shaped caves, hewn out of the sandstone served as storehouses for provisions; the opening was at the narrow end. They are 18—20 feet deep, are 12 feet at the bottom and not quite 3 in diameter at the opening. The summit of the mountain, on which the castle stands, has on all sides caves hewn out of the rock (*djurf*) with regular dwelling-houses with windows, niches and doors. Some are whitewashed and have 5 or 6 rooms of varying size. They seem to be old and were at one time used as dwellings by the Arab garrison of the fort. West of the above mentioned tower-like square ruined building are several large tombs built on the sandstone with old Arabic inscriptions. A saint (*waḥī*) is said to be among those buried here.

According to local tradition, there was originally not a town of this name but a group of villages; the latter — said to have been over 40 in number — were under the rule of Thulā down to the Turkish conquest. In C. Niebuhr's time the administrative district of Thulā (he writes Tulla) comprised also the lands to the north like Kohlan, 'Affar, Hadje, Dofir, Kawkabān (near Hadje), Djebel Sherif, Habār, Sada and Djebel Shahāra with about 300 villages, and was therefore much more extensive than at the end of the sixteenth century.

Bibliography: C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien* (Copenhagen 1772), p. 251 sq.; E. Glaser, *Geographische Forschungen Yemen 1882/83* (Manuscript), fol. 61. (GROHMANN)

THULTH. [See ARABIA, i, 386^b, 387^a.]

THUMAMA B. ASHRAS, a theologian, representative of the liberal movement under the early 'Abbāsids. On account of his great learning and intellectual ability he was invited to the court by Hārūn and Ma'mūn, to whom his sharp criticism of conservative views was no doubt also pleasing. This brought upon him the enmity of the conservative school of thought, which began to come to the front again after Mutawakkil and they have endeavoured to belittle his reputation.

To the burning questions of his time he took up an independent position, logically thought out, which often seemed peculiar and arbitrary. The "consequences" of actions, e.g. the turning of a key by a man, are produced neither by man (otherwise he would be able, like God, to bring into existence new realities, i.e. to create) nor by God, for then God would also create sin and moreover be in dependence on the will of the creature. The "consequences" (*muṭawallidāt*) are rather subjective actions and based on physics (*ṭibā'*). The liberal school traced them to *taḥlīl*, the "engendering" of man, without being willing to call this a "causation". Our knowledge is therefore, according to Thumama, something originating in time but is without a prime cause (*muḥdith*) working in time. Our spirit itself cannot produce it, for then it would be exercising a function of the Deity.

Only the internal activity of the will (*irāda*), excluding all its consequences, is our own special

possession and "free". The world is created by God through his nature (*fiḥ* = physis), i.e. synonymous with "physical" necessity. It must therefore have been, as Shahrastānī rightly observes, produced "eternally" i.e. without beginning, and this is the thesis of *falsafa*. Our natural reason decides on the ethical value of the moral action (*taḥṣin al-ʿaḥl*). God cannot arbitrarily establish the moral.

All our intellectual apprehensions are necessary (*ḡarūrī*), and have no connection with chance. He who does not know God in this logically compelling fashion is not bound to obey his commandments; but thereby he also loses the dignity of man's nature and becomes like the beasts. In the next world he will fall into dust. He is not conceded an immortal soul. This is true of Jews, Christians, followers of the *Dahr*, Mazdak (*Zandāḥa*), "Magians" (fire-worshippers, Parsis) and children, even those of Muslims.

Ibn Muṣṭafā in his "Book on the Sects" (*Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal*, ed. T. W. Arnold, Leipzig 1902, p. 35 sq.) puts him in the seventh generation, which follows that of al-ʿAllāf (d. 849). He was a pupil of Bishr b. al-Muṭamir (d. about 840), was regarded as "unique in knowledge and intellectual culture in his day" and was feared as an opponent in disputations. His full name was Abū Maʿan al-Numairī.

Bibliography: (The notices of him all come from the works of his opponents, the conservative theologians): Idjī, *Kitāb al-Mawāḥiḥ*, ed. Sørensen, *faṣṣim*; Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal*, ed. Cureton, London 1842-1846, p. 49 sq.; Isfahānī, Ms. Berlin, 4^o, fol. 35 sq.; al-Baḥḥidī, *Faḥḥ bain al-Firaḥ*, ed. Cairo, *faṣṣim*; Djurdjānī, *Definitioes*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, p. 76, 4; M. Horten, *Die Theologie des Islam*, Leipzig 1912, p. 285; do., *Die philosophischen Systeme*, Bonn 1912, p. 309-317; do., *Die philosophischen Probleme*, Bonn 1910, p. 50, 176 etc. (M. HORTEN)

al-THURAIYĀ, the constellation of the Pleiades. According to al-Kāzwinī, the group is made up of two brighter stars between which are three others close together like grapes in a bunch. The group is also called simply *al-Naḍīm* "the (group of) stars" and the principal star (α Alkyone) is called *Wasaf*, *Djaws* or *Nalyir al-Thuraiyā* i.e. middle, heart or bright star of the Pleiades. The word *Thuraiyā* is a diminutive of *ṭharw* which means "existing in plenty" and would correspond to the Greek *πλεῖς* if this name could be connected with *πλεῖς* and not with *πλεῖν* "to navigate". According to others, the constellation is so called because rain at its rising at the dawn brings *ṭharw* i.e. great plenty. In any case, from early times the Pleiades have been credited with great influence on the weather and the processes of nature dependent on it. A more popular name for the group is, according to the astronomer Ibn Abī 'l-Ridjāl (Abenragel, in the xith = xvith century), *Dajjādīyat al-Samū' ma'a Banātihā*, the hen of heaven with her chickens, also found in the English name Hen and Chickens. The constellation is also regarded as a diadem with jewels and it is mentioned in countless passages in the poets. In the form *Saraya* the word has recently become widely known as the name of the queen of Aithiopia.

Bibliography: al-Kāzwinī, *ʿAdjīb al-Makhlūqāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, I. 35, 43; transl. by H. Ethé, as the *Kosmographie*, p. 75, 90;

L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, p. 146.

(J. RUBKA)

THURAIYĀ, MEHMEMMED, an Ottoman biographer, born in Stambul, the son of a certain Husnī Bey (cf. *Sijill-i 'Oṭmānī*, II, 178), adopted an official career and died in his native town as an official in the education service on the 19th Dhu 'l-Hijja 1326 (Jan. 12, 1909). His tomb is in Scutari in the Kaḥḥā Ahmad cemetery. Mehemmed Thuraiyā has earned lasting fame as the compiler of an Ottoman Dictionary of National Biography, which he called *Sijill-i 'Oṭmānī* and published in 4 volumes in Stambul between 1308 and 1315. On the plan, contents and importance of this work to historians cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 386 sq.; the fact that the statements of the *Sijill-i 'Oṭmānī* must be used with great caution does not lessen the magnitude of the achievement, which is an astonishing one for one man. Mehemmed Thuraiyā has however not rendered the compilation of an Ottoman biographical dictionary on scientific lines superfluous. Under the title *Nuḥḥat al-Waḥā'is* (Stambul 5 parts, comes down to 1267 = 1850) Mehemmed Thuraiyā began but did not finish a collection of public appointments from 1247 (1831) to 1292 (1875) with biographical notes. Among his literary remains were found copies of several biographical works and works on contemporary history which he had begun, which still await publication or utilisation; cf. *G. O. W.*, p. 387.

Bibliography: Mehemmed Tāhīr, *'Oṭmānī Müellifleri*, III. 36 sq.; F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 385 sqq. (FRANZ BABINGER)

TIBB (A.), medicine. This is one of the branches of science in which the Arabs have attained most fame. The Muslims received their knowledge of the subject mainly from the Greeks, first through the intermediary of the Syrians and Persians, then directly by the translation of classical works. Muslim rulers and princes were at all times very eclectic in the choice of their physicians; there were at the court of the caliphs, Jewish, Christian, Mazdaean, Sabaeen and even a few Hindu physicians. Medical science had been much studied in the eastern world in the period that preceded Islam, especially at Alexandria in Egypt and at the school of Djundisābūr in Persia which lasted down to the time of the 'Abbāsids.

The Greek medical authors known to the Arabs were especially Hippocrates and Galen, besides whom may be mentioned Rufus of Ephesus, Oribases, Aëtius and Paul of Aegina. Hippocrates (cf. *BOGART*) was translated into Arabic by Hunayn b. Ishāq, Kosta b. Lūḳā, Isā b. Yahyā and 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Alī; they translated his book of "Aphorisms"; his treatises on "Prognostics" and "Epidemics" were later studied and annotated. A large number of the works of Galen were translated into Arabic: the *Art medica* or *liḡage* which was later very popular in the middle ages, the *De elementis secundum Hippocratem*, the *De temperamentis*, the *De sanitate tuenda*, three books on the properties of foods, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, 14 books on *Therapeutics*, *Methodus medendi*, a treatise on diagnosis, *De morbis et symptomatibus*, another on fevers which was well known in Latin, others again on the pulse, on tumours and several commentaries by Galen on Hippocrates, especially on the book on Epidemics

and on the Aphorisms to which should be added the commentary by the same scholar on the "Timaeus" of Plato, which Hunain b. Ishāq translated.

Among Christian physicians, who distinguished themselves at the court of the caliphs was Ibn Miskawayh, physician to Hārūn al-Rashīd. He was given by the caliph the task of procuring translations of the books of medicine of the ancients and he taught medicine in Baghdad. In the same period, the family of the Bokht-īshī was celebrated: one of its members attended Rashīd at the beginning of his reign. They are said to have come from Djundisābūr. 'Alī b. Ridwān, an Egyptian Christian, was physician to the Fātimid caliph Hirkīn in Egypt. He wrote a commentary on Galen.

A Zoroastrian, 'Alī b. 'Abbās, was physician to the Būyid sultan 'Aḍud al-Dawla and wrote a treatise entitled "The Royal Book," which had the greatest vogue before the *Canon* of Avicenna. The Sabaeen Sinān, son of the great geometrician Thābit b. Qurra (q. v.), attended the caliph Kāhīr. It was he who had official medical diplomas instituted: aspirants to the medical profession had to pass examinations and certificates were given them defining within what limits they were to be permitted to practise. In Baghdad alone there were over 800 doctors, who held this certificate, not counting those who, on account of the renown they already had, had been exempted from the examination. Sinān having been persecuted by the Caliph, fled to Khurāsān; he later returned to Baghdad where he died in 942.

These differences of origin among the physicians did not mean that they had serious differences in their ideas or practice of their art. A few prescriptions, a few methods on some question or other, may have been peculiar to one or other school. Thus Ibn al-Kifī tells a story of a prince of the family of Hārūn al-Rashīd, who had fallen into a lethargy. A Christian physician was sent to attend him and then a Jewish one; they were unable to do anything; a Hindu was then summoned and he succeeded in reviving him. In this case it was "Indian medicine" that triumphed: but one must not conclude that it was quite different from Jewish or Byzantine medicine, nor that it was in any way superior to them.

The Muslim physicians surpassed even the preceding in reputation. Rāzī, so well known in the middle ages in the latinised form Razes, physician, apothecary, surgeon and alchemist, left two principal works — *al-Hawī* and *al-Manṣūrī*, dedicated to the Sāmānid Abū Ṣāliḥ Maṣṣūr, on "special" maladies. Al-Rāzī was head of the hospital at Ray and then of that of Baghdad. The foundation of regularly organised hospitals under official control is a thing that reflects the greatest honour on Muslim science and governments. Historians also mention the hospital of Damascus. There were besides in large towns, a "Chief of the doctors," appointed by the authorities. Among those quoted as having had this title is the second Ibn Zuhr.

The great philosophers of the Hellenistic schools, the "scholastics," were physicians and wrote on medicine. Avicenna was a practitioner with a high reputation. His great work, the "Canon on Medicine," is the largest treatise on the subject produced in the Middle Ages; it was several times annotated in Arabic and became authoritative in the east and then in the west. It is divided into five books.

The first is devoted to the general principles of medicine, the *Kulliyāt*; these generalities are anatomy, hygiene, the diseases which as a rule affect the whole body in opposition to "special" diseases which affect particularly one organ or limb; these are enumerated and studied in Book III, beginning at the head and going down to the feet. General diseases are also dealt with in Book IV; then come different accidents, tumours, poisonings, fractures of limbs. Book II is a treatise on "simples," and V is devoted to "compound" remedies, called *akrābūḡhīn*, i. e. pharmaceuticals.

In the Maghrib, Ibn Bāḡdja and Ibn Tufail were physicians to the Almohads. Averroes, who succeeded Ibn Tufail in this capacity, wrote a *Kulliyāt*, the popularity of which rivalled that of the *Canon* of Avicenna in the Maḥammadan west and then in the Christian world. Muslim Spain also produced the family of Ibn Zuhr, the Avensoar of mediaeval Latinity.

Arab medical science had an enormous influence in the western world. It passed first to the Jews, especially to Maimonides, whose medical work is very considerable, then to the Christians. This is how Gerard of Cremona came to translate the *Canon* of Avicenna and the *Kitāb al-Manṣūrī* of Razes. The translation of the *Canon* was revised by Andreas Alpāgus of Bellona, who also translated the *De Theriaca* of Averroes and the *Practica* of Ibn Serapion. Farragut translated the *Continens* of Razes, and Bonacossa, a Jew of Padua, the "Colliget" (*Kulliyāt*) of Averroes. These translations were published at the beginning of printing.

The pharmacopoeia and the knowledge of "simples" are represented by the treatise of Ibn al-Baiṭār of Malaga in addition to the parts of the *Canon* of Avicenna which refer to this subject. The Arabs themselves studied herbs and further developed the knowledge of their medicinal properties from the teaching of Dioscorides and Galen. Through their sailors they were able to introduce into medicine the use of new plants from the Malay Archipelago and China, like camphor, cassia and sandalwood. They developed pharmaceuticals and invented several preparations, syrups, juleps and alcohols.

One branch of study closely allied to medicine, veterinary science, was the subject of a number of special treatises among the Arabs.

Bibliography: Full information on the physicians of the Muslim world is to be found in several Arabic works: Ibn Abī Usaib'a, *Tabaqāt al-Aṭibbā*, ed. A. Müller, 1884; the *Tārīkh al-Hukamā* of Ibn al-Kifī; the *Mukhtasar al-Duwal* of Abū 'l-Faraj; ed. Ṣāliḥān; Maḥḥārī, *Analeto*, for Spanish physicians; the "Canon" of Avicenna, ed. in Arabic at Rome in 1593, at the *Typographia Medica*, reprinted Bulāq in 1294.

European Works: L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, 2 vol., Paris 1876; F. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der arabischen Ärzte und Naturforscher*, Göttingen 1840; Donald Campbell, *Arabian Medicine and its Influence on the Middle Ages*, London 1926, 2 vol. with bibliography; Carra de Vaux, *Les penseurs de l'Islam*, vol. II, chap. IX, Paris 1921; E. G. Browne, *Arabian medicine*, Cambridge 1922.

(B. CARRA DE VAUX)

TIBBU. [See TUBU.]

TIBET, a country to the south of China. Yāqūt gives the forms Tabbat, Tubbit, and Tabbut,

preferring the first of them. The oldest Arab notices of Tibet and the Tibetan kingdom are probably of Turkish origin. The ruler of Tibet is called *Khāṣān*; the names *Tupūt* and *Tūpūt-Kāghān* are found as early as the Orkhon inscriptions. A fancied resemblance of *Tubbat* to *Thābit* and *Tubba'* has given rise to stories of the Yaman origin of the Tibetan kingdom; cf. e.g. al-Ṭabarī, i. 686 *supra*; Gardizi in Barthold, *Ottel v. poissadhe v. Sradnyuyv Aziyu*, p. 87 *supra*. There is much more that is legendary in the Arab notices of Tibet; the story of the inexplicable joy and desire to laugh that overcomes every stranger in Tibet, first found in Ibn Khurḍādhbih (*B.G.A.*, vi. 170), is frequently quoted in Muslim literature (cf. Nizāmī, *Sikandar-nāma*, Calcutta 1320, p. 226), even in the best account of Tibet we have (in the anonymous *Hudūd al-'Alam*, text in *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. de Russie*, 1924, p. 73), the first that mentions the town of Lhasa (Lhāssā). There is said to have been a mosque in Lhasa and a Muslim community, not however, very large.

The period of the Arab conquests in Central Asia was not that of the zenith of Tibetan power and of Tibet's usually successful wars against China. In the Chinese annals Arabs are often mentioned as allies of the Tibetans and vice versa; Chavannes sums up the relationship in these words: (*Documents sur les Tou-tou [Turcs] occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. 291): "L'appui que les Tibétains prêtaient aux Arabes dans la vallée de l'Yaxartes, les Arabes le leur rendaient en Kashgarie". It was not till the Cien-yuan period (785—805) that the Arabs began a war against Tibet. Henceforth the Tibetans had continually to send armies to the west, so that the Chinese frontier districts suffered less from them than before (E. Bretschneider, *On the Knowledge possessed by the Ancient Chinese of the Arabs*, London 1871, p. 10). In Arabic sources there is no reference either to the alliance or to the estrangement. According to al-Ṭabarī, the Arab rebel Muṣṣab b. 'Abd Allāh b. Khāṣim was attacked during his rule in Tirmīdh (fifteen years: al-Ṭabarī, ii. 1160 *infra*, till 85=704) by the Hayṣila or Habaṣila (see CHINA, i., p. 845^b), by the Tibetans and Turks (in the parallel passage in Balādhuri, p. 418, the Tibetans are not mentioned); the attack was repulsed. According to Ya'qūbi (ii. 362; also *B.G.A.*, vii. 301 *infra*), in the reign of 'Omar II (717—720) an embassy was sent from Tibet to Djarraṭ b. 'Abd Allāh, governor of Khorāsān, with the request that a teacher of the Muslim religion should be sent to that country. Saltī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥanafi is said to have gone on this errand. In the same source the king of Tibet (p. 479) is mentioned among the kings who submitted to the Caliph al-Mahdi (158—169=775—785). In the last years of the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170—193=786—809), the rebel Rāfi b. Laith was supported in his rising in Samarkand against the government by Tibetan troops (*djinnūd*) (*op. cit.*, p. 528). In the reign of al-Ma'mūn (198—218=813—833), the king of Tibet is said to have adopted Islam, and in token of his conversion to have sent to Khorāsān his golden idol reproduced on a golden throne. Ma'mūn sent the idol to Mecca (*op. cit.*, p. 530); the governor Yazīd b. Muḥammad al-Makhrūmī during a rebellion struck gold coins from it (p. 544). In Ṭabarī (iii. 815) the "Khāṣān, king of Tibet" is mentioned under the year 195 (810—811) as one of

the enemies of al-Ma'mūn, with whom he had to come to terms before attacking al-Amin. In 196 (811—812) al-Faḍl b. Saḥl [q. v.] was given the governorship of the eastern provinces from 'Hamadhān to Tibet' (Ṭabarī, iii. 841).

The Arab geographers seem to have generally understood by *Tubbat*, Little Tibet or Baltistan [q. v.]. There were routes to it from Khotan [q. v.] and Badakhshān [q. v.] via Wakhān. It is to the Khotan-Tibet road that the story given by al-Birūnī (*Chronology*, ed. Sachau, p. 271, s. where *Tubbat* should be read for *ḥait*) and by Gardizi (*op. cit.*, p. 88) from Dīshān about mountain sickness refers. On Dīshān in Badakhshān as a frontier post on the road to Tibet see *B.G.A.*, vii. 288 *infra*. The fullest notices of the road through Wakhān are given in the *Hudūd al-'Alam* (fol. 25^b). As a frontier fort of Mā warā' al-Nahr in this direction there is mentioned the "large village" of Samarqandāḳ (probably meaning "little Samarqand") in which Indians, Tibetans, Wakhānians (*Wakhshān*) and Muslims lived. Musk was brought from Tibet to the Muslim world by this route (*B.G.A.*, i. 280 *supra*, 297 *infra*). In contradiction to the historians and to his own statement about the frontier defences between Tibet and China (i. 208), Ya'qūbi (i. 204) says that no one ever waged war into Tibet.

Probably the first campaign of a Muslim ruler against Tibet was the campaign of the Sulṭān of Bengal [q. v.] Muḥammad Bakhtiyār Khaldī towards the end of the vith (xiith) century (the date 641=1243—1244 given in the text cannot be right as the same source gives the year 607=1205—1206 as the date of this ruler's death); it is described in the *Tabaḥṣūt-Nāṣiri* of Minhāj al-Dīn Dīnawarī (ed. W. Nassau-Lees and Mawlawī Khadīm Husain and 'Abd al-Hai, p. 553; transl. by Raverty, p. 560 *supra*; Elliot, *History of India*, ii. 310 *supra*).

The name Tibet (Tebet, Thebet, Thabet, Thibet) contrary to Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches*, ii. 21, probably reached Europe independently of the Arabs through European travellers in the Mongol period, although Tibet (*Tubbat*) is already mentioned in the xith century by Benjamin of Tudela (transl. Adler, p. 59): his account, however, probably did not become known in Europe at that time. Benjamin, as is now supposed, only went as far as Baghdad (J. K. Wright, the *Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades*, New York 1928, p. 282). He gives only a very confused account of what he picked up in the Muslim world, probably from Jews; for example he says that one can go in 4 days from Samarkand to Tibet.

Rashīd al-Dīn's great work on the Mongol empire also contains some references to Tibet. The name Būri Tubbat (Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tuḥfat al-Arsh*, *Divān*, xiii, text, p. 237) not found elsewhere in Muslim writers, is mentioned in the xith century by Plano Carpini (Buriṭhabet) and in Chinese sources (cf. the references in Bretschneider, *op. cit.*). Tibet, already converted to Buddhism in the viith century, was from the Mongol period of importance for the spread of Buddhism. Rashīd al-Dīn expressly says (ed. Blochet, p. 545) that of Buddhist monks (*buddhists*) those of Tibet enjoyed the greatest prestige.

After the final triumph of Islam in Central Asia and Northern India in the ixth (xvth) century, Tibet was invaded by Muslim rulers under pretext of a holy war, Little Tibet in particular. Towards

the end of the ninth century A.H., all the lands of Bolor (Kāfiristān, q.v.) and Tibet between Badakhshān and Kashmir (q.v.) were subjected by Mir Wali, general of the ruler of Kāshghar of the house of Daghāt, Abū Bakr (*Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, transl. Rois, p. 320 and 403). When Abū Bakr was overthrown by Sa'id Khān (in 1514) the fortresses built in Tibet (in Ladakh) were abandoned by their garrisons and with their treasures seized by the Tibetans. Under Sa'id Khān (1514—1533) Tibet, Ladakh and the adjoining territories were invaded, first in 1517 by Mir Mazid and in 1532 by the Khān himself accompanied by the historian Haidar Mirzā [q.v.] (*op. cit.*, p. 417 *seq.*). In 1533 Haidar Mirzā tried to reach Lhasa, which he calls Usang, where the largest temples were, but was forced to turn back at Askābrak (p. 454), only a week's journey from Lhasa. Usang is probably the Gursang of the *Hudūd al-'Alam*, where there were large temples of idols. That Gursang is also mentioned separately from Lhasa is no evidence against this identification: the *Hudūd al-'Alam* is almost entirely compiled from written sources so that the same name often occurs twice in different forms, apparently from different sources. Later as king of Kashmir (after 1541) Haidar Mirzā in 1548 undertook a campaign against Ladakh and Baltistān.

All this seems to show that Baltistān in the tenth century A.H. was included in Tibet (according to the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, p. 436 it lay "between Tibet and Bolor") and was not yet a Muslim country. The idea adopted by Cunningham and later writers, including A. Francke (*A History of Western Tibet*, p. 90) that Baltistān was converted between 1380 and 1400 by the ruler of Kashmir, Sikandar (according to Zambaur, *Manuel de Géologie et de Chronologie*, Hanover 1927, p. 293; 788—813 = 1386—1410/1411), must be rejected.

By the second half of the xvth century, Islām was already a political force in Little Tibet. The ruler of Kapulu, 'Alī Mir Shīr Khān, succeeded in uniting all Baltistān under his rule; the land was cleared of idols and other remains of Buddhism. He later succeeded in conquering Ladakh also, but only temporarily. He was also the founder of Skardo, capital of Baltistān; in the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* (p. 405), Askārdū is only mentioned as the name of a pass on the road from Kashmir which now no longer exists. Baltistān remained the only Muslim land inhabited by Tibetans, and since 1841 has been under the suzerainty of Kashmir. There are said to be historical works in the language of the Baltis. They also use a script of their own supposed to date from the time of their conversion to Islām; the characters, probably of Tibetan origin although influenced by Arabic, are written from left to right (Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, iii. 32 *seq.*; Francke, *op. cit.*, p. 89 *seq.*). The Baltis from the first professed the Shī'a; but we learn from the *Rāḥ al-Aẓār* of Mahmūd b. Wali (text in *Zap.*, xv. 235) that in the early years of the xvth century the Sunna gained the upper hand, probably for a short time only. The king (his name is not recorded) who was converted to the Sunni had his father and brothers slain as heretics. Sunna scholars were sent for from Kāshghar. Thirty years later in 1044 (1634—1635), news of these events was brought to Balkh by a certain Ḥasan Khān who was related to the ruling house.

About 1682 when Central Tibet was under the rule of the Kalmucks [q.v.] the celebrated Khodja Apak (his tomb is still revered in Kāshghar), who had quarrelled with his Khān Ism'īl (1670—1682) went to Lhasa, which he calls "town of Djo" (*Djo Shahr*) after a great statue of the Buddha. At his request the Dalai Lama (in a Turkish manuscript we have the plural form, *Dalailamalār*) gave him a letter of safe conduct to the Khān of the Kalmucks, Galdan Boshokta. At the head of an army, which included the Khodja, the Khān invaded Kāshgharia. Ism'īl Khān was carried off a prisoner, and the rule given to the Khodja (M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient*, i. 210, 212, 321 and 326; *Zap.*, xv. 250).

In the last few centuries, Tibet has had little contact with the Muslim world, although Muslims went to Lhasa during the period when Europeans were excluded. Every three years an embassy arrived there with presents from Kashmir. In a plan of Lhasa given by A. Waddell (*Lhasa and its Mysteries*, London 1905) we may note a mosque and a court of law for Muslims from Kashmir and an inn for Chinese Muslims.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(W. BARTHOLO)

TIBRIZ. [See TABRIZ.]

AL-TIBRIZI, ABŪ ZAKARIYĀ YAHYĀ b. 'ALĪ b. MUHAMMAD b. AL-ḤASAN (YĒḤI add: b. MUHAMMAD b. MUḤ) b. BISTĀM AL-SHĀIRĀNĪ AL-KHATĪB, a celebrated Arab philologist born in 421 (1030). Among his teachers the best known was the poet Abū 'I-ʿAlā' al-Ma'arrī [q.v.]. A copy of the *Kitāb al-Tahqīq fī 'l-Lughah* of Abū Manṣūr al-Azhārī (Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 129; cf. however Bergsträsser, *Z.S.*, ii. 189, No. 24) came into Tibriz's hands and he required a teacher to expound it for him. He was recommended to the poet. He put the work which was in several volumes in a fodder-sack and carried it himself from Tabriz to al-Ma'arra as he could not afford to ride. His perspiration soaked through the bag and left damp stains in the books. Ibn al-Kūfī [q.v.], as Ibn Khallikān (see *Bibl.*) records with caution from his lost *K. Ashʿar al-Nuḥāt*, says he saw some of the volumes in the Baghdad *Waf* libraries. They looked as if they had been in water. — Among his other teachers and authorities were: Abū 'I-Kāsim 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Alī al-Rakīṭī (d. 450 = 1058), Abū Muhammad (so Ibn Khallikān; Yāqūt: al-Ḥasan b. Radjā' b.) al-Dahhān (d. 447 = 1055), Abū 'I-Faṭḥ Sulaim(ān?) Yāqūt and others Salīm b. Ayyub al-Rāzī (Shāhī Fakhī, in Tyre; cf. Ibn Khallikān, No. 268), Abū 'I-Kāsim 'Abd al-Kārim b. Muḥammad al-Sayyārī (? De Slane [s. *Bibl.*] reads in the text al-Sāwī (as does Yāqūt), and also gives the variant al-Sayyārī) al-Baghdādī, Ibn Burhān, al-Muḥaddal al-Kasabānī and 'Abd al-Kābir al-Djurdjānī (*G. A. L.*, i. 287), and the Kāfi Abū 'I-Tayyib Thīr b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ṭabārī (cf. al-Sam'ānī, 367*, i. 21 *seq.*) and Abū 'I-Ḥasan al-Tanūkhī (*ibid.*, 110*, i. 42). He also studied in Tyre and Damascus in addition to al-Ma'arra. While still a young man he went to Cairo where he taught Ibn Bābushādī (Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 301). He then went to Baghdad where he acted as Kāfi (this is the correct reading for *Kāfi* in the *G. M. S.*, xx. in the MS. of al-Sam'ānī, Stambul Köprülü 1010) and acted as professor of *Adab* subjects and librarian in the Niḡmīya till his death on Tuesday 28th Djumādī

II, 502 (Feb. 2, 1109) [so Ibn Khallikān: Yāqūt I, which is wrong, as the day of the week shows]. His tomb is at the Alṭar gate. — Among his various pupils a number of sources mention al-Khaṭīb al-Baḡdādī, the historian of Baḡdād (Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, I, 329); but this statement, which goes back to Sam'ānī and is adopted by Yāqūt, *Ma'ajam* (see *Bibl.*) and Ibn Khallikān must be due to an error as al-Khaṭīb al-Baḡdādī was thirty years older than Tibrizī. Ibn Khallikān s. v. Tibrizī refers to his article al-Khaṭīb al-Baḡdādī, where he says he gives further particulars of the relations between these two but there is no information in the passage to which he refers (Nº 33). On the other hand Yāqūt himself in the *Iṣṭiṣāṭ* s. v. al-Khaṭīb al-Baḡdādī gives a story with an *isnād* going back to Tibrizī. The *isnād* Tibrizī is not given: but there can be no doubt that our Tibrizī is meant by Abū Zakariyā' Yahya b. 'Alī al-Khaṭīb al-Luḡhawī, especially as the link in the chain is Abū 'l-Faḍl Naṣir al-Salāmī, apparently the father of Abū 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Naṣir al-Salāmī, the pupil of Tibrizī, which is probably only a slip for the name of his son, since M. b. N., besides being a pupil of Tibrizī, is also known as a teacher of al-Sam'ānī (cf. Bergsträsser, in *Z. S.*, II, 205, Nº 154) while his father is in the first place quite unknown and could hardly have also had the *ḥusnā* of Abū 'l-Faḍl, but secondly because the poverty of the narrator which occasionally crops up in the story agrees very well with the poverty of Tibrizī, which we know of from the story of his journey to al-Ma'arra. Tibrizī must thus have come to Damascus in 456 and studied *Adab* under al-Khaṭīb al-Baḡdādī; the story of his thirst for knowledge is told in detail. Tibrizī lived in the minaret of the great mosque (this also is evidence of his poverty). One day al-Khaṭīb visited him in his abode and they talked for an hour. Just before leaving al-Khaṭīb gave him something wrapped up in paper as a present with the request that he should buy pens with it. When Tibrizī unfolded the packet, he found it contained 3 Egyptian dinars. Al-Khaṭīb visited him a second time and gave him money of the same value as or even higher than on the first occasion and asked him to buy paper with it. This story of Yāqūt's which is corroborated in his own article on Tibrizī in the *Iṣṭiṣāṭ* is certainly correct in contrast to that in the *Ma'ajam*, so that al-Khaṭīb al-Baḡdādī was really Tibrizī's teacher. Otherwise al-Baḡdādī would certainly have devoted an article to him in the *Tuṣṭiḥ* Baḡdād. Tibrizī's pupils were: Abū 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Naṣir al-Salāmī (467—550 = 1074—1155, cf. above), Abū 'l-Ḥasan Sa'd al-Khaṭīb b. Muḥammad b. Sahl (in al-Maḳḳarī, I, 895: Sa'd) al-Anṣārī al-Andalusī (al-Ḥazzālī's pupil, d. 541 = 1146 in Baḡdād), Abū Tāḥir Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sindjī (462—548, lived in Merw) and lastly al-Djāwālīqī (q. v.), his successor in the Niṣāmīya. His conduct was not of the best (he is said to have drunk wine, worn silk garments and a turban trimmed with gold so that he must have later become prosperous); but his scientific authority is undisputed.

His works that are known by name are all of a learned nature; but Ibn Khallikān quotes two verses by him and a poem of al-'Imād al-Faiṣāḍ to him with his answer. In the list given below of his works, those already mentioned in Brockel-

mann (*G. A. L.*, I, 279 f.) are only given again when further remarks can be made on them.

On the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām [q. v.] Tibrizī wrote 3 commentaries, first a short one on each *ḥaṣṭ* and then one on the whole work. The second has been edited by Freytag. On the sources cf. Freytag's preface. Yāqūt had an autograph copy of Tibrizī's commentary on the *Mu'allafāt*. He also annotated the *Dirwān* of al-Mutanabbī (*G. A. L.*, I, 88), the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, the *Ḳaṣida Bānat Sa'ūn* (on the edition s. the art. KA'U B. ZUHAYR), the *Maḳṣūra* of Ibn Duraid [q. v.], the *K. al-Lam' fī 'l-Naḥw* of Ibn Dīnūn [q. v.], also according to Ḥadīdī Khaliḍ the *Nihāyat al-Wuḡūl itā 'l-lm al-Uḡūl* of an unidentified Ahmad b. 'Alī b. al-Sa'ātī al-Baḡdādī (the author of this name in Brockelmann lived later than Tibrizī, I, 382), and the *Ḳar'ān*. The same authority also says he edited the *Ḳitāb 'l-taḥ al-Manṣūf* of Ibn al-Sikkīt [q. v.] in a corrected version under the title *al-Taddīb* (MS. Stambul, 'Aṭif, Nº 2716; cf. Rescher, *M. F. O. Beyrouth*, 1912, p. 495), pr. Cairo, n. d.; but there is also a commentary printed in Bairūt (1895 sq.) by him on the *K. al-Alfāz* of the same author. An abstract of the *Kāfi fī 'l-Imā' al-'Arūḡ wa 'l-Ḳawāṣif* is perhaps contained in the collected volume *Maḳṣim min Muḥimmāt al-Mutān*, Cairo 1323, p. 550 sqq. where no author is named but, according to Brockelmann, Index s. v. *Kāfi*, at least two others are possible authors of it. Attention has been called by Rescher, *Z. A.*, xxvii, p. 156 to another prosody entitled *Risāla fī 'l-'Arūḡ* in the Stambul MS. Ḥamīdiyye, 1127, which does not seem to be identical with the two mentioned by Brockelmann. A MS. of his commentary on the *Dirwān* of Imra' 'l-Ḳais is mentioned by Rescher, *Z. D. M. G.*, lxviii, 63; but the sources say nothing of this work. Of other works, now unknown, by Tibrizī Ibn al-Anbārī and Yāqūt mention: *Maḳṣim al-Farṣān*, Ibn Khallikān: *Taḳḍīb ḡharīb al-Ḥadīṭ*, Yāqūt: *Muḥaddima fī 'l-Naḥw*.

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AL-TIBRIZI. [See MUḤAMMAD ḤUSAIN B. KHALAF.]

TIBRIZI, commonly called SHAMS-I TIBRIZI (SHAMS AL-DIN MUḤAMMAD B. 'ALĪ B. MALIKIYĀD-I TIBRIZI, according to Dīnī, *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, ed. Lees, p. 535), a Sūfī, was the spiritual guide of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, who composed in his name the greater part of the collection of mystical odes known as the *Dirwān-i Shams-i Tabriz*. Born in Tabriz [q. v.], where his father carried on the trade of a cloth-merchant, he is said to have studied Sūfism under Shaikh Abū Bakr Zanbīl-bāf (Salla-bāf), Shaikh Rukn al-Dīn Sindjānī, and Bābā Kamāl Dīndī. Afterwards he became a wandering derwish, and in 642 arrived at Kōnya. So profound was the impression made by his enthusiastic personality on Djalāl al-Dīn that the disciples of the latter, bitterly resenting their master's devotion to his beloved friend and *murshid*, caused Shams-i Tibrizī

to leave the city. It is said that after spending some time at Damascus he returned to Kōnya in company with the poet's son Bahā al-Dīn Sulṭān Walad, who had been sent in search of him. In the month of Shawwāl 643, he vanished mysteriously. The stories which represent him as having been put to death by the myrmidons of the government or murdered by a band of conspirators, amongst whom was one of Djalāl al-Dīn's sons, are not confirmed by the best authorities, namely, the *Maṭnawīyāt* of Sulṭān Walad and the *Risāla-i Sipahsālār* of Farīdūn b. Aḥmad, an account of Djalāl al-Dīn and his successors written in Persian circa 720. Some modern scholars hold the view that Shams-i Tibrizi never existed save in the poet's imagination: "c'est son propre génie inspirateur" (Riḍā Tawfīq, in *Textes Hounoufites*, G. M. S., ix, 270, note 1); but even if we suppose the dates and other circumstantial details given by the biographers to be fictitious, such a theory rests on frail foundations. It is impossible to regard the case of Shams-i Tibrizi as unique: the terms of "deification" which the poet applies to him in the *Divān-i Shams-i Tabrīz* are entirely parallel to those used of Ḥusām al-Dīn in the *Maṭnawī* and of another dear friend, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Zakarīyā, in some of the odes. So far as the evidence of language is concerned, these three inspirers of Djalāl al-Dīn stand or fall together; and that evidence can with more reason be interpreted in a different way. To readers of Dante it will not appear strange that the great Persian mystic should have clothed his feelings of intimate spiritual relationship and personal affection in words which reflect the ideas of a pantheistic philosophy.

Bibliography: Farīdūn b. Aḥmad, *Risāla-i Sipahsālār*, Cawnpore 1901, p. 63 sqq. = p. 164 sqq. of the Turkish translation by Miḥdāt Bahārī Ḥusāmī, Constantinople 1913; Adāki, *Manāḥib al-ʿArifin*, transl. by C. Huart in *Les saints des derviches tourneurs*, Paris 1918 and by J. W. Redhouse in *The Mawānī*, Book I, London 1881; R. A. Nicholson, *Selected Poems from the Divān-i Shams-i Tabrīz*, Cambridge 1898. (R. A. NICHOLSON)

AL-TIDJĀNĪ, an Arab author of Tūnis. Practically nothing is known of his life. His name is not even handed down in a single form. The manuscripts of his *Riḥla* (see the works by Rousseau and Bel quoted below) all seem to call him Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh; so he is also called in Ibn al-Khaṭīb Ibn Kūfadh (*G. A. L.*, II, 241), al-Farīṭa fī Maḥādī ʿl-Dawla al-Ḥaffīya (in Cherbonneau in *J. A.*, iv, 17, 1851, p. 53, transl., p. 64). In his *Tuḥfat al-ʿArūs wa-Nuṣṣat al-Nuṣṣat* on the title page we have Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad: this is what Ḥajjīj Khalīfa, No. 2623 also writes and al-Zarkashī, *Taʾrīḥ al-Dawlatayn al-Muwahhidiya wa ʿl-Ḥaffīya*, Tūnis 1289, p. 51, except that the latter calls him Ibn Ibrāhīm. The sources also differ regarding the quantity of the first syllable of the *nisba*. That there is no question of more than one author of the two surviving works attributed to Tidjānī is made certain by two circumstances. In the first place al-Zarkashī, who uses the form of the name found in the *Tuḥfa* as well as Ibn al-Khaṭīb who uses the form of the *Riḥla* tells us what we also know from the *Riḥla* that al-Tidjānī had dealings with the Ḥafṣid emir Abū Yahyā Zakariyā b. Abī ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Lihyānī (711–717 = 1311–1317). In the second place the authors of the

works quoted in the *Tuḥfa* come down to a period which make it clear that the author must have written at the beginning of the viiith (xvth) century.

Of his life we only know that he made a journey with his royal master through North Africa, which he describes in the *Riḥla*. It began in Tūnis towards the end of Jumādī I 706 (beg. December 1306) and his fellow-travellers were on the *ḥajj* to Mecca. Al-Tidjānī had however to separate from the caravan at the beginning of Muḥarram 709 (June 1309) because an illness forced him to return home. They had not got much beyond Tripolis, as long halts were made everywhere. These long delays were all to the advantage of the book of travels. Everything that was of any interest in a comparatively small stretch of country could be noted down. The *Riḥla* thus became a regular mine of geographical, scientific and particular historical information about the country passed through; extracts are also given in it from authors, whose original works must now be regarded as lost, and copies of documents. When the prince became amir, al-Tidjānī became one of his highest officials. The year of his death is not known, nor that of his birth.

There is not yet a complete edition of the *Riḥla*; long extracts are given in M. Amari, *Biblioteca Arabo-sicula*, 1857, ch. 45. A short extract with translation has been published by A. Bel, *Les Benou Ghānya* (*Publications de l'École des lettres d'Alger*, xxvii, 1903), appendix. A translation of extracts from the whole book was given by A. Rousseau in *J. A.*, iv, 20 (1852), p. 57 sqq.; v, 1 (1853), p. 101 sqq., 354 sqq. The selection is however quite arbitrary; the reconstitution of the text is defective and the translation to be used with great caution. The text can be checked for several passages in Ibn Khaldūn's *Iḥṣār*.

Al-Tidjānī's other book is a compendium on love and marriage. In 25 chapters it gives advice on the choice of a wife with very full description of the marks of beauty arranged according to parts of the body and on their treatment and on married life with means to heighten its enjoyment, all in the form of traditions and extracts from writers, roughly in chronological order. Theologians and jurists are quoted at great length but more with regard to ethical parenthesis than the regulation of the *Fikḥ*. Manuscripts and texts of the book are given in Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, II, 257.

Bibliography: given in the article; cf. also M. Amari, *Stori dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, I, 1854, p. 1, and the works quoted by A. Bel, *op. cit.* (M. PLESSNER)

TIDJĀNĪYA (the forms *TIDJĀNĪ*, *TIDJĀNĪ* occur also), order founded by Abū ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Mukhtār b. Ṣālim al-Tidjānī (1150–1230 = 1737–1815).

1. Life of the Founder. This person was born at ʿAin Mādī, a village 72 kl. W. of Laghuat, 28 E. of Tahmat. His family were the Aḥlād Sidi Shaikh Muḥammad, and his parents both died of plague in 1166 (1753). After pursuing his studies at his native place, he went to Fez in 1171 (1758) to continue them, thence to Abyad, where he stayed five years, thence in 1181 (1768) to Tlemcen, whence in 1186 (1773) he went to Mecca and Medina; thence to Cairo. At all these places he heard *shaikhs*, and at the last of these at the suggestion of one Maḥmūd al-Kurdi he founded a new order, having previ-

ously been admitted to the Kādīriya, Taibiya and Khalwatiya; of the last of these his own is regarded as a branch. He then returned to the Maghrib, and after visiting Fez and Tlemcen went to Bu Semghun in the Sahara in 1196 (1782), an oasis S. of Geryville, where he believed himself to have received a commission from the Prophet to proceed with the propagation of his Order. A disciple, 'Alī Harāsim, suggested to him to return to Fez, whither he went in 1213 (1798), and was given possession of the palace Hawah al-Ma'ayāt. Though much of the remainder of his life was spent in travelling, in order to regulate the affairs of his Order, Fez remained his headquarters till his death, and he was buried in his Zāwiya in that city.

2. *Doctrines and Practices of the Order.* The members of the Order are called *Aḥbāb* "friends", and they are strictly forbidden to join any other *ṭarīqa*. Their *dhikr* consists (as usual) in the repetition (usually a hundred times) of certain formulae, at particular times of day; these are translated by Depont et Coppolani, p. 417. Their most important doctrine is that of submission to the established government, whence ever since the French conquest of Algeria they have been ordinarily on good terms with the French authority.

3. *History of the Order.* On the death of the founder in 1230 his two sons (Muḥammad al-Kāfir and Muḥammad al-Saghūr) were left in charge of one Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad at-Tūnis, who was succeeded as guardian by al-Ḥajjāj 'Alī b. 'Isā, himself head of a Tidjānī Zāwiya at Temasin and nominated by the founder chief of the order. They were brought by the latter to 'Ain Mādī, the palace which had been occupied by their father in Fez having been seized by a new Amīr, Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm. After a time 'Alī b. 'Isā left the two sons in charge of the Zāwiya at 'Ain Mādī, and returned to Temasin. It would seem however that a split had occurred in the order even in the founder's time, the dissidents, who were called *Tadjādjina*, having been expelled by him from 'Ain Mādī. In 1235 (1820) these dissidents invoked the aid of Ḥasan, Bey of Oran, who besieged 'Ain Mādī, but was induced by a heavy payment and the failure of an attempted storm to retire. Two years later the Bey of Titteri attacked the settlement, but unsuccessfully. These military achievements encouraged the two sons of the founder to take the offensive against the Turks in Mascara; they failed however both in 1226 (1241-1242) and 1227, and on the latter occasion Muḥammad the Elder lost his life.

Under the direction of Sidi 'Alī b. 'Isā, who remained at Temasin, the younger Muḥammad, now in sole charge at 'Ain Mādī, proceeded with the propagation of the Order, especially in the Sahara and the Sūdān. Great success attended these efforts, but though the power and wealth of the community increased, neither 'Alī nor Muḥammad ventured on any military operations. Hence when after the French invasion of Algeria the Derkewi *Mukaddam* desired the aid of the Tidjānīs in the Sacred War, it was refused.

In 1836 (1251-1252) the Amīr 'Abd al-Kādir, who aimed at the expulsion of the French, endeavoured to enlist their services; the Tidjānī chief replied that it was his purpose to live in the calm of a religious life, and after a long and fruitless correspondence the Amīr in 1838 (1254)

presented himself at the head of an army before the walls of 'Ain Mādī, and demanded the submission of the Tidjānī chief. This was refused, and in spite of the inequality of the numbers the latter held out for eight months, wherein various expedients for reducing the place were tried by the Amīr and frustrated by the astuteness of the Tidjānī and his advisers. When the Tidjānī found the place no longer defensible, he took refuge in Laghuat. The reputation of the Order was vastly increased owing to the length of their resistance, and in the following year (1840) he offered his moral and material aid against the Amīr 'Abd al-Kādir to the French Marshall Valée. 'Alī b. 'Isā, who remained at Temasin, also declined to join resistance to the French, and on his death in 1844 left the control of the Order to the surviving son of the founder, who died in 1853, when the son of the son of 'Alī b. 'Isā, Muḥammad al-'Ā'id, succeeded.




The sons of the third Master of the Order, Aḥmad and al-Baḥīr, were of tender years at the time of his death, and fell under the charge of one Raiyān al-Maḥari, who aimed at rendering the Zāwiya of 'Ain Mādī independent of Temasin, a policy which caused the relations between the two Zāwiyas to be strained, though it did not result in a definite split. In 1860 the two became suspected of disloyalty to the French, and were arrested and sent to Algiers. They succeeded however in making their peace with the French authorities, and the heads of the Order have ever since maintained a friendly attitude towards them.

4. *Distribution of the Order.* Although the missionaries of the Order in the period of its greatest prosperity obtained adherents in Egypt, Arabia and other parts of Asia, its main expansion has been in French Africa. One Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiḥ b. Muḥṭār b. Bahīr, called Baddi, who visited the founder in Fez about 1780, received instructions to spread it among the Saharans of the extreme South of Morocco: "Returning home via Shingueti and Tijikja, he conducted the most active propaganda in favour of the Tijjani Order, and by 1830, about the time of his death, he had the satisfaction of leaving the whole tribe Ida Ou 'Alī affiliated to it" (Paul Marty, *R. M. M.*, xxxi, 239). Under his successor, who died in 1807, this attachment steadily increased. To the Meccan pilgrimage, faithfully observed by this community, there was added the practice of pilgrimage to Fez, to visit the tomb of the founder, and this is ordinarily performed before the visit to Mecca. The Order was propagated in French Guinea by one Ḥajjāj 'Umar after his return from Mecca to Dinguiray, which in consequence became one of the most important religious cities in this region; "the Tijjani doctrine supplanted almost everywhere the Qadiriyyah traditions" (*ibid.*, xxxvi, 202).

5. *Literature of the Order.* The most important collection of their doctrines and practices is called *Djawāhir al-Ma'āni wa-Bulagh al-Amāni fī Fa'id al-Shaikh al-Tidjānī* known also as *al-Kunūdh* (Cairo 1345). This work, which is said to have been dictated by the founder to Harāsim, is the chief source of the former's biography; other works are enumerated by Depont and Coppolani, p. 418 n., and Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chérifs*, Paris 1922, p. 377. A biographical dictionary of eminent members of the order called *Kashf al-Hijās 'an man talāḥa ma'a*

¹ *Tidjānī min al-Aḥḥāb* was composed by Abu 'l-Abbās Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-'Aiyāshī Sukairīdjī (Fes 1325 and 1332).

Bibliography: R. A., 1861 and 1864 (articles by Arnaud); L. Rina, *Marabouts et Khénouas*, p. 416—451; Depont et Coppolani, *Confessions*, p. 413—441; l'Abbé Rouquette, *Les Sociétés secrètes chez les Musulmans*, 1899, p. 311—372; P. Marty, in R. M. M. (cited above); Henri Garrot, *Histoire générale de l'Algérie*, Algiers 1910. (D. S. MARGOLIOU)

TIDJĀRA (A.), trade, commerce; *waḡdar* from *ṭajjara*, "to trade", which again is a denominative verb from *ṭajjir* "a merchant". Like many terms in Arab commercial language, *ṭajjir* is an old Aramaic loanword (cf. e.g. Syr.  and , which again comes from  "price, reward")

which is found as early as the pre-Muḥammadian period. Apart from the fact that the root *t-j-j* has remarkably few derivatives in Arabic, the fact that the word *ṭajjir* originally had the limited meaning of "wine-merchant" suggests its foreign origin. The earliest Aramaic merchants with whom the Arabs came into contact must actually have been wine-merchants; once adopted into Arabic the meaning was gradually extended to include any merchant. The uncertainty about the form of the plural is another indication of foreign origin; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *Nihāya*, s.v., in addition to the regularly formed Arabic plurals *ṭajjār* and *ṭajjāra* also gives the form *ṭajjār* (cf. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, p. 181 sqq.).

This is not the place to write a history of commerce in the lands of Islām, especially as the necessary preliminary work has hardly been touched (cf. e.g. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islāms*, Heidelberg 1922, p. 441 sqq.). Nor shall we attempt to characterize the spirit of Muslim commerce or its unages, but rather deal primarily with the problem, what position Islām as a religion adopts with regard to commerce, and how its attitude is expressed in Hadīth particularly, and in ethical works. On the legal aspects of the whole question cf. the article *BA'*.

a. That Muḥammad, who himself belonged to the merchant class, was favourably disposed to trade was natural in a commercial republic like Medina, whose prosperity entirely depended on trade. At least so we must interpret one of the oldest sūras of the first Meccan period, Sūra cvi., the time of the origin of which is just before the conflict with the Meccan aristocracy: "As often as the Quraysh equip their winter and summer caravans, they shall worship the Lord of this House (i.e. the Ka'ba)". But even in this period Muḥammad raises a warning voice against the evils which were beginning to be associated with trade; trade is to be conducted according to law and justice. "Woe to those who give short measure" says Sūra lxxxi. 1 sqq.: "who, when they receive good measure from other men demand the full measure and when they measure out or weigh out to them, defraud" (cf. Sūra lv. 6—8; and from the third Meccan period Sūra vi. 153; vii. 83). At a later period this attitude of the Prophet underwent a certain change, which must date from the Meccan period, although there is only

evidence of it in the Qur'ān from the Medina period. Under the influence of Christian ascetic ideas, his attitude to trade was modified; he does not condemn it, it is true, but he now sees in it something which may detain believers from the worship of God and from performing the ṣalāt. This is most strongly marked in the description of the monastery in the Medina Sūra xxiv. 37: "Men whom no trade nor purchase keeps from the thought of God, from performing the ṣalāt and from paying the *ṣakāt* from fear of the day on which hearts and eyes shall be full of trouble". In any case, one can deduce from this passage that the Prophet was fully conscious of the deleterious influences of trade on religious life. The result of this train of thought was in the Medina period an express prohibition of trading during the Friday service, in Sūra lxii. 9—11: "O ye who believe, when ye are called to the ṣalāt on Friday, hasten to the worship of God and cease trading; this is better for you, if ye knew it; and when the ṣalāt is over, then disperse yourselves in the land and strive after the benefits given by God and think often of Him that ye may prosper, and when they see trading and empty chatter, they turn to it and leave thee standing. Say: What is with God is better than chattering or trading and God is the best provider". On the other hand, the Prophet in the latest Medina period expressly permitted trading during the pilgrimage (Sūra ii. 194). And yet he emphasises at the same time once more that family and clan, goods and chattels and stock in trade are not to be preferred to God and his Prophet (Sūra ix. 24). To this late period also belong the well known Qur'ānic regulations for the conclusion of agreements (Sūra ii. 282 sq.).

b. This attitude, on the whole well disposed to trade, is also that of Tradition although it attacks with the greatest vigour speculation and other dishonest dealings. Trade is regarded as profitable and honourable, more remunerative than cattle-rearing or manual labour (*Kaṣa' al-Ummal*, ii, No. 2411, 4227, 4742). The honourable merchant enjoys great esteem "the trustworthy, just, and believing merchant shall stand at the day of judgment among the witnesses of the blood", we are told in one tradition (Ibn Māḡja, *Tajjārāt*, Bāb 1); he enters Paradise. The dishonest merchant on the other hand must expect punishment: "On the day of resurrection the merchants will be classed with the liars, except him who has trusted in God and has been pious and righteous", we are told in another tradition (Ibn Māḡja, *Tajjārāt*, Bāb 3). The prejudice of certain pious circles against the merchant class is even more sharply expressed in another tradition which is however quite isolated: "The Prophet said: Merchants are liars. Then some one said to him: O messenger of Allāh, has not God permitted buying and selling? He replied: certainly, but they talk and lie, they swear and do wrong" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 428, cf. 444). On the other hand, it is regarded as something pleasing to God to gain profit from trading for the support of one's family; thus in one tradition in Zaid, *Moḡmī' al-Fiḥ*, ed. Grifini, No. 539 (cf. No. 544) we read: "If thou makest a profit from what is permitted, it is a *ḡihād* (i.e. like fighting on the path of Allāh) and if thou usest it for thy family and thy relations, it is *ḡadāḡa* (charity); and truly a permitted

dirham which comes from trade is better than ten otherwise gained". In trading it is recommended to be generous and conciliatory; one should give full weight and measure and in weighing give overweight. The morning is recommended as particularly blessed and profitable for trading. One should be careful to avoid deceit and deception, which cancel the blessing (*baraka*) that rests upon trade. Defects in the goods should be pointed out to the purchaser. "If any one sells defective goods without pointing this out, God will hate him for ever and the angels will for ever curse him (Ibn Mäjjä, *Tiğjārāt*, Bāb 45)". But if one has been guilty of such faults in trading, he can atone for it by alms (*ṣadaqa*). The Prophet is further said to have condemned the adulteration of goods, especially the adulteration of foodstuffs.

Trade is to be carried on by mutual agreement, but never under compulsion. An agreement already made can only be cancelled if buyer and seller have not yet separated; in this period it can also be cancelled by tacit agreement (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 536). A further sale can only be effected when one has obtained possession of the goods (*ḥaḥq* or *istifā*); the traditions in this connection speak only of foods [*ṣ'ām*] but we are told by commentators that foods are only taken as examples and in fact one tradition talks of a *ḥuṣ* in quite general terms (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 402). If in disputes between the contracting parties neither is able to prove his point, the purchase either remains valid and the assertion of the seller is taken as authoritative — or both must abandon the transaction. If there are two claimants to be the purchaser, the first is held to be the actual purchaser.

The traditions in general have nothing to say against business being arranged for a definite date or on credit (*naṣṭaṭa*). But no increase of price must take place nor is a reduction allowed if payment is made at an earlier date (Mālik, *Buyū*, tr. 81). The making of a deposit on a credit transaction is also allowed as the Prophet once purchased provisions on credit and left his iron body-armor as a pledge.

Tradition frequently objects to a practice of traders of protesting the quality of their articles with oaths; e.g. one tradition says: "Swearing furthers the disposal of goods but diminishes their blessing" (Bukhārī, *Buyū*, Bāb 26). According to another tradition, Sūra, lii. 71 was revealed in this connection; this verse has however nothing to do with the swearing of oaths when selling; its associations are other and purely religious.

A series of articles are excluded by Tradition from buying and selling: firstly all that is not one's own property (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 189, 190); secondly a series of articles the use of which is forbidden or which are considered unclean — wine, swine, dogs, cats, idols (*ṣūṭān*) and *waṭṭa* [q. v.] and also water; water according to a tradition is one of the three things which are *ṣ'ām* *ḥammur*, the price of which is *ḥarām* (Ibn Mäjjä, *Kuḥūn*, Bāb 16).

Tradition strongly condemns a practice still very prevalent in the east: haggling or bargaining; in selling also one should not outbid his fellows. Tradition also condemns the raising of prices (*naḥḥa*) and speculation in or holding up of foodstuffs (*ḥaḥḥa*); on the expression, cf. Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, p. 189). Anyone who holds up food sup-

plies and thus raises prices "is a sinner" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 351). "Him who holds up food supplies, God will punish with leprosy and bankruptcy" (Ibn Mäjjä, *Tiğjārāt*, Bāb 6); "the speculator is accursed" (*ibid.*); according to other traditions, he "will be thrown into the deepest hell-fire" (Jawālib, N°. 928). On the other hand, the prophet is said to have declined as an injustice to fix prices for foodstuffs in a time of scarcity (Ibn Mäjjä, *Tiğjārāt*, Bāb 27 etc.). Generally speaking however, Tradition condemns any speculation in foodstuffs. It is forbidden to buy or sell provisions wholesale without fixing weights and measures (*ḥuṣṣa*); food should not be sold again in the same place as it is purchased in but only in the particular market-place intended for the purpose. One should not go out to meet caravans to purchase goods (*ṭalaḥḥa*); the townsman should not purchase from the man from the desert in order to sell again in the town at a profit; brokering (*ṣimār*) is therefore condemned.

Finally may be mentioned a whole series of branches of business and practices which are described by Tradition as forbidden:

1. In the first place it forbids the conclusion of two transactions in one contract e.g. one portion of the goods on credit and another for cash (cf. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 398).

2. *Ba' al-'urbān*: a form of sale in which an earnest-money (*ṭarḥan* or *urbān* < עִרְבִּין < ἀρχαῖον; cf. Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, p. 190) is given which belongs to the vendor if the transaction is not carried through (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal however considers earnest-money permissible; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, i. v.).

3. Auction (*ba' al-muṣāyada*); in three cases it is permitted however: in direct poverty, in sickness or when deeply in debt.

4. *Ba' al-muṣābana* (presumably also of Aramaic origin; cf. Fraenkel, p. 189), i.e. when any goods the weight, size or number of which is not known is sold in bulk for a definite measure, weight or number of another commodity, e.g. the still green fruit of a palm-tree for a definite measure of dates or the seed for a definite amount of provisions. The unreal and speculative in this transaction is seen by Tradition in the fact that the yield which cannot yet be defined may bring the purchaser more or less than he has given for it (cf. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 64). This rule is in the direction of the prohibition of profiteering. — But according to one tradition of the Prophet, an exception was allowed, the *ba' al-'arāyā*; according to this, a poor man who does not possess a palm-tree of his own, in order to procure his family fresh dates may purchase for dried dates the fruit of a palm on the tree, but it has to be valued. In the opinion of several traditionists, this transaction is limited to cases where not over five *ṣaḥḥ* are involved while 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ transmits a tradition according to which the Prophet prohibited even this (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 183).

5. *Ba' al-mu'āwama*, is the purchase of the yield of palm-trees for two or three years in advance. This is a question of the sale of things which are not yet in existence at the time of the contract.

6. *Ba' al-munābaha*. In this the exchange is irrevocably concluded by the two parties handing over the goods without seeing or testing them beforehand. Another form of this transaction is

baṣ al-ḥaṣī (cf. Ibn al-Aṣḥar, *Nihāya*, s. v.) or *baṣ il-ḥaṣī al-ḥaṣī* (cf. Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 59, 68, 71) when, as a sign of the conclusion of the agreement, a small stone is handed over in place of the goods (cf. Mutarrizī, *Mughrib*, s. v. *nabadaḥa*).

7. *Baṣ al-mulūmāna*. In this the transaction is also concluded without the goods being seen or examined beforehand, the covered goods being simply touched with the hand.

8. *Baṣ al-ḡharar*: "dangerous or hazardous trading". For this kind of transaction the traditions give a series of examples, e.g. the milk in the udder, an escaped slave, booty before its division, fishes in the water etc. (cf. e.g. Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 302, 388; iii. 42). The commonest example is the very complicated case of *baṣ ḡharat al-ḡharat*, namely the sale of a pregnant she-camel for slaughter with the prospect that it may produce a female young one, which will again bear young.

All these transactions are condemned by Tradition on account of the element of uncertainty in them. On money-changing (*ṣarf*) and the prohibition of profiteering (*ribā*), see these articles. The above transactions are in all the older collections; a still larger number with a great wealth of detail are given in the later collections, e.g. *Kanz al-Ummāl* (cf. Ritter in *lit.*, vii. [1917], 28 sqq., where a series of such traditions is translated).

9. In the traditions of the first three centuries an open and honourable attitude in business is demanded of the merchant; he is to treat his customers "like his brother" and refrain from cheating them in any way. Tradition therefore also condemns any business in which there is an element of uncertainty, in which chance can play any part, so that no one may suffer injury. These fundamental principles of Muslim commercial ethics have found their classical expression in Ḡhazālī's *Ṭḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, Cairo 1326, ii. 48 sqq. According to Ḡhazālī (d. 505 = 1111), one should strive to earn one's living with a view to the next world. To him the acquisition of a livelihood is a means of attaining bliss, the world is a field sown, a preliminary to the next world. But Ḡhazālī does not regard trade as absolutely better than any other means of earning one's living. "Through trade," he says, "one can either attain a sufficiency or wealth and superfluity". He condemns the accumulation of wealth, in so far as it is not applied to good purposes. But if the merchant obtain a sufficient livelihood for himself and his family, it is at any rate better than begging. But certain types of men do well to refrain from any such activities, for example, the pious, the mystics, the learned and the officials. Ḡhazālī then gives his views on the ethics of commerce of which only a brief résumé can be given here.

Even if a business is legal and irreproachable, yet it may be immoral and injurious to others; for not every prohibition makes the agreement invalid. Ḡhazālī then distinguishes two kinds of business, those that injure the community and those that only injure the individual. To the first group belong speculation in foods, especially in corn (*ḡḡīḡār*), and the putting into circulation of false coins. In the case of false money the merchant has to pay attention to the following points: 1. If he takes false money, he should throw it down a well. 2. He must acquire a thorough knowledge of the coins current in

the country. 3. If he pays another false money with the latter's consent, he is not free from guilt, as the other may put them into circulation again. 4. If he takes false money to oblige some one, he will only participate in the blessing which rests upon a good feeling in trade, if he does it with the intention of throwing the false money into a well.

Ḡhazālī then deals with the conduct of business, which is only injurious to the individual. The guiding principle in trade is that one should only do to a fellow Muslim as he would be done by. Therefore 1. the seller should not praise the wares and not emphasise his statements by oaths; he must only emphasise such qualities in the goods as the customer cannot know without further trial, e.g. the capability of a slave; 2. he should tell all the faults of the goods, he should for example not show only the good sides of a material, he should not exhibit materials in a dark room etc.; for this is deception and neglect of the "good counsel" to which his brother is entitled. The merchant must remember two things, firstly that though he can dispose of his goods by concealing defects, he thereby loses the blessing which rests upon trading, and secondly that the benefit of the goods of this world ceases with the end of life and that only the injustice and sin remain, which were committed in trading; 3. the merchant must give just and full weight and measure; 4. he must quote the correct price of the day.

Ḡhazālī then deals with the showing of little kindnesses and civilities in trading, i.e. one should allow the other an advantage which he is not strictly compelled to do. Such little civilities are: 1. if the seller refuses a price offered which is much above the market price; 2. if the purchaser allows himself to be charged too much when the vendor is a poor man; 3. if in the collection of arrears, one allows a remission or prolongation of the period; 4. if the debtor brings the money to his creditor to save him the trouble of coming for it; 5. if at his request the contracting party is allowed to annul an agreement to purchase that has been concluded; 6. if one sells to the poor on credit and only demands the price, when it is possible for them to pay or keeps no record in one's books of the debt and leaves the payment completely to their pleasure.

The merchant however in his pursuit of profit should not neglect the salvation of his soul. The merchant should therefore 1. begin his transactions with good intention (*niyya*) and good faith (*aḡḡīda*); 2. he should conceive of trade as a "social duty", as a *ṣarf al-ḡifāya*, as his trade is only a part of the complicated system of the whole; 3. he must not let the market of this world distract him from the markets of the next world, i.e. from visiting mosques and performing the ṣalāḡ; 4. in entering the market and in it itself he must often think of God; 5. he must not be too eagerly set on the market and trading, not be the first to enter it and the last to leave it and must not cross the sea; 6. he must not only avoid what is forbidden, but also avoid all doubtful and suspicious business; he should enquire after the origin of goods and not deal with notorious swindlers or thieves; 7. he must carefully watch his words and deeds in business, as on the day of judgment he will be called to account for them.

According to *Gharāli*, the market for the merchant is the scene of his *jihād*, his "holy war" where he has to wage a war against his own ego in his intercourse with his fellow-men. Since for *Gharāli*, commerce is a preliminary and a preparation for the next world, he therefore discards the ascetic ideal of fleeing from the world for the ordinary mortal as an evasion of the struggle.

Similar views, although not always of such high moral worth as in *Gharāli*, are found throughout *nahw* and *ahkām* literature. For example, *Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī*, the biographer of the *Shāhī* jurists (d. 771 = 1370), in his *Mu'ad al-N'am* discusses the merchant in several passages. In these he no doubt takes typical cases of his age. Thus the paper merchant should give preference to those of whom he knows that they buy the paper for the preparation of religious works (*kutub al-dīn*). On the other hand, he should not sell paper to those of whom he suspects that they will use it for the preparation of heretical works, false documents, increases of taxation etc. (ed. Myhrmann, London 1908, p. 188; transl. Rescher, Constantinople 1925, p. 138). The bookseller must not sell religious works (*kutub al-dīn*) to people who will destroy or criticise them. He further must not deal in works by heretics or by astrologers nor in fabulous works like the *Strat Antar*, nor must he sell copies of the *Qur'ān* or works on Tradition and Law to unbelievers (cf. thereon *al-Shāfi'i, Umm*, iv, 132 and Hoffening, *Fremdenrecht*, p. 49, note 5, where the "keine" should be deleted before "hannaf. Werke"). Lastly the dealer in lands must take care that he does not sell *wakf* estates (ed. Myhrmann, p. 205; transl. Rescher, p. 150 sq.).

d. A more selfish morality on the other hand is championed in the book ed. and transl. by Ritter, *Kitāb al-ṣḥāra ilā Maḥāsin al-Tidjāra*, by Abū l-Faḍl Dja'far b. 'Alī al-Dīmīshqī (of the vii/viii = xth/xii centuries). The book consists of two parts, one dealing with the merchant and the other with his goods. On the subject of merchandise there are many other works, some independent and some in the well known Muslim encyclopaedias, on which see Ritter, *op. cit.*, p. 17 sqq. Here we are mainly concerned with the sections on the merchant. The classes of merchants distinguished are: 1. The wholesaler (*shāwī*). He endeavours to purchase his goods under the most favourable conditions in order to sell them again, when there is a scarcity of them and the price has gone up. He must therefore keep accurately informed about the position of the market at the places of production and the security of the roads thither so that he does not let the best time for buying and selling pass him. A purchase of larger consignments is recommended to be carried through in four instalments at intervals of 15 days so that no loss may be suffered by a sudden change in price or by some other unforeseen circumstance. The wholesaler must also take account of the state of the government of the country, whether it is just and strong or if it is just but weak or tyrannical. — 2. The travelling merchant (*rakkāf*). He must take especial heed as to what goods he buys and must exercise great caution; for his journey may be prolonged or some unforeseen accident may happen to him, like danger on the road, which will delay him so that he must again sell the goods in the

place where he has purchased them and thereby suffer considerable losses. He must also know the average prices, which the goods he is buying will attain in his native land as well as the tariffs, lest he throw away his profit even before purchasing in a foreign country. He should also look out for a reliable agent, and a suitable warehouse etc. at his destination. — 3. The exporting merchant (*mudfahhīn*). Here we have to deal with agencies. He must have a reliable agent in the place to which he is exporting; to him he sends the goods under reliable care; the agent then has to sell the goods and buy others, sharing the profit.

Besides much other valuable advice for the merchant and warnings against swindlers and deceivers, al-Dīmīshqī's work also contains discussions of questions of economic theory such as the fixing of the market price, the "average price" about which the merchant must keep himself accurately informed. How far all this is connected with economic views of the ancients has not yet been investigated.

Ibn Khaldūn in the chapters on trade in his *Muqaddima* (Cairo 1317, p. 441 sqq.; transl. in *N. E.*, xx, [1865], p. 348 sqq.) expresses himself in similar terms. He also classifies his observations under the heads of the wholesale and the travelling merchant, while he apparently omits the export merchant. He defines commerce as the art of increasing one's fortune by buying goods and selling them again at an increased price, either by storing them and awaiting an increase of price, or by taking them to another country where the price is higher.

Ibn Khaldūn's verdict on merchants in general is of interest; for the trade of merchant, one requires to have much skill, to praise his goods unduly, to deal cunningly and stubbornly with his customers, all things which affect a man's sense of honour and justice and unfavourably influence his character. It is the small trader who succumbs more readily to this influence as he has to deal with his customers day in and day out. It is otherwise with the merchant who through some favourable circumstance has risen rapidly to wealth and fortune and has attained a position of esteem; he is rather protected from the evil influences of trading as he can leave the actual dealing to his employees and has only to supervise them and give them general directions.

e. The question raised in the beginning of this article of the attitude of Islam to trade is one aspect of the problem, several times discussed in recent years, of the possibilities of the economic development of the lands of Islam. Until shortly before the world war the possibility of development was denied, as is still frequently done in missionary circles. W. Barthold in his introductory essay to the *Mir Islām* may be regarded as the first to show the untenability of this view on historical grounds. Following Max Weber's religious and sociological studies, C. H. Becker, R. Junge and more recently Alfred Rühl have dealt with this question and come to the conclusion that Islam has never been hostile to economic development. But the Oriental mind thinks of economic problems quite differently from the Western, which is the result of the peculiar conditions of the east, especially certain racial characteristics and the dry climate prevailing almost everywhere with the

supreme importance of the question of water supply. These conditions produced a much closer bond of union between the individual and the community. The prevailing principle is not competition but cooperation. From these circumstances one can understand the fundamental principle of Muslim commercial ethics, that the merchant must treat his customers like his brother. To this strongly marked feeling of being a member of a community is added religion, which for every Muslim is the main guiding principle of all his dealings. Even business must submit to its control and cannot take up an independent position with a morality of its own.

In spite of this however, Muslim lands will be quite capable of adopting modern business methods; Islam in the past has often displayed its adaptability and capability of development and various Muslim lands like Turkey and Egypt are at present making up for what they have long neglected in various fields: figures like Ziyā Gök Alp and Muḥammad 'Abduh are milestones on this path of progress.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article: the *Kitāb al-Buyūʿ* or *Tidjārāt* in the works on tradition; references in Wensinck, *A Handbook of early Muhammadan Tradition*, Leyden 1927, s.v. *barter*; Ritter, *Ein arabisches Handbuch der Handelswissenschaft*, in *Sl.*, xvii. (1917), p. 1 sqq.; the essay by Barthold in transl. into German in *W.Z.*, l. (1913), 138 sq.; C. H. Becker, *Islam und Wirtschaft*, in *Archiv f. Wirtschaftsforschung im Orient*, l. (1916), 66 sqq. [= *Islamstudien*, l. (1924), 54 sqq.]; R. Junge, *Das Wirtschaftssystem des näheren Orients*, in *Archiv f. Wirtschaftsforschung im Orient*, l. (1916), p. 1 sqq.; do., *Das Problem der Europäisierung orientalischer Wirtschaft*, Weimar 1915, p. 108 sqq., 266 sq. (deals with Russian-Turkestan); Alfred Rühl, *Vom Wirtschaftsgesamt im Orient*, Leipzig 1925 (deals with Algiers). Cf. also R. Hartmann, *Die Krisis des Islam*, Leipzig 1928 (= *Morgenland*, H. 15). (HEFFKING)

TIDORE, a small volcanic island west of Halmahera in the eastern part of the Malay Archipelago. For administrative purposes it belongs to the residency of Ternate but is not under the direct authority of the Dutch East India government; along with various other small islands and a part of Halmahera it forms an autonomous district also called Tidore, formerly under a sultan, since 1909 under a council of notables. The population is in every way very like that of Ternate [q.v.]. From Portuguese sources it may be deduced that Islam was introduced into Tidore about 1430; according to native tradition, an Arab named Shaikh Mansūr was the first to teach Islam here and Tjiliati (also Tjiliatu and Tjiri Liliatu) about 1495 was the first ruler to be converted, when he took the name Djamāl al-Dīn.

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AL-TIFĀSHI, SHIHĀB AL-DIN ABU 'L-ABBĀS AHMAD B. YUSUF, d. 651 (1253), is the author of the *Kitāb Ashār al-Afshār ft Djamā'ir al-Afshār*, one of the best known works on jewels which he describes — in all 25 kinds — according to their origin, provenance, natural and magical properties, defects and merits, price and appre-

ciation of particular varieties. An edition and translation of the book which exists in good manuscripts is a great desideratum, as that by Count Raineri Biscia of 1818 (new edition 1906) no longer suits modern requirements. — Nothing is known of a second mineralogical work of which there is a manuscript in Paris. To Tifāshī are also ascribed some writings of an obscene nature.

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(J. RUSKA)

TİFLİ (AHMAD ÇELEBİ T.), an Ottoman Turkish poet and meddāh of the xviii century. Shaikhī in the *Shakā'ik dhili* says he was born in Constantinople but the other sources say he belonged to Trebizond. He was the son of a certain 'Abd al-'Aziz Efendi and wrote poems while still a mere child, hence his sobriquet of Tiflī. Of a very keen wit he acquired a reputation as a meddāh and *sedim* rather than as a poet. In this capacity he was a member of the entourage of Murād IV and was very well off, as a result of the income granted him from the customs and *ewşaf*. All the sources record that he used to recite the *Shāhnāma* in the circle of Sulṭān Murād and that he composed witty and amusing stories (to gain an idea of the importance and place of the *Shāhnāma-ghāna* and *ghayā-ghāna* in the palaces of India, Persia and Asia Minor, cf. Köprülü Zāde Fu'ād, *Turkiyat Medjmu'atı*, l. 4—5, 10—12). Ewliya Çelebi who confirms these statements adds that he was called Leklek Tiflī on account of his height (l. 671). Although he belonged to the Melāmiye-i Bāīr-miye order and was an adept of Idris Muḥṭaf (MS. of Mustakīm Zāde, *Menāzib-i Melāmiye-i Bāīr-miye* in my private library), he led a dissolute life. According to the *Medjmu'at* of Süleimān Fā'ik Efendi, he lived in the vicinity of Ködja Mustafa Paşa. The anecdotes about his relations with the poets of his time are famous. We know from Şafā'ī that Tazīz Meḥmed Çelebi of Eski Zağra wrote two satirical treatises in verse called *Wāḥiyet-nāma* and *Dhille-nāma* and represented them as the work of Tiflī. There is a copy of the *Wāḥiyet-nāma* in my own library. He is also mentioned by the poet Gafī of Edirne in his amusing rhymed biographies of poets. He died in 1071 (1660—1661) and was buried near Hazret-Bāli outside Siliwri Kapı. His *ter'ika* was engraved on his tomb-stone by his relative Naḥmī Meḥmed Efendi. The celebrated poet Nā'ili Kādīm also wrote a *ter'ika* on his death (the *ter'ika* of 1070, given by 'Asim in the *Dhail Zubdat al-Afshār* and by Shaikhī as well as the *ter'ika* of 1074 given by Şafā'ī are wrong. Hammer, *Ormanische Dichtkunst*, iii. 449, gives the date 1074 on the authority of this last source and Rieu repeats it in the *Catalogue of Turkish MSS. in the British Museum*, p. 198). Tiflī — who according to Şafā'ī wrote a *Dhūm* — is not however quite negligible as a poet. Biographers like

Shakhri, Riza, 'Asim and Safa'i include him among the poets. There is a *Divan* of his in the British Museum but it contains only his *ghazaliyat* (Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 198; Add. 7933, fol. 18—53). In the *medjma'a* dating from this period we have several of his poems (Flügel, *Katalog der orient. MSS. Wien*, i. 721).

It is to his quality as a *meddāh* and *medim* that he owes his great fame. The sources of the xviiith century are all agreed in this respect and Mirza Zade Salim, author of a *tezkere* in the xviiith century, in order to emphasise the skill as a *meddāh* of his contemporary Kirtmi says that he was a teller of stories as skilful as Tifli, which shows that the latter's fame still survived (*Tezkere-i Salim*, Constantinople edition, p. 568). Suleimān Fā'ik Efendi, author of the *Medjma'a*, says he was the first and oldest of the 'Othmanli *meddāh's* but this is wrong, as my investigations on this subject have shown. We may however regard Tifli as the most famous of the 'Othmanli *meddāh's*. In some old *medjma'a*, we find fragments of his work and anecdotes about Tifli and Sulṭān Murād have been kept alive to the present day. In the story of *Şanṣar Muṣṭafā* contained in No. 1208 of the library of the University of Stambul and in another copy in my private library, Sulṭān Murād and Tifli appear as the *dramatis personae*. In the story of *Khanlarli Kānām*, also one of the oldest stories of *meddāh's*, Tifli and Sulṭān Murād play a part ('Ali, the editor of the *Djerd-i Hawādith*, has republished this old story at the Djerd-i Hawādith press under the title *Khanlarli Kānām Hikāye-i ḡharibet*. On the life of this 'Ali and a résumé of the story cf. the article *Meṣṣāḥir-i Medjma'e* by Ibn al-Amin Maḥmūd Kemāl in *T. O. E. M.*, No. 96, 1928). It may be asked if these stories which are of an extraordinary value for a knowledge of the social life of old Stambul, were really composed by Tifli himself, or if later *meddāh's*, remembering the great fame of Tifli, adapted them and introduced Tifli into them. No definite answer can be given, but these stories of *meddāh's* show in any case what a great reputation Tifli had acquired.

Bibliography: (besides the works above mentioned): the addition of Shakhri to the addition of the *Shakhri's*, entitled *Wafā' al-Fuṣṭāt* (there are a number of copies in the libraries of Constantinople. The author's son completed his father's work and added the biographies of the 'afāmā and *ṭhāḥis* from 1131 to 1143; there is a copy in the Aya Sofya, No. 3198); Riza, *Tezkere-i*, Constantinople 1316, p. 63; Safa'i, *Tezkere-i*, library of Es'ad Efendi, No. 2549; Seirek Zade Mehmed 'Asim, *Dhail Zubdat al-Aḥṣar*, in my private library; Gufi, *Tezkere-i*, in my private library; *Medjma'a* of Suleimān Fā'ik Efendi (on this *Medjma'a* and the different manuscripts of his works cf. *Turkiyat Medjma'at*, i. 35); Mehmed 'Ali 'Aini, *Kūḍiḡi dairam weli*, Constantinople 1343, p. 127; Köprülü Zade Mehmed Fu'ad, *Turkiyat Medjma'at*, i. 31—34.

(KÖPRÜLÜ ZADE MEHMED FU'AD)

TIFLIS, the capital of Georgia and also the eastern part of Georgia (Kharthlia).

The Name. In Georgian the town is called Tphlisi or Tbilisi which is usually explained as derived from *iphili* "hot" (referring to the hot springs of Tiflis), in Armenian Tphkhis (Tphlis),

in Arabic Taflis (Balādhuri: Taflis). Among similar names we may note the town *Ṭāḡis* or *Ṭāḡis* mentioned by Ptolemy v., ch. 11 to the N. E. of Abania, i.e. in Daghestan and the place called Taflis to the south of Lake Urmia [cf. Kudama, p. 213: the road running from Dainawar to Adharbāidjān forked at Barza (= Sakhsiz? q.v.). Taflis lay 2 farsakhs north of Barza on the road to Urmia].

Before Islām. The old capital of Georgia was at Mtskheta (Ptolemy, *Geography*, v., ch. 2, *Mas'āra* = *Marzāra*) which the Arab geographers by a popular etymology sometimes call Masdjid Dhi 'l-Karnain (Mas'udi, *Murūḡi*, ii. 56; cf. Marquart, *Scythica*, p. 186). According to the Georgian Chronicle the Persian *eristhān* ("ethnarch") sent against Waraz-bakar (379—393?), king of Georgia (of the Khosrovi dynasty descended from the Sasanians), built Tiflis "between the Gates of the Caucasus" (between Darial and Darband) "to serve as a bulwark against Mtskheta" (Brosset, *Histoire de la Georgie*, i. 140).

During the wars of king Wakhtang Gurgul (446—499?) with the Persians, the fortress (*hala*) and the village (*sopheli*) of Tiflis were destroyed. Wakhtang laid the foundations of a town at Tiflis and his son Dadi (499—514) completed its walls (*op. cit.*, p. 180, 196, 201).

After 523, the Persians, having suppressed the ruling dynasty of eastern Georgia, maintained a Persian *marzban* in Tiflis, beside whom representatives of the Georgian nobility had a nominal share in the administration of the country (Brosset, i. 226; Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 397, 431—432; Djawakhow, *Khrist. Vostok*, i. 110). The governor of Mtskheta was under the *marzban*. Theophanes of Byzantium (viiith century) is the first Byzantine author to mention ἡ Τίφλις (Τίφλις) *μετρίστα* under the year 571 (Theoph. byz. apud Photius, in *Migne, Patrologia graeca*, ciii. 139; cf. Muralt, *Essai de chronologie byz.*, St. Petersburg 1855, i. 156).

The wars with the Turks and the Byzantines having detracted the attention of the Persians from Iberia, the Georgians asked the Byzantine emperor to give them a king and the Bagratid Guarām (575—600) was set up at Mtskheta. To this king tradition attributes the "restoration of the foundations of the church of Sion in Tiflis" (i. 222).

After the victory gained over the Byzantines by king Khosraw Parwēz (after 606), the son of Guarām, Stephanos I (who was content with the title of *eristhān* = ethnarch), joined the Persians. Later when in 624 Heraclius and his Turkish allies laid siege to Tiflis, Stephanos defended the town bravely. Heraclius appointed as *methawer* (chief) Adarnases of the old Khosroid family and associated with him the *eristhān* Djibghu (Theophanes: Ζίβηνα; according to Marquart: Thong Vabghu Khakan). The citadel (*hala*) was taken and Stephanos slain.

The Arab conquest. The Arabs confounded Armenia and Georgia (cf. Balādhuri, p. 194; and Yakūt, ii. 58 where Djurān is a *nāḥiya* of the country of Arminiya). According to the Georgian chronicle (*Kharthlis tskhovreba*), the Agarians invaded Somkheta ["Armenia", a rather ambiguous term, for "Somkheta of Kharthlia" began to the south of the river Khrām, about 20 miles S. of Tiflis] in the reign of Stephanos II (639—663?), son of Adarnases, who lived in Tiflis. On the death of this king, his sons Mir and Aril

withdrew to Egris (Mingrelia, the land north of the Rion and to the west of Imerethia as far as the Black Sea). In the period of their joint reign (663–668) Georgia was visited by the ferocious Murwan Kru (*M. the Deaf*) sent by the *Amir al-Mu'minin* Eshim (= Hisham whose dates are actually 105–125 = 724–743!). Such mistakes and anachronisms may be explained by the fact that at this period the national life of Georgia had taken refuge far to the west in lands not easily accessible from Ćorokh (Klardjethia). The thread of events may however be pieced together from Arab and Armenian statements (cf. the article ARMENIA).

In reality Arab expeditions penetrated into Transcaucasia in the reigns of the early caliphs. According to Tabari, i. 2666, in 22 (643) Surāka having made peace with Shahr-Barāz (king of the Bāb al-Abwāb) sent Habib b. Maslama against Tiflis. To the same year Tabari, i. 2674, puts the peace with the people of this town but it was actually made in 25 (645) in the reign of 'Othmān (al-Ya'qūbi, p. 194; Balādihuri, p. 198). When Habib b. Maslama had conquered Armenia (q.v.) he turned his attention to Georgia. A Georgian ambassador (Nikly = Nicolas? Thy = Theophilus?) appeared before him to testify that the *harāsh* of Djurzān and his people were well disposed. Habib's answer (cf. the versions in Balādihuri, p. 201 and Tabari, i. 2764; Ya'qūbi, i. 857 rather follows Balādihuri) was addressed simply to "the inhabitants of Tiflis, in (the rustāk of) Mandjalis (now Manglis) in al-Djazzān (= Georgia) in the land of Hurmuz".

Habib guaranteed the people the exercise of their religion, but he sent to Tiflis the learned 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Djar' to expound the law of Islām and indeed the people of the town were soon converted to Islām.

After reducing Tiflis, Habib extended his conquests or his treaties of peace over other regions inhabited by the Georgians and their neighbours (Balādihuri, p. 202–203; cf. the attempt to analyse them in Ghararian, *op. cit.*). Among these the Sanāriya play a prominent part (Ptolemy, v, ch. viii, § 13; *Συναγωγὴ*; in Armenian: Tsamarkh), a very warlike Christian people who lived in Kakhetia and the high Alazani and who, according to the hypothesis of N. Y. Marr, were identical with the modern Thugh, whose language is related to that of the Ćedens (cf. *Isr. Akad. Nauk.*, x/xii, 1916, p. 1379–1408).

From the time of Habib's expedition to the reign of al-Mutawakkil (232–247) the Djurzān (eastern Georgians) and the Abkhāz (q.v., here in the wide sense of "western Georgians of the valley of the Rion", i.e. of Imerethia) paid tribute to the Arab military commander in Tiflis (*Murūdj*, ii. 65; Ya'qūbi, ii. 583). Of the time of Yazid II (101–105) we have a letter in which Djarāh b. 'Abd Allāh confirmed to the Djurzān the guarantees given by Habib b. Maslama (Balādihuri, p. 203; there is a reference there also to the rustāk of Mandjalis, but several place-names are still unidentified).

As to the "Murwan Kru" of Armenian and Georgian tradition, two personages seem to have been confused in this figure (Marquart): Muhammad b. Marwan of whom the Georgians seem to have heard the Armenians speak, and his son Marwān b. Muhammad who (in the reign of Hisham, 105–125) was fighting mainly in Daghestān but whose

expedition against the "Gate" of the Alān must have passed through the region of Tiflis. His headquarters were at Kīāl (?), 20 farsakhs from Tiflis and 40 farsakhs from Burghā'a (probably Kesala below Ta'ūs, which satisfies the description; cf. below). A dirham is known of 'Abd al-Malik struck at Tiflis in 85 (704).

The 'Abbāsids. In 141 (758) the Khazars under Ka's Tarkhān invaded Armenia (Ya'qūbi, ii. 446). Tabari (iii. 328), speaking of the same event under 147 (764), says that during the invasion of Astār Khān al-Khwarizmī (*etc.*) many Muslims and *dhimmī* were made prisoners and the Turks entered Tiflis. Ya'qūbi immediately after 141 mentions a rising of the Sanāriya. The latter were defeated by 'Amir b. Isma'il who then returned to Tiflis and executed his prisoners there.

Another Khazar invasion took place in 183 (799). Their king came as far as the bridge over the Kur and ravaged the country but the taking of Tiflis is not mentioned by the Arab writers (Ya'qūbi, ii. 518; Tabari, iii. 648) while the Georgian chronicle says that in the joint reign of the brothers Ioane and Djuansher (718–786?) the Khākan's general Blān (in Armenian Bul'ān) took Tiflis and conquered Kharthlia.

Of the governors that Hārūn al-Rashīd (170–193 = 786–809) sent to Armenia the hardest was Khuzaima b. Khāsim (Balādihuri, p. 210). The Georgians called him Ći'um-Asim. Ya'qūbi, ii. 210 confirms the cruelty of his second governorship. The Djurzān (read Djurzān) and the Sanāriya rebelled. Khuzaima's general Sa'id b. Haitham defeated them, drove them out of the country and then returned to Tiflis.

Under al-Ma'mūn (198–218) a certain Muḥammad b. 'Atāb established himself in Armenia. In 214 (829) he conquered the land of the Djurzān and the Sanāriya joined him (Ya'qūbi, ii. 540, 565–566). Khālid b. Yazid gave the *amān* to Muḥammad b. 'Atāb and defeated his allies, the Sanāriya, but the disturbances in Arminiya went on (Ya'qūbi, ii. 566; Balādihuri, p. 210–211). In 215–239 (830–853) Ishāk b. Isma'il carved himself out a principality in Georgia.

Ishāk b. Isma'il. According to Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj*, ii. 65, he was of Kurnāsh origin. His father Isma'il was the son of Shu'aib, a client of Marwān II (126–132 = 744–750); he had settled in Georgia in the time of the caliph Amin (193–196) and had had skirmishes with the wali Asad b. Yazid (Ya'qūbi, ii. 528). The uncle of Ishāk, 'Alī b. Shu'aib mentioned in the Georgian chronicle, i. 260, 265, is said to have received Tiflis from Khālid, probably after Muḥammad b. 'Atāb. But already in the governorship of Ḥasan Badghisht, the second successor of Khālid, we find the name of Ishāk. When the Byzantine troops of Theophilus (829–842) reached Wanand (near Kars) they "were cut to pieces by Sahak, son of Ismael" (cf. Stephen Asolik, ii, ch. v., transl. Dulaurier, p. 171). As a result of such exploits the caliph Wathīk (842–847) recognised Ishāk as lord of Armenia, but this did not last long. Muḥammad, son and successor of Khālid, defeated Ishāk and drove out the Sanāriya. According to the Georgian chronicle, the Georgian princes (who had less fear of the central government so far away) supported Muḥammad against Ishāk and his allies, the people of Kakhetia and the Sanāriya.

Finally in the reign of al-Mutawakkil the Turk

Bughā al-Kabīr al-Sharīf was sent to Armenia. In Rabi' I 238 (autumn 852), he left Dabil for Tiflis. Bughā watched the operations from the high hills beside Sughdabil (the reference is to the heights of Makhatha to the north of Isani = Sughdabil; cf. the description of Tiflis below).

Ishāk made a sortie but Bughā's *naffātin* (throwers of Greek fire) set fire to the town. Ishāk's palace was burned. He and his son 'Amr were taken prisoners by the Turks and the Moors. Ishāk was decapitated and 50,000 (?) men lost their lives in the destruction of the town by fire. The Moors took the survivors prisoners and spoiled the dead. Ishāk's wife, daughter of the lord of Sarir (= the principality of the Avars in northern Daghestan), was at Sughdabil, which was defended by the Khuwaithiya (people of Sasun; cf. MAIYA-FANIGIN). Bughā granted them the *amān* on condition that they laid down their arms and continued his operations in the direction of Djardman and Bailakān (Tabari, iii. 1114—1116; cf. Thomas Artzruni, iii., ch. 9—10, ed. Brosset, St. Petersburg 1874, p. 140—150. A Georgian inscription on the church of Atani gives the Muhammadan date 239 for the taking of Tiflis by Bughā; cf. Djawakhov, *Khist. Vostok*, 1912, i. 284). The destruction of the Muslim principality of the former clients of the Omayyads, which was a focus around which local elements gathered, was an irreparable mistake for the caliphate. The Arab authors (Mas'ūdī, ii. 67; Yāqūt, ii. 38) date the decline of Arab power in the Caucasus from this. Bughā was soon recalled; cf. Brosset, *op. cit.*, i. 266—268 and Thomas Artzruni, *ibid.*

There was an 'Abbāsid mint for dirhams at Tiflis till 922 (pieces are known of 210, 248, 250, 294, 298, 304, 307, 311, 312, 314, 330, 331); cf. Tiesenhausen, *Monnaies des khālfes orientaux*, St. Petersburg 1873 and especially Pakhomov, *op. cit.*

The aid which Bagrat (826—876) had lent to the caliph against Ishāk did not bring the reward desired by the eastern dynasty. The rival dynasty called of Abkhazia (cf. the explanation of this term above) seized Kharthlia. Thus Mas'ūdī (writing in 332 = 942), *Murūj*, ii. 69, 74, says that the Kur left the possessions of Djurdjin (Bagratid of the lateral line, i. 941; Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 176) crossed the land of Abkhāz (sic) and arrived in front of Tiflis, the inhabitants of which although surrounded by infidels on all sides still retained their courage and were numerous. The founder of the Armenian Bagratid kingdom Ashot (885—890 A. D.) also intervened in the affairs of Kharthlia (Brosset, i. 270, note 12). Mas'ūdī gives Mas'ūdī Dhi'l-Karnain (= Makheta) as the residence of the king of Djurdjin (*al-fanbaghi*, ingeniously emended by Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 186 to the Armenian **mambaghi* > *mambali*, a Georgian title).

The Sājjids, the Sālārīds and the Shaddādids. In the meanwhile there arose in Adharbāidjān the first Muslim dynasty that owned the suzerainty of Baghdād, the Sājjids (276 or 279—317; cf. this article and R. Vassier, *O monts du Saffidow, Taveria Obzr. in. Azerb.*, Baku 1927, No. 5, p. 22—51). Abu'l-Kāsim Yūsuf went to assist the isolated Muslims in the north. In 912(?) he came to Tiflis the amir of which was called Dja'far b. 'Alī (cf. below) and seized the fortresses of Udjarmo and Bol'orma (on the upper Iora) (cf. Brosset, i. 275, note 2). The

chronicle also mentions another expedition (between 918 and 923) of the "Saracens called Sadj" in the course of which Makheta was taken. The Muslim sources are silent about these expeditions. Immediately afterwards the chronicle mentions the appearance of the Sālārīds [q. v.] at Bardha'a and in Adharbāidjān.

Bagrat III and Bagrat IV. The series of reigns "shows the greatest confusion" (Brosset) until the king Bagrat III (980—1014?) reunited Kharthlia, Abkhazia, Tao (on the Corokh) and Ardanoj. In his time the Shaddādīd [q. v.] Fadlūn invaded Armenia but was defeated by the Georgians and Makheta was always regarded as the royal city although the rulers resided in Kutais (Khatathisi). In 1030 (421) the Georgian and Kakhethian notables, with the help of the amir Dja'far of Tiflis, undertook an expedition against the Shaddādīd Fadlūn (Fadlūn of Gandja). But when the latter died, Liparit Orbelliani, the powerful lord of Thrileth (on the upper Khrum), captured Dja'far by a ruse and only released him on the appeal of the young king Bagrat IV (1027—1072), who evidently did not wish Tiflis to be annexed by the turbulent Liparit. Dja'far was re-established at Tiflis but a few years later the king himself laid siege to Tiflis. The siege had lasted for two years when suddenly the king at the suggestion of Liparit made peace with Dja'far. After the death of the latter the elders (*ber*) of Tiflis offered the keys of the town to Bagrat, who occupied the citadel Dār al-Djalāl and the two "towers" Ts'alkin and Thabor (cf. the description of Tiflis below). The inhabitants of the laan quarter on the left bank of the Kur however destroyed the bridge and Bagrat had to turn his ballistas upon them.

The Saldjūks. In 1048 the troops of Ibrāhīm Yanāl (in Georgian Bahram-Lam) appeared for the first time in Russian (Pasin on the upper waters of the Araxes). In 1053 (?) the Saldjūks undertook an expedition against Gandja but a counter-movement by the Byzantines who were allies of Bagrat IV saved the town. Thereupon the people of Tiflis again invited Bagrat but as a result of Liparit's intrigues, the Byzantines kept Bagrat prisoner in Constantinople for three years. Then Bagrat recovered the greater part of his fortresses, when suddenly Alp Arslan (1063—1079) invaded Georgia (Brosset, i. 326). On Dec. 10, 1068, Alp Arslan accompanied by the kings of Armenia and Kakhethia (Aghsarthan, son of Gagik, of the dynasty of *Korikēs* [Chorepiscopi] which ruled from 787 to 1105) as well as the amir of Tiflis marched against Bagrat. All Kharthlia was occupied and many Christians slain or taken prisoners. The Shaddādids were given compensation. Tiflis and Rustaw were given to Fadlūn of Gandja and Ani to Manutir b. Abu'l-Aswār. In the spring of 1069, Bagrat returned to Kharthlia. Fadlūn encamped at Isan (a suburb on the left bank) and with 33,000 men ravaged the country. Bagrat defeated Fadlūn who took the road through Kakhethia but was taken prisoner by Aghsarthan. At the price of conceding several fortresses on the Iora, Bagrat ransomed Fadlūn and received from him the surrender of Tiflis where in the meanwhile a certain Sitlharaba (Sayfī al-'Arabī?) was proclaimed amir. This plan failed for Alp Arslan obtained the liberation of Fadlūn. Giorgi II, son of Bagrat (reigned 1072—1089, lived in 1125), lived in Kutais. In Kakhethia Aghsarthan retained

his possessions on condition that he adopted Islam.

Dawid II. The revival took place under Dawid II Aghmashenebeli (the "Restorer") who took the title of king "of Kharthlia and Abkhazia" (1089—1125?). Dawid brought into Georgia through the pass of the Alans (Darial) 40,000 Kiptaks (Polovtsi) and 5,000 slaves converted to Christianity. In spite of their unruliness (Brosset, *op. cit.*, I, 379) these warlike elements enabled Dawid to throw off Seldjuk domination. He ceased the payment of the *kharaǰ* and put an end to the seasonal migrations of the Turks into Georgia. He gave his daughter Thamar in marriage to the Shirwānshāh [q.v.] Akhsitan (in Georgian Aghsartan) and treated him as his vassal.

The capture of Tiflis in 515 (1121). On the complaints of the Muslims of Tiflis the Seldjuk Mahmūd b. Muhammad (1118—1131) sent an expedition into Georgia in which the Urtukid Nadīm al-Dīn Ghāzī, the Maryādīd Dubais b. Šadaka (Durbes of the Georgian chronicle) and the brother of the Sultān Tughrlī (lord of al-Artan and Nakhicewān) with his atābeg Kun-toǵdī all took part. On the 18th August 1121 this army entered Thraileth and Mangli but was destroyed by Dawid and his Kiptaks, after which in 515 (1121—1122), Dawid stormed Tiflis so that the town might become "for ever an arsenal and capital for his sons"; Brosset, I, 365—367 and *Additions*, I, 230, 236—241; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, x, 398—399 [= Defrémery, *Fragments*, p. 26]; Kamāl al-Dīn, *Tārīkh Ḥalab*, in the *Recueil des hist. des croisades*, III, 628; Yāqūt, I, 857 (Taifis). The Arab historian al-Aīnī (1360—1451) who utilizes sources, some of which are no longer accessible (Brosset, I, 241), admits that Tiflis was burned and pillaged but, contrary to the other sources which emphasize the atrocities committed by Dawid (Matth. of Edessa in Brosset, *Add.*, I, 230), says that the king respected the feelings of the Muslims more than Muslim rulers had done; Dawid is also said to have promised to strike coins with Muslim legends; the coins however of the king (cf. Pakhomow, *Mémoires* etc., p. 77—81) bear the image of the Virgin. Great caution in dealing with the Muslims was necessary because as the Georgian chronicle acknowledges, the fighting between Muslims and Christians was still very bitter (cf. Brosset, I, 380).

The Banū Dja'far. Dawid succeeded in Tiflis to the Banū Dja'far of whom it is not known whether they were of Arab or purely Georgian origin. While the Georgian Chronicle (I, 367) puts at 400 years the period of Muslim rule in Tiflis, al-Aīnī gives the Banū Dja'far alone a period of 200 years. Indeed, we have seen that about 300 (912) the amir of Tiflis was already called Dja'far [b. 'Alī] (Brosset, I, 275). His successor struck coins at Tiflis; dirhams are known of Manšūr b. Dja'far, dated in 342 and 343 (with the name of the caliph al-Mu't' li 'llāh), and of Dja'far b. Manšūr, dated 364, 366 (al-Tāy' li 'llāh). In the time of Bagrat IV (1027—1072) the amir of Tiflis was called Dja'far (his father 'Alī had carried off the property of the Sweet-Tskhoweli church of Mtskheta). The Chronicle calls him Mukhath Gwerd Djaphar (Mukhath Gwerd is a place near Mtskheta). During the 40 years before the conquest of Tiflis by Dawid, the town was governed by the young members of the Banū Dja'far family, each of whom in turn held power for a month (al-Aīnī).

The strong kings. The reign of Dimitri

(1125—1154) was occupied with a civil war with the Orbeliani family. The Muslim rulers contemporary with him were: in Adharbājdjān, the atābeg Ildigiz (in Georgian Ildigaz); at Ani, the scions of the Shaddādid; at Khilā, Zahir al-Dīn Shah-i Arman (1128—1183); at Erzerum, the amir Saltuk b. 'Alī, whom the Georgians defeated near Ani in 548 (1153); cf. Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 126 sub anno 548 (1157); Māvedjānī-bashī, II, 577; Defrémery, *Fragments*, p. 40. It was Dimitri who, taking advantage of the earthquake in 1139 at Gandja, carried off the famous iron gate of this town and took it to the monastery of Gelathi (cf. Fraehn, *Mém. Ac. St. Pétersbourg*, VIIth series, *Sé. moralis*, vol. III, p. 531). The position in Tiflis is described by Ibn al-Azrak, historian of Māyāfārikin [q.v.] who visited Tiflis in 548 (1153). He says the Muslims were in a favoured position. Every Friday Dimitri came to the mosque and sat on a dais (*dhakka*) opposite the *khutbā*; cf. Amedroz, *Three Arabic MSS.*, *J. R. A. S.*, 1902, p. 791 (al-Azrak may have been the source used by al-Aīnī).

Under Giorgi III (1156—1184) the Muslim kingdoms around Georgia remained the same and the king conducted vigorous campaigns against Erzerum, Ani, Dwin, Nakhicewān, Gandja, Bardha'a and Balakān. To assist his cousin the Shirwānshāh Akhsitan, son of Thamar, Giorgi's aunt, the king even went to Darband (cf. Brosset, I, p. 383—403 and *Add.*, I, 253—257, 266; Ibn al-Athīr under the years 556, 557, 559, 561, 569).

The reign of Thamar (1184—1211 or 1212), the "Sun of Kharthlia", is the culminating point in the history of Georgia, now on the threshold of terrible trials. Having forced the diadochi of the Seldjūks to accept peace, the Christian kingdom now assumed the offensive and surrounded itself with Muslim vassals. Thamar played an important part in the creation of the empire of the Comnenoi of Trebizond (Kunik, *Osnef. Trapes. imperii v 1204*, *Ulen. Zap. Akad. Nauk*, 1853, vol. II, p. 705—733). The troops operating from Erzerum and Erzinđjān inflicted defeats on the Ildigizids of Adharbājdjān. The sack of Ardabil by the Georgians (Brosset, I, 469—473) finds confirmation in the *Sililat al-Narab-i Safawīya*, Berlin 1843, p. 43; cf. Khanykow, *Mémoires asiatiques*, I, 1852, p. 380—383. The Chronicle also mentions in 1210—1212 an expedition through the whole of northern Persia as far as Romguaro (= Ramdžūr near Nishāpūr?), but beyond Tahriz the stages in this march seem to be quite fanciful (Brosset, I, 469—473). In spite of the brilliant success of the generals Zakharé and Iwané of the Mkhargrdzel family (Armenian of Kurd origin; cf. Brosset, *Add.*, I, 267), the Georgian victories were not lasting and of all her conquests, Thamar could only retain Kars (Brosset, I, 467). At home also (Djawkhow) the growing power of the feudal lords demanded the attention of the queen. Muslim customs penetrated into Georgia; the general Iwané was given the title of *Atābeg* ("used among the Saljūks"; Brosset, I, 474). In the reign of Thamar, we find mention of a rebel, Gozan son of Abu 'l-Hasan, "amir of Tiflis and Kharthlia" (is this a scion of the Banū Dja'far?).

The Mongols. The son of Thamar, Giorgi III Laša ("splendid" in the Abkhazian language) who ruled from 1212—1223, levied the *kharaǰ* of Gandja, Nakhicewān, Erzerum (Karnukalak) and

Khilāf but in 617 (1220) the Mongol troops of Subutai and Djebé (in Georgian: Suba and Iama or Čeba) made their appearance in Persia. The Georgians were several times defeated; the Chronicle (Brosset, I, 493) considers the defeat at Dardūd (on the Bortala) as the turning-point in the fortunes of the Georgian armies, hitherto invincible.

Giorgi died suddenly and the throne passed to his sister Rusudan (1223—1247) [*ḡis-mālā*, the "maiden king" of the Muslims], a beautiful princess devoted to pleasure, whose hand was sought by her Muslim neighbours (Brosset, I, 495). In the end she chose the son of the Saldjūq of Erzerum, Muḡith al-Dīn Toghril (in Georgian Orthul) who by his father's orders became a Christian (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 270: *ḡadithatun ḡharibatun lam yuḡad mithlaha*). In the letter from Rusudan to the Pope Innocent III (which reached Rome in 1224) the king speaks of the Mongol invasion as an insignificant episode, but a new enemy was at the gate.

The Khwārizmshāh Djālāl al-Dīn defeated the Georgians at Garni in Shaḥān 622 (Aug. 1225) (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 283; Nasawi, ed. Houdas, p. 112; Brosset, *Add.*, I, 309). The Georgian commander Shalwa (Djuwaini, II, 159: he and his brother) was taken prisoner. Tiflis was occupied on March 9, 1226, thanks to the treachery of the Persians who lived in the town. According to Djuwaini, Djālāl al-Dīn spared the inhabitants and allowed them to withdraw to Abkhazia but destroyed all the Christian places of worship. Ibn al-Athīr on the other hand says that the town was taken by storm (*anwatan wa-fahrān min ḡhairi amān*) and all those who did not accept Islam were massacred. Nasawi (p. 122) also confirms the massacre of all Georgians and Armenians in Tiflis (cf. Brosset, I, 504—507). The vizier Shuraf al-Mulk was appointed governor of the town. When he left for winter-quarters at Gandja, the Georgians returned to Tiflis and burned the town, knowing that it was impossible for them to hold it (Nasawi, p. 125). Djālāl al-Dīn, occupied elsewhere, did not return to Georgia till 1228 when at Mindor (in Georgian "field") near Loré he scattered the forces of the commander-in-chief Iwān, made up of very diverse elements: Georgian, Alān, Armenian, people of Sarir (= the Awar of Daghestān), Lakz, Kipčak, Swan, Abkhāz, Džant (= Čan-eti; cf. the article LAZ), men from Syria and Asia Minor (cf. Djuwaini, II, 170). The Georgian Chronicle (Brosset, I, 510) says that after the victory at Bolnis (= Mindor?), Djālāl al-Dīn committed fresh atrocities at Tiflis.

Second coming of the Mongols. Djālāl al-Dīn disappeared from the scene in 628 (Aug. 1231) but the remnants of the Khwārizmians disturbed the eastern part of Georgia and shut the feudal lords up in their castles. Tiflis however was still in possession of Rusudan, when the Mongols of Djurmaghan entered Georgia via Gandja. This took place in 1236 (Brosset, I, 333; according to d'Oshason, III, 75: ca. 632 = 1235). Rusudan left Tiflis for Kutais and the governor of Tiflis burned the town (Brosset, I, 514: "thus was ruined the city of Tiflis").

The *no'in* of whom the Chronicle always mentions four (Čarmaghan, Čaghatar, Ioser and Bičoy) occupied the country and restored Tiflis. Rusudan's rule was confined to the valley of Rion.

The Mongols broke up the political organisation of the country: the Georgians were pressed into the Mongol service (expeditions against the Sal-

jūq of Rūm, Ghiyāth al-Dīn, against the Imašillans of Alamūt, against Bughdād etc.). The country was divided into six *rumans* and the Georgian feudal lords (*arkhawar*) whose fiefs underwent changes, were divided among the *no'in*. The people of note had to go to Batu-Khān and then to the Great Khān in Mongolia, where they were kept for years. In this way the heir to the throne, Dawid (called in Mongol Narin "splendid"), was removed from the country. A certain Egarlan tried to unite the country against the Mongols ("he only lacked the name of king"; Brosset, I, 542) but the Mongols set up against him Dawid, son of Giorgi Lasha, who was crowned at Mtskheta. He also had to go to Batu and to Kurağorum. The "two Dawids" are mentioned among these present at the kurultai of Guyuk-khān in 643 = 1245 (cf. Djuwaini, I, 205, 212; Rashid al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, p. 242). Returning to Georgia, after the accession of Möngke (1248—1259) they ruled together at first.

As Hülagü did not love Dawid Narin, the latter escaped to Abkhazia. "It was thus that our country became two principalities", says the Chronicle (Brosset, I, 546). Eastern Georgia owned two sultans: on the one side Batu-Khān, lord of the country north of the Caucasus, wished to extend his authority over Georgia; on the other side the Ilkhāns of Persia asserted their rights over it. Dawid, son of Lasha, exasperated by the exactions of Khodja 'Aziz, collector of Mongol taxes (Rashid al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, p. 395, calls him "one of the governors of Georgia"), fled to his cousin. The *no'in* Oyrat Arghun occupied Tiflis. A reconciliation only took place when the son of Lasha had fought beside Hülagü against the troops of Berke, successor of Batu who had invaded Shirwān in 1262 (d'Oshason, III, 182). In the reign of Abagha, Berke returned to Transcaucasia and reached Tiflis, where many Christians were massacred (in 1266; cf. *ibid.*, p. 418).

The successor to Dawid, son of Lasha, was his son Dimitri II (1273—1289) who took part in the numerous campaigns of Abagha and Ahmad but in the reign of Arghun his treasures were confiscated and he himself beheaded after being bastinadoed at the *ordu*. The Georgians call him Thaw-Dadchull, "he who gave his head as a sacrifice".

Several further kings were nominated and deposed by the Mongols. In vain Dawid VI (1293—1310) endeavoured to negotiate with the Khān of the house of Batu (Omākha = Tokhtoghu); he had to send to Ghazan an embassy consisting of the orthodox Catholicos and the *kādi* of Tiflis (cf. Brosset, I, 615 [this last detail is evidence of the revival of Islam as a result of the accession of Ghazan]). The Georgians continued to take part in all the campaigns of the Mongols, which however saved them neither from persecutions (cf. the activity of the Muslim *no'in* Nawrūs in the reign of Ghazan: Brosset, I, 617) nor from attempts to convert them (e.g. after the Gilān expedition of 1307).

Giorgi V. After the death of Uldjaitu (1316) Giorgi V (*Brtskhmale*, the "Splendid") was placed on the throne (1316—1346) under the patronage of the amir Čoban. Giorgi profited by the troubles in the last years of the dynasty of the Ilkhāns to drive out the Mongols. He exterminated the rebels, went with his army into Imerethia and united under his rule not only the Georgian lands

as far as Sper (now Ispir) but all the lands from *Nikoltsia (15 miles from Sukhum on the Black Sea) to Darband".

Timūr. It was during the long reign of Bagrat V (1360—1395) that Timūr made his appearance. The official historian of his reign represents his campaign in Georgia as a *ghihād*. Timūr set out from Kars in the winter of 788 (1386) (*Zafar-nāma*, i. 401). Bagrat had shut himself up in the citadel of Tiflis. The town was captured and the King and Queen taken prisoners. The Chronicle and Thomas of Metsoph (Nève, *Exposit.*, p. 37) mention the apostasy of the King but represent it as a clever ruse which enabled him to exterminate 12,000 of Timūr's soldiers and regain his lands. His son Giorgi succeeded him in 1395. The *Zafar-nāma*, i. 705, 720 does not give these details. In 796 (1394) he only mentions the despatch of four generals to the district of Akh'al-tskhe (Akhtskha, q. v.) in order to apply the law of *ghazā*. Timūr in person finally chastised the Georgians called Kars-Kalkānlik ("with black bucklers" = the Georgian mountaineers, the Pahavis and Khewsuris) and returned via Tiflis to Shekki (q. v.).

In 798 (1395) the Georgians, allied with Sidi 'Alī of Shekki (q. v.), inflicted a defeat on the troops of the Timurid Mirān-shāh who was besieging Alindjak (near Nakhicewān) and delivered Sultān Tāhir Djalāyir, who was shut up in it (*ibid.*, ii. 203). This event brought about its reaction in winter 802 (1399) when Timūr took Shekki and mercilessly ravaged the wooded defile of Khimshā (?), probably in northern Kakhetia where a Khimshia family held a fief at Mareli, to the east of Thionethi (Brosset, II/2, p. 464). In the spring of 1400 Timūr marched on Tiflis and demanded that King Giorgi (Gurgin) should hand over Sultān Tāhir. On receiving an evasive answer, Timūr laid the country completely waste (*ibid.*, ii. 241). Tiflis received a Khorāsmian garrison but Giorgi retired again to the mountains. After the voluntary submission of a Georgian prince named Djānī-beg and the capture of the fortress of Zarik (?) Timūr's troops set out in pursuit of Giorgi and laid Swanethia waste. Giorgi went into Abkhazia and sent Tāhir back to Asia Minor. Through the intermediary of a Muslim named Ismā'il (Brosset, i. 668) he offered to Timūr to pay the *kharaǰ*. Timūr accepted the offer. Next the land of the Georgian Iwané (the *atābak* of Samtskhe) was converted to Islām and that of the Kars-Kalkānlik plundered. After resting for two months in the summer quarters of Min-göl ("1,000 lakes") near Kars, he sent troops against the Georgians who had concentrated at Farasgiri (Phanaskert, on the upper Č'orokh); *ibid.*, ii. 250.

In 804 (end of 1401) Timūr returned to Transcaucasia via Siwās-Baghdād-Tabriz. His delegates (*muḥasibīn*) went to collect the tribute (*saw wa-kharāǰ wa-ǰizya*) from Giorgi who sent his brother with the contributions. Timūr gave Giorgi the *amān* on condition that he supplied him with troops and treated the Muslims well (*ibid.*, ii. 379). In the summer of 804 (1402) Timūr went from Karabāgh to Min-göl and took the fortress of Tortum occupied by Kurdjik, lieutenant of a certain Taghi (?).

When, in 805, Timūr returned to Erzerum, he decided to punish Giorgi for not having come to present his congratulations on his victory over Bayazid. At Min-göl, Iwané, son of Ak-bughā, arrived with gifts as did Kustānīl (Constantine),

brother of Giorgi, who was then on bad terms with his brother (*ibid.*, ii. 512). Shāikh Ibrāhīm of Shtrwān went to estimate the revenues and expenses of Georgia (*ibid.*, ii. 521). Giorgi sent new presents but Timūr refused them and summoned Giorgi to appear in person. In 806 (Aug. 1403) he himself laid siege to the impregnable fortress of Kūrtin defended by Nazil or Narwāl (the Chronicle calls it Birtwis on Alget) and took it in nine days (*ibid.*, ii. 524—532). The troops then laid waste the country round (*asrāf*) Georgia as far as the borders (*hudūd*) of Abkhazia: "which is the end of this country", 700 towns and villages were destroyed and the historian of Timūr waxes eloquent over the massacres and destruction (ii. 536). Timūr only stopped them when the *ulamā* and the *mufti* decided it was possible to grant the *amān*. The Georgians sent 1,000 *tangas* of gold struck in the name of Timūr, 1,000 horses, a ruby weighing 18 *mithkāl* etc.

Timūr passed through Tiflis, destroyed all the monasteries and churches and went to Ballakān (winter of 1403—1404). All the country from Ballakān to Trebizond was given as an appanage to the prince Khālī Mirzā (ii. 545).

Post-Timurid period. The general disorder after the havoc wrought by Timūr, is reflected in the part of the Chronicle which gives a brief account of the reigns. The Muslim sources (*Maṭla' al-Saf'ain*, N.E., xiv. 235 and Mirkhond; cf. Defrémery, *Fragment*, p. 245) mention an expedition of Shāikh Ibrāhīm of Shtrwān, a friend of the dynasty of the Djalāyir, against the Kars-Koyunlu Kars Yūsuf in which Kustānīl, king of Gurdjistan, took part. The allied forces were defeated to the north of the Araxes and Kars Yūsuf slew Kustānīl with his own hand. This happened in 815 (1412—1413). 300 *amānīyars* (Georgian nobles; cf. Armenian *amān* "race") were also massacred. Wakhshūt (Brosset, i. 689) alone mentions Constantine as king and puts his death in 1414. In 1413 (1416?) on the invitation of the Persians (= Muslims) of Akh'al-tskhe, Kars Yūsuf invaded this region and laid the country waste (Thomas of Metsoph; cf. Nève, *loc. cit.*, p. 96; Brosset, *ibid.*, i, p. 399). The Chronicle confesses that down to the accession of Alexander (1413—1442) "no consoler arose from anywhere". This king gradually drove out the invaders, restored the cathedral of Sweti Tskhowell (at Mtskheta) and repaired the fortresses. The Georgian envoys who greeted Shāhrukh in 823 (1420) at Kars-bāgh (cf. Mirkhond in Defrémery, *op. cit.*, p. 251) must have been sent by Alexander, and when in 841 (1437) Shāhrukh arrived in Somkhetia (cf. above) Alexander sent him rich gifts after which the son of Timūr left Georgia. In 1444 (848) the Kars-Koyunlu Djihān-shāh made a raid to Akh'al-tskhe (cf. Brosset, i. 683; according to Thomas of Metsoph, Djihān-shāh took Tiflis in 1440; cf. Nève, p. 149).

Partition of Georgia. At this period Georgian tradition becomes exceedingly difficult to unravel (Brosset, i. 679—689). The history of Wakhshūt, which continues and corrects the Chronicle and agrees better with the statements of the Muslim historians, begins with the reign of Constantine III (1469—1505) during which Georgia was divided into three main kingdoms (Brosset, II/1, p. 11—18, 147, 208, 249): Kharthlia (on the Kur [in Georgian Mtkwar], with capital Tiflis), Imerethia (on the Rion, with capital Kutais)

and Kakhetia (on the Alazani, with capital at Gremi [in Persian Girin] and later at Thelaw). In addition, the atabeg of Samtskhe (with capital Akhal-tsikhe) rebelled and founded the independent principality of Saatabago (consisting of Samtskhe, on the upper course of the Kar, and of Klarjethia on the Corokhi) the princes of which from Manuçar III = Safer-pāshā (1625) had become Muslims (Brosset, II, 228). A number of local princes also became independent of Imerethia (the Gurikis of Guria, the Dadianis of Mingrelia, and the Gelowani of the Swans; cf. the article *ANGHĀZ*). In Kharthlia also, Constantine III's reign was disturbed by the invasion of Bagrat II of Imerethia.

The Ak-Koyunlu. In this period Uzun Hasan comes on the stage. According to Münedjdim-başı, III, 160, he went to Georgia for the first time in 871 (1466) when he liberated the Muslim prisoners and took the fortress of Çemkār (?). Civil complications prevented him taking Akhal-tsikhe but he returned to the attack in 877 (1472). King Bakasiti (read: Bagrat II of Imerethia) was dethroned (*kuşar*) and 30,000 prisoners taken from Georgia. According to Wakhushit's version, Tiflis was surrendered to Uzun Hasan by Constantine, evidently to prevent Bagrat getting it. Uzun Hasan left a garrison in Tiflis but entrusted its government to Constantine (cf. Brosset, II, 13 and 25). The *Tārīkh-i Amlak* however calls the governor (*ayālar*) left by Uzun Hasan, Süfi Khalil Beg, who stayed there till the death of Uzun Hasan in 1478 when the Georgians re-occupied the town.

Sultān Ya'qūb Ak-Koyunlu invaded Samtskhe in the autumn of 891 (1486) to chastise the Atabeg Kwarqware. In the next year Ya'qūb sent Süfi Khalil Beg to conquer Georgia. The construction of the forts of Aghdja-kafa and Kazani was begun by the Turkomans on the lower course of the Debeda (Bortala) at the place which commands the approaches to Georgia from the south (cf. the *Geography* of Wakhushit). Kustāndil (Constantine III) withdrew from Tiflis. Süfi Khalil began the siege with the help of reinforcements which arrived in the winter; he took first of all the fortress of Kodjir (Kodjori, south of Tiflis). In the fighting around Tiflis the Muslims suffered heavily but finally Wali aghā eghikči-aghā took the town (3rd Rab' 1. 894 = 1489) (cf. the unpublished history of the reign of Ya'qūb, *Tārīkh-i Amlak*, MS. Bibl. Nat. Paris, N^o. 101, fol. 101^r—105^r and 155^r—159^r). The Chronicle (Brosset, II, 326—327) which confirms many of the details, denies however that Tiflis was taken and adds that the people of the Gec of Sabarathiano (called Barāt-ili by the Muslims) on Alget inflicted a defeat on the Turkomans.

The Safawis. In 907 (1501) a detachment of Ismā'il I's forces under the command of Khādīm-beg invaded Georgia (*Shāhīnshāh-nāma*, quoted by Dorn). The invasion by Dīw Sultān in 926 (1520) was stopped by the embassy of Ramaz, son of Dawid VIII, to Ismā'il I (cf. *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, Bombay, III, dīwār IV, p. 92). In 929 (1522—1523) the founder of the Safawid dynasty seized Aghdja-kafa and by making certain promises obtained the surrender of the citadel of Tiflis; he desecrated the churches and built a mosque "at the corner of the bridge"; cf. Wakhushit, in Brosset, II, p. 23 (the mosque is still standing on the right bank).

Iskander Munght mentions four expeditions on a large scale sent by Shāh Tahmāsp against Georgia. In 947 (1540) Tahmāsp seized Tiflis, the governor

of which (for Luarsab I) submitted to the Persians and became a Muslim. Next the fortress of Barāt (Birthwis) was taken (*Ālam-ārā* [Teheran 1314], p. 63). The second time was in 913 (1546) when the Georgian princes came to pay homage to Tahmāsp at Shīrāgel (near Gümi = Alexandropol = Leninakan). The third expedition in 958 (1551) was sent from Shekhi on the appeal of the atabeg Kai Khuraw, son of Kūrūra (Kwarqware) who complained of the injuries done him by Luarsab (Iskandar Munght writes Lawārsāb but the name is Iranian: Luhrāsp; cf. *Mir'at al-Buldān*).

According to Iskandar Munght, *Ālam-ārā*, p. 65, by the Turco-Persian peace of 961 (1553) the territories of Mašk (Meskhi = Samtskhe), of Kārtli (Kharthlia) and of Kākhit were allotted to Shāh Tahmāsp, while Sultān Sulatmān received those of Bašk-añak ("with head uncovered", a nickname of the king of Imerethia), of Dādīyān and of Gūriyān (Guria) as far as Trebizond and Trablas (Tire-boli). Luarsab I however continued to worry Tiflis. This provoked the fourth expedition. Barāt-ili (Sabarathiano), Gori and Ateni were occupied and the king himself fell in battle. Wakhushit dates the four expeditions in 1536, 1548, 1553 and 1558 respectively. Brosset, II, p. 452 considers these very probable as they coincide very well with the vicissitudes of the Turco-Persian war.

King Swimon I, son of the indomitable Luarsab, had a troubled reign (1558—1600). He was defeated by the Persians and replaced by his brother Dawid (Dāwūd Khān) who purchased the throne at the price of apostasy. Swimon was imprisoned in Alamūt from which he was released by Ismā'il II (1576—1577) to checkmate the activity of the Ottomans.

Ottoman Domination 1578—1603. In 1578 during the reign of the weak Shāh Khādībenda, the Ottomans under Mustafā Lala-Pāshā penetrated into Georgia via Samtskhe and in August seized Tiflis from which Dāwūd Khān had fled. The Turks put a garrison of 200 men with 100 guns in Tiflis. Muhammad, son of Ferhād-Pāshā, was given the sandjak (pashalik?) of Tiflis (v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, II, 483). Two churches were turned into mosques. In October, Gori received a Turkish garrison and was given as a sandjak to Swimon. When Mustafā Pāshā returned to Erzerum, Ismān Kuli Khān, son of the Shamkhal slain by Özdémir-Pāshā, and Swimon laid siege to Tiflis. Supplies were brought to the garrison by Hasan-Pāshā (*ibid.*, p. 489) but the struggle around the town continued. In 1580 the new serasker Sinān-Pāshā arrived in Tiflis and appointed as Beglerbeg a son of Luarsab who had adopted Islām under the name of Yūsuf (?). Swimon made advances to the Turks which were not accepted. In August 1582 Muhammad Bey left Erzerum to bring supplies to Tiflis but was defeated at Gori by the Persians and Georgians. Ferhād Pāshā put himself at the head of a new expedition (Dec. 1581) intended to strengthen the towns held by the Ottomans. In 1584, Ridwān Pāshā left for Tiflis. Dāwūd Khān on further reflection went over to the Turks. Swimon attacked Ridwān but without success. Ferhād Pāshā's Janissaries mutinied at Akhal-kalaki which forced him to retire. After the campaign of 1585 against Tabriz (q. v.), the Ottomans obtained from Persia the cession of Ādjarbāidjān and of Transcaucasia including Georgia (treaty of March 21, 1590);

cf. the Chronicle of the Psalter of Meshki (1559-1587) in Takaishvili, *op. cit.*, p. 183-214; von Hammer, II, 481-497 (Brosset has given an annotated translation, II/1, p. 411-419). The principal source used by von Hammer is the *Naqir-Nāma* of 'Alī (Jan. 1578-Jan. 1580). On the other Turkish sources cf. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 117, 181. Soon after the accession of Muhammad III (1595) Swimon was taken in a skirmish and sent to Constantinople where he died in 1600. Ottoman rule, more or less undisturbed, lasted from 1591 till 21st Oct. 1603 when Tiflis was retaken by Shāh 'Abbās I. The Turco-Persian treaty of 1612 re-established the situation as it had been under Sultān Selīm (1512-1520).

Shāh 'Abbās I and the Muslim Kings. The worst misfortunes fell upon Georgia (and especially on Kakhetia) in the reign of this monarch. Although Giorgi of Kharthlia and Alexander of Kakhetia had fought under his banner at the siege of Erivān in 1602, 'Abbās after his victory took Lore from Georgia. He married the sister of Luarsab II (1605-1616) but brought the latter to Persia and had him strangled at Gulsh-kal'a. In 1605 (1616) 'Abbās came in person to Georgia and granted Kharthlia to the Muslim Bagrat VI (1616-1619). He then punished Kakhetia. According to the official history of the reign, *Ālam-ārā*, p. 635, the number of those put to death was 60-70,000 and the number of young prisoners of both sexes 100,000-130,000: "since the beginning of Islām no such events have taken place under any king". In 1633 (1623) Kartīkai-Khān on being sent to Georgia called to the colours 10,000 men of Kakhetia and instead of leading them against Imerethia had them massacred "as if at a baitue" (*chikurt-wār*; *Ālam-ārā*, p. 719). Exasperated by such treachery the *mow-rāz* ("governor of lower rank"; Brosset, II/1, p. 148; the Persians write *mikhrum*) Giorgi Saakadze (a Muslim and till then a faithful servant of the Shāh) raised a rebellion in Kharthlia which the Persians did not overcome till 1626 (Josselian, *Zin mowrawa G. Saakadze*, Tiflis 1848; Brosset, II/1, p. 53-59 and 489-497). In spite of all these disasters, the part played by Georgians in the life of Persia becomes more and more important and Shāh Safī, successor to 'Abbās I, owed his throne to the support of Khusrav Mirzā, brother of the king Bagrat who was *darughā* of Isfahān.

When Swimon II perished in the civil war (1629), Theimuraz I of Kakhetia (1605-1664, a very troubled reign marked by all kinds of misfortunes; his mother Khethewan was put to death at Shirāz in 1624; Brosset, II/1, p. 167) came to Kharthlia where he reigned from 1629 to 1664, after which the Kai Khusrav already mentioned arrived from Persia and set himself up in Tiflis under the name of Rostom (1634-1658). The old King, brought up in Persia, took the Persian title of *shāh-āghā* and ordered his court in the Persian fashion. Persian garrisons were installed at Gori and Sam. The Georgian prisoners who had become converts to Islām returned from Persia; Persian manners and customs became the fashion. On the other hand, as if to celebrate the fusion of the two cultures, Rostom celebrated his marriage both in the mosque and in the church, and restored the cathedral of Mikhketa etc.

In 1636 Murād IV took Erivān and by the

treaty of 1641 (1639) Persia renounced her claims to Kars and Akhal-tsikhe (*Zafar-Nāma*, p. 686); according to Wakhtang (Brosset, II/1, p. 68), the Sultān received Imerethia and Saabago and the Shāh kept Kharthlia and Kakhetia.

Wakhtang (to Muslims, Shāh Nawās I), adopted son of Rostom, succeeded him (1658-1676). The Persophil policy continued. Shāh 'Abbās II (1642-1667) married the daughter of Shāh Nawās. The latter, although a Muslim, favoured the Christian religion and even restored the confession and the communion of which the people "had been ashamed" in the reign of Rostom (Brosset, *ibid.*, p. 79). In order to give more support to Shāh Nawās the Muslim tribes of Adharbaidjān and Karabagh (15,000 Djawānsir and Bayat) were settled in Kakhetia (cf. the History of Shāh 'Abbās II by Muhammad Tāhir Wajid, in Dorn, p. 109, 111 = Brosset, II/1, p. 503-504). Shāh Nawās fought in Imerethia, but when he set his son on the throne there, the Shāh restored the situation as guaranteed by the treaty of 1639.

Giorgi XI (Shāh Nawās II) received investiture from Shāh Sulaimān. In 1688 he fell a victim to his own intrigues in Kakhetia and the Shāh replaced him by Erekle I (1688-1691; 1695-1703). This King who had been brought up in Russia became a convert to Islām under the name of Naṣr 'Alī Khān.

Afghān Invasion of Persia. When the Baluch and the Afghāns began to disturb eastern Persia king Giorgi with a body of Georgians was sent against them by Shāh Husain. He restored order in Kandahār but in 1709 was treacherously slain by Mir Wais [cf. the article *AFGHANISTAN*] who then defeated the new Georgian forces led by Giorgi's successor, Kai Khusrav (1709-1711). These events paved the way to the Afghān invasion of Persia.

Wakhtang (governor of Kharthlia 1703-1711; King, 1711-1724 with interruptions) was at first a Christian. The Persian garrisons with the connivance of certain Georgian elements went in for slave-trading. Wakhtang tried to put down this traffic (Brosset, II/1, p. 97, 101, 105) and in general "humbled the Muslims, especially those who garrisoned the citadel of Tiflis". Between 1614 and 1616 he was replaced by a fervent Muslim Iese (= 'Alī Kuli Khān) and only regained the throne at the price of professing Islām.

After the decisive victory of the Afghāns at Gūnābād, near Isfahān (1722), Shāh Husain sought help from Wakhtang but in November 1721 the latter had offered his services to Russia (Brosset, II/1, p. 117). Peter the Great who reached Dardband on Aug. 23, 1722 had to return at once to Russia. On the other hand the King of Kakhetia Muhammad Kuli Khān (Constantine III) took the field on the side of the Lezgis against Wakhtang and in 1723 took Tiflis, which was plundered for three days.

Second Ottoman Occupation (1723-1734). The troubles in Persia and the Russian advance disturbed Turkey. War against the Shī'is was declared permitted. In June 1723 the serasker Ibrahim Pāshā, who had been negotiating with Wakhtang, installed in Tiflis the latter's son Bakar (in Persian Shāh Nawās and now given in Turkish the name Ibrahim Pāshā). The Janissaries occupied the citadel. Bakar soon rebelled but the Turks sent to Tiflis reinforcements under Iese, uncle of Bakar (who now assumed the name of 'Abd Allāh).

In the meanwhile the Russo-Persian treaty of Sept. 12, 1723 was signed by which the provinces on the Caspian were ceded to Russia. As a counterpoise through the good offices of the French ambassador, a Russo-Turkish treaty was concluded at Constantinople on June 12, 1724: Russia kept Daghestan and the narrow strip of littoral; Turkey obtained all Transcaucasia as far as Shamkha, including the Georgian territory (von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iv, 206—214. The Ottoman historian of these events is Çelebi-nâde; on the other sources cf. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 289; Nâmi, *Feth-nâme der Akh-ı Gurdjistan*).

The deposed King Wakhtang went to Russia with a retinue of 1,400 (Aug. 1724). The Turks having taken possession of Kharthlia took a census and levied taxes on the inhabitants. The stay at Tiflis of the noble 'Othmân Topal Pâshâ alone has left a pleasing memory among the Georgians (Brosset, *II/I*, p. 129). Iese did not bear the title of king and the real power passed to Ishâk Pâshâ, a hereditary ruler of Akhal-tsikhe established at Tiflis. After the death of Iese (1727) Ishâk Pâshâ was appointed governor of all Georgia (Brosset, *II/I*, p. 236). In 1728 he divided Kharthlia among the feudal lords (*mtakwar*) whose dissensions made it easy for him to control them. The Lezgis continued to ravage Georgia (cf. Brosset, *II/I*, v. Hammer, iv, 223, 231, 235, 280, 313).

Nâdir Shâh. In 1143 (1730—1731) after a war in which he won little glory, Shâh Tahmâsp recognised the Araxes as the frontier between Persia and Turkey (Mahdi Khân, *Tarikh-i Nâdiri*, Tabriz 1284, p. 90 = transl. Jones, i, 141; v. Hammer, iv, 277 dates the peace on Febr. 6, 1732). Nâdir dissatisfied, dethroned Tahmâsp and resumed the conquest of Transcaucasia. While he was operating against Daghestan (1147; autumn of 1734) Ishâk Pâshâ of Tiflis set out with an army to the help of Gandja. Theimuraz, son of Nazâr 'Alî Khân (= Erekle I), and his nephew 'Alî Mirzâ = Alexander (son of Imâm Kuli = Dawid III) attacked Ishâk Pâshâ and forced him to shut himself up in the citadel of Tiflis. Nâdir, highly gratified, gave presents to the two princes (*ibid.*, p. 114 = Jones, i, 200). At the siege of Gandja, Nâdir ordered Şafî Khân Baghîrî to lay siege to Tiflis with the help of the Georgian nobles (*manvâwân wa-asnâwân*; *ibid.*, p. 116 = Jones, p. 205).

When 'Abd Allâh Pâshâ was defeated at Bâghward near Eriwân, Ishâk Pâshâ surrendered the citadel of Tiflis on the 22nd Rabi' I, 1147 = Sept. 17, 1734 (*ibid.*, p. 123). Nâdir summoned the nobles (*manvâwân wa-asnâwân*) of Kharthlia and Kakhethia among whom Tahmûrath (= Theimuraz) had most importance and privileges. Nâdir however appointed as wali of Kharthlia and Kakhethia, 'Alî Mirzâ, because he was a Muslim, and his brother Muhammad Mirzâ (= Leon) had fallen in battle against 'Othmân Pâshâ. Tahmûrath was allowed to go to Kakhethia to bring his family (*âul*) to Tiflis. Now he was a "man of the sword and rapid decision"; he fled to the mountains of 'Karakalkhân (Pahaw), Rûs (Ru's, west of Gori) and Çerkes'. Nâdir sent his troops in pursuit of him, arrived himself at Tiflis on the 29th Djumâdî I, where he distributed punishments and rewards. 6,000 Georgian families of the Kaikâl (Abots) were transported to Khorâsân (*ibid.*, p. 124 = Jones, p. 219). In 1736 Şafî Khân captured Theimuraz and sent him to Persia. At the beginning of the

Indian campaign Nâdir released Theimuraz but kept his young son Erekle with him.

In 1156 (end of 1743) Tahmûrath Khân captured the pretender Sâm Mirzâ and later (1744) along with 'Alî Khân Kiliđja (the Georgian sources call him Khandjal, Khandjali), new *beglerbegi* of Tiflis, defeated near Ru's on the Aragwi Yûsaf Pâshâ of Akhal-tsikhe, who by order of the Porte went to Daghestân to work for another pretender Şafî Mirzâ. Arriving at Gori, Nâdir, as a reward for Tahmûrath's services, transferred him to Kharthlia and gave Kakhethia to his son Erekle (*ibid.*, p. 202 = Jones, ii, 164); cf. Brosset, *II/I*, p. 77 (Papuna Orbeliani) and *II/I*, p. 208 (Kherkheulidze).

In 1745 Nâdir levied an impost of 50,000 *tumans* on Georgia. Theimuraz went to obtain a reduction but on reaching Tabriz he heard of the death of Nâdir. The latter's successor was 'Alî Kuli Khân, husband of Khathewan, daughter of Theimuraz.

The Bagratids of Kakhethia. The period of troubles after the death of Nâdir (1749) and the reign of Karim Khân, a prince of a peaceful disposition, whose influence did not extend north of the Araxes, secured a respite for Georgia. The opportunity was skillfully exploited by Theimuraz (king of Kharthlia 1744—1761) and by his son Erekle or Irakli II (king of Kakhethia 1744—1761; king of Kharthlia and Kakhethia 1761—1790). The reign of these Christian kings is one of the happiest periods in the history of Georgia. They conducted numerous expeditions into Transcaucasia. In 1752 the Afghân Azâd-Khân, a rival of the Zand dynasty, was defeated by Erekle near Eriwân and in 1760 captured at Karakh and sent to Karim-Khân. The Kurds of Eriwân were chastised in 1765, 1770 and 1780 and the Georgian troops pursued them over the district of Bâyard. Almost every year the Georgians drove back successfully the incursions of the raiding bands from Daghestân (the most dangerous leader of whom was 'Omar Khân Awar). Only the Khâns of Shekid (q. v.), Hâdjji Çelebi and Aghâ Kishi (in 1752—1753), ever succeeded in inflicting reverses on the Georgians.

In spite of all these successes the situation of Georgia was precarious and in 1760 Theimuraz went to Russia to seek assistance. But he only arrived a few days after the death of the Empress Elizabeth and he himself died in St. Petersburg on the 8th—20th Jan. 1762.

Erekle becoming king of the united kingdoms continued the policy of rapprochement with Russia. At the beginning of the Russo-Turkish war, a Russian force under the command of General Tottleben arrived in Georgia (in 1769) and with Erekle marched against Akhal-tsikhe. The allies did not agree (cf. the letter from Catherine II to Voltaire of Dec. 4th 1770) and the Russian troops returned to Russia in 1772. But, left alone, Erekle, gained a considerable success at Aspindza and, with Solomon of Imerethia, besieged Akhal-kalaki. Sulaimân Pâshâ of Akhal-tsikhe soon assumed the offensive. The Russo-Turkish treaty of Küçük-Kainardjî (1774) brought no territorial change in the lands of Georgia. The Porte only renounced the tribute of youths and maidens and other levies (art. 23). But after the treaty Sulaimân Pâshâ of Akhal-tsikhe had to send a representative to Constantinople. On the other hand he renewed his appeals to St. Petersburg and asked that his kingdom should be united (*prizovokupleno*) to Russia (Tsagareli, *Gramot*, N^o. 144). Russia gave an

evasive answer and it was not till July 24, 1783 that the treaty establishing a protectorate was signed. Russia guaranteed to Erekle his lands and left him full control of domestic policy but the management of foreign affairs passed to Russia. A Russian force was sent to Tiflis but recalled in 1787.

The Kādījārs. During this period the Kādījārs had succeeded the Zands. In 1795 Āghā Muhammad Kādījār laid siege to Shūshā in Karabagh and then turned against Tiflis which was taken on Sept. 11, 1795 and pillaged in dreadful fashion; cf. Brosset, *II*, p. 260; Olivier, *Voyages en Orient*, *III*, p. 78 (testimony of an Hungarian physician who was an eye-witness). The Persian invasion was followed by an invasion by Daghestānians. In 1795 two Russian battalions arrived in Georgia; in March 1796, Russia declared war on Persia. But Nov. 6—18, Catherine II died and her son Paul I at once recalled the Russian troops. Āghā Muhammad set out again for Transcaucasia but was assassinated near Shūshā (June 15, 1797). The aged King Erekle died on Jan. 12—23, 1798.

His son Giorgi XII succeeded him. Fath 'Alī Kādījār was occupied in dealing with his rivals. From Kars, Giorgi sent a force of 2,000 Lezgīs under the command of his two sons; dynastic intrigues in the King's family rendered his position very difficult. In 1799 he sent an embassy to St. Petersburg the object of which was as follows: Georgia should be placed not under a protectorate but under the full power of the emperor, like the other provinces of Russia. On the other hand the throne was to be guaranteed to the dynasty.

On Dec. 18, 1800, Paul I signed the manifesto of annexation (*prisyedineniye*) of Georgia which was proclaimed on Jan. 18, 1801 after the death of Giorgi on Dec. 28, 1800. On March 11, Paul I was put to death. In April the Georgian envoys begged the emperor Alexander I to appoint a Georgian prince as governor with the title of imperial lieutenant and king of Georgia. On Sept. 12, 1801 Alexander I, alleging the impossibility of re-establishing the old government under a protectorate, confirmed the manifesto of Paul I. The treaty of Finkenstein (1807) by which Napoleon recognised the rights of Persia over Georgia never took effect and by art. iii. of the treaty of 1813, Persia renounced her claims to the lands of Georgia.

Since 1917. The status of Tiflis remained unchanged down to the Russian Revolution of 1917. Transcaucasia, cut off from Russia, declared itself independent on April 12, 1918. Tiflis became the capital of the federal republic but the Muslims refused to continue the war against Turkey and the Diet (May 26) agreed to the partition of Transcaucasia. Three republics, Georgia, Armenia and Ādharbāydjān were formed; Tiflis again became the capital of Georgia. On May 28, 1918 the provisional agreement between Georgia and Germany was signed. German troops appeared in Tiflis; after the Armistice their place was taken by British troops. On Jan. 26, 1921, the Allies recognised Georgia *de jure* but by February after some fighting the power in Georgia had passed to the partisans of the Soviet Union. Transcaucasia has been organised as a federal republic, itself forming part of the Union of Soviet Republics (U. S. S. R.). Hence Tiflis became the centre of the central government of Transcaucasia (Z. S. F. S. R.) and at the same time the capital of Georgia (S. S. R. G.).

Description of Tiflis. The Arab geographers give few details about Tiflis. According to Isṭakhri (p. 185) the town was very large; it was surrounded by walls of clay (*ṭin*) with 3 gates and had natural hot baths like those of Tiberias. According to Muṣ'ir b. Muḥalhil (in Yāqūt), these baths were reserved for Muslims. Ibn Ḥawqāl (p. 142—144) compares the water-mills of Tiflis (*nurub*) with those of Mawṣil and Raḡḡa. He is filled with admiration for the plentiful supplies of food at Tiflis and the hospitality of the inhabitants. Tiflis was an outpost of Islām, beyond which there were no Muslims (Isṭakhri). The town was surrounded by enemies (Ibn Ḥawqāl). An interesting detail is given by Balādhuri in the ninth century: the town was built of pinewood (*ṣanawdar*) (according to Ḳazwīnī, only the roofs were of pinewood).

In the Mongol period, Zakariyā Ḳazwīnī tells us that on the one bank of the Kur at Tiflis could be heard the call of the *mū'adḍin* and on the other the psalms of the Christian *nāḡū*. The Christians were in the majority. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī describes the houses of Tiflis built one above the other, the roofs of the one being the courtyard of the next.

From the xviiith century we have the Turkish descriptions of Ḥādījī Khālifa (his brief narrative refers to the years 1630—35) and Ewliyā Ālebi (in 1648) and also the first detailed description by a European (Chardin 1673). Ewliyā gives many details of the citadels. The larger (that on the right bank of the Kur) was 6,000 paces in circumference and its walls were 60 *ells* (*dhīrā*) high. It had 70 towers and a garrison of 3,000 men. There was no ditch. There was a tower fitted up to supply the fortress with water (*suluḡ ḡule*). In the large citadel there were 600 houses roofed with clay. In the smaller citadel (on the left bank) there were only 300 houses but it was very strong on account of its walls. Pl. iii. of Chardin's *Atlas* gives a general view of Tiflis in which the traveller shows the 19 principal features (churches, palace, etc.).

For the xviiith century we have the descriptions by Tournefort (1701, II, 307 (with a view, p. 314) and in Wakhshat's *Geography* (the difficulties in which have now been cleared up by Brosset, I, 180). A panoramic plan of Tiflis was published by De l'Isle, *Avertissement sur la carte générale de la Géorgie*, Paris 1766 (the editor had received it during his sojourn in Russia from the "prince of Georgia"). The gazetteer by P. Josseliani (1866) is valuable as it locates ancient buildings.

Old Tiflis consisted of 4 quarters, of which three lay on the right bank of the Kur (which here bends from N. to S. to N.W. to S.E.): 1. *Kālā* or *Kālīnī* (= Arabic *Kal'ā*), the old quarter *intra muros* (between the streams Sololaki and Dabakhāna which flow into the Kur), with the citadel Narin-kālā. 2. The town properly called Tphlīsī, which grew up around the hot springs (according to Brosset, I/1, p. lxxx., it was founded by Armenian inhabitants). The town was situated on the bank of the Kur opposite and below the Kālā. Shāh Saft had settled a colony of Saiyids on the heights of Thabor (to the east of Dabakhāna) whence the Persian name of this district: Saiyid-āhād. 3. The outer quarter Gareth-ubani near the race-course (*asṭara*), above and to the north of the first two quarters. 4. The quarter on the left

bank opposite the Kala was called Isani or Nisani (later Awlabar) and had the heights of Makhatha to the north of it. Isani corresponds to the Sughdabil of the Arabs. It is the cemetery Sagodebel, in Georgian "place of groanings", mentioned in the Life of St. Abi; cf. Brosset, *Additions*, p. 136 and Schulze, *Das Martyrium d. hl. Abi von Tiflis, Texte und Untersuchungen*, 1905, xiii, fasc. 4, p. 35. The same name occurs twice in the Georgian Chronicle (cf. Brosset, i, 407 and 633).

Three citadels have to be distinguished at Tiflis: 1. The old citadel of Thabor (*Kort-kala*) on the hill on the right bank of the Daba-khām destroyed in 1618, in 1725, and finally in 1785; it defended the southern gate of the Kala, called the Gandja Gate. 2. The citadel Narin-kala on the hill of Kala. Before Islam, this fortress seems to have borne the name of Shuris-tsikhe (Wakhush). It was dismantled in 1818 (cf. the picture in Gamba's *Atlas*). 3. The citadel of the left bank (Isani) served as a bridge-head; in 1728 the Turks began to fortify this place for the last time but left the work unfinished.

As to the royal palaces the oldest was that of Metekhi on the left bank in front of the old bridge. In 1638 the Muslim king Rostom built a palace about 400 feet in length along the Kur in Tphili. Here Chardin was received by Shāh-Nawāz. A little farther to the south King Wakhush VI built a palace very richly adorned in the Persian style; it was destroyed by the Turks in 1725; cf. Iosseliani, *Opisanie* (on the mosques cf. p. 239).

From the nature of the site, compressed between the Kur and the heights of the right bank, Old Tiflis attained no considerable extent (cf. Chardin). In the sixteenth century the town began to extend far beyond its ancient limits and is developing especially on the left bank along which run the railway lines (Tiflis-Baku, Tiflis-Batum, Tiflis-Djula and Tiflis-Kakhethia).

Population. In 1783 after the prosperous reigns of Theimuraz and Erekle, the town had 4,000 houses with 61,000 inhabitants. In 1803 it had only 2,700—3,000 with 35,000 inhabitants. This was the result of Āghā Muhammad's invasion in 1795, traces of which could everywhere be seen even in Gamba's time. The more exact figures for 1834 (Dubois de Montpéroux) give 3,662 houses, 4,936 families and 25,290 inhabitants, not including Russians. The population grew rapidly: 1850: 34,800, 1865: 70,000, 1897: 160,605. Of the last figure the Armenians formed 38.1%, the Georgians 26.3% and the Russians 24.8%. The census of 1922 gives 233,958 inhabitants for Tiflis, of whom 85,309 were Armenians, 80,884 Georgians, 38,612 Russians, 9,768 Jews, 3,984 Persians, 3,255 Āgharbağdjanli Turks, 2,457 Germans etc.; cf. the *Zakazatsye*, Tiflis 1925, p. 156—157. Lastly the census of Dec. 17, 1926 gave 282,918.

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TIGRIS. [See DIBJLA.]

AL-TIH, properly *Fahs al-Tih*, is the name of the desert forming the frontier between Syria and Egypt in the interior of the Sinai Peninsula. The Arab geographers also call it the "Desert of the Bani Israil". As early as the *Tabula Peutingeriana* we find the legend: *Desertum ubi quadragesima annis erraverunt filii Israel ducente Moyse* and on the map of Madaba: *Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ τῶν Ἰσραὴλ* and *Ἰσραὴλ τῶν Ἰσραὴλ*. In the desert there was a fortress of the same name (De Guignes, *Perle des Merveilles*, N. E., ii. 31); there is a Wadi 'l-Tih in the eastern part of it (Quatremère, *Mémoires sur*

l'Égypte, i. 186). The desert of al-Tih which formed the most southerly district of Filastin was 40 *farsakhs* long, about as much broad, and stretched from the district of al-Djifir (the region of al-Faramā, al-'Arish, al-Warrāda) to the mountains of Sinai (the Sinā); in the west it was bounded by the Egyptian province of al-Rif (Maspéro-Wiet, *M.I.F.A.O.*, xxxvi. 101 sq.), in the east by the districts of Jerusalem and Southern Palestine. According to the description of the Arab geographers, it consisted partly of stoney and partly of sandy soil, contained also salt-marshes and red sandstone hills, a few palm-trees and springs. In the desert districts of Tih Bani Israil al-Dimashki mentions the Jewish towns of Qadas (Qadesh Barnea), Huwairik, al-Khalasa (Elusa), al-Khalay (Lyssa), al-Saba' (Beerseba) and al-Madura. He had already mentioned al-Tih among the districts of the kingdom of Karak, by which he seems to mean the lands that had once belonged to Renaud of Châtillon. From the desert of al-Tih one went down through the 'Aḥab Busak to Aila (Yāfūt, *Mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 610); this road was first made passable for the pilgrim caravans in the time of Khumrawaih (884—896). It was two stages' ride from Aila right through the desert to the sea of Farin. When in 652 (1254—1255) the Bahri Mamlūks fled from Cairo, a body of them wandered for five days in the desert; on the sixth they discovered a great abandoned city with walls and marble halls, buried in the sand. They found vases and articles of dress, but these fell to dust at the first contact; there was also a reservoir with ice-cold water. When they reached Karak on the next day and paid for goods with dinars which they had found in the buried city, they learned that they belonged to the time of Moses and that they had been in the "green city of the Israelites".

The caravan and military road from Cairo to Syria ran in normal times through al-Djifir, without touching the desert of al-Tih; only in the period when this was interrupted by the Frankish occupation did the route straight through the desert gain a certain strategic importance, as we see in the campaigns of Salāh al-Din and in the building of the fortress of Sadr (now Kal'at Gindi).

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TIHĀMA, the narrow strip of low land along the coast which runs from the Sinai Peninsula along the west and south side of Arabia. Al-Idrisi gives us the fullest account of Tihāma. According to him, it is traversed by a chain of hills which begin at the Gulf of Qulzum

and send out a ridge to the east. The frontier of Tihāma is in the west the Gulf of Ḳulsam and in the east a range of hills running north and south (the Sarāt). The province called Tihāma stretches, according to Idrisi, from Sardiya to 'Aden, 12 days' journey along the sea-coast and 4 days' journey by road from the mountains as far as the land of Ḡhalīfika (not Alābika). The greatest breadth of Tihāma is in the hinterland of Djidda, the port of Mecca, which is also usually included in Tihāma — as districts of Mecca in Tihāma are also given Danḡān, 'Aḡham, Baiḡ and 'Akk — although writers differ in their views on the extent of Tihāma in this particular direction. Al-Aḡma't for example makes Tihāma begin at Dhāt 'Irḡ. Ibn al-Ḳuṭāib puts its frontier at Dhāt 'Irḡ and al-Djufā and in the Yaman highlands; according to 'Umāra b. 'Aḡl, it stretches from the sea to Harra Sulaim and Harra Lailā; al-Madā'ini says that everyone who passes through Wadjra, Ḡhamra and al-Tā'if in the direction of Mecca is already in Tihāma, which he puts south of the Hijāz, others again make Tihāma stretch from Dhāt 'Irḡ via Mecca to 'Uḡān (between Mecca and al-Madīna) (all the statements are recorded by Yāḡūt, *Muḡam*, i. 902; of the Yaman Tihāma, extent and particulars of the people etc., a full account is given by al-Hamdānī, *Sifa Dja'irat al-'Arab*, p. 53 sq., 119—121). In any case the geographers not only use Tihāma as a synonym of "coast" (*ḡāḡil al-baḡr*) and "depression" (*ḡhawr*) or "hollow" (*ḡāḡa*) but they place it as an independent geographical or political entity alongside of Yaman, al-Yamāma, and al-'Arūd (*B.G.A.*, viii. 79). Indeed Tihāma at various periods in the history of Yaman was a separate province for administrative purposes, for example as early as the period of the Persian conquest of the Yaman (end of the 5th century A.D.), presumably a survival of the organisation of the late Sabaeen kingdom, and at a later date under the Ziyādiyya; then it had a period of independence with Zabīd as capital (1159—1174 A.D.) to become a province again under the Imāms of Ṣan'ā'.

It is significant of Ibn Khordādhbih's keen perception of the similarity of the coast on both sides of the Red Sea that he also speaks of a Tihāma of Ethiopia (*B.G.A.*, vi. 155), by which he apparently means practically the coast of Erythraea. Ibn al-Wardī describes the Tihāma as mountainous country, which is peculiar, no doubt on account of the hills which run through the plain along the coast and are also mentioned by al-Idrisi. Al-Isṭakhri and Ibn Hawḡal in this way made the Tihāma stretch far into the mountains while others expressly define Tihāma as the land between the sea and the Sarāt.

As to the etymology of the name, B. Moritz, *Arabien*, p. 9, note 1, for example thinks Tihāma is taken over from the Hebrew-Babylonian תִּימָת *tīmātu*, "sea". On the other hand, H. Zimmern, *Die Keilinschriften und das alte Testament*², Berlin 1902, p. 492, note 2, is not certain whether Hebrew *tēhōm* like the Arabic *tihāma* as a name for a coastal region is originally connected with Babylonian *tīmātu* or, what is more probable, in both cases we have a case of an early borrowing from the Babylonian. When it is suggested that *tīmātu*, *tāmātu* (in *Berosos apocrypha*) with the meaning of "ocean", "salt sea" is connected with

the Hebrew טִיחַ meaning to "stink" (cf. P. Jensen, *Neilsen'sche Bibl.*, vi/1, p. 559 sq.), it should be pointed out that the Arab philologists also quote *tihāma* with this meaning to explain the name Tihāma (on account of the malodorous air there), but at the same time they compare *tihāma* with the meaning "intense heat", "calm" (Yāḡūt, *Muḡam*, i. 902; Bakrī, *Muḡam*, i. 203). The name Tihāma moreover occurs already in the South Arabian inscriptions, Glaser, N^o. 554, 3, 6; 618, 2, 9, and Rehatsek, 2, 2 as תִּימָת with which may be compared the תִּימָת in Cruttenden, line 10. The *musnad* inscription of king Ṣarāḡbīl b. Yaḡḡub quoted by Yāḡūt, *Muḡam*, iv. 104, also gives as the titles of this ruler "king of Saba", Tihāma and their Arabs" and another *musnad* mentioned by al-Hamdānī, *Sifa Dja'irat al-'Arab*, p. 208, 9 sq., mentions *aḡl tihāmat wa-ḡawdim* "people of the Tihāma (coastland) and of the mountains", quite in keeping with the passage in Glaser, N^o. 554, 3, 2, 618, 2 sq. (טִיחַ וְתִימָת). With the first of these *musnads*, which is evidently taken from an inscription of a late period, may be compared the inscription N^o. 13 of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres in Paris, published by J. and H. Derenbourg in which the rulers mentioned by name are described as "kings of Saba" and the Tihāma".

The origin of the Tihāma, the breadth of which varies considerably — sometimes it is merely a narrow strip of coast, as at places between al-Tūr and Suez and at Kunfudha and Luhaiya — probably dates from the middle Pliocene period and is connected with the subsidence of the Red Sea. Coral formations and modern alluvial deposits form the material of which this plain consists; in the Yaman portion it rises to 2,000 feet above sea-level and then suddenly ascends sharply to the great highlands of the Yaman Sarāt. The Yaman Tihāma begins at al-Lith and stretches to 'Aden if we include the Tihāma of 'Asm. In the Yaman part the breadth varies between 30 and 50 miles. From the slightly undulating country rise — especially towards the high land — isolated hills which consist either of recent limestone, which often contain fossils (namuliths) at a considerable height, or of volcanic rock. The climate is very unpleasant. It is hot and dry and extreme temperatures are recorded at certain periods in the year (May and Sept. 35–45° C., April 40° C.). In the summer the temperature drops a little under the influence of the frequent rains but on the coast 40° C. by day and 30° C. by night are not unusual. In the winter the temperature varies between 25° and 35° C. but the minimum even in the coldest months is never below 14° C. on the coast. The rainy season is from February to March or from May to the end of September. Only the most southern part of the west coast of Arabia belongs to the region of tropical summer rains, and the south coast as far as 50° East Long. and 15° or 16° N. Lat. A feature of the Tihāma are the mists called *inḡḡaimān* or *anḡma* which rise in the mornings and drift towards the highlands and make these regions regular hothouses in which flourish numbers of valuable crops, notably coffee.

Tihāma, hot and dry, is the natural soil for the vegetation of a plain with thornbushes, thistles and grasses. The saline steppe which adjoins the coast (*ḡāḡat*) is covered with bushes; in the in-

terior especially towards the highlands, durra, barley, maize, wheat, sugar-cane, date palms, sesame, indigo and cotton flourish. The population of Tihāma, estimated at 5,000,000 (according to 'Abd al-Wāsi' b. Yahyā, *Ta'riḥ al-Yaman*, p. 292) on the coast is engaged in trading, shipping, fishing (also pearl-fisheries) and shipbuilding and in the interior mainly with agriculture. They appear to be a mixed race with olive-coloured complexions; their woolly hair and thick lips show a strong admixture of African blood. Their colour is described e.g. by Botta as quite black; Bury speaks of the negroid taint and calls the Tihāma people slightly built. The largest tribe, the Zeranīk, is characterised by the crisp short beard and straight hair (cf. the picture in Bury, *Arabia Infelix*, facing p. 28). The language of the Tihāma Arabs is generally said to differ very much from pure Arabic and to contain numerous foreign loanwords.

The southern Tihāma, the maternal frontier of which runs from Mukhā to Mawza^c is traversed in all directions by volcanic ranges and shows only scanty deposits of sedimentary rocks; it is mainly formed of the same rocks as the continent. There is no continuous strip of flat coast; this is only found at intervals between projecting spurs of the highlands of the interior or the volcanic features of the coast. Perpendicular chalk and sandstone cliffs which run along the coast alternating with white deposits of chalk and sandy depressions are characteristic of the southern Tihāma which rarely ever exceeds 25 miles in breadth. In the interior the southern Tihāma is more steppelike in character; in the valleys of the Wādīs on the other hand, fruitful oases are found after the fertile summer rains, for example the extraordinarily rich oasis of Lahudj or of the Wādī Maifa'a which has the same flora as the western Tihāma. The southern Tihāma has as a rule a slight rainfall. The winter rains are irregular although they seldom fail. At the end of April heavy rains begin, often accompanied by severe thunderstorms; occasional rains fall in January, November, and December and July, and August.

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Types of the Tihāma-Arabs in G. W. Bury, *Arabia Infelix*, pl. opp. p. 28, 133, 193; A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, pl. iv., fig. 2; Pictures of vegetation from the Tihāma in B. Moritz, *Arabien*, pl. 2, fig. 3 (coast of the Red Sea), 17 (western slopes of the coast hills of the Hūdūd); A. Musil, *The Northern Hūdūd* (American Geographical Society Oriental Explorations and Studies, No. 1, New York 1926), p. 92, fig. 32, 123, fig. 55, 126, fig. 56, 142, fig. 58; G. W. Bury, *Arabia Infelix*, pl. at p. 41 (land east of al-Hudeida), p. 46 (Hudjeila); do., *The Land of Us*, pl. at p. 11.

(A. GROHMANN)

TIK, a technical term in Arabic music, corresponding to the learned term *ṣaf*; also used in Arabic dialectal metres for the *saḥāf*. It means the note struck, sharp and heavy: *a.* on the edge of the tambourine, sometimes on the little cymbal that is fixed there, *b.* on the back of the closed left hand when the hands are beaten, *c.* with the left foot on the ground when dancing.

It is one of the two terms of the fundamental metrical dualism of the popular songs in Arabic dialects (called *muwāḥḥahāt*), where between the pauses there only follow a pair of antithetic values (like the iambic of classical metres, except that the antithesis depends not on the length but on the intensity): *ṣaf* (usually *tik*) and *dih* (usually *dam*); the first being the sharp and heavy blow and the latter, *dih*, the dense and sonorous. The latter being struck on the stretched skin: *a.* at the centre of the tambourine, *b.* on the centre of the open left palm if the hands are beaten, *c.* with the right foot on the ground when dancing.

Just as classical prosody built up a series of metres by arranging long and short in varying order so the popular Arabic prosody of the *muwāḥḥahāt* built up the series of special rhythmic

types (called *qurūb*) on differentiated series of *ḥāṣ* and *ṣikḥ* with pauses between. The *muḥammīdī* rhythm for example may be thus written:

$k, m, s / k, s / m, m, s /$
(where $k = \text{ḥā}$, $m = \text{ṣikḥ}$, $s = \text{silence}$ and $/ = \text{caesura}$).

So that the phrases in the song may coincide with the series of characteristic beats of the rhythm selected the following rules are observed: 1. each syllable must correspond to one beat (*naḥḥa*) at least; 2. one or more *ḥāṣ* may be intercalated (intercalation = *riḥāḥ*) in the rhythmic series; 3. but certain pauses must not be interfered with, intangible caesuras, characteristic of the rhythm (first by pause after a *ḥāṣ*, otherwise short pause after a *ṣikḥ*); 4. contrary to Arabic classical metre, we may have open syllables when the time is strong and closed when the time is weak. Martin Hartmann was therefore wrong in trying to reduce the rhythm of the *muḥammīdī* to the *tafāʿil* of the Arabic classical metres. Several Oriental musicians have given tables of identification, confusing intensity and duration, so as to force the Arabic *qurūb* to correspond with European musical notations. Indeed modern Turkish music counts a *ṭik* as a quaver and a *ṭum* as a crotchet.

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TIKRIT. [See TAKEIT.]

TILIMSĀNĪ. Many Arabic scholars are known by this *nisba*, but generally the three following are meant when mentioned in books of *adab*: 1. 'AṬIF AL-DĪN SULAYMĀN a. 'ALĪ a. 'AND ALLĪH a. 'ALĪ b. YAKĪN claimed to be descended from a family which originally came from al-Kūfa (Dhahabī in MS. Or. 53 reads however Kūm al-Aḥl) and was born at Tilimsān (?) in 616 (1219) according to his own statement. He came early to Syria where he occasionally filled official positions, but was also frequently out of employment. He claimed that in Asia Minor (Rūm) he had as a Sūfī gone forty times into seclusion (*ḥalwa*), each time for forty days, without interruption, a statement which Dhahabī rightly questions as the total makes 1,600 consecutive days. At one time he filled the post of supervisor of the market-dues (*maḥṣ*, q. v.) and when al-Aḥḥād came to Damascus in the retinue of the Sulṭān al-Manṣūr Kālāwūn he demanded from 'Aṭif al-Dīn a balance-sheet of his accounts. As this after repeated requests was not forthcoming he upbraided 'Aṭif al-Dīn, who then lost his temper and wanted to remonstrate with the Sulṭān for having, contrary to the Sharī'a, placed a Coptic Christian over Muslims. He was finally appeased and probably never rendered the desired accounts. 'Aṭif is said to have been a pious man of affable manners with a certain amount of dignity, but he was always under suspicion because, as Dhahabī puts it, one could never really ascertain what his true opinions were and he was even accused of being an adherent of the Nuṣairī sect (q. v.). The difficulty lay in his poetry which was eloquent, easy and pleasant, but, his biographers say, contained

hidden poison. His poems collected in a *Diwān* of which copies are in the libraries of the British Museum, the India Office, the Bodleian at Oxford and elsewhere, certainly do not openly contain any heresies, but are in many cases after the style of Sūfī compositions addressed to some imagined object of love. Kāṭib al-Dīn al-Yūnīnī found him pleasant company and says that he laid claim to *ʿarfā* (q. v.), the full conception of God. This he is said to have expressed upon his death-bed when he is stated to have said: "How can any one who knows God fear him, and since I do know him I have no longer any fear and am happy to meet him". He died in Damascus on the 5th of Rājab 690 (July 1, 1291) and was buried in the Sūfī cemetery of that city. He composed a number of works upon various sciences, besides his *Diwān*, of which apparently only his *Riḥla fī 'ilm al-'Arūd*, Berlin N^o. 7128, has survived. Dhahabī mentions in addition: *Sharḥ al-Aḥḥād al-Hamā*; *Sharḥ Maḥāṣin al-Nafā* and *Sharḥ Nuṣūṣ al-Hikam* of Ibn al-'Arabī. The titles of these works indicate the school in which he was trained and we may assume with safety that he was an ardent follower of Ibn al-'Arabī.

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2. HIS SON SHAMS AL-DĪN MUHAMMAD b. SULAYMĀN, called al-Shabb al-Zarīf (the intelligent youth), was born in Cairo in 661 (1263) and died young two years before his father in Rājab 688 (June 1289). He held an appointment in the office of the treasury in Damascus and is described as a young man given to pleasure and amusement. His reputation rests mainly upon his poems collected in a small *Diwān* which has been printed several times. These poems consist principally of short amatory pieces addressed to males, occasionally to fictitious women, in simple language. A Sūfī interpretation is possible, but hardly likely. His other compositions preserved in manuscript convey the impression that the poems also are realistic. Two *Maḥṣ* contained in the MS. Berlin N^o. 3953 are jocose and lascivious and the same appears to be the case with two other works contained in MS. Berlin N^o. 8594 entitled *Faḥḥāt al-Maḥṣ* *fī Maḥṣ* *al-Maḥṣ* and *al-Maḥṣ* *al-Hiyya wa 'l-Saḥṣ*. The *Maḥṣ* *al-'Uḥḥād* contained in the Paris MS. N^o. 3947, and the Damascus print of a *maḥṣ*, are perhaps identical with the last-named work. A short tale about Shams al-Dīn related by Dhahabī, in the biography of his father, concerning him lends colour to the suspicion that 'Aṭif al-Dīn looked upon the extravagances of his son as a step towards becoming an accomplished Sūfī by the way of *malāma* (q. v.), but they were in reality perhaps one of the causes of his premature death.

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3. AND IḤYĀK IBRAHĪM b. ABĪ BAKR a. 'AND ALLĪH AL-ANṢĀRĪ was born in Tilimsān end of Djumādī II or the 1st of Rājab 609 (Nov 1212), but when nine years old his father took him to Granada

in Spain. Three years later they removed to Malaga and here Ibrahim conducted most of his studies. Later he went to Sahla (Centa) where he married the sister of the Maliki lawyer Malik b. al-Murahhal and in this city he died after 690 (1291). He was a learned Maliki lawyer, skilled in drawing up contracts and a poet. At the age of 21 he composed his *urfiyya* upon the law of inheritances, which has been the subject of a number of commentaries preserved in manuscript. His other works are 2. *Natijjat al-khawar fi Masalat al-ghayr*, a rhymed life of the Prophet; 3. *Maqala fi l-'Aruf*; 4. *Manquma fi l-Mawlid al-Karim*; 5. *al-Ashar al-Bibliography*: Ibn Farhūn, *Dihādī*, ed. Fez, p. 90; Ibn Maryam, *Bustan*, p. 55 sq.; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, I, 367, N° 6 and 385, N° 10.

(F. KRENKOW)

TILISM. [See TILSAM.]

TILSAM, also *tilim*, *tilim*, *tilam* etc. from the Greek *τίλμα*, a talisman, i.e. an inscription with astrological and other magic signs or an object covered with such inscriptions, especially also with figures from the zodiacal circle or the constellations and animals which were used as magic charms to protect and avert the evil eye. The Greek name is evidence of its origin in the late Hellenistic period and gnostic ideas are obviously reflected in the widespread use of such charms. The wise Balinūs is said to have been the father of talismans; according to tradition, he left in many towns charms for protection against storms, snakes, scorpions etc. Many rules for preparing talismans are also ascribed to Hermes Trismegistos.

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(J. RUSKA)

TIMAR a grant of land for military service (*beneficium*) or more exactly a kind of Turkish fief, the possession of which entailed upon the feudatory the obligation to go mounted to war (*exere taimik*) and to supply soldiers or sailors in numbers proportionate to the revenue of the appanage (*dirlik*).

The feudatory or "timariot" was called *timār* (*timār* or *chili timār* or *timār eri* ("Ashikpasha-zade, ed. Giese, p. 22, 38, 232) or *timār sipahisi* or simply *sipahi* i.e. "horseman", whence the popular name *sipahilik* for the timar.

There were three categories of military fiefs, according to their importance:

1. *hassa* (plur. *hassas-tar* or *hassaslar*) or more exactly the majority of the *hassa* of the governors of provinces;
2. *asamet* or *asamet* with a minimum annual revenue (*hassit*) of 20,000 aspers (*akla* or *akir*);
3. *timar* with a maximum revenue (*hassit*) of 19,999 aspers.

In a wider sense the name *timar* is sometimes applied to the two last and even to all three classes.

Timar has often been translated "commandership" (*commanderie*, Meunier, Michel Baudier, Pitton de Tournefort) by analogy with the *commendatariae* of the Knights of Malta and the Teutonic Order but the institutions are very different, the commanders were former Knights whose services were rewarded by giving them the right to collect for themselves a part of the revenues of certain estates of the Order.

The word *timar* has further the meaning of of care given to a sick or mad person, a wounded man or beast of burden (still used in this last sense in modern Persian); dressing a wound; tending a horse, whence *timargi* (Egyptian *tanurgi*) (male nurse). It further means rest-cure or open air cure for servants or slaves (*hassat-ih, kalfa*) and care given to an estate, a farm, or a vineyard (Shams al-Din Sami Bey).

Etymology of the word *timar*: Leunclavius seems to have been the first to connect this word with the Greek *τίμα* *honorarium* which in turn comes from the Greek *τιμή* (*Jo. Leonclavius Pandeter historiae turicae*, N° 186, I, at the end of *Annales Sultanicorum Ottomanorum*, Frankfurt 1596). This hypothesis was admitted by Michel Baudier (*Histoire générale du Levant*, 1624, chap. xvii.) and by Ducange.

Unfortunately the example of the use of the word *timarion* in the sense of fief is taken by Leunclavius from a text of the xvth century (the reference is to the *ἱστὴρ τῶν βασιλευσάντων βασιλέων* of Damascus Thesal.; cf. Emile Legrand, *Bibliothèque hellénique*, II, 1885, p. 12). The quotations, including this reference, given by Ducange in his *Glossarium* and its Supplement are, as has been already pointed out by V. D. Smirnov (*Kulibey gomarginskiy*, St. Petersburg 1873, p. 73, note 1) of much too recent a date. They are all later than the Ottoman conquest. The "novellae" of the Byzantine emperors do not use this term for military fiefs, but others like *εργασια* *εργασια* or simply *εργασια*. As more technical terms we find *oliveia* and later *epheia* when the military beneficium had developed more towards the form of a seignorial fief (Ernst Stein, *Untersuchungen zur spätbyzantinischen Verfassung*, M. O. G., II, 9).

In 1598 we find the Venetian senator Lazaro Soranzo (*L'Ottomano*, p. 12) proposing, but not conclusively in opposition to the Greek the Persian etymology *timar* "care, anxiety, pains, dressing". It may be objected to this etymology, which has the support of von Hammer (and more recently also of Grigorjewski) that the word *timar* has never been applied to military fiefs in Persian and that the Turkish feudal organisation seems to have been borrowed from the Byzantines and not from the Persians.

In my opinion the word *timar* is an echo of the Byzantine *pronoia* (*pronia*). In other instances also it can be noticed that the semantic evolution of terms can be paralleled from language to language. The Latin synonym of *pronoia*, *beneficium*, French "*provisions*" (cf. Ducange and the edition of Pachymeres in the *Corp. Script. Hist. Byz.*, II, 715) is also a term relating to benefices. The Latin and low Latin *cura* and in a less degree the French and English "*cure*" have almost all the acceptations of the word *timar* (except that

they have no military associations) "care, treatment (medical), country-estate, cleric's benefice".

We need not waste time over the explanation from the Arabic *ṭīmār*, plural of *ṭhamar*, "fruit", proposed by Halbe de Vegenre and Trévoix's Dictionary.

Origin of the Institution. Von Hammer, in spite of the importance he gives to Persian influence, Wotms, who has however corrected several of his predecessor's errors, Belin, and Tischendorf have represented the *timār* as being a kind of adaptation of the Muslim "feudal" system.

Although the historian Sa'd al-Din uses this term of lands which were distributed to the *musellem* of Turkey (cf. below) it seems to me difficult to recognise in the Arab *ṭīmār* the origin of the Turkish *timār*. The more particularly Muslim element in the Turkish legislation, was the legal and political distinction between the *'aṣṣṣiyya* (tithe-lands) i.e. "those conquered by force and divided among the conquerors on condition they paid a tithe" and *ḥāṣṣiyye* "tributary lands, taken after capitulation and left to the *ṣunni* (*dhimmi*) or infidels on payment of tribute". Now the military fiefs as Belin himself says (*Progr. fonderie*, N° 303) could consist of any kind of land and it is only by a very wide interpretation that some lawyers have assimilated them to *ḥāṣṣiyye* lands constituted into *wakfs* for military requirements (*ibid.*, N° 298). The jurists of the period — fairly late — of Salāmān the Magnificent found some difficulty in defining the status of the military domains in the strict sense (cf. Steeg and Padel, p. 19-26 and especially *M. T. M.*, p. 58-59 [Turkish text] von Hammer, i. 342 *sup.* [German edition], *Journ. As.*, Jan.-Feb. 1844, p. 68 *sup.*). Voltaire was right when he said that the Turks had not borrowed the system of the *timār* from the Arab Caliphs (*Essai des Mœurs*, chap. xcxi).

The hypothesis of a Persian origin seems to me no more justifiable. Kremer (*Culturgesch. des Orients*, i. 109-110) has shown that the Persians had no influence on the Arab feudal system. Von Hammer certainly exaggerated when he attributes to Persian influence the organisation of the Byzantine and Turkish military fiefs. There certainly is one feature in common to the three nations: this is the existence of mounted fenciblemen wearing cuirasses (cf. for Persia Cl. Huart, *La Perse*, 1925, p. 184, 204). It is even possible that these cuirasses were of Persian origin (a novella of Nicephorus Phocas seem to speak of them as an innovation) but this is of minor significance.

It seems much more natural to admit that the Turks imitated or rather preserved the Byzantine institution which they found in existence. What would tend to confirm this is the existence of fiefs with the obligation to naval service alongside of those supplying horsemen. This was also the case with the Byzantines (Aug. Fr. Gröber, *Byzantinische Geschichte*, iii. 21).

It is not our task here to enquire to what extent the Byzantine military fiefs were related to the Roman *beneficia* or to the colonies of German soldiers (on the mailed horsemen of Byzantium, cf. Gustave Schlumberger, *Un Empereur byzantin au X^e siècle*, new ed., 1923, p. 40 and p. 288 and on Greek military feudalism: Ramchand, *L'Empire grec au dixième siècle*, 1870, chapitre intitulé *La féodalité dans l'Empire grec: les fiefs militaires*; *L'histoire générale* of Lavisse and Ram-

chand, chap. xiii. of vol. i., by C. Bayet, p. 668 *sup.*; Zachariae von Lingenthal, *Histoire du droit privé gréco-romain*, transl. into Fr. by Eugène Lanth, Paris 1870, p. 63, 129 *sup.*; da., *Geschichte der griechisch-römischen Rechts*, 1877; Gaignetot, *Des fiefs militaires dans l'empire romain et spécialement en Orient et au X^e siècle*, Bordeaux 1898, p. 81, 89; Testard, *Des rapports des fiefs militaires et des petits propriétaires ruraux dans l'empire byzantin au X^e siècle*, Bordeaux 1898, p. 75 *sup.*; *Juris Graeco-romani tomus duo* Johannis Laurentii Amelbarni, Frankfurt 1596, li. 144 *sup.*; cf. also the works of Meursius, Moreuil and the bibliography to the article *beneficium* in the *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* by Daremberg and Saglio).

As to the influence which the Seldjūks of Asia Minor may have exercised on the *timār*, we know nothing about it nor about their military organisation in general (cf. however the remarks by Köprülü-zade Mehmed Fu'ad in *Millî et Medjîm*, N° 5, p. 213-214).

Formation of the Ottoman military fiefs and their administration: We know very little about the administrative activity of the early boys or Ottoman rulers. The following words are put into the mouth of Othman, the founder of the dynasty: "He to whom I have granted a fief shall not be deprived of it without good reason; if he dies, his son shall succeed him; if the latter is too young, his servants shall take his place in war until he is fit to bear arms".

Under Orkhan, 'Alā al-Din formed a corps of horsemen called *musellem* "exempted from taxation", who held in times of peace certain lands free of taxes and who seem to have been absorbed in part at least by the organisation of the *timār* (on this militia, cf. Belin, *Fiefs Milit.*, p. 39-40, Grzegorzewski, p. 45; Marsigli: a firman relating to them, Bibl. Nat. Paris, MS. Suppl. Turc., N° 79, 1^{re} in fine).

Mar'ad I, assisted by Timurtash Pasha beylerbeyi of Rumelia, in 1375 issued a *kānūn* laying down the distinction between the little *timār* and the *ṣāṣet* (Bibl. Nat. Paris, MS. Suppl. Turc., N° 68, fol. 63).

Mehmed II in 881 A.H. instituted a more systematic method of keeping the registers (*defter*) of the military fiefs. There is comparatively little reference to these fiefs in the *Kānūn-Nāma* of this ruler (publ. in a supplement to *T. O. E. M.*, 1330 A.H. 32 pp. 8^e. Cf. v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, 8, p. 87-101; *Catal. of the MSS in Vienna*, N° 1820, 31st and 1813, 31st). The fiscal officials who administered the fiefs (*ṣipāh yashīl-lar*) appear in it as completely organised in the provinces. They were the *timār defterdār* for the simple *timār* on the *defter koshkuntāi* (*shahāri*) for the *ṣāṣet*. Both sets of officials were under the *defter emini* who in turn was under the *defterdār* of the empire (cf. the *Kānūn* above quoted, p. 19: von Hammer, p. 93 and Belin, *Fiefs milit.*, p. 44). Details of the organisation of the timariots or *ṣipāhīyān* will also be found in another *Kānūn* of Mehmed II, publ. by F. Knehlitz-Greifenhorst in the *M.O.G.*, i. 13, 48. In contents this *Kānūn* is closely connected with *Kānūn* (cf. below).

Sulaimān the Magnificent is credited with the organisation of the *timār* but it is probable that he only codified already existing regulations. In

any case he deprived the governors of control of the relatively more important *timār* which were called *tekereli* (cf. below). It is from his reign that the rather numerous collections of laws begin to date (*kanūn*, *kanūn-nāme*, *kanūn-nāme-i alī*, *Ottomān*, *Şānu-i mülkai* or codes drawn up by the *nizāmī* (note rarely by the *defter-dār* and the *defter emini*), with the help, more and more frequent as time goes on, of the *Shāikh al-Islām* (cf. *Bibl.*). These laws clearly reveal the agrarian character of the institution of *timār*. The *timār* lands or domains of which they were formed were fields lying around the villages, the houses in the latter being the property (*mülk*) of private individuals (*M. T. M.*, p. 54). Otherwise any land under cultivation, even in a garden or vineyard belonging to the *ra'ya*, became domain and paid dues to the *sipāhī*. (*M. T. M.*, p. 87; cf. *J. A.*, Jan.-Feb. 1844, p. 87).

The *timār* from the military point of view. We know that the Turks had a remarkably well organised regular army before the western powers. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, i.e. on the eve of the disappearance of the *timār* it consisted of the following elements:

1. The permanent regular army with regular pay (*akūfe*) from the public treasury, called *kapu* (*kapı*)-kulu, servants of the Porte (of the Sultan): it consisted of the Janissaries, gunners (*topçular*), bombardiers, (*kumbaracılar*) sappers, (*tugaydarlar*) engineers, (*mekendiler*), firemen (*akutombacılar* q.v.), ammunition-bearers (*ciğerdarlar*) horsemen (*sipāhī*, not to be confounded with the timariots) and *lanuik*.

2. The cavalry (*topraklı*) and feudal troops.

3. The *serasker* (*serasker-kulu*) or frontier troops, as a rule summoned to the colours and paid irregularly, and particularly at times of great danger, they comprised as cavalry the *gömlük* (*gömlük*) or "volunteers", heavy cavalry, *beşli* or *besti*, a light cavalry (according to Montecuculi, like the Hungarian Hussars), and *deli* (*deli*) or partisans, and for infantry, the *asak* (*asak*) or picked garrison soldiers (like the Hungarian *heyduks*, according to Montecuculi), *reymen* or peasant volunteers, fighting like dragoons on foot or on horseback and placed in charge of the baggage and cavalry and the *musellem* or pioneers.

4. The *yerli kulu* or "local troops" of the *paşa*, *sandjakbey* or *ayaz*. Levied in theory by special authorisation of the Porte but often without this they enabled a number of ambitious *Paşas* to gain power (Ali of Tebelen, Djessâr, Mustafa Bairakier etc.). Rightly or wrongly they are often confused with the preceding, and some writers like Ahmed Râim put among the *yerli kulu* the *asak reymen*, and *musellem* above mentioned, adding the *tufengci* "fusiliers", *ciğerdar*, "heavy artillery of the frontier forts" and even the *azgıncı*. It is into this second category, that of *topraklı* or territorial troops that the feudatories who held *timār* fall. Jauchereau de St. Denis compares them to the "levies of the arrière-bans of the old feudal monarchies of the west".

There were no hard and fast divisions between these different categories of soldiers. Janissaries could obtain *timār*. On the other hand there were timariots in the frontier provinces and one of the means of promotion, the only legal one, for a man who was not the son of a *sipāhī* or *ciğerdar* actually was to go as a volunteer (*gömlük*) "to the frontiers" to distinguish himself there by va-

liant deeds. The *sirdâr* or commander-in-chief had power to distribute on the battlefield itself *timār* which were vacant as a result of the army's losses and to accept meritorious volunteers as *yolduk* (cf. Bellin, *Fluss milit.*, tir. a part, p. 65; Abesci, p. 23; Mme Louise St. Belloc, *Bonaparte et les Grecs*, Paris 1826, p. 109; my *Sommaire des archives turques du Caire*, p. 27, note 1).

It is usually said that the principal military obligation of the timariots was, for those whose grant was reduced to the minimum called *şahîş* "sâoni", to go to war in person (or when impossible to send a substitute) and for the more richly endowed to send one or more *ciğerdar*.

It does not seem to have been quite so simple. The timariot had to present himself with a cuirass. He was thus also a *ciğerdar* (*kendü ciğerdar*, says the *kanūn*, cf. *T. O. E. M.*, p. 11), and this was the case with the less rich (1,000 aspers) according to the *kanūn*, which could however be modified. All the others had to bring also their *ghulām* "squire" and a tent (Tournfort, p. 319, also mentions the tents). The richer ones had also to bring one or more *ciğerdar* and tents of a better quality (cf. the varieties in the same *kanūn*).

Petit de la Croix, in a note to his translation of the *Nâşîk-nâme*, p. 88, says that the *ciğerdar* were "armed soldiers, cuirassed . . . serving in the artillery and in the trenches, carrying off the earth which the Janissaries dug" and Tournfort (p. 320) says that the timariots are "forced to supply baskets to their horsemen who use them to carry the earth necessary to fill up the ditches and trenches". There was an official in the army called the *ciğerdar aşak* who had control of the effectives of the *ciğerdar* (cf. Gzregorowski, doc. N° 100). Pouqueville, *Voy. dans la Grèce*, p. 10, suggests an etymological connection between the *ciğerdar* and the cuirassed gabeloux!

Details on the armament of the timariots will be found in Abesci, p. 18. Tournfort (p. 320) further says: "their cavalry is better disciplined than that which is properly called *spahis* although the *spahis* are lighter and more active: the latter only fight in platoons having the oldest horsemen at their head, while the *Zaims* and the *Timariots* are divided into regiments and commanded by "Colonels under the orders of the *Paşas*".

The hierarchy of the military (iefs; *şâhîş* of the governors of the provinces. As is evident from Tournfort in the above quotation, there was a rather close connection between the administrative organisation of the provinces and the feudatories: those of the first category (holders of *şâhîş*) are even confused with the governors.

It must not be concluded however from this that there were *şâhîş* and *timār* in all the provinces. The mediate possessions like the Crimea, the Danubian principalities, the Barbary Regencies had no *timār*. It was the same with some of the outer provinces of the empire like Egypt, Bagdad, Crete, Cyprus, Vard, Caffa. Ewliya Çelebi says that there were none in the peninsula of the Morea (except in certain adjoining islands) but the contrary is stated by Pouqueville, *Voy. dans la Grèce*, p. 12.

Other Ottoman writers distinguish in this connection between the provinces ruled as *şâhîş*, a word which means "annual" in Persian (*şâhîş* *ilâ şâhîş* *ilâ şâhîş* or *i. i. mûşâhîş* *şâhîş*) and the *şâhîş*

provinces. The former were held by governors either in full ownership (*mülkiyet*, *ahlakîlik* or *yurtluk*) like the mediate provinces or like the 5 Kurd sandjaks called *ahlakî* or the 19 sandjaks of the wilāyet of Diyarbakır, or for a year at a time (*iltizam ile* or *senevi iltizam ile*, whence the word *ailyane*). With this system the emoluments of the governors were deducted from the revenue of the state collected by the fiscal offices of the province (or levied on the *iradîlye* which represented, after deduction of allowances and the pay of the soldiers, the *hazine*, Turkish *hazina* or "treasury" destined for Constantinople) without the *beylerbeyi* (viceroys) "being able to exact the least thing from the people" (Marsigli) while the governors who held *ahlakî* levied tithes (*ushr*, pl. *ushar*) on these fiefs.

This distinction must not be taken too literally. Some *ailyane* governors actually held *ahlakî* and the *ahlakî* were not all military fiefs. The *khān* of the Crimea for example levied 1,200,000 aspers on the customs of Caffa, under the name of *ahlakî*. On the other hand sandjaks of different character are found in the same province, some *ailyane*, others *ahlakî*. This was the case with the provinces of Baghdad, Cyprus (already mentioned as *ahlakî* provinces), Damascus, Aleppo, Cilid, without reckoning the *eyālet* of the Kapudan Paşa. This distinction between *ailyane* and *ahlakî* provinces appears very clearly, when it is a question of a sandjak and not of an *eyālet* as a whole.

The idea of *ahlakî* must not be confused with that of "military fief". It is larger and differs from it, in as much as the *ahlakî* was attached not to the person but to the position of the governor. At least this was the case from the time when in the reign of Murād III, the sandjak-bey ceased to be inalienable (cf. Belin, *Propr. féodale*, N° 313). The sultan had also his regular private *ahlakî* which were called *ahlakî-i-hümâyûn*.

With this reservation the vassals of the first category were represented by two kinds of high officials, the *beylerbeyi* and the *sandjakbeyi* both holders of *ahlakî*.

The *beylerbeyi* (cf. Deny, *Sommaire des arch. turques du Caire*, p. 41-52) held *ahlakî* the value of the annual revenue of which varied from 650,000 aspers (Morea) to 1,200,700 (Kapudan Paşa) and were proportionate to their rank and precedence i. e. to the date of the conquest of the province. The *ahlakî* the revenue of which attained or surpassed the million were Rumelia, Anatolia, Damascus, Erzerum, Diyarbakır, Wan, Shehrizor, Khānate of the Crimea, Baghdad, Basra, Habesh, Egypt and going down by 100 aspers: Rhodes, Cyprus, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli in Barbary (it is probable that some of these *ahlakî* existed only on paper).

Each *beylerbeyi* had to supply one *mukemmel* *çibelli* for each 5,000 aspers of revenue. Marsigli adds that some portions of this revenue were exempt from military obligations.

The *beylerbeyi* were allowed themselves to issue *berat* conferring the small *timar* (*tekerrir*; cf. below). When a viceroy died the state gave *timar* to eleven of his servants. The *sandjakbeyi* in theory held *ahlakî* of at least 200,000 aspers of annual revenue. In practice we find in the lists of 'Ain-i 'Ali sandjaks with a lower revenue. When the new holder was an officer of the palace (in such case the expression used was "to go out to

or ascend to the sandjak": *sandjakğa çıkmağ*), the minimum was higher and proportionate to his dignity. The Agha of the Janissaries had the highest: 500,000 aspers.

The augmentations or *terakki* of the fiefs of the *sandjakbeyi* were made by sums of 100 aspers on each 1000 of revenue, (i. e. 10%). When a vacant fief was allotted to a *sandjakbeyi* who had not yet a right to the whole of the revenue it yielded, the surplus went to the *menkûf* (was retained by the state) to be set aside for the janissaries who had a right to a *timar*. Later, the *ahlakî* could be reconstituted in its entirety for the benefit of the same holder and the timariots who were thus dispossessed were given compensation. This system prevented the domains being broken up into small sections.

The precedence of the *sandjakbeyi* was regulated by the importance of their *ahlakî*, but ex-grand viziers had always precedence over all others. A *sandjakbeyi* had also to supply one *mukemmel* *çibelli* per 1,000 aspers of revenue. When a *sandjakbeyi* died, the state gave *timar* to six of his servants. It is probable that it was not necessary to be a *sandjakbeyi* to obtain a *ahlakî*.

What was the lower limit of a *ahlakî*? The authors of Turkish works on the history of the Ottoman empire say that the *ahlakî* was a domain with at least 100,000 aspers of revenue, granted to *amir* (plur. of *amir* = bey, which is applied to the *sandjakbeyi* and in opposition to vizier or paşa of 3 tails, to the *beylerbeyi* or paşa of two tails. At the present day, it is applied to the higher officers in contrast to the general or paşa). Although the figure of 100,000 aspers is confirmed from other sources (Tournet, p. 319) it was probably fixed at a later date. We actually find, in the lists of 'Ain-i 'Ali Efendi, *ahlakî* which are lower than this (for the benefit of the *defterdar* of a wilāyet). If we may judge by the total of the duties of *halemiye* (cf. below) paid by the *ahlakî*, the minimum revenue of the latter must have originally been 60,000 aspers.

Zi'âmet or *ze'âmet*. Every fief called *zi'âmet* had a minimum revenue of 20,000 aspers, which could not be reduced or divided in case of transfer to an heir or another holder. This minimum was called *hikmî zi'âmet*. The surplus, whatever its amount, was called *hisse* or "part".

Every *zi'âmet* entered in the register (*defter*) as irreducible was called from this fact *defter* in opposition to *hisseli* or divisible into parts (Belin, *Fiefs ottomans*, p. 55-57). It was the same with *timar*; cf. Marsigli, p. 96-97.

The holders of *zi'âmet* were called *za'im* (plur. *za'imân*), "chief". A *za'im* had to go to war in person and supply one *çibelli* for each complete 5,000 aspers of revenue above 20,000 aspers of the *hikmî zi'âmet*. Nothing was paid on a sum less than 5,000 even if it were 4,999. The *za'im* who lived in the capital of a *kaça* generally became a *mu-bağcı*.

According to modern Turkish writers and Tournet, the maximum revenue of a *zi'âmet* was 99,999 aspers but some *defter* *hahâşî* held *zi'âmet* with a large revenue (lists in 'Ain-i 'Ali). Gregorowski gives the maximum of 50,000. It is probable from what has been said above about the *ahlakî* that originally it was 59,999 aspers.

Timar. The *timar* were of two kinds:

1. — *tekerrirli*, or given by *berat-i sulţânî* on pro-

duction of a certificate (*tekerer* or *mürümle* *tekerer*) issued by the *beylerbeyi* or viceroy (cf. the models of *tekerer*'s in Grzegorzewski's documents N^o. 75, 78, 87, 91, 100, 102 and 106);

2. — *tekerer*s or given by a simple *berat* of the *beylerbeyi* i.e. without certificate, to feudatories already having or having had a fief. The dues of a first timar had always to be paid or at least be approved by imperial *berat*.

The dues on the irreducible minimum (*hakkı*) of the two kinds of timar varied according to the province but those on a *tekererli timar* were always higher than those on a *tekererless timar*. The individuals, limited in number, who normally received *gedikli* *zâmet* were: the *dergâh-ı 'Âli müteferri-kârlar* (young nobles), the *d. 'a. hawallâr*, the *divân kâtibleri*, the *defter-hukûmî kâtibleri* (M.T.M., p. 543; Djewdet, I, p. 313). They also drew pay from the little *rûnânclığı* (Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, II, 54 and *Kânûn* publ. in 1330, p. 21, note). They were respectively 6,000 and 3,000 aspers in the beylerbeyliks of Rumelia, Buda, Bosnia and Temesvar 5,000 (or 3,000 and 6,000) and 2,000 aspers elsewhere.

The timariot owed personal service for his *hakkı* and for a certain sum above it, the services of a *çetel*. According to 'Ala-ı 'Alî, in Rumelia the timariot owed one *çetel* for each 3,000 aspers, which is the actual equivalent of a *hakkı* but there seems to be a initial allowance of 10,000 aspers which is free. By analogy we should have to allow one *çetel* for each 2,000 aspers for the rest of the empire. This system means a great simplification in contrast with the state of things revealed by the *Kânûn-nûma* attributed to Seyidî Bey, p. 11 (Mansûrî gives 5,000 aspers as for the *zâ'im*).

The name *çetel* (or *çet-kîn* or *çet-kîn-çî*) *timar* "combatant timar" from the verb *çet-mek*, above mentioned, was given to a fief which owed direct service and retainers when called upon. The *çetkîncî timarlar* were contrasted on the one hand with the *benevzet* (*be-nûbet*) *timarlar* belonging to various individuals owing service in turn and on the other with the *mustahfî timarlar* or fiefs (fewer in number) granted to non-combatants like the imâms or *mü'eddim*s of mosques in the frontier towns or to individuals whose duty it was to provide the palace with game-birds or butcher-meat.

The connection should be investigated which existed between these latter timars and the fiefs (*zâmet* or *timar*) which were called *gedikli* or "privileged" because their holders were not obliged to do service except when the grand vizier led the army in person (Belin, *Propr. jenc.*, N^o. 357; Em. Legrand, *Ephémérides daces par Constantin Dapentis*, Paris 1881, II, 62—63). Before disposing of a vacant *timar* it had to be ascertained if it was not in the special register of the *gedikli timar* (cf. the formula *gedikli kaydında deyil-ise*, documents in Grzegorzewski, N^o. 78 and 100).

In the great days of the timariots the feudatories, according to Koca Bey, led out more men than they required to and the timariots were ambitious of becoming *zâ'im* through exploits such as capturing a score or so of prisoners or bringing in as many heads.

In theory the *timar* were granted only to Muslims but there were exceptions at the time of the Conquest and Christian feudatories were left in possession of their estates (cf. for Serbia: Grzegorzewski, p. 62, and for the Morea: Pouqueville, *loc. cit.*).

Military organization of the fiefs. The high command of the feudatories was exercised by the governors of provinces (themselves important feudatories) and thus the title of *mîr-lîvâ* (a synonym of *sandjak-beyi*) became the name for a brigadier-general.

Under the orders of these generals were officers whose duty it was to mobilize and probably also to command the feudatories, namely:

1. the *alay-beyi*, a kind of colonel chosen by the feudatories of a *sandjak*. They had the right to a drum and a flag (the *bayrakdâr* or "flag-bearer" was a kind of lieutenant-colonel and the *çavuş* a kind of "major"). The Turks often confused the *sipâhî* and the *veyevoda* (a loanword from the Slavonic) but distinguished between the *sipâhî* of the *flâcus* (*Mîr zabâhîlar*) and those of the *timar* (*çetli timar zabâhîlar*) cf. the *Kânûn* publ. in 1330, p. 28.

2. *leri-başı* and *su-başı*. These two titles seem, as has been observed, to refer to the same officers (*su* [older *sû*] is a synonym of *leri* "army, troops"). There was one for each district (*kaza* or *nâhiye*). In peace-time the *su-başı* were officers of the police.

As to the *lerî sürûdjüleri* (from *lerî-sûk*) ("to drive a flock or troop in front of one") Belin makes them captains of ten, for the sake of symmetry with the preceding, but they were less regular officers than police or detectives, i.e. soldiers whose task was to bring back deserters to the army (cf. documents N^o. 85 and 72 in Grzegorzewski).

In case of mobilization the Sultân sent a firman to the *beylerbeyi* concerned ordering them to raise the ban of the *zâ'im* and *çetel* (cf. a specimen of one of these firmans in the *Nâşîhat-nûma*, transl. Pétis de la Croix, p. 35—36; the same work p. 8, puts at 2,000 *yûk* i.e. 100,000 aspers, a sum set aside for the gifts which according to custom were given in this case to the militia and especially to the *zâ'im* and timariots).

Administration of the military fiefs. We have already mentioned the administrative and fiscal officials who had charge of the allotment of fiefs. These officials who were called *zâ'îyat muharrirleri* or "provincial writers" kept registers called *isfâmât* or "general" statistics of the fiefs and *mufassal* or "detailed" statistics. In another book called *rûnâmclık* or "journal" were recorded the *berat* or orders relating to the fiefs. The armies in the field carried these registers with them (probably duplicate copies) in order to enter at once on the battlefield the necessary distributions of *timar* (cf. doc., N^o. 78, 100 and 102 in Grzegorzewski).

In the Turkish archives are preserved registers which go back to the Conqueror and would be well worth studying. Cf. my article in *Histoire et historiens depuis cinquante ans* (Bibl. de la Revue historique), Paris 1927, vol. I, Turquie.

The *berat* granting fiefs were liable to chancery dues ("of the pen" *kalemîye*) levied by the *Naşîhat emîn*. It was $\frac{4}{10}$: 120 aspers for the holders of *timar* of 3,000 aspers, 800 aspers for the *zâ'im*. There were 15,000 aspers for the *çetel* (we have used this figure to ascertain the probable original minimum of the *çetel*). The *berat*, following a general custom, were renewed annually (*teğdid-i berat*) and the same *kalemîye* dues were paid every year (cf. *Nâşîhat-nûma*, p. 41, 78, 79).

It would take us too long here to give the regulations which were intended to secure the

devolution of the *timâr* to men suitable for military service and who had to be by preference the sons or descendants of feudatories (*îpâhî-iâde*, in plural *enânî-îpâhîyân*) or of *îftekâr* who had done their service. Their legitimacy was established by the evidence of ten timariots (Kocü-Bey).

When a timariot failed to obey the summons, he became *ma'sûl* "deprived" i.e. he was temporarily deprived for one or two years of his *timâr* which was then called *dirliyi lallamaş*. Every *timâr* vacant (*muhtâl*) through escheat or default fell (*düşürmek*) as *mençûl* to be managed by the official called *mençûlîsâdjî*, who collected the revenues until it was allotted again.

The *îpâhî* were bound to live on their estates. To look after the land one in ten was usually left at home and called the *kurucûn* or "guard". If the war was a prolonged one, the *îpâhî* of each *sanjak* sent home a score of their number who, known as *âharîdîşîlî*, had to send supplies (*âharîdîşî*) to their comrades in the field.

A *çaya* or peasant could only become a timariot by proving his prowess on the battlefield, which he could only do by going as a volunteer to the frontiers (cf. above).

Decline of the system of military fiefs. In spite of precautions and attempts at reform like that of 1632 as a result of the memoir presented by Kudî Bey (or Kuçî, or better perhaps Kocü Bey) of Korica (better of Gümüşîna) and again in 1637 and 1777, the decline of the fiefs continued to be marked.

In addition to the laments of Turkish officials like Kocü Bey and 'Ain-i 'Alî Efendi, we find frequent criticisms in western writers.

In theory the *çaya* and timariots had to go to war, even if they were so ill that they had to be carried in a litter, with their children in panniers (Tournetfort) but after putting in an appearance an opportunity was always found to return home (Abecî, 88, p. 18). We find in Grzegorzewski orders to bring to the colours mutinous timariots, who were hiding in their *îstîlîk* (*îstîlîk*) (doc. N° 73 for example).

A timariot could buy himself off and this was a valuable source of revenue for some ministers, according to Philippe du Fresnoy-Canaye (*Le Voyage du Levant en 1573*, Paris 1897, p. 137).

Another passage in the same traveller (p. 60) seems to show that foreign ambassadors could actually obtain *timâr* for their protégés. Tournetfort (ib., p. 319) writes: "The viceroys and provincial governors have such powers by their intrigue at court that commandships which are outside of their districts are given to their servants or to those who give them most money".

Baron de Tott shows us that the *khân* of the Crimea was very dissatisfied with the services of 10,000 *îpâhî* sent by the Porte and says he was able to prove to himself that some of them were really Christians who pretended to be converted to Islam for the sake of the *timâr* (*Mémoires*, 1785, I, p. 112). Lastly there is an account of various other abuses in Mouradjea d'Ohanon, *Tableau de l'Emp. Ott.*, VII, p. 375.

The suppression of the Janissaries and of the corps of cavalry or paid *îpâhî* under Mahmûd II brought about the disbandment of the feudal militia. To safeguard the rights they had acquired, this Sultan formed the élite of the dispossessed feudatories in 1831 into four squadrons, which later formed

the framework of the new regular cavalry. As to the other holders of the old fiefs now the property of the state, they received pensions which were provided for in the budget. The total of these pensions at first 120,000 purses or 60,000,000 piastres (Belin) fell in 1850 to about 15,000,000 without reckoning some 10,000,000 paid as indemnity to the farmers of the domain lands (leased since the ministry of Rüstam Paşa Sulaimân's grand vizier). On the 27th Radjab 1280 (Jan. 7, 1864) these pensions underwent a revision which still further reduced their number, from lack of certain formalities (Tischendorf).

There was no longer any military organisation of the fiefs but the state retained the *tapu*, which it henceforth levied for its own benefit, and the laws retained numerous survivals of the old system (cf. below).

The *timâr* and Ottoman land legislation. In return for his services the *îpâhî* had the right to collect all or part of the *hauquşî-şer'î* (of divine prescription) dues as well as "taxes decreed by the sovereign" *ra'ayî ul-îlâ* (we should add "or sanctioned by usage") on the lands of the fief. He exercised a kind of seignorial jurisdiction over the *ra'as* "Muslim or Christian peasants". If the peasants, the tillers of the soil, only held their land with a *tevarrûf* title (possession not implying ownership) they hand it on death to their children only. All other heirs or acquirers can only acquire possession of them by paying to the *îpâhî* of the place the dues (*mon'addjîlî*) called *tapu*: if there are no heirs, the land is awarded to a new owner also by *tapu* and by regulations made *ad hoc*" (Belin, *Prop. font.*, N° 303).

In return for his military obligations the timariot enjoyed feudal privileges. As regards the proprietor of the soil he was his lord (*îstîlî-î arz* or *arz* for the Arabic *ard*) but this right of ownership was not only bound up with military service: it was precarious and revocable.

The peasant (*ra'iyet*; plur. also employed in the singular: *ra'âyâ* or *ra'ya*) Muslim or Christian — for western usage is wrong in applying this term only to Christians — was attached to the state and went with it (Belin, *Fiefs milit.*, spec. rept., p. 50).

He paid to the *îpâhî* different taxes and dues which varied somewhat according to locality, a few of which may be enumerated here:

İpandjî or *gendjî* "gift" (Belin, N° 323; Grzegorzewski, p. 233); *benâk* or *penâk* (Grzegorzewski, p. 226 and doc. N° 84; *Kânûn-nâme*, ed. 1320, p. 16, note 2; Hammer, *Staatsverfassung: netak*; *resmî-îstî* (Belin, N° 318; Grzegorzewski, p. 236; *Kânûn-nâme*, p. 316, note 2); *mu'djerrid* "bachelors" (N° 321); *arwâne* "a girl, married woman" (N° 329, 330); *dukkân* or *rutûn* "right of fuel for individuals foreign to the *timâr*" or *îpâhîlîk* (N° 326, 348); *nâterîye* (N° 348; *Kânûn-nâme*, p. 16, note 3); *zeyâk* or *deyirmân* "moulton" *îlâk* "pasture"; *yaylak* "summer pasture"; *îstîlîk* "winter pasture"; *îstîlî-kışan* "sheep"; *mürdet pâkalâr* "compensation for the maintenance of a falcon which comes to die"; *bedaya* or *kâd-û-kawâ* "extra ordinary taxes"; *kenân* "hives"; *îlî* "measure of wheat" (N° 345).

A fuller list of imposts and taxes will be found in Ahmad Wafîk, *Tikâlif kâv'idî*.

Western authors give as the most important imposts on land in the country the tithe, but the older Ottoman legists distinguish between:

1. The imposts of the canon law (*shari'a*) subdivided into:

a. *kharaḍj-i mawḍūf* "fixed impost on land" or tribute of the soil, represented in practice (or perhaps by an artificial assimilation) by the *ḥiṣṣi* (also called *ḥayunduruk ḥaḥḥi* or *ṭaima ḥiṣṣi*) and the *ispente* or "poll-tax" by the *ispente* or poll-tax on the Christians (identified with the *ḥiṣṣa* of the divine law; the *ḥiṣṣi* or *ḥayunduruk* of Egypt and sometimes popularly called the "kharaḍj" par excellence).

b. *Kharaḍj-i muḥṣama* "proportional impost on land" or tribute on the produce represented by the tithe or *ṣūḥūr*, which in spite of its name varied in practice between $\frac{1}{8}$ and $\frac{1}{12}$.

2. The imposts of customary law (*urfīya*) represented particularly by the *ḥiṣṣa bennāl* paid by rayas, married Muslims without land, to be distinguished from the *ḥiṣṣa bennāl* (a kind of *ḥiṣṣi* with reduced taxes) cf. *M.T.M.*, p. 99, 109, 10 and 54.

This classification, which seems somewhat arbitrary, takes no account of the distribution between taxes on persons and those on who own property. On taxes and land in the country cf. also Heildorn, *Les Finances Ottomanes*, Vienna 1912, p. 17 sqq. and 3 to 10.

Some dues had to be divided between the timariot and the *suḥaḥḥi* (Belin, N^o. 348).

Such were the regulations for lands liable to *tapu*, for these were lands belonging completely to the *sipāhī* and called *ḥiṣṣe*. As they were also called *ḥiṣṣi yeri* ("sword lands") and could not be given by *tapu*, I think we may conclude that the reference is to the inalienable part of the *timār*, called *ḥiṣṣi* (cf. above). It is indeed not surprising that *ḥiṣṣi* has been considered inalienable even by *tapu*. Belin and Worms take different views and compare, wrongly I think, *ḥiṣṣe* lands and *ḥiṣṣi* which they contrast with "lands of combatants" or *māl-i müḥarrik* or *ḥiṣṣi māl*, alone liable to the organization of the military fiefs (Belin, N^o. 312-313).

In spite of the charges made against the "cavaliers" (*ṣipāhī, atī*) contained in popular stories like those of Nāṣir al-Dīn Khodja, the situation of the peasants does not seem to have been bad and according to Leunclavius (Löwenklau), there were Hungarian peasants ready to set fire to their farms and flee to Turkey (Thornton). Juchereau de St. Denis attributes this to the fact that the owner of a fief had "no legal right of lordship and justice over the persons living on it". We have seen that he had numerous fiscal rights. The relations between the *ṣipāhī* and the *ra'ya* were nevertheless very complicated. They occupy very considerable space in the Ottoman land-laws as contained in the *ḥiṣṣa*'s enumerated above (N^o. 3, 4 and 5). Many of these regulations — with the reservation that the State has taken the place of the *ṣipāhī* — have passed into the modern land-laws or *crvāz ḥiṣṣa* where they have become merged with borrowings from the Code Napoléon. The text of these laws will be found in vol. I. of the Turkish *Düstūr* and the French translations in Belin, *Propr. fonc.* and German by Padel in Berlin, *M. S. O. S.* (1901). For the "code of land-laws", cf. G. Young, *Corps de droit ottoman*, vi. (1906), p. 44-111. The most characteristic of these survivals is the *tapu* about which we now give a few lexicographical details.

Tapu. The Ottoman substantive *tapu* or by the operation of the law of vowel harmony *tapı* (as in Bāki, ed. Dvofak, p. 171, s. infra) for the older (Oghuz) *tap-ngh*, *ḥaghatai tap-uh*, is derived from the verb *tap-mah*: 1. to obey, to submit to God or a conqueror by begging *amān* from him (cf. *Ḥiṣṣi-pāḥā-ade Torikhi*, ed. Giese, p. 22; Nöldeke, *Nesheri*, Z.D.M.G., 1859, p. 212: *tapān wilāyāt* is not a proper name); 2. to worship (a divinity), 3. to pay homage. — Cf. also *tapu*, Vambery, *Alt-Osman. Sprache*, p. 219; *tabu*, Codex Comanicus, 217; Houtama, *Ein türk.-ar. Glossar*; the Roman form with intervocalic sonant is found in the Karaitic *tabu*, *tab'e*: thanks, gratitude (T. Kowalski, *Karaimische Texte*... von Traki, Cracow 1920).

Tapu according to Kāshghārī means 1. "service" (*ḥiṣṣa*); 2. obedience (*ṭā'a*); i., p. 311 and derivatives i., p. 410; ii., p. 132, l. 5; cf. iii., p. 278, infra, the proverb: *tuyin tapuḡhaḡ, tāngri sāoinis* "the priest is always ready to worship God but the latter is not at all pleased with him".

The *Burhān-i Kātib* explains the Persian borrowing thus: "It is a polite custom which the Turks of Transoxania call *tapu* and consists in, when one has committed some crime, presenting oneself before the Sultān or viziers, the head uncovered, holding one's ears, bowing down and seeking forgiveness". Cf. for the meaning the Turkish verb *yükün-mek* so frequent in the Buddhist and Manichaean texts publ. by F. K. W. Müller, von Le Coq, Pelliot etc. The following passage is typical: *Ṣā' ze Oghuz rumindje tapu ur-ḥiṣṣat ṣamin yirine geirāiler*, "prostrating oneself" (or bowing) three times according to the custom of the Oghuz, they went through the traditional gestures of *tapu* and homage" (Houtama, *Hist. des Seldj. d'Ibn Bibi*, p. 10, l. 9). The ceremony seems to have included the offering of a cup for there is an expression *tapu saḡharaḡi* "cup of homage" recorded by the *Burhān-i Kātib* (p. 477 sub *saḡharaḡ*).

It may also be noted that according to Silvestre de Sacy, the Arabic *ḥiṣṣa* "service" given above as the equivalent of *tapu* (according to Kāshghārī) sometimes has the same meaning as the Turkish *timār* (N. E., l. 210, note d; cf. *Bibliothèque des arabes*, Cairo, ii., p. 114, 116).

Lastly in Mongol, the same word (pronounced *tabik* according to Kowalewski which presupposes a Turkish form *tap-igh*) means "offering, sacrifice, divine service, service, worship, act of honouring".

In connection with the *timār*, *tapu* is the name of the title-deeds which confirm the tributary state of the land, the renewal of which is obligatory in certain circumstances and which establish the permanence of the right of conquest (Belin, N^o. 298, note 2).

From the preceding one might be tempted to see in the *tapu* a kind of homage and Ahmad Wafik gives as the equivalent of *tapu*, the expression *aghānī ḥaḥḥi* "right of the overlord", but the analogy is only apparent: *tapu* existed between the *ṣipāhī* and the *ra'ya* and not between the *ṣipāhī* and the *sultān* (Sultān). It is therefore quite a real bond going with land. As the delivering of this title was done with the payment of a certain sum in anticipation (*mu'ajjale*) the name *tapu* was given not only to the title but to the sum itself. And when on the abolition of the *timār* the *tapu* was levied by the state, *me'mūru*

or *kātibī* was given to the employer who handed over the *tapu* (Belin, N^o 88, 335 *qq.*). *Tapu* could only be demanded when an estate became really vacant. Transmission by inheritance takes place without *tapu* or gratis.

The following are some phrases in which this word occurs: *tapu-la-maṣ* or *tapu-ya ver-mek* or *tapu-ile vermek* "to give by *tapu* (speaking of the *sipāhī*)"; *tapu-ya almaṣ* "to take by *tapu* (speaking of the *ra'ya*)"; cf. *tapu-laym-dan almaṣ*, MS. suppl. Turc, N^o 68, fol. 7; *kā-tapu* or *tapu-ile* "against payment of the *tapu*", opposed to *hīla tapu* or *medfūnūn* "without expense, without paying *tapu*"; *tapu-ya mustahakk* "(land) which ought to be or perhaps as a result of a vacancy given to another or payment of the *t.*" (whence the expression *istihakkıye*, with *erazi* understood, etc., opposed to *af'ıye*); *tapu-yu boz-maṣ* "to break an engagement by *t.*"; *tapu-ın dī'ā'sı de'vīl* "cannot be given by *t.*"; *verm-i tapu* "tax paid as *t.*"; *hakk-i t.* "right of holding land by *t.*"; *tapu-i vīl* "right of proportional *t.*"; *dam tapu* "tax levied on any new building created by the *ra'ya*" (M. T. M., p. 83; J. A., Jan.-Febr. 1844, p. 88; v. Hammer, i. 399).

Comparison of the *timār* with western fiefs. The *timār* is more of an administrative than a social organisation. It is due to the initiative of the state and the latter has never lost its right to supervise and even control directly the *timār*, which are only hereditary because the state finds an advantage in this, but it sees that no dynasty of feudatories is allowed to establish itself in the provinces. The fief is and, in spite of certain abuses, remains closely associated with the obligation to military service and is taken away on the slightest sign of failure to perform this or of rebelliousness. The possession of it is so precarious that some *timār* have returned as many as eight times to the state in one campaign (Thornton). The domain, which has not the same social importance as in the west, does not confer its name upon its holder nor give him any degree of nobility. There is even a somewhat unexpected tendency according to which a *ra'ya* could receive a *timār* without ceasing to be a *ra'ya*. He could not abandon his state of *ra'ya* when the *berat* conferring the fief specifically stated that his *yol-darlığı* was being rewarded, "his good services in war as a free comrade in arms" (*Milli tet. m.*, p. 311). The feudal relationship is expressed only in the domains, an irreducible part of which only was guaranteed the holder on condition that he gives military service. The reward is, as it were, divided into small sections which are used to give regular increases, as to officials. One does not talk of a *timār* of so many aspers but of so many aspers of *timār* (*şu kadar asfer timār*). The great feudatories are at the same time officials and if the state fears them it is not so much as feudal lords, but rather as viceroys of large provinces.

There are no vassals. Each feudatory owes his fief directly to the Sultan (except the very small ones appointed by the *keylerbeyi*). He is not under the orders of more powerful feudatories except when mobilised for military service. Over the *ra'ya* he only has certain fiscal rights, as we have seen, some of which recall the rights of milling etc.; cf. e.g. the dues on betrothal (*arūṣane* or *gerdek*). Madame Louise Saint Belloc thought it would not be unreasonable to admit that Napoleon borrowed his system of grants of land from the Turks.

Bibliography: Belin, secretary-interpreter of the French Embassy at Constantinople is the only man who has so far seriously studied the Turkish *timār*. To him we owe the two following monographs:

1. *Étude sur la propriété foncière en pays musulman, et spécialement en Turquie* (*Kilt kanaklı*), reprinted from the J. A., Paris 1862;
2. *Un régime des fiefs militaires dans l'Islamisme, et principalement en Turquie*, reprint from the J. A., Paris 1870 (notably from 'Ain-i 'Alī, whose text is translated).

We may also mention the work of Worma, *Recherches sur la constitution de la propriété territoriale dans les pays musulmans et subsidiairement en Algérie*, J. A., 1842, 1843 et 1844. As to the study by Paul Andreas von Tschendorff (*Das Lehnwesen in den muslimischen Staaten insbesondere im osmanischen Reich*, Leipzig 1872, 129 pages in 8^o), this is simply a version of Belin's works with a few additions. We have been unable to procure the important work by Truhelka, *Historička podloga agrarnog pitanja u Bosni*, publ. in the *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini*, xxvii. 1915, p. 125 *qq.*; a German version was published at Sarajevo in 1911, under the title *Die geschichtliche Grundlage der bosnischen Agrarfrage*. For further details cf. Dmitriev in *Zapiski Kollegii Vostočevedor*, ii. 1926, p. 104.

The works of which we now give the full titles with some others of less importance have been quoted in the body of the article:

Joseph von Hammer (Purgstall), *Das osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna 1815, i. 337—434 (chap. vi.: *Das Lehnrecht, Kanuni timar*); Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un Voyage du Levant*, Lyon 1717, 3 volumes; Comte de Marsigli, *L'Etat militaire de l'Empire ottoman, ses progrès et sa décadence*, The Hague and Amsterdam 1732, folio (Italian and French); Elias Abecsi, *L'Etat actuel de l'Empire ottoman*, English transl. by Fontanelle, Paris 1792, 2 vol.; A. de Juchereau de Saint-Denis, *Révolutions de Constantinople en 1807 et 1808*, Th. Thornton, *Etat actuel de la Turquie*, English transl., Paris 1812, 2 vol.; J. Grzegorzewski, *Z rzyssytaw rumiśskich epoki wyprawy wiedeńskiej*, Lwow 1912, 144 pages of Turkish text and 264 of Polish text (*Recueil de documents turcs des archives de Sopha, relatifs à l'expédition contre Vienne*); W. Padel and L. Steeg, *De la législation ottomane*, Paris 1904.

The *Ḳānūn-nāme*. The bibliography of these codes has still to be compiled. Here we shall confine ourselves to giving the more important, neglecting those, not very many, which do not refer to military fiefs.

Apart from the *Ḳānūn-nāme* of Mehmed II already quoted, these are:

1. Sulaimān's code as published by the F. O. E. M. as a supplement under the title *Ḳānūn-nāme Aī-i 'Oṭmān* (72 p., 1329). The editor Mehmed 'Arif attributes it to Saiyidi Bey in spite of the copy in the library of 'Ashir Efendi which gives as its author the *nishān* Djalāl-zāde Mustafa (as does von Hammer, *Hist. de l'Empire Ottoman*, Fr. transl., vi., p. 247, where the names are inverted). Cf. also Bibl. Nat. Paris, MS. Suppl. Turc, N^o 80 and also Anc. fonds Turc, N^o 35, 1^o; Suppl. Turc, N^o 79, 2^o;

the beginning of the latter seems to be the same as that of the manuscript mentioned by von Hammer, *Staatverfassung*, i., p. xxi., under N^o. vi., but the text of Hādījī Khalifa to which he refers really deals with mining laws.

2. Another version (later?) of the preceding (Vienna, N^o. 1799, 1^o; Bibl. Nat. Paris, Suppl. Turc, N^o. 81). This version and the preceding should be compared with the text translated into German by von Hammer under the title *Straf- und Polizeygesetze Sulaymans* (*Staatverfassung*, i. 143—62) which according to him (i., p. xix.), is the part of the code of laws of Aḥn-i 'All Efendi to be mentioned below (N^o. 6).

3. Code or *Kānūn* of the same sultan, commonly called *İfedit* "the new" (although this qualification seems also sometimes to be applied to the two preceding). If the somewhat confused explanations of von Hammer (*Hist.*, vi. 247 and 267 and *Staatverfassung*, i. 375—376) are correct, this code, which is almost entirely devoted to questions of land laws, was first compiled by 'Abdī Oghlu Mehmed Çelebi, in the early years of Sulaimān's successor (Selim II). It contains a large number of *fetwās* of the celebrated Shaikh al-Islām Abū 'l-Sū'ūd and Kemāl Pāshā-rāde. It would be valuable to discover the original dated manuscript of this collection, of which we have a large number of copies more or less late (Rien, Add. 7840, iii., mentions a copy of 1014 but there are some as late as the xiiith century A. H.). The preface which invokes the authority of the great Sulaimān the Legislator is the same in all copies but the more recent are encumbered with *fetwās* of later Shaikhs al-Islām: (Akhi-rāde) Hüseini (d. 1043), (Zekeryā-rāde) Yahyā (d. 1053), Mehmed Behā'ī (d. Safar 1064), not to mention Pīr Mehmed (cf. below), 'Abd al-'Azīz, Mehmed Sa'd-allāh, Şan'-allāh, Shaikh Mehmed, Al-Hādījī Mehmed 'Abd-allāh Muṣṭafā and Mehmed Brusevi. These *fetwās* are mixed with *Kānūn* dating (*der zeman*) from earlier *niḥān*ji such as (Tājjī-bey-rāde) Dja'far Çelebi (d. 921), Djalāl-rāde (already mentioned), or older, like Hamra Pāshā (d. 1180), Mu'allim-rāde Lām 'Alī Efendi etc. The majority of the dated laws belong to the first half of the xiith century A. H., the latest being of 1129; a partial German translation of this text is given in v. Hammer, *op. cit.*

This *Kānūn* was published in N^o. 1 and 2 of the *Milli tel. mecmu'atı*. There are MSS. of it in Paris, Suppl. Turc, N^o. 71 and 78, Vienna, N^o. 1816, 1817, 1822, 2^o and elsewhere (cf. a list in Rien's catalogue, Add. 7834).

4. *Kānūn* or *Kutaba* by the Shaikh al-Islām Uskūbī Pīr Mehmed Efendi b. Hasan, author of the *Mu'ta ul-Mufa*. This like the preceding is based mainly on the *fetwās* of Abū 'l-Sū'ūd. MS. at Paris, Suppl. Turc, N^o. 68 and fragment at Vienna, N^o. 1804, 4^o.

5. *Kānūn-i Līvā-i Beḥa* prepared by order of Sulaimān by Muṣṭafā b. Aḥmad Kātib al-Defa'ir al-Khāṭir at the end of Ljūmādā I, 973 (middle of Dec. 1565) under the direction of the *na'im* Beḥāret, MS. at Vienna, N^o. 1804, 6^o. Another MS. of the same work was used by Belin (*Prepr. fons.*, N^o. 298, note 2; N^o. 315 *vgg.*). This text, along with some others has been published by Trubeika in the *Glasnik* of Sarajevo,

xxviii; for further details cf. Dimitrew, *loc. cit.*, p. 105.

6. *Kānūn* called that of Aḥmad I, edited by the *defter emini* Mū'eddhin-rāde 'Ain-i 'All in 1018 (1609) under the title *Kānūn-i 'Alī 'Othmān der Khātūn-i Meḥmūd-i Defter-i Dīvān*. Printed in Kab' I, 1280 (Aug.—Sept. 1869) by Aḥmad Wafik Pāshā, the imperial commissioner in Asia Minor, MSS. in Vienna (4 copies), Leipzig, Dresden and Paris (incomplete). It was translated into French by Belin and into German by Tischendorf (cf. the *Bibliography* below). It is the only *kānūn* that has so far been systematically studied. Hammer (*Staatverfassung*, i., p. xvii—xx.) has given an analysis of a work, of which this *kānūn* seems to be only the first part. Ewliya Çelebi seems to have used, in part at least, this *kānūn* for the statistical information which he gives on the provinces and the military fiefs of the empire (i. 173—206).

7. *Naṣḥat-nāme* (book of counsels) written by a vizier of Ibrahim I (1640—1648) for his sovereign. Translated into German by Behnauer in the *Z. D. M. G.*, xviii., p. 699 *sq.* and previously into French under the title *Canon de Sultan Sulaiman II représenté à Sultan Mourad IV pour son instruction en état politique et militaire tiré des Archives les plus secrètes des Princes Ottomans et qui servent pour bien gouverner leur Empire. Traduit du turc par M. P. * * ** (Pétis de La Croix), Paris 1725. Extracts in Hammer, *Geschichte*, v. 684—687. MSS. in Vienna, N^o. 1823—1825.

8. *Telkāt ul-Beyn fi Kānūn-i 'Alī 'Othmān*, written in the reign of Mehmed IV (1648—1687) by Hüseini Efendi Herzāfenn. Cf. the list of the chapters in v. Hammer (*Staatverfassung*, p. xx.—xxi.). MS. in Paris, Anc. fonds Turc, N^o. 40.

9. Hādījī Khalifa's work entitled *Destūr* (*Düstūr*) *ül-Amel*, cf. Behnauer, *Z. D. M. G.*, xi, p. 111—32.

10. The organic regulation of the military fiefs promulgated in 1777 (1911) by 'Abd al-Hamid (reproduced in Djewdet, *Tarīkh*, i. 184—192).

Among other *Kānūn* we may mention the MSS. of the Bibl. Nat. de Paris: Anc. fonds Turc, N^o. 41, Suppl. Turc, N^o. 79, 1^o (*Kānūn* presented in 1017) and Vienna, N^o. 1804, 4^o (*Kānūn* presented in 1038), N^o. 1822, 2^o etc. The list might be prolonged by searching the catalogues of various libraries. Marsigli's work (cf. above) was compiled from a *Kānūn*, as far as facts dealing with military fiefs are concerned.

There is an important note on these *Kānūn* by Aḥmad Rafik Bey in *T.O.E.M.*, xivth year, p. 319—320 (which is not at the moment accessible to me). Cf. also the article by C. Brockelmann in *Isl.*, viii. 261—267 (*Der Göttinger cod. turc.* 25.—*Ein Beitrag zur Quellenkritik des Qānūnnāme*). There were also *kānūn-nāme*'s for each wilāyet. They were on the back or at the top of the *defter-i mufasṣal* of these wilāyets (cf. *M. T. M.*, N^o. 1, p. 109. Such is for example the *kānūn* of the *līvā*'s of Sregecin, Hatvan and Novigrad, MS. Bibl. Nat. Paris, Suppl. Turc, N^o. 76).

The majority of the extant *kānūn-nāme*'s — apart from their original defects, often serious — are full of errors and obscurities, the result of the carelessness of copyists. They ought to be

completed and corrected from the collections of *inshā'* or model letters and especially of original documents, *firmans*, *berats* etc., as for example those of N^o. 823 of Suppl. Turc de la Bibl. Nat. de Paris and 1802 of Vienna; cf. also Grzegorzewski's collection. Meninski himself has given three in his *Instituentis linguarum turcicarum*, Vienna 1756, II., p. 174—175. A study of the rich archives of the *Difter-ghāhāni* in Constantinople would assuredly be most fruitful. (J. DESV.)

TIMBUKTU (Timbuctoo; French Tombouctou), a town in western Africa. It is not only of interest as evidence of the great extension of Islam to the south; it has itself been a centre of Muslim life of considerable activity; it possessed a celebrated university and produced learned men and historians who are not without merit. According to the author of the *History of the Sudan*, it was founded at the end of the vith (xiith) century by the Maghaharen Tuāreg, a nomadic people who came into these lands to pasture their flocks. In summer they camped on the banks of the Niger in the village of Amadagha; in autumn they went back to their homes in Arawan. At last they settled definitely on the site of this town. Timbuktu became an important commercial centre; travellers reached it either by the river or by caravans from the coast of Morocco and Tripolitania. The people of Waghdaw migrated thither in considerable numbers; the commercial centre had formerly been Walāta. Learned men and devout theologians soon followed the traders; they came from Egypt, from Ghadames, from Tuat, Tafilale, Fez, Sāa etc. The town was given fine buildings and walls were built around it; the huts, once built of branches and straw, were replaced by houses of clay. A large mosque was built in Timbuktu itself and another to the north at Sankorā.

The first dynasty, which came from Malli [q. v.] reigned at Timbuktu from 737 to 837 (1336—1433). The town in this period was visited by the celebrated traveller Ibn Battūta whose description is very interesting. In 753 (1352) he went there with a caravan from Morocco which included many traders of Sijilmāsa, then a very prosperous commercial centre. After a journey of 25 days he made a halt at Taghāza where there were mines of rock-salt, then at Walāta (Iyālāten), the first place in the land of the negroes, two months' journey from Sijilmāsa. Ten days after leaving Walāta he came to Zāghari and reached the Niger near the town of Karakhu; thence he went to Malli on the river Sansara and finally reached Timbuktu, after which he continued his journey by water. The people of these lands were Muslims; the tribe of Messūfa was the dominant one. Ibn Battūta admires certain virtues of the negroes but cannot understand the nudity of women among the believers. The town itself does not seem to have impressed him greatly. The Messūfa who lived in it wore the *ūthām* [q. v.], a veil covering the lower half of the face. We know that the Arabs usually gave the name of *al-Mulaththimūn*, the veiled people, to the Berber peoples who led a nomadic life in the desert as far as Nubia (Juynboll and de Goeje, *Descr. du Maghrib*, Leyden 1860, p. 48).

A second dynasty, that of the Maghaharen Tuāreg, held sway in Timbuktu for 40 years. Then came the conqueror Sunni 'Alī whose rule lasted 24 years (873—898 = 1468—92). He made his victorious

entry into Timbuktu in 873 and wrought great havoc there. Local historians judge him very severely, as a wicked libertine and a bloody oppressor who persecuted learned men and laughed at religion. He performed the *ḡalāt* sitting. Nevertheless the Songhai dynasty which descended from this prince was a brilliant one and raised the town to a high degree of prosperity. The most eminent sultan of this dynasty was the askia al-Hādī Muḥammad, a patron of letters and learning. The last, the askia Dīwād, died in 935 (1528). Timbuktu then passed under Moroccan domination. The Pāshā of Marrākush Muḥammad conquered it from the Sultan of Morocco, Muḥay Ahmad in 999 (1590). Moroccan rule lasted from 999—1164 (1590—1750); the exactions of the Pāshās and the raids of the marauding Tuāreg mark the period of decline. The Tuāreg regained the town in 1207 (1792), then the Ful took it in 1243 (1827) and then the Tukulor.

In the ixth (xvth) century Europeans came into contact with Timbuktu. Through Tunis and Tripolitania it had dealings with Italy, especially with Florence. Four great caravan routes led from it, going to Egypt via Kanem and Gao, to Tunis by the Hoggār, to Morocco via Sijilmāsa, Tafilale and Tuat, and to the Sudan by Malli. Two Europeans mention the town at this time and refer to it in terms which suggest that it was a well known place; these were the Florentine Benedetto Dei who visited it in 875 (1470) and says only "here coarse clothes are sold and serges and materials which are made in Lombardy", and a few years later Leo Africanus who is more enthusiastic: "the city", he says "is well provided with shops: it has a temple of stone and lime, built by an excellent architect of Granada and a splendid palace for the king. The latter is very rich in plates and rods of gold some of which weigh 1,300 pounds". The traffic in gold and in salt is specially mentioned at this time.

After the xth (xvth) century Timbuktu became cut off from Europe. It was now only talked of in Europe as a mysterious and inaccessible town, thought to be very beautiful and rich, no doubt on account of its trade in gold, ostrich feathers, ivory, and slaves. The mystery of Timbuktu after various unsuccessful attempts and the assassination of Major Laing was pierced by the French explorer René Caillié in 1244 (1828) who was much disillusioned by it and greatly preferred Djenné. Barth then visited it in 1853.

The town, still modest in appearance, although the native architecture is not without taste, was incorporated in the sphere of French colonisation in 1311 (1893). Communication by motor-car (caterpillar wheels) was opened with Algeria by the Haardt-Audouin-Dubreuil expedition. The town is no longer as large as it was under the old Songhai kings, whose memory the natives still cherish; in those days it was bounded by one of the arms of the Niger, but now the ruins lie 10 miles south of it. Caravans carrying salt still do a busy trade.

As to the works of Sudanese authors, the manuscripts of them have been brought back mainly by Felix Dubois and Colonel Archinard. M. Houdas has published several of them. The most important are the *History of the Sudan* and a *Dictionary of the Farkas*. The best known author of Timbuktu is Ahmad Bāhā, who compiled a biographical dictionary. Taken prisoner when the town was occupied by the Moroccans, he was carried off to

Morocco where he lived till 1006 (1597). He died at Timbuktu in 1036 (1626). The period of the greatest literary activity in Timbuktu extends from the viiith (xvth) to the xiith (xviiith) century. Educated Muslims are still to be found in the country, for example the *kaḍī* who a few years ago (1913) made available some inscriptions throwing light on the history of the Muhammadan penetrations of the Niger country.

Bibliography: for the Sudanese historians, cf. *Publications de l'École des Langues orientales vivantes*, series 4, vols. xii, xiii, xix, xx; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ed. and transl. Deffrémery and Sanguinetti, iv. 377—432; Ch. de La Roncière, *La découverte de l'Afrique au moyen-âge, cartographie et explorations*, 2 vol. with plates, Cairo 1925; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Ch. Schefer, iii. 292; F. Dubois, *Tombouctou la mystérieuse*, 1897; Père Hacquart, *Monographie de Tombouctou*, 1900; Dr. Oskar Lenx, *Timbuktu, Voyage au Maroc, au Sahara et au Soudan*, Fr. transl., Paris, 2 vol., 1886—1887; Lieutenant Préfontan, *Histoire de Tombouctou de sa fondation à l'occupation française*, *Bulletin de l'A.O.F.*, 1922; A. Lamandé and J. Nanteuil, *La Vie de René Caillié*, Paris 1928; G. M. Haardt and L. Audouin-Dubreuil, *Le Raid Citroën*, Paris 1923.

(R. CARRA DE VAUX)

TIMSĀḤ (A.), the crocodile; in Arabic a loanword from the old Egyptian *tm-sḥ*, or Coptic *emsh*, with article *temshāḥ*, also found in Assyrian. *tm-sḥ* (Bezold, *Glossar*, 294) and in Herodotus as *τῆς ὄψιν*. The earliest full description of the crocodile is given in Herodotus (ii. 68) and a good deal that is new is added by Aristotle. Pliny's account is remarkable for his love of the marvellous. The views of the ancients are reflected in the Arabic sources.

According to 'Abd al-Latif crocodiles are most numerous in al-Ṣa'īd and at the cataracts: there they swarm like worms, large and small, in the open water and between the rocks of the rapids. The animals when they crawl out of the egg are no bigger than lizards but soon become as much as 10 ells long. They have 60 teeth, lay 60 eggs, live 60 years etc., as Aristotle already told us. In the region of the stomach they have a swelling, which contains a fluid that smells of musk. — The fullest description of the crocodile is that of Kazwini, who is followed in essentials by Dimashki and Damiri. The crocodile has wide jaws, 20 teeth in the upper and 40 in the lower and between them sometimes also a small square tooth; they all fit into one another. Its head is 2 ells long, its back 8, its tail 6; its back is like that of the tortoise. The animal cannot bend or turn because it has not flexible vertebrae. It does not move its lower but its upper jaw, a long disputed but accurate observation. The crocodile is a frightful animal which devours men and sheep and also kills horses and camels. When it sees its prey on the bank, it swims cautiously below the water up to it and then darts out suddenly. Worms are generated in the flesh which remains hanging between its teeth and these are picked out by the bird called *kaṭkāt*, while the crocodile opens its jaws. This bird also warns the reptile of the approach of the hunter. When the *kaṭkāt* has done its work, the crocodile closes its jaws; it would eat up the bird, if the latter did not have a bone as sharp as a needle on its

head. The crocodile is pricked by this, opens its mouth again and lets the bird fly away. From this we get the proverbial saying *idjā' al-timsāḥ* "crocodile gratitude". — Copulation takes place on land, the male has however first to turn the female on her back and afterwards turn her back again as she cannot do it herself and would fall a helpless prey to the hunter. The eggs are laid on land; any that fall in water perish or produce a *sukankūr*, not a crocodile. Crocodiles are found in the Indus as well as the Nile, but there they are smaller. The uses of parts of the crocodile in medicine are numerous.

Bibliography: Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyklopädie*, xl. 1947—1956; Keller, *Antike Tierwelt*, ii. 260—270; 'Abdallatif, *Relation de l'Égypte*, transl. de Sacy, 1810, p. 141; Kazwini, *Ma'āthir al-Maḥallāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 131 and 188; Dimashki, *Nuḥat al-Dahr*, ed. Mehren, p. 99; Damiri, *Hayāt al-Hayawān*, transl. A. S. G. Jayakar, i. 356—358; I. Löw, *Aramäische Lurchenamen*, *Judaica, Festschr. f. Cohen*, 1912, p. 341. — Photographs from nature from the upper Nile in Bengt Herg, *Mit den Zugvögeln nach Afrika*, Berlin 1925. (J. RUSKA)

TIMSĀḤ (Lake), one of the series of swamps and lagoons in the Eastern Delta through which the Suez Canal passes on its way from Port Sa'īd south to Suez. The Canal enters the Lake at the 80th kilometre. On the northern shore lies the town of Imā'iliya [q. v.], an exclusively French residential quarter. The Lake is about 6 sq. miles in area, although before the construction of the Canal it was brackish and reedy. Now it is very picturesque with its bright blue waters and the background of desert hills. The name means Crocodile Lake [cf. the preceding art.], being once upon a time the haunt of that creature. Archaeologists are undecided as to the part it played in historic times. Wallis Budge (*Hist. of Egypt*, v. 131 sq.) supposes that it was somewhere in its neighbourhood that the Israelites crossed during their flight from Egypt. He identifies it with the *Ḥay* or Sea of Reeds mentioned in Exodus, xiii. 18.

Bibliography: 'Alī Muḥarrak, *Khatā'at al-Diḥā*, viii. 46; S. W. Baker, *Imailia*, i. 190; Baedeker, *Egypt*, index. (J. WALKER)

TIMUR LANG (Tamerlane), the conqueror of Asia, born near Kash in Transoxiana on the 25th Sh'abān of the year of the Mouse, 736 A. H. (8th April 1336), the son of Amīr Tārāghāi (or Turghāi), governor of Kash and its district before Hājīdī Barlas, and Takina Khātūn. His family claimed descent from Čingis Khān and his epitaph gives the following genealogy: Tīmānāl, Kačūlāl, Iramēt Barula, Karāčār Nūyān, Hāngīr, Burkel, Tārāghāi, Timūr. A rabid detractor of Timūr, Ibn 'Arabshāh, says that he was the son of a shepherd and lived at first by brigandage and the epithet of Lang (lame) was given him as a result of a wound he received while stealing sheep. Timūr was also called Kūrkān, the "son-in-law of the Khān", Amīr, "the Emir", al-Amīr al-Kabīr, "the Great Emir", Ṣāhib Kirān, "lord of the fortunate conjunction of planets". In 790 (1388) he definitely took the title of sūlṭān and after his death was given that of Djaunāt Makūn, "dweller in Paradise".

While still quite young, Timūr distinguished himself by his intelligence, forethought and bravery. At first in the service of the local ruler, the amīr

Kāghān, he accompanied Hājjī Barīs fleeing before the invasion of Tughlāk Timūr Khān but soon returned to plead the cause of his oppressed countrymen before the conquerors. He did this with such eloquence and courage that the invaders, eager to win over such an opponent, gave him the governorship of his native country. The next year (762 = 1361), Tughlāk Timūr organising his conquests, made his son Ilyās governor of Samarqand and appointed Timūr his vizier; the latter however, disgusted with the coarseness of those around him, soon went to rejoin his brother-in-law Andr Hussin, who was preparing for resistance against the invasion.

Tughlāk Timūr and Ilyās, defeated in their turn, perished on the battlefield. Turning against his ally, Andr Hussin, Timūr made war on him, had him assassinated after a pretended reconciliation and becoming master of Balkh ascended the throne on Ramaḍān 12, 771 (April 10, 1370), assuming the titles of successor of Čaghatāi and descendant of Čingiz. His reign however only really begins with the conquest of Džata and Khwārizm, which took over ten years of fighting (771-782 = 1369-1380) and nine expeditions: five to the first and four to the latter country. Becoming the official protector of Islām, Timūr favoured the priests and the new Naqshbandiyya order and on his campaigns was accompanied by a long retinue of holy and learned men, men of letters and artists.

On the partition of the Kipčāk in 777 (1375) Timūr had taken the part of Toktāmish [q. v.], Khān of the Crimea, who had been defeated by Urūs, ruler of the White Horde. In 782 (1380-1381) he sent him against the Russians; Moscow was taken and sacked. Four years later Toktāmish rebelled against his benefactor; at first victorious, then defeated, he wanted to continue the struggle although Timūr offered to pardon him. In 790 (1388) he invaded Transoxiana, defeated Umar Shaikh, son of Timūr, with his generals and threatened Samarqand. Timūr had to go to restore the situation. There was another invasion in 793 (1390-1391); this time Umar Shaikh had his revenge and the rebel Khān fled into Georgia, abandoning his lands, to resume the offensive four years later.

Undertaken in 782 (1380-1381), the conquest of Persia began with the invasion of Khormān, which submitted. On the return of an expedition against the pagan Mongols in 784 (1383), Gurgān, Māzandarān and Seistān were conquered in rapid succession; the local rulers having submitted, retained a nominal authority. In the following year the rebellion of Herāt ended in the suppression of the Kurt dynasty. In 786 (1384-1385) Wālī, king of Māzandarān, was dispossessed. The years 788-789 (1386-1387) were occupied with the conquest of Fārs, the Irāk, Luristān and Ādharbāidjān. Sultān Ahmad Džalālir was defeated and put to flight. Timūr spent a winter in Tahriz and imposed a heavy fine on Isfahān which having rebelled was punished by the massacre of 70,000 inhabitants. Towers were built of their skulls. Timūr is said to have had a lively disputation with Hāfiẓ in Shirāz, but the truth of this story is not certain.

On the 10th Ramaḍān 795 (July 31, 1392) Timūr set out on what is known as the "five years' war"; the main episodes of it were the massacre of the heretics in the Caspian provinces, the destruction of the Muzaffarid dynasty of Fārs (795 = 1393)

and the Mesopotamian campaign. Ahmad Džalālir after seeking to conciliate his rival fled into Syria, where he became a vassal of the Sultān of Egypt, al-Malik al-Zāhir Barqūk. The latter having refused the extradition of his protégé, Timūr invaded Asia Minor took and sacked Edessa, Takrit, where he erected a pyramid of skulls, Mārdin and Amid. Umar Shaikh was killed in the course of the fighting. Forced to defend himself against a new attack by Toktāmish, Timūr invaded the Kipčāk (797 = 1395), occupied Moscow for over a year, undertook a campaign into Georgia and suppressed several risings in Persia.

According to Sharaf al-Dīn, Timūr thought the Muslim rulers of India much too tolerant; they ought, he thought, to have imposed Islām on their subjects. In Rajab 800 (March-April 1398) therefore, he set out for India, crossed the Indus on the 12th Ramaḍān 801 (Sept. 24, 1398) and on the 7th Rabi' II (Dec. 17) took Delhi. In spite of the admiration with which this city inspired him, he plundered and destroyed it, massacring 80,000 of its inhabitants. The defeated Sultān Mahmūd III had retired across the Ganges. Timūr who had just divided his kingdom among his officers had to retire hurriedly to face new troubles. A rebellion had just broken out in Syria and Ahmad Džalālir, once again lord of Baghdad, had invaded Ādharbāidjān, the governor of which, Mīrānshāh son of Timūr, had compromised everything by his excesses. The rivalry between Timūr and Bayazid I was beginning and the new Sultān of Egypt, Faraj, had refused to release a relative of Timūr's; the envoys sent to negotiate had been executed by the governor of Damascus.

Having taken the necessary measures against Mīrānshāh, Timūr ravaged Georgia and set out for Asia Minor in Muharram 803 (Aug. 1400). At Sivas the Muslim garrison was spared but 4,000 Christian soldiers were buried alive. Malatya fell. Timūr entered Syria, took Aleppo and after demanding of the "ulamā" which, his men or the enemy's, killed in fight would earn the title of martyr, handed over the town to be plundered for three days. Hamā, Hama and Ba'albek fell in their turn; Sultān Faraj was defeated. Damascus capitulated and Timūr sacked it, reduced its inhabitants to slavery and extorted from the "ulamā" a *fatwā* approving his conduct. On the 27th Dhu 'l-Kāda 803 (July 10, 1401), he took Baghdad by surprise and wrought a great massacre there to avenge his officers killed in the siege, 20,000 inhabitants, or according to Ibn 'Arabshāh, 40,000 are said to have perished. Abū Bakr, son of Timūr, was given the task of defending the region against the attacks of Kara Yūsuf.

Bayazid who had sought investiture from the 'Abbāsids in Egypt and attacked the Byzantine emperor, a friend of Timūr's, next molested his allies, the princes of Asia Minor. On Timūr's returning from a new expedition into Georgia, war broke out between the two rivals and their fate was decided at the battle of Ancyra, actually fought at Çobukabad, N.E. of Angora on the 19th Dhu 'l-Hijja 804 (July 21, 1402). Bayazid who had disposed his forces badly was defeated after a desperate struggle in spite of the valour of his troops. Impeded in his flight by the fall of his horse, he fell into the hands of the victor who treated him with respect and showed real regret when Bayazid died at Ak Shehir on the

14th Shāhān 805 (March 14, 1403). Owing its origin to a misunderstanding of a Persian verse, the legend that he ended his days in an iron cage is quite fictitious.

The captures of Bursa and Smyrna were marked by new atrocities. During his sojourn in Asia Minor, Timūr lost his grandson and heir Muhammad Sulṭān, and received embassies from the Sultān of Egypt, who recognised his authority, and from the Byzantine emperor John VIII. Georgia having become tributary, Timūr returned to Samarkand in 807 (1404) where he received a number of ambassadors, to one of whom, Ruy González de Clavijo sent by Henry III of Castile, we owe a valuable account of the court of Samarkand and the festivities which took place there on the occasion of the marriages of several of the grandsons of Timūr.

A new campaign was planned, this time against China, of which Timūr was not content to remain simply suzerain. The Kuriltai assembled at Samarkand acclaimed the declaration of war. On the 23rd Jumādā I, 807 (Dec. 27, 1404) he began the campaign, crossing the Oxus on the ice. At Otrār he granted Toktamish the pardon which he sought of him. On the 10th Shāhān 807 (Jan. 12, 1404) he fell ill. Feeling his end near, he made all his dispositions and died on the 17th (19th) January aged 71, having reigned 36 years. His body in a coffin of ebony was brought two months later to Samarkand, where his funeral was celebrated, and the magnificent monument, the Gūr-i-Mir, in which he is buried, can still be seen.

Timūr had married two Chinese princesses whom Ibn 'Arabshāh calls the Great Queen, *al-Malikha al-Kubrā*, and the Little Queen, *al-Malikha al-Sughrā*, and also Tāmān, daughter of the amir Mūsā, governor of Nakhshab and Djalān, a woman of rare beauty whom he had executed for some imaginary fault. He had also a large number of concubines. His children were Ghiyāth al-Dīn Djahāngīr (d. 779 = 1377—1378), Mu'izz al-Dīn 'Umar Shāhkh, killed in Syria, Djālāl al-Dīn Gurgha, called Mirānshāh, Shāhrukh whom circumstances made his heir, and one daughter Sultāna Bakht, who married Sulaimān Shāh. Realising that his rule could not last for ever and desirous to avoid civil wars, he had divided his empire among his sons and grandsons giving them equal parts. But Muhammad Sulṭān, son of Ghiyāth al-Dīn, and after his death Pir Muhammad Djahāngīr, his brother, were to have precedence.

Grave and serious, Timūr did not love displays of gaiety and demanded absolute frankness in speaking to him even though it should pain him. Clavijo speaks highly of his justice and he certainly showed himself merciless to criminals. Gifted with a very fine memory but having little education himself, he encouraged and rewarded men of genius. It was in his reign that the art called "Timūrid" had its origins. He enriched Samarkand with magnificent buildings and made it an international market which, in his lifetime at least, supplanted Tabriz and Baghdad and he transplanted thither the artists and craftsmen from the towns he conquered. He did everything possible to encourage commerce and industry and by his conquests he opened up new routes by land for the trade between India and Eastern Persia. Throughout his empire he carried through great public works, organised the administration and the army on rational bases and worked with all his might for the spread of Islām.

In physique, Timūr was of middle height, had a large head and a high complexion. His hair had become white at an early age. Two wounds in the foot and the hand had made him somewhat deformed. Numerous portraits of him exist, by Persian or Indian artists, but they are for the most part purely imaginary (cf. Vámbéry, *Geich. Bechara's*, i. 212—213).

Bibliography: To Timūr are attributed *Memoirs (Mafrūzāt)* and *Institutes (Tashkīlāt)* but their authenticity is very doubtful. He himself, however, had two official histories of his career written: one, the *Tārīkh-i Khānī*, written in Turki verse in Uighur characters, is now lost and the other the *Zafar-nāma* of Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmi, still unpublished, survives in a unique manuscript in the British Museum (Add. 23,980): a recension of the latter work by Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī is the best known in Europe of his histories. The *Adab-i al-Maḥdūr fī Nawā'ib-i Timūr* of Ibn 'Arabshāh is a bitter satire but it nevertheless contains a just appreciation of the character of the conqueror and valuable details about Samarkand. *Mirkh'and (Kawfa*, Bk. vi.) and especially *Kh'wandamīr (Habīb al-Siyar)* are with 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarkandī (*Maḥlā' al-Salātin*) the most valuable of the later historians. In Books vii. and viii. of his *Geich. 2. Osm. Reicher*, von Hammer has given the substance of contemporary Ottoman and Byzantine chroniclers. We may also mention the *Munshi'āt* of Feridūn Bey, a valuable collection of documents. Among European travellers, we may mention Clavijo, Schiltberger and Bouccault.

For further details of the sources we refer the reader to the valuable works by E. Blochet, *Introduction à l'Histoire des Mongols*, and E. G. Browne, *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, p. 180—185, and to the studies by L. Zimine, *Les détails de la mort de Timūr (Protocoles et communications de la Société archéologique du Turkestan, xviiith year)* and *Les exploits d'Emirāddé 'Omar Chāhkh (R. M. M., 1914, xxviii. 244—245)*. Down to the sixteenth century European historians hardly used anything but Petis de la Croix's translation of Sharaf al-Dīn. D'Herbelot, Gibbon and De Guignes (*Hist. des Huns*, book xx.) are the most important earlier European writers. Among modern writers we may mention Vámbéry, *Geich. Bechara's*, chap. x.—xi.; Skrine and Ross, *The Heart of Asia*; Sykes, *History of Persia*, chap. lix.; E. G. Browne, *op. cit.*, book ii.; Casplicka, *The Turks in Central Asia*, and Grousset, *Histoire de l'Asie*, vol. ii. (L. BOUVAT)

TIMÜRIDS This term, sometime used to include all the descendants of Timūr, means more especially the princes of his family who ruled in Persia and Central Asia in the xvth century; it is in the latter sense that it forms the subject of this article.

The history of the Timūrids may be divided into two quite distinct periods (cf. Browne, *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, p. 380). In the first the empire, divided between the sons and grandsons of the conqueror, was soon reduced to two great kingdoms—in the west that of Mirānshāh and his sons Abū Bakr and Muhammad 'Umar—in the east that of Shāhrukh which, at first limited to Khurāsān, to which Transoxiana was next added in a few

years, comprised almost the whole of the lands that had been ruled by Timūr. It was a brilliant and comparatively happy period. Of a peace-loving disposition in spite of his success in war Shāhrukh endeavoured to repair the damage done by his father and favoured as far as he could men of intellect. In the second period from the death of Shāhrukh to the battle of Shūrūr which by securing the unity of Persia dealt the last blow to Timūrid domination, the empire was steadily breaking to pieces. Each prince wanted to have his own kingdom, thus facilitating the advance of the enemies who from all sides were threatening the enfeebled state. But by a bizarre contrast the renaissance which had marked the reign of Shāhrukh continued under his successors to the end of their rule in all its splendour. The whole xvth century is the golden age of letters, art, and scholarship. The court of Husain Bāikara, the second last Timūrid, was not inferior to that of Shāhrukh.

The amirs believing that by concealing the death of Timūr they could successfully carry out the expedition to China, decided to take as ruler for the duration of the campaign prince Khalil who was to be assisted by a council of regency and at the end of the expedition would surrender the power to Pir Muhammad Djihāngīr, as Timūr had desired. War broke out between the two claimants and Pir Muhammad twice defeated submitted to the generosity of Khalil who left him his lands. Six months later the vizier Pir 'Alī Tār had Pir Muhammad assassinated and tried to seize the throne himself; this cost him his life (808 = 1406). Abandoned by his troops, dethroned by his amirs who reproached him with his extravagance, Khalil was compensated with the governorship of the 'Irāk (809 = 1406-1407) in which he ended his days.

Mirānshāh reigned, with his son Abū Bakr, and under the authority, imposed by Timūr, of his youngest son Muhammad 'Umar over a kingdom which included the 'Irāk, Adharbāidjān, Mughān, Shirwān and Georgia. A quarrel broke out between the two brothers and the amir Djihāngīsh tried to deprive them of their power which cost him his life. Mirānshāh having made a hostile demonstration against Shāhrukh had to submit (808 = 1405-1406). In 810 (1408) he was killed in battle with Kara Yūsuf. His sons perished about the same time.

Shāhrukh on the death of Timūr was ruler only of Khurāsān; he conquered Mazarandār in 809 (1406) and Sistān in the next year, then extended his authority over Transoxiana to which he went in 811 (1409) to take possession of Samarkand, to organise the country, rebuild Merv and restore the old course of the Murghāb; he further extended his power to Fārs (817 = 1414-1415), Kirmān (819 = 1416-1417) and Adharbāidjān to which he had gone to attack his redoubtable rival Kara Yūsuf; the latter having died suddenly, the enemy army dispersed (822 = 1419) but the fighting continued with the successors of Kara Yūsuf and the rival dynasty of the White Sheep. In the end, Shāhrukh held all the lands of Timūr except Syria and 'Arabistān. Many risings broke out in his reign but all were put down. Among them were those led by the amir Khudāidād and Shāh Baka' al-Dīn (812 = 1409-1410), Bāikara Mirzā at Shirās (818 = 1415-1416), Iskandar and Djihāngīsh (832 = 1429).

In 820 (1417-1418) Shāhrukh had put at the head of the government his son Bāisonghor, made all who had been false to their trust disgorge their ill-gotten gains. He survived all his sons except Ulugh Beg and died in Fishāward (Bāy) on the 25th Dhu 'l-Hijja 850 (March 12, 1447) leaving the memory of a generous and peace-loving prince, brave and free from ambition. To him we owe amongst other useful works the opening of a large library in Herāt. With China, of which he was suzerain, he was always on good terms and he asserted his nominal suzerainty over India. On the other hand, his relations with the Ottomans and with Egypt were always difficult.

After his death the decline began, rapid and irremediable. Ulugh Beg, the 'astronomer-king' (850-852 = 1447-1449), was a scholar and man of letters, more fitted to be a student than a ruler and incapable of facing the difficulties which assailed him. Conquered by his nephew 'Alī al-Dawla he agreed to all his demands in order to obtain the release of his son 'Abd al-Latif. But the conqueror failed to fulfil his promises. The Özbeks took and sacked Herāt and Samarkand; 'Abd al-Latif rebelled, seized his father, who had been several times defeated, put him to death after going through the farce of a trial but was himself assassinated after reigning six months (853-854 = 1449-1450). 'Abd Allāh Mirzā, grandson of Shāhrukh, ascended the throne in spite of the opposition of Abū Sa'īd who sought the support of the Özbeks. 'Abd Allāh was defeated and slain (853-854 = 1450-1451). Bāber Mirzā, a dissipated and drunken prince, who had vainly sworn to reform himself, lost the 'Irāk, Fārs and Kirmān, blinded 'Alī al-Dawla, failed against Abū Sa'īd and died of his excesses (855-861 = 1452-1457).

Very different was the reign of Abū Sa'īd, the most powerful monarch of his time. A bitter opponent of 'Abd Allāh Mirzā he had at his death taken possession of Samarkand; the disappearance of Bāber Mirzā and his further conquests gave him Transoxiana, Badakhshān, Kābul and Kandahār, with the border districts of India, the 'Irāk and Khurāsān, which he completely conquered in 863 (1458-1459). He was ambitious but the historians agree that he had fine qualities: dignity, discretion, frankness, energy and remarkable political ability. After fighting the Mongols he made an alliance with them, returning to the old traditions of his family. Declaring war on Uzun Hasan whose attempts at a reconciliation he repulsed, he marched into the Kara Būgh where his army starving deserted him. He fell into the hands of the enemy and Uzun Hasan's officers, in spite of their master's opposition, demanded his death (855-872 = 1452-1469).

Sultān Mahmūd, who began by having the four sons of his predecessors assassinated, only reigned six months, detested and obnoxious. His tyranny, arbitrariness and depravity surpassed anything previously known. He was assassinated and a rebellion was just about to break out when his death which had been concealed by the astute vizier Khusrū Shāh (900-901 = 1494-1495) became known. He left several sons. Sultān Ma'ūd who reigned four years had to fight for his throne with his brothers Bāisonghor and 'Alī who, thanks to the intrigue of Khusrū Shāh, failed miserably (901-905 = 1495-1499).

Sultān Ahmad, son and successor of Abū

Sa'id, had a number of good qualities: he was loyal, frank, courteous and brave; but having no power he was only a puppet in the hands of his entourage especially the clergy; and except for an attack by 'Umar Shaikh and an expedition against Häber, the future conqueror of India, his reign was peaceful. Magnificent buildings were erected in Samarkand at this time and scholars and men of letters flocked to his court (874-899 = 1469-1494).

'Umar Shaikh, fourth son of Abū Sa'id, had made for himself a little kingdom in Farghāna of which the capital was Akhsi. Brave and fond of fighting, although his army was only 4,000 men, he made several attempts to take Samarkand. His contemporaries praise his justice, his generosity and lovable disposition. Although given to wine and gaming, he was very devout. A son-in-law of the sovereign of the Čaghatāi, he had to cede to his father-in-law Yūnis Khān lands which he could not keep and died after an accident after a short reign on the 4th Ramaḍān 899 (8th June 1494) aged only 39. His son Zāhir al-Dīn Häber who succeeded him at the age of 12 after various successful expeditions in one of which he took Samarkand, was dispossessed by Shaibāni in 906 (1500). He went to India where he founded a great empire.

Sultān Husain Bāikara reigned at Herāt for 37 years. Literary and artistic, a brave and successful soldier, he conquered Khurāsān, Tukharistān, Kandahār, Sistān and Mēzandarān, victorious over all his rivals. But the eight or nine years of his reign were troubled. A martyr to rheumatism, threatened by the Ōzbeks, he had to put down rebellions by his sons and finally died on his way to fight Shaibāni. At first an ascetic and pious Muslim, he latterly gave himself up to debauchery, an example which his sons and subjects followed. The literary circle at Husain Bāikara's court is famous. In it besides the famous vizier Mir 'Alī Shīr, the creator of Turkī literature, were poets like Djāmī, historians like Mirkhwānd and Khwāndamīr, painters like Bahādd and Shāh Mujaḥḥar. The palaces of Herāt rivalled those of Samarkand (873-911 = 1469-1506). The son and successor of Sultān Husain Bāikara, Badī' al-Zamān, was the last Timurid of Persia. Defeated by Shaibāni, a guest of Shāh Ismā'il and finally a prisoner of Sultān Salīm, he died at Constantinople in 923 (1517) leaving a son Muḥammad al-Zamān, who went to try his fortunes in India, where he died in 946 (1539) after vainly trying to become king of Guḡjārāt with Portuguese help.

The coming of Shāh Ismā'il, the triumph of the Shī'a and the Persian unity which was the result, the realisation of national unity in China and in Russia in the same period, the foundation by the Shaibānids of a great empire in Transoxiana deprived the descendants of Timur of all hope of domination except in India which was passing into the hands of one of them.

The intellectual revival which characterizes the 15th (xvth) century is in part the work of the Timurid sovereigns and princes many of whom were themselves poets, artists and scholars, and attracted to their courts men of genius. Among the former were Shāhrukh, who promoted historical studies, Ulugh Beg, astronomer, poet and theologian, Husain Bāikara, artist and poet, and Häber, who left a number of valuable works in addition to his memoirs, and among the latter, Bāisonghor, son of Shāhrukh, a calligrapher of the first rank to

whom the art of the book owed a great deal. Djāmī is at this period the greatest name in Persian literature which is also represented by the mystic poets, Saiyid Ni'matallāh Kirwānī and Kāsim al-Anwār; by Ḥafīẓ and Kātibī, authors of *maṭnawīs*; Husain Wa'iz Kāshifī, a moralist and author of apoloques; the historians Mirkhwānd and Khwāndamīr, 'Abd al-Razzāk Samarkandī, Ḥafiz Abru, the latter also a geographer. Besides Djāmī, the most notable theologians were Ahmad Taftāzānī and the traditionalist Mir Djāmāl al-Dīn Muḥaddas. Jurists, mathematicians, physicians etc. were also numerous.

Of the Turkish poets of the time, Mir 'Alī Shīr is almost the only one known; he had however some notable disciples, like Shaikhum Beg Suhaili and Kamāl al-Dīn Gazargāhī.

In the 15th (xvth) century Persian art attained its perfection. The schools of painting of Samarkand, Bukhārā and Herāt were at their best. We have already mentioned what Bāisonghor did for the book. Architecture, inspired alike by the Chinese pagoda and the Mongol tent is represented by monuments like the Gūr-i-Mīr, the mosques of Bibi Khānum, Ulugh Beg and Shāh Ziada not to mention those of Samarkand. Owing to the presence of the colonies of artists and artisans installed *nilens volens* in Samarkand and Aḡharbādījān by Timur, decorative arts, ceramics in particular, made remarkable progress. Music also was brilliantly represented.

Bibliography: For the whole period Mirkhwānd and especially Khwāndamīr are very useful; 'Abd al-Razzāk Samarkandī whose *Maṭla'*, unfortunately still unedited, was largely used by Quatremère (*Mémoire historique sur le règne du sultan Shah-rokh*, *J. A.*, 1836, and *Notice de l'ouvrage persan... formant la première partie de vol. xiv. of the N.E.*); Mu'tu al-Dīn Isfārī, author of a valuable chronicle of Herāt (extracts given by Barbier de Meynard in the *J. A.*, 1860-1862). For the early years, Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, Ibn 'Arabshāh, Faḥrī, author of a *Muḥimāl* unpublished and incomplete. For the last years the memoirs of Häber are most valuable, checked and supplemented by the *Tārīkh-i Roshdī* of Mirzā Haidar Dughlāt, and the *Shāibāni-Nāma* of Muḥammad Šālih. Feridūn Bey and Minedjīm Bāshī should be consulted for the relations with the Ottomans. For further details the reader may be referred to the works of E. Blochet and E. G. Browne quoted under TIMUR LANG; L. Bouvat, *Essai sur la civilisation timouride*, *J. A.*, ccviii., 1926, p. 193-299; do., *L'Empire mongol (2^e phase)*, vol. viii./iii. of the *Histoire du monde*, publ. under the direction of A. E. Cavaignac (Paris 1927).

On the literary renaissance, cf. the *Tugh-kira* of Dawlatshāh and the works of Mir 'Alī Shīr, his *Madjallī al-Naf'is* in particular (extract in Belin, *J. A.*, 1861, xviii. and 1866, vii., viii.).

The European travellers who have given us descriptions of the Timurid kingdom are: Clavijo and Pero Tafar, Spaniards; Ambrogio Contarini, Nicolo' Conti, Hieronymo di San Stefano and Caterino Zeno, Italians; Boucault, French; Nikitine, Russian; Schiltberger, German. The principal European historians are D'Herbelot, De Guignes, Gibbon, von Hammer and Vámbéry, *Geich. Bochara's*, chap. xii.; Browne, *op. cit.*, book iii.; Skrine and Denison

Ross, *The Heart of Asia*; Sykes, *Hist. of Persia*, chap. 15.—1st.; Canpicke, *The Turks of Central Asia*; Grousset, *Histoire de l'Asie*, vol. II. The Bibliography in vol. III. of the *Archives Marwanides* (see index, p. 94—95) gives a list of works on Timurid art down to 1905; other important works since published include: Cl. Huart, *Les calligraphes et les miniaturistes de l'Orient musulman*, Paris 1908; E. Blochet, *Les Peintures de manuscrits arabes, persans et turcs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1911; F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey*, London 1912; T. W. Arnold and A. Grohmann, *The Islamic Book*, London 1929; Arneftag Beg Sakisani, *La miniature persane du XIII^e au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris 1929, and Anzoda K. Coomaraswamy, *Les miniatures orientales de la Collection Goloubew au Museum of Fine Arts de Boston*, Paris 1929.

(L. BOUVAT)

TIMUR-TASH, an Ortoqid, son of Nadim al-Din Ilghazi of the line of Mardin. Al-Malik al-'Alim al-'Adil Husam al-Din Timur-Tash was born in 498 (1104) and by the age of 12 (in 512) his father had left him in Aleppo as his temporary deputy. In 515, Timur-Tash was sent to the Saldjuk Sultan Mahmud and as a result of this mission Maiyafarihin [q. v.] was added to the territory of the Ortoqids. After the death of Ilghazi, his lands were divided up. Timur-Tash received Mardin, his brother Sulaiman, Maiyafarihin and his cousin Sulaiman b. 'Abd al-Djabbar, Aleppo. In 518, Balak b. Bahrām b. Ortoq of Aleppo was killed while besieging Manbij (which belonged to the amir al-Hassan of Ba'albek). Timur-Tash, who was in camp at Balak, raided the country as far as Aleppo which he seized on the 20th Rabi' I 518. He left his lieutenant there, for Syria was full of fighting and he was a man who liked peace (Ibn al-Athir, x. 436). As a result of the intrigues of the Shi' Dubais (of the Maryaddid dynasty) the Franks besieged Aleppo. The inhabitants, seeing the weakness (*al-wahn wa 'l-'adja*) of their master appealed to Ak-Sunkur al-Bursuki of Mawsil, whom they admitted into the citadel.

Timur-Tash suffered a series of reverses immediately after the accession to power of 'Imad al-Din Zangi (who succeeded Bursuki in Mawsil in 521). Zangi, eager to extend his possessions, marched on Nisibin which belonged to Mardin; Timur-Tash sought the help of his cousin of Hısn-Kaifa, Dawud b. Sulman, but Zangi by a stratagem obtained the surrender of Nisibin before the troops of the two cousins could arrive.

In 524 on his way back from Syria, Zangi besieged Sardji (between Mardin and Nisibin; cf. Kayi Serikhen [?] 8 miles W. of Nisibin). Timur-Tash, Dawud and the lord of Diyarbakr collected 20,000 Turkomen but were defeated. Failing to take Hısn-Kaifa, Zangi turned back to take the fortress of Dara.

In spite of these reverses we find Timur-Tash in 528 joining Zangi in the siege of Amid (Diyarbakr). The lord of this fortress summoned Dawud to his assistance but the latter was defeated. Zangi and Timur-Tash laid waste the district of Amid but the fortress held out. Zangi recompensed himself by taking Sawr which belonged to Diyarbakr [cf. MAHDİ: the *kaifa* of Sawr].

In 518 Timur-Tash was to succeed his cousin Sulaiman at Maiyafarihin. His only success seems

to have been the taking of Hattakh (or 'Attakh; *Sharaf-nama*, I. 245; 'Atāk) to the north of Maiyafarihin [q. v.] which he took in 532 from the last son of the Marwanides [q. v.].

Timur-Tash and Dawud took advantage of the death of Zangi in 541 to recover their former possessions which had been annexed by the lord of Mawsil. The latter's successor however, Saif al-Din b. Zangi, not only regained them but laid siege to Mardin and laid the country round it waste. The peace-loving Timur-Tash confined himself to regretting the days of Zangi which now seemed to him like days of rejoicing (*al-ṣamha la-ḥad khat al-ḡadā*). He hastened to make peace with Saif al-Din and promised him his daughter. Saif al-Din died however in 544 and the young princess became the wife of his successor Kaṭib al-Din. Timur-Tash 'lord of Mardin and of Maiyafarihin' died in 547 (1152) aged about 48 after a reign of 30 years. The same date is given by Abu l-Faraj (ed. Pococke, p. 391) and by Abu l-Fida', while the sources used by 'Ali Emiri (an *Umm al-'Ibar* of 'Abd al-Salam Efendi, mufti of Mardin [d. in 1259 = 1843] and Ferdi) give 548. Timur-Tash built the Hisamiya madrasa of Mardin and the cathedral-mosque opposite it. The coins of Timur-Tash described by Ghali Edhem, *Catal. des Monnaies Turcomanes*, Constantinople 1894, p. 27 and by 'Ali Amiri, *op. cit.*, p. 18, bear neither date nor mint. 'Ali Amiri interprets the symbol found upon them as the *tamga* of the Turkish tribe of Kayi.

Bibliography: cf. the articles ORTOQIDS and MARDIN; Ibn al-Athir, x. 373, 418, 426, 436, 440, 455, 526; II. 6, 34, 81, 92, 115; Abu l-Fida', *Annals musulmans*, ed. Reiske; Kaṭib-Ferdi, *Mardin Mulaḥ-i Urfuḳiye Tarih-i* (944 [1537], a quite unimportant list of reigns but supplied with valuable notes by the editor 'Ali Amiri), Stambul 1331. (V. MINORSKY)

TIMURTASH, an Ottoman general and vizier, son of the Kara 'Ali Beg, who in the first year of the reign of Urghun took the fortress of Hercke on the Gulf of Nicomedia and displayed particular bravery at the siege of Aidos, when he removed with his own hand an arrow that had pierced his eye. Of the origin of the family very little is known, as is also the case with the other noble families of the early Ottoman empire, viz. the Candaris [cf. ÇANDARLI], the Ewrenos [q. v.], and the Mikhil-oglu [q. v.]. Timurtash Pasha is mentioned for the first time, when he continued the Sultan's conquests along the Tundja by Murad I's order with the help of Lala Shahn Pasha. In 767 (1365) he took Venidje Kışlaghaḥ (cf. Hıdjidi Khalifa, *Rumeli and Bosna*, p. 49 sq. where the date is given as 768) and Vānboll (*ibid.*, p. 53 sq. with the same date) in the plain of the Tundja. The sources tell us nothing of his activities during the next decade. When Lala Shahn died towards the end of the Serbo-Bulgar War (777 = 1375), Timurtash succeeded him as Begler-beg of Rum-eli. In this capacity he distinguished himself in the first place by completing the organisation of the army, by founding the system of *fuds* of the sipahis [see TIMAR] and creating the *voluḡ* for the lowest ranks in the army, which consisted mainly of Bulgarian Christians who were chiefly used as drivers (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, I. 181 sq.). It appears that it was at Timurtash's instigation that the felt caps

(usually made in Biledjik) since the time of Urkhan worn generally, were limited to the army and that red was decided on as the colour for the headresses of the begs and officers (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 89 sq.). Timürtäsh Pasha again came into prominence when he took the fortress of Monastir (the modern Bitolj), Prilep and Ihtip (the modern Štip) (the date given is 784 = 1382; cf. Hüdjdj Khalifa, *Rumeli und Bosna*, p. 97, 96 and 92 and also his *Tağwim al-Tawārikh*, Stambul 1146, p. 97 where the same date is given, but is difficult to reconcile with the reputed letter of Murād I to his son Bayazid I given by Feridūn, *Munsha'at al-Salāṭin* 2, i. 107, dated Adrianople first tenth of Rabi' I, 787 = middle of April 1385; cf. thereon J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 191 sq. where the extracts are given from the document). Until the chronology of the early Ottoman period is finally settled, it may be regarded as certain that Timürtäsh crossed the Wardar, invaded the south of modern Serbia and conquered there three strongholds for the Sultān. Kāfil-eli, viz. Aetolia and Acarnania, the land of the "King of the Epirotians" Carlo II Tocco (d. July 1429), was also hard pressed by him on this occasion. In 1385 Timürtäsh is said to have undertaken a campaign against the Arta (not far from the Ionian Sea), who were showing separatist tendencies (cf. *Epirotica*, ed. J. Bekker (Bonn 1849), p. 229, and Jorga, *G. O. R.*, i. 273) so that he was sometimes here, sometimes there in Thessaly and in Epirus, districts in which Turakhān Beg [q. v.] also fought with success. In 788 (1386) Turakhān Beg suddenly appeared in Anatolia. In the battle which Murād fought in the plain of Konya against his most dangerous opponent, 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī of Karamān, he commanded the rearguard of the Ottoman army and it was his intervention that put the ruler of Karamān to flight and thus decided the battle in favour of the Ottomans. As a reward he was given the greater part of the plunder and the title of vizier i. e. a Pasha with 3 tails, which he bore as the first Beglerbeg of the kingdom. When in the following year (789 = 1387) Murād was again preparing for a campaign in Europe, Timürtäsh remained in Anatolia and administered the district of Germiān-eli [q. v.] in the absence of prince Ya'qūb. In 792 (1390) Timürtäsh again appears in the Balkans. In this year, according to Hüdjdj Khalifa's *Tağwim al-Tawārikh*, he took Kratovo (Turkish Karajowā) east of Üsküb, famous for its mines of silver and copper. In the next year (793 = 1391) he was taken prisoner in Brussa during a Karamānian raid

on it and Angora, was released and revenged himself by defeating the prince of Karamān in the plain of Ak-zai (in Germiān-eli) when he hanged him without ceremony although he was the brother-in-law of Bayazid I. From Mānecidjimbashi, who probably drew on İdris Bitlwi (iii. 311) we learn of the further history of Timürtäsh Pasha that he conquered Kianghri [q. v.] in Anatolia by order of Bayazid I in 799 (1396 and 1397) and in the following year (800, beg. Sept. 24, 1397) Athens (cf. *Chronicon breve* in Ducuz, Bonn ed., p. 516 [Meuprōv] and J. H. Mordtmann in *Byz.-Neogr. Jahrb.*, iv., 1923, p. 346 sqq.) with the surrounding lands, also Behesni [q. v.] and Maltiya [q. v.] from the Turkomans, Diwrigi from the Kurds, Dārende and Kemikāh [q. v.] (cf. also Sa'd al-Dīn, i. 150) and was busy with warlike enterprises, sometimes in Europe and sometimes in Asia Minor (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 248 sq.). In the battle of Angora (19th Dhu'l-Hijja 802 = 20th July 1402), he with his son Yakhshī shared the fate of Bayazid I and passed as a prisoner into Timür's hands. When the treasures accumulated by Timürtäsh were discovered in Kütahya [q. v.], Timür heaped reproaches upon him and at first refused him his liberty (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 330, following Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Vaziri, *Histoire de Timur-Beg*, transl. Petit de la Croix, v. 54, p. 41). He only survived the collapse of the Ottoman kingdom for a short time. While leading an army for prince Isā in the battle of Ulubāṭ (Asia Minor) he was treacherously murdered by one of his own servants in 808 (1405). Sultān Mehmed I sent the head of the old warrior to his brother Sulaimān as a token of victory. His body was taken to Brussa and buried there in the mosque founded by him. He had four sons, who also rose to distinction as viziers and generals, viz. (according to Sa'd al-Dīn) Urudj Beg, Umur Beg, 'Alī Beg, and Yakhshī Beg. The last named, who had distinguished himself in the Balkan campaigns (e.g. at the capture of Nish in 777 = 1375 [cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 181] and of Provadija [Turk. Prāwadi, Bulg. Oveč, cf. K. Jireček, *Das Fürstentum Bulgarien*, p. 539 and Jorga, *G. O. R.*, i. 259] in 1388) seems to have perished soon after the battle of Angora. A son named 'Othmān Beg mentioned by J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 495 (cf. however *ibid.*, p. 402, where he is not given) cannot be traced in the Ottoman annals. There may be some confusion with a grandson of Timürtäsh who bore this name (see below). The family of Timürtäsh is set out in the following table:



Bibliography: The works mentioned in the text and Belligh-i Brūsewī, *Gūdest-i Riyāzi 'Irān*, Brussa 1302, p. 63, where two bearers of the name Timurtaşh appear in error. — On a general Timurtaşh under 'Othmān and Urkhan, see Zinkeisen, *G.O.R.*, i. 112. (FRANZ BÄRINGER)

AL-TINNIN, the constellation of the Dragon. According to al-Kāwīnī, it consists of 31 stars none of which lies outside of the constellation. Apart from the general figure of the constellation which comes from Greek (and probably earlier from Babylonian) astronomy the Arabs have names for smaller groups of stars within it. Thus the star μ is called the Dragon's tongue, *al-rāḥ*, "the isolated grazing camel"; the four stars $\beta \gamma \delta \epsilon$ in the head *al-awḥ'idh*, "the young dam-camels", a not very bright star between them *al-ruḥ*, "the camel-foal"; the bright stars $\zeta \eta$ are called *al-dhāḥin*, "the two jackals", the dark ω *al-qār* *al-dhāḥ*, "the jackal's claws". The Arabs imagine that the two jackals are trying to seize the camel-foal and that it is being protected by the dams. At the beginning of the Dragon's tail is the star *al-dhik*, "the male hyena". In Ulugh Beg we find the readings *al-awḥ'idh* "the lute-player" and *al-rāḥ* "the dancer" (this also in Wüstenfeld's text); these seem to have no further authority and are easily explained as misreadings of *al-awḥ'idh* and *al-rāḥ*.

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(J. KUSKA)

TIPŪ SULTĀN, the son of Haidar 'Alī [q.v.] of Maṣūr, was born in 1753. His father employed him in many military operations, and on one occasion, in 1771, when he and his troops were not found where they were expected to be, publicly indicted on him a most unmerciful beating. On his father's death, on Dec. 7, 1783, he succeeded to the throne of Maṣūr, and in 1784 he concluded peace with the British, with whom his father had been at war. In 1785 war broke out between Tipū and the Marāṭhā Pishwā, who was joined by Nizām 'Alī of Haidarābād, but in 1787 Tipū took alarm at some military reforms introduced by Lord Cornwallis and made peace with his opponents. He was a bitter enemy of the British, and was known to be secretly in communication with the French at Pondicherry, and in 1788 he attacked the Rājās of Travancore, who was under British protection. The Rājās appealed to the British for aid, and in 1790 Lord Cornwallis entered into an alliance with the Pishwā and Nizām 'Alī and declared war against Tipū. The operations in that year were futile, and in 1791 Lord Cornwallis took the field in person, but was disappointed by his allies. In the following year, however, he attacked Seringapatam, Tipū's capital, and compelled Tipū to submit, to cede half his territories, and to pay an indemnity of three millions sterling. In 1798 it became known that Tipū had received French envoys, and had been admitted, under the title of "Citizen Tipū", as a citizen of the French Republic. Lord Mornington, now Governor General, demanded an explanation, but Tipū refused to receive the British envoy, and sent a letter containing lame excuses, and charging the French authorities with

malice and falsehood. In 1799 a British army under General Harris, accompanied by Colonel Arthur Wellesley, Lord Mornington's brother, invaded Maṣūr, and was joined by a force from Haidarābād, while another British force entered the state from the Bombay Presidency. Tipū attempted to oppose the invaders, but was driven back on his capital. He sued for peace, but when he discovered that he would be required to surrender half of his remaining territories and to pay a sum of two millions sterling he resolved to fight to the last. Seringapatam was taken by storm in May 1799, and the corpse of Tipū was found in a gateway.

Tipū spoke Hindustānī and Canarese, and also Persian, after Indian fashion. "From a smattering in Persian literature he considered himself as the first philosopher of the age". The leading features of his character were vanity and arrogance, and, being no judge of character, he was very ill served. His application was intense, and he attempted to carry out in person the whole business of his state, but the task was far beyond the power of any one man, and Tipū was no statesman, and wasted much of his time by the introduction of absurd innovations. He also lacked military ability, and as a soldier his sole virtue was that of physical courage.

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(T. W. HAIG)

TIRĀNA, also TIRĀN, capital of the kingdom of Albania, pleasantly situated 400 feet above sea-level in the well cultivated plain at the foot of the Mal' Dajit (5,370 feet) enclosed on three sides (east, south and west) by hills, connected with the Adriatic and its seaport Durazzo by road (25 miles) and soon to be connected by a railway now being built. The town which in 1927 had 12,454, mainly Muslim, inhabitants only attained importance when it was chosen in place of Durazzo as the seat of government of the Free State and later kingdom of Albania. Tirāna is also the seat of the chief Mufti of Albania and with its numerous Muhammadan noble families forms a stronghold of Islam in Albania. It is important in commerce as the market for a large part of lower Albania. Tirāna is usually said to be a foundation of Barkin-zade Sulaimān Pāshā (about 1600) who in memory of his Persian campaigns called it after the Persian capital Tihān of which Tirāna is a corruption. This statement (cf. A. Degrand, *Souvenirs de la Haute Albanie*, Paris 1901, p. 205 sqq.) is not worthy of credence because as early as 1572 "*il borgo di Tirana*" is mentioned (cf. M. v. Saffay, *Städte und Burgen Albanien*, in *Deutscher. Ak. Wien*, LXIII/1, 1924, p. 35). It is certain that Tirāna was of no importance in earlier times, in comparison with the adjacent Krūya. On Sept. 2, 1477, in the plain of Tirāna the Venetian provveditore Francesco Contarini with 2,500 cavalry and Albanian infantry fought the Turks in a battle which ended disastrously for him (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, ii. 151). Later the place passed into the possession of the powerful family of Toptan from Krūya, who established themselves here through marriage at the end of the xviiith century. Their most celebrated member was Kāpian Ahmad Pāshā (c. 1800) who was given large estates round Tirāna for his services to the

Sultān in the war against Kara Mahmūd Paşa Bushatli of Scutari (Albania). The whole plain of Tirāna still belongs to the Toptan family. There are very few memorials of older times in the town. The most important are the mosques of Hādīdj Edhem Bey, a descendant of the above mentioned Sulaimān Paşa, the Aḡāḡ Džāmī'i, and a mosque founded by Sulaimān Paşa in 1605 with his *türbe* beside it. On the S.E. side of the town, surrounded by very old cypresses, is a quadrangular open space called *Namāzga* on which the Muslims assemble to worship together at the feast of Bairam. In 1830 Tirāna suffered a good deal during the civil war. The Muslim inhabitants of the town until quite recently were reputed to be very fanatical.

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(F. BABINGER)

TIRĀZ. The word is borrowed from the Persian and originally means "embroidery"; it then comes to mean a robe adorned with elaborate embroidery, especially one ornamented with embroidered bands with writing upon them, worn by a ruler or person of high rank; finally it means the workshop in which such materials or robes are made. A secondary development from the meaning "embroidered strip of writing" is that of "strip of writing", border or braid in general, applied not only to inscriptions woven, embroidered, or sewn on materials, but also to any inscriptions on a band of any kind, whether hewn out of stone, done in mosaic, glass or faience, or carved in wood (cf. e. g. al-Makrīzī, *Kitaḡ*, II, 79, 212, 407). The name *tirāz* then becomes the special name for the inscriptions officially stamped upon the rolls of papyrus in the factories for papyrus with ink, sometimes in colours (red, green) and is next used for the factories themselves. The two last meanings are limited to a few occurrences (cf. J. v. Karabacek, *Die arab. Papyrusprotokolle*, p. 8 sq.; A. Grobmann, *Corpus Papyrus Raineri*, I/II, N^o. 175 [p. 170], 204 [p. 200], 214 [p. 209], 265 [p. 239], 270 [p. 242]); when papyrus ceased to be made about the middle of the tenth century A.D. these two meanings of *tirāz* disappeared.

Cloths, curtains and garments with inscriptions embroidered, woven or stitched on them may be divided into two classes, distinguished by the contents of the inscriptions and the rank of the wearer. One class expresses the whims of private individuals, the height of which is reached in the inscriptions, collected in the *Kitaḡ al-Muwaḡḡiḡ*, p. 167 sq., with which dandies and ladies of fashion liked to adorn their robes; the other is of an official character and may to some extent be compared with our orders and decorations. Such scrolls ran, either along the border, sometimes arranged in two, or even more, strips around the upper garment or were placed around the neck, around the sleeves, on the upper arm or wrists

and even on the headdress. They were used not only as ornamental borders but were also put in the pattern of the material. The breadth varied considerably and while J. v. Karabacek (*Suḡand-ḡhird*, p. 84 sq., note 56; *Papyrusprotokolle*, p. 26) gives breadths of from 2 to 55 centimetres, this does not exhaust all the possibilities; on fragments of material from Egyptian graves, *tirāz* borders of less than a centimetre in breadth have been found.

Ibn Khaldūn is very well informed about the institution of the *tirāz*; according to him, the majesty of the ruler found expression in his name or the royal badge (*'alāma*) being put in the border (*tirāz*) of the materials, which were used for his robes of silk or brocade, and the inscription was worked into the web of the material with gold thread or bright coloured yarn, which stood out against the background of the material. The royal robes were thus distinguished to mark out the royal wearer, or him who received the garment from the ruler as a mark of special favour, to show him honour or appoint him to one of the higher offices in the kingdom. Under the Umayyads and 'Abbāsids the cloth mills which worked for their wardrobe were housed in their palaces and called *Dār al-Tirāz*.

They were under the control of an official called *Ṣāhib al-Tirāz*, whose duty it was to supervise the activities of the workers, the machinery and the weavers and to see that they were paid and that everything went smoothly. Only men of high rank and trusted individuals among their freedmen were given this office; the same arrangements were in vogue under the Umayyad caliphs in Spain and their successors, under the Mamlūk sultāns in Egypt, and their contemporaries among the Persian kings in the east. It was only with the decline of the great Muslim empires that this system came to an end.

Ibn Khaldūn's statements, which are in the main followed here, find ample corroboration in the finds of Muslim textiles which have been made at different places in Egypt (notably Aḡhimim, Antinoë, Erment, al-'Aḡm near Asyūt) and preserved in the museums in Berlin (Schlossmuseum, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Kunstgewerbemuseum), Leningrad, Paris (Louvre and Musée de Cluny), London (Victoria and Albert Museum), Vienna (Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie and Sammlung Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer in the National Library) and in many private collections, as well as in the rich stores of textiles found all over Europe in churches and monasteries. Ibn Khaldūn's information is obviously based on his own experience, for the inscription in these textiles does actually, without exception, stand out in bright colours from the background: e. g. the pieces of linen, Inv. Ar. Lin. N^o. 11 and 19 of the Rainer collection in Vienna show a border of writing embroidered in red silk (N^o. 19 reproduced in J. v. Karabacek, *Führer*, p. 228 and do., *Papyrusprotokolle*, p. 38). In Inv. Ar. Lin. No. 18 of the same collection, on the other hand, the *tirāz* inscription stands out from the background and is embroidered in black silk; in the fine brocades it is often woven in gold thread. The texts of the surviving inscriptions also fully confirm Ibn Khaldūn's statements. In the first place as to the names of the rulers, we find various examples of these occurring alone on textiles. A green silk

damask from al-ʿAḡm in the Victoria and Albert Museum, Inv. N^o. 769—1898 (Guest, N^o. 9, p. 395 sq.; A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muhammadan Textiles*, p. 39) has the inscription *Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa ʿl-Dīn Muḥammad b. Kaṣṣūn*; a piece of linen embroidered with red silk in the Leningrad Museum has the name of the Fātimid caliph *al-ʿAzīz bi-llāh* (365–386 A.H.; A. R. Guest, *J.R.A.S.*, 1918, p. 263, No. 1). The name of the ruler in addition to his usual titles, is frequently accompanied by auspicious formulae, as Ibn Khaldūn also tells us (cf. below); thus, a piece of linen in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, the inscription of which I copied in 1924, has the inscription woven in red and enclosed in a white border: *Bismillāh al-Rahmān al-Rahīm, Baraka min Allāh wa-karāma li ʿl-Ḳhalifa ʿAbd Allāh al-Muḥṣi bi-llāh Amir al-Muʾminīn, aḡala Allāh baḡḡahu*. "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. The blessing of God and grace upon the Caliph ʿAbd Allāh Muḥṣi bi-llāh, the Commander of the Faithful, whom may God long preserve" (cf. E. Kühnel, *lit.*, xiv. 83). On a steel-blue piece of silk in the Arab Museum in Cairo, which has a pattern of blue-grey tendrils and lotus flowers, the latter has as a border: *ʿIsa bi-Mawlānā al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Nāṣir Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa ʿl-Dīn Muḥammad Kaṣṣūn* "Glory to our Lord, the Sulṭān, the King al-Nāṣir, the Protector of the World and of Religion, Muḥammad Kaṣṣūn" (cf. Herz-Bey, *Catalogue raisonné*, p. 272 and fig. 51; Falke, *Seidenweberei*, II, fig. 366; A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muhammadan Textiles*, p. 41 and Pl. xii, 957). On the Danzig textile with parrots, apparently woven in China, which was made for Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Kaṣṣūn (d. 1340 A.D.) there is on the wings of the parrots: *ʿIsa bi-Mawlānā al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-ʿAdil al-ʿAlim Nāṣir al-Dīn* "Glory to our Lord, the Sulṭān, the just, wise King Nāṣir al-Dīn" (cf. O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, II, fig. 334; J. v. Karabacek, *Die liturg. Gewänder*, p. 141). On the piece of satin in the South Kensington Museum published by O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, II, fig. 368; A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muhammadan Textiles*, p. 46, there is in the mandorla arranged on a coat of arms on either side, running to right and to left: *ʿIsa bi-Mawlānā al-Sulṭān al-Malik* and in the four rosettes, alternately to right and to left *al-Aḡraf*. The material is ascribed to the Mamlūk Sulṭān al-Malik al-Aḡraf Kaṣṣūn-bey (1468—1496 A.D.). Such conventional formulae sometimes take up a good deal of space in the *tirāz*. On the fragment of a linen robe with woven borders and coloured silk from Erment, published by Guest, *J.R.A.S.*, 1906, p. 392 sq. (South Kensington Museum, Inv. N^o. 1381—1888; A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muhammadan Textiles*, S. 10), we have the following text: *Bismillāh al-Rahmān al-Rahīm, la illāh illa ʿllāh, Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh, ʿAlī Wālī Allāh ʿal. . . al-Mustanzir bi ʿllāh Amir al-Muʾminīn, Salawāt Allāh ʿalaihi wa ʿala Abi ʿihi [al-ahramīn] al-fāḡirīn wa-abnā ʿihī al-mustanzirīn*. "In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. There is no god but Allāh, Muḥammad is the Messenger of God, ʿAlī is the vice-regent of God. . . al-Mustanzir bi-llāh, Commander of the Faithful, God's blessing upon him and his ancestors (the most noble), the pure and his sons, the expectant".

Sometimes, in addition to such conventional formulae, the name is given of the place of manu-

facture and of the vizier or other official in charge of the treasury or of the *tirāz*-factory; more rarely the name of the artist who made the cloth is given. Thus the narrow fragment of linen, Inv. Ar. Lin., N^o. 19 in the Rainer collection in Vienna has the following inscription embroidered on it in red silk: *[Bismi ʿllāh al-Rahmān al-Rahīm, Baraka min Allāh, Nʿma wa-Salāta li-ʿAbd Allāh Djaʿfar al-ʿImām al-Muḥṭadir bi ʿllāh Amir al-Muʾminīn, aḡala Allāh Baḡḡahu, mimnā amara al-Wazīr Abū Aḡmad al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan* "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. The blessing of God, grace and good fortune upon the servant of God, Djaʿfar, the Imām al-Muḥṭadir bi-llāh, the Commander of the Faithful, whom may God long preserve. [This is part] of what the vizier Abū Aḡmad al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan has ordered. . ." (cf. J. v. Karabacek, *Papyrusprotokolle*, p. 38). One of the most important *tirāzes* in the collection of textiles in the Arab Museum in Cairo, found in al-Faṣṭāṭ (cf. Herz-Bey, *Catalogue raisonné*, p. 271; E. Kühnel, *lit.*, xiv. 83) bears the following inscription: *Bismi ʿllāh, Baraka min Allāh bi-ʿAbd Allāh al-Amin Muḥammad Amir al-Muʾminīn, aḡala Allāh Baḡḡahu; mimnā amara bi-Sanʿatili fī Tīrāz al-ʿAmra bi-Majr ʿala Yaḡal al-Faḡl Im al-Rabī Mawlā Amir al-Muʾminīn* "In the name of God. The blessing of God upon the servant of God, al-Amin Muḥammad, the Commander of the Faithful, whom may God long preserve. [This is part] of what he ordered to be made in the public factory in Miṣr (al-Faṣṭāṭ) through al-Faḡl b. al-Rabī, the freedman of the Commander of the Faithful". Al-Faḡl b. al-Rabī, born 140 A.H., died 208 A.H., was according to Ibn Taghribirdī (I. 598), chamberlain and vizier of the caliph Ḥārūn al-Raḡid; after the latter's death, he took possession of the storehouses (*ḡazāʾin*) and handed them over to his successor designate, al-Amin in Baghdad, at the same time bringing him the insignia of the ruler—the cloak, the staff and the signet ring—for which al-Amin showed him marks of honour and entrusted him with the management of his affairs. In his capacity as Amin's vizier, he had also to see to the manufacture of the textiles intended for the caliph, as we learn from the above *tirāz*. He is also mentioned in the *tirāz* of two curtains (*ḡirwa*) for the Kaʿba mentioned by al-Maḡristī, *Aḡḡat*, I. 181, 226 (cf. J. v. Karabacek, *Papyrusprotokolle*, p. 35 sq.). In this connection, we may also mention a piece of linen from Sāmarrā with an inscription embroidered in red silk (cf. E. Kühnel, *lit.*, xiv. 87 and fig. 3) which reads: *Baraka min Allāh bi-ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿImām al-Muʾtamid ʿala ʿllāh Amir al-Muʾminīn, aḡadahu Allāh; mā ʿamila bi-Tinnis ʿala Yaḡal Yaḡal Mawlā (ʿ)mir al-Muʾminīn*; also a piece from Akhmīm, like the preceding, now in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin (E. Kühnel, *op. cit.*, p. 85, fig. 2) with quotations from the *Qurʾān* in the centre and above and below: *[Bismi ʿllāh]h. Baraka min Allāh bi-ʿAbd Allāh Ḥārūn Amir al-Muʾminīn and Sanʿat Marwān b. Ḥudī(?)*. Finally we may mention a *tirāz* inscription of the 12th century A.D. on a Sicilian Saracenic fabric in F. Fischbach, *Ornamente der Gewebe*, pl. 144, 145 (the so-called cloak of the emperor Henry VI in Regensburg). On the two central stripes is the inscription *al-ʿIsa wa ʿl-naḡ wa ʿl-ḡal* ("Glory and victory and good fortune"); in the centre of an eight-rayed star: *ʿamila ustād*

'Abd al-'Aziz "manufactured by the craftsman 'Abd al-'Aziz" (cf. also A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muhammadan Textiles*, p. 66).

The text of the tiraz inscriptions however very often consists only of the conventional title of the ruler without his name, accompanied, or not, by certain auspicious formulae, or of the latter alone. A few examples will suffice here. On the brocade in the Ducal Museum in Brunswick several times repeated and divided by rosettes is the inscription 'Is li-Mawlānā al-Sulṭān, ḫalāda Mulṭukū (O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, ii., fig. 342). On a piece of silk in the Arab Museum in Cairo we find: 'Is li-mawlānā al-sulṭān, 'azza najrūku (cf. Herz-Bey, *Catalogue raisonné*, p. 272); on a piece of silk textile in the Victoria and Albert Museum in Guest, *J. R. A. S.*, 1923, p. 405 (A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muhammadan Textiles*, p. 40): 'Is li-mawlānā al-sulṭān al-malik al-naṣir; on a piece from Granada in the same museum, continuously: 'Is li-mawlānā al-sulṭān (O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, ii., fig. 372). The well-known specimen in Brussels of the 15th century A. D. in O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, i., fig. 172, shows, on the wings of the birds on either side, the inscription: al-'is al-dā'im wa 'l-qabr wa 'l-dawla li-ṭāhībiki. Only a portion of this formula, al-'is al-dā'im, is found on the textile woven in Syria or Egypt, Inv., No. 1235—1864 of the Victoria and Albert Museum in Guest, *J. R. A. S.*, 1918, p. 264; A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muhammadan Textiles*, p. 44 (xth—xvth century A. D.). The already mentioned formula al-'is wa 'l-najr wa 'l-iḥbāl often occurs alone (cf. O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, also ii., fig. 338, 339, 340, 342; A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muhammadan Textiles*, p. 66 and pl. 21). The wish *najr min Allāh* "victory from God" is found on several textiles in the same Museum in Guest, *J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 398, No. 12—15 (A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muhammadan Textiles*, p. 14); the formula al-'is laka al-iḥbāl al-maḥḥid "The glory be Thine, the fortune, the splendour" is found embroidered in red silk on a piece of linen with a coat of arms in the Arab Museum in Cairo (Herz-Bey, *Catalogue raisonné*, p. 274). The conventional title of the ruler is found on a textile in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin with pairs of griffins; in the circles of the braided border we have: al-'ādil al-'ālim al-'āḥil, in the central bars of the circles of the compartments, arranged like a coat of arms: al-sulṭān al-muḥaffar (O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, ii., p. 63 and fig. 363), on a textile in Danzig (xivth century A. D.): al-sulṭān al-'ālim (O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, ii., fig. 358, 359). On a piece of Spanish silk in the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin in O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, ii., fig. 377, we have the title al-sulṭān al-malik; on a patterned textile in the Arab Museum in Cairo we find al-sulṭān embroidered in silk thread (Herz-Bey, *Catalogue raisonné*, p. 273 sq.). In conclusion we may remind the reader of the pious formulae, which often make up the entire tiraz inscriptions. Thus on the Maastricht specimen, with the lion, we have on the lion's breast: [al-mu]ḥ li-llāh (O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, i., fig. 153); others have the formulae al-amr li-llāh, which means the same thing (*ibid.*, i., fig. 187, 191). A much used formula is al-baraka al-ḥamīla (arranged as in a coat of arms on right and left in O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, i., fig. 205) or baraka alone (*ibid.*, i., fig. 202). On a textile

in the South Kensington Museum (Inv., No. 613—1892) in Guest, *J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 399 (A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue etc.*, p. 18) is the formula *mā ḥṣa 'llāh ḥana* "What God wills is done", in addition to a series of other formulae, which have only survived in fragments but are known on other textiles in the same collection (*ibid.*, p. 396 sq.). The finest specimen of the kind however is probably that in the Musée de Cluny (Inv., No. 6526 found in Bayonne) which shows a portion of the symbol of Islam in letters, a span wide, beautifully woven. Occasionally these inscriptions are abbreviated by the omission of some letters (cf. J. v. Karabacek, *Die liturgischen Gewänder*, p. 142 sq.). It may further be mentioned that dated inscriptions are found among the tirāzes; for example the piece published by Guest, *J. R. A. S.*, 1918, p. 407 from the Engel-Gros collection with *baraka* and date 448 (cf. A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue etc.*, p. 10, No. 861 and pl. 6); another with the name of the caliph al-Mu'taḍid of the year 282 in the South Kensington Museum was also published by Guest (*J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 391; cf. A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue etc.*, p. 35; G. Salles and M. J. Ballot, *Les Collections de l'Orient Musulman*, p. 74).

It has already been pointed out that the tiraz bands with inscriptions correspond in a way to our orders and decorations. The presentation of garments adorned with them was a sovereign right of the crown, as much as the right of coinage. The custom of presenting such robes is certainly a very ancient one in the East. The Pharaohs used to give their faithful servants robes of honour, in addition to golden neck-rings and other valuable presents. It was under Islam that the custom first attained great proportions. Not only was the decree appointing high officials of the state usually accompanied by a robe of honour, but the officials also received, at least once a year, a robe of honour and, at the court of the Mamlūk Sulṭān, the Mamlūks and high officials of state used to receive a robe corresponding to their rank, twice a year, in winter and in summer (cf. A. v. Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte*, ii. 220—23; Kalkashandi, *Subḥ al-'aḥḍā*, iv. 55). According to Ibn Ḍjūbair, *Nikla*, p. 94, the dress of the preacher in the principal mosque in Mecca — and no doubt of the other large mosques also — consisted of a black robe trimmed with gold and a similar piece of cloth wound round the head, with a turban cloth of fine *ḥarḍ* linen; it was given to the preachers of the empire from the caliph's own stores, so that it was an official dress, given by the ruler. The robes of the emirs, which they wore on state occasions, were of course more gorgeous. Those of the Fātimids consisted of materials from Dabīq with head-dresses with golden tiraz borders, which were given to the emirs from the Caliph's stores (*Dār al-Kirwā*) (Makrid, *Kāḥḥat*, i. 409, 427, cf. 440). Kalkashandi, *Subḥ al-'aḥḍā*, iv. 52 sq., tells us that part of the dress of honour of the emirs was a turban cloth with the name of the sulṭān embroidered on it and the robes themselves had similar inscriptions.

It was only natural that the caliphs should lay great stress on this important prerogative of the crown and take every precaution to prevent abuses. What importance was given to the tiraz and its preparation is evident, for example, from the fact that in Hārūn al-Rashīd's will (186 A. H.), in the

portion dealing with the allotment of the province of Khurāsān to al-Ma'mūn, the *tiraz*-factories (*ṭarāz*) are specifically mentioned alongside of the *kharrāj*, the post and the treasuries (cf. al-Aṣṣāḥī, *Al-Bihar Makka*, p. 162, 166). The mention of the ruler in the *tiraz* is a mark or sign of his sovereignty as in the *khawṣa* and, when al-Ma'mūn rebelled against his brother al-Amin, the first thing he did was to omit the caliph's name from the *tiraz* inscriptions (Ibn Taghribirdi, *al-Nuḡūm al-sāhira*, i. 544; cf. further passages in J. v. Karabacek, *Papyrusprotokolle*, p. 25). When a successor was designated, his name was put into the *tiraz* inscriptions (J. v. Karabacek, *loc. cit.*); this applies not only to the inscriptions on textiles and on robes of honour but also to those on rolls of papyrus (cf. *Corpus Pap. Raineri*, iii, vol. 1/2, No. 150, 158, p. 145 sq., 153 sq.). But while, in the latter case, the vizier is often mentioned in the protocol, it seems very rare and to be a special distinction for the name of the vizier to be put in the *tiraz* inscriptions of robes of honour. The Fāṭimid al-ʿAzīz bi'llāh, for example, put the name of his vizier Ya'qūb b. Yūsuf b. Killis (d. 380 A.H.) in the *tiraz* inscriptions (al-Maḥṣīn, *Kharrāj*, ii. 6, 12, 284 ult.). Similarly the Fāṭimid caliph al-Musta'li bi'llāh (1094—1101 A.D.) allowed his vizier al-Aḥḥāl to be mentioned in the *tiraz*, as we learn from the *tiraz* inscription on a textile in the Vatican library (cf. J. v. Karabacek, *Papyrusprotokolle*, p. 39), but, in this case, the name of the vizier is followed by the additional words "in the name of the Imām" so that the sovereignty of the ruler is fully guarded. Later, it is true, high officials kept their own *tiraz* establishments. Thus 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Rāṣiṭ (d. 301 A.H.), who was governor of all the territory between Wāsiṭ and Dīwandīsbūr on the one hand and Sūs to Shabrazūr on the other, maintained no less than 80 *tiraz* factories, in which cloth for his own use was woven (Ibn Taghribirdi, *al-Nuḡūm al-sāhira*, ii. 192; A. v. Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte*, ii. 293) and on a piece of silk from Egypt (xi—xiii century A.D.) in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Guest, *J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 394; A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muhammadan Textiles*, p. 43 sq.) we find *al-sayyid al-ʿadīl Yūnus al-Dawla Abū Yūnus, ʿafāla Allāh baḥāʾahu*, "The most glorious lord Yūnus al-Dawla Abū Yūnus, may God give him long life"; on the splendid piece of silk in the Louvre, published by G. Migeon, *Syria*, iii. (1922), p. 41—43, we have *ʿiz ʿazīz al-ḥal li 'l-Kāʾid Abi Manṣūr Naḍīṭakīn, ʿafāla Allāh baḥāʾahu*.

The sovereign rights of the caliph however did not find expression only in the inscriptions of the *tirāzes* on garments. The right of covering the Ka'ba with a *kiṣwa* originally belonged exclusively to the caliph (al-Kāḥṣhandī, *Subḥ al-A'ḥḍā*, iv. 57). The 'Abbāsids sent such *kiṣwas* every year from Baghdad to Mecca — they were often manufactured in Egypt — then this duty passed to the rulers of Egypt. In Kāḥṣhandī's time, the *kiṣwa* was woven in the Mashhad al-Husain of black silk with an inscription in white; at the end of the reign of Zahir Barkūk with a yellow inscription gilt with gold. A collection of the inscriptions on these *kiṣwas* has been made by J. v. Karabacek (*Papyrusprotokolle*, p. 35—39). According to these inscriptions, the *kiṣwas* were made either by direct orders of the caliph to the governor and at the direction of the latter's financial sec-

tary, who was directly in charge of the *tiraz* establishment, or the order to make them was given by the caliph's vizier (cf. above). It is worth noting that among the texts given by Karabacek is the *tiraz* of an 'Alid rebel in the reign of al-Ma'mūn (*op. cit.*, p. 37 sq.). We may here also briefly mention the dedication which the Fāṭimid al-Mu'izz had placed in 353 A.H. upon the variegated silk tapestry described by al-Maḥṣīn, *Kharrāj*, i. 417, 12 sq. (see also J. v. Karabacek, *Über einige Benennungen mittelalterlicher Gewebe*, p. 33). The formulae are in many cases those usual on textiles, as are to be expected from al-Kāḥṣṣ's observations quoted in al-Baiḥaqī, *Kiṣab al-Maḥṣīn wa 'l-Maṣūf*, p. 499. Special attention must be drawn to the fact that there are undeniable connections between the so-called heraldic inscriptions (Schriftwappen) of the Mamlūk sultāns (see L. A. Mayer, *Das Schriftwappen der Mamluken-sultane*, *Jahrb. d.asiat. Kunst*, 1925, p. 183—187) and various regular formulae of the *tiraz* inscriptions, e.g. the frequently recurring *ʿiz li-mawlānā al-sultān al-malik etc.*, *ʿazza naḥnu*.

The frequent heraldic-like arrangement of short formulae, such as *al-baraḥa al-kāmila*, which are placed together, one to the right and the other to the left, as animals are arranged in a coat of arms (cf. the double-eagle), suggests a kind of heraldic development of these formulae in the *tiraz* also, especially as the title of the ruler sometimes is placed in a cartouche on textiles or in the central bar of the encircling shield which is like a coat of arms (see O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, ii. fig. 363 and above). We have already referred above to the fact that the preparation of the cloth and garments required for the use of the court and the high officials, to which may be added the covering for the Ka'ba was not left to private hands, but to state factories, which must frequently have been on a very large scale. Egypt took the first place for linen and to a considerable extent for silk also. The linen weaving was mainly concentrated in the Delta: Tinnis, Tinn, Damietta, Shajā and Alexandria were the principal centres of its manufacture; in addition there were Dabik, Banḥā, al-Farama, and Dumaira (in the district of Shirbin, not Damira, as Jaubert says). Tinnis, like Damietta, produced fine linens in the style of what were known as *dabik* and *ḥarb* linens, as well as materials for covering furniture in bright patterns (Yāqūt, *Muḥḍam*, i. 882). These materials fetched high prices and a robe with gold embroidery was sold for 1,000 dinārs, one without embroidery for 100 to 200 dinārs (Idrīsī, i. 320). In Tinnis, where there were 5,000 looms, there was according to Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *ʿIḥṣā*, iii. 362, a factory working for the caliph, which is confirmed by the inscriptions given by al-Maḥṣīn, *Kharrāj*, i. 181, for coverings for the Ka'ba manufactured there (cf. J. v. Karabacek, *Papyrusprotokolle*, p. 35) as well as by the textile above mentioned from Sāmarrā. Nāṣir-i Khusrāw, according to whom Tinnis mainly made the coloured *ḥajab* stuffs used for turbans, caps and women's dresses, tells us that the material made in the sultān's workshops was not disposed of to private individuals. A Persian prince had sent 20,000 dinārs to Tinnis to procure a garment of this precious material, which however was reserved for the use of the crown, so that his agents could get nothing. A speciality of Tinnis was the *ʿandana* intended for the personal use of the caliph, a

garment that came complete from the loom and had not to be cut or stitched (cf. Herz-Bey, *Catalogue raisonné*, p. 266—268; A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, p. 433). The export of the materials produced in Tinnis was considerable and down to the year 360 A. H. reached a value of 20—30,000 dinars annually. The village of Tūna, which belonged to the administrative district of Tinnis, made the same kind of stuffs and also kiswas for the Ka'ba (al-Makrizi, *Khitat*, i. 181; J. v. Karabacek, *op. cit.*, p. 36). There was a tiraz factory here also. Damietta produced not only the same linens as Tinnis — but white in colour — but also gold brocade and the material known as Balchan (*balḥan*) ('Alī b. Dawūd al-Khaṭīb al-Djāwharī, MS. A. F., No. 282, fol. 69a; cf. also A. v. Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, ii. 289) and other textiles. Shatā also made kiswas and the stuffs known as *Shatāwī* (al-Makrizi, *Khitat*, i. 226, 3 seq.). Of the former we are told that they were made in a tiraz factory which belonged to the state, as we know from the kiswa inscription given by al-Makrizi (cf. J. v. Karabacek, *Papyrusprotokolle*, p. 36); as to the latter this is not definitely known. In a papyrus in the Rainer collection (No. 849 in the *Ausstellung*; cf. J. v. Karabacek, *Führer*, p. 227) in line 6 there is a reference to a braided head-cloth from Shatā (*mandil shatāwī ma'lam*) worth 20 carats of gold. This price must be considered fairly high, as those of Shatā and Dabkū (Dabkū) and Damietta were not so fine as those of Tinnis (Idrisi, p. 320). The work done here by Copt weavers was under strict state control (al-Muḥaddasī, *B. G. A.*, iii. 213; cf. A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, p. 118; C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, p. 184) which began the moment the weaver began to work the stuff in his loom. An official stamp had at once to be placed upon it. What these were like we know from the red stamp on the piece of linen, *Inv. Ar. Lin.*, No. 1 in the Rainer collection with the inscription *al-Malik al-Mu'izz* (cf. *Corpus Pop. Raineri*, iii. *Ser. Arab.*, i/i, p. 59 sq. and fig. 2). It could only be sold through brokers appointed by the state and a government official had to keep a record of all transactions; only when this had been done, was the cloth given to one workman, who folded it up, then to another who wrapped it in a packing, made of bast (*ḥiḥr*, perhaps the coarse papyrus packing is meant), then to a third who did it up in bales and finally to a fourth, who tied these up; each of these men received a definite fee. The bales were then taken to the gate of harbour and here also a charge was made and each man put his mark on the bale. The whole process does not very much suggest that we have a state factory here. In the Delta at least, we seem rather to have an industry conducted in private houses, probably alongside of the state factories. The lot of the workmen — women spin and men wove and the workrooms were rented by them — was wretched; the half dirhem, which was the daily wage, was not sufficient for the minimum necessities of life. Wages throughout Egypt, however, were very low. Silks and brocades along with the fine shurb linens were mainly made in Alexandria, also however in Tinnis, Damietta and Shatā (cf. A. v. Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, i. 353) which even in Roman times was celebrated as a silk-weaving centre and where the Byzantine court had a gynaeceum. While the quality of the material under Muslim rule was

at first not so fine as in the earlier period, in the viiith and ixth centuries Alexandria was supplying Byzantium and the Pope in Rome (O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, i. 48, 51, 110); and several popes used beautiful stuffs with the horseman pattern as gifts to churches. The state factories in Tinnis, Alexandria and Damietta worked mainly for the wardrobes of the Fātimid caliphs (al-Makrizi, *Khitat*, i. 413; al-Kāḥkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'ḥḥā*, iii. 476; F. Wüstenfeld, *Geographie*, p. 175 sq.) and their successors, and Abu 'l-Fida', *Ta'rikh al-Khams*, iv. 101 mentions that the *Dār al-Tirāz* in Alexandria worked for the ruler's private requirements (*li 'l-Khāṣṣ al-ḥarīf*) (cf. J. v. Karabacek, *Die liturgischen Gewänder*, p. 195). Dabkū, which produced the curtains which were used to drape the throne of the Fātimid Caliphs on ceremonial occasions (al-Kāḥkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'ḥḥā*, iii. 499), was celebrated for its linens and turban cloths. Dabkū textiles are frequently mentioned in literature, notably in al-Makrizi. The manufacture was an old established one here; a richly embroidered sash of the Coptic period in the Austrian Museum has within the border the inscription

TIRAZ, the Coptic name of the town (cf. J. v. Karabacek, *Die Theodor Graf'schen Funde*, No. 427). Of the manufacturing town of Banḥā we know little more than the name. The fragment of a silk tiraz embroidered in black from the Rainer collection (*Inv. Ar. Lin.*, No. 18) published by J. v. Karabacek, *Papyrusprotokolle*, p. 39, has the inscription [*ḥadḥā minnā aḥmarā bi-umī fī firāz al-khāṣṣa Banḥā*] [this is part of what was ordered to be made in the factory of the royal property of Banḥā]. Here then we have the case of a silk factory, which supplied the caliph only, and was state property. We also know the name of the place from papyri. Besides the Faiyūm in Upper Egypt, al-Ushmūnān was celebrated for its manufacture of textiles (cf. al-Istakhri, *B. G. A.*, i. 58; Ibn Hawqāl, *B. G. A.*, ii. 105; al-Idrisi, i. 124; A. v. Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, i. 353) as was Takḥā, where woollen goods were made (cf. A. Mez, *Renaissance des Islams*, p. 432). Al-Bahnāsā occupied a special position; in it, according to al-Idrisi, i. 128, valuable materials were produced which bore the name of the town and were used for making garments for the ruler and high officials; ordinary kinds were also made. The lengths of stuff, which was made in pieces of about 30 ells, cost 200 dinars the pair. Every piece of cloth, whether woollen or cotton, cheap or dear, bore the name of the quality, so that the purchaser could know what he was buying. As to prices, we get some information from a papyrus in the Rainer collection (*Ausstellung*, No. 849), according to which a long turban cloth from Bahnāsā (*mandil bahnāsī ṭawīl*) cost 1 carat of gold. Idrisi, unfortunately, does not tell us whether the stuff intended for the court came from a tiraz factory or from a private firm. A *firāz sa'id* is mentioned in 'Alī b. Dawūd al-Khaṭīb al-Djāwharī, A. F., No. 282, fol. 91a, but it is not stated where in Upper Egypt this state factory was. Two papyri in the State Library in Cairo (*Inv.*, No. 96 and 103) assist us on this point, for a certain Rimāh b. Yūṣuf is described in them as *al-Mutawakkil bi-Tirāz Uṣhmūn wa-Anṣinā*. The man was therefore manager of the tiraz factory of Ushmūn and Anṣinā, and managed them both together, in which connection it may

be noted that the two originally separate *kūra's* of this name were later combined into one (cf. C. H. Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, i. 20). In Cairo (al-Fustāt) under the 'Abbāsids, there was already a public *tirāz* workshop (*tirāz al-'amma bi-Maṣr*) as we know from the already mentioned piece of cloth in the Arab Museum in Cairo. The *'amma* is here apparently contrasted to the *khayma*, which means a factory which worked only for the caliph. This does not mean that in al-Amin's time the Cairo factory had become a purely private concern; it can quite well have been a state undertaking, which supplied private individuals as well as the court. In no particular case can we see with certainty how the question of ownership stood. We cannot imagine, as it has hitherto been usual to do, following Karabacek, that the crown had exclusive control.

While the Umayyads and 'Abbāsids had already devoted great attention to the manufacture of fabrics with the *tirāz* and to the preservation of the rights associated with them, the importance of such fabrics increased under the splendour-loving Fātimids. The account which al-Maḳrīzī gives, following the very well informed Ibn al-Tuwair (*Khitaṭ*, i. 469), sufficiently shows this. Besides the famous state *Dār al-Tirāz* in Alexandria there was a factory of the same name in Cairo, which was founded under the successors of the caliph al-Aḥiz bi'llāh, in the name of the vizier Abu 'l-Faraj Ya'qūb b. Yūsuf Ibn Killa, who died in 380 (991) and was also called *Dār al-Dibādī*, because silk brocades were made there (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khitaṭ*, ii. 104, 23 sq.). At the head of the administration of these state factories there was always an official of high rank from the judicial or military service, who was held in particular estimation by the caliph. A picked staff was at his disposal for the transport of the products of the *tirāz* factories, as well as the necessary means of transport. When he arrived with the fabrics intended for the royal use, among which were the parasol and the robes called *badla* and *badama* and the ruler's personal apparel, he was received with the highest honours and a steed from the caliph's stables was placed at his disposal for the duration of his stay. His quarters in town were in the Manṣara al-Ḥayzalla on the bank of the great canal, opposite the door of the Djami' Ibn al-Maghribī, which had also fallen into ruins in Maḳrīzī's time, and he received the same hospitality as foreign embassies. When the bales with the precious fabrics were brought in, the superintendent of the *tirāz* presented himself to the caliph, showed him all that he had brought with him, and called his attention to each piece, that went into the caliph's palace through the hands of his chamberlain. When the presentation was over he was given a robe of honour by the caliph at a private audience, — the public being excluded, an honour which was shown only to him — and then returned to his lodging. Only at certain clearly defined times, could he be represented by his son or brother. He held a very prominent position and his salary was 70 dinars monthly, that of his deputy 20. The latter took charge in his stead, when he had to go to deliver the fabrics, and was present as his witness at the packing of the bales. When the parasol and other articles for the personal use of the caliph were brought into the public room of the *Dār al-Tirāz*,

during which ceremony the people present stood up, the superintendent of the *Tirāz* sat in his seat and his deputy carried through his task standing (cf. also al-Kalkashandī, *Subḥ al-A'ṣā*, iii. 476; F. Wüstenfeld, *Geographie*, p. 175 sq.).

As already mentioned, the *tirāz*-factories brought a considerable sum to the state by their valuable products. It is significant that out of the treasures of the towns of Tinnis, Damietta and al-Uḥḥimnain in 363 A. H. under the Fātimid vizier Ibn Killis could pay 200,000 dinars into the treasury in one day (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khitaṭ*, ii. 6) and the expenditure for gold thread was usually 31,000 dinars and under al-Amir bi-Aḥkām Allāh even amounted to 43,000 dinars (*Ibid.*, i. 469). Under the Mamlūk sultāns, conditions seem to have been somewhat altered. At least, Ibn Khaldūn (i. 223) tells us that the fabrics and garments with *tirāzes* were no longer made in their factories and palace-workshops, and were no longer produced by the state in its own buildings but what the state required was simply woven from silk and pure gold in the houses of the weavers.

The institution of royal *tirāz* factories was of course not limited to Egypt. We find them in other lands also. If we turn to the west we find one in Palermo in Sicily. Ibn Djubair, *Riḥla*, p. 329, even records the name of an embroiderer who worked in the *Tirāz al-Malik*, as the royal factory was called. The chief piece of evidence from this factory is still the cloak woven for Roger II in 528 (1133), later the coronation robe of the Austrian Royal Treasury. In its *tirāz* inscription the factory is called *Khayma al-malikiya* (cf. F. Bock, *Kleinedien*, p. 29). This *regium ergasterium* produced finely woven silks down to the thirteenth century A. D. (cf. O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, i. 119, 121). In Spain, Almería, where 800 looms were working in Idrīs's time and valuable brocades, *siḡlātūn* and silver were made in the style of those of Djurdjan and Isfahan, was the principal centre of manufacture, but Murcia, Seville, Granada and Malaga should also be mentioned. In the latter town there was a factory for gold brocade (cf. J. v. Karabacek, *Über einige Benennungen mittelalterlicher Gewebe*, p. 6; M. J. Müller, *Beiträge*, p. 5; F. Bock, *Geschichte der liturg. Gewänder*, p. 39 sq.). In Asia Minor there was a *tirāz* factory at the Saldjuk court; one of its products is the gold brocade of the Lyons Textile Museum, the inscription on the border of which mentions Sultān Kaikubādī, son of Kaikhusraw (1219–1236 A. D.). Marco Polo (cf. O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, i. 106) notes the industry of the Greek and Armenian population of the Saldjuk empire, who made the finest carpets and rich silks. In Syria, Damascus and Antioch were famous for their textiles (O. v. Falke, *op. cit.*, i. 108; J. v. Karabacek, *Die liturg. Gewänder*, p. 196). In the 'Irāk, Baghdad was the most important; its speciality was the white Marw fabrics (Ibn al-Faḳīh, *B. G. A.*, v. 252) but it also made silks and richly embroidered brocades which were celebrated throughout the west as *haldachin* or *braudechin* (O. v. Falke, *op. cit.*, i. 108). Silk-weaving here can be traced back to a colony of weavers from Tustar who settled here at least as early as the middle of the tenth century (J. v. Karabacek, *Über einige Benennungen mittelalterlicher Gewebe*, p. 28). On a piece of silk published by A. F. Kendrick in the *Burlington*

Magazine, xlix, 261—267 is the following *tirāz* inscription at the top (twice, as in a coat of arms) *al-baraka min Allāh wa 'l-yumn wa---* „the blessing of God and good fortune and ---“; below in the same arrangement *bi-qāḥibī Abū Naṣr minnā 'unila fi Baghdād* „to its possessor Abū Naṣr. This is part of what was manufactured in Baghdād“. Presumably this is the production of an official *tirāz* workshop. The court however imported a great deal from Egypt but under the Fātimids the export from there was forbidden (A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islāms*, p. 433).

The development of the weaving of silk in Persia seems to begin with the transplanting of workmen from Mesopotamia, Amīd and other Byzantine provinces to Sūs, Tusar and other places in Abwāz by Shāpur II (cf. al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūfī*, I, 124). In the province of Fāris, which was celebrated for its weaving of linen, there were factories like those in Egypt, which, for example in Fāzā, worked both for the ruler and for commerce, while the ruler had also his own establishments in Shīnāz, Djannāba, Tawwādj and al-Ghundiḡjān (Ibn Hawkal, *B. G. A.*, II, 213 sq.; J. v. Karabacek, *Susandichird*, p. 106 sqq.; al-Idrīsī, I, 391, 399 sq.). Kāstūrān, „the Damietta of Persia“, later became the chief centre of the linen manufacture and about 500 A. H. (beginning of the 11th century A. D.), this was so strictly controlled that the Rabbān canal, important for the making of the yarn and the transport of the finished articles, being the property of the royal treasury, was only available to those weavers who wove cloth for the emir; here also we find the production under state control (cf. A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islāms*, p. 434). Not less celebrated than Persia was Khūzistān (Susiana) as a centre of textile weaving. In Tusar, where silk fabrics, brocades, velvets, turban shawls, curtains, and the heavy *khaz* stuffs were manufactured, there was a state factory with a superintendent (*shāhib*) at its head. The curtains for the Ka'ba were made of brocade produced there and as these, as we have seen, were sent by the court in Baghdād, we can understand the significance of the remark by Ibn Hawkal, *B. G. A.*, II, 175, that every one who reigned in the 'Irāk had a factory and a superintendent in Tusar (*tirāz wa-shāhib*) (cf. also J. v. Karabacek, *Über einige Benennungen mittelalterlicher Gewebe*, p. 30—32). In Idmī's time, the material for the kiswas was already made in the 'Irāk (*Nuṣṣat al-Muḥṭāṭ*, I, 383). Not less important than Tusar were the two towns of Sūs and Ḳurḳūb. In Sūs, where there was a state factory, *khaz* fabrics and fine linen was made (al-Isṭakhri, *B. G. A.*, I, 93; Ibn Hawkal, *B. G. A.*, II, 175; al-Mukaddasī, *B. G. A.*, III, 416). There was also one such factory (*tirāz fi 'l-sulṭān*) in Ḳurḳūb, where as in Sūs, royal robes, rich brocades, and the striped materials, which took the name of the town were made (al-Isṭakhri, *B. G. A.*, I, 93; Ibn Hawkal, *B. G. A.*, II, 175; al-Idrīsī, I, 383 sq.; J. v. Karabacek, *Susandichird*, p. 107); finally it may also be mentioned that in Sidjistān also, there was a *tirāz* factory working for the ruler, in which robes of honour were made, with which he was very liberal (Vāḡūt, *Muḡjam*, III, 458).

On the origin of the institution of the *tirāz* nothing has been definitely ascertained. J. v. Karabacek (*Papyruspretibollie*, p. 27) endeavoured to

trace its origin to foreign, probably Babylonian-Assyrian influences and even thought that the many factories of fabrics in Fāris which were state monopolies and the erection of great storehouses for garments (*ghusā in al-kiswā*) might be taken as a royal custom inherited from the Sassanians (Ober *einige Benennungen mittelalterlicher Gewebe*, p. 20). Karabacek seems to be right in quoting in this connection the statement in Ibn Khaldūn (I, 222) to the effect that the Persian kings before Islām put the portraits of kings or figures and pictures made specially for the purpose on ornamental borders, and the Muslim rulers replaced these by inscriptions containing their names and auspicious formulae. Karabacek also points out that they were in this matter influenced by the Byzantines, among whom they found the *tirāz*, which had come from the same source. G. Ebers, *Cleopatra*, I, 205 also connects the *tirāz* with the *clavus*, and O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, I, 77, holds the view that the key pattern was imitated by the Persians also in the fifth and sixth century A. D. on the celebrated robe of Yazdegerd (before 640 A. D.; cf. Falke, I, 83 and fig. 105), the dress of the great king has these typical key pattern stripes woven in it, which run downwards from the shoulder and also down the back, as we frequently find in tunics from Aghmām. Falke sees in the borrowing of the key pattern from the west on the tunic a sign of a new Persian style (p. 85) and a comparison with the famous Sassanian fabric with the horseman in the Berlin Kunstgewerbe-Museum (Falke, I, fig. 107) arouses misgivings against the assumption of adoption of the key pattern into Persian court-dress, when we see here in what an un-Roman and confused fashion the key pattern has been interpreted by the artist. Perhaps there are connections here which we cannot yet see in their completeness, but it is well worth noting that the Roman *clavus* — the sign of the senatorial and knightly rank — is ultimately traced to an Etruscan origin (cf. the article *clavus* in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enzykl.*, VII, col. 4 sqq.), so that an Oriental origin for this remarkable institution is not absolutely excluded. Memories of the ancient *clavi* survived until quite late in the external form of the *tirāz* borders. Thus the two pieces No. 921 and 922 of the Aiyābid and Mamlūk period published by A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muhammadan Textiles*, Pl. 7, still show the same fundamental form as the Coptic fabrics, although the decoration is slightly varied (cf. O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, I, fig. 26); even the custom, so frequent in Muhammadan *tirāz* borders, of placing a figured or decorative strip between two bands of writing is already found on the border of a strip of Coptic cloth of the 11th century A. D. (cf. A. Riegl, *Die ägyptischen Textilsfunde*, Pl. 9 opp. p. 48). The text used here is Psalm 44, verse 10 sq. The continuity in art in Egyptian industry, which in the Muslim period, as far as the production of textiles is concerned, was mainly in the hands of Copts, makes the preservation of old forms and customs quite intelligible. It is worth noting that, in Muslim fabrics also, the band of writing was often embroidered or woven in red silk. Perhaps the preference for this colour is due to the fact that the *clavi* of the Romans were usually done in purple. The privilege of the *Prinsep* to grant the *latus clavus* to the senators and the reservation of purple for the use of the

ruler and, from 369, the limitation of the production of gold braid to the gynaeceae, at least, afford parallels to the sovereign right of the Muslim Caliphs to the *tirāz* and its presentation. The institution of the gynaeceae was not imitated in Islām however. Only in Cairo was there for a time a similar institution, where the garments intended for the caliph underwent a slight fitting by a staff of 30 women under a female superintendent (C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, i. 183 sq.). The institution of the *tirāz* in Islām is in any case found quite early under the Umayyads; we know this from al-Kisā'i's account of 'Abd al-Malik's reform of the coinage and adoption of the Arabic language for the text of official documents. So far, it is true, we have only found only one caliph of the Umayyad house—probably Marwān II—mentioned, on a piece of silk from Akhmin which bears the inscription [*Abd*] *Allāh Marwān Amīr al-Mu'minīn* (A. R. Guest, *J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 390 and A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muhammadan Textiles*, p. 35). With the Muslim fabrics which were imported to Europe in considerable quantities inscribed *tirāz* bands were brought into fashion. As early as *Parcival* (231, a), Anfortas wears an Arab *tirāz* braid on his head dress and it is very curious to find that the vestments of high dignitaries of the church were adorned with *tirāz* braid, which contained the Muslim confession of faith. A collection of Arabic *tirāz* inscriptions on robes of the Madonna and on pictures by Italian masters was made by Sewall, *J. R. A. S.*, 1907, p. 164. I may add that on fol. 22 of the fine Vienna manuscript of René d'Anjou's *Le livre du cœur d'amour épris* (written after 1457 A. D.), Cupid is represented with a blue tunic with Arabic *tirāz* borders written in gold on a blue ground, and two Brussels gobelins of the xvth century show Abraham with *tirāz* inscriptions in gold at the wrists and sides. The often clumsy imitation of Arabic inscriptions on North Italian silks is well known.

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(A. GROHMANN)

TİRE, a town in Anatolia, capital of the *kaḍā* of Tīre in the wilāyet of Aidin, in the valley of the Kütük Menderes, 18 miles S.E. of Smyrna with which it is connected by railway. The present town presumably occupies the site of the ancient Arcadiopolis, later called Teira (i.e. "town", e.g. in Thyā-teira; cf. W. M. Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 104, 114). In the Byzantine period the town appears as Thyrea (Θέρεα) and Thyraia (Θήραια; cf. Ducas, p. 38, 73, 97, 109, 175, 196) and repeatedly plays a part in history. In 1308 Sasan transferred many of the inhabitants of Ephesus to Tīre (cf. Pachymeres, ii. 588). Travellers like Ibn Battūṭa (ii. 307 sq.) who went via Burge to Tīre which lay in the midst of orchards, gardens, and streams in the land of the "Sultan of Burge", i.e. of the Aidin-oghlu or the adventurous Catalanian chronicler Ramon Muntaner (sect. 25) used to pass through Tīre. When in 1403 Timūr advanced against the town, the inhabitants fled to Smyrna (cf. Ducas, p. 38, 97, 109). After the collapse of the petty kingdom of the Aidin-oghlu in 830 (1426), Tīre became Ottoman. It plays no particular part in later history; it was a mint down to the xvth century and is occasionally mentioned in connection with risings (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iv. 398, note and v. 50 note). In Tīre is the tomb of the celebrated 'ulemā 'Abd al-Latif b. 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Firsihte (Ar.: Ibn al-Malak, Turk.: Firsihte-oghlu, d. according to the *Sālnāma* of Aidin of 1302, p. 239 in 799 [1396]; cf. on this point *Ṣaḥāḥ al-Nu'māniya*, p. 66 sq.) known as the author of a once much used Turkish dictionary in verse (*Lughat-i Firsihte-oghlu*) and of a commentary on the principles of jurisprudence, *Manār al-Anwār* of al-Nasafi [q. v.]. He taught there in a medrese which bears his name and is still in use. Tīre was also the birthplace of several Ottoman authors, e.g. Shaikh Haidar b. Sa'd Allāh (cf. *ʿAṣāʾi, Dhail on the Ṣaḥāḥ*, p. 191), Molla Naṣr Allāh al-Kūmī (*ibid.*, p. 123) and the scene of activity of *kaḍīs* (cf. *ibid.*, p. 130, 172 and F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 146; *Ḍarrārāde*). Tīre is also mentioned as a place of banishment; the versatile historian Shihānāde for example ended his life here (cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 346). The earlier European travellers rarely visited Tīre. The chaplain of the English factory in Smyrna, Edm. Chishull (d. 1733) is one of the few who visited Tīre (cf. *Travels in Turkey and back to London* [London 1747], p. 19 and Thos. Smith, *Septem Asiae Ecclesiarum Notitia*).

It was then thought that Tīre represented Thyāteira (= Ak-hisār), one of the "Seven Churches of Asia". Ewliya Celebi [q. v.] describes Tīre in the ninth, still unpublished, volume of his *Travels*. The town does not seem to possess any antiquities. Mention may be made of the library of 1,325 volumes (including the holograph of the above mentioned commentary of Firsihte-oghlu), presented by Nadjib Pasha, governor of Baghdad. Down to the Turko-Greek exchange of population, Tīre had about 15,000, mainly Greek, inhabitants (cf. V. Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, iii. 508 sq.) who were mainly occupied in carpet-weaving and the cultivation of the vine.

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(F. BABINGER)

TİREBOLİ, capital of the *kaḍā* of Tīreboli in the wilāyet of Trapezunt in Anatolia on the Black Sea, picturesquely situated on three capes from which the town of Tripolis, founded by Greeks from Miletus in the eighth century A.C., received its name. The town is commanded by a mediaeval castle; the remains of two small churches still recall the Byzantine period. In view of its proximity to Trapezunt and Kerasunt, Tīreboli played no special part in history in ancient or modern times. The Comnenoi of Trapezunt were fond of living in the castle here. The conquest of Trapezunt by Mehemmed II in the autumn of 1461 also sealed the fate of Tīreboli. The inhabitants fled to the fortress of Petroma 20 miles away and only surrendered after a long siege, when starved out. Henceforth Tīreboli belonged to the Ottoman empire. While the Spaniard Roy Gonzales de Clavijo on his journey to Samarkand in 1404 still found Tīreboli ("Tripil") a very large town, the place later sank into comparative insignificance. European travellers have often visited and described Tīreboli, e.g. J. Pitton de Tournefort (cf. *Relation d'un voyage du Levant*, ii. [Paris 1717], 222 sq., with picture); Wm. J. Hamilton (cf. *Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1842, i. 253); A. D. Mordtmann (cf. *Anatolien*, ed. v. F. Babinger, Hannover 1925, p. 411); J. Ph. Fallmerayer (*Fragmente aus dem Orient*², i. 131, 135 sq.) etc. In Tīreboli, besides 8 mosques, there are a number of Greek churches, some of them old. Near it is the now deserted dervish monastery of Sarī Khalifa (cf. thereon J. H. Mordtmann in *M. S. O. S. A.*, xxix. 112 sqq. and xxx. 206, perhaps the individual in question). Before the Turko-Greek exchange of population Tīreboli had about 8,000 inhabitants, 1/4 of them Greeks.

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(F. BABINGER)

TIRHĀLA, the Turkish name for TRIK (KALAM), a town in western Thessaly (Greece), on the well watered Trikkalinos, 400 feet above sea-level, on the Volos-Kalabaka railway. Tirhāla, not far from the ancient Triikka, now completely disappeared, with the famous temple of Asclepius and belonging since 1881 to Greece, formerly to the Ottoman empire, in which it was incorporated in 798 (beg. Oct. 16, 1395) by Bāyazīd I (cf. Hājjī Khalifa, *Rumeli und Bozna*, ed. by J. v. Hammer, p. 100, and J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, i. 249). The town was taken at the same time as Larissa (Turk. Yenī Shehr, q. v.). Later it belonged to the dominions of the Turakhān-oghlu (q. v.), one of the oldest and most distinguished Ottoman noble families. In the reign of Sulaimān the Great the Jews deported from Budapest were settled in Tirhāla (cf. F. Belon, *Les observations de plusieurs singularités* etc., Paris 1555, fol. 58^r). In it 'Omar b. Turakhān founded a *medrese* roofed with lead, in which among others, the Ottoman historian Ahmad called Pars-Parsāde taught; he died in Tirhāla in 908 (1560) and was buried in the mosque of 'Omar b. Turakhān, which now no longer exists (cf. 'Atā'i, *Dhail on Shāhā'ib al-Nu'māniya*, p. 20, and F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 83 sq.); cf. also Na'imā, *Ta'rikh*, iv. 38. Tirhāla was also the official residence of a *kādī*, and several famous scholars like 'Aṣṣā'ī and Weist held this office. Of the four mosques of Ghāzi Turakhān, 'Osmānshāh Beg, Hājjī Muḥaffa and Husain Agha only two survive. The first is that built by the famous architect Sinān, that of 'Osmānshāh Beg, called Kara 'Osmānshāh, a nephew of Sulaimān the Great, who held the governorship of Thessaly and died in Tirhāla (975=1567) (cf. Peṭewi, *Ta'rikh*, i. 45 and Ewliyā, *Siyāhat-nāma*, i. 172; do., *Travels*, ed. J. v. Hammer, i. 1, p. 87). The mosque with the *tūrbe* of its founder, although falling into ruins still bears traces of its former splendour. Of the tombs of celebrities here, the following may also be mentioned: Djalāl al-Dīn Baba, Sinān Baba, Ramaḍān Efendi, Dja'far Efendi and Etlī Kalkān (اتلی قلقان).

The 14 wells built by Muḥaim Faḥḥā-rāde 'Abdullāh Paḥḥa are evidence of Tirhāla's plentiful supply of water. Tirhāla is now entirely abandoned by Muslims and only Greeks (mostly Wallachians) and Jews live in the town, which, while not particularly healthy, with its commanding Byzantine fortress and its wealth in gardens, forms a picture not easily forgotten.

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AL-TIRIMMĀH R. HAKIM AL-TĀY, a celebrated poet of the first century of Islām. He was descended from a highly respected clan of his tribe and his grandfather Kais is numbered among those who came to Mecca in the year 9 of the Hījra to pay homage to the Prophet. He himself, according to the most reliable accounts, was born in Syria and spent the earliest years of his life there. Later he came as a soldier to al-Kūfa and through the influence of some Khāridjī leaders became himself one of their sect, and remained true to their doctrines to the end of his life. Either as a soldier or in some other capacity, he visited several parts of Persia. His collected poems, which are preserved only in part in a very old Spanish manuscript, are distinguished from those of his contemporaries by a studied use of uncommon words, similar to the compositions of the *rafi'at*-poet Ru'ba, who made a kind of speciality of this. Ru'ba was for the grammarians of Bagda a source of information on questions of obscure words and he alleged, according to the grammarian al-Asma'ī and a few others, that he had learned these strange expressions from Tirimmaḥ. This claim is most likely unfounded because Tirimmaḥ was dead when Ru'ba came into prominence. Different was the intercourse of Tirimmaḥ with the poet al-Kumait [q. v.], a fervent Shī'a poet of no mean order, for in spite of their differences in almost every other thing, their friendship was sincere and lasting. The betrayal of the Tamīmīs of the family of al-Muhallab and the downfall of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab in 102 (720–721) and the undisguised joy of the Tamīmīs brought Tirimmaḥ into opposition with the poet al-Farazdaq and in the end after a stinging *hijā'* poem by Tirimmaḥ it seems as if al-Farazdaq gave up the contest. This poem remained for more than a century the pride of the Yamānīs and was continually cited against the Tamīmīs. Tirimmaḥ's grandson Amīn a century later lost a post as secretary in North-Africa when Ibrāhīm b. Aghlab, who claimed to be descended from Tamīm, became governor of North-Africa in 184 (800). The fragmentary state of the *diwān* of the poet gives us only an imperfect idea of his character, but through some of his verses runs a pious vein, so different from that of his profligate adversary. Verses of his from the descriptive poems, abounding in uncommon words, are often cited in Arab dictionaries as evidence of their existence in the language; but I have been able to ascertain with a fair amount of certainty that Tirimmaḥ uses many words which are also found with the same meanings in the poems of his tribesman Abū Zubaid, and of Ibn Muḥbil (Tamīm b. Ubāy b. Muḥbil al-Adjānī) whom he may both have known personally in his younger years and we may assume that the words he uses were really found in the speech of some Arab tribes and not newly-coined words, as is frequently the case with Ru'ba.

Bibliography: The poems of Tufail al-Ghanawī and Tirimmaḥ b. al-Hakīm, ed. F. Krenkow, Leyden 1928; *Kitāb al-Aghāni*, x. 156–160; Ibn Kutāiba, *Kitāb al-Shīr*, ed. de Goeje; Marzubānī, *Muwaththah*. — He is cited in the *Lisān al-Arab* more than a hundred times and the *Asās al-Balāgha* of Zamakhsharī alone cites 56 verses, which are not found in the manuscript of the *Diwān* nor in any other accessible work. (F. KRENKOW)

TIRMIDH, a town on the north bank of the Amū Daryā [q.v.] near the mouth of the Surkhān. As Sam'āni, who spent 12 days there, testifies, the name was pronounced Tirmidh in the town itself (*G.M.S.*, xx., fol. 105^b) which is confirmed by the Chinese Ta-mi (e.g. Hiouen Tshang, *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, I, 25). Russian officers in 1889 also heard the pronunciation Termis or Tirmiz (*Sbornik materialov po Asii*, lvii, 393 and 399). The town is now officially known as Termez.

Tirmidh does not seem to have been touched by Alexander the Great and is not mentioned in antiquity, although its foundation was afterwards ascribed to Alexander. According to Hāfīz-i Abrū (q.v.; text by Barthold in *al-Muṣaḥḥaṭiyya*, St. Petersburg 1897, p. 20) not only Tirmidh but also Burdāghūy, not far from it on the river, was built by Alexander; Burdāghūy is said to be a Greek word and to mean "inn" (*mihmānkhāna*) (? Greek *νυκτεριον*).

At the time of the Muslim conquest Buddhism was predominant in Tirmidh; there were 12 monasteries and about 1,000 monks there (Hiouen Tshang, *loc. cit.*). Tirmidh was then under an important ruler who bore the title Tirmidh-Shāh (Tabari, ii, 1147; *B.G.A.*, vi, 39); there was a powerful fortress on the bank (Tabari, ii, 1147). In the year 70 (689-690), Tirmidh was conquered by Mūsā b. 'Abd Allāh b. Khāsim, who had thrown off allegiance to the Muslim government, and ruled for 15 years by him (cf. Balādhuri, p. 417 sqq.; Tabari, ii, 1145 sqq.). Only towards the end of 85 (704) did 'Uthmān b. Ma'sūd by order of the governor al-Mufaddal b. al-Muhallab succeed in taking the town for the government. In this fighting and in later sieges and bridge-building, the island at Tirmidh, called in the Arab period Dja'irat 'Uthmān, played an important part; in the Ōzbeq period the island is called Orta-Aral or Orta-Aral ("middle island") (J. Senkowski, *Supplément à l'histoire générale des Huns etc.*, St. Petersburg 1824, text, p. 20, and the passages quoted from manuscripts in Barthold, *K istorii orozheniya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914). The worship of the prophet Dhu 'l-Kifl (*B.G.A.*, iii, 291) mentioned as early as the fourth (tenth) century in Kalīf, was transferred here; after this cult, the island is now called Aral Paighambar ("island of the prophet").

On geographical conditions in the fourth (tenth) century cf. especially *B.G.A.*, i, 298 and iii, 291. Tirmidh was an important port on the Amū-Daryā; boats were built and exported from there (*B.G.A.*, iii, 325, 7). Like Balkh, Tirmidh was noted for its soap (cf. *cit.*, p. 324). Two natives of Tirmidh have attained fame in Muslim literature: the author of the famous collection of traditions Abū 'Isā Muhammad b. 'Isā al-Tirmidhi [q.v.] (d. 279 = 892) and the traditionist and mystic 'Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad b. 'Alī al-Tirmidhi [q.v.] d. 255 (869); cf. Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i, 164. The latter's tomb, probably erected in the ninth (xvth) century is now the finest building in the ruins of Tirmidh and one of the most beautiful in Central Asia (picture e.g. in *Is. Geogr. Oskh.*, xlv, 1908, on p. 652 with a Russian translation of the inscriptions and in Barthold, *Islam*, St. Petersburg 1918, p. 57). The inscriptions give us in part what we are told about Muhammad b. 'Alī in the *Tadhkirat al-Awliya'* (*Pers. Hist. Texts*, v, 93) of Farīd al-Dīn Attār [q.v.], and in the *Nafahāt al-Uns*

(lith., p. 77) of Dīlāmī [q.v.]; we are further told that he studied under the same scholars as al-Bukhārī, which Sam'āni (*G.M.S.*, xx, 106^a) refers to Muhammad b. 'Isā.

Tirmidh afterwards shared the political history of Khorāsān and Mā warā al-Nahr, sometimes, as at the present day, the Oxus frontier and sometimes the connection with Balkh being of greater importance. Under Maḥmūd and his immediate successors, Tirmidh like other dependencies of Balkh north of the Oxus belonged to the empire of the Ghaznavids [q.v.]. When as a result of the battle in the desert of Kaṭwān near Samarkand (5th Šafar 536 = Sept. 9, 1141) rule over Mā warā al-Nahr passed to the Kara-Khitai [q.v.], Tirmidh remained in the Saldjuks as is shown by the fact that Sulṭān Sandjar [q.v.] sought refuge here in 551 (1156). Tirmidh was later in the possession of the Kara-Khitai from whom it was taken in Dhu 'l-Ka'da 601 (June-July 1205) by 'Imād al-Dīn 'Qamar, governor of Balkh for the Ghōrids [q.v.] (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 135). 'Imād al-Dīn's son Bahrām Shāh (the name occurs in Nasawi, ed. Houdas, p. 39) was appointed governor of Tirmidh. The very next year it was taken by the Khwārizmshāh Maḥammad, then allied with the Kara-Khitai, and handed over to the latter; according to Ibn al-Athīr (xii, 152 sq.), this news provoked great indignation against the Khwārizmshāh throughout the Muslim world. According to Djuwainī (*G.M.S.*, xvi, ii, 64), the town was surrendered by the governor on the advice of his father to 'Othmān, Khān of Samarkand; in Mirkhwānd (*Hist. des sultans du Khorasan*, ed. by Defrémery, Paris 1842, p. 51 sq.) the Khwārizmshāh is mentioned in place of the Khān. After the fall of the empire of the Kara-Khitai, Tirmidh belonged to the empire of the Khwārizmshāh; in the autumn of 1220 it was taken and completely destroyed by the Mongols. In Djuwainī's narrative (*G.M.S.*, xvi, 102) of the conquest it is mentioned that half of the city walls are in the middle of the river.

A few years earlier, we have the first reference to the sayyids of Tirmidh whose importance was not affected even by the Mongol conquest. When the Khwārizmshāh Muhammad had quarrelled with the caliph Nāṣir, he proclaimed through the learned men of his empire that the 'Abbāsids had appropriated by unjust means the power, which really belonged to the descendants of 'Alī, 'Ala' al-Mulk, one of the great sayyids (*see al-Da'i-basray*) of Tirmidh, was appointed caliph (*G.M.S.*, xvi, ii, 97, 122). The appointment had no further consequences and we know nothing of the life or end of this anti-caliph. In the *Ta'rikh-i Guzda* of Ḥamd Allāh Kāwīm (*G.M.S.*, xiv, i, 496) he is called Saiyid 'Imād al-Dīn Tirmidhi.

In the next century Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [q.v.] (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iii, 48) records happenings in the Čaghatai [q.v.] kingdoms. 'Ala' al-Mulk Khudāwand-zāde, a descendant of Ḥusain b. 'Alī, lord (*iṣṣīd*) of Tirmidh is mentioned. He is said to have thrust himself upon the Khān Khālīf Allāh at the head of 4,000 Muslims and to have been appointed vizier by him. The members of his house are also called Khudāwand-zāde in later times (in the *Zafar-nāma*, Ind. ed., i, 210, pass. and in the *Bābur-nāma*, facs. Beveridge, fol. 208 contracted to Khān-zāde. The full form is found in the oldest recensions of the *Zafar-nāma*, composed in Timūr's time [*Tekst po istorii Sredney*

Asi, St. Petersburg, 1895, p. 131 and 199). In the *Zafar-nāma* the "Khān-sāde" Abu 'l-Ma'ālī and his brother 'Alī Akbar are several times mentioned; in 1371 Abu 'l-Ma'ālī was banished for his share in a campaign against Timūr (*Zafar-nāma*, i. 231), but his exile was not of long duration; in the very next year we find him taking part in Timūr's campaign against Khwārizm (*op. cit.*, p. 241). A Khān-sāde 'Alā' al-Mulk is again mentioned later; Timūr stayed at his home on his return from his Indian campaign in 1399 and from the campaign in the west in 1404 (*op. cit.*, ii. 190 and 593). In 1487 Ahmad Mirzā married a wife of the house of the Saiyids (*Bābur-nāma*, fol. 206).

In the time of Ibn Battūta, when Balkh was still in ruins, Tirmidh had already recovered from its destruction by the Mongols; the town was not rebuilt on its old site but two Arab miles from the river; it was a fine large town with prosperous inhabitants (Ibn Battūta, ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iii. 56 sq.). Among the ruins of this town is the mausoleum described by A. A. Semenov (*Problemy Turko-Khanstva Lyub. Arkh.*, xix. 3 sqq. with pictures) with the tombs of the Saiyids now called Sultan-Sadat (probably *Sultān-Sādāt*). The descendants of the Saiyids now live in the village (according to the latest census: 724 inhabitants) of Sālīhābād near Tirmidh. A. Semenov obtained from them a manuscript genealogy and history of their house ending on the 4th Dhū 'l-Hijja 1046 (29th April 1637). According to this MS., the Saiyid Hasan al-Emir, son of the Emir Hussain, came to Samarkand in 235 (849–850) and thence went to Balkh and Tirmidh in 246 (860–861). We are told something of his relations with the Samānids, with a number of anachronisms; for the rest, the genealogy only contains names (*Sultān-sādāt* occurs in it as a woman's name) without facts or historical associations.

In the *Zafar-nāma* (i. 57) "Old Tirmidh" (*Tirmidh-i Kuhā*) is mentioned alongside of Tirmidh. In literary works, including the MS. just mentioned, and on coins Tirmidh after the Mongol period is frequently called "The Men's Town" (*madīnat al-rijāl*). After Timūr's death, the Oxus frontier again came into prominence for a brief period. Khalīl Sulṭān who had seized Samarkand could only hold the territory north of the Āmū-Darya. During the preparations for war between him and Shāhrukh [q. v.], Khalīl Sulṭān in 810 (1407) restored old Tirmidh and Shāhrukh, the defences of Balkh (Ibn 'Arabshāh, *Egypt*, ed., p. 205 sq.). It is to this period that probably belongs the memorial to Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Tirmidhī.

From the 15th (xvth) century Tirmidh, and as a rule Balkh also, belonged to the kingdom of the Ōzbegs. During the fighting for Balkh between the Ōzbegs and the Indian prince (later emperor) Aurangzeb [q. v.] in 1646 and 1647, Tirmidh was occupied by Indian troops under Sa'ādāt Khān (Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, vii. 79, also Barthold, in *Bulletin de l'Acad. etc.*, 1921, p. 204).

In the early years of the xviiith century Tirmidh was in possession of Shīr 'Alī of the Kūghrat family, the founder of the town of Shīrābād (*Z. D.M.G.*, xxxviii. 276). A distinction was made at this time between the "great citadel" (*kal'a-i khalīl*) of Tirmidh and the "citadel of the village" (?) where

the bulk of the inhabitants (of Tirmidh?) lived. The unsettled condition of the following decades brought about the complete ruin of Tirmidh as of many other towns. In 1758 Muḥammad Rahīm Khān rebuilt the town (Barthold, *K istorii erozheniya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914, p. 74); it was afterwards destroyed once more.

In the second half of the xixth century, there was nothing near the ruins of the old town of Tirmidh except the insignificant village of Patta Hījār (with 1,257 inhabitants) and Sālīhābād (cf. above). Patta Hījār acquired more importance when it was made the starting point of the Russian steamships on the Āmū-Darya. In 1894 the Russian fort of Termez was built 5 miles from the ruins and gradually became a town, but with a predominantly male population (according to the last census: 8,052 men and 2,069 women). In 1916 the Bukhara-Karshi-Termez railway was opened; during the revolution it was destroyed but has since been rebuilt. The excavations conducted on behalf of the Moscow Museum for Oriental Culture have yielded important results; among other things, objects of the Buddhist period have been found.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text: G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 440 sq.; W. Barthold, *Turkestan, G.M.S.*, N.S., v. 74 sqq. and index. — On the excavations: cf. B. Denke, *Termez Neuely Vostok*, xxii. (1928), p. 208 sqq.; *Kul'tura Vostoka*, N° 1 (1927), p. 9 sqq.; N° 2 (1928), p. 3 sqq.

(W. BARTHOLD).

AL-TIRMIDHĪ, ABU 'ISĀ MUḤAMMAD B. 'ISĀ B. SAWRA B. SHAUDĀL, the author of one of the canonical or semi-canonical collections of traditions. The *nisha* al-Tirmidhī connects him with Tirmidh, a place on the upper Āmū Darya, at a distance of 6 leagues from Balkh (about 37° Lat. N. and 67° Long. E. from Greenwich; cf. Karwini, *Nushat al-Kulūb*, ed. and transl. Le Strange, *G.M.S.*, xxiii, index, s.v.; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 440 sq. and map ix., facing p. 433), where he is said to have died in 279 (892–893); according to other reports, he died at Būgh, one of the boroughs of Tirmidh, in 275 (888–889), or in 270 (883–884).

Of his life very little is known. It is said, that he was born blind but also, that he lost his eyesight in his later years. He travelled widely, in Khurāsān, Irāk and Hijāz, in order to collect traditions. Among his masters were Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Hanbal [q. v.], al-Bukhārī [q. v.] and Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī [q. v.].

Two of his works have been printed: his collection of traditions (Cairo 1292, in 2 vols.; lithogr., Mirtah 1283, fol.) and his *Shams'ul*, a collection of traditions concerning the person and the character of the Prophet (Cairo 1306, with a commentary by Muḥammad b. Kāsim Dīnāsī, entitled: *al-Fawa'id al-Djalila al-Bakiya 'ala 'l-Shams' al-Muhammadiya*; and ibid., 1318 with 2 commentaries: the first, entitled *al-Was'il*, by 'Alī b. Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Karī; the second by 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Munāwī; for other editions and commentaries, see Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 162). Brockelmann, *loc. cit.*, mentions also a collection of forty traditions; it does not appear whether this was made by himself or by others. In Arabic sources other works on various subjects — asceticism, names and kunya's,

law, history — are ascribed to him, none of which seems to have come down to us.

His collection of traditions bears the title of *ṣaḥīḥ* in the edition printed at Cairo; elsewhere it is called *ḍiʿmī*; it deserves the latter qualification (cf. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Stud.*, ii. 231, note 2), as it comprises, besides traditions on law, also some concerning other topics. A glance at the list of chapters shows that nearly one half of the work is devoted to such subjects as dogmatic theology (*ʿAdar, Kiyāma, ʿDjanna, ʿDjahannam, Imān, Kurʿān*), popular beliefs (*Fitan, Kuʿya*), devotion (*Zuhd, Thawāb al-Kurʿān, Daʿawāt*), manners and education (*ʿIstīḥṣān, Adab*), hagiology (*Manāḥiṣ*).

The work contains far fewer traditions than those of Bukhārī or Muslim, but also less repetitions. It is chiefly two chapters that are particularly extensive, viz. *Manāḥiṣ* and *Tafṣīr al-Kurʿān*; they are lacking in the other three *ṣumman* (by this title the four collections of Abū Dāwūd, al-Tirmidhī, Nasāʾī and Ibn Māǧja are sometimes denoted). Though traditions showing a predilection for 'Alī are not rare, those which favour Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān are not lacking.

By two features, however, Tirmidhī's work is distinguished: the critical remarks concerning the *isnād's* and the points of difference between the *maḥabbah's*, which follow every tradition. On account of the latter feature, Tirmidhī's *Ḍiʿmī* may be called the oldest work on *ikhṭilāf* that has come down upon us; the remarks on this subject occurring in Shūbī's *Kitāb al-Umm* are much less complete and scarcely authentic.

According to the *Taḥṣīb*, as cited by Goldziher (*Muhamm. Stud.*, ii. 252, note 1), the MSS. are not uniform in reproducing Tirmidhī's remarks on the *isnād's* (*ṣaḥīḥ, ḥasan, ḡharīb, ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ, ḥasan ḡharīb, ṣaḥīḥ ḡharīb*). The author gives no explanation of the principles upon which his distinctions are based. The work opens with an enumeration of the authorities, which have handed it down to the final redactor. It closes with a brief eulogistic formula.

Bibliography: al-Samʿānī, *Kitāb al-Anṣab*, G. M. S., xx., fol. 106^a; Dhahabī, *Tahāḥāt al-Huffaz*, ed. Wüstenfeld, part iii., p. 57, No. 3; do., *Maʿān al-ʿIṭidāl*, Cairo 1325, iii. 117, No. 1021; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, No. 624; Ibn Ḥaǧǧar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Tahḍīb al-Tahḍīb*, Haidarābād 1326, ix. 387—389, No. 236; do., *Taḥṣīb al-Tahḍīb*, lithogr. Delhi, no year, p. 230^b; Ibn Khayr al-Dahha, *Tuḥfat al-Ḥawī ʿl-ʿArab*, ed. T. Mann, p. 143; I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii. 250 sqq. (A. J. WENNING).

AL-TIRMIDHĪ, ABU ʿABD ALLĀH MUHAMMAD B. ʿALĪ B. ḤUSAYN, known as al-Ḥakīm (the wise), a Sunni theologian of Khurāsān, a *muḥaddith*, a jurist of the Hanafī school and a mystic, d. in 285 (898). Some thirty of his works still exist in manuscript; their style is somewhat prolix but they are very fully documented.

In his *Nawādir al-Uṣūl* and his *Kāṣim al-Wilāya*, he attempts to give an orthodox mystical exegesis of certain gnostic themes (developed by the extremist Shīʿis) like the pre-existence of the *Nūr Muḥammadi* and the *Ḥaḳīqa Adamiya*, the value of the 28 letters of the alphabet, angelology, the criteria of the state of "sanctity" which he

was the first to study *ex professo* under the technical name of *wilāya* (borrowed from the Shīʿis); in it he gives a particular role to Jesus.

He tries to explain rationally the form of the canonical rites in his *ʿIṭal al-ʿUḥūdīya* (which were condemned), *Sharḥ al-Ṣalāt, al-Ḥaǧǧa wa-Aṣrūku*; his curious *Kitāb al-Farūḡ* endeavours to show that there are no true synonyms (which is half-Muʿtazila). He insists on introspection of the heart and professes a very high morality; his *Kitāb al-Aḳyār* castigates the different professing categories of hypocrisy and refutes the *ḥiyal* of the casuists of the time. He was the author of the first collection of biographies on the history of Sūfism but this work is only known from quotations.

He is the true precursor of Ibn ʿArabī who three centuries later studied him closely and admired him.

Bibliography: Hadjwiri, *Kaṣf al-Maḥ-ḡṣūd*, ed. Shukovski, 1926, p. 177—179, 265 sqq.; transl. Nicholson, 1912, p. 141—142, 210 sqq.; Amedroz, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1912, p. 584; L. Massignou, *Essai sur ... la mystique musulmane*, 1922, p. 256—264; do., *Textes inédits ...*, 1929, p. 33—39 and add. (L. MASSIGNOU).

TIRMIDHĪ, SAʿYID BURHĀN AL-DĪN, a Sūfī, also known as Saʿyid Ḥusayn Tirmidhī, Saʿyid Sirdān, or Burhān al-Dīn Muḥakkik, a native of Tirmidh and a disciple of Mawlānā Bahāʾ al-Dīn Walad. After studying for some time with the latter he spent a long time in ascetic practices and finally settled in Tirmidh where pupils gathered around him. After the death at Konya of Bahāʾ al-Dīn Walad (628 = 1231), Burhān al-Dīn went to Konya (629—630) in response to the appeal of his late master's spirit and undertook the spiritual education of the young Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī who up till then had been studying law and literature. After nine years, in spite of the appeals of Mawlānā, he retired to Kaiṣariya. It is evident from his biographies that he was in this town when the Mongols took Kaiṣariya and made a general massacre here (the MSS. of Müneddjim Bāshī, *Djāmī al-Dumal*, No. 5019 and 5020 of the *Kitābkhāna-i ʿumūmī* say that this event took place in 641 [1245]; for the details cf. *Recueil de textes rel. à l'histoire des Seldj.*, ed. Houtsma, iv. 241). Shams al-Dīn Iṣfahānī, the Seldjuk governor of Kaiṣariya, was the patron and disciple of Burhān al-Dīn. It was he who saw to the performance of his funeral rites and built his tomb. We do not know the exact date of his birth nor can we determine accurately that of his death. Ewliya Çelebi says that the *maḥam* of Saʿyid Burhān Tirmidhī was in Kaiṣariya and that he died in 474 which is clearly wrong. At the present day there is in Konya near the *türbe* known as the *Türk-khānlar Türbesi*, a *türbe* called Burhān al-Dīn Türbesi; although there is no inscription on the latter, it has always been regarded as that of Saʿyid Burhān Tirmidhī. Dawlatshāh, who regards Burhān al-Dīn Muḥakkik as the *ṣaḥīḥ* of Bahāʾ al-Dīn and of Mawlānā, says that he accompanied them on their travels in Syria and to the Hijāz and that he died and was buried in Syria. This is not in keeping with the facts (Dawlatshāh, ed. Browne, p. 194; Bombay edition, p. 86; and quoting Dawlatshāh: Fehmī, *Safinat al-Shuʿarāʾ*, Constantinople, Matbaʾa-i ʿAmire, 1259, p. 82). Saʿyid Burhān Tirmidhī owes his fame more especially to the part he plays in the traditions of the Mew-

lewis. From this point of view, it is in the oldest and most important sources for the history of the Mawlawi order, such as *Sipahsalar Manāshih* and *Ḥikāṭi Manāshih*, that we must seek for reliable information about him.

Bibliography: (in addition to the works mentioned in the text): Feridūn b. Ahmad Sipahsalar, *Manāshih-i Ḥaqīqī al-Khawāṣṣ*, Turkish translation, printed 1331, p. 159—164; Ḥikāṭi, *Manāshih al-Arifin*, Pers. MS.; do., transl. into Turkish by Mahmūd Dede, MS., chap. ii. (the MSS. of both versions are in many libraries); do., French translation by Cl. Huart, *Les Saints des derviches tourneurs*, Paris 1918, index; Lāmī's translation of the *Nafahāt al-Uns*, p. 515—516; Ewliyā Çelebi, *Siyāhatnâme*, Dur-i Şa'adet 1314, iii. 186; Khālī Edhem, *Kaṣṣ-i Şahri*, Constantinople 1334, p. 118; Köprülü Zāde Fu'ād, *İlk Matnawîşler*, Constantinople 1918, p. 245.

(KÖPRÜLÜ ZÂDE FU'ÂD)

TİT (in the texts one finds sometimes the Berber name *Tiṭ-an-Fiṭr*, sometimes its Arabic translation: *ʿAin al-Fiṭr*, "Source of the Breaking of the Fast"), a place on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, some eight miles S.W. of Mazagan.

According to the local legend, Tiṭ owed its foundation to a saint, Ismā'il Amghār (Berber = Arabic *ṣāḥib*) who came from Medina, led by a light which guided him in the sky, and settled among the Gādāla, a branch of the Ṣanhādja of Azemmūr; he settled in the forest opposite a spring "situated in the sea" to which he used to go walking on the waves whenever he broke his fast; hence the name of *Tiṭ-an-Fiṭr*. If we may trust the synchronisms given by the legend, his settlement here took place in the tenth century.

Ismā'il married the daughter of the chief of the country and became the ancestor of the Sharīfan family of the Amghāriyūn [cf. the article *AMGHARA*], one of the members of which Mawla'y 'Abd Allāh founded an important *ribāṭ* at Tiṭ in the first half of the 11th century. The history of this stronghold is not well known and al-Bakrī, who enumerates with details the ports and towns of the Atlantic coast, does not mention it; but it should be remembered that he also omits Azemmūr. In the 14th century, al-'Umari mentions Tiṭ as one of the 42 large towns of Morocco; it paid 5,000 mithqāls of taxes, as much as Tighas and a little less than Safra. When in 1513 the Portuguese occupied Azemmūr, Tiṭ also submitted to them and paid tribute. But in 1514, fearing that the *ribāṭ* might serve as a base for the Christians, Muḥammad al-Nāṣir, the Wattāsid sovereign, dismantled its walls and transported the inhabitants to the region of Fās; Tiṭ henceforth lost all importance, which passed to the neighbouring port of Mazagan which became the principal Portuguese factory in the land of the Dukkfla. At the present day it is only a wretched village among the ruins of the towers and gates of the old *ribāṭ*; its old name is hardly known to the natives who call it after the founder of the *ribāṭ*: Mawla'y 'Abd Allāh.

In spite of the resemblance of meaning, this Tiṭ has no connection with *Tiṭ-an-Wagurraut* "Spring of the Saint (?)", which the Almoḥad historian al-Baiḥakī says is in Tāmasnā in the land of the Barghawāla; we know that Tāmasnā lies to the north and not to the south of the Umm Rabi'. This second Tiṭ should, it appears, be identified with the place-

name wrongly written *تنن وربي* in the manuscripts of Idrisi "a little place but nevertheless a town in character, inhabited by Berbers of mixed origin and lying on the road from Tādla to Sale, four days' journey from Tādla and two from Sale". It must therefore lie approximately in the south corner of the lands of the present day tribe of the Zā'ir.

Bibliography: The legend of the Banū Amghār is given at length in a manuscript attributed to Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīm al-Zammūrī; H. Baasat and H. Terrasse, *Sanctuaires et fortifications almohades: Le ribāṭ de Tiṭ* (in *Hesperis*, 1927, p. 117—156). (G. S. COLIN)

TITTAWIN, TETUAN, Fr. TETOUAN, Sp. TETUAN, the *Tittigwin* of Leo Africanus, a Berber place-name meaning "the springs" (a quarter of the town is still called al-'Uyūn); al-Idrisi gives the defective form *Tittāwin* and the modern popular pronunciation is *Tittāwin*, *Tittāwin*. The name Tetuan given it by the Spaniards comes from the form *تنن* found at the end of the 17th century on coins of the early sovereigns of the Fīlālī dynasty. It is a town in the north of Morocco, 21 miles S. of Ceuta. It is built on a little terrace which juts out of Mount Darja and commands the valley of the Martin (or Martil) which flows into the sea 7 miles away. Between Tetuan and the sea lies a little plain encircled by the mountains of Andjara, of Buī Ḥōamār and the lower hills of the Buī Ma'dān. The Martin corresponds to the *Θαυρόδα* of Ptolemy and the *Tamuda* of Pliny. These old names are perhaps to be connected with the Berber *tamda*: "pond", "marsh", for the low valley of the Martin is very marshy. Pliny also mentions an *oppidum* called Tamuda; this must have been the name of the Berber-Roman town, the ruins of which can still be seen on the right bank of the Martin 2½ miles west of Tetuan near the bridge on which the railway to *Shaf-shāwan* crosses; an old Lybian inscription has been found there. The river was then more navigable and ships could ascend to the *oppidum*. The *Notitia Dignitatum* (Occ., xxvi. 13) mention Tamuda as the residence of the *praefectus* and of the *ala herculeae*. The lists of bishops mention a *Tamudensis episcopus*.

The name of Tetuan is not found in the early days of the Arab conquest; the country was then governed by Yulyān (= Julian?) who ruled the whole territory of the Ghumāra but Ceuta was the capital. Tetuan does not appear in the Muslim history of Morocco until the ninth century when the empire of Idris II was partitioned in 828; the town fell to al-Kāsim along with Tangier, Ceuta, Kaṣr Maḥmūda and Ḥadjar al-Naṣr but the capital of this kingdom was Tangier.

In the 11th century al-Bakrī knows Tetuan as the capital of the territory of the Banū Sikkin, a section of the Maḥmūda of the coast; it was a town with an old citadel and a minaret.

In 347 (953) the Fātimid general Djawhar came from Morocco to fight the Omayyads and marched on Ceuta and Tetuan after having taken Fās; but having failed in his attack on Ceuta he went no farther and returned to Sijilmāsa. In 399 (979) the Fātimid general Buluggin b. Ziri came to the top of the hill of Tetuan but did not take the town.

In the 12th century Tetuan is twice mentioned by the Almoḥad historian al-Baiḥakī; the Almo-

avid general Reverter encamped there when he was pursuing the Almohad troops. Al-Idrisi mentions it as a stronghold (*ḥiṣn*) of the Majjaks. It does not seem to have played any special part under the Almohads. In 685 (1286) the Marinid Sultān Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb wanting to create a base for operations against Ceuta, held by the king of Granada, built an important fortress at Tetuan around which his successor the Sultān Abū Thābit 'Amir in 708 (1308) ordered a town to be built; the historians are not clear as to whether this was the restoration of the old Tetuan which had fallen into ruins or the creation of a new town on a different site. In 1350 Tetuan saw Abū 'Isā, son of the Marinid Sultān 'Alī b. 'Uthmān, rebel against his father and proclaim himself sovereign. The new town barely lasted a century; it had become at the end of the xvth century a haunt of pirates, particularly dangerous to Spain on account of their proximity to its coast; in 1400 Henry III of Trastamare, king of Castile, sent a squadron of ships which penetrated into the mouth of the Martín and destroyed the corsairs' fleet; troops were landed who took the town, destroyed it and carried off many of the inhabitants as prisoners. Tetuan remained deserted for about eighty years.

In 1414 the Portuguese established themselves at Ceuta which was now to be held by Christians. After Ferdinand's capture of Granada, in Jan. 1492, many Spanish Arabs went over to Morocco; one of them, a valiant defender of Granada, Abū 'I-ḥasan al-Mandari, obtained from the Waṭṭasid ruler of Fās, Muḥammad al-Shaikh, the concession of Tetuan and the lands round it; gathering round him a number of émigrés from Spain, he built a fortress surrounded by ramparts and ditches. A new town was soon built with its Friday mosque. With a body of Spanish horsemen and contingents of mountaineers who had joined him, al-Mandari began to harass the Portuguese at Ceuta, al-Kaṣr al-Saghīr and Tangier by his raids, taking many prisoners whom he employed on the building of the town. Leo Africanus passing through Tetuan saw over 3,000 of them, who were shut up at night in siloes (a quarter of the town is still called *al-Māmār*, 'the siloes'). After the suppression of the risings of the Muslims of Spain, many came to join al-Mandari in the last years of the xvth and early years of the xvith century, especially in 1501 and 1502. To the war by land against the Portuguese was joined that of the corsairs by sea; Tetuan with the adjoining Shafshāwan became one of the principal centres for carrying on the holy war.

With the death of al-Mandari the heroic period of the history of new Tetuan comes to an end; henceforth it was simply a town of bourgeois from Spain whose only desire was to increase their wealth by trade and enjoy in peace the pleasures of arts and letters. Independent and turbulent and favoured by the isolated position of their town, they tried to escape the authority and especially the taxes of the Sultān, but whenever they had begun to enjoy a semi-independence, they broke up into factions who afflicted the town and made foreign intervention easy.

Down to the time of the 'Alawid Sultān Mawliyy Ismā'il, the supremacy seems to have belonged to the family of al-Nakhs, which this ruler had to exterminate. The period of anarchy which followed the death of Mawliyy Ismā'il saw the fighting between the Ka'id of the Dīḥād in the Rif, Aḥmad

b. al-Baḡḡī governor of Tangier, against the Tetuanese commanded by 'Umar al-Wakkaṣh; the Rifian leader finally succeeded in extending his authority over Tetuan. After his death (1743) the Tetuanese resumed their old habits, recognising all the pretenders who appeared in the district. In the sixteenth century, the important fact for the history of Tetuan is the Spanish-Moorish war of 1839-1860, at the end of which the town was taken by the Spaniards, who occupied it till May 1862. In 1890 Tetuan was visited by the Sultān Mawliyy al-Ḥasan. In 1903-1904 it was blockaded by the hillmen of the neighbourhood, who took advantage of the anarchy provoked by the rising of the pretender Abū Ḥimāra. Lastly in 1913, the Spaniards occupied Tetuan which became the capital of their zone of protectorate in northern Morocco and the residence of the Sultān's *Ḥalifa*.

Tetuan, whose port is Ceuta with which it is connected by railway, is the centre from which the tribes of the Ghumāra and the region of Shafshāwan obtain their supplies of imported goods. The local industries, especially the manufactures of brocade and of silk, are declining. The population is about 25,000 of whom 12,000 are Muslims and 4,250 Jews.

Bibliography: All the details of the history and topography of Tetuan and its economic life have been collected by A. Joly in the following works: for the description see *Tetuan*, in *Archives Marocaines*, vol. 4, p. 199-343. For the history, cf. *Archives Marocaines*, vol. 5, p. 161-264, 311-430; vol. 8, p. 404-539; vol. 3, p. 266-300 (on the siege of 1903-1904). On the economic life, cf. *L'Industrie de Tetuan*, in *Archives Marocaines*, vol. 8, p. 196-329; vol. 11, p. 361-393; vol. 15, p. 80-156; vol. 18, p. 187-256. — Cf. also: Cerdeira, *Inscriptions arabes de Tetuan*, in *Revista de tropas coloniales*, No. 11, Ceuta, Nov. 1925; Cuevas y Espinach, *Colección de estudios referentes al bajato de Tetuan*, in *Bol. Soc. Geogr. Madrid*, vol. 39, 1897, p. 49-74; Gomez Moreno, *Descubrimientos y antigüedades en Tetuan*, in *Revista hispano-africana*, Jan.-Feb. 1924; H. Cohn, *Mœurs des Juifs et des Arabes de Tetuan*, Paris 1927. (G. S. COLIN)

TIYÜL, a term used in the administrative system of Persia (the usual pronunciation *tuyül* is due to a false assimilation to Arabic plurals of the type *fa'ül*; in the same way Chardin's translation "perpetual" is due to an erroneous derivation from the Arabic *fawṣ* "long").

The *tiyül* (at least in the sixteenth century and in principle) is the authorisation granted by the government to an individual to levy his salary or pension directly on the taxes which a village or group of villagers has to pay the treasury. In its simple form the *tiyül* was a kind of guarantee to secure the payment of the pension. This guarantee was given sometimes simultaneously with the pension and sometimes later as an additional favour. The beneficiary could be a stranger to the village but he might also be its owner. The economic and social history of Persia still remains to be written and we can only indicate a few facts relative to the origin of the word *tiyül* and the custom to which it gives its name.

Etymology. The word is of eastern Turki origin. Radloff, *Opt. Słowara*, iii, col. 1343, 1380, explains it as "property assigned to any one, allotment" (*das Zuertheilte*) and derives it from

the verb *ti-māk* (= Constantinople Turkish, *diğmek* > *deymek*). From the point of view of morphology one might compare *tiy-ul* with the word *hāt-ul* "camp" which has also passed into Persian (place to which one returns, from *hātmak*, "to return"). The word *tiyāl* is not found in the Mongol period; for example, it does not occur in Rashid al-Dīn's chapter on Ghāzān's reforms (MS. Bibl. Nat. Paris, Suppl. Pers., N^o 209, fol. 405^a—443^b and d'Oshson, *Hist. des Mongols*, iv, 370—477). It is not even found for the period of Tīmūr in the *Zafar-nāma*. So far as one can see, the word first appears as an official term under the Tīmūrids; cf. the *Maṭla' al-Sa'dain* under 810 (1407); cf. N.E., xiv, 1843, p. 124—125, where Quatremère studies the word and quotes passages from the *Akbar-nāma* (concluded in 1597) and the *Ālam-ārā* (which comes down to 1629).

Origin of the institution. Although the name *tiyāl* is comparatively late, the practice to which it is applied existed in the time of the Seldjūqs or even earlier. The old Turkish word *tiyāl* in the popular language must correspond to an official term like *ihṣā'* "fief" (plur. *ihṣā'āt*) which it finally supplanted. The Arabic term *ihṣā'* disappears just at the time when the terms *tiyūr-ghāl* (cf. below) and *tiyāl* come into general use.

In chap. v. of the *Siyāsat-nāma*, Niṣām al-Mulk thus defines the prerogatives of feudatories (*mukṣṣān*): "they must know that their statutory rights (as *farnān*) over the peasants (*ra'āyā*) are simply the levying in a mild fashion of the legal dues (*māl-i haṣṣ*) which have been assigned (*hawālat*) to the feudatories. These dues having been levied, the cultivators remain free (*almān*) in all that concerns their bodies, their wives and children. Their property — goods and lands (*arṣāl wa-ḥayr*) — is also free and the *mukṣṣān* have no claim on it". The *ihṣā'* is thus reduced to the right to levy the dues (*māl-i haṣṣ*) payable by the cultivators. This form of *ihṣā'* (we do not know if it was the only one!) very much resembles the *tiyāl* of a later date. In the Mongol period, Rashid al-Dīn quotes the text of the decree of 703 (1303) by which Ghāzān Khān created the military fiefs (*ihṣā'*). This edict distinguishes between crown lands (*imḍā* and *diwānī*), those of private individuals and of the *waṣṣ*, and those which are uncultivated. As to the first category the lands of the peasants (*ra'āyā*) continued to enjoy their rights but paid all their dues (*hakra*, *māl*, *habbur*, *mutawaffiqihāt-i diwānī*) to the military feudatories (*lārīkhān*; on the meaning of a number of these terms cf. Barthold, *Nadpis na meisti Manuie*, *Aniushiya sriya*, N^o 5, St. Petersburg 1911, p. 32 sq.) in place of sending them to the treasury. This practice is also very close to the *tiyāl* although in 703 it formed part of a whole system of privileges which formed the counterpart of military service (d'Oshson, iv, p. 424, §§ 1—9).

Tiyāl, a financial expedient. The regular *tiyāl* is characterised by the simplification of the process, which is gradually transformed into a simple financial expedient in proportion as the number of payments increases and the central treasury finds a difficulty in making them in specie. Chardin, v, 416, for example, explains the origin of "payments by assignments" as mainly due to scarcity of currency.

The nature of the *tiyāl* (i.e. of the right to appropriate the taxes of a village) was often

complicated by privileges granted at the same time to the *tiyāldār* (e.g. that of administering public domains on his own account). This explains the vagueness of the definitions given it by European observers.

Chardin translates the word *tiyāl* by "assignation de terre" and distinguishes two categories of *tiyāl* "for these estates are either the apportionment of the charge, the great charges having all the lands which are annexed to them for the payment of wages and which remain perpetually attached to the charge; or they are assigned at the will of the treasury". In the latter case also, the payments had a character of perpetuity for a series of years. Chardin with much perspicacity criticises the system and concludes (p. 418): "the lands which are assigned for payment of salaries are not under the inspection of the king's men; they are as if they were the private property of the man to whom they are granted. He arranges about the revenue as he likes with the inhabitants of the place".

Similarly Kaempfer (1684—1688) enumerates three kinds of salaries in Persia: *harāt* (claims on remote provinces), *kama sālā* (lands yielding only the amount of the pension) and *tiyāl*. These "*tawil* ou *tiyāl*" which correspond, broadly speaking, to Chardin's first category are the lands (*paḡi*, *prædia vel fundi*) given to dignitaries of state (*ministres regni*) who during the term of their service enjoy possession of them (1) and of their taxes (*ut durante servitio eorum possessiones et annona gaudeant*) and only draw from these lands (belonging to the Amīr) a revenue equal to 3 to 10 times their salary.

Siyūrghāl. A distinction must be made between *tiyāl* and the document by which the privilege was granted; this usually was given the Turco-Mongol name of *siyūrghāl* (favour) (or perhaps *inām*), cf. Chardin, vi, 65 (who limits the meaning too much) and Budagov, I, 650. The firmān of Shāh Husain Safawī dated 1113 [1701] (publ. by Khanykow, *Mémoires asiat.*, iii, 1859, p. 70—76) may be taken as a specimen of a *siyūrghāl* (the only name for it used in the text of the document): the beneficiary has to put at the Shāh's disposition seven armed men; for this he is allotted the annual sum of 6 tamāns, 3 *hasr* and 96 dinārs and a half representing the taxes of the district of Dirmār. The peasants have to pay their taxes (*māl-waḥḥāt* [?]) *wa-waḥḥāt wa-huḥḥāt-i diwān* to the beneficiary of the *siyūrghāl* and the agents of the government are not to interfere with the exercise of this privilege. Thus the favour of the monarch (*siyūrghāl*) constitutes the *tiyāl* of the beneficiary.

XIXth Century. For the beginning of the XIXth century we have confirmation of the exact sense of *tiyāl* in Rawlinson, *Notes on a Journey from Tabriz*, *J. R. G. S.*, x, 1840, p. 5: "*Tiyāl* is a grant of the crown revenues of any town or district; the individual receiving the grant is usually entrusted with its realization, though not necessarily so. The grant also extends only to his own lifetime, unless otherwise specified. It is calculated that about a fifth of the whole land revenue of Persia is at present thus alienated from the crown". But very often the *tiyāl* proper continued to be associated with other privileges accorded to the same beneficiary, which disguised the extent of the *tiyāl*. Dr. Polak who himself nearly became a *tiyāldār* thus defines *tiyāl*: "ebenfalls Kronland,

dessen Ausnutzung aber einzelnen Personen statt des baren Gehalts überlassen wird".

The system of *tiyul* gave rise to all kinds of abuse. The landed proprietors of Persia are an intermediate class between the state and the peasants. The latter are regarded as the serfs (*ra'iyas*) of the proprietor. The latter (*arbab*) exercised certain administrative rights and among others himself collected all the taxes due from the peasants. Of the sums raised he retained the amount due to him as owner (*māliyyāt-i arbabī*) and handed the rest over to the treasury (*māliyyāt-i dawlatī*). If a *tiyul* is added to this system, the *tiyuldār* and the proprietor, two private individuals, arranged between themselves without the intermediary of the government; if the two titles coincided, the "owner-tiyuldār" escaped the financial control of the state and became a kind of feudal lord whose domains formed an enclave on territory governed by the local representatives of the central government. The *tiyul* often led to the transformation of its holder into a landed proprietor. As the favour of *tiyul* (especially in the sixteenth century) was granted to *personae gratiae* at the court, their privilege put them in a position to extend and strengthen their influence. In the rare cases where the peasants were the proprietors of the soil (*khurda-millik*) the impossibility of resisting stronger neighbours or the oppression of government agents often forced them to seek out a powerful *tiyuldār*, who would grant them his protection, but very often this protection ended in the disappearance of their rights as small owners. The *tiyul* was as a rule given for life; when the heirs of the *tiyuldār* were able to get the *tiyul* extended to them it was usually reduced by a third. In the course of several generations this led to the extinction of the *tiyul* but the heirs easily found means to prevent the disappearance or the diminution of their privilege. The *tiyul* on the state domains (*khālīqa*) liberally granted by the government finally led to the almost complete disappearance of the *khālīqa* in several localities, as for example in Adharbāidjīn (Tigranow).

Bogdanov alone finds extenuating circumstances in the practice of *tiyul* (the presents given by the *tiyuldār* to the government might be greater than the total of the taxes, which would otherwise have reached the capital; the *tiyuldār* protected the peasants against the extortion of government agents), but the disadvantages of this mediaeval system were too obvious and the Majlis at its first assembly on June 1907 hastened to decree that all *tiyul* should return to the state, which was done.

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(V. MINORSKY.)

TLEMCEN, in Arabic *TILMĀN*, from the Berber *tilmas* (pl. *tilmān* and *tilmān*), "spring, well of water" is the "town of the springs". The old town a few hundred yards E.N.E. of the modern town was called both Tlemcen and Agādīr, the latter, the old Phoenician name, which passed into Berber with the meanings given above (cf. AGADIR) and also that of "steep cliff or plateau", which corresponds exactly to the position of the place on a slightly inclined plateau rising abruptly from the plain which it commands to N. and E. Perhaps we may see in this name of Agādīr the origin of the Arab legend which calls Tlemcen al-Djūdīr or Madiyat al-Djūdīr and makes it the scene of the meeting between Moses and al-Khaḍīr (q.v. and cf. *Qur'an*, xvii. 64 *sqq.*). The following other names of this town may also be noted: Pomaria "the orchards", of the little town which the Romans had there and which is found in some Latin inscriptions found on the site of Agādīr; — Tāgrūt, "the camp" (Berber), given in the 11th century A.D. by the conquering Almoravids who founded the modern Tlemcen and its principal Mosque when they were besieging the older Tlemcen, i.e. Agādīr, — and lastly that of Manāḡira or al-Mahallat al-Manāḡira (Arabic), the "Victorious" or "Victorious Camp", a town 250 acres in area built by the Marinids of Fās a mile to the west with a great mosque, a palace and a walled fort at the end of the 13th century and beginning of the 14th, at the time of their first and great siege of Tlemcen. Of the three successive towns forming Tlemcen, Agādīr in the east, Tāgrūt in the centre and Manāḡira to the west, only the central one has survived and retained the name Tlemcen.

Geographical position. Tlemcen lies in 1° 30' W. Long. of Greenwich and 34° 53' N. Lat. It is 2,600 feet above sea-level. It is built on the north flank of a ridge of the massif of Tlemcen facing the sea, which can be seen 30 miles to the north, on the ravine which the Tafna makes in the chain along the coast. The massif of Tlemcen is a geographical unity; it consists of parallel chains running S. W. to N. E. which rise by stages towards the south from 400 feet just behind Tlemcen to 6,000 commanding the steppe of Alfa in the south. This Jurassic massif is bounded on the south by the ancient alluvial formations of the steppes, in the W. and N. and E. by the argillaceous plains of the Cartenian (Marnia) period, of the Cartenian and Middle Myocene (Hennaya) and Lower Eocene, of the Helvetian and Pleistocene alluvial deposits of Lamoricière and Bel-Abbès. From its geological formation of Dolomitic limestones resting on porous sandstones resting on clays and gravels so suitable for the collection of the rain water in vast subterranean basins, the Tlemcenian massif is a vast reservoir which distributes during the long summer the precious liquid from the countless springs, which never fail and give the region of Tlemcen for miles around the town the beautiful orchards and rich vegetable gardens which constitute its fortune and the luxuriant vegetation and beautiful woods which adorn it.

The Jurassic massif, down the slopes of which run perennial rivers (Tafna, Mafragh, Wād-Shūli, Wād-Isser) with their waterfalls and which is covered with forests (oaks of various kinds, thuyas, terebinths, wild olives etc.) and which gives a home to a large fauna (lynx, hyena, jackal, fox, wild boar and other smaller quadrupeds as well

as countless birds). In the mountains are also many subterranean galleries, caves and caverns filled with pigeons and sometimes affording shelter to the animals and homes to the natives.

The soil is fertile and the flora varied: in the orchards of Tlemcen the trees and plants of the Mediterranean coast are grown as well as the species of Central Europe. The average annual rainfall is about 26 inches. It is spread over all the months of the year but is very low in July, August and September, which only have a few thundershowers. Snow makes a brief appearance each winter. The climate is healthy and invigorating and especially beneficial to anaemic or neurasthenic people.

History. A situation so favourable for human habitation has naturally been occupied by man for millenia. Almost everywhere traces of prehistoric man have been found; but there is still much to be found in this region, so far little explored from this point of view and especially in the numerous caves, none of which, so far as I know, has been systematically excavated.

We know very little about the Roman Pomaria of which a few inscribed stones survive nor of its divinity Aulisa (called on the inscriptions *deus invictus* and *deus sanctus*) nor of the body of cavalry which garrisoned it.

Nothing is known of the history of Tlemcen between the Roman period and the Muslim conquest. If we do not know how Islam penetrated into this region in the viiith century A.D. we know no more about the Sofri Berber principality whose chief in the viiith century was Abū Kurra. We know that on several occasions this emir of Tlemcen at the head of his Zenāta Khāridjīs undertook military expeditions to the east as far as the Zāb and Ifrikiya.

Sunni Islām was definitely established in Tlemcen and its vicinity at the end of the viiith century. Idris I "built a fine mosque in which he put a beautiful pulpit" in 790. Henceforth Tlemcen-Agādūr was the seat of a Muslim provincial government which experienced all the vicissitudes of the central and western Maghrib.

Modern Tlemcen (Tāgrārt) founded at the end of the xith century by Yūsuf b. Tāghfta developed considerably and the Almohads at the end of the xiith century surrounded this town (Tāgrārt) with a rampart, for Agādūr already had its own walls.

Of the Almoravid Tlemcen, which was a centre of theological and legal studies (1081—1144) in which celebrated masters flourished, there remains as an expression of religion in art, the great mosque with its vigorous and elegant floral epigraphic ornamentation of carved slabs around the *mihrāb*. It was about 55 years after the occupation of Tlemcen that the Almohads finished the decoration of this part of the great mosque as we know from a beautiful inscription running round the cornice of the drum of the dome in front of the *mihrāb* giving the date 530 (1135 A.D.).

It is remarkable that the great builders of beautiful monuments like the Almohads have left no trace of their rule in Tlemcen (1144—1236) except the solid rampart of terre pisée around the town. No building in Tlemcen or its immediate neighbourhood can be attributed to them. It was during this period (1197) that the great mystic, Abū Madyan [q.v.] of al-Andalus, who is buried at Tlemcen, became the patron saint of the town.

In the first half of the xiiith (xiiith) century when the Almohad empire, weakened by lack of energy and authority in its rulers, was being exposed to the attacks of nomad Berber tribes in the west and the Hafsid governors of Ifrikiya rebelled against the imperial authority and declared themselves independent, the Zenāta tribes of the Banū 'Abd al-Wād (cf. 'ABD AL-WĀDĪS) in the Central Maghrib and the Banū Marīn (cf. MARĪNĪS) successively formed two kingdoms having Tlemcen and Fās as capitals.

In spite of the almost continual attacks, often successful, of which Tlemcen and the 'Abd al-Wādīd kingdom were the objects during the xiiith (xiiith) and xivth (xivth) century, especially from their Hafsid neighbours in Tunisia and the Marinids of Fās, the kings of this Tlemcen dynasty found time to embellish their capital with various buildings, some of which still exist. They also cultivated the sciences and founded *madrasas* for students, one of which, in the village of al-'Ubbād near Tlemcen to which the great historian of the Berbers, Ibn Khaldūn, retired for a time, still exists. They realised the commercial importance of Tlemcen for relations with the Sahara, the high plateaus and the Tell and entertained constant relations with Spain through their port of Humāin; they also did not fail to take advantage of the favourable position of the town for trade with east and west since it was on the great natural road from east to west.

Tlemcen was not only a centre of trade, a market for the products of the country around, but its own industries produced articles which were much sought after as they still are. At the time of the emigration of the Moors from Spain in the ixth (ixth) century, Tlemcen received an important contingent of them, which gave it renewed activity in various fields (learning, industry, art, literature and music, agriculture, etc.).

Unfortunately this town so well gifted by nature and climate was never able, even at the height of its power when it was the capital of the central Maghrib, to spread Muslim culture as one would have expected. This was because it was surrounded by nomad tribes in a continual state of agitation: Berbers of the Zenāta or Hilālī Arabs; the latter especially were much too turbulent neighbours and politically too unreliable for the capital to enjoy for sufficiently long periods the peace necessary to develop its culture.

The Turks and Christians of Spain disputed Tlemcen at the beginning of the xivth (xivth) century. The last 'Abd al-Wādīd prince accepted the suzerainty of the Spaniards in Oran. Salāh Rā'īs, pasha of Algiers, took final possession of Tlemcen for the Turks in 1355.

With the Turks, Tlemcen entered upon a period of moral and intellectual decay; commerce gradually declined and education ceased; no more fine buildings were erected; a number of public buildings and palaces were even allowed to fall into ruins. The popular poetry of this period gives an idea of what Tlemcen had become under the military and fiscal rule of the Beys:

"God has sounded Tlemcen's last hour! has He not devoted everything to an irrevocable end? For it the glorious days are over; the days of sadness and misfortune have come. It is ruined, it has perished, ruined by tyranny. It is clothed in mourning and covered with shame; vice has supplanted the former virtues".

In addition to the memory of three centuries of oppression, the Turks have left an important ethnical element in Tlemcen, the Kulughlis (Koroghli, "son of a slave or of a soldier"), the result of the union of the Turks with the women of the country. The Kulughlis still form a quarter of the native Muslim population of the commune of Tlemcen of which they form the most active element, the closest to European in character and the most accessible to progress.

From 1830 to 1853, Tlemcen, rid of Turkish domination, was under the Sultān of Morocco. This Moroccan suzerainty was even recognised by the emir 'Abd al-Kādir, who with the support of the Hājar (Moors and Berber-Arabs) had succeeded in establishing a precarious authority over Tlemcen.

The French entered Tlemcen for the first time in 1836 but abandoned it on May 30, 1837 (treaty of the Tafna) surrendering it to 'Abd al-Kādir's lieutenant. After the breach of the treaty of the Tafna, Bugeaud came and retook Tlemcen on Jan. 31, 1842. Henceforth peace and prosperity reigned in the town which had been ruined by the years of fighting between Muslims (Kulughlis and Hājar). Tlemcen was made a "commune de plein exercice" in 1854 and capital of an *arrondissement* in 1858. It is now also the capital of a judicial district, of a military subdivision and has a regiment of infantry and one of cavalry (*spahis*), many educational institutions, banks and agricultural credit offices etc. The population is about 30,000 Muslims, 6,000 Jews and 4,000 Europeans.

The attraction of Tlemcen lies not only in its verdant and picturesque situation but also in its monuments of Muslim art, which make it a regular museum of the best period of Hispano-Moorish decoration and in the public and private life of its Muslim Maliki population, who have for the most part remained faithful to the manners and customs of their ancestors. No other Algerian town can be compared with Tlemcen in this respect.

Besides the imposing remains of the old ramparts around Agādīr, Tāgrārt and Manṣūra, and the numerous mausoleums of Muslim saints, the following may be mentioned as worthy of the attention of the archaeologist and lover of Muslim art: the great mosque (vith [xiiith] century), with its minaret of the viith [xiiith] century, the minaret of the great mosque of Agādīr (viith [xiiith] century), rising on the site of the old mosque founded by Idrīs in the second (eighth) century which is no longer in existence; the mosque of Sidi Bel-Ḥasan (viith [xiiith] century) with its graceful *mihrāb*, its elegant minaret and the lovely lacework of its fretted and carved plaster, its floors of cedar in geometrical patterns (this building houses the Museum of Muslim archaeology). The mosque of the Ullād al-Imām (beginning of the viith [xivth] century) stood beside the Madrasa al-Ḥadīma which has disappeared. In the town (*infra muros*) one can still admire the *Maḥḥwar*, the fortified palace built in the viith (xiiith) century in the highest part of the town by the first 'Abdalwālid ruler of Tlemcen. Next we may mention for their art, the mosque and sanctuary of Sidi Brāhīm, the mosque of Sidi Saṣūsi and of Sidi al-Banna.

In the faubourg (*extra muros*) are to be found further treasures of Muslim art and architecture: 1. the ruins of Manṣūra, this Tlemcen of the west built by the Marinids of Fās at the end of the viith (xiiith) and beginning of the viith (xivth)

century when laying siege to the 'Abdalwādids, their relatives and rivals, besides the imposing remains of the flanking towers and of a part of the surrounding walls 4,000 yards in circumference, the ruins of an ancient royal palace, we are particularly struck by the remains of the outer wall and majestic minaret in hewn stone of the vast huge mosque; what still remains, some 120 feet high of this minaret of the beginning of the viith (xivth) century recalls by its vigour, beauty of decoration, coated with polychrome faïences, Almohad works like the Giralda of Seville, the tower of Ḥasan at Rabat and the Kutūbiya of Marrākush.

2. To the E. S. E. of the town in the Muslim village of al-'Ubbād still stands in perfect preservation the Mosque of Sidi Bū Madyan founded by Abu 'l-Ḥasan, the Marinid lord of Tlemcen for several years; it is dated 1339 A. D.; with the memorial porch of its main entrance, the swinging doors of cedar wood studded with carved bronze work, its halls of prayer with the walls covered with floral and epigraphic arabesques, its ceilings ornamented with protruding bricks, the dome lit by panes of many coloured glass in front of the *mihrāb*, the minaret patterns traced on its sides in protruding bricks with the remains of paintings and faïences in delicate enamels, this monument, which is exactly dated, is a valuable document for the Muslim art of this period and country. Beside this mosque which the ruler built in honour of the saint whose name it bears, Abu 'l-Ḥasan erected a number of subsidiary buildings: a madrasa (1345 A. D.) quite well preserved in spite of the fact that some of the outer covering of plaster and faïence has disappeared, latrines and lavatories, a *hammam*, a palace now much decayed but whose splendour is recalled by the remains of its walls richly adorned with plaster and faïence. It was here between the mosque and the ruins of the palace that there was buried at the end of the viith (xiiith) century the famous mystic, patron saint of Tlemcen, Sidi Bū Madyan; his mausoleum — an object of pilgrimage for every Muslim passing through Tlemcen — is a building on a square plan covered by a dome in 12 sections surmounted by a roof of green tiles; inside, the walls are covered at the bottom with Italian faïence of the xviiith century and at the top with moulded and painted plaster work. Many princes have adorned with some new decoration this hall which the faithful have filled with their gifts. The framework of the arch of the door is ornamented with arabesques in plaster of the Turkish period; a well with a border of onyx and four pillars of onyx with capitals supporting the roof stands in front of the mausoleum.

3. To the north of the town at the very foot of the walls in the centre of the Muslim faubourg of Sidi 'l-Halwt (the name of another great Andalusian mystic) rises another Marinid mosque, the work of Abū 'Inān, son and successor of the sovereign Abu 'l-Ḥasan. This very well preserved building which, like the other mosques still standing at Tlemcen except that of Sidi Bel-Ḥasan (now a museum), is still used for worship, is another monument of Marinid art of the viith (xivth) century (1353). In the technique of its interior decoration (plaster covering of the walls, ceilings of cedar-wood in compartments covered with geometrical patterns, columns and capitals of onyx which support

the principal hall of prayer and come from Man-šira) this mosque may be compared with the madrasa of Bu 'Inānīya in Fās, founded by the same ruler at the same time. In the one as in the other of these two monuments we can clearly see signs of the decadence of the Muslim architectural art of Barbary. It is the period when Muslim culture is beginning to lose its hold on Tlemcen as on the rest of the Maghrib. This is not the place to examine the causes. But in the domain of minor arts (weaving, embroidery of gold and silver, ornamentalations of articles of copper and wool, wood and metals) Tlemcen long retained an honourable place among the great cities of Islam in North Africa. Its countless artisans in these minor arts and industries are still renowned; they still hold the first place for embroidering in gold or silver thread on leather, especially the ornamentation of harness and saddle-cloths for horses for state occasions.

The population. One can easily understand that in this old metropolis of Islam, the native population (Muslim and Jewish) always very conservative, has preserved its original character in spite of the material and intellectual development produced by a long contact with Europeans, especially the French.

The Muslim population (agriculturalists, artisans, traders, workmen, clerks and minor officials) is the most numerous; it is formed of elements of diverse origins: the Ḥaḍar (lit. "citizens") or Moors are the result of the intermarriage of the former Berber occupants of the land with the Arabs; among them are also descendants of the Moors driven from Spain in the viiith (ixth) century and ixth (xth) century; the negroes, not numerous, descendants of former slaves who came from Tuat and the Sūdān; the Ḳulughli, since the Turkish occupation. To these may be added an element in the rural suburbs, which are known as *ḡūa*, whence their name of *ḡūai*. The whole forms the Muslim community of Tlemcen united by one faith, the same beliefs, a common family law, but deeply divided by racial *soff* and family feuds.

Early converted to Islam and having probably adopted the Arabic language in the Idrisid period, the people of Tlemcen and its suburbs have always shown themselves greatly devoted to the cult of saints and the practice of magic.

The Jewish population has for some centuries been an important community here which, for long oppressed, has preserved its habit of close combination against the foreign and non-Jewish elements around it. The Jews themselves are for the most part of Berber origin belonging to the district or to Morocco. To these have been added from time to time foreign Jews especially Spanish at the emigrations. The old costume is no longer worn except by the old men; the younger generation educated in the French schools has adopted European costume and shown aptitude and willingness to study. All however have remained faithful to their ancestral customs and beliefs, sufficiently close to those of the Muslims, in the belief in spirits and occult powers, in magic, in funeral rites, in the cult of saints and even for usages of family life. As usual throughout North Africa the Jews speak an Arabic dialect; it is here strongly influenced by Moroccan and clearly different in phonetics, morphology, and even

lexicography, from the Arabic dialect of the people of Tlemcen and that of the rural districts around it.

To sum up then, Tlemcen, an ancient Berber city converted to Islam in the viiith—viiith century using the Arabic language since the third (ixth) century, has since then remained Mālikī (no other Sunni school or Muslim sect has representatives in Tlemcen). During the middle ages it was an important provincial capital, then the royal capital of a Muslim Berber dynasty of the viith (xiith) to the xth (xvth) century. From the period of its glory it has retained intact precious monuments and numerous remains of buildings of great interest, traditions and customs, testifying to an established culture of its own.

The coming of the Turks, practically without influence from the cultural point of view, was of importance ethnically. The Ḳulughli (Turkish) element however has been absorbed by the natives so far as customs and religion are concerned but remains distinct from the social point of view and is hostile to the proper native element or *ḡūai*. Ḳulughlis and Ḥaḍar do not intermarry or very rarely and are readily distinguishable by intellectual as well as physical features.

Next in order of numerical importance to the Muslim group, which is by far the largest, comes the Jewish group, then the French and other Europeans. No more here than in the rest of North Africa is there any fusion between the three great groups by marriage. Religion which for Muslims and Jews decides customs, family life and mental outlook, has established between these two groups and between them and the European element an impassable barrier to reciprocal penetration.

Leading their daily lives side by side, on terms of unrestricted and friendly intercourse bound by common interests of business, these three groups of the Tlemcen population are clearly separated by profound differences in upbringing and private life. If it happens that an individual of the Muslim or Jewish group joins one of the two other groups through change of religion or simply by marriage he becomes to some extent excommunicated and banned from the society to which he formerly belonged and may even be cut off by his own family.

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(ALFRED BEL.)

TOBNA, a town of Central Morocco, which no longer exists. The few traces of it, that survive, lie 3 miles south of Barika (department of Constantine) between the Wādī Barika in the north and the Wādī Bīḥam in the south. The advantages of this position, which commands the passage between the Sahara and the plateaus of the Tell, the *Shoṭt* Hodna, and the mountains bordering the east of this depression, had been recognised by the Romans. They built here on this site the town of Tubuna, which became a *municipium* in the time of Septimius Severus, and after a fortress had been built there it protected the country from the incursions of the nomads. The Byzantines in turn built a large fortress there and made it the capital of a district governed by a *praefectus limitum*. During the early expeditions of the Arabs, Tobna seems to have been one of the centres of the joint resistance of the Byzantines and Berbers. The Arabs however succeeded in taking it, probably at the beginning of the eighth century A. D., and in the governorship of 'Omar b. Hafṣ Hazarmerd (151 = 768) they strengthened its defences. This same 'Omar was besieged three years later by the Khāridjīs, who, however, did not succeed in taking the town, although they repeated their attempts in the years following. Tobna remained in the power of the Arab governors of Kairawān, formed part of the Aghlabid kingdom, belonged to the Fatimids, to the Zirids, and finally fell to the Hammādids in 1017.

During the early centuries of Muslim rule, Tobna seems to have been a populous and prosperous town. Ya'qūbī mentions it as the capital of the Zab. Al-Bakrī says it is the largest town of the Maghrib between Kairawān and Sijilmāsa. It was, according to his description, surrounded by a brick wall, with monumental gates and flanked on the south side by a castle, built of stone covered by vaulted chambers, provided with cisterns and used as official residences. Inside the town were a *djāma'a* and a main street with shops and bazaars. Outside lay the suburbs, a cemetery, gardens and fields irrigated by the waters of the Wādī Bīḥam. The environs were fertile and well tilled, cotton especially

being grown. The population consisted of the Afārec, descended from the intermarriage of Romans and Berbers, and of Arabs descended from the soldiers of the *djund* settled in the region. These two elements were however often at loggerheads and the first had the support of the people of Setif and the second of those of Biskra. The Hilālī invasion dealt a decisive blow to the prosperity of Tobna. Sacked in 1064, after the defeat of the Hammādids by the Arabs, Tobna rapidly declined. Its importance declined in favour of Biskra and it was not long in disappearing completely.

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TODMIR. [See **TUDMIR**.]

TODMIR, the name given to the province (*kūra*) of al-Andalus, of which Murcia was the capital down to the time of the breaking up of the Omayyad caliphate. If we may believe the Arab authors, the word is an Arabic transcription of the name of the Visigoth governor Theodomir, who, at the time of the conquest of Spain by the Arabs, was the representative in Murcia of Roderick, king of Toledo. He is particularly known for the treaty which he made with Mūsā b. Nuṣair [q. v.], the Arabic text of which has been preserved by al-Dahbī and Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Himyari. It was first published by Casiri, *Bibliotheca Hispana*, vol. II, p. 106 and has been the subject of an elaborate study by Gaspar Ramiro, *Historia de Murcia musulmana*, p. II—37.

The *kūra* of Todmir, according to the Arab geographers, was adjacent to those of Jaen and Elvira and its principal towns were Lorca, Orihuela, Alicante, Cartagena and Murcia. For the history of this part of al-Andalus during the Muslim period see the article **MURCIA**.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

TOGHA TIMUR. [See **TUGHA TIMUR**.]

TOGHRUL. [See **TUGHRUL**.]

TOGHUZHGUZ, a Turkish people. The name was variously written and pronounced. The Arabic notices of the settlements of the Toghuzhguz correspond to the Chinese and later Muslim accounts of those of the Uighur; according to Chinese sources, the Uighur were divided into nine tribes; according to Rashīd al-Dīn (text in *Travels of Rashīd al-Dīn*, vol. I, 161), the Uighur were divided into two main groups, the On-Uighur (ten-Uighur) and the Tokus-Uighur (nine-Uighur). It was on these facts that Grigoryev based his formerly generally accepted view (*Vostochny Turkestan*, v. 2, St. Petersburg 1873, p. 203) that for Toghuzhguz one should read Toghuzhgur, which

was a contraction from Toghuz-Uighur. This view was disseminated in western Europe by M. Th. Houtma in his article "Turks" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; he was followed by M. J. de Goeje (*de Muur van Gog en Magog*, Amsterdam 1880 = *Middelen-lingen K. Ak. Wet.*, Ser. 3, v. 36—122). In the first five volumes of the *B. G. A.*, de Goeje adopted the reading Toghurghuz; in vol. vi. (1889) Toghurghuz is used throughout and in vii. he went back to Toghurghuz. In the preface to this volume a few extracts are given from a letter from Th. Nöldeke, quoting *Pahlavi Texts*, ii. 329 (*Sacred Books of the East*, xviii.). Nöldeke observes that in the book by the Persian high priest Mānōšchir written in 881 A. D. (cf. now *G. J. P.*, ii. 104 where the form is Mānōštshir), we find *Tughuzghuz* "in absolutely clear Pārsand script; Ughur and therefore not Uighur is the form in it". A few years later, the name Tokuz-Oghuz was found in the newly discovered Orkhon inscriptions. The form Toghuzghuz is now perfectly certain; it is equally certain that it contains the name of the Ghuz (Oghuz); nevertheless the view has been recently upheld by several scholars that by Tughurghuz the Arabs meant the Uighur and no one else. J. Marquart (*Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, p. 390) lays stress on the fact that the first edition of Ibn Khurdādhbih, said to have been written about 232 (846—847), already has the Toghuzghuz in the district to which the Uighur did not come till 866. As the identity of the Toghuzghuz with the Uighur seemed doubtful to him, Marquart thought the explanation was that we really had a recension of the book prepared not earlier than 272 A. D. Apart from the references given under GHUZ, in which the Toghuzghuz appear much farther west than usual (cf. also Makrizi, *Khitat*, i. 313 on Tūlūn, father of Ahmad b. Tūlūn [q. v.] who came from the people of the Toghuzghuz), the Toghuzghuz are also still mentioned in the east in the first half of the ninth century A. D. Muhammad b. Mūsā al-Khwarizmi identifies the two Scythians of Ptolemy with the land of the Turks and the land of the Toghuzghuz (*Bibl. arab. Historiker und Geographen*, iii. 105, No. 1600 and 1601). Even the text of Djāhiz (d. 869 A. D.) quoted by Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 91 shows that the Toghuzghuz were regarded as having long been neighbours of the Khazars. As Reinaud (*Relation des Voyages etc.*, Paris 1845, *Discours préliminaire*, p. cxxvii. sqq.) has shown, what we are told in Arabic sources (e.g. in Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, i. 288 and 365) about the doings of the Toghuzghuz in China refers not to the Uighur but to the Turkish, i.e. Oghuz, Sha-t'o (on this tribe, cf. now also E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Turcs occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. 96 sqq. and 272). In spite of the Chinese references to the nine Uighur tribes, the expression Tokuz-Uighur has not yet been found in sources of the pre-Mongol period; the Uighur Khān of the eighth century of whom an inscription has been published by Ramstedt, *Zwei uigurische Inschriften aus der Nord-Mongolei*, Helsingfors 1913, p. 13, calls his people On-Uighur Tokuz-Oghuz.

The name Toghuzghuz, which properly belonged to the predecessors of the Uighur, the Sha-t'o Turks, seems to have been transferred by the Arabs to the Uighur. The Arabs apparently did not know that the Sha-t'o had been driven away by the Tibetans and the latter in turn supplanted by the

Uighur. From what sources the Arab notices of the Toghuzghuz are taken and to what date they refer has not yet been established; nor is anything known about the date of the journey mentioned by Yaḳūt (*Mu'djam*, i. 840 supra) made by Tamīm b. Ḍakr al-Muḍawwāl to the "Khāḳān of the Toghuzghuz". The best sources, the account in the anonymous *Hudūd al-'Alam* and in Gardizi have been in part used by Marquart (*op. cit.*, Index under "Toguzghuz a. Uiguren"). The account in Idrisi (transl. Jauher, i. 401) is quite different. It is important to note that the only Arab author who writes on Central Asia, not from books but from his own experiences, knows nothing of the Toghuzghuz; on the other hand we find in him the Uighur (without a numeral) hitherto quite unknown to his Arab predecessors. Later writers quoting literary sources again mention the Toghuzghuz in place of the Uighur; cf. the note by Fakhr al-Dīn Maḥārak Shāh al-Marwarrādī (beg. of the vii. [xiii] century) on the scripts of the Soghdians and Toghuzghuz (*Afshār-Nāma, A Volume of Oriental Studies* presented to E. G. Browne, Cambridge 1922, p. 405 sq., p. 407 wrong vocalization: Toghuzghuz). It was only, when during the Mongol period more accurate information became available about Central Asia and especially about the Uighur, that the name Toghuzghuz for a people disappeared from Muslim geographical literature; in the *Nuḥṣat al-Kulūb* of Ḥamd Allāh Kāswīnī (printed in 740 = 1339—1340) it does not occur.

Bibliography: given in the text.

(W. BARTHOLO)

TOKAT, a town in Asia Minor, situated in the northern part of Cappadocia, to the south of the middle course of the Tozanlı Şu, the ancient Iris. The town is situated on both sides of a mountain valley opening to the north and between the town and the river there is a beautiful plain. In a northeastern direction, facing the river, lay in ancient times the well-known town of Comana Pontica, the name of which still survives in the village of Gümenek; the site of Tokat was occupied by a fortress called Daimon (on this identification cf. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, London 1890, p. 329 sqq.). This fortress must have gained in importance during the frontier wars of the Byzantine Empire. The name Tokat, however, which occurs in the Muhammadan geographers since Yaḳūt (Tughl, Yaḳūt, i. 895; Abu l-Fidā, ed. Reinaud, Paris 1840, p. 384—85), is said to have been derived from the Armenian form of the name Endoxia (St. Martin, *Mémoire sur l'Arménie*, i. 188), but this identification still presents difficulties. Ewliyā Celebi gives a number of other etymologies. After the Seldjūq conquest, Tokat kept its strategical importance and was occasionally a princely residence; during the Mongol invasion, the Seldjūq sultan tried to put his possessions in safety in the citadel, and resided there, when the Karaman Oghlu had taken possession of Konya in 1275 (Ibn Bibi, *Rei. de textes rel. à l'Hist. des Seldj.*, iv. 325). Afterwards Tokat belonged to the states of the Eretna Oghlu and of Kāzı Barḥān al-Dīn of Siwa (vide 'Asir ibn Ardāshir Astarābādi, *Basm-u Rasm*, ed. Constantinople 1928); from him the Ottoman Sultan Bāyazid II took the town in 1392. Timūr is said to have been unable to take this stronghold (Ewliyā Celebi, v. 55), and, after his withdrawal, the Ottomans were soon again

masters of the town. Under MuĖammad II ToĖat was devastated by the army of Uzun Ėasan, during the Karaman wars, in 1471, but after that time it does not play an important role in Turkish history; occasionally its prison in the citadel, called ĖartaĖ-ı Badawı, was used for political offenders. It remained, however, an important town, as it lay on the main caravan and army road from Constantinople to the East; by this road it was linked to Amasia in the north and Siwās in the south. Other roads also converged to ToĖat, so that, in the xviii century, it was the chief crossing point of trade roads in those regions (Tavernier).

ToĖat has also traditions in religious history; in the xiii century it was invaded by the adherents of Baba IshāĖ (Ibn Bibi, p. 229) and Ewliyā tells a probably legendary story about the attempts of ĖādĖdĖi Bektaşh to win the town from the infidels in the time of Ertoghrul.

Until the sixth century, ToĖat was a *ḡazā* in the *sandĖāĖ* of Siwās, belonging to the *ayālet* of Siwās. The legislation of 1804 made it the chief town of the *sandĖāĖ* ToĖat in the *vilāyet* of Siwās, while, under the Turkish Republic, ToĖat has become the capital of a *vilāyet* with six *ḡazās*: ToĖat, Zile, Arba'a, Nıksār, KeĖhādiye, Artık Owa. Towards the end of the sixth century, the population was about 30,000 inhabitants, 17,500 of whom were MuĖammadans (Cuinet). The chief industries were the manufacture of copper stencils and yellow leather, the copper being imported from the mines of KeĖān Ma'den and ArĖhāna Ma'den.

Bibliography: Ewliyā Ėelebi, *SiyāĖet-nāma*, v. 54—71; ĖādĖdĖi Khālfa, *DĖihān-numā*, p. 628; Sāmī, *Kāmūs al-A'lām*, iii. 1691—93; *Türkiye DĖümĖuriyeti Sāhnāmesi*, 1927—28, p. 782—92; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xviii. 111 sqq.; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i. 703—37; F. Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wogenetz*, Leipzig 1924, i. 212; ii. 19. (J. H. KRAMERS)

TOĖHĖARISTĖN, also written TOĖĖARISTĖN and TOĖĖARISTĖN, a district on the upper course of the Ėmū-Daryā [q.v.]. It is the name of a district formed from that of its inhabitants (like AfĖĖānistān, BalōĖistān etc.), but the question of the nationality and language of the ToĖĖarians was of no significance in the Muslim period. With the exception perhaps of the mention of Balkh as *Madīnat ToĖĖarā* in Balādhuri, p. 408 there is nothing to show that anything was known in the Muslim period of the ToĖĖarians as a people, although as late as 630 A.D. the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan-Cuang (or Yuan-Cuang) mentions, in addition to the land of Tu-ho-lo on the Ėmū-Daryā, another district of Tu-ho-lo, then a desert, east of Khotan (Hsuan-Tsang, *Memoires sur les contrées occidentales*, transl. St. Julien, i. 23 and ii. 247). The land of the Tu-ho-lo on the Ėmū-Daryā was in those days divided into 27 small principalities; the northern frontier formed the "Iron Gate", i.e. the Buggala pass between the valleys of the Kashka-Daryā and the Upper Ėmū-Daryā. In the Muslim period also ToĖĖaristān in the wider sense included all the highlands dependent on Balkh, right and left of the upper course of the Ėmū-Daryā. According to YāĖūt (*Mu'djam*, iii. 518), there were two ToĖĖaristāns, Upper (*al-'ulyā*) and Lower (*al-sufā*), but he does not seem to have had any exact idea of this division. Upper ToĖĖaristān was said to be east of Balkh and west (according to modern

maps south) of the DĖishūn (Ėmū-Daryā); Lower was also west of the DĖishūn but more to the east than Upper ToĖĖaristān. The latter is also mentioned in *B. G. A.*, vi. and vii. and in Tabari. According to *B. G. A.*, vii. 93 (Ibn Rustā) Upper ToĖĖaristān, as was to be expected from the physical features of the country, lay north of the Ėmū-Daryā; on p. 292, s. the high lying territory on both sides of the Upper Ėmū-Daryā is included in Upper ToĖĖaristān along with Badakhshān and Shughnān. In *B. G. A.*, vi. 34 on the other hand it is assumed, as in YāĖūt, that Upper ToĖĖaristān lies east of Balkh and south of the Ėmū-Daryā. In Tabari (ii. 1589 and 1612) the expression Upper ToĖĖaristān twice occurs without its situation being defined. In another passage (ii. 1180), we are told that the lands of the Shūmān and AkĖarūn (north of the Ėmū-Daryā on the Upper Kāfir-nihān) were in ToĖĖaristān, without the qualification *al-'ulyā*. YāĖūbi, *B. G. A.*, vii. 289 and 290 calls the district of the town of Bāmiyān [q.v.] "the first" (*al-ūlā*) or "the nearest" (*al-dunyā*) ToĖĖaristān. Bāmiyān was the "first of the districts (*mamālĖik*) in the nearest, western ToĖĖaristān". Ibn KhordādĖbih assumes that ToĖĖaristān extends far to the northwest including Zāmon, the modern Kerki (*B. G. A.*, vi. 36) as well as to the south where the frontier lands (*ḡhaghār*) of ToĖĖaristān are said to be Zābilistān (p. 35) and Kābul (p. 37).

The frontiers of ToĖĖaristān in the narrower sense are given most accurately by IṡṡakĖri (*B. G. A.*, i. 270 sq.); they were the lands east of Balkh, west of Badakhshān, south of the Ėmū-Daryā and north of the main ridge of the Hindūkush; the most important towns besides the capital TāleĖān or TāyeĖān were Warwālig and Andarāber.

The Hāital (pl. Hayātāla) appear for the first time in Tabari's history of the Sāsānians during the fighting for the Persian throne after the death of YazdeĖird II (438). They had conquered ToĖĖaristān shortly before (Tabari, i. 873, 4; Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, p. 119); from whom we are not told. During the Arab wars with the native princes, the last Sāsānians and the Turks for the possession of ToĖĖaristān a *ḡabĖhū* (*ḡabĖĖhūya*, Tabari, ii. 1206) is mentioned as king (*malĖik*) of ToĖĖaristān; he was a prince of the Turkish people of the KhārĖlūkh (Karluk); the expressions *ḡabĖĖhūya al-ToĖĖarĖ* (ii. 1604 and 1612) and *ḡabĖĖhūya al-KhārĖlūkh* (1612) are used promiscuously by Tabari, although in one passage (1591) he does make a distinction between ToĖĖaristān and the land (*urf*) of the *ḡabĖĖhūya*. Shortly before 740 A.D. these wars were finally decided in favour of the Arabs. ToĖĖaristān later appears as a part of the kingdom of the ĖĖhōrida [q.v.] and of that branch which had its capital in Bāmiyān. The name ToĖĖaristān as that of a district seems to have dropped out of use since the viii (xiii) century.

Bibliography: G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 426 sq.; J. Marquart, *Erānshahr*, Berlin 1901, p. 199 sqq., and index; W. Barthold, *Turkestan* (*G. M. S.*, N. S., v.), London 1928, p. 66 sqq. and index. (W. BARTHOLD)

TOĖTAMISH, also written TOĖĖTAMISH (e.g. regularly in Russian annals), Khān of the Golden Horde. The reading ToĖtāmish described as correct by E. G. Browne (*Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, Cambridge 1920, p. 583

probably on the authority of the lines quoted on p. 328) is contradicted by the reading in many manuscripts and on the Uighur coins and documents; for example Ibn 'Arabshāh (Egypt. ed., p. 14 and pass.) regularly writes Toqtamish-Khān. The accounts of his origin vary a good deal. The name of his father (although it is often corrupted in manuscripts) was certainly Tuli-Khōdja, who, according to the genealogy given by E. von Zambaur (*Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*, Hanover 1927, Genealogy S) and to that given by Lane-Poole and others, was a brother of the Khān Urus and a descendant of Orda, the eldest son of Djūz; but according to Abu 'l-Ghāzi (ed. Desmaisons, p. 178), he was descended from another son of Djūz, Tukai-Timūr-Khān. Our only source for the life of Tuli-Khōdja and the early days of his son is the anonymous work compiled for Timūr's grandson Mirza Iskandar described by Rieu, *Catalogue of Pers. MSS. in the British Museum*, p. 1062 *sqq.*, of which another copy is preserved in the Asiatic Museum in Leningrad (cf. the end of the article LUKA-BUVRU, iii., p. 46). According to this source (As. Mus. MS., fol. 242^b) he was governor (*hākim*) of Mangishlak [q.v.] and executed by order of Khān Urus; his son Toqtamish had once or twice taken to flight but had come back again; as he was still a minor he was pardoned. In the year of the Dragon (= 1376) he went to Timūr and was received by him in Samarkand; according to 'Abd al-Razzaq Samarkandi (q.v.; MS. of the University of Leningrad, fol. 70^b) he had been shortly before defeated by Khān Beg-Pulad. Timūr granted Toqtamish the towns of Otrār, Šabrān and Sighnāk; there he was attacked by Kātluḡ-Bughā, a son of Khān Urus: Kātluḡ-Bughā fell in the battle but Toqtamish was nevertheless defeated and had to retire to Timūr. The latter lent him assistance and he returned to Šabrān but was soon afterwards defeated by Tokhta-Kiyā, another son of Urus-Khān and had again to flee to Timūr. Timūr himself, according to the *Zafar-Nāma* (Ind. ed., i. 278), at the end of the same year of the Dragon (= beg. 1377) had to take the field with Toqtamish against the Khān. The enemy was routed and Urus Khān died soon afterwards. He was succeeded by his sons, Tokhta-Kiyā first and then Timūr-Malik. Timūr returned at the beginning of the year of the Snake (= 1377) to his capital; Toqtamish was thereupon defeated by Timūr-Malik but at Timūr's desire proclaimed Khān in Sighnāk (*op. cit.*, p. 284). In the winter (1377-1378) Timūr was told that Timūr-Malik was continually drinking and thus had lost all prestige; Toqtamish was told of this and in the same winter by a rapid campaign he put an end to Timūr-Malik's rule; in the following spring (1378) he undertook from Sighnāk the conquest of the western part of the Golden Horde and successfully carried it through (*op. cit.*, p. 290). The period of these successes can be more exactly ascertained from the Russian annals. On September 8, 1380 the ruler of the Golden Horde, Mamai (in the *Zafar-Nāma*: Mamāk), was defeated by the Russians on the Don at Kulikowo and soon afterwards by Toqtamish in the neighbourhood of the Sea of Azov; in the same year the Russians learned of the victory of the new Khān. When in 1381 the submission of the Russians demanded by Toqtamish was refused, Russia was cruelly ravaged in the following year

by him (1382); on Aug. 26, the capital Moscow was completely destroyed and sacked and Tatar rule re-established in Russia for another century.

According to Iskandar's anonymous historian (*Asiat. Mus.*, Ms. f. 243^r), Toqtamish was a just and vigorous ruler (he is also said to have been a handsome man); but as a result of his ingratitude to Timūr, his abilities were of no avail. Very soon after his rule was established he came out as an enemy of Timūr; Khwārizm was conquered by Timūr in 781 (1379) and by 785 (1383) we find coins struck there in the name of Toqtamish. So far as we know, Timūr on this occasion took no steps either against the Khwārizmshāh or against Toqtamish; in the *Zafar-nāma* (i. 410 *sqq.*) Toqtamish's first hostile act against Timūr is said to be his campaign through Derbend to Adhar-būdjan in 789 (year of the Hare = 1387). Toqtamish in the previous winter had already sent an army against Tabriz [q.v.] (*Zafar-nāma*, i. 392) but Timūr had not yet reached it so that his rights were not directly challenged by the Khān's expedition. Tabriz was laid waste in the most terrible fashion. Killing and plundering went on for 8 days (so the contemporary writer Zain al-Din Kāzwai; cf. *ṬUGHĀ-TIMŪR*). Even on this occasion Timūr still showed great restraint towards his opponent; from his winter quarters in Kātābūḡ he sent his son Mirnashāh against the enemy with a division. After the latter's victory, the prisoners were released and Toqtamish was simply reproached and cautioned by Timūr.

Towards the end of the same year (1387) when Timūr was still in Persia, Toqtamish sent his armies to attack the heart of Timūr's empire. On this occasion the armies of the Golden Horde were everywhere victorious and advanced as far as the Amū-Daryā; Bukhārā was besieged and the country round it laid waste (*Zafar-nāma*, i. 443). Timūr had to return hurriedly and left Persia about the end of Muharram 790 (beg. Feb. 1388). It was not till 1391 that Timūr began his campaign of vengeance against the lands of the Golden Horde; at the beginning of this campaign an embassy arrived from Toqtamish, which of course could have no influence on the course of events. On Monday, 15th Raddjah 793 (June 19, 1391) Toqtamish was defeated at Kūnduz. Timūr advanced as far as the Volga, but he returned to his kingdom without having subjected the kingdom of the Golden Horde. Toqtamish had to abandon his throne for a short time but soon returned again. We find a letter from him to the Polish King Jagello, from Tana (Azov) of 8th Raddjah 795 (May 20th 1393) in which these events are narrated from the Khān's point of view. Timūr, he said, had been summoned against him by the Khān's enemies and the Khān only learned too late of this: at the beginning of the fighting these conspirators had abandoned the Khān, so that his kingdom was thrown into great confusion. Order was now entirely restored and Jagello had to hand over the arrears of tribute: his merchants could travel freely about (*Zaf.*, iii. 3 *sqq.*).

There was now open enmity between Timūr and Toqtamish. In 1385 ambassadors bearing gifts had been sent to Egypt by Toqtamish (Tiesenhansen, *Sbornik materialov o smoryashchikhsya k istorii Zolotoi Ordi*, St. Petersburg 1884, p. 427 *sq.*) but nothing was said about joint military undertakings on this

occasion; on the other hand the missions of 1394 and 1395 had the specific purpose of an alliance between Egypt and the Kingdom of the Golden Horde against Timūr (*op. cit.*, p. 428, 445 and 450). This was the time of Timūr's "Five Years' War" against the west (1392—1396). In 1393 Timūr had sent an embassy from Baghdad to Egypt (*Zafar-nāma*, i. 642 sq.); by order of Sultan Barquq [q.v.] the ambassador was murdered at Raḥba, the frontier town on the Euphrates (*loc. cit.*, ii. 275). In 1394 Timūr wanted to go to Syria, but abandoned this idea and went instead to Northern Mesopotamia (Iskandar's anonymous historian, MS. in the Asiatic Mus., fol. 291b); according to an Egyptian source (Ibn Ḥadjar al-Askalāni in Tiesenhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 450), the reason for this was the news of a raid by Toqtamish into Timūr's territory. Adharbāidjān with the lands north of it as far as Derbend had been under the rule of Timūr's son Mirānshāh since 1392 (*cf.* TANI, 12); Derbend and Shirwān had previously been expressly claimed by Toqtamish and coins had been struck there in his name from 790 (1388) till 792 (1390); but there is no reference to danger threatening from there in the year following. Timūr was delayed for a considerable time by fighting in Armenia and Georgia. It was not till towards the end of 1394 that Timūr in Shaki heard from Shirwān that the country had been invaded by the army of the Golden Horde; they were easily repelled and Timūr took up his quarters for the winter in Mahmūdābād (*Zafar-nāma*, i. 732 sq.). From here in the spring of 1395 he undertook his main campaign against Toqtamish. Before the opening of the campaign Shams al-Din Alwalighi was sent as an envoy to Toqtamish; his reply was awaited on the Samur (south of Derbend); when it proved unsatisfactory, the campaign took its course. The decisive battle was fought on the Terek on Wednesday the 23rd Djumādā II, 797 = April 14, 1395 (*Zafar-nāma*, i. 745 sq.). Toqtamish had once more to disappear from the scene for a time. Timūr never, as the *Zafar-nāma*, i. 761 says, reached Moscow but only came to the Velec, where according to Russian annals, he turned on Aug. 26, 1395. Soon afterwards Azāk (Azov) and in the winter Ḥādījī Tarḥān (Astrakḥān) and Sarāy [q.v.] were sacked with much bloodshed: in the spring of 798 (1396) Timūr returned via Derbend to Adharbāidjān, once more without establishing his rule or that of one of his protégés over the lands of the Golden Horde. Toqtamish was able to return to his throne once more; according to Ibn Ḥadjar al-Askalāni, in 799 (Oct. 1396—Sept. 1397) he fought against the "Genoese Franks" (Tiesenhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 451). On the 3rd Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 800 (Aug. 17, 1398) Timūr received an ambassador from the rival and successor of Toqtamish, Timūr-Kutluḡ, son of Timūr-Malik (*Zafar-nāma*, ii. 33; the date in the original source, *Tekst po istorii Sredney Asii*, St. Petersburg 1915, p. 54). Toqtamish fled to Witowt, the prince of Lithuania, who took up his cause but was defeated by the Tatars on Aug. 12, 1399 on the Worksa. Henceforth Toqtamish led the life of an adventurer. Shortly before his death Timūr received an embassy from Toqtamish in Otrār, which he had reached on Wednesday the 12th Radjāb (Jan. 14, 1405), bringing the assurance of his penitence and an appeal for pardon. Timūr promised to come after his return from the campaign to China, to the land of the Golden Horde again

and restore his throne to Toqtamish (*Zafar-nāma*, ii. 646 sq.). According to Russian sources, Toqtamish fell in 1406 at Tūmen in Siberia fighting against a force of Khān Shādi's (802—810 = 1399/1400—1407/1408); according to Iskandar's anonymous historian (*Asiat. Mus.*, fol. 243b) he died a natural death.

Bibliography: given in the text itself.

The earlier European accounts of Toqtamish (especially Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde*, and Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, part II.) are no longer in keeping with our present knowledge of the sources. See also the article TIMUR-LANG. (W. BARTHOLO)

TOLEDO (Ar. TULATULA), a town in Spain in the centre of the Iberian Peninsula 60 miles S. S. W. of Madrid. Built 2,000 feet above sea-level on a granite hill and surrounded on three sides by a bend in the Tagus, which has dug out its bed along the bottom of a deep fault, it commands in its immediate vicinity a fertile *vega* which runs to N. E. and N. W. along the river and beyond it is the plain of denudation of the Castilian plateau. Toledo has at the present day only some 25,000 inhabitants. It is the capital of the province of the same name and the see of the premier Archbishop of Spain. The old capital of the kings of Castile is now a little quiet town, but it has preserved a character of its own and is most attractive in a position of incomparable grandeur.

The Arab geographers who describe the Peninsula all give more or less long descriptions of Toledo. Idrisi puts it in the *islīm* of al-Sharāt (= las Sierras). In his time it had already been taken from the Muslims. He describes its excellent strategic position, its ramparts and the gardens which surround it, intersected by canals from which the water is raised for irrigation by means of norias. Abu 'l-Fida' also praises the beauty of its orchards among the trees of which were pomegranates with enormous flowers. According to Yāqūt, the cereals grown around Toledo could be kept for 70 years without deterioration and its saffron was of excellent quality.

Livy (*Hist.*, xxvii. 7) is the first to mention the Iberian town of *Toletum* which was taken not without difficulty in 193 B. C. by the proconsul M. Fulvius. It remained very prosperous under Roman rule and when Christianity was introduced into Spain, it soon attained great importance as centre of religion. In 400 a council of 19 bishops met there for the first time. Toledo was taken in 418 by the Visigoths and in the sixth century became the capital of their kingdom in the Peninsula. In 567 Athanagilda made it his capital and when the king Rekkared was converted to Christianity in 587, the Visigothic capital again became the religious metropolis of Iberia, on an even grander scale. The Roman Catholic clergy began to interfere in the political control of the country and to display their activity in numerous councils.

It is in Toledo that is laid the scene of the legendary episode of king Rodrigo and Florinda, daughter of Count Julian of Centa, and in the town the spot is still pointed out on the bank of the Tagus where she was bathing when the Visigothic prince saw her and fell in love with her (*Baños de la Cueva*). The invader Ṭāriq b. Ziyād [q.v.] took Toledo in 92 (714). He found it almost empty; only a few Jews had remained in it. Ṭāriq enrolled them in his army, which was

soon rejoined in Toledo by the force he had sent to take Granada and Murcia. It is also in Toledo that the Muslim chroniclers locate the meeting of Tāriq and Mūsā b. Nuṣair [q. v.]. The Arab leader only remained a short time there and continued his advance to the north of the Peninsula, going to Saragossa, which he seized.

The Arab writers, who deal with the history or geography of al-Andalus almost all record fascinating but legendary stories which circulated in the early centuries of the Hijra about the fabulous wealth which the Muslim invaders found in Toledo, when they took the city. The best known story is that of the "closed house of Toledo"; the sources which give it were studied by René Basset in 1898 (cf. the *Bibl.*).

The name of Toledo recurs frequently in the chronicles of Muslim Spain in the period of the governors and especially after the establishment of the Umayyad emirate of Cordova. According to the accounts which they give and which are confirmed by the Christian chroniclers, the town very soon became a hot-bed of sedition and a continual centre of rebellion against the government. It is certain that in spite of Muslim rule, the greater part of the people of Toledo never abandoned Roman Catholicism and remained Mozarab. In spite of the great toleration shown by the conquerors, their rule was not accepted at all passively. The Toledans never lost an opportunity of throwing off the yoke and, whenever a chance was given them, called to their assistance the ever turbulent Berbers, over whom the governors of Spain or their successors were never able to exercise complete control. It was in Toledo that the great Berber rising of 122 (740) found most support and it was near it on the banks of the Wādī Saltī (Guazalete) that the rebels were crushed by the troops sent from Cordova. It was again in Toledo a little later when 'Abd al-Rahmān I deprived him of his governorship that Yūsuf al-Fihri sought refuge and he was killed near the town in 142 (759).

From the reign of the first Umayyad emir to that of 'Abd al-Rahmān III al-Nāṣir there was not a ruler to whom Toledo was not a matter of care and anxiety, sometimes grave. In 147 (764) Hishām b. 'Udhra rebelled there and 'Abd al-Rahmān I had to send his two generals, Badr and Tammām b. 'Alqama, against the town. On the accession of Hishām I (172 = 788), his brother and rival Sulaimān had himself proclaimed in Toledo and the emir was forced next year to besiege the town from which he had to retire after two months without success. In 181 (797) soon after the accession of al-Hakam I, a new rebellion broke out in Toledo, stirred up by an individual named 'Ubaida b. Humaid. But the Umayyad prince was not long in severely punishing the Toledans for their habitual insubordination. Their spirit of rebellion at this time was being fanned by the verses of one of their townsmen, who was very popular with them, the poet Ghiribī. On the latter's death, al-Hakam appointed to the government of Toledo a renegade (*mawallad*), a native of Huesca, named 'Amrūs who, by arrangement with the emir of Cordova, after gaining their confidence, lured the notables of the town into a trap in which they were all slain. This was the famous day of the ditch (*wafāt al-hufra*) (191 = 807). But the brutality of this suppression did not prevent Toledo from rebelling less than

ten years later. In 199 (814-815) the emir al-Hakam himself went against Toledo and by a stratagem succeeded in entering it and burned all the higher part of the town. In 214 (829) Toledo was again the starting point of a rebellion raised by a *mawallad* named Hāshim al-Darrāḥ (the smith) and it took two years to suppress it. In the reign of 'Abd al-Rahmān II, an expedition was sent against Toledo under prince Umayya in 219 (834). The next year the emir of Cordova laid siege to the town and it was taken by assault, after being invested for some months, in Rajab 222 (June 837). Toledo remained subject to the Umayyads, to whom it gave hostages, until 238 (852) but in this year, on the accession of the emir Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Hakam, it rebelled once more. The intolerance of the emir had exasperated the Toledans and the latter led by one of their number, Sindola, deposed their Arab governor and declared themselves free of Umayyad rule. Not only did they drive out of their town the representatives of the Cordovan government, but they organised an army which in Shawwāl 239 (May 854) defeated the troops of the emir Muḥammad near Andujar. Then in order to resist the force sent against them from Cordova, they made an alliance with the king of Leon, Ordoño I, who sent an army under Gatón, Count of Bierro, against them. But the resultant battle was disastrous for the Toledans, who lost 20,000 men. In 244 (858) Muḥammad, giving the town no rest inflicted another disaster on it by mining the bridge over the Tagus; it collapsed when crowded with soldiers. Toledo had to beg for *amān* in the following year and Muḥammad appointed a governor there. From this time down to the reign of 'Abd al-Rahmān III al-Nāṣir, the Arab historians hardly ever mention Toledo. We only know that in 873 its citizens obtained a treaty by which, if they agreed to pay tribute to Cordova, their political independence would be practically recognised.

The final subjection of Toledo was to be the work of the great Umayyad ruler al-Nāṣir. Before tackling it, he had to wait until all the other hot-beds of rebellion in his dominions had been exterminated. Once Badajoz had been taken, the caliph in 318 (930) sent to Toledo a deputation of fakhs to make the citizens understand that their liberty was no longer compatible with the authority of the government of Cordova. This peaceful effort having failed, he at once laid siege to the town and came himself with a large army to direct operations. He pitched his camp on the heights of Charneca and made it clear that he would not withdraw his troops until Toledo was taken, by erecting some buildings and a bazaar which were given the name of Madinat al-Fatḥ (town of victory), opposite the invested city. The blockade was continued into 320 (932) and Toledo had finally to surrender. A strong Umayyad garrison was placed in the town and its capture had a great moral effect throughout Spain. Henceforth it was the capital of the Middle Frontier (*al-thaghar al-awṣaq*) and the office of governor of Toledo was one of the most important military offices of the Umayyad *diwān*. Among the principal holders of this office were Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allah b. Hudair, the *ḥā'id* Ahmad b. Ya'la and, in the reign of al-Hakam II, the general Ghālīb b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Nāṣir, the father-in-law of the famous *ḥā'id* al-Manṣūr [q. v.] Ibn Abī 'Āmir.

During the period of troubles which ended in the fall of the caliphate of Cordova and in the dismemberment of the Umayyad empire in Spain, Toledo no longer played any more than a very minor part in politics. On several occasions it served as headquarters or as a refuge for rival rebels but it does not seem to have itself taken advantage of these occasions to rebel, as it had so often done before. It was for several years the base of operations of the general Wādīh and between his two reigns Muhammad b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Djabbār found a refuge there. Soon afterwards when little Muslim kingdoms were founded in the Peninsula, it became the capital of an independent kingdom, that of the Banū Dhī l-Nūn.

The Banū Dhī l-Nūn [q. v.] were nobles of Berber origin who in the reign of al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī 'Amr had obtained certain military commands. They were settled in the region of Shantaberiya (Santaver, the modern province of Cuenca). It was to them that the Toledans appealed when on the fall of the Cordovan caliphate they wished to give themselves a chief. 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Dhī l-Nūn, lord of Shantaberiya, sent them his son Ismā'il who took command of the town and the territory belonging to it and appealed to the experience of a notable of Toledo, Abū Bakr b. al-Hadīdī, to administer it for him. According to several Arab chroniclers, Ismā'il b. Dhī l-Nūn was not the first king of Toledo but succeeded other chiefs of other families, Ibn Masarra, Muhammad b. Ya'ish al-Asadī and his son Abū Bakr Ya'ish; other names are mentioned, Sa'id b. Shanṣir and

his son Aḥmad, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. منبیه and his son 'Abd al-Malik. The new ruler of Toledo, the beginning of whose reign is usually put in 427 (1035-1036), took the honorific *lakh* of al-Zāfir and was only a few years on the throne for he died in 435 (1043-1044).

His son Yahyā succeeded him and took the title of al-Ma'mūn. On his long reign see the article on him (iii., p. 223, where the date of his accession should be corrected from 429 to 435; cf. Dozy, *Recherches* 2, vol. i., p. 238, note 1).

On the death of Yahyā al-Ma'mūn at the end of 467 (1075) the kingdom of Toledo, considerably increased, passed into the hands of his grandson Yahyā b. Ismā'il b. Yahyā who took the *lakh* of al-Qādir. The great incapacity of this prince brought a period in which decadence became more and more marked after the brilliant and prosperous long reign of al-Ma'mūn. Left to himself by the old Muslim allies of his grandfather, especially by the prince of Seville, he had to seek the alliance of the king of Castile and Leon, Alfonso VI. The latter granted him his protection, but in return demanded payment of tribute which became larger and larger. To meet his engagements, al-Qādir had to oppress his subjects with taxation and the latter ended by rebelling. Al-Qādir retorted by more rigorous measures and had several notables of the town executed along with his first minister Ibn al-Hadīdī. This only exasperated the Toledans against him still more and he had to abandon his capital and seek refuge at Huete. The kingdom of Toledo was then offered to the Afṣadī kings of Badajoz, al-Mutawakkil, who took in 472 (1077) possession of it. Alfonso VI retook Toledo soon afterwards for his Muslim ally but this was only a pretence: on 27th Muḥarram 478 (May 25, 1085)

the king of Castile, after a treaty concluded between him and al-Qādir, which the latter could not escape signing, entered Toledo on his own account, thus making an important step in the progress of the *reconquista*. The taking of Toledo had a great moral effect among Christians as well as Muslims. It, more than anything, determined the invasion of Spain by the Almoravids in the next year.

In spite of the successes, which, first Yūsuf b. Tāshīn, then the Almohads, won in the Iberian Peninsula, Toledo never again passed into Muslim hands. For a century, however, it remained one of the great objectives of their armies. It was twice besieged without success, once on the death of Alfonso VI, and again by the Almohad Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr in 592 (1195) in the course of an expedition which won the towns of Calatrava, Guadalupe and Madrid for the Muslims for some years, and was distinguished by the victory of Alarcos. But the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, on July 16, 1212, soon deprived the Muslims of all hope of retaking Toledo.

Becoming Christian again, and created the capital of their dominions by the kings of Castile, Toledo however long retained a markedly Muslim character. Islām continued to be practised by a certain number of the faithful. A town of Mozarabs under Islām, it was a town of Morescoes for quite a long time after its return to Christianity.

There are very few traces left in Toledo of its long occupation by the Muslims. At most, the remains of the little mosque of Bib Mardūm (Cristo de la Luz), some parts of the palace of Las Tornerías and of the old gate of Visagra can be dated back to the period of the *mulūk al-fawā'id*. On the other hand in the *svga* near the town, a considerable number of epitaphs of Muslims of Toledo have been found, mainly engraved on the shafts of columns.

In spite of its position as a frontier town with a population containing a large proportion of Christian elements, Toledo, especially at the end of the Umayyad caliphate and in the reign of al-Ma'mūn, was reckoned one of the intellectual centres of Muslim Spain. A large number of the articles in the collections on the biography of Muslim Spain are devoted to scholars and jurists of Toledan origin.

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TOPAL OTHMÂN PASHA, an Ottoman grand vizier. Topal i.e. "limping" Othmân Pasha was born in the Morea in 1104 (1692), entered the palace service in Stambul at an early age, where he filled a number of offices until he was promoted to the rank of beylerbeyi at the age of barely 24, soon afterwards he became serasker in the Morea and finally vizier with two tails (*tugâ*, q.v.). He then held governorships repeatedly, e.g. twice in Bosnia, Naupactus and Widin, next went as commander-in-chief to Persia and finally received the grand vizierate on 19th Rabi' I, 1344 (Sept. 21, 1731) when Dâmiâd Ibrâhîm Pasha fell into disgrace. He only held the office for six months however. On 15th Ramadân 1344 (March 12, 1732) he was then dismissed and sent as governor to Trapezunt. He was then in turn wali of Erzerum and Tiflis, until he was given supreme command of the Ottoman army in the war against Nâdir Kullî Khân [q.v.] of Persia. In the battle of the Tigris on July 19, 1733 he defeated the Persians, put them to flight and drove them out of Baghdad. Three months later however in another battle on Oct. 26, 1733 in the plains of Lailao S.E. of Kirkuk, he was severely defeated and was himself slain. By order of Nâdir Kullî Khân his body was taken to Baghdad and buried there. Topal Othmân Pasha is described as a rough, superstitious but able and vigorous personality. The best accounts of him are that of his French private physician Sieur Jean Nicodème (in a letter to the Marquis de Villemeuve dated Aug. 10, 1733, printed in J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vii, 599 sqq.) and that of Jonas Hanway in his *Historical Account of British Trade over the Caspian* (London 1753, vol. ii, sect. 12, which deals entirely with Topal Othmân Pasha). A description of Topal Othmân Pasha's campaign against Nâdir Kullî Khân is given in a work composed by a Christian entitled *Ghazwât-i Topal Othmân Pasha*; cf. F. Babinger, *G.O.R.*, p. 289, note 3, N° vi. — The sons of Topal Othmân Pasha were Râtib Ahmad Pasha and the Beylerbeyi Arslân Bey (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, viii, 394). Among his grandsons were Yûsuf Pasha and Mûsâ Pasha and a later descendant was the author and poet Nâmlîk Kemâl Bey [q.v.].

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TOPAL OTHMÂN PASHA, Ottoman governor of Bosnia, Sharif, but usually called Topal Othmân Pasha because he was lame from a bullet-wound, belonged to the vicinity of Smyrna where he was born in 1219 (beg. Apr. 12, 1804), as the son of a peasant named Hâdîdî Sharîf

Agha. He first entered the navy and in 1839 as Rear-Admiral, along with the Kapudan Pasha [q.v.] Ahmed Fawî Pasha surrendered the Ottoman fleet in the Dardanelles to Muhammad 'Alî Pasha of Egypt, on hearing that Khuraw Pasha [q.v., iii, p. 978] had been appointed grand vizier. He remained a refugee in Egypt for several years after the conclusion of peace where he enjoyed the Khedive's favour. When an amnesty was granted to the deserters he returned in 1258 (beg. Feb. 12, 1842) to Stambul and entered the civil service. He became Kâ'im-makâm of Ismid, then *Mutqarrif* of Katal [q.v.], in Dhu 'l-Ka'da 1265 (Sept. 1849) of Bigha [q.v.], in 1271 (beg. Sept. 24, 1854) of Cyprus. In 1273 (beg. Sept. 1, 1856), he went as commandant (*as-kâfî*) to Belgrade from which he went on 11th Radjâb 1277 (Jan. 23, 1861) to Sarajevo [q.v.] as governor (*wâlî*) of Bosnia and Herzegovina. His governorship may be described as a golden period in the history of Bosnia under the Ottomans. He held the office for nine years, a period only attained before or after him by one other governor, namely Khosrew Pasha [q.v.]. His great aim was to deprive the powerful begs of their influence and thus to strengthen the power of the Ottoman government. His plan was to place Bosnian notables in public offices, where they soon lost their hereditary prestige and influence with the people. He also raised the status of the bourgeois, especially artisans and small traders, and played them off against the nobles; as the protector of the common people he soon attained enormous popularity and to this day the "glorious days of Ottoman Pasha" are almost proverbial in Bosnia. He devoted special attention to the education of the youth in schools, which under his administration assumed a development hitherto undreamt of. In Sarajevo, in addition to numerous public schools, he built a reading room (*hîrâ't-ahâne*), a high school (*rîhâdiye*) as well as a technical school for the training of officials (*mekteb-i hukûk*). The object of these institutions was to "Stambulise" the people of Bosnia, i.e. to bring them up to be loyal Ottoman citizens. But the educational institutions of the non-Muslim creeds were also supported in all kinds of ways by Othmân Pasha. He endowed the mosque of Ghâzî Khosrew [q.v.] with a splendid library (about 2,000 MSS. and books) and one of his great services was the institution of a printing-works for the wilâyet in which were printed not only the official calendar (*Sâlmûs-i Bosna*), but the weekly papers *Bosna* (official Gazette) and the *Gulshen-i Serây* (in Turkish and also in Serbian as the *Sarajewski cvjetnik*), schoolbooks. From 1863, Othmân Pasha endeavoured to regulate the relations between the Muslim landowners and the, usually Christian, serfs, the *kmets*. He established a certain degree of legal protection for the *kmets* from oppression by the landowners and thus gained the affection and reverence of the lower classes. His endeavours to abolish tithes and replace it by a direct tax on land failed against the opposition of the Porte. Othmân Pasha was continually making roads in his province and used all the available labour in the work. A number of important routes within Bosnia and also connecting it with the outside world were his work (e.g. from Maglaj to Dônja Tuzla and Zvornik; from Bosnian-Gradiška-Banjaluca-Travnik-Livno and thence across the Prolog into Dalmatia; the road from Sarajevo to Mostar

completed by the War Office in 1864; the road made in 1868 from Trebinje to Ragusa etc.).

It was only natural that he should continually strive to beautify Sarajevo, which was his official residence. There he built a splendid country house, the Čengić-villa which still exists (called after its later owner Derwish Pasha Čengić, known as De-daga, therefore also called by the natives *De-daginci-konaci*). As a result of the intrigues of his numerous opponents in Stambul, 'Othmân Pasha was removed from his governorship in Ramañân 1285 (beg. Dec. 16, 1868) and transferred as Wali to Sili-stria (*Duna Wallist*). *Muhtir* Şafvet Pasha was appointed to succeed him. Suddenly, however, these changes were cancelled and 'Othmân Pasha returned to Sarajevo amid the tumultuous enthusiasm of the populace. His new period of activity was of short duration. His Stambul enemies were able to persuade the credulous Sultan 'Abd al-'Azîz that 'Othmân Pasha had built himself a Serây in Bosnia and that, as an old pupil of the rebel Maḥmūd 'Alî Pasha, he cherished the ambition to make himself independent. The consequence was that 'Othmân Pasha was definitely recalled on the 15th Şafar 1286 (May 27, 1869). He disposed of his estates and his konak and retired on a very modest pension to Stambul, where he lived in complete retirement in a little house in the country on the Bosphorus. He died there on the 10th Dju-mâda II, 1291 (July 26, 1874) and was buried in Stambul behind the Arsenal (*Tersâne*). — One of his sons is Re'uf Pasha.

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TORGHUD, a Turkish tribe in Asia Minor.

The Torgud tribe appears alongside of the Warsak (the *Bapandec* of the Byzantine historians, cf. the important passage in Chalkondyles, p. 243, 4), quite early in Ottoman history. Its origin is wrapped in obscurity; it is mentioned for the first time in history at the end of the eighth century A. H. when 'Alî al-Dîn of the Karamanoglu included the Torgud among the tribes who joined his colours. A century later they appear in the army of Djâm Sultan in his Anatolian campaign against Sultan Bâyezîd (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. 256; 886 = 1481). About this time the Torgud and the Warsak were living in the Cilician Taurus on the other side of the Bulghar Dagh (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. 294). Then and later they were in political dependence on the Karamanoglu, the enemies of the Ottomans. With the decline of the latter the Torgud disappeared from history. They cannot be connected with the place called Torgud-lu in the sandjak of Sarukhan (q. v.), still less with the Kalmuck Torgots (Törge-uten). (F. BÄRINGER)

TORGHUD, a general and companion-in-arms of 'Othmân I.

Torgud, usually Torgud-alp (alp as a personal name, is Turkish = "brave, fearless, warrior"; cf. Alp-Tekin, Alp-Arslan, and Aighud-alp, Konur-alp etc.), is mentioned among the companions of 'Othmân I and connected with the earliest Ottoman conquests. He is said, for example, to have surprised Angelokoma, the modern Ainegöl, in 699 (1299) with only seventy men and taken it (according to Neshri, Idris Bitlisi in J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*,

i. 53 sq.). He remained the councillor of 'Othmân's son Urkhan. On the latter's instructions he took Edrenos on Olympus, the key to Brussa (1326). Nothing is known of his later life. In the Byzantine historians, like Chalkondyles (cf. p. 65, 20, 243, 25, 244, 1 sqq., 491, 4 of the Bonn edition), he appears as *Τοργούρος*.

(F. BÄRINGER)

TORGHUD-ELI, literally "the land of Torgud", is the district around Ainegöl in Asia Minor, which Torgud-alp (q. v.) conquered and received as a fief. According to Leonclavius (cf. *Hist. Musulm. Turc.*, p. 154, 25, 853 infra; cf. on this *Id.*, xii. 102), the Arabic form Dhu 'l-Kadr is a corruption of this, which is very probable, as it is almost certainly derived from some Turkish proper name. The royal family of the Dhu 'l-Kadr-oghlu (q. v.) would thus have to be connected with the Turkoman tribe of Torgud (q. v.).

Bibliography: cf. F. Bâninger in *Id.*, xii. 102.

(F. BÄRINGER)

TORTOSA, Arabic *ṬURTUBĀ* (*nisha*: *Turtubā*), a town in Spain on the left bank of the Ebro, a few miles above the beginning of the delta of this river, 115 miles from Valencia, 105 from Barcelona and 60 from Tarragona. Tortosa which now has 28,000 inhabitants, is the chief town of a *partido* of the province of Tarragona and the see of a bishop.

The town is built on the site of the old Iberian town of *Iertosa* which was succeeded by the Roman colony of *Julia Augusta*. Its geographical position has always given it considerable commercial importance. It passed early under Muslim rule and most of the Arab geographers who deal with the Peninsula, give a description of it. According to Idrisi, it was part of the *ihlām* of al-Burtat; it was, he says, a large commercial town where ships were built with the wood of the pine-trees of remarkable quality which grew in the neighbourhood. According to the historical and geographical dictionary of Ibn Abd al-Man'im al-Himyari, the Umayyad rulers built a wall around it of dressed stone, with four gates. It had also a cathedral mosque with five naves which was built in 345 (956—957), four public baths and several suburbs. Its wharves for shipbuilding (*dār al-ṣinā'a*) were built in 333 (945) by order of the caliph 'Abd al-Rahmân IV al-Nâsir; the foundation inscription happens to have survived.

Information about the history of Tortosa in the early centuries of Muslim rule is scanty and scattered. We only know that it was besieged in 193 (809) by Louis the Debonnaire, son of Charlemagne, whose army was defeated by that sent against him by the emir al-Hakam I under his son 'Abd al-Rahmân. This first siege, which ended in failure, did not prevent Louis from taking Tortosa two years later, but he only held it for a short time. Later it appears that Tortosa, on account of its position on the borders of Muslim Spain, was used as place of compulsory residence for exiles from the Cordovan court; for example, the secretary 'Abd al-Malik b. Idris al-Djastri was detained there by order of al-Manṣûr Ibn Abi 'Amir.

On the dismemberment of the Umayyad caliphate and the formation of the kingdoms of the *taifas*, Tortosa became the capital of a little principality of 'Amirid "Slavs" (*ṣakātibā* (q. v.)). The best known of these was an individual called Nabil; he even was able to take advantage of the anarchy prevailing in the east of al-Andalus to seize Valencia,

which he only held for a few years, however. His predecessors had been the *fatā* Labīb, then Mukātil, who took the *lubb* of Saif al-Milla. In 452 (1060) Tortosa rebelled against Nābil and the latter handed over the town to the king of Saragossa, al-Mukṭadīr Ibn Hūd [cf. the article SARAGOSSA]. Tortosa remained in the possession of the Banū Hūd, down to the end of the Arab kingdom of Saragossa. Later the counts of Barcelona attempted to take it and finally Raymond Beranger IV took it on the 14th Sha'bān 543 (Dec. 30, 1148), the same year as Lerida and Fraga, with the help of the Templars. A counter-attack by the Muslims was a failure, owing to the courage of the women of the town. It had previously been taken by the Christians in 512 (1118).

If we may judge by the scholars who bore the ethnic al-Turṭuṣī, Tortosa seems to have been for a considerable time a brilliant centre of Muslim studies. Among these men of letters, the most famous was Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Walīd al-Fihri al-Turṭuṣī, known as Ibn Abī Rundaḳā, born at Tortosa in 451 (1059) and died at Alexandria in 520 (1126), the author of the *Sirāfi al-Mulūk*, publ. Cairo 1289 A. H. (cf. on him Ibn Ḥaḥkwal, *Siḥ*, No. 1153; al-Dabbī, *Buḥyāt al-Mulūmī*, No. 205; Ibn Farḥūn, *Dibāḡ*, p. 250; Brockelmann, *G.A.J.*, i., p. 459; M. Ben Cheneb, *Étude sur les personnages mentionnés dans l'Idjāz du cheikh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Fāyī*, Paris 1907, p. 133, p. 169—170 and the literature quoted).

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TOSKA. [See ARNAUTS.]

TRAPEZUNT, TREBISOND. [See TARABZUN.]

TRIPOLIS. [See TARABULUS.]

TRIPOLI (Tarābulus, Atrābulus), a city on the Northern coast of Africa, 13° 20' E. long., 32° 50' N. lat., now the seat of the government of Tripolitania, one of the two colonies forming Italian Libya. Its Muslim population, according to the census taken in 1914 by the municipality of Tripoli, was 19,907, including the Mencia; Jewish population 10,471, European population, in the town of Tripoli only, 14,180. The latter, in 1928, may be calculated at 25,000; total about 60,000.

The name Tripolis, applied to the territory of the three cities Sabrata, Oea, Leptis (Lepqi), of Phoenician-Carthaginian origin, does not appear till Roman writers of the 1st century A. D., but the name Tripolitania was already given in the

3rd century, to the region otherwise called Sirtica, governed from the administrative centre of Tacape (Gabes). In the Byzantine period we find the name Tripoli applied to the city of Oea; this usage was confirmed under the Arab conquerors, in the form Tarābulus and Atrābulus, with the addition of al-Gharb, to distinguish it from Tripoli in Syria.

The ancient city of Oea, one of the *emporia* of Sirtica, was first a Phoenician, then a Carthaginian colony; Roman influence began to prevail in the second century, during the Punic wars; direct Roman rule may be dated from the end of Carthage's rule (149 B.C.).

The ancient city lay mainly in the western part of the present city, round the still existing Arch of Marcus Aurelius, erected in 163 A.D. under the proconsul Cornelius Orfitus by C. Calpurnius Celsus, *curator numeris et publicis muneribus*, and dedicated to the Emperors M. Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Verus. Oea however had no great political, military or economic importance, notwithstanding its harbour, protected by a barrier of rocks. The *emporia* of Sabrata and Leptis were then of greater military and economic consequence.

The first city wall may be attributed to the 1st century A. D., when the attacks of nomads from the interior became a menace. The Vandals, Procopius says, destroyed the walls of the African cities, but it is certain that the Byzantines hastened to reconstruct them; in Tripoli also the sections of walls still existing after the vicissitudes of ages, and partly demolished since the Italian occupation, preserve traces of Byzantine workmanship. The city was not surrounded by walls on the side overlooking the sea; the Arab invaders were thus able to enter it from the W., following the beach.

Occupied by the Vandals about 439, Tripoli remained under their rule up to 535, save for the expedition of Heraclius, sent by sea from Byzantium in 468. Belisarius, after having conquered the ancient province of Africa in 533, sent troops also to Tripoli, which from 535 may be considered subject to the Eastern Empire; the Catholic religion, troubled by the invasion of the Arian Vandals and by the rebellions of tribes in the interior, seemed to flourish anew in Tripoli for about a century.

Historians do not agree on the date of the Muslim occupation, which according to some happened in 22 (642—643), and to others a year later. It may be that a first vanguard of the Arab conquerors of Egypt pushed as far as Tripoli in 22 A. H., and that a second expedition was led against it in 23.

It is well known that these first Muslim expeditions were raids, rather for the purpose of plunder than of conquest; neither the interior of Tripolitania, nor Tripoli itself, were firmly held at that time; as late as 26 (647—648) 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'īd with 'Uḡba b. Nāfi' passed through it; in 45—46 'Uḡba b. Nāfi' pushed further the conquest of Ifrīqiya; about that time a garrison (*ḡund*) was permanently established in Tripoli; the names of the city's governors are not known.

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb, governor of Ifrīqiya, after 126 H. marched against Tripoli in 131 (748—749), slew two Tripolitans, 'Abd al-Djabbār and al-Ḥarīb, Berbers of the Ḥādīte school, and in 132 restored the city walls. Ibn Khaldūn records

that the city was then governed by Bakr b. 'Isa al-Kāsi, and that he was killed during the revolt. Throughout the second and third centuries, Tripoli and its environs were troubled by the political-religious revolt of the Ibadīs. This sect had found many followers among the Hawwāra and Zanāta Berbers, who formed the predominant element in the population. About 140 (757-758), the Ibadī imām Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb al-Mu'āzzī set out from Tripoli, in the rising known as the revolt of the Warfajūma, which seriously endangered Arab possession of North Africa, and was put down by Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath, sent by the Caliph al-Manṣūr, in the battle of Tawārgha (143 = 760-761). In the following years further risings, due to the rebel Ibadīs, took place, and Tripoli was repeatedly besieged and attacked. We know that Harṭama, governor of Ifrīqiya in the name of the 'Abbāsids in 179-180 (795-797), ordered the wall on the side next the sea to be built (al-Bakrī, transl. de Slane, p. 25; Ibn al-Athīr, vi. 49; Ibn 'Adhārī, transl. Fagnan, i. 107).

Tripoli remained under Aghlabid rule from 184 to 296 (800-909), but this century was not one of quiet; among many revolts, Ibn Khaldūn mentions that of 196 (811-812) against 'Abd Allāh, son of the Amīr Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab, and against his successor Sufyān b. al-Madā; its leaders were once again the Ibadī Berbers, who had their centre of resistance in the Djebel Nefūsa. Under the Aghlabid Amīr Ziyādāt Allāh, Tripolitania was invaded by al-'Abbās, son of Ahmad b. Tulūn, lord of Egypt; the governor of Tripoli, Muḥammad b. Kurhub, was vanquished in 255 (868-869) by 'Abbās at Labda, and besieged for 43 days in Tripoli.

During the rule of the 'Ubaids in Northern Africa, Tripoli was subject to them, and they appointed its governors; a revolt, put down by Abu 'l-Kāsim, is mentioned in 300 (912). When the 'Ubaids transferred themselves to Egypt, Tripoli was at first ruled by the Zirids, left as their lieutenants in Ifrīqiya, but not much later the independent rule of the Berber Banū Kharrūn, of the Zanāta stock, was established there (391-541 = 1000-1145).

The history of this period of a century and a half is not quite clear, notwithstanding the information furnished by Ibn 'Adhārī, Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn al-Athīr. Tripoli enjoyed a period of almost autonomous government, but it was ravaged by internal discord.

The invasion of the Banū Hilāl and the Banū Sulalim, an event which was to modify deeply the ethnical and political formation of Northern Africa, swept away also the rule of the Banū Kharrūn in Tripoli. For twelve years (1146-1158), the city was under the Normans; it was then conquered by the Almohads, who held it for about a century, in the midst of raids and risings due to the adventures Karākush and to the Banū Ghāniya.

The condition of Tripoli under the Hafṣids is better known, thanks to Ibn Khaldūn, al-Tijjānī and al-Zarkashī. The dependence of Tripoli upon the Almohads ceased in 646 (1247-1248), when Muḥammad b. 'Isā al-Hintātī was appointed governor of the city. Al-Tijjānī, who passed through Tripoli in 1308 A. D., found a Hafṣid governor, there living in a castle (*ḥaṣaba*), probably on the site of the present castle; the city was administered by the governor and a council of 10 notables

(*shaykh*), who used to meet in a sanctuary called *maṣḥid al-'aṣḥara*. The traveller observed in Tripoli a fine bath (*ḥammām*), broad, clean streets, mostly meeting at right angles; he admired the Arch of Marcus Aurelius, a Great Mosque (*al-djām' al-'aṣḥam*), many shrines, a *madrasa* (*al-madrasa al-mustanziriya*), strong walls in good repair, with a moat in some parts. The city's intellectual life was flourishing at this time; cultivated people abounded.

A short time after al-Tijjānī's visit, Tripoli appears in the history of the internal rivalries in the Hafṣid family, at the time of al-Lihyānī; later, notwithstanding the permanence of the Hafṣid rule, the city had a second, almost autonomous dynasty, that of the Banū Thābit or Banū 'Ammār Berbers (1324-1400 A. D.). In this period Tripoli was conquered for a few days by the Genoese Filippo Doria, who sacked it in 1354, and immediately sold it, for 50,000 *mithkāl*s of gold, to the Marinids. The Hafṣid Sulṭān Abū Fāris made his direct influence felt as far as Tripoli for a few decades longer; later the city was almost independent under its own rulers, until 1510, the date of the Spanish conquest.

Peter of Navarre, who had conquered Oran in 1509, and Bougie in January 1510, reached Tripoli with his Spanish troops in July 1510; the city was much damaged by the attack and the looting of Spaniards, who however reconstructed the castle in the form it has preserved more or less up to this day; they also repaired the walls. Little is known of the 20 years of Spanish rule (1510-1530).

Already in 1524 the city had been visited by a committee of the Order later called of Malta, which had left Rhodes and had repaired to Civita Vecchia and Viterbo. In 1530, when the Maltese archipelago was conferred on the Order as a fief by the Emperor Charles V, Tripoli also went to the new rulers. The Knights of Malta maintained themselves at Tripoli from 1530 to 1551, holding out against the attacks of the rebel Arabs, who received help from the Barbary corsairs in alliance with the Porte. Khair al-Dīn Barbarossa, who in 1533 had occupied Tunis, now threatened Tripoli; after him Murād Aghā, a corsair arrived from Constantinople, directed from Tadjūra the continual incursions on Tripoli by land and sea. The Order had in Tripoli a garrison of Knights and of Italian and Spanish mercenary troops, its authority was limited to the city and its immediate environs. On August 5th 1551, Sinūn Pāshā, with Darghūt Pāshā and Murād Aghā, besieged the city, and took it on August 13th; the Governor-Commander Fra Gaspar de Valier was able to depart for Malta with the Knights of the garrison; most of the mercenaries were slaughtered. Murād Aghā became the new governor for the Porte, with the title of Beylerbey; his name is preserved by the large mosque in Tadjūra; about 1554 he was succeeded by Darghūt Pāshā, an important figure in Ottoman and Barbary history, and especially in that of Tripoli; he was killed in the siege of Malta (1565 A. D.) and was buried in the mosque he had founded at Tripoli. Spain and the Order of Malta tried many times to take the city from the Turks; the expedition of 1559-1560 ended in disaster at the island of Djarba; the attempt of 1589-1590, in spite of an understanding with a rebel *murshid*, Yahya, was fruitless. Many times the galleys of Malta entered Tripoli's harbour, and burned its vessels.

Tripoli was the seat of the *agās* of the same name, one of the three *agās* of the Janissaries in Barbary. Their chief, sent from Constantinople, bore the title of Pāshā. However in Tripoli, as in Tunis and Algiers, owing to the distance and the decay of the central government, a dominating oligarchy was soon formed in the Janissaries' quarters, and through marriages with the local population, the *Kulughli* ethnical class developed. Christian renegades were many and very powerful. Rule was wielded by the Pāshā, assisted by a *dīwān*; the administration was presided over by a Dey, the army by a Bey. Often Dey and Bey were the real masters of the city; the whole history of Tripoli in the xviiith century and in the beginning of the xixth, is full of these risings of Janissaries. While the central government grew weaker, and anarchy prevailed in the interior, the Consuls' power increased, especially in the case of the consuls of France, England, and, later, of Sardinia.

A period of great power for Tripoli began with the rule of Mehemmed Pāshā Sakīlī, of Chios, who reigned from 1042 to 1059 (1632—1649), and was succeeded by his son-in-law Uthmān Pāshā, also of Chios (1649—1672). During these 60 years, within which fell the famous siege of Candia (1645—1669), the corsair navy of Tripoli became more daring than in the past, and captured many prizes; Tripoli was enriched by new mosques and public baths. Under their successors, England in 1676 and France in 1685 broke the pirates' overbearing pride with bombardments and threats. Internal struggles continued up to 1711, when Aḥmad Karamānli (Karamanli) succeeded, by slaughtering his opponents, in establishing a dynasty, which ruled, with the consent of Constantinople, for over a century (1711—1835). The rule of the Karamānli [q. v.] has left to this day many traces in Tripoli, in the part that remains of the Muslim and Barbaresque city; we shall therefore give a fuller account of its history.

Aḥmad Karamānli (1711—1745), founder of the dynasty, was an energetic figure; in the 34 years of his rule Tripoli enjoyed comparative peace and economic prosperity; its power was felt more strongly than ever before, even in the interior of Tripolitania, as far as Fezzan and the territory of Barka (Cyrenaica). Having unmasked, in 1721, a plot against his life, he secured, with his family and friends, the actual control of administration and government. An historian, Ibn Ḡhalbūn, wrote about 1731—1732 the *History of Tripoli*, which is largely concerned with his reign: there were also poets who celebrated his exploits and his generosity. He was, however, cruel, a tyrant towards his enemies and all those who excited his suspicion. He died blind in 1745. Among his acts, Ibn Ḡhalbūn mentions many *waḥf* in favour of the city, the construction of an aqueduct which brought the water of a neighbouring spring, by means of a water-wheel, to the castle and the mosques, a fountain on the beach to supply sailors with water. But his best memorial is the mosque erected (1737—1738) on the side overlooking the castle, with its *madrasa*, which is still frequented, and enriched by many revenues, among them that of the neighbouring *sūq*. He also embellished the castle with new rooms and restored it. He had difficulties with the Powers and with the consuls on account of the damage sea-trade suffered at the hands of his cor-

sairs, but showed humanity and often generosity towards Christians, who from that time began to settle in larger numbers in the city and to ply their trades and crafts. The Franciscan mission was also kindly treated by him.

His son and successor, Mehemmed Pāshā Karamānli (1745—1754), reigned too short a time to leave lasting memories; in 1751 the English defended with energy the rights of their citizens on the sea. In 1752 he put down a revolt of Albanians. Muḥammad was succeeded by his son 'Alī Pāshā (1754—1793), whose period of rule is well known through abundant historical sources, printed and MSS. In 1765 he signed in Venice, through an ambassador, a peace treaty with the Republic; in the following year, his promises having been broken, a Venetian fleet, commanded by the captain Giacomo Nani, obliged the Pāshā to observe them. Under 'Alī Pāshā the government was composed as follows: the Pāshā, supreme head of the State, with almost regal authority, the Bey, commander of the troops, the *Agā*, chief of Janissaries, the *Adāyā*, first civil authority and the Pāshā's counsellor, the *Re'is*, commander of the corsair fleet, the *Aḥannafis*, State Treasurer, one *ḥakīm*, administrator of the city, a sort of mayor, a *ḥakīm*, assisted by other clerks in the State Chancery. Important decisions were taken in the *dīwān* of council composed of men who had been ambassadors to Europe or military commanders. It was said that 'Alī Pāshā had begun to neglect consultations with the *dīwān*.

In 1784—1785 Tripoli was ravaged by a terrible famine and by the plague: of the city's 14,000 inhabitants one fourth is said to have perished. 'Alī Karamānli's reign was unfortunate on account of family quarrels, due to the ambition of one of his sons, Yūsuf Bey, who in 1790 went so far as to kill his brother Ḥasan Bey in the arms of his mother Lalla Ḥallūma. In 1793, while Yūsuf Bey had become an outlaw and was waging war against his father, a certain 'Alī Borghul, formerly an official in Algiers, entered the harbour with a few ships and Greek mercenaries, and occupied the city during the night of July 30th. 'Alī Pāshā took refuge in Tunis, whence he returned in 1795, with his children, thanks to the help of Ḥamūda Pāshā of Tunis. 'Alī Borghul turned once more to the sea on the night of February 8th.

Aḥmed II Pāshā, son of 'Alī Pāshā Karamānli, assumed the rule while his father, who died in 1796, still lived, but was unable to hold it against the jealousy of his brother Yūsuf, who took his place in June 1795.

Yūsuf Pāshā Karamānli (1795—1832) possessed, together with courage and foresight, all the perfidy, wiles and cruelty of a Barbary sovereign. He carefully repaired the fortifications, and restored the city walls between the harbour and the castle, as is proved by an inscription of 1215 (1800—1801) in the neighbourhood of the *sūq al-naḥḍifāra* (market of the carpenters). During the Napoleonic wars, in consequence of the Egyptian expedition and of the occupation of Malta, the Regency of Tripoli acquired international importance. It was to have been used as a base to victual Malta and to keep up relations with Egypt after the English had gained control of the sea, but this was not possible, as they had blockaded the harbour of Tripoli, and taken in charge the French

consul, whom they landed at Genoa. In 1801 France resumed friendly relations with Yūsuf Pāshā. In 1803-1815 Tripoli was on bad terms with the United States: the ship *Philadelphia*, which had come there to punish the pirates, stuck on the rocks of the harbour and was burnt; the Americans then appealed to Ahmad Karamānli, the deposed brother, and tried to provoke rebellion in Cyrenaica, but could not get the advantage of the crafty Pāshā. Piracy meanwhile went on, having survived down to the time of Yūsuf Pāshā. At the head of the fleet was his son-in-law Mustafā Gardji, who amassed great wealth, and spent part of it in constructing the mosque which bears his name (1249 = 1833-1834). As a consequence of the decisions taken at the congress of Vienna in 1815, and at Aix-la-Chapelle, Lord Exmouth reached Tripoli in 1816 with a British fleet. Capitulations were renewed on England's behalf, and established for the first time on behalf of the Kingdom of Sardinia. The latter, in 1825, sent a fleet to Tripoli, under Commander Sivori, for the purpose of settling difficulties raised by the Pāshā concerning the tribute which used to be paid on every change of consul; some Tripoli ships were burnt, and the Sardinian consul received full satisfaction. In this period (1815-1830) the consuls' authority overruled that of the Pāshā; the French consul Rousséan and the English consul Warrington were rivals and particularly energetic.

After a fruitless expedition of the Neapolitan fleet in 1830, the corsairs' power received its death-blow in the same year, with the French occupation of Algiers. Admiral Rosamel exacted and obtained on August 9th the end of piracy and the freeing of all Christian slaves.

Yūsuf Pāshā, who had wrested the power from his brother, was afflicted in his last years by the rebellion of his nephew Muḥammad (1832); the chaotic conditions of the Regency, the intrigues of the Powers, and, above all, the French occupation of Algiers, induced the Porte, in 1835, to send an expedition to Tripoli. The Turkish forces landed on May 27th and re-established direct Turkish rule in all of Tripolitania, including Barka (Cyrenaica). Yūsuf Pāshā, who in August 1832 had abdicated in favour of his son 'Alī, died under the new regime on August 4th 1838.

The second period of Ottoman rule (1835-1911) was characterized by the progressive conquest of the interior, hindered by the ambitions and revolts of the tribes. The city however remained for 76 years entirely subject to the Ottomans; the conditions of the native population were practically unchanged; the city enjoyed a certain measure of progress thanks only to the foreign colonies, amongst which the Italian colony predominated as to numbers, influence, and private and financial enterprises. On October 5th 1911 Italian troops landed in Tripoli.

The city; monuments. In the historical summary we have already mentioned some of Tripoli's monuments. Without describing the Roman and pre-Roman remains, like the necropolis to the NW. of the city and the Arch of Marcus Aurelius, we may mention among Muslim monuments, the *Djāmi' al-Nāḩa* (*an-nāḩa* according to the local pronunciation), which is one of the most ancient, reconstructed by Šafar Bey in 1019 (1610-1611); *Djāmi' Darghūt* or *Djāmi' Šhā'ib al-'Ain* was built in 1110 (1698-1699) by Meḥmed Pāshā, called *Šhā'ib al-'ain*; *Djāmi' Karamānli*, finished

under Ahmad Pāshā Karamānli, in 1150 (1737-1738); *Djāmi' Gardji*, already mentioned; *Djāmi' Hamūda*, in front of one of the city doors, recently restored on behalf of the Awḩāf Direction, by Italian architects. Some mosques have attached to them *turba*s of great artistic and historical importance; worthy of mention are those connected with the mosques of Darghūt, of Karamānli, the *turba* and the *madrasa* of 'Uthmān Pāshā, near the Arch of Marcus Aurelius. The ancient cemetery was outside the walls, on the NW. corner of the city; many gravestones had been built into the fortifications, and when the latter were demolished, were placed in the city museum, founded after the Italian occupation. There are now other cemeteries outside the city; the best known is that of Sidī Minder (Munsaidhar, one of the Prophet's Companions). The Ottoman occupation has left no traces in the city monuments, except a few private buildings, and the military constructions outside the walls, especially in the Eastern plain and in the Menscia. The Italian government has but slightly modified the Muslim city's aspect in its native quarters and in the Hūra, the Jews' ghetto; a lengthy portion of the walls, however, had to be demolished, part of them has been restored, and adapted to civic and sanitary requirements. The side of the city overlooking the sea has however been completely transformed by the construction of a modern harbour, piers and a large avenue along the beach (Lungomare Volpi, from the name of the Governor for 1921-1925). The Castle (*ṣarāya* of the Arabs), partly adapted to public offices by the Turks, has been restored in 1922-1923.

Administration. At present that part of the city's affairs which is not directly conducted by the Government, is administered by a Municipality, presided over by a Mayor (*ra'īs al-baladiya* for the natives), and by Government commissioners. The administration of mosques and *wāḩf*s is in the hands of an *idārat al-wāḩf*, composed of Muslims.

Public instruction. Muslim school organizations, with *madrasas* and *kuttāb*s for religious instruction, exist alongside of the Italian schools.

Libraries. There is a Government Library in the Castle; it contains a limited collection of works on Muslim history and religion, and some Arabic manuscripts. In the Castle the Ottoman Archives are also preserved; its most ancient documents go as far back as 1850 only. Of great importance for Tripoli's history are the archives of the French and English consulates; the more recent ones of the Sardinian, Tuscan and Neapolitan consulates are preserved in the Government Library.

Private families possess small collections of books, containing also manuscripts. But the most important library is the so-called Library of the Awḩāf (*kutubkhānat al-maktabat al-awḩāf*). The central nucleus of this collection was established by Mustafa Khodja al-Misri, first clerk at the time of 'Alī Pāshā Karamānli. The act (*waḩfīya*) which founds as a *wāḩf* the *madrasa*, the *kuttāb* and the library annexed to them, together with a small shrine, is dated: beginning of *Djūmāda II* 1183 (October 1769). Successively various Muslims left books as a *wāḩf* to the library, which was enriched by part of the books left by the Tripoli historian Ahmad al-Nā'ib al-Ansārī, and in 1922 by a gift of printed books from the Governor Count G.

Volpi. A systematic catalogue of this library has not yet been compiled, but an Arabic index-inventory is available. The books are arranged according to subject, following the traditional Muslim classification; printed and manuscript works are not separated; all the books, except a few Turkish ones, are in Arabic.

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TUBU, a people of the Eastern Sahara. The Tubu are distributed over an immense territory lying between the Libyan desert on the east and the Haggar on the west, Fezzan in the north and the region of Tchad in the south. In Fezzan, they constitute the greater part of the district of Gatrūn; they are found in Kūfra; they occupy Tibesti, Borkū, Bodele, the northern port of Wadai, the valley of the Bahr al-Ghazal; they are very numerous in Kanem and in the oasis of Kavar. The name Tubu or Tibbu was given by Europeans to all these people but the various groups call themselves by particular names. Tubu is applied more particularly to the natives of Tibesti; in the Kanuri language it means the people of Tu or Tibesti; the latter call themselves Tēda; in the same way are distinguished the Amma Borkū (Borkū), the Kreda, Norea, Cheurafade in Wadai, the Koherda in the Bahr al-Ghazal. From the linguistic point of view, two groups may be re-

cognised, speaking dialects very different in vocabulary: the Tēda of Tibesti and the Darāgāda settled in the southern districts. The Arabs give the latter the name of Gouran.

The Tubu are very distinct from the black Sudanese on the one side, and the Arabs and Berbers on the other. They are as a rule of small stature, with a lean and slim body, dark skin, straight nose, sometimes aquiline, thin lips, and smooth hair. These physical characteristics are particularly strongly defined in the Tēda, who have remained isolated in their mountains. They are found scattered through the Darāgāda, who are more or less mixed with negro blood. The poverty of their country dooms them to a wretched existence. Some are nomads, others sedentary. The main supplies come from the cultivation of the palm-tree and cereals in the "cunedi" or moist valleys, the rearing of goats in Tibesti and of cattle in the Tchad region. The Tēda also make some money by hiring out their camels: they act as guides to caravans but are particularly given to brigandage whenever an occasion arises. This mode of life develops in them an extraordinary power of resistance to fatigue and privations, but also makes them treacherous and cruel robbers, as European travellers from Nachtigal, who was the first to study them, onwards, are all agreed. — The settled Tubu are found in groups, not as a rule large. They either dwell in little stone houses, covered with palm-branches, or in huts of wattle with roofs of thatch, or even in caves roughly furnished. The gardens adjoining the huts are cultivated by slaves while the Tubu themselves fight and herd the flocks.

The Tubu are divided into two classes: the nobles or "maina" and the common people. Among the Tēda, the tribes are divided into suzerain and servile tribes. The former are three in number, the Thomāghara, the Gūnda, who have almost all emigrated to Fezzan and the Turaba. The Salūa of Tibesti, or Dardai, who rules the country with the help of a council of nobles is compulsorily elected among the Thomāghara. Among the Tubu, on the other hand, as among the Sudanese peoples, the Haddād (smiths and fishers and hunters) form a distinct caste, regarded as inferior and despised by all. From the religious point of view the Tubu are Muslims but, it seems, only recent converts. The Arabs treat them like dogs and regard them as infidels. They have actually retained fetishist superstitions and practices, and their own customs which are on many points in contradiction with the Kur'anic law. For example, they do not take the *diyya* or pecuniary compensation in case of murder nor do they observe the prohibition relative to fermented liquors. The Tubu are none the less fanatical Muslims, especially in Tibesti, Borkū and Bahr al-Ghazal; they are very much under the influence of the Sanusiya, of the sāwiya of Wadai, of Anigalaka, etc. and have opposed a resistance to European penetration.

We have only incomplete and fragmentary notes on the history of the Tubu. The Arab authors down to Makrīzi make no mention of them. Relying on a passage in this author reproduced by Leo Africanus, they were for long regarded as Berbers and they have been identified with the Bardas, mentioned by both these geographers. Barth tried to reconcile this view with the fact ascertained by him of the affinity of the Tubu and Kanuri languages. On the other hand it is now agreed,

that the Tubu originally lived in the Sūdān and were then driven into the Sahara. In any case, they seem to have played a fairly important role in the history of Kanem. Some of their clans took part with the Kanembou in the foundation of this kingdom. Down to the end of the 12th century A. D. the sultāns of Kanem kept up the custom of marrying wives from the Tubu. A certain number of Tubu had settled in Kanem, which the tribes who had remained in Tibesti came to attack in the 13th century. Sultān Dūnām II was forced into a seven years' war with them, out of which he emerged victorious but with the resources of his kingdom exhausted. In the 15th century the Tubu were the allies of the Būlāba and helped the latter to conquer Kanem. Settled in the lands around Lake Tchad, they shared the fortunes of their neighbours [cf. the articles BORNŪ, KANEM]. As to the Tubu of Tibesti, nothing precise is known about them till the 17th and 18th centuries. In this period they were frequently raiding Bornū and Fazzān. A defeat which they suffered in 1788 forced them to cease their raids into the latter country but in the second half of the 19th century, they had in their turn to defend themselves against the repeated attacks of the Wlad Sliman and the Tūareg.

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(G. VVER)

TUDELA, Ar. TUFĪLA, a little town in Spain, with about 9,500 inhabitants, 860 feet above sea-level and 50 miles N. W. of Saragossa, on the right bank of the Ebro and the left bank of a tributary of the latter, the Queiles (Ar. Kūlah). According to the Arab geographers, it was founded by the Umayyads in the reign of the emir al-Hakam I (180—206 = 796—822). In this period and on several other occasions, it was the headquarters of rebel Muslim leaders: for example in 229 (843—844) the emir 'Abd al-Rahmān laid siege to it and in 264 (877—878) al-Mundhir. It was several times taken by the Christians and retaken by the Muslims. 'Abd al-Rahmān III made it his base on one of his expeditions to the north of the Peninsula in 308 (920—921). The general al-Hamid b. Basil had to recapture it three years later for the same sovereign. The Arab historians do not tell us at what period Tudela finally passed into Christian hands.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

TUDJIB (BANŪ), the name of an Arab family several members of which attained distinction during Muslim rule in Spain in the period of the *Mulūk al-Tawā'if* as well as under the Omayyad caliphs. The family became divided into two branches, the Banū Hāshim of Saragossa and the Banū Šumādīh of Almería. The family of the Banū Tadjib had settled in Aragon at the conquest. In the reign of the emir Muḥammad I (239—273 = 852—886), its head was 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Tadjibī and his authority over his fellow-tribesmen was recognised by the ruler of Cordova, who thus tried to put an end to the power of another family in Aragon, of Visigothic origin, the Banū Kaṣī. On the Banū Tadjib, who were later vassals of Cordova, and then of the independent rulers (Banū Hāshim) of Saragossa down to the time they were deposed in favour of the Banū Hūd, cf. above, s.v. SARAGOSSA.

The other Tadjibid branch, that of the Banū Šumādīh, had early been driven out of Aragon by the descendants of 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Tadjibī. In the first half of the 5th century A. H., Abu l-'Aṣbagh Ma'n [q. v.] b. Muḥammad b. Ahmad b. Šumādīh al-Tadjibī, the head of the second branch, succeeded in gaining possession of the little principality of Almería, founded in 1025 by the two 'Slavs' Khairān and Zuhair. On his death in 443 (1052) his son Abū Yahya Muḥammad succeeded him with the *laqab* al-Mu'tasim. He was then only 14 years of age and for three years his uncle Šumādīh b. Muḥammad acted as regent. Al-Mu'tasim remained ruler of Almería till his death in 484 (1091) and his long reign was very brilliant and prosperous, if we may believe the Arab chroniclers. His son, Ahmad Mu'izz al-Dawla, succeeded him but soon after his accession, he retired before the Almoravids and when the latter seized Seville he went to Bougie, where he ended his life in obscurity as did his sons.

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TUFALI, "parasite, sponger". This is the meaning given to the word in the majority of the European dictionaries of Arabic, Persian and Turkish, e.g. Belot, Ghaffarow, Sāmi-bey, etc. But this does not render the exact shade of meaning of the word, which was first of all applied to an individual who goes to a feast without being invited or accompanies a person invited. A little lower class of parasite is called in everyday Persian *ḥufailī*.

the term applied to hangers on of the *ṭufail*.

According to the Arabic dictionaries, *Lisān al-'Arab*, xiii, p. 429, *Taḡī al-Arās*, ed., p. 418 the word *ṭufail* comes from a native of Kūfa, Ṭufail al-A'rās, "Ṭufail the feaster", who used to attend all the feasts without having been invited and was wont to express his delight that Kūfa was like a bowl, nothing in the interior of which escaped his eye. From this name Ṭufail come the Arabic verbs *ṭafala* or *taṭafala*: "to act like Ṭufail". The latter lived in the time of the Umayyads and belonged to the Banū 'Abd Allāh b. Ghatafān. His story is told as early as Ibn al-Sikkī (d. 244 = 858).

In the form *ṭufail*, the word (in Persian) has the special meaning of "complement, thing thrown into the bargain, thing one gives up". Hāfiṣ says in one of his odes: "all human beings and the *ṭufail* are corollaries (*ṭufail*) of the existence of love".

In Hindustānī (cf. Shakespeare, *A Dict. Hind. and Engl.*, p. 1436), *ṭufail* is used adverbially in the sense of "by means of, through, for the sake of".

(V. MINORSKY)

ṬUFAN. [See NUB.]

TUGH (T.), a yak's tail (*ṭufāz*), later replaced by a horse's tail attached to a pole, sometimes surmounted by a crescent and used as a standard and rallying point for troops. It was also used as badge of military ranks in the early Ottoman empire: the *mir-liva* and *sarıjak-bey* had one, the *beyler-bey* two, the viziers three, the grand vizier five and the Sultan in time of war seven or nine tails. When a Pāshā was dismissed from office he was deprived of this badge. It was abolished by Sultan Mahmūd II along with the other badges of the Janissaries. — In Central Asia the bearer of this standard was called *tugh-begi*.

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TUGHA TIMÜR, a Mongol Khān, whose dynasty ruled in Djundjān for a century before 808 (1405).

The Name. The Khān's name may be read Tugha or Togha. The *Zafar-nāma* transcribes it *Tegh* (Tughait); on a coin published by Fraehn it is spelled Toghan (in Mongol character; cf. Howorth, *op. cit.*, III, 718).

Family. Tugha Timūr b. Suri (Surikuri?) b. Babā Bahādur was a descendant in the sixth generation from a brother of Čingis-Khān (Djufi-Kasar, *Shahjārat*, p. 315, misunderstood by Miles). In 705 (1305) Babā Bahādur arrived in Khorāsān with his *naman* (10,000 families) and entered the service of Uljāitū-Khān. In 715 (1315) he made a raid into Khwārizm. On the complaint of Özbek, Khān of the Eastern Kiptak, Uljāitū executed Babā and his son Suri (*Shahjārat*, p. 321, 330; d'Oshson, *Hist. des Mongols*, IV, 572—5). The tribe of Babā remained in Māzandarān (at this period, *Nushat al-Kulūk*, p. 159; this term included Djundjān and the eastern part of Tabaristān).

After the death of the Hūlāgīd Abū Sa'īd (736), anarchy broke out in Persia. The Djālayir Hasan Buzurg put the pretender Maḥammad on the

throne. As a result of a quarrel among the amirs of Hasan Buzurg, a number of them, like the Uighar Igrāndj (Miles, *op. cit.*, p. 315, 320, wrongly Akarpank) with the help of the amirs of Khorāsān (Shāikh 'Alī b. 'Alī Kūshdij, 'Alī Dja'far, Arghun-Shāh) went to Tugha Timūr whom they proclaimed Khān in 737 (1337). Tugha Timūr, accompanied by his amirs, marched on Adharbāydjān where he was rejoined by the other claimant Mūsā supported by the Oyrats. Tugha Timūr and Mūsā proposed to divide Persia, but on the 6th Dhu'l-Hijja 737 they were defeated by Hasan Buzurg in the Garmarūd (west of Miṣyān; *Shahjārat*, p. 316; d'Oshson, IV, 726). Tugha Timūr withdrew to Bīstām where he ruled over Māzandarān (in the sense above mentioned) and Khorāsān. At the same time the exactions of the minions of Khodja 'Alī al-Dīn Muḥammad, vizier of Khorāsān, provoked a rising and the coming to power of the Sarbadars [q. v.]. The expansion of their power considerably cut down that of Tugha Timūr. With the Kart dynasty of Herāt, Tugha Timūr was on friendly terms, for his daughter Sultān-Khātūn had married Mu'izz al-Dīn Kart (*Zafar-nāma*, I, 320).

In 739 (1338) Hasan Buzurg himself invited Tugha Timūr to come to the Irāk. He went there with the amir Arghun-shāh, son of Nawruz and grandson of the celebrated Arghun-ōkā; cf. Djuwānī, II, 251 (this family held Nishābūr, Tās and Kalāt; it is known by the Mongol name of Džān (Djūn) Ghurhān (in Persia Džānī-Kurbān)). Hasan Buzurg went to see Tugha Timūr at Sāwa but on the one hand Khodja 'Alī al-Dīn Muḥammad, who had control of the financial administration, appeased the inhabitants and on the other the Khān himself entered into negotiations with the Čobanid Hasan Kūčik. The latter seized the opportunity to compromise the Khān with Hasan Buzurg. Disgusted by his intrigues, the simple Mongol that very night broke his camp at Marāgha (?) and returned to Khorāsān (*Shahjārat*, p. 327; d'Oshson, IV, 732).

In 741 (1341) Tugha Timūr for the third time invaded the Irāk. He was supported by the princess Sālī, daughter of Uljāitū-Khān, and by Shīrburghān, her son by the amir Čoban, but the army of Tugha Timūr commanded by his brother 'Alī-Gāwun was defeated at Abhar by the troops of Hasan Kūčik.

Khorāsān very soon passed under the rule of the Sarbadars who drove Arghun-shāh, lord of Nishābūr and Tās, out of it. The Sarbadar Wādij al-Dīn Mas'ūd defeated the Khān's troops on the Atrak, slew 'Alī-Gāwun and even held Djundjān for a time. According to Dawlat-Shāh, p. 236—237, Tugha Timūr had to be content with nominal power (*nām-u-rām-i-saltanat*) although the Sarbadars appeared once a year at the Khān's court to pay homage as vassals (*mulūmat wa-ta'addib-i 'ahd*). During one of these visits the Khān was assassinated at Sultān-duwān (between Gurgān and the Kān-su) by the Sarbadar Yahyā Karābī. The chronogram composed by the poet Azīz gives the date of this event as the 16th Dhu'l-Ka'da 754 (Dec. 1353). According to Dawlat-Shāh, Tugha Timūr resembled the Sarbadars in his democratic tendencies; he encouraged people of modest origin and distrusted the nobles. He spent the summer at Rādān and the winter on the Gurgān. He built a fine *imārat* at Maḥḥad. Coins in name of Tugha Timūr were struck not only at Āmul, Maḥḥad,

Kaswin etc. but also at Basra (741) and Baghdad, (after 740) which shows the prestige which he enjoyed, in name at least (S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, vol. vi, 1881, p. 98—101). According to the *Maqna' al-Fuqah*, the poet Ibn Yamin was the panegyrist of Tugha Timür (Browne, *Pers. Litt. under Tartar Domination*, p. 216). The Khān himself is credited by some authorities with poetic gifts (v. Hammer, *op. cit.*, p. 341) and his title on coins is *al-Sultān al-'Alim*, 'the learned sultan'.

After an interval during which the Sarbadars appointed their own governor at Astarābād, power in Djurdjān passed to Tugha Timür's old general 2. Amir Wali, son of Shaikh 'Alī Hindū (or Hind). With the support of the lord of Nass (of the Dī'ān Ghorbān family), he defeated the Sarbadars and won himself a principality which included Astarābād, Bistām, Damghān, Samnān and Firūzkūh (*Maqna' al-Sa'dain* under 761 A.H. in Dorn, *Auzūge*, p. 155—157). In 772 (1370) he tried to conquer Ray but the Djalāyirid Uwais defeated him. In the following year Uwais, eager to dispose of Amir Wali, resumed the campaign but did not go beyond Urdjān. In 774 Amir Wali instigated by the Mu'azzarid Shāh Shudjā took Ray and Sāwra. The death of Uwais (776 = 1374) put an end to any further military preparations (Markov, *Katalog Djalayir, Monet*, St. Petersburg 1897, p. xiv.) When in 783 (1381) Timür took and razed to the ground Isfariyān which had been held by Amir Wali (*Zafar-nāma*, l. 325), the latter received with all honour the envoys of the conqueror, but once Timür returned to Samarkand, Wali came to an arrangement with 'Alī-beg, son of Arghūn-Shāh, who took Kalāt and Tūs (*Zafar-nāma*, l. 324) and he advanced against the Sarbadars 'Alī Mu'ayyid. Timür returned to Khorāsān in the winter of the same year (1381—1382), besieged Kalāt and went on to Djurdjān. Via Rūghl(?) he went to Kabūd-Djāma and Shāmān (Kabūd-Djāma, now Hādjdjār, on the left bank tributary of the Gurgān, between Nardīn and Gunbad-i Kābū). Amir Wali hastened to send propitiatory presents to Timür and the latter returned by Samuljān [in the Atrak valley] (*ibid.*, p. 349, 351). In the meanwhile 'Alī-beg was also reduced to submission. He and his relatives (*mu'atallifān*) were deported to Transoxania. 'Alī-beg was executed at Andijān in 784 (*ibid.*, p. 355).

In 785 (1383) Timür sent troops to the lands of Amir Wali. Having conquered Sistān, Timür took the field in person against Amir Wali. After the battle of Gāwars (*Zafar-nāma*: Gāwargh) the fortress of Durūn (halfway between Ashkhabād and Kirdi-Arwat) was taken (*ibid.*, l. 382). Timür continued his advance on Dihistān and Djilāwān (= Mashhad-i Miqrīyān on the Atrak below Čat) and crossed the river of Gurgān. Amir Wali valiantly fought his advance step by step but his night attack (in Shawwāl 786 (1384)) failed. Timür occupied Astarābād. Amir Wali sent his family to Gird-Kūh (near Damghān) and himself fled to the west (*ibid.*, l. 382—386). He took part in the defence of Tabrīz [q.v.] against Toktamish and in 788 (1386) finally met his death through the treachery of his host Mahmūd Khalkhālī (*ibid.*, p. 392, 398).

3. Luqmān Pādshāh, son of Tugha Timür, who had been driven out of Djurdjān by the usurper Amir Wali, was re-established in his hereditary fief by Timür in 786. The latter enjoined him to

keep on good terms with the saiyid-wālīs of Sāri and Āmul (*ibid.*, p. 387, 391).

During the campaign of 794 (1391) the ruler of Astarābād was 4. Pīr [or Pīrāk] Pādshāh, son of Luqmān Pādshāh (= Pādshāh; *Zafar-nāma*, l. 570) whom Timür had installed there after the death of his father. Pīr Pādshāh entertained Timür lavishly and procured him ships for the conquest of Mahānazar (4 farsakhs from Āmul). His loyal services are also mentioned in 806 (1404) on the occasion of Timür's expedition against Iskandar Čalāwī in Māzandarān (*ibid.*, ii. 591). At the beginning of the reign of Shāhrukh, Sultān 'Alī of Sabzawār having collected a body of Sarbadars rebelled in Khorāsān. Pīr Pādshāh appeared suddenly in Djuwain and joined Sultān 'Alī, but the allies were defeated by Saiyid Khodja sent by Shāhrukh (*Maqna' al-Sa'dain*, N.E., 1843, p. 26). Sultān 'Alī with his allies sought refuge with Mīrān-shāh, who had come from Adharbāidjān but the latter handed him over to Saiyid Khodja. On this occasion several sons of Pīr Pādshāh fell into the hands of Saiyid Khodja (*ibid.*, p. 54, 80). In 808 Shāhrukh promised Pīr Pādshāh that he would be safe and summoned him to his court. Saiyid Khodja, however, overwhelmed with tokens of gratitude by Shāhrukh, conceived ambitious projects, entered into negotiations with Iskandar (of Fārs) and finally rose in rebellion. From Kalāt he had to seek refuge with Pīr Pādshāh. This provoked Shāhrukh's expedition against Māzandarān (809 = 1406). Pīr Pādshāh had considerable forces under him but lost the battle. He fled to Khwārizm and Saiyid Khodja went to Shirāz. Shāhrukh set prince 'Omar Bahādur up in Māzandarān but he soon rebelled and was replaced by Ulugh-beg. In 810 the latter informed his father Shāhrukh of Pīr Pādshāh's new preparations. For a second time Shāhrukh set out for Māzandarān and the news of his advance forced Pīr Pādshāh to seek refuge with the Bādūspānīd Kaylmarth b. Bisūttān. Without striking a blow Shāhrukh re-established his authority at Astarābād and Shāmān.

In 812, the son of Pīr Pādshāh, 5. Sultān 'Alī came to Shāhrukh and took part in the expedition to Sistān but on the news of the death of his father fled to Rustamdar. There he obtained the support of the amir Kaylmarth and collected his father's forces. On the departure of Shāhrukh for Transoxania Sultān 'Alī tried to take Astarābād but was defeated and slain by the governor. His head was sent to Harāt (*Maqna' al-Sa'dain*, in Dorn, *Auzūge*, p. 195).

Bibliography: Cf. the article SERBEDARS. Dawlat-Shāh, *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā'*, ed. Browne, p. 236—237, 280, 282—283, Bombay 1887, p. 104, 123; *Shodjirat al-Atrak*, transl. Miles, London 1838, p. 315, 320—326 [this book is a synopsis by an unknown hand of the *Tārīkh-i arka' Ulū'* written in the name of Ulugh-beg, cf. Barthold, *Turkistan*, G.M.S., p. 57; it is quite different from the *Shodjara-yi turk* of Abu T. Ghāzi]; Mirkhond, *Rawdat al-Jafā*, Bombay 1261 (1845), v. 219, 220, 251; Khondamir, *Halik al-Siyar*, Tihān 1271, iii/1, p. 128—129; Dorn, *Die Geschichte der Serbedare nach Chondamir* 1849, p. 146, 150, 155; Dorn, *Auzūge aus Muham. Schriftstellern*, St. Petersburg 1858, cf. the index to Tugha-timür Khān, Amir Wali, Luqmān and Pīr Pādshāh; Münedjidim-bāshī, iii. 12; d'Othson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iv.

726 sqq.; Hammer, *Geschichte d. Ichans*, ii. 317—342; Howorth, *Hist. of the Mongols*, iii. 638, 717—726; Lane Poole, *Mohammedan Dynasties*, and also the additions of Barthold in the Russian transl., St. Petersburg 1899, p. 249; Rabino, *Masandaran*, 1928, G. M. S., index.

(V. MINORSKY)

TUGHRA (Ottoman and Seldjuk Turkish), cipher or calligraphic emblem of the Oghuz, later Seldjuk and then Ottoman ruler, which in course of time became the coat of arms or escutcheon of the state, and was placed by the ruler not only on rescripts and firmans but on title-deeds of property, coins, official monuments, ships-of-war and in more modern times on documents of identification, passports, postage-stamps, sheets of stamped paper, goldsmith's marks etc.

Lexicology. The word *tughra* was synonymous with the Persian *nishān*, *nishān* or *nishān* (whence the Arabic plural *nayāshīn*) "sign" and with the Arabic *tamgha* [q. v.] "cipher, signature" and in the concluding formula of firmans the *tughra* is called '*al-imet*'. All these words have a wider meaning than *tughra*, and it came about, in Egypt for example, that the *tughra* was only a part or a particular aspect of the '*al-imet*'. *Tughra* has passed into Persian (cf. the examples from Hākīm-i Khākāni and Mir Nāzmi, in *T. O. E. M.*, No. 43, p. 56) and Ibn Khallikān (*Wafayāt al-A'yān*, i. 202), even thought the word was of Persian origin. According to Ibn Khallikān, it was in Persian that the orthography in Arabic characters became fixed as *تُغْرَا* and *تُغْرَا* (*tughra*) with *alif* *muḥḥūra*.

This is why it has been taken by Turkish literary usage for an elative Arabic feminine *fu'la*, and declined, according to Turco-Persian syntax, with feminine adjectives: *tughra-i gharrā* "the illustrious or brilliant *tughra*". Some western writers also put it in the feminine ("die *Tughra*").

Arabic has for some time used the verb *ṭaghghara*, "to place the *tughra* upon" (Maḥrizi, *Khifāt*, Cairo 1270, ii. 211). Popular Arabic has confounded *tughra* with *ḥarra* "طَرَا" "border of a piece of cloth or the upper border of a document" and this last name is given to the *tughra* in Djibarti (iv. 95, 2) and in present day usage in Egypt. This confusion, easily explained from the place in the document where the *tughra* was put (cf. below), is fairly old (cf. Ibn Khallikān, *op. cit.*; cf. also Quatremère, *Mamlouks*, II/ii. 308, note).

In dialects, *tughra* is pronounced *tūra* and *tura*, for example in Gaganz (Radloff, *Preben*, x.; Moschkoff, p. 98) and thus becomes a homonym of a word, which means in Turkish "stick or sinew used for playing on a large drum, a twisted handkerchief used in a game to strike someone in the hollow of the hand" (the Arabic *ḥarra*, already mentioned, is also found with this meaning; cf. also Arabic or Persian, *ḥarra*, *ḥirra*, "nerve").

In spite of all these attempts at assimilation by foreign languages, the word *tughra* must be considered as of purely Turkish origin. From valuable notes in Kāshghari (i. 388), we know that it comes

from the Oghuz *tughragā* (تُغْرَاغَا) which meant:

1. "seal (*ṣāḥ*) and cipher (*ṣawḥ*)" of the Oghuz ruler (*malik*), but the (settled) Turks do not know it";

2. "any horse provisionally lent to the army for the days of a royal review or for the duration of

a war (it is probable that this comes from the royal mark stamped upon the horse)".

Kāshghari also gives (ii. 217) the verb *tughragā* *la-n-waḥ*, "to receive the *tughra*" referring to a document or to a page (Turk. *oqlan*, Ar. *qulān*).

The change *tughragā* > *tughra* is explained by the dropping, regular in Osmanli of the final guttural *gh* of the Oghuz. We have many other examples of the same phenomenon.

Like other Turkish and Persian words ending in *a* and borrowed by the Arabic, *tughra* in the latter language was given the termination *-wāt* in the plural: *tughrawāt* (cf. Kāshghari, ii. 162) like *ayḥawāt*, *ṣāḥawāt*, *ḥāḥawāt*, *ustāwāt*, *ḥurawāt*, etc.

On the other hand, the existence of the old form *tughragā* enables us to dispose of a number of rash etymologies proposed for *tughra*, like that of Zenker who sees in it, with metathesis, the optative *tur-gha* (y) "let it be so" or that of Tychsen, who sees in it the word *doghra* "truth" (*Introdutio in rem numariam Muhammedanorum*, Rostock 1794, quoted in the *Description de l'Egypte*, vi. 338—339).

The theory which connects *tughra* with the name of the fabulous bird *tughri* deserves more space. The writers who have maintained it, Ahmad Midhat Efendi, Ahmad Wefik Paşa, Ziyā Gök Alp (*M. T. M.*, No. 3, p. 404, 445) and Colonel 'Alī (*T. O. E. M.*, No. 43 and 44 of the year 1334), say that this bird was the badge (Ziyā Gök Alp says "totem") or *ongun* (ونغن) of the great Khākān

of the Oghuz and that each of the 24 tribes under him and each of the 4 khāns who commanded them in groups of six had their *tamga*. Unfortunately not one of these authors gives their authority for their statements. The quotations from Rashid al-Din and Maḥmūd Kāshghari only contain descriptions of this fabulous bird (we may add that it is mentioned in the *Sāḥnūma*, ed. Mohl, in folio, v. 619, 621; the Khākān makes a present of this bird to Bahrām Gūr).

Kāshghari, although better placed than we are to discuss the etymology of *tughragā*, only says: *wa-lā aḥd al-aḥlān*, "I do not know its origin".

History of the *tughra*. Unfortunately we do not know the pattern of the *tughra* used by the Oghuz or the Seldjūks, who were of the same race. The title of the *tughrai* or official appointed by the latter to draw the *tughra* has been preserved through the fame of one of them, who was vizier to Malik Shāh and Maḥmūd and author of the *Ḥamīyat al-ʿadām*, d. in 514 according to some, 518 according to others (see the art. AL-TUGHRA¹). His biographers (Ibn Khallikān, ed. de Slane, i. 462; Ibn al-Wardī, Cairo 1285, ii. 131; Ibn al-Aṭīr, *Recueil des Hist. des Croisades*, i. 327) all say that *tughrai* means the official who draws the *tughra*. M. Babinger mentions also a *raʿīs al-dawān al-inṣāʿ* or *al-tughrawiyya* from the *Mafāḥīl al-Budāʿ fī Mandūḥ al-Surūr* (Cairo 1300, ii. 118), a work by 'Alī al-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh al-Bahāʿī, d. in 815 (1412).

We again find the *tughra* among the Mamlūk Sultāns of Egypt, who no doubt borrowed it from the Seldjūks (through the Ayyūbids?). According to Kāshghari, it was only used down to the reign of Shāḥīn b. Husayn (1363—1376). This statement is confirmed by Maḥrizi, *Khifāt*, *loc. cit.*, who says the *tughra* was no longer in use in his

time, i.e. between 766 and 845 (1364—1442).

Ḳalkaṣḥandī (xiii. 162—166) gives details of the tughra (تغرى) which the sultāns of Egypt placed upon *manṣūṣ* (q. v.; plur. *manṣūṣiyyat*) or rescripts addressed to the chiefs of a 1,000 and to the *emir fakhkhāna*.

It was the duty of a special official to prepare these tughras on rectangular pieces of paper. The scribes then inserted these rectangles in the spaces left blank for them in the *ḡarra* or "upper part of the document", above the *ḡarmala* (cf. also Quatremère, *Sultans Mamlouks*, ii. 308—309).

The tughra was formed of the *alḡib* of the Sultān, written on one line. The text of the tughra of Sultān al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḡammad b. Ḳalā'ūn was: *al-Sultān al-Malik al-Nāṣir, Nāṣir al-dunyā wa 'l-dīn, Muḡammad b. al-Sultān al-malik al-Manṣūr Saif al-Dīn Ḳalā'ūn* (fig. 1).

The uprights (*wuṣṭāṣ*) of all the vertical letters like *alif*, *ḡaf*, *lām*, *ṣā*, *ṣā*, which number 35 in this tughra, are considerably elongated isolated uprights alternating with groups of two (Ḳalkaṣḥandī gives the exact measurements of the spaces left between the verticals). To secure this regular arrangement, some letters were displaced; this was the case with the *alif* of *al-malik*, which was inserted between the two *lāms* of *al-sultān*. Under the line of titles were the words *ḡallada 'lūku sultānaku* which were written, not by the official of the tughra, but by the scribe who wrote out the *manṣūṣ* itself on which this formula encroaches a little (perhaps intentionally).

The size of this tughra, according to al-Ḳalkaṣḥandī, was "a half *ḡirā' al-ḡumūṣ al-ḡāhiri*" in width and height. The size of the characters or of the *ḡalam* varied according to the number of uprights.

We refer to the same work for a description of fig. 2. In it we have 45 uprights (for 47 vertical letters), which are arranged in pairs with their extremities horizontal. But the most striking peculiarity here is the fact that at the bottom of the verticals (traced in the *ḡalam ḡatīl al-ḡulḡ*) is written the name of the sultān, *Shā'īn b. Ḥusain* (in larger characters or *ḡalam al-ḡumār*).

We may call attention to the peculiar features of the two *nūn*'s (supplied by the words *Shā'īn* and *(i)bn*) which are in the centre. It is probable that this is the junction of the two curves to be mentioned below.

The Ottoman tughra, although derived in all probability from the same model (Saldjuk), differs markedly, in appearance at least, from the Egyptian tughra.

The oldest Ottoman tughra known to me is found on the coins of the emir Sulaimān (806—816 = 1403—1416). All that von Hammer says on the subject of tughras dating from Murād I or his father Orḡān does not seem to be based on anything tangible. Fekete, it is true, according to Khalil Edhem, who gives no definite reference, speaks of coins of Murād I with the tughra, but this author's *Catalogue* does not mention these coins. Colonel 'Alī (p. 110—111) also gives the scheme of the graphic evolution of the tughra from Murād I but without saying whence he had taken it.

It should be noted that the tughra of the emir Sulaimān already contains the principal elements of this cipher, i.e.

taken from the *alif*'s in the name of the prince and his father. The words "Emir Sulaimān" are surmounted by "(i)bn", in turn surmounted by Bāyazīd. In a tughra of Mehmed (i)bn Bāyazīd (Mehmed I; cf. Khalil Edhem, *Mus-i ḡumūṣ Miskūḡ-i 'Osmāniyye*, Constantinople 1334, l. 31), there are 4 verticals but this number is exceptional and is only found, for the sultāns, at a comparatively remote period.

2. The oval or elliptical curves, not closed, to the number of two, which meet in the lower part of the name of the prince and which turning first to the left, ascend, then turn to the right to cut the verticals in their upper parts and then disappear on the right. Exceptionally, we find one or three curves. The number two at quite an early period became sacred for the sultān's figure.

These curves seem originally to have been prolongations of the letters *nūn*, which occur in the word (i)bn and in the name of the prince or of his father or in the tughra of prince Sulaimān, in that of Murād I (according to Colonel 'Alī), in that of Mehmed I, where the second *nūn* is supplied by the word *sultān* (cf. Khalil Edhem, *loc. cit.*) or in the later tughra in which, according to Fekete, the *nūn*s of the word *ībn* and *ḡāh* have been prolonged. It is true that they are found very early, even when the names do not supply a second *nūn*; cf. the tughras, incomplete it is true, given by Khalil Edhem, p. 44, 48, 55, 65, 67 and 68.

At first the names and the patronymic were placed in the escutcheon, circumscribed by the curves but in the later development of the tughra this space was left partly vacant. At first only the name of the sultān was left there; the name of his father and later the two names were placed quite at the bottom of the verticals where they formed a crowded group of intersecting lines, forming a more or less geometrical figure called *ser* which means "the little palm, space between the finger and the thumb" (properly "spreading out" = gerundive of the verb *ser-mek*; cf. the saying *ser-e serpe, ile serpe*; the word is found with the same meanings in Kirghiz, cf. Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, iv. 458).

Between the *ser* and the escutcheon is inserted the word *al-muṣṣaffar* "victorious" with the addition of *dā'imān* "always", which is placed in the form of a very conventional seal in the centre of the escutcheon. The final *alif* of the word *dā'imā* (*dā'imān*) is lengthened and, turning sharply round to the left, cuts through the curves. These words appeared for the first time according to I. Ḡalīb Edhem (*Catalogue*, p. 3 and 206 note) on the coins of Ibrāhīm II, whose reign began in 1049 A. H.

The two extremities to the right of the curves are given an elongated and more elegant form. They have become one more characteristic feature of the modern tughra of which they form the arms (*tughra ḡallārī*). From the tops of the three verticals descend three broken lines like floating flames. As to the word *Ḳhān*, after having figured at the end of the name of the sovereign's father, it was added to that of the sovereign from the time of Maḡmūd I (1730—1754).

In the field to the right of the tughra, was frequently placed a flower. In the same place the sultāns later put their title of *ḡāhī* when they had the right to it (Maḡmūd II put his poetic

1. The verticals to the number of 3, which are

nom de plume *'Adli* there, cf. fig. 8). For the other modifications in detail undergone by the tughra, cf. Fekete, p. xlv., note 1.

The form of tughra which we have just described has often been imitated by private individuals who used to substitute for the name of the sultan religious formulae to make *lawahs* or calligraphic plaques to hang up in mosques, libraries, cafés or private houses. In Egypt we even find tradesmen's signs of this kind, but they are now disappearing and it was quite recently allowable to order a *khassaf* or a maker of falcons to make a tughra in one's own name (cf. fig. 12, 13).

The official use of the tughra ceased in Turkey with the dethronement of the last sultan (law of Ankara from Nov. 1, 1922).

If we now compare the Osmanli tughra with the Mamluk tughra to ascertain the graphic element which is common to both, we find that this element reduces itself to the uprights of the vertical letters. We are thus led to conclude quite naturally that the essential feature of the tughra is a certain number — not fixed — of upright strokes.

Writers have talked of a tughra formed on the coins of Murad II (Ah, p. 113; Khalil Edhem, *loc. cit.*) made simply of oval curves but I do not think we really have a tughra here. At least it is an incomplete one. We have seen that if in some Mamluk tughras there were lines analogous to these curves, they were not an indispensable element.

Although supplied later by the method of writing the words, the decorative motif represented by the verticals must be older than the use of the Arabic script among the Turks.

The symbol of the tughra. If we suppose the tughra is not simply a conventional mode of writing, what symbol does it represent?

We have already mentioned that some see in it the figure of a bird. Others have gone so far as to see in it a horseman galloping at full speed (Tychem) but the most popular theory is that which owes its fame to v. Hammer (*Hist. de l'Emp. Ottoman*, I, 231). According to him, the tughra would be the imitation of the mark left by the hand of sultan Murad I, who not being able to write, dipped his hand in ink (!) and stamped it instead of a signature on the treaty concluded with the Ragusans. This explanation, which seems to overlook the fact that the sultan in question had a chancellery, is taken by v. Hammer from Engel (*Gesch. des Freystaates Ragusa*, Vienna 1807, p. 141), who does not give any authority. It is not known in the east and is clearly a legend, which originated no doubt in Ragusa itself. It nevertheless has had a great vogue: Barbier de Meynard accepted it (*Rec. des Hist. des Croisades*, IV, 138 note) and it was defended quite recently by arguments taken from the antiquity of the use of finger prints.

Looking at the primitive form of the tughra (cf. above) all the hypotheses which we have just given, fall to the ground at once. It is interesting to note that Fekete came to the same negative result, starting from the design of the Ottoman tughra, which however is more complicated. Later interpretations being based on more elaborate forms of the tughra are of little importance.

This is why the fact that the tughra or the *penic*, which is the imitation of it (see below), is sometimes given the form of a bird in Turkish

decorative art (a specimen of the year 1181 A.H. is given in figure 14). Similarly the fact that *penic* means "claw" and *ser* "palm" is not an argument in favour of von Hammer's theory, who however did not think of quoting it (the French word "griffe" is used also with the meaning of "stamp for a signature").

In this simplifying the problem, one is led to ask if the hooks of which we have spoken have not some symbolical significance. One question arises which we put forward with all reserve: do not these verticals represent the *tug*, a word which we know was applied by the Turks to the horse or yaktail floating on the end of a pole, or rather to flags in general? The main argument that can be produced against the suggestion is the rarity of the denominative verbal suffix *-ra*, from which we should have to derive *-ra-g* (in *tugra-g*) by a formation parallel to the well known suffixes *-la* (*-la-g*). We have however called attention to this suffix in our *Grammaire de la langue turque* and more especially in *L'Anthropologie*, xxxiii. (1923), p. 174. The fate of this hypothesis can only be decided by a more profound study, which has still to be undertaken, of this suffix.

As to the argument that one might be tempted to draw from the flames floating at the top of the tughra or from the fact that in the *penic* the custom became established of very often drawing two verticals for the pashas of two tails and three for the pashas of three tails or *wasir*, these are all interpretations *a posteriori* which prove no more than those we have rejected above (as a curiosity we give as fig. 15 a signature in which the words *khaliq al-fu'ad* are arranged in three verticals of a *tug* although they refer to a woman). It is also to be noted that numismatists sometimes seem to take the word *tughra* in the larger meaning of "motif of decoration by letters" (*J.R.A.S.*, ix, 300, 381 [1848]).

Nishāndji. We have seen that the Saldar or Mamluk rulers had officials whose particular duty it was to draw the tughra (in Turkish *tughra ledmek*, in Persian *tughra keshidan*). It was the same among the Ottomans, who had officials for this purpose called *nishāndji* and *tasvifi*.

The *nishāndji* was with the three *defterdar* and the *defter emini*, one of the five high officials of the court of the class of the *khodjagan* (Mouradja d'Othman, III, 350; von Hammer, xvii, 34).

Apart from his special office he had, at least at first, certain quite important legislative duties and he used to be called *mufiti-i fānān*, "jurisconsult of secular law", in contrast to the *mufiti-i shar'i* or *shaykh al-Islām*, "jurisconsult of religious law". In his house the *fatwas* were prepared. The text was checked by his *māmeurin* and the *nishāndji* himself then drew the tughra upon it. It may be further noted that the majority of the *fatwas* that have come down to us were prepared by *nishāndjis*.

These officials had also at first the right to examine and control all documents presented to him to be marked with the Sultan's monogram, which gave them a kind of supervision over the departments which sent them up (Mouradja d'Othman, *loc. cit.*).

According to the *Khān-nāme* of the *travāfi* (*nishāndji*) 'Abd al-Rahmān (of 1087, *M. T. M.*, p. 515), the following were the formalities to be gone through: When a firman is promulgated re-

السجدة الفاضلة لعلها تكون من نصيب
 السجدة الفاضلة لعلها تكون من نصيب
 خاد الله سلطانة

Fig. 1

حيدر
 حيدر
 السجدة الفاضلة لعلها تكون من نصيب
 خاد الله سلطانة

Fig. 2



Fig. 3.
Taghra of the emir Sulaimân
(1403—1413).



Fig. 4.
Taghra of Mehmed III
(1595—1603).



Fig. 5.
Taghra of Ibrahim I
(1640—1648).



Fig. 6.
Taghra of Mahmud I
(1730—1754).



Fig. 7.
Taghra of Mustafa III
(1757—1773).



Fig. 8.
Taghra of Mahmud II
(1808—1839).



Fig. 9.
Taghra of Abd-ul-Âzîz
(1861—1876).

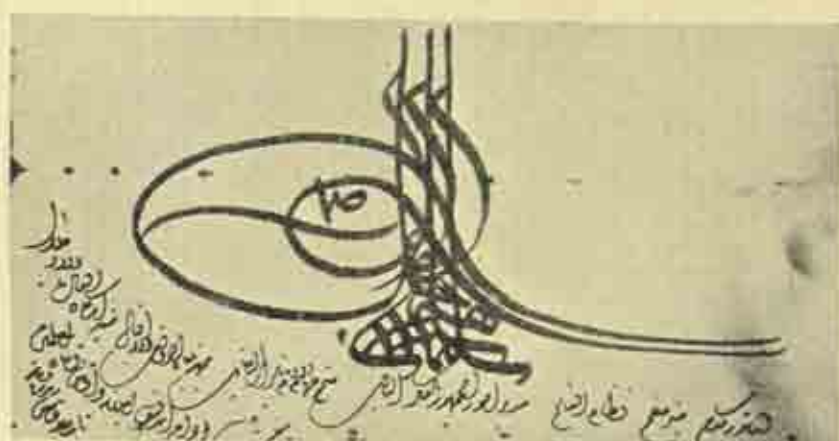


Fig. 10.
Taghra of Sultan Süleyman II (III) b. Ibrahim on a firman of the first ten days of
Zil-Ka'de 1099 = of 28th August to 6th September 1688



Fig. 11

Tughra of Sulṭān Aḥmad II b. Ibrāhīm on a firman of the second ten days of
Djūmādā II 1104 = of 16th to 25th February 1693



Fig. 12
A merchant's name
arranged in a tughra



Fig. 13
Barmala tughra in
a menu of restaurant
in Cairo

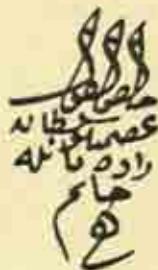


Fig. 15



Fig. 14

Owner's mark on a signboard from Mar'ash



Fig. 16. Nisabudji Ahmad Pasha
10th Rabi' II 1026 = 17th April 1617

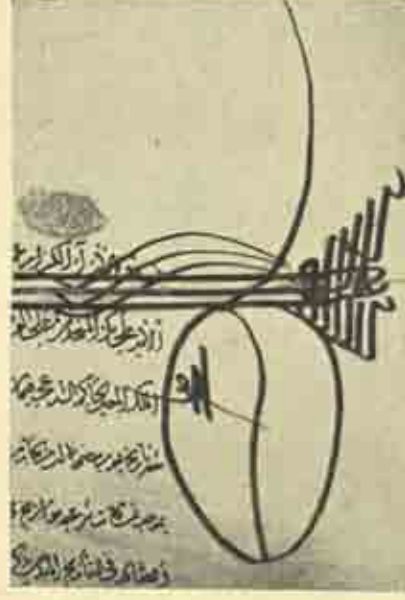


Fig. 17. Tarshudji Ahmad Pasha
7th Shawwal 1060 = 4th October 1650



Fig. 24. Rodnak 'Osman Pasha
9th Rabi' II 1093 = 17th April 1682



Fig. 18.
Khadim (Abd-ur-Rahman) Abd-ur-Rahman Pasha
18th Zi'l-Qa'da 1061 = 2nd November 1651

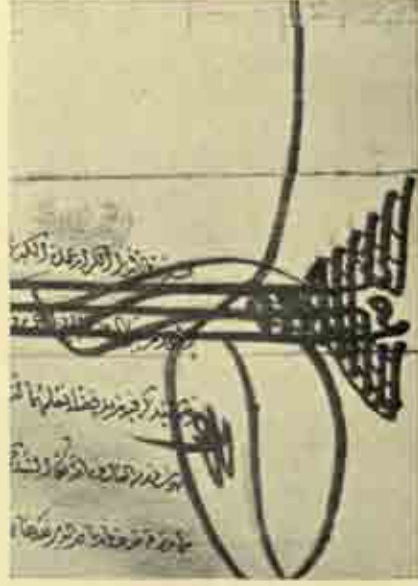


Fig. 19.
Khadim (Abd-ur-Rahman) Abd-ur-Rahman Pasha
19th Muharrir 1062 = 30th December 1651



Fig. 20.
(Dahad) Melek Ibrahim Pasha
10th Rabi' I 1072 = 3rd November 1661

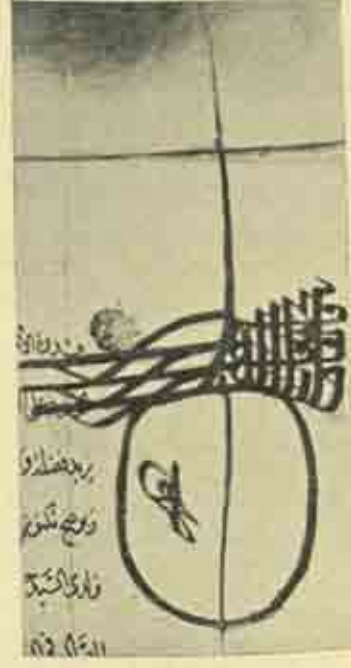


Fig. 21
Kara Ibrahim Pagla 19th Rajab 1080 = 3rd December 1669



Fig. 23
Kara Ibrahim Pagla 14th Muharram 1083 = 19th May 1672



Fig. 22
Kara Ibrahim Pagla 14th Sha'ban 1081 = 27th December 1670



Fig. 25
Hama Pagla 25th Zil-Hijle 1096 = 24th November 1685



Fig. 26. Hama Pasha 1st Rafi' II 1098 = 14th February 1687

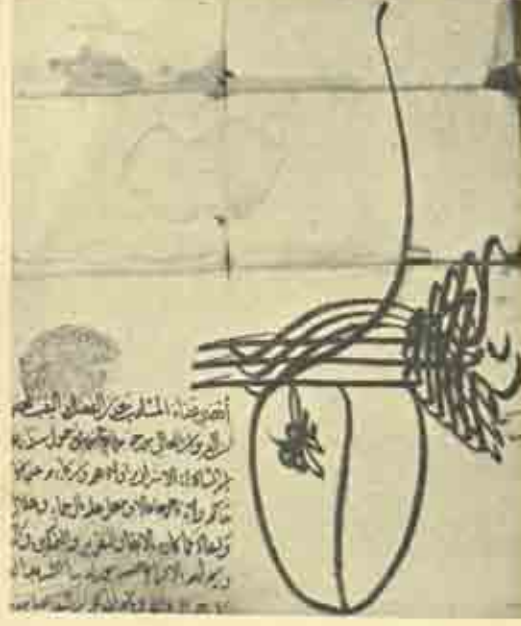


Fig. 27. Serhoshli Ahmad Pasha
29th Djumadil II 1101 = 15th April 1688

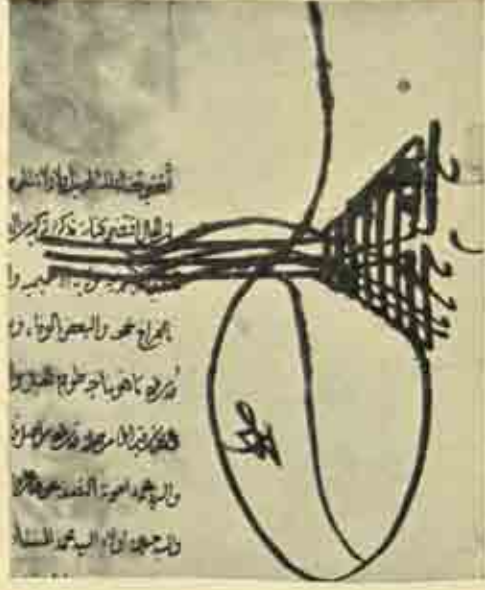


Fig. 29. Calabi Ismail Pasha
15th Djumadil I 1108 = 10th December 1696



Fig. 28. Khamadar Ali Pasha
17th Rabiul II 1103 = 20th April 1692

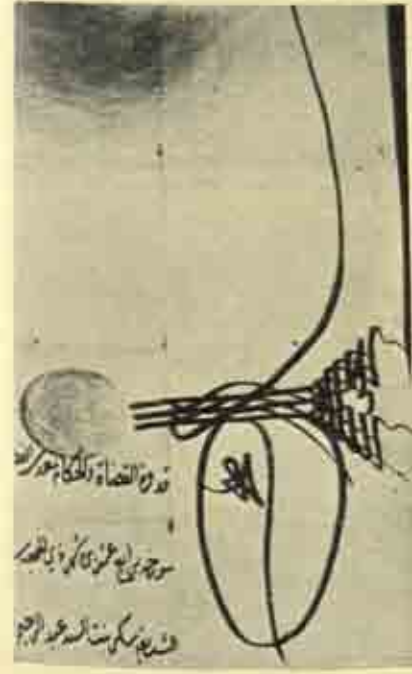


Fig. 30
Dāwūd Ḥasan Pašā 24th Zih-Hidajja 1120 = 6th March 1700



Fig. 31
ʿAbd-ur-Rahmān Paḡht 10th Kaḡ 1108 = 1st June 1678

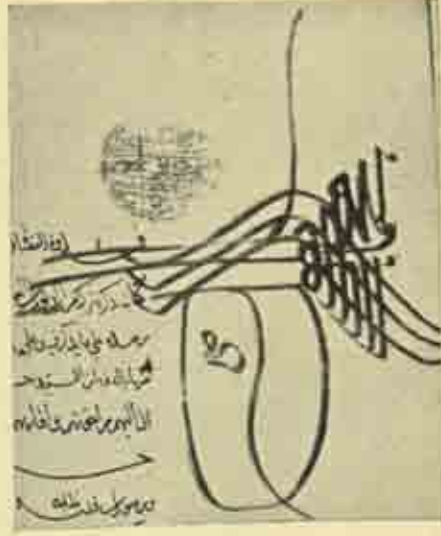


Fig. 32, Saḡat Salik Nishān
14th Shurʿān 1137 = 28th April 1725



Fig. 33, Beyn-e-yel Huan-Paḡh-Zade
15th Zi'l-Kaḡda 1165 = 24th September 1722

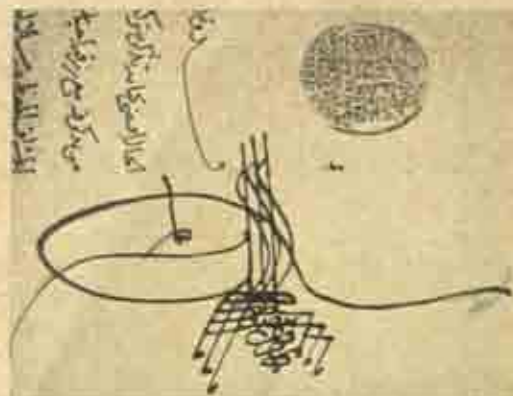


Fig. 34. Nâbilusi Mustafâ Pasha
12th Radjâb 1188 = 18th September 1774



Fig. 35. Silâhdâr Mehmed Pasha
1st Zül-Hidjdja 1195 = 18th November 1781

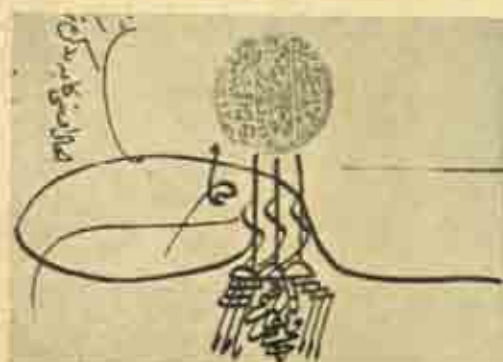


Fig. 36. İbrâhîm Bey, İrşadî
19th Džumâdî II 1199 = 29th April 1785

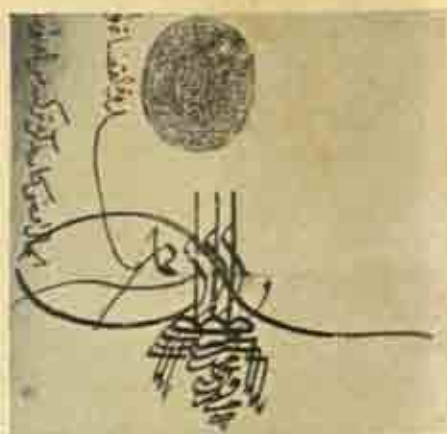


Fig. 37. Vegen Mehmed Pasha
13th Radjâb 1200 = 12th May 1786



Fig. 38. Loğmanîl (Ebû) Bekir Pasha
1st Džumâdî I 1211 = 1st November 1797

Kalkashandī, *Subh al-Ashā*, Cairo 1337, xlii. 162–166; Howland Wood, *The tughra as found upon coins*, Numismatist, xviii, 1905; 'Alī, *Tughra-i-humayūn* (Turkish), T.O.E.M., viii, 1917–1918, No. 43, p. 53–58 and No. 44, p. 109–125; Fr. Krenzel-Greifendorfer, *Die Tugra der osmanischen Prinzen*, M.O.G., 1921–1922, p. 167–170; do., *Die Handfeste (Feste) der osman. Weire* (with three plates), M.O.G., 1923–1926, p. 257–268; F. Bahinger, *Die grossherzogliche Tughra, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des osmanischen Urkundenwesens, in Beiträge zur Kunst des Islam, Festschrift für Friedrich Sarre zur Vollendung seines 60. Lebensjahres*, Leipzig, p. 188–196 (*Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst*, 1925); L. Fekete, *Einführung in die osmanisch-türkische Diplomatik*, Budapest 1926, p. xlii–xlv. (J. DENEY)

TUGHRA, MULLĀ TUGHRA'Ī MAŠHADĪ, a Persian literary man, was born in Mashhad (the date is not known) and went to India towards the end of the reign of Djalā'ir. After spending some time in the Deccan, he became *wungh* to Prince Muṣṭafā Bakhsh in the reign of Shāh Djalāl. He accompanied the latter on his expedition to Balkh. The conquest of the latter town and of Badakhshān by this prince (1055–1057 = 1645–1647) was celebrated by him in a prose work (*risāla*). This *risāla* called *Mir'at al-Futūḥ* was later imitated by a certain Ghulām Muḥyi al-Dīn who in 1135 (1722–1723) wrote a panegyric biography of a high military officer of the Mughal Empire, Saif al-Dawla 'Abd al-Samad (d. 1150 = 1737–1738) entitled *Futūḥ-nāma-i Samadī*.

Tughra later went to Kashmir in the train of the *Divān* (Privy Councillor) Mirza Abu 'l-Kāsim. Here he spent the last years of his life and died before 1078 (1667–1668). He is mentioned as already dead in a book written in this year (Rieu, p. 742). The year 1130 (1717–1718) in which, according to Pertsch (*Die persischen Handschriften der ... Bibliothek zu Gotha*, p. 24), a work by Tughra was completed, according to the colophon in the Gotha MS. No. 9, is to be referred to the copyist and not to the author of the text. Ch. Stewart (*Catalogue Mysore*, p. 64) gives 1323 A.D. as the year of Tughra's death; I cannot suggest how such an error arose.

Tughra wrote poems as well as prose (*rusū'id*). Among his poetical works may be mentioned:

Sāfi-nāma, a comprehensive *Mathnawī* in imitation of a work of the same name of an earlier poet Zuhūrī (d. 1025 = 1616); *Tarīf-i Kashmir*, a description of Kashmir in *Mathnawī* form. Here also he imitated an earlier poet, Ḥakīm Zilālī (d. 1026 = 1617). Tughra also wrote a preface to the works of this poet (cf. Ethé, *Catalogue of the Pers. MSS. in the India Office Library*, p. 816, 819). The *Tarīf* was apparently composed in Kashmir i.e. after the poet had left the Mughal court. Tughra, like almost all Persian poets, also wrote *ghazals*, *rubā'iyāt*, *muḥafẓat* etc. His *risālas* written in very affected, pompous prose seem however to have enjoyed greater popularity than his poems. These exist in a number of MSS., while those of the poems are less numerous (in Europe at least). Tughra wrote about 30 of them — a list of them extant in MSS. will be found in the books quoted below in the *Bibliography*. — Here it is sufficient to mention in addition to the

Mir'at al-Futūḥ; *Mi'yār al-Idrāk*, an essay on the *Divān* of Ḥāfiḥ; *Firdawsiya* and *Tadalliyyat*, two descriptions of Kashmir in prose; *Tadhkirat al-Ashā'ir*, panegyrics on twelve contemporary scholars and poets of Kashmir; *Mir'at al-Uyūb*, a satire on an emir of the court of Golkonda; *Zinūsiya*, a panegyric on Awrangzib and *Fariḥ-nāma*, a panegyric on the Shāh of Persia 'Abbās II. Lastly may be mentioned Tughra's letters to various contemporaries. An edition of 18 of his *risālas* with the letters and commentary appeared (lith.) at Cawnpore in 1871 and Lucknow in 1885.

Bibliography: *Grundriss der Iran. Philologie*, ii. 334, 336–338; Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, p. 742, 850, 875, 1068, 796, 677, 971, 1036; Rieu, *Supplement*, p. 205 (where a preface by Tughra's to the *Divān* of Kadst is mentioned), p. 267; Sachau and Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, i. 844 sq.; Ch. Stewart, *A descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Library of the late Tipoo Sultan of Mysore*, p. 64; Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, p. 868 sq., 963; W. Pertsch, *Verzeichnis der persischen Handschriften der Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, p. 480, 649, 679, 865, 691, 696; do., *Die persischen Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha*, p. 24; E. Browne, *Supplementary Handlist of the Muhammadan Manuscripts ... in ... Cambridge*, p. 20, 42, 107, 122, 196, 208, 261, 296, 299, 302; E. Edwards, *Cat. of Persian Printed Books in the British Museum*, London 1922, s. v.

(V. F. BÜCHNER)

AL-TUGHRA'Ī MU'AYYID AL-DĪN FAKHR AL-KUTYĀN ABU ISMĀ'ĪL AL-HUSAIN B. 'ALĪ B. MUHAMMAD B. 'ABD AL-SAMAD AL-ISFAHĀNĪ, better known by the name of Tughra'ī (so named after the scroll, consisting of the name of the sovereign and his titles, written at the top of official documents above the *hasmala*). Arab poet, was born in 453 (1061) probably in Isfahān. His early career is imperfectly known, but he appears to have first been engaged as secretary in Irbil. Then he entered the chancellery of the Saljuq Sultān and served during the reign of Malikshāh and his son Muḥammad. He was without equal as regards the beauty of his calligraphy, but according to the prolix statement of 'Imād al-Dīn, his work was tediously slow. The vizier of Sultān Muḥammad who may have feared his rivalry was his enemy and should have liked to have him removed, but could find no cause. That Tughra'ī aspired to higher things is evident from the remark of the biographers that he spent money in bribes to obtain the position of vizier, but was not successful. His chance seemed to have come when Sultān Muḥammad died, while he was with prince Mas'ūd at Mawla, while the Wazīr al-Sumairimī was with prince Mahmūd at Isfahān. In conjunction with other nobles they persuaded Mas'ūd to throw off allegiance to Mahmūd, whom al-Sumairimī had proclaimed Sultān of the Western provinces of the Saljuq empire. Sultān Muḥammad had died in 511 (1117–1118) and it was only in 513 that they tried to make a bid for the throne. An ill-equipped army accompanied by Mas'ūd and Tughra'ī, who was at last vizier, marched to meet the army of Sultān Mahmūd. A battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Hamadīn which

resulted in the complete defeat of Mas'ūd. He himself was made a prisoner as also was Tuġhrā'i who had thus fallen into the hands of his enemy. Mas'ūd was pardoned, but Tuġhrā'i condemned to death, because he was declared a heretic. He was ordered to be shot with arrows by a company of soldiers, but some verses uttered by him as he was facing death caused the vizier to defer the execution of the sentence. It was however carried out at a later date, which is generally fixed in the year 515 (1121—1122). The chronology of these events is far from certain. Ibn al-Athīr dates the battle in the year 514 and one account even gives 518 as the date of Tuġhrā'i's execution. This latter date is certainly wrong, because al-Sumairī was murdered in the month of Šafar 516 in Baghdād near the Niḡāmiya Madrasa by a negro slave who was said to have belonged to Tuġhrā'i and committed the murder to avenge his master.

The reputation of Tuġhrā'i rests principally upon his poem, the *Lāmiyat al-Afjam*, composed in Baghdād in 505 (1111—1112), in which he complains about the evil times in which he lives. This poem, published by Gollius with a Latin translation, was perhaps the earliest specimen of Arabic poetry accessible to wider circles in Europe and was several times reprinted and translated into other languages. It has also been the subject to a number of Arabic commentaries. The *Diwān*, printed in Constantinople, was collected after the author's death and contains, in addition to the *Lāmiya*, poems in praise of notables and princes, and the latest compositions are perhaps those in praise of his youthful master, prince Mas'ūd.

There was another branch of study cultivated by Tuġhrā'i, namely alchemy and in this pseudo-science he composed a number of works, which, as Dhahabī put it, were the cause of the waste of untold wealth, both by the author himself and by those who made use of his works. The language in these is abstruse as usual with this class of literature. The following titles of his works are recorded and several of them exist in manuscript: 1. *Diwān al-Aṣṣār* (MS. in Gotha?); 2. *Tarākh al-Annār* (perhaps only part of the title of the first-named); 3. *Ḥaṣṣat al-Ṭarīḥ al-Ḥadīd*; 4. *Kitāb Dhāt al-Fawā'id*; 5. *Kitāb al-Radd 'alā Ibn Sīnā fī Ḥal al-Kīmīyā*; 6. *Ma'āshī al-Ḥikma wa-Mafātiḥ al-Rahma*, for advanced students only (MS. Paris, N^o. 2614); in addition to these the Paris MS., N^o. 2607 claims to be a commentary of the *Kitāb al-Rahma* of Dīshūrī b. Halyān under the title of *Sirr al-Ḥikma fī Škarḥ Kitāb al-Rahma* but the authorship is uncertain.

Editions of his poems: *Diwān*, Constantinople 1300; *Lāmiya* by Gollius, Leyden 1629, reprinted by H. van der Sloot in Franeker 1769; E. Pocock, Oxford 1661 with Latin translation, reprinted in 1770 by J. Hirth in *Institutiones Arabicæ*, Jena; L. G. Pareau, Utrecht 1824 and A. Raux, Paris 1903 with French translation. English translations by J. D. Carlyle, *Specimens of Arabic Poetry*, Oxford 1796; reprinted by W. A. Clouston, *Arabic Poetry*, Glasgow 1881; L. Chappelow, Cambridge 1758 (after Pocock's Latin version) French translation by P. Vattier, Paris 1660, after Gollius and the one by Raux mentioned above. Commentaries: Saḥḥ al-Dīn al-Šafādī, *Ḥaṣṣat al-Muraḥḥam bi-Škarḥ Lāmiyat al-Afjam*, also called *Ḥaṣṣat al-Adab alladhi 'mudjama fī Škarḥ Lāmiyat al-Afjam*, printed Cairo 1290 and 1305. This is a

voluminous work and enlarges upon all subjects connected with the poem or otherwise. Several abbreviations exist of this commentary: one, called *Šarḥ al-Ḥaṣṣat al-Muraḥḥam* by 'Abd al-Rahmān al-'Alawī, was printed Bilāḥ 1290; another, much curtailed abridgment with the title *Kitāb al-'Arab min Ḥaṣṣat al-Adab*, was printed Balūr 1897. Other commentaries found in manuscript are *Nuḣḥ al-'Alam fī Škarḥ Lāmiyat al-Afjam* by Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Ḥaḥrāmī (died 939) of which a number of copies are found in libraries; *Nuḣḥ al-Afjam 'an Lāmiyat al-Afjam* composed in Constantinople in 962 by Djalāl b. Khidr; the oldest commentary is perhaps that by Muḥibb al-Dīn Abu 'l-Bakḥ 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ukbarī (d. 616). The commentary by Kamāl al-Damīrī is also a mere extract from that of al-Šafādī, and many more.

Biographies of Tuġhrā'i are found in almost all historical works giving obituaries; all appear to draw upon the same sources: Yāqūt, *Iṣṣāḥ*, iv. 50—60; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Cairo 1310, i. 159; Šafādī, *Ḥaṣṣat*, Cairo 1305, i. 6 499; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, *passim*; Bundārī, ed. Houtama, *Recueil*, ii., *passim*. Verses of his are cited in all later anthologies.

Bibliography: given above.

(F. KRENKOW)

TUĠHRĪL I b. MUHAMMAD, a Seljuq ruler in the Irāk 526—529 = 1132—1134, b. 503 = 1109, had as his guardian (*atābeg*) the doughty emir Šīrğir and received as his fief a large part of the province of Dībal with the towns of Siwa, Kaṣawīn, Abhar, Zandjān, Talaḥān etc. On the death of his father (511 = 1118), the Atābeg Šīrğir was thrown into prison and his place taken by the emir Kündoghdl, who was on bad terms with Sultān Maḥmūd, Tuġhrīl's brother. With Kündoghdl he took part in the unfortunate campaign against the Georgians in 515 (1121) and was in a serious position when his atābeg died in the same year and his relations with his brother, never very good, became still worse. In these straits he was easily persuaded by the able and turbulent Arab Dubais b. Šadaka [q. v.] that it would be easy to seize the province of al-Irāk and get rid of the caliph and the sultān. The enterprise failed however and the two sought refuge with Sultān Sandjar, who took up their cause and began negotiations on their behalf with Maḥmūd in al-Raiy (end of 522 = 1128). Some years later (525 = 1131) Maḥmūd died and his son Dāwūd was summoned to the throne temporarily until Sandjar had finally decided the succession. The latter declared for Tuġhrīl, but in the meanwhile another brother Mas'ūd had claimed the throne and was approaching with considerable forces. In the battle that followed at Dīnawar (526 = 1132) between Sandjar and Mas'ūd the latter was defeated and sent back to his province of Gandja while Tuġhrīl was installed as sultān. Sandjar then departed and left his nephew to enforce his recognition upon his opponents. He was successful in routing Dāwūd's adherents but the latter himself escaped to Baghdād. Mas'ūd was soon in power there and was able to persuade the caliph to mention him in the *Ḥaṣṣa* and designate Dāwūd as his successor (527 = 1132). Tuġhrīl was not a snatch for his brother and, after wandering about a great deal, sought refuge with the isphahād of Tabaristān where he spent the whole of the winter of 1132—1133. In the

following year fortune was rather more favourable to him and he succeeded in again taking the capital Hamadhān but, on arriving there, he fell ill of a cholera and died early in 529 (Oct.-Nov. 1134). *Recueil*, ii. 174, wrongly gives 528. His widow later married Ildēgiz [q. v.] who raised Tughril's son Arslān to the Seldjūq throne (555 = 1160).

Bibliography: Cf. the article *سُلجُوق* (M. TH. HOUTSMA).

TUGHRIL II R. ARSLĀN, the last Seldjūq Sultan in the 'Irāk 571—590 (1175—1194) was born in 564 (1168—1169) and when still a minor was raised to the throne by the Aīsbeg Pehlewān, after his father had been poisoned to thwart his endeavour to escape the burdensome tutelage of the aīsbeg (cf. Houtsma in *Acta Orientalia*, iii. 140 sq.). It was only on the death of Pehlewān in 581 or 582 (1186) that Tughril, now grown up, who had enjoyed a careful education and was distinguished by physical and intellectual gifts—he composed a number of short Persian poems—showed that he was not at all inclined to do as his father had done, and be content with the mere name of sultan. He was assisted by the fact that Pehlewān's successor, Kīzī Arslān, had quarrelled with the widow of his deceased brother and their two sons, so that he was able to make arrangements with a number of Turkish amirs and seize the Seldjūq capital Hamadhān. In order to be more sure of completely disposing of his dangerous opponent, Kīzī Arslān asked the caliph to send him troops from Baghdad while he himself advanced from Ādharbāidjān but the incapable leader of the Baghdad army, the vizier Ibn Yūnus, attacked Tughril at Dāymarg (584 = 1188) and suffered a terrible defeat from the impetuous bravery of his opponent. Little however was won thereby for Tughril's cause, for Kīzī Arslān was coming nearer and the caliph was equipping a new army. To add to his troubles, the young Sultan quarrelled with his own people and on his return to Hamadhān hanged several of his most prominent supporters. The result was that he could not hold out in his capital, which was very soon taken by Kīzī Arslān, spent some time ravaging the region of Ūrmiya, Khōi and Salmā, endeavoured in vain to win the caliph to his side, applied without success to several Muslim princes, including Salḡ al-Dīn, for help and had finally to surrender to Kīzī Arslān, who imprisoned him in the castle of Kahrū near Tabriz in 586 (1190). Kīzī Arslān then himself occupied the throne of the Seldjūqs but, when he was murdered next year at the instigation of the widow of his brother, Tughril succeeded in escaping and found an asylum with the Banū Kafāhū in Zandjān. The lack of unity among the sons of Pehlewān, now the rulers of Ādharbāidjān, gave him the opportunity of coming again to Hamadhān and marrying Pehlewān's widow, only however to put her to death. He also took Isfahān and al-Rāy and sacked the stronghold of Tāharāq near the latter town (*Yāqūt, Mu'jam*, iii. 307 sq.) but this brought upon him the enmity of the powerful Khwārizmshāh who only a short time before had taken al-Rāy. He was not inclined to lose this city and sent troops there to take it from the Seldjūq Sultan. The wise course would have been to avoid their superior numbers but Tughril felt it a point of honour to defend the Seldjūq claims on the 'Irāk even at the cost of his life,

calmly awaited the approach of the enemy in spite of the advice of his friends, then threw himself with a few faithful followers on the foe and was immediately slain (29th Rabi' I 590 = March 25, 1194).

Bibliography: Cf. the article *سُلجُوق* (M. TH. HOUTSMA).

TUGHRILBEG, RUKN AL-DIN ABŪ TALIB MUHAMMAD R. MIKĀ'IL, the first Seldjūq Sultan, 429—455 (1038—1063). For the beginnings of Seldjūq power, the rise of Tughrilbeg and of his brother Čaghribeg, the reader may be referred to the article on the latter. Here we begin with the year 429 (1038) when Tughrilbeg entered Naisābūr and his name was mentioned in the *Ḥuṣṣa* there. Al-Baihaqi, p. 691, gives interesting details of this. Ibn al-Athir and others say that as early as this he received an envoy from the Caliph, who complained of the robberies of the rude Ghuz which is very probably correct, for we know that the Seldjūqs in their earliest document (Baihaqi, p. 583) call themselves *manāfi* (clients) of the Commander of the Faithful and that there were from the first certain relations between the Seldjūqs and the Caliph. Tughrilbeg had however very soon to abandon the town again on account of the Ghaznawids, and only after the defeat of Mas'ūd at Dandīnāqān on 7th Ramaḍān 431 (May 22, 1040), were the latter forced to withdraw from Khōrāsān and leave this province to the Seldjūqs. The leaders of the latter, among whom may be mentioned Tughrilbeg, Čaghribeg, Ibrāhīm Ināl and Kutalmish, had begun to extend their rule over the adjoining lands also, each for himself, although Tughrilbeg was conceded a certain pre-eminence. The first to submit to him were the Ziyarids of Djurdjān and Tabaristān on payment of an annual tribute in 433 (1041—1042). In the following year he assisted his brother Čaghribeg in the conquest of Khwārizm; he then restored order in al-Rāy, where the unruly Ghuz were laying waste the country under Ibrāhīm Ināl, and conquered the Būyid Maḍjīd al-Dawla, who had still been holding out in the stronghold of Tāharāq. The rule of the Seldjūqs was recognised in Kārm and Hamadhān also; Farīmāz, the lord of Isfahān, agreed to pay a sum of money. Through the intervention of the Caliph, who sent the celebrated jurist al-Māwardī to Tughrilbeg for this purpose (435), the Būyid Djalāl al-Dawla sought to make peace with the Seldjūqs but, as he died in the same year, the result desired was only attained under his successor Abū Kalīdār in 439 (1047). Ibrāhīm Ināl, who had ravaged Kurdistan with his Ghuz and was now on his way to Baghdad and had reached Huiwān and Khānīkīn, was therefore instructed to retire and seek another field for his activities. He thereupon turned against the Abkhaz and Byzantines, took the prince of the Abkhaz, Liparites, prisoner and carried off such vast booty that 10,000 waggons were not sufficient to transport it (440 = 1048). A quarrel resulted between him and Tughrilbeg which ended in his being taken prisoner, but he was pardoned and even later installed in al-Mawāsil as commander. Tughrilbeg released the captured Liparites without a ransom and sent an embassy to Byzantium to negotiate peace but, owing to the raids of the Ghuz, this could not be of long duration. In the meanwhile he was continually extending his power, received the homage of the Marwānids of Diyār-

hair and in 492 (1050) besieged Isfahān whose ruler Farāmāz, according to circumstances, kept in the good graces of the Seldjūqs or of the Būyids in turn. The siege of a fortified town was not a task for his rude warriors, so that it dragged on and Farāmāz was only forced to surrender for want of supplies in the following year. The town pleased him so well, that he decided to make it his residence and to give Farāmāz-Yazd and Abarkūya in compensation. In 446 (1054) we find him, after a severe illness, in Adharbāydjān to receive the homage of the lords of Tabriz and Gandja. A raid into Byzantine territory had no particular results, the siege of Malāzgar had to be abandoned (cf. Matth. of Edessa, ch. 78; Cedrenus, ed. Bonn, ii. 590). It is true that he was then busy with other schemes; in the autumn he collected his troops and had large supplies of munitions accumulated in Hamadhān with the object of undertaking the great campaign against Baghdad. He was invited to do this by Ibn al-Muallim [q. v.], vizier of the caliph, who had been conducting a secret correspondence with him, because the Būyid rule of Malik al-Rahīm, successor of Abū Kalidjār since 440 (1048), which was exercised by their military commandant in Baghdad al-Basāsiri [q. v.] who had a secret arrangement with the Fātimids, was intolerable to him and the caliph. Tughrilbeg did not hesitate to accede to this appeal and in Ramaḍān 447 (1055) reached Hulwān on his way to Baghdad where his arrival caused great dismay. Al-Malik al-Rahīm, who was in Wāsiṭ, at once hastened to the capital but al-Basāsiri found it advisable to depart and seek refuge with the Maz-yādīd of al-Hilla, Dubais. There was now no obstacle to open negotiations with Tughrilbeg. By Ramaḍān 22, 447, the caliph had his name mentioned in the *ḥuṭba* and three days later the sultān entered Baghdad. The presence of the rough Ghur however soon led to plundering and murdering and threatened to end in a regular street war with the citizens, so that Tughrilbeg had at once to intervene to put an end to this state of affairs and, under the pretext that al-Malik al-Rahīm had brought it about, he had him arrested in spite of the Caliph's intercession and the rule of the Būyids was ended for ever. The alliance with the caliph was cemented by his marriage with a daughter of Čaghribeg, but the sultān and caliph only met after the former had brought Dubais and other rebellious Arabs to terms (end of 449 = beg. 1058). He was given the title of "King of the East and of the West". Soon afterwards however a change set in; al-Basāsiri had in the meanwhile been working actively for the Fātimids and even Ibrāhīm Ināl had been tempted to rebel against Tughrilbeg, handed over his post in al-Mawṣil to al-Basāsiri and himself went to Hamadhān where many of the Sultān's Ghur who were restive under the long period of inactivity in the 'Irāk, joined him. Tughrilbeg therefore set out from Baghdad with the troops that had remained faithful to him and when the sons of Čaghribeg came to his assistance with more troops, was able to take Ibrāhīm Ināl prisoner at al-Raiy and had him promptly executed. In the meanwhile al-Basāsiri entered Baghdad, which was now empty of troops, and had the name of the Fātimid caliph al-Mustanṣir inserted in the *ḥuṭba* (8th Dhu l-Ka'da 450 = Dec. 27, 1058), while the Caliph and his vizier Ibn al-Muallim appealed for the

to Kuraish b. Badrūn [q. v.] who was a friend of al-Basāsiri's. The latter succeeded in bringing the Caliph in safety to Haddithat 'Ana and handed over the vizier to the vengeance of al-Basāsiri who inflicted a cruel death upon him. Exactly a year later Tughrilbeg appeared on the scene, brought the caliph again into his capital and defeated the troops of al-Basāsiri, who was himself slain in the battle (end of 451 = beg. 1060). The memory of these events was still kept alive in Yāqūt's time in Baghdad by certain proverbial sayings (*Mu'jam*, iii. 595, 10 *et seq.*). Tughrilbeg then went to Wāsiṭ, made peace with Dubais and appointed farmers for the collection of tribute in Wāsiṭ and Bayra. In 452 (1060) he was again back in Baghdad attending to a business which he had very much at heart, namely, the seeking of a daughter of the caliph in marriage, against which the pride of the 'Abbasids revolted. It was only when Tughrilbeg's vizier, al-Kunduri, threatened to confiscate the revenues of the caliph, that the latter yielded and the wedding took place during an absence of the sultān in Armenia (454 = 1062). On his return to Baghdad, in the following year, however, he was only allowed to see his bride veiled, and he departed for al-Raiy without the consummation of the marriage being mentioned. Moreover he was now an old man of 70 and his end was near, for he died in al-Raiy on 8th Ramaḍān 455 (Sept. 4, 1063). On the death of his brother Čaghribeg, he had married one of his wives, as he was himself childless. He had designated her son Salaimān as his successor but the latter was at once compelled to leave the field for another son of Čaghribeg's, namely Alp Arslān [q. v.].

Bibliography: See the article SELJUK.
(M. TH. HOUTMA)

TUGHTEGIN s. 'ABD ALLĀH AMIN AL-DAWLĀ ZAHIR AL-DIN ASU MANSUR, founder of the dynasty of the Būrids. Tughtegin began his military career as a mamlūk in the service of the Seldjūk Sultān Tutush [q. v.] who afterwards manumitted him, entrusted him with the education of his son Duḡāk and even gave him the latter's mother Šafwat al-Mulk as a wife. After Tutush had fallen in battle with his nephew Barkiyārūk (488 = 1095) Duḡāk was recognised as lord of Damascus. He showed the greatest respect for his stepfather and, following the example of so many other Atābegs, Tughtegin soon thrust himself into the position of actual ruler. On the death of Duḡāk in Ramaḍān 497 (June 1104) he had homage paid first to a son of the deceased named Tutush, who was only a year old, and then to a brother of Duḡāk, the 12 year-old Artāsh (or Bekrāsh). Artāsh however was soon thrust aside and Tughtegin recognised as the ruler. The former thereupon entered into negotiations with king Baldwin I of Jerusalem. It was not long before Tughtegin came into conflict with the Franks. When the Fātimid vizier al-Malik al-Aḥḡal sent a large army to Palestine, Tughtegin was persuaded to send forces to support him. In Dhu l-Hiddja 498 (Aug. 1105) however Baldwin inflicted a severe defeat on the Muslims near al-Ramla. In Safar 499 (Oct. 1105) Tughtegin defeated a Frankish Count who had been harassing the district of Damascus by repeated raids and destroyed his fortress, only two days journey from the town. Soon afterwards — or according to another authority a little earlier —

he also took Rafaniya where a nephew of Count Raymond was in command. He was less successful when he tried to take the fortress of 'Irka N. E. of Tripolis, the commander of which had broken his allegiance to his lord, al-Kāḍi Ibn 'Ammār [q.v.] of Tripolis, and sought the help of Tughtegin. The latter succeeded in taking several strongholds but on hearing of his success, Count William of Tripolis took the field and defeated the Damascus troops so thoroughly that they fled in disorder to Hims whereupon he took 'Irka (Shāban 502 = March 1109). In 504 (1110/1111) the Salḡūq, Sulṭān Muḥammad [q.v.] at the request of the Syrian fugitives decided to intervene vigorously against the Crusaders, ordered the ruler of al-Mawṣil to collect an army and take the field against the Franks and issued orders to all the vassals of the Salḡūqs to join Mawḍūd's army. After a few successes, the Muslim leaders began to quarrel and on Rabi' I, 507 (Sept. 1113) Mawḍūd was murdered by an Assassin in Damascus. Several Muslim rulers including Tughtegin were suspected of complicity in this deed. But when Sulṭān Muḥammad appointed the police-prefect of Baghdad, Aḥ-Sonkor al-Barsukī [q.v.], as Mawḍūd's successor, the Ortokid Ighāzī I [q.v.] rebelled as he felt himself insulted by this appointment. Tughtegin joined him, as he was regarded in Baghdad as the instigator of Mawḍūd's assassination and therefore feared the vengeance of the Sulṭān. On the alliance of these two Muslim leaders with the Christians and the further course of the war, cf. the article *ḤIḤAZI*. In Dhu 'l-Kāda 509 (March-April 1116) Tughtegin went to Baghdad and submitted to the Sulṭān who gave him a friendly reception and even appointed him governor of Syria with the right to recruit levies and regulate taxation. Tughtegin after some time again joined Ighāzī and they continued their joint war on the Franks [cf. *ḤIḤAZI*]. In course of time however Tyre fell into the hands of the Christians. This important commercial town belonged politically to Egypt but in 506 (1112-1113) the citizens out of fear of the Franks had appealed for help to Tughtegin. The Atabeg sent them a governor named Ma'ūd who held his office for some years. The Tyrians then complained of his conduct to the Fātimid caliph who at once dismissed him and appointed another governor. When the Crusaders threatened to attack the town, the new governor appealed to Tughtegin. The latter could not force the besiegers to retreat and had to begin negotiations. The garrison and the inhabitants were given free passage with their portable possessions and in Djumādā I, 518 (July 1124) the Franks entered Tyre.

Tughtegin, "one of the most dreaded enemies of the Christians", died on the 8th Šafar 522 (Feb. 12, 1128). He is described by the Oriental historians as an able and just ruler. In accordance with his wish, his eldest son Tādī al-Mulūk Būrī succeeded him as lord of Damascus.

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TULAIHA b. KHUWAILID b. NAWFAL AL-ASAHI AL-FAG'AD, one of the tribal leaders who headed the *ridda* as prophets.

In 4 A.H., being in command of the Banū Asad with his brother Salama, he suffered defeat from the Muslims in the expedition of Kaṭan. The following year he took part in the siege of Madīna. Early in 9 A.H. Tulaiha, as one of ten Asadis, probably representing only a section of the tribe, came to Madīna and submitted to Muḥammad; Sūra xlix. 14-17 is said to rebuke their arrogance, but a tradition that only Tulaiha embraced Islām, points to political submission rather than conversion, he alone being considered a convert only because the *ridda* was explained as religious apostasy. The whole story may have been invented as a parallel to Muslima's visit to Madīna.

Tulaiha rebelled in 10 A.H.; he concentrated his forces at Samirā, assumed the role of prophet, and is said to have offered terms to Muḥammad, who sent Dirār b. al-Azwar to keep him in check. No encounter of any consequence followed until after Muḥammad's death, when Tulaiha succeeded in gaining the support of the Banū Fazāra and an important portion of Tayi, and joined the revolt in central Arabia, sending troops to the battle of Dhu 'l-Kassa.

In Rajab 11 Khalid b. al-Walid marched against Tulaiha, and with threats persuaded most of the Banū Tayi to follow him. The battle took place at Buzāḡha; Tulaiha's defeat was due to the defection of 'Uyaina b. Ḥiṣā, chief of the Banū Fazāra, disappointed, it is said, by his failure to obtain an encouraging revelation. Tulaiha fled with his wife; many of his followers, refusing Islām, were burnt alive, and his mother sought death in the flames.

After Buzāḡha, Tulaiha lived for a time in obscurity, near Tā'if or in Syria. He was eventually converted after the Asad, Ghatafān and 'Amir's submission; passing through Madīna on the *ḥajra* some time later, his presence was denounced to Abū Bakr, who mercifully refused to molest the convert. On 'Umar's election, Tulaiha went to do homage to him; the Caliph reproached him for slaying 'Ukkāsha b. Miḥṣan and Thābit b. Aḡram at Buzāḡha, and asked him what was left of his divination. "One or two puffs of the bellows", Tulaiha modestly answered.

His subsequent military career was long and creditable: he performed acts of valour at Kādīstya, at the head of his tribesmen, led the Muslim infantry at Djalāla, and the victory of Nihāwand has been credited to his plan of attack. He is generally reported killed in this action (21 A.H.), but we find him mentioned in 24, one of 500 Muslims who garrisoned Kaṭwān, and the date of his decease remains uncertain; 21 was probably fixed upon because it was the year in which Khalid, Nu'mān b. al-Muḥarrir and 'Amr b. Ma'dikarib also died.

His real name was Talha; the diminutive is contemptuous (cf. Maslama—Musallima). Of his revelations, which he claimed to receive from an angel

(Gabriel or *Dhu 'l-Nūn*), very little is known; one is a prophecy of conquest in Syria and 'Iraq, another mentions the millstone, a common metaphor for victorious military action. He appears rather as a soothsayer than a prophet, for his few known utterances concern actual events, and no religious system is discernible.

Tulaiha was a gallant warrior, considered the equal of a thousand horsemen, but he lacked the qualities of a leader, to judge from his short career as a rebel. 'Umar wrote to al-Nu'mān b. al-Mukarrin concerning him: "use him in action and consult him on military matters, but do not entrust any command to him". Mention is also made of his outcry and poetical improvisations on the field; he appears to have been a perfect type of the pagan tribal leader, combining the offices of soothsayer, poet, orator and warrior.

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AL-TULAITILI, an ethnic by which the learned Spaniard ABU 'L-KĀSIM SĀ'ID b. AHMAD AL-ANDALUSI, commonly called "the Kaḍi Sā'id", is sometimes known. Born at Almería in 420 (1029), Sā'id began his studies at Cordova and completed them at Toledo, then the capital of the dynasty of the *Dhu 'l-Nūnids* [see this article] and the centre of a very brilliant intellectual activity. He very soon made a name for himself by his knowledge of law, history, mathematics, astronomy. Appointed Kaḍi of Toledo by the *Dhu 'l-Nūnid* emir Yahyā al-Ma'mūn, he held this office till his death in Shawwāl 462 (July 1070).

Sā'id wrote a treatise on astronomy, a universal chronicle and a work in the style of the *Kitāb al-Niḥāl* of Ibn Ḥazm, which now appears to be lost. At the present day, we only possess by this author a history of the sciences, called *Kitāb Taḥqīq al-Umām* (ed. by Cheikh, Beirut 1912). This book is divided into two parts. In the first, the author treats of the peoples who do not cultivate the sciences, and confines himself to generalities. In the second, Sā'id studies the eight nations who have been interested in the sciences, namely the Hindus, the Persians, the Chaldeans, the Greeks, the Occidentals, the Egyptians, the Arabs and the Jews. At the present day only the chapters on the Greeks, Arabs and the Jews deserve our attention. The brevity and the anecdotal form of the notices, the absence of any technical development, moreover, show clearly that Sā'id had never intended to compose a profound treatise after the manner of the specialists but only a simple popular work. The *Kitāb Taḥqīq al-Umām* unfortunately soon lost in the eyes of the public the character, which its author had given to it. Very soon from being a summary of the history of the sciences, it came to be regarded as a leading work dealing thoroughly with all human knowledge. Soon, and this is more serious, the work of Sā'id was even regarded, no longer as a compilation but as a first hand source of information. In the 13th century

this error was definitely sanctioned by the Arab authors who wrote on the history of the sciences. Ibn al-Kifī borrowed largely from the *Kitāb Taḥqīq al-Umām* and it can be estimated that the parts taken from this work form a good quarter of his *Ta'rikh al-Hukamā'*. Even Ibn Abi Uayyib, in his great work called *Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Taḥqīq al-Afakā'*, has reproduced several biographies of physicians, the text of which has been taken from Sā'id's work. Finally the Christian Bar Hebraeus has taken from the same treatise the division of peoples into the friends and the enemies of science as well as the general sketch of each of the races studied in his Arabic chronicle, *Muḥtaṣar al-Duwal*.

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TULUMBADJI, a Turkish noun meaning: 1. (obsolete) regular fireman; 2. (modern usage) volunteer or irregular fireman; 3. (figuratively) a badly brought-up person (R. Yousouf); a street rowdy, a rough (Red-house), derived from *tulumba*, "pump, hydraulic machine" (Meninski, *Thesaurus*, 1680, p. 1375; cf. *Relation de l'Ambassade de Mohammed Effendi*, Paris 1841, p. 52).

The word *tulumba* is for the Italian *tromba* with the same meaning, with change of *r* into *l* and epenthesis of the disjunctive vowel *a* between the two initial consonants. One also says *yangin tulumbası* "fire-engine" to distinguish it from the other meanings of the word *tulumba* which are "sounder, pipette of the surgeon or douanier (*istimara tulumbası*: wine-pipette); waterspout in the sea". The word *tulumba* has become popularised in Turkey by its naval use, if one may judge from the common phrase *hargo tulumba etmek*, a transitive verb, which means "to work (cf. Venetian *cargo*) the pump, i.e. for two or more people to carry some one — especially ill, wounded or dead — by taking him by the head and feet" (Mehmed Djewdet, *Ahḥad ḥāṣir*, p. 156; Husnī Rahmī, *Djān gazari*, *İḥdüm* of the December 8, 1922). The Turkish *tulumba* (and the Italian *tromba*) may be compared with their synonyms, the old French *trompe* (Jal, *Gloss. Nautique*), the Basque *tromba* (*ibid.*), the modern Greek *trōmra* or *trōmra* (Hesse-ling, *Les mots maritimes*). The word *tulumba* has passed into most of the Balkan languages: Roumanian (*périnē*, *Damē*), Bulgarian, Greek of Rumelia (P. Louis Ronzevalle). The Persian *tulumb* (Nicolas) and, in part at least, the Arabic of Syria and Egypt and the north coast of Africa (*turumba* or *tulumba* must be borrowed from the Turkish).

One knows how frequent and violent are the Constantinople fires, especially in the past. A Turkish proverb says "if it were not for the fires in Constantinople, the thresholds of the houses would be of gold" (*İstambulun yangın olmasa, emlerin ehiyi altundan olurdu*).

Many things combined to make the old capital of Turkey perpetually threatened by fire and to keep away from it until quite recently even the most enterprising insurance companies.

1. The houses were almost all of wood (*ahhahab*) and painted with oil (aspic oil, in the time of Baron de Tott). Through laziness, as well as from fatalism and fear of earthquakes, of relatively rare occurrence, however, the Turks did not build of stone. The government, which, it was said, was afraid to allow any places of any strength in which rioters might hold out, was very reluctant to grant permission to build houses of stone (*hâşır*, popularly *hâşır*, *hâşır*, *hâşır*, *hâşır*). Apart from Pera, where hewn stone appears relatively early, there were only the mosques, fountains, *khâns*, public baths, *basen* (markets, covered in and closed at night, for valuable merchandise) and a few houses of the Fanariots, some ancient monuments, like the aqueduct of Valens, which might escape the action of the fire and sometimes even served to bar the advance of the flames.

It should also be noted that the lead melted from the domes of some of these buildings during a fire ran into the street and made approach to them dangerous. There were also places for shelter built of masonry in the better class houses. Called *gâşır* par excellence, and strengthened by iron doors, they were regular strong-boxes for articles of value. They were fire-proof, but one had to wait some weeks to open them after a fire, for fear that a premature draught might carry the flames inside. As, in the case of a fire, nothing was left but these cellars, the chimneys and the foundations of stone, the debris was easily cleared away and the town was rapidly rebuilt, but this was only an illusory advantage for it sometimes happened that an afflicted quarter was burned down again, even before it had been completely rebuilt.

2. The streets were narrow and the landlords were able to prevent the government from widening them (as was the case, for example in the reign of 'Othmân III).

3. Rises in the wind are frequent on the shores of the Bosphorus, where the breeze from the sea frequently changes its direction. It is said that there is a recrudescence of fires, when aubergines (*patlıcan*) are in season, when the breeze which bears the same name (*patlıcan meltemi*) blows on the kitchens.

4. The older Turks used to be exceedingly careless in the use of tobacco-pipes (*tubuk*) and *tandır* (or *tandır* for *tannür*), a kind of heating box for the winter.

5. Attempts by incendiaries (*kondakçı*) were not rare. They used to throw into the houses dolls made of inflammable material (*kondak*, a word of Greek origin) either for political reasons, or simply out of vengeance. It may be said that every crisis in domestic politics was accompanied by violent fires, the people adopting this simple method of manifesting their discontent. The firemen were sometimes their accomplices and fed the fire instead of extinguishing it. Among the best known cases of incendiarism are those which occurred during the rule of the unpopular chief eunuch, Beshir Agha under Mahmûd I (according to Jovanin, *Turquie*, p. 343, this was the first occasion on which the *kondak* was used), during the occupation of Egypt by the French and on the accession of Mahmûd II. As to fires started out of personal vengeance, they were very frequently the work of negro slaves dissatisfied with their masters (according to Bailli).

It would take too long to enumerate the fires recorded in Turkish annals. We shall mention only those which were of particular violence of the period from 1750 to 1756 (principally from v. Hammer, *Histoire*, xv., p. 200 sq.). In 1750: on February 31st, a fire which lasted 30 hours and burned up 6,667 houses and the "Porte" of the Agha of the Janissaries; 18 days later: a fire which destroyed the house of the mufti among others (started out of malevolence), two months later the market for arms. In 1751: 2,000 houses destroyed at the same time as the *aski odalar* or "old barracks" of the Janissaries. In 1752: several fires directed against Beshir Agha (cf. above). In 1754: four great fires. In 1755, reign of 'Othmân III: on 12th July, 16 hours' duration, 2,000 houses; 3 months later, a fire of 36 hours which consumed a large number of houses, notably the Sublime Porte or Porte of the grand vizier and that of the *İstifdar*. Finally in 1756 on July 6th, there broke out the greatest fire recorded since the conquest of Constantinople: 8,000 houses were destroyed (Théophile Gautier writes 80,000). Fanned by the wind, after being temporarily checked by Saint Sophia, the flames went in 13 directions and ultimately combined to form one vast conflagration. This catastrophe has been described by de Tott.

Théophile Gautier noted 14 fires, most of them considerable, in one week during his sojourn in Constantinople. In his time, there were very few houses over 60 years old. In our own day the Fâtih quarter has been completely destroyed. Thus in spite of Muslim fatalism, the outbreak of fire was no trifle. Watchmen, usually musicians (*mehter*), were stationed in the tops of the towers of Galata, and later on those of the Serâskerat, and announced outbreaks by beating drums and by hanging from the towers baskets during the day and lanterns during the night, varying in number according to the quarter to be indicated: Stambul, Galata, Scutari.

The night watchmen (*behi* or *patward* for *patlân*) used to utter their cry of *İstambûlida* (or *Galatada*) *yangın var!* which travellers have made well-known (de Amicis used it as the title of a chapter of his *Constantinople*). As soon as the alarm was given, the grand vizier, the *kapudan paşa* and the Agha of the Janissaries, sometimes the sultan himself, went to the spot and each official had to pay a kind of fine to his superior, if he allowed the latter to reach it before him. Th. Gautier particularly noticed the local colour provided by the odalisques dressed in red, whose duty it was to warn by his mere appearance the sultan who was in his harem (cf. Robert de Flers, *Vers l'Orient*, p. 302).

The institution of firemen in Turkey is however of relatively recent date. Ewliyâ Celebi (xviii century), who gives a long and varied list of trades including the very humblest, does not mention any particular organisation for fighting fires. They were content to limit the area affected by demolishing houses with the help of long poles with hooks on the end (*kanğa*) and the destruction was completed with axes. Castellani also mentions the chains which were tied round walls in order to pull them down, and Basili talks of sheets sewn together and soaked with water, to protect the houses adjoining the centre of the conflagration.

According to the historian Râşidî (1st ed., vol. III, fol. 111^b—112), it was in Ramañan 1134 (June–July 1722) in the reign of Ahmad III and in the viceroyship of Dâmad İbrahim Paşa, who was fond of innovations, that pumps were used for the first time, made and directed by the renegade Gerçek Dâvud (of French origin, according to Mouradja d'Osson). The results were so encouraging that a body of firemen was established with Dâvud as commandant (*tulumbađı başı*). He was given quarters in the recruits' barracks (*adîmi adaları*) situated near the new barracks or *yeni adalar* in the Şahzâde-başı quarter. This body of picked men was recruited at first from the Janissaries and the other regiments (*ođak*). It enjoyed special pay and various privileges. The office was hereditary, according to Thalasso. As in precedence, they ranked next to the Janissaries and before the *çibekçi* or army service corps. Gradually however, they lost their military character, just as the *çibekçi* did. A connection with the different *ođak*s survived, however, in this way that each corps of soldiers had its own firemen but, except for those of the *ođak* of the *kutancı* who were regarded as regular Janissaries, the others were young artisans (*esnaf delikanlıları*), who only remotely resembled soldiers. The corps of Turkish firemen seems however to have very soon degenerated. Less than thirty years after their creation, they were holding to ransom and extorting money from people whose houses had been burned, or who had asked them to protect threatened houses, and sometimes, de Tott says, gave themselves up to such pleasantries as turning the hose on the spectators.

They wore a plated (*kalaylı*) helmet (*tar*) without a visor, held in horror in Muslim lands, a head-dress which, according to Castellani, was surmounted by a spike and resembled, according to him, the *galerus* of the Salian priests, while Luđi Efendi, more prosaically, compares it to a soap-tureen (*lorba tarı*). On it was the badge (*nışan*) of the *orta* to which the fireman belonged. The helmet of the *tulumbađı başı* was of solid silver. The firemen turned out to fires with arms, legs and chests bare. At other times they wore huge turbans (*tarlı*) and red cloaks (*kapak*) called *karat kanat* (for *kanat*) i.e. eagle's wing. On their bare feet they wore *yemeni*, also red.

The pumps were quite small and two men were able to carry them. They were a little improved in 1754 by the adoption of hose of more pliable leather. The number of pumps was increased shortly afterwards, in the reign of 'Othmân III, and they were distributed among the watchmen, instead of, as previously, storing them with the chiefs of the different quarters (v. Hammer, *Histoire*, p. 263).

The destruction of the Janissaries in 1826 precipitated the break-up of the corps of firemen. There only remained the pumps of the War Ministry (*sâb-ı serâskerî*), served by a collection of vagabonds (*derme latma*). A little later in 1243 (1827–1828), *müdür* or 'directors' were appointed to each engine and new firemen were enrolled (*kâriđden nuref atâriđ*), especially among the Armenians, a nation considered, however, according to Baill, as not of very active physique. There was nevertheless a certain improvement in the service, according to the same Baill. This improvement does not seem to have been maintained

if we may judge by the depths to which the institution soon sank. The *tulumbađı* became regular brigands, who took advantage of the fires to plunder as they pleased: as to their habit of blackmail, we have seen above that they were only keeping up an older tradition. Recruited from among the porters (*kammal*) and the boatmen (*bayrakçı*), the most turbulent corporations in Turkey, they formed a body of 20,000 men ready for anything. From the fear which they inspired in a feeble government they succeeded in maintaining their positions, even after the institution of a regular fire brigade, to be discussed below, and according to Thalasso, they continued to draw rations of bread. Their jailbird figures were to be seen running through the streets preceded by a grotesque courier or herald. He alone seems to have retained the helmet; he was clothed in fiery red, had a hatchet at his side and in the right hand a pike with which he beat dogs and people not prompt enough at getting out of the way. This courier was called *bara fulak* (black ear) i.e. "lynx", because according to legend, this animal performs a similar duty for the lion, whom he precedes on his hunts. Sometimes they had violent fights with the regular firemen. These latter were never at peace among themselves, and the Muslim companies fought with those consisting of Armenian or Greek Christians.

The tiny pumps, holding only three or four gallons, were painted in bright colours, surmounted, as the case might be, with the crescent or the cross and bearing the names of the different quarters or, what comes to the same thing, of the different mosques or churches. The firemen, who lived by preference beside the fountains (*çeşme*) to be able to fill their pumps more quickly, had the latter opened to them during the night by the *saka* (*sakâ*), the latter also having to assist at putting out fires. Some writers (e.g. Duckett) have paid a tribute to the skill and courage of the *tulumbađı* but criticisms like those of von Hammer are more frequent. The least one can say is that the corps lacked discipline.

The modern regular firemen (*ıfâ'ıye*). The modern fire-brigade was created after the conflagration of June 5, 1870 (the greatest since that of 1831 in the same quarter; it was described by de Amicis from oral information). Its organisation was entrusted to the Hungarian Count Edmund Széchenyi (*Seleni Paşa*), who had previously been in command of the Budapest Fire Brigade. The first battalion began its duties on January 3, 1876 and in the course of its first year extinguished 77 fires, some very serious. It had a staff of 580 men, 2 large horse-drawn pumps, 8 small pumps, a first aid waggon, a water-waggon (with 16 buckets) and a waggon for the engines. This equipment was later improved. Three other units were added later: there was one of two battalions in Pera (*Tağîmi*: the headquarters of the corps was also at Pera), Stambul (Seraskierat), Scutari in Asia and at the Admiralty. There were also naval firemen and a battalion of sappers. All these units together formed the regiment of firemen (*ıfâ'ıye alayı*) which formed part of the first army corps or of the Imperial Guard (*kâhıfı ordu-i Hümayun*). Each of the battalions was commanded by a *binbaşı* and Count Széchenyi ranked as a general of division (*ferik*). Details of the cadres of this regiment are given in the Turkish military yearbooks (*sânâme-i 'askeri*).

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(J. DENY)

TULUNIDS, the name given to the first Muslim dynasty of independent governors and rulers of Egypt. The founder of the dynasty, Ahmad b. Tulūn [q. v.], entered Fustāt as the deputy of the siflee of Egypt, the Turkish general Bayakbāk, on 23rd Rammān 254 (15th September 868), and in the course of the next ten years succeeded in uniting Egypt and Syria under his rule, in virtual independence of the Caliphate. He died on 10th Dhū 'l-Kā'da 270 (10th May 884), having nominated as his successor his son Khumārāwāh [q. v.], who, after a brilliant reign of twelve years, was murdered at Damascus on 17th Dhū 'l-Hiddja 282 (7th February 896). The army commanders subsequently raised to the throne two young sons of Khumārāwāh, the elder, Djaish, being deposed on 10th Dhu-māda II 283 (26th July 896) in favour of his brother Hārūn. With the assassination of Hārūn on 19th Šafar 292 (1st January 905), the rule of the dynasty virtually came to an end, though his uncle Šaibān b. Ahmad held local authority as amir of Egypt for twelve days longer.

The stages in the establishment of the empire of the Tulunids, and their relations with the Abbasid Caliphs, are fully related in the articles AHMAD b. TULUN and KHUMARAWAH. By the terms of the treaty negotiated on the accession of the

Caliph Mu'tadid (279 = 892), the possession of Egypt, Syria, Cilicia, and Mesopotamia (excluding Mosul) was made over to Khumārāwāh and his heirs for a period of thirty years, in return for an annual tribute of 300,000 dinārs (which was the sum formerly remitted by Ahmad b. Tulūn to the Caliph Mu'amid in respect of Egypt alone). This treaty marks the apogee of the power of the dynasty; the subsequent weakening of their position led to the revision of its terms in 286 (899), by which their dominions were restricted to Egypt and Syria, and the annual tribute raised to 450,000 dinārs. The breakdown of their administration in Syria in face of the Karmatians supplied a pretext for the sending of imperial troops to Damascus in 289, at the instigation (according to Tāharī, iii. 2222, 2299) of the Syrians themselves. Thence the victorious general Muhammad b. Sulaimān organised, with the aid of the fleet of Tanūs, a combined military and naval expedition into Egypt, and meeting with comparatively little opposition, captured Fustāt on 2nd Rabi' I 292 (12th January 905). The city was plundered and the inhabitants subjected to barbarous ill-usage, the military suburb of al-Kaṭā'i, founded by Ahmad, was razed to the ground, and the surviving males of the house of Tulūn were carried in chains to Baghdād and there kept in confinement.

The power of the Tulunids was based entirely on the army created by Ahmad, the core of which consisted of Turkish, Greek, and Sudan slaves, and probably also Greek mercenaries. With the local levies the army numbered more than 100,000 men. The most severe discipline was imposed upon the regular troops, and enforced by provost-marshal, probably one for each corps. In 258, according to Ya'kūbī (ii. 624), an oath of personal allegiance to Ahmad was administered to all the troops; from this time also begins the building of al-Kaṭā'i and the other military works in Egypt. Though the conquest of Syria in 264 added to his army not only new militia forces but also the private troops of the former Turkish governors, it imposed on him a greater strain in maintaining his authority intact over such heterogeneous forces, bound to him by only the weakest of ties. The revolt of his son al-'Abbās (265—268) — in reality a rebellion of a number of his own officers — followed by the defection of Lu'lu', constituted a serious menace to the stability of his position, from which he had hardly recovered at the time of his death. By the personal courage of Khumārāwāh, after an inauspicious beginning, the danger of disruption was averted for the time being, and the numbers of the standing army even increased by fresh purchases in Central Asia. Nevertheless, it was mainly by lavish expenditure, and some relaxation of Ahmad's iron rule, that Khumārāwāh succeeded in holding the army together; the annual cost of its upkeep in his reign amounted to 900,000 dinārs. Owing to his extravagance, moreover, the treasury was exhausted, and already on the accession of Djaish a section of the army refused to acknowledge him owing to his lack of funds. The gross incapacity of Djaish further alienated the principal Turkish generals, who escaped to Baghdād, and were received with princely honours by the Caliph Mu'tadid. During the reign of Hārūn the central government lost almost all direct control of the army, in which the Greek element now predominated. The principal commanders in Egypt, Badr, Šaṭṭ, and Faṭṭ,

each obtained control of a portion of the troops, and drew on the revenues of the State for their upkeep; in Syria, the general Taghālī b. Dja'f (the father of the future Ikhshīd) was practically independent at Damascus. The mutual rivalries of the generals go far to explain the disasters suffered by the Egyptian armies in Syria during the Karmatian outbreak, which in turn further weakened the resources of the Tulunids. The disintegration was accentuated by rivalries among the members of the dynasty and by the growing estrangement between Hārūn and his amirs. On the appearance of Muhammad b. Sulaimān at Damascus, he was joined not only by Taghālī, but also by Badr and Fāṭṭ with all their troops. Of the remainder of the army, the greater part deserted during the operations which led up to the capture of Fustāt, largely owing to Hārūn's inability to pay them.

In addition to creating an army, Ahmad b. Tulūn also gave his attention to the strengthening of the fleet, and to the provision of naval defences and stations, partly in order to maintain his hold on Syria, where he created a naval base at 'Akka (see also Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, iii, 707-708). The fleet was kept up by his successors, but was destroyed at Tinnis by naval forces from Tarāṣ, commanded by Damiyān, which accompanied the expedition of Muhammad b. Sulaimān.

The details of the reforms which Ahmad b. Tulūn effected in the financial administration of Egypt are rather obscure. All the sources quote the statements that the revenue from *khāṣṣ*, which under his predecessors had yielded only 800,000 dinārs, rose at the end of his reign to 4,300,000 dinārs, and that he left accumulated savings which amounted to ten million dinārs. In addition to the income from *khāṣṣ* (which included the rent paid by the amirs for their estates), the treasury received an annual rent from the royal domains (*al-amlāk*), which were administered in the name of the *hakk* of Egypt, at this time Dja'far al-Mu'awwad, son and heir of the Caliph Mu'tamid (*P. E. R. F.*, No. 836); the supervision of these occupied a separate department of the administration (Ibn Sa'īd, p. 67). The transmission of detailed information by later writers was probably rendered impossible by the destruction of the *diwān* after Muhammad's reconquest (Maqrīzī, i, 315, 11). It is agreed, however, that, so far from laying additional burdens on the country, the increase of revenue was accompanied by the reform of abuses, the suppression of oppressive imposts, and the establishment of a strict supervision over the amirs and the finance officials. These measures, helped by a series of uniformly high floods, together with the fact that the sums which had hitherto been drained away to Baghdad were now spent within the country, resulted in an outburst of great prosperity. A somewhat obscure narrative (Ibn Sa'īd, p. 38) hints at an attempt to create a *tax* monopoly, which was afterwards given up, but it is indicated also by the same authority (p. 67) that in the last years of his reign Ahmad made other experiments of the same sort. It is certain that Egyptian commerce must have expanded greatly, but no data bearing on this appear to have been preserved. During the reign of Khumārawaih the financial administration probably began to deteriorate. Details are again lacking, but the fact of a decline may be inferred from the reckless expenditure characteristic of his reign

and his easygoing attitude to the amirs, which allowed them a free hand in the management of their estates. The loss of Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Walī, who had been Ahmad's right-hand man in financial matters, must also have affected the efficiency of the administration. At the death of Khumārawaih the treasury was completely empty, and the virtual abdication of the central government to the amirs undoubtedly resulted in the reintroduction of the familiar abuses into the financial system. The ruler Hārūn was a mere child (he was only twenty-two years old at his death) and the conduct of affairs was left in the hand of Abū Dja'far b. Abūllī, under whom things went from bad to worse, while the final disaster was aggravated by an exceptionally low Nile in the year 391.

In the general domain of administration Ahmad's reign also marks a considerable advance. The chancery (*diwān al-inshā'*) was organised on the model of the *diwān* at the court of the Caliphs, and the ruler held regular public sessions for the hearing of complaints (*maṣā'il*). A papyrus document (*P. E. R. F.*, No. 805) seems to indicate that a general survey of Egypt was made between 258 and 261. Jews and Christians suffered, on the whole, no molestation, and owing to Ahmad's predilection for native Egyptian officials were probably extensively employed in the administration. On the other hand, the country was frequently disturbed during Ahmad's reign by risings and private wars. The 'Alids in the Sa'īd gave constant trouble, which even Ahmad's wholesale deportations of them to al-Madīna could not stop; the Arabs in the Delta were so turbulent that in order to divert them from their customary brigandage and violence, Khumārawaih (following the example set by the former finance minister Ahmad b. Mudabbir) enrolled a picked body of their young men as his bodyguard, with the name of *al-Muḥabbira*. Arabs from Bulhaira formed, together with Berbers, the forces of Hārūn's rebel uncle Rab'ā. To meet these disorders Ahmad adopted severe measures: in addition to wholesale executions during his lifetime, he is said to have had 18,000 persons lying in his prisons at the time of his death. The difficulties of the Tulunids were increased by a certain tension with the theologian class, in spite of their efforts to conciliate the latter by lavish almsgiving and other marks of respect to religious feeling. During the breach between the Tulunids and the Caliphate, the theologians apparently sided with the latter, and regarded Ahmad and Khumārawaih as usurpers. Ahmad's chief *qādī*, Abū Bakr Bakr, is not above suspicion of having privily abetted his rebel son al-'Abbās, and was imprisoned for refusing to sign the *fatwā* against al-Mawwafq. Among other significant indications of this conflict is the fact that the list of *qādīs* of Egypt contains gaps between 270 and 277, and between 283 and 288.

The majority of the public works erected by the Tulunids were dictated by their military policy and the needs of the new city of al-Qāṭi'. Ibn Tulūn's new mosque was built because of the overcrowding of the mosque of 'Amr by the troops of the vast military camp. Such other works as the aqueduct and the hospital were scarcely less military in purpose. His restoration and endowment of the tomb of Mu'awiya in 270, however, has the obvious air of a political manoeuvre, to enlist the sympathy of the Egyptian anti-Shi'ites and the Syrians on his side against the Caliphate. On the other hand,

Ahmad, who had received an unusually liberal education, showed himself a keen patron of learning and the arts, and there is every reason to suppose that he encouraged the spread of education in Egypt. It is possible that a trace of his activities is preserved in a document relating to the endowments of a mosque school at Ushmūnain (*P.E.R.F.*, No. 773). Khumārāwāh's interest in music, painting, and even sculpture, together with the general luxury of the period, must have contributed to the development of local arts and crafts, to which also Maḥrīzī's account of the bazaars in al-Ḳaṣā' bears indirect witness. Like all enlightened despots, Ahmad and his son took care not only to humour the people by free distribution of food, magnificent spectacles, and lavish generosity, but also, by the alleviation of hardships and by practical measures for the improvement of their economic condition, to secure their interest on behalf of the dynasty and at the same time raise their capacity as revenue-producers. In spite of a foreign domination, therefore, and its militarist basis, the Tulunid period was one of marked material prosperity and progress for the mass of the Egyptian population, and was in afterdays recalled as a golden age: *kānat min ḡharar! 'l-duwall wa-ayūmuhum min maḥāsin! 'l-ayām*, "They were numbered among the most brilliant of dynasties, and their days among the most beneficent of days".

Bibliography: See under AHMAD b. TULUN and KHUMĀRAWĀH; also al-Kindī, *Governors and Judges of Egypt* (ed. Rhuvon Guest), p. 212-248, and 477-480 of the supplement, and W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatshandels im islamischen Ägypten* (Hamburg 1928), p. 18. — The relevant sections in the encyclopaedia of Nuwairī (*Nihāyat al-ʿArāb*) have not yet been published. For the mosque and other public works of the Tulunids see now K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, volume I.

(H. A. R. GIBB)

TUMAN, original (Turkish) pronunciation *tūmen*, usually written *tūman*; at first used vaguely for "very many", later the numeral for "ten thousand". The Turkish numeral was first explained by G. Ramstedt (*J. S. F. O.*, xxiv, 22) from the Chinese, later by N. Mironov (*Zap.*, xix, p. xxiii) from the Tokharian (*tūmān* or *tūmān*, "ten thousand"). Mahmūd Kāshgharī (i. 337) still knows the Turkish word only in its indefinite meaning; according to him *tūmān tūrlük* means "very varied", *tūmān ming* not $10,000 \times 1,000 = 10$ millions, but $1,000 \times 1,000 = 1,000,000$. The word seems to be first found with the meaning "ten thousand" in the Mongol period. As an army division, the *tūmān* consisted of 10,000 soldiers (*N. E.*, xiv/l. 280); sometimes the word *tūmān* is also used with the meaning of *ll* (tribe); as a territorial unit, the *tūmān* was said to be the area that produced 10,000 fighting men (e.g. in Ibn ʿArabshāh, *ʿAḡāʾib al-Maʿādīr*, Cairo 1285, p. 17), which can hardly be right as the *tūmān* was the smallest administrative or taxation area. Every province (*wilāyat*) of any size was divided into a number of *tūmān*, e.g. that of Samarḳand into seven; it can hardly be supposed that this *wilāyat* alone could put 70,000 men into the field. With this meaning (the name of the smallest administrative unit) the word *tūmān* was used in the period of Mongol rule in Persia (the Persian *lūk*, for example, was divided into 9 *tūmān*; *G. M. S.*,

xxiii/l. 47) and also in what is now Russian Turkestan with the exception of Farghāna (q.v.). In Turkestan this usage (*tūmān* sometimes also stands for *wilāyat*) survived even in the first two decades of Russian rule, in the kingdom of the Khān of Bukhārā (q.v.), and later even after the revolution of 1920 in the Bukhārā republic. The whole village population liable to pay taxes is sometimes called *tūmān* (*Tārīkh-i Rāshidī*, transl. Ross, p. 301). The dwellers among the mountains, who live under different conditions, are sometimes distinguished from the villagers; for example the *Wāḡ-nāma* distinguishes between the students (*ṭullāb*) from the *tūmān* and the students from the mountains (*ḡhāzīn*) in the madrasah built in Samarḳand by Shāhibān Khān (q.v.).

As a money of account the *tūmān* or *tuman* in the period of Mongol dominion was 10,000 *dirhams*. In all three Muhammadan states that arose out of the Mongol empire — Persia, the Golden Horde and the line of Čaḡhātāi — small (*dirhem* in Persia under Ghāsān Khān (q.v.) 2.15 grammes = 33.1 grains, later smaller) and large silver (*ḡhāzī* = 6 *dirhams*) coins were struck; large sums were calculated in *tumans* of 10,000 *dirhams* or 60,000 *dirhams*; cf. the conversion given by Ḥamad Allāh Karwīnī (*G. M. S.*, xxii/l. p. 29): 128,000,000 *dirhams* = rather more than 2,333 *tumans* (fuller details in W. Barthold, *Persische Handschriften aus der Bibliothek der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu St. Petersburg* 1911, p. 15 sqq.). Calculations were also made in the time of Timur and the Timurids in *tumans* of 10,000 *dirhams*; in Turkestan these *dirhams* were called *ḡhāzī* after Kebek Khān (*N. E.*, xiv/l. 74; cf. also under ČAḠHĀTĀI KHĀN). At a later date, for a time, only copper coins were in use in Turkestan and these also were calculated in *dirhams* and *tumans*; for example according to Bābūr (fac. ed. Beveridge, p. 56^b), the cost of feeding the troops of the province of Hīnd was estimated at 1,000 *tumans* of copper coins (*ḡhāzī*). According to the *Wāḡ-nāma*, already quoted, 6 copper coins were equal to one *ḡhāzī*; 20 of the *ḡhāzī* were exchanged for one *miḥḡāl* (about 66.3 grains = 4.3 grammes) of silver.

In Persia the word *tuman* in the xviith century meant a much smaller sum than at an earlier date. About 1660 Raphaël du Mans gives the value of the *tuman* as 40 French francs (*P. E. L. O. P.*, ser. II, vol. xx., p. 183). Sir Thomas Herbert (1630) and Fryer (1677) give the value as £ 3.6.8 in English money. The *tuman* as a gold coin was first struck by Fath ʿAlī Shāh Ḳādjār (q.v.) in 1212 (1797), at first weighing 95 grains (6.16 grammes), later reduced to 70 (4.5) and again to 53 grains (3.4 grammes). Under Nāṣir al-Dīn, who struck a few large gold *tuman* pieces, the *tuman* was worth ten *krāns* or 10,000 *dirhams*, the *ḡhāzī*, now of course, being not a coin but a very small money of account. The *tuman* continued to be the standard gold coin down to the reign of Ahmad Shāh but was abolished by the new dynasty, its place being taken by a *ḡhāzī* of 29 grains (1.88 grammes).

Bibliography: In addition to the literature quoted in the article, cf. the dictionaries (Freytag, Vullers, Radloff) s.v., which are however very defective in this connection.

(W. BARTHOLD)

TUMANBAI II, AL-MALIK AL-AḤRAF (mīn Ḳaṣḡh al-Ḡhūr) was the last of the Mamlūk

Sultān. He reigned from 14th Ramadān 922 (15th October, 1516) to 21st Rabi' I 923 (15th September, 1517). He was bought as a slave by the emir Kānūh, afterwards the Sultān Kānūh al-Ghūrī [q.v.] to whom he was related, and given to Sultān Ka'itbey [q.v.]. The latter had him trained in the class of clerical Mamlūks (*al-ḥishāṭiyya*). He was manumitted by Sultān Muḥammad al-Nāṣir II probably in the beginning of the year 902 (1496) and promoted to be *ḥamadār* [q.v.]; a little later he entered the Sultān's bodyguard. There he remained till the accession of his relative, Sultān Kānūh al-Ghūrī, who made him an emir of 10; in 910 (1504) on the death of the heir to the throne, he became *emir jahāghān* and chief butler; in 913 he became *dawūdār khatir* [q.v.] and, as was usual in the last period of the Mamlūk dynasty, Major-domo (*ustādār*) and Superintendent of the domains (*kāshif al-kush-shuf*); he thus had attained the highest civilian post. He became deputy in the absence of the Sultān (*na'ib al-ghayb*) when the latter went to Syria against Sultān Selīm. On the defeat and death of Sultān Ghūrī he checked the rout among the retreating troops and emirs and restored order as far as possible so that the emirs and people had confidence in him. He was unanimously elected Sultān and with much reluctance finally accepted the choice although he well understood the difficulties of the position; the want of money in the first place was serious, for the Turks had captured several million dinārs from Sultān Ghūrī, some of which he had with him in camp and some in his fortresses. Besides this the army was exhausted and the great emirs could not be trusted. The question was decided for him by a learned *shaykh* Abū Sa'ūd al-Djirīḥī (a quarter near old Cairo still bears his name) who made the emirs swear fealty to him. The caliph was a prisoner with Sultān Selīm, but his father wrote the diploma of appointment and paid homage to the new Sultān. Tūmānbāi granted the highest offices to the emirs returning from Syria. An appeal for assistance came from Ghazza and troops were very soon sent thither. About this time Selīm sent an offer of peace. Tūmānbāi was to recognise him as sultan. The Sultān was ready to make peace but the emirs were disinclined to do so and managed to get the envoys put to death, which made the continuation of the war inevitable. The troops sent by the Sultān under the emir Djanberdi were defeated at Ghazza by Sinān Pāshā [q.v.] and returned to Cairo. Selīm thereupon crossed the desert and although harassed by the Beduins reached Egypt with his forces in good order. Tūmānbāi wished to attack him at Sāhiṭya immediately on his arrival there but the emirs decided to await him before Cairo between Matariya and Iḥṣāl Aḥmar at Raḍāntya. The guns were put in position in the sand to bar the Turkish advance. The plan was betrayed however to the Ottomans and a portion of the army went round the Egyptian position and attacked it on the flank. In an hour the mobile, cleverly placed artillery of the Turks mowed down the greater part of the Mamlūk army. The valiant Sultān Tūmānbāi at the head of a small body fought his way to Sultān Selīm's tent and cut down the emirs there in the belief that Selīm was among them. Returning safely he saw the flight of the Egyptians and followed them to the Nile where

he rallied the scanty remnants of his army. The Turks took and plundered Cairo and slew all the Mamlūks who fell into their hands. Tūmānbāi once more succeeded in taking the city and held out there for two days. He then had to take to flight across the Nile to Upper Egypt. From there he negotiated with Selīm, who promised to retire if his name was put on the coins and mentioned in the Friday service. Tūmānbāi was ready to accede but his emirs prevented him and slew the Sultān's envoys. Selīm therefore put to death the emirs and Mamlūks taken in Cairo and ordered troops to be sent across the Nile, but as they landed in small bodies they were cut down by Tūmānbāi's superior forces. Selīm therefore decided to bring his artillery into action. He placed guns on the bank of the Nile and bombarded the enemy who suffered terribly and took to flight. The Turkish forces could now cross undisturbed. Tūmānbāi again collected an army whereupon Selīm sent an envoy to negotiate with him. The latter, a former Mamlūk of Tūmānbāi's, however began to use insulting language and was wounded during the parley and sent back. In the night indecisive fighting took place. On the next day Tūmānbāi challenged his former follower Djanberdi to a single combat which ended in the Sultān's victory. But in spite of the bravery displayed by the Mamlūks, they were routed by the superior forces of the Turks and the Beduins who had joined them. Tūmānbāi fled to a Beduin chief, who was under a bond of gratitude to him, but he was compelled by his people to betray his hiding place. Selīm had him taken prisoner and brought to his camp where he overwhelmed him with reproaches for the murder of his ambassadors. Tūmānbāi's noble bearing made a good impression on the Sultān; he was inclined to give him his life but on the advice of the emirs, who had gone over to him, he had him hanged a week later at Bāb Zuwayla. Thus died the last Mamlūk Sultān. The causes of his defeat were the corrupt state of Egypt, the eternal feuds among the Mamlūks, the lack of funds, but the main reason, as must again be emphasised, was the superiority of the Turkish artillery. The brave Mamlūks did not care to use firearms and did not realise their full importance as they believed that the deciding factor should be personal valor.

Bibliography: Weil, *Geschichte der Chalfen*, v., Stuttgart 1862 (which gives Arabic sources still in MS., see introd., p. 15); v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, Pest 1827 (with list of sources); Ibn Iyās, *Badr al-Zuhūr*, Būlāḡ 1311 and for those who do not know Arabic the translation of part 3 of this work by Lieut Colonel W. H. Salmon, London 1921, in *Oriental Translation Fund*, N.S., xxv. In addition to Iyās Zuhūr's history of the conquest of Egypt by Sultān Selīm is very important, s. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 43 and 298. Of indirect use for this period is H. Jansky, *Beiträge zur armen. Geschichte*, ii. 173-177, where the Turkish sources are given in full. (M. SOBERNHEIM)

TUNIS (in Arabic Tūnus or Tānis), in 36° 47' 39" North Lat. and 10° 10' East Long. (Greenw.), capital of the regency of the same name. Tunis at the present day consists of two adjoining, but very different cities, with two quite distinct forms of town life: a native but not exclusively Muslim town, an almost unchanged survival from past

centuries, and a European town of recent origin and completely modern appearance, still steadily and rapidly growing; the old town is about three quarters of a mile from the end of the lagoon called the Lake of Tunis or Bahira (*al-Bahira*); this town rises gradually from east to west till it overlooks the shallow, generally dry salt lagoon known as the *Sabkhat al-Sidjumi*; on this side however, the highest point of the Manubiya, which has extensive views, lies outside the ramparts. To the southeast and close at hand rise the heights of Sidi Belhassen and of the Djabal Ljallud, farther away the hills of Bir Kassa; to the north the heights of the Belvédère and of Ras-Tabia and beyond them the Djabal Ahmar and the Djabal Nabeli. These slight undulations do not prevent Tunis from communicating easily with the plain of Mornag and the valley of the *wād* Miliane on the one hand, and on the other with the plain of the Manūba and the valley of the Medjerda, also by the north bank of the lagoon with Goulette and Carthage. The natural defences are good without being excellent (Tunis has been taken frequently without much difficulty); except for cisterns, all drinking-water has to be led in from a distance. But from the economic point of view, the position is very advantageous, at the exits from Central Tunisia, in a fairly fertile region, and sufficiently near the sea to give rapid connection with the nearest European coasts.

We need not spend time over the attempts of Arab writers to explain the name Tunis from an Arabic root. They claim with equal fatuity, following one another, to identify the original town with the Biblical Tarshish. A plausible etymology has yet to be found; but the name is said, like the town itself, to go back to Punic times, if not beyond them. Tynes is mentioned by Diodorus and Polybius as a considerable town built behind fortifications, no doubt concentrated around the present Kasba at some distance from the lagoon, then perfectly navigable. It was besieged and taken successively by the Libyans, who rebelled at the beginning of the fourth century B.C., by Agathocles, and by Regulus. The headquarters of the notorious mercenaries, it later fell into the hands of Scipio Africanus. It was perhaps destroyed by Scipio Emilianus (cf. Gsell, *Hist. anc. de l'Afr. du Nord*, vol. I, ii, iii, passim).

Was Tynes — the future Tunis — which is not to be confounded with another Tynes (called the "White", on Cape Bon), as Tissot has said "one of the principal centres of the aboriginal race... the Libyan city par excellence, in contrast to the Phœnician colony" which was Carthage?

In any case it was for long eclipsed by its illustrious rival and was only much later that it became a city of the first rank. It was of no particular note in the Roman, Vandal and Byzantine periods. A Roman road connected it with Carthage; a few references in geographical or ecclesiastical works alone remind us from time to time of its existence. Are we to take as history or legend the life of St. Olive, of the Vandal period, who is said to have given her name to the great mosque (*Djami al-Zaitūna*), and whose remains were officially claimed in 1402 by King Martin of Aragon?

With the Muslim conquest, Tunis suddenly emerges from the shadow; and it comes into history as a Muslim city, the heir to some extent of Carthage and soon to rival Kairawan. When Hassan b. al-

Ne'mān in 698 had taken and destroyed Carthage, the old capital, his first care was to turn the little town at the end of the lagoon into a naval base, from which fleets could set out on more distant expeditions, but where on the other hand he was sheltered from the possibility of a sudden attack by the Byzantine navy. He gave Tunis an arsenal (*dār al-ḥirā'a*) and he probably brought from Egypt a thousand Copt families to supply this new naval dockyard with experienced workmen. Of the town itself we do not yet learn anything very definite; we can only venture a vague surmise as to the nature of various elements that migrated thither: at first undoubtedly, Christian merchants and officials, but very soon increasing numbers of native converts to Islam, with Arab soldiers, arrogant, greedy and turbulent. The first great truly Muslim foundation of a religious nature, the Great Mosque, for centuries the spiritual centre of the city, is attributed by tradition to the Umayyad governor Ibn al-Habbāb (built in 114 = 732) who also rebuilt the arsenal. But we do not know who built the ramparts, of which al-Ya'qūbi tells us they were of clay (*ṭin*) and unbaked brick (*ḥiṣ*), except in the part near the lake which was built of dressed stone (*ḥiṣār*). To sum up there was not in the case of Tunis, as at Kairawan, a regular creation but rather a sudden development, a political and religious transformation, of great importance, an adaptation, — perhaps more gradual than one thinks at first — to the new role assigned to it by circumstances and the far-seeing will of the conqueror.

During the eighth and ninth centuries, Tunis begins to develop its commercial possibilities, but it is still particularly renowned as a centre of legal and religious teaching. Before the fame of Kairawan was definitely established, Tunis already possessed celebrated teachers who by their teaching contributed to the Islamisation of the whole country: e.g. the traditionists 'Alī b. Ziyād and 'Abbās b. al-Walīd al-Fārisī. At the beginning of the Fatimid period, Abu 'l-'Arab al-Tamīmī compiled a useful account of these early generations of Tunisian savants (*Kirā'at Tabakāt 'Ulamā' Tunus*, ed. and transl. by Muḥ. Ben Cheneb with the "List of Savants of Ifrikiya"). The Great Mosque now had a number of necessary additions made to it and was embellished in various ways. Some important alterations were no doubt due to the Aghlabid Ahmad, the great builder; an inscription in the name of the 'Abbāsid caliph dates to 250 (864) the dome which is in front of the mihrāb. Stone and marble were in any case easy to procure here for all buildings, civil or religious. Carthage is near at hand and its ruins were ready to be plundered and to provide in abundance building material, columns and capitals.

In politics, Tunis seems to be the focus of opposition, the centre of resistance to the central authority exercised from Kairawan; the Tamīmī *ḡund* quartered within its walls was an element of disorder and a source of strife. The town took part in most of the risings, which were put down by the Umayyad, and 'Abbāsid governors and later by the Aghlabid emirs. It was implicated in the great rebellion of Ma'nūr al-Tunbūghī, and the troops of Ziyād al-Aḥḥād I took it by assault and destroyed its ramparts in 218 (833). After one of these risings, Ibrāhīm II punished it severely and thought to control it by transferring his court

and seat of government there in 281 (894); for these he had erected a number of buildings, including the Kasbah (*al-Qasaba*). But two years later, he went back to Rakkāda and when his son 'Abdallah II made a second attempt to settle in Tunis he was killed in 290 (903) in a palace which he had just built for himself. His two assassins were put to death, one at the al-Djazeera Gate (of the Peninsula, i.e. Cape Bon), the other at the Kairawan Gate. Tunis was not yet ready to become the capital of Ifrīkiya.

The Fātimids and their Sanhādja successors, whose capital was at Kairawān or Mahdiyya, founded by them, deliberately neglected Tunis which seems to have remained faithful to orthodoxy. It is a fact of no little significance that the greatest of its saints, its patron saint, still greatly venerated, lived in the first half of the tenth century, just in a period when official Shī'a and rebel Khirīdijism were fiercely contesting the domination of Ifrīkiya: Sidi Mahriz (Mahriz b. Khalaf) who was the inspirer and the recipient of the famous *Kisāla* of Ibn Abi Zaid (in 347 = 959), the classic précis of the Mālikīan of North Africa (cf. Ibn Nāḍī, *Ma'ālim al-Imān*, iii, 138). It was he who after the short but disastrous occupation of the town by Abū Yazid in 332 (944) restored the courage of the inhabitants, urged them to build a solid wall around the town and stimulated them to take up commerce on better organised lines. The old court of the silk-merchants (*Fundūḡ al-Horḡiriyā*) almost opposite his *ṣūṭiya*, a little beyond one of the main gates of the city, may go back to him and the same is probably true of the little market, which has given its name to this gate: Bāb Souika (*Bāb al-Sawīka*). Unanimous tradition further attributes to Sidi Mahriz the foundation of the Jewish quarter, the *Hārā*, at some distance from his *ṣūṭiya* in the direction of the Great Mosque; a measure evidently intended to retain there a people particularly skilled in commerce, which was a source of prosperity for the town.

The flourishing situation of Tunis is attested in the tenth century by Ibn Hawkal, who extols the abundance of its products, the pleasantness of its situation and the wealth of its citizens. He mentions especially the potteries, and the system of irrigating the gardens around the towns by water-wheels. Further details are given in the next century by al-Bakrī: the ramparts and ditch; the five gates namely: *Bāb al-Djazeera* in the south, the gate which opened on the harbour (*Bāb al-Bahr*) and *Bāb Karḡūdjannu* (of Carthage) on the east, *Bāb al-Saḡḡūn* (Gate of the water-carriers; evidently the same as Bāb Souika) in the north and *Bāb Arja* in the west. The harbour, the entrance to which could be closed by a chain, was defended on the north by a wall and in the south by a stone castle: the Castle of the Chain (*Qasr al-Silsila*). Al-Bakrī admires the Great Mosque, the entrance staircase of which (east side) had, as at the present day, twelve flights, the many and well filled *sūks*, the hammam of which there were fifteen, and the abundance of provisions (fruit and fish); he too mentions the potteries. Passing to another sphere he notes the success of the teaching of *fiqh* among the Tunisians.

Tunis therefore seems to have enjoyed peace and prosperity for about a hundred years, until the terrible event in the middle of the eleventh

century which upset completely the economic and political conditions of the whole country: the invasion by the Hilālī Arabs. While the helpless Zirids, overwhelmed by the new conquerors, shut themselves up in Mahdiyya, Tunis fell for a time into the hands of the Rīyāhid chief 'Abd b. Abi 'l-Ghaith in 446 (1054). But to secure protection, it placed itself a little later under al-Nāḡir, the Hammādid of al-Kāfā, who sent it a governor in 451 (1059), the Sanhādja 'Abd al-Hakk b. Khurāsān. The latter soon declared himself independent and in this way was founded the first dynasty of Tunis, which except for an interruption of 20 years (1128—1148) maintained itself till the Almohad conquest, exactly a century later.

At first oppressed by the Rīyāhid Banū 'Alī, who were established in Carthage in the *Ma'alaga* (La Malga), Tunis came to terms with them to secure herself from their raids; in return for an annual tribute, they promised to spare the district and its inhabitants; they even very soon began to attend the markets of Tunis, both as buyers and sellers. The town survived the attempts made on it by the Zirids of Mahdiyya, and by the Normans of Sicily; but it was disturbed by civil troubles, rival political parties, riots and fighting among the *sūfs*, rivalry between the different quarters. It was nevertheless in this most disturbed period that its sea-trade began to develop on a large scale; trade with Italy was organised and developed; the business relations which were increasingly entertained with the Christians offered unexpected prospects. The Banū Khurāsān themselves did a great deal to promote the prosperity of Tunis. The greatest of them, Ahmad, fortified it in the first half of the xth century; he built the earthworks mentioned by al-Idrīsī. It was he also who built the citadel (*al-Qasr*) to which the present mosque of El-Ksar may originally have been attached. It is in this quarter, near the street of Sidi Bou Krissan, which seems to preserve their name in a corrupt form, that there still exists the cemetery of the Banū Khurāsān, which was probably originally joined up with that of *al-Silsila* (on the site of the Sadiki Hospital). The principal door of the Great Mosque dates from the same dynasty. With the two great suburbs of Bāb Souika and Bāb al-Djazeera, which are already extending to the north and to the south of the city proper (*al-Madina*), Tunis has now a fairly definitive configuration. Its now considerably increased importance made it henceforth the capital of Ifrīkiya. It was to be so from the time of 'Abd al-Mu'min (554 = 1159) to the present day, and its political history is henceforth merged in that of Tunisia.

After the terrible alarms caused by the unsuccessful attacks of Ibn 'Abd al-Karīm al-Raghīrighī in 595 (1199), then by the ephemeral rule in 1203-1204 of the last Almoravid Yahyā b. Ghāniya, it was reserved for the Hafsids to restore to Tunis the feeling of security and to add to its monuments and make it a capital worthy of the name. Abū Muhammad b. Abi Hafs, who was still ruling in the name of the caliphs of Marrākeḡh, built in the Bāb Souika quarter (in the street El-Halfouine) a *Djāmi'*, which bears his name, corrupted, it is true, into *Ḥay-Muhammad*. But it was the first independent ruler of this dynasty, the devout Abū Zakariyā, whose buildings mark most clearly that a new era had begun in the town. In 1230 he built outside the town, towards the southwest, the

fortified *muṣallā* (*Djāmī al-Sultān*) which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa notes in the next century; he then proceeded to rebuild the Kaṣaba or Kasbah completely and flanked it by a mosque for his private use: the Mosque of the Almohads or of the Kaṣaba or Kasbah, the minaret of which, in pure Almohad style, is dated Ramaḍān 630 (March 1233) in a beautiful inscription outside it (cf. O. Houdas and R. Basset, *Mission scientifique en Tunisie*, Algiers 1882, p. 5-9). He formed a fine library, which was scattered by one of his successors, Ibn al-Lihyānī. He introduced to Tunis the *madrasa* of the east: the *Shammā'iyya*, near the old *Sūq al-Shammā'iyya* (now *Sūq El-Blaḡdīn*), later completely restored, was the first medersa in North Africa. It was he also who sheltered the three daughters of Yahyā b. Ghāniya in the palace thereafter known as *Kaṣr al-Banāt*. Lastly it was he who organised the quarter of the *sūks* immediately around the Great Mosque and built the *Sūq al-Aṭṭārīn* (of the merchants of oils and perfumes) and perhaps also the *Sūq al-Kumāsh* (*Sūq* for textiles).

In place of this interest in commercial and religious matters his son al-Mustansir bi'llāh, a caliph fond of display, had a taste for luxury and splendour. He built a hall of audience, *Ḥabla Aṭṭarā*, in 1253 in the court of the Kaṣaba or Kasbah, pleasure gardens in the adjoining suburb at *Ra's al-Ṭābiya* (Ras-Tabia) on the road to Bardo and at *Abū Fihir* (site uncertain in spite of the identification with al-Buṭṭūm proposed by Ibn Abī Dīnār; H. Abdulwahab places it in the *Djabal al-Aḥmar*, near al-Ariana, ed. of Ibn Faḍlallāh, p. 12, n. 1) of which Ibn Khaldūn gives a glowing account, both connected with the Kaṣaba or Kasbah by a private road to enable the ladies to go there without being seen. In 665 (1267) al-Mustansir completed the restoration, celebrated in verse by Ibn Ḥāzim, of the old aqueduct of Carthage (*al-Hanāyā*); he also brought water to the great pond of *Abū Fihir* and thence to the Great Mosque.

His mother 'Aṭf, the worthy widow of a pious ruler, built a second medersa, the *Tawfiṭiyya*, attached to the *Djāmī al-Tawfiṭ* or al-Hawā, which is of the same period. The first century of the Hafsid rule produced two other mosques: the *Djāmī al-Zaitūna al-Barānī* (in 1283) outside the *Bāb al-Bahr*, built by order of the false al-Faḍl to take the place of a funduq, where wine was sold, and the *Djāmī al-Hillak* (of the Kings) in the same quarter as the *Muṣallā*. A third medersa, *Madrasat al-Ma'rif* (of the Remembrance) built by *Abū Zakariyyā*, son of Sultān Abū Ishāq in the *Sūq al-Kutubīyyin* (of the booksellers) — it too was built as an expiatory work on the site of a funduq, frequented by wine-drinkers —, has disappeared without leaving a trace. Finally the ramparts were rebuilt, in parts at least, with the *Bāb Dīdīd* (New Gate), *Bāb al-Manāra* (Gate of the Beacon) and probably also the *Bāb al-Banāt* which no longer exists.

The Tunis of about 1300 is already very like the native town of to-day. The Medina, which stretches from north to south is shut in between the Kaṣaba or Kasbah on the west — the fortified dwelling of the ruler who commands both the town and the plain of La Manouba — and on the east, in the lowest lying part, the *Bāb al-Bahr* which gives access to the arsenal and thence to the lagoon. Halfway up and in the very centre the Great Mosque opens its doors directly on the

new *sūks* which surround it: the name *Bāb al-Bahr* is attested for the northern gate, but was the western one already called *Bāb al-Sūq*? Each *sūq*, by a custom still maintained, closes its doors at nightfall; the *Bāb al-Bāb* near the *sūq* of the same name is, as at the present day, the southern exit to this quarter. Around the Medina and outside the main gates are grouped certain manual trades. Inside the *Bāb al-Djāzira* we have the dyers, at the *Bāb Dīdīd*, the smiths, at the *Bāb al-Manāra*, the saddlers. Close to the *Bāb al-Bahr* there were no doubt several funduqs allotted to Christian merchants but the latter, requiring more space, soon began to build outside the gate a little quarter or suburb of their own, the first sketch of a European quarter. The houses of the city were closely built together; no open spaces were left, no room for markets or assemblies: the *Baḥḥa* of Ibn Mardūm cannot have been anything more than a cross-roads.

In the outer quarters however, more modern and less crowded, large open spaces serve as markets: for pottery and alfa grass (Place des Potiers and El-Halfanline) in the *Bāb Souika* quarter, those for animals (horses: *al-Murḥāq*; for sheep: *Raḥabat al-Qanām*) and perhaps also the corn-market (Place du Marché au Blé) in the *Bāb al-Djāzira* quarter. Each of these quarters is protected by an outer wall which ends at the Kaṣaba or Kasbah; the gates of this first line of fortifications are for the southern quarter (*Raḥat*): *Bāb Khalid* (originally no doubt *Bāb al-Manṣūr*) in the west, *Bāb al-Djurdjān* in the south, *Bāb al-Fallāk* (outside of which is a *Ḥaṣṣiyya*) and *Bāb 'Ilāwa* (*Bāb Alloua*) in the S.E.; for the northern quarter, in the N.E. *Bāb al-Khaḍra'*, in the N.W. *Bāb [Abī] Sa'dūn*, and in the west *Bāb al-Aḥwās* (of the Arcades) perhaps identical with *Bāb al-Uṭāq* (*Bāb El-Allouche*) the first mention of which is later. It is beside the last gate that we should like to locate the *raḥat* of the 'ulūdī called "rabatins", Christian mercenaries in the pay of the sovereigns of Tunis, if Leo Africanus did not expressly locate it outside the *Bāb al-Manāra*. As to the Kaṣaba or Kasbah itself, of its two gates one opened on to the country, *Bāb al-Ghāda* (of Disloyalty), the other into the city, *Bāb Intajīmī* (cf. the *Bāb Imastajīmī* of Tlemcen; cf. *Buḥārāt al-Kawwānīn*, ed. Bel, i. 34).

Between the *Bāb 'Ilāwa* and the *Bāb al-Khaḍra'*, a whole series of open drains (*ḥanāḍa*) into which the gutters ran, flowed eastwards into the lake. The cemeteries lay around the town; in time they were built up to and pushed farther out by the expansion of the suburbs; to the southwest the vast *Djellaz* (*al-Zallāq*), more isolated, preserves the memory of the mystic Abū 'I-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (Sidi Belhasen), the founder of the *Shādhiliyya* brotherhood, who lived there in the first half of the sixteenth century. Close to the *Bāb al-Djurdjān*, beside a cemetery of the *Hintāta* (*al-Maḥbara al-Hintāṭiyya*), lie the tombs of many "saints" whose *manāḥib* (records of their miraculous powers) for the most part unpublished, contain useful information for Tunisian topography of the Hafsid period, supplementing that given by al-Zarkashī or Ibn al-Shammā. The famous Lalla Mannāḥiyya (cf. *J. A.*, 1899, p. 485-494; and *Kutub Manāḥib al-Sayyida 'Rīḍa al-Mannāḥiyya*, Tunis 1344), d. 1267, has given her name to a village overlooking the town in the S.W. (La

Apurcubia) and women still go there to invoke her to obtain a cure for barrenness.

An even greater source of pride to Tunis than these marabouts, whose political influence however is undeniable, as in the case of Abū Muḥammad al-Murjānī, the tutor of the future caliph Abū 'Aḍā, were its increasing numbers of lawyers, men of letters and students. Religious sciences flourished there, as al-Abdārī notes (in 1289). We may mention for the end of the thirteenth century the chief *ḳāḍī* Ibn Zaitūn. To this development in the study of belles-lettres and of Mālikī law, the Muslim refugees from Spain made valuable contributions: Ibn al-Abbār and the chief *ḳāḍī* Ibn al-Ḥammām came from Valencia; from Seville came the Banū 'Asfūr and also the Banū Khaldūn, ancestors of the most celebrated historian of North Africa (born in 1332).

The fourteenth century, to the great admiration of the traveller Khallid al-Balawī (in 1335-1340), is the golden age of legists and commentators; among these may be mentioned the chief *ḳāḍī* Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥīm, Ibn 'Abd al-Salām, 'Isā al-Ghubrīnī, the *ḳāḍī* Ibn Raḥīm al-Gaḥḥī, the mufti Ibn Ḥārūn and particularly the illustrious imām Ibn 'Arāfa. But in the field of politics we have nothing but weakness in the rulers, unrest and insecurity. The nomad Arabs threatened the capital without difficulty; the Marinids twice occupied Tunis. The development of the city to the west and south-west, so vigorous in the preceding century, was succeeded by a period of stagnation, not to say decline. We may however note the foundation of two madrasas, one in 1341-1342 by the sister of the caliph Abū Yahyā Abū Bakr, the 'Unḍiya (restored later; rue Onk el-Djemal), the other now in ruins, by the chamberlain Ibn Tafrāḡīn (rue Sidi Ibrāhīm). But it was a sign of the times that military demands had first claim on the architect: the Marinid Abū 'l-Ḥassān after his defeat at Kairawān in 1348, restored the ramparts of Tunis and dug a ditch around them; Ibn Tafrāḡīn considerably strengthened the outside walls and formed considerable *ḥabūs* for their future maintenance.

We have to come down to 1400 and the xvth century to find, with a more stable political situation, a marked revival in building activity; but nothing on a really grand scale. During their long reigns, Abū Fāris and his grandson Abū 'Amr 'Uḥmān only founded two libraries and a few madrasas; their interests lay more in charitable works; these are the earliest Muḥammadian hospital (*ṣaḥrīyān*) of Tunisia, finished in 823 (1420) and in the suburbs numerous *ṣāwīyas* offering shelter by day or night; or in water-works, inspired also by a sense of religious duty: a great cistern (*ma'ḍal*) in the Musallā, a hall for ablutions (*maḍā'a*) in the Suk al-'Aṭṭārīn in 854 (1450), drinking-troughs (*ṣifḥa*) and the kind of public fountain at which one drinks by sucking a narrow pipe called "sucker" (*maḥḥa*). The whole reflects a somewhat anaemic piety, incapable of great energy, a religion gradually passing more and more under the control of marabouts and brotherhoods. The families of *Ḳalḍjānī* and Banū al-Raṣṣā' are mentioned in this period as jurists of standing; in 1451 Tunis had an eighth al-*ḫayḍa* in the faubourg of Bab Souika; but the dominating figures of the period were Sidi b. 'Arūs (cf. his *Manāḥib*, Tunis 1303) who came from Morocco, and was buried in his *ṣāwīya* in 1463, the founder of the brotherhood of the 'Arūṣiyya;

Sidi Ḳāsim al-Djālī from Spain (d. in 1497) whose tomb-*ṣāwīya* near the Bab Khallid henceforth called Bab Sidi Ḳāsim has a tiled roof in the Spanish style; and Sidi Maḥmūd b. Djirdīn, who died in 1499.

Commerce seems to have been flourishing. Relations with Europe, in spite of many incidents, were maintained and even became closer; the importance of industry and internal trade under Abū Fāris even before he freed them from all taxes (*maḍḥaba*) is seen from the figures for 1420 given in the *Tuhfat al-Arīb* of the converted Catalan Fra Anselm Turmoda, also known as 'Abd Allāh al-Turḡmān, whose tomb still stands inside the Bab al-Manār. We note in the enumeration of the chief business centres, the existence of funduqs for oil, vegetables and charcoal, a *sūq* of the coppersmiths (*Sūq al-Saḡḡariya*), a *sūq* of the basketmakers (*Sūq al-'Aḥḍāḍ*); still exists the rue El-Azafine and the present *Sūq al-Ḳachchāshīn* (vendors of brick à la bric). The number of houses, officially estimated at 7,000 in 1361, according to Ibn al-Shammās, had risen to 10,000 in 1516 (Leo Africanus). The traveller van Ghistele gives for 1485 valuable information on the life led by Christians in Tunis. As to the rulers, emphasizing the tradition begun by their predecessors, they tended to live outside the town, very often on their estate of *Bardo*: This Tunisian "Prado", mentioned as early as 1410 and frequently altered, soon became a vast collection of buildings. The 'Abdallīya palace at the Marina, as well as the library of the same name attached to the Great Mosque, are attributed to the last independent Ḥafṣid Abū 'Abd Allāh (in 1500).

The troublous xvth century made the unfortunate town one of the principal objectives of the Spaniards and Turks in the course of their long wars. Sacked in 1534 by Khair al-Dīn's (q. v.) forces, it was plundered the next year by the victorious army of Charles V. The inhabitants had fled in a body before the Christians through the Bab al-Fallāk, the name of which was in consequence changed to *Bab al-Falla* (of the Rout). The conditions in which the Ḥafṣid restoration was brought about and maintained were evidently not very favourable for the development of the town. The attention of the rulers was wholly occupied with the fortifications, supplemented by those of la Goulette, and even they do not seem to have been finished till after the autumn of 1573 when Don John of Austria had driven out of Tunis the Ḳā'id Ramaḍān, who for four years had been governor there for Eulḡ 'Alī. The *Ḳaṣaba* or Kasbah was greatly strengthened; in particular on the site of the arsenal, which had been demolished, perhaps some time previously (cf. Grandchamp, *R. T.*, 1914, p. 9-10), there arose on the shore of the lagoon a fortress in the shape of a star joined to the ramparts of the city by two entrenchments. This was the *Bastion* of Ibn Abī Dīnār, the *Nova Arx* of a plan published in 1575 (cf. Monchicourt, *Essai hist. sur les plans imprimés de Tunis-Goulette au XVI^e siècle*, *R. Afr.*, 1925, p. 31). But the labour was in vain. The inhabitants abandoned the town to the ravages of the Spanish garrison (cf. *R. T.*, 1914, p. 12), and in September 1574 the Turks took the Bastion and razed it to the ground. Sīna Paṣha established a sufficiently stable rule in Tunis to allow an architectural revival to begin shortly after.

The influx from Spain, which had been going

on for several centuries, suddenly assumed vast proportions when in 1609 the dey Ōghuša welcomed the Moriscos expelled by Philip III. Those who had been used to a town life settled at Tunis in two localised groups: in the street of the Spaniards (S.W. of the Medina) and in the Quarters of the Spaniards (*Hammam al-Andalus*, near the Place Halfaouine). To these Muslims from Spain is due the industry of making red caps or *shashiyas*, which according to Peyssonnel in 1724 produced 40,000 dozen per annum and engaged over 15,000 people. These Spanish Muslims, with the Hanafi Turks from the east and the important part played by renegades of European origin and the corsairs, combined to give Tunis its peculiar character in the xviii century. The dey Yūsuf I was the first to make a name by public works, a list of which is given by Ibn Abi Dīnār: the creation of a commercial quarter around the Bāb al-Banāt and the restoration in the same neighbourhood of a *sūq* for woollen yarn (*al-ghut*); the building of a *sūq* for merchants from Djerba, and improvement of several other *sūqs*, and the continuation of the Hafsid *sūqs* to the north: *Sūq al-Bashmīkiya* (makers of Turkish trousers, street of Sidi B. Ziyād), *Sūq al-Birka* for the sale of black slaves and *Sūq al-Turk* (El-Trouk) for Turkish tailors; the installation of a café; water conduits to various points in the town, such as the Great Mosque and above the *Sūq al-Turk*. There his favourite 'Alī Thābit built the pretty *mīḥra* (in 1620) which at present adorns the Belvedere; the latter also restored the old mosque of the faubourg of Bāb al-Djazīra. Probably the rebuilding of the eastern door of the Great Mosque ought to be dated to the same time (*Bāb al-Djāzira*, Gate of the Interments). Yūsuf built in the street of Sidi B. Ziyād a Hanafi medersa (in 1622) and a mosque of the same rite with an octagonal minaret, beside which is his tomb. After his time the power of the deys began to weaken: they no longer undertook great works. Ahmad Khōdja (1640–1647) was content to rebuild the al-Shammāsīya and al-Ūnkiya medersas; Muhammad Iḥsān to build in 1649 the curious minaret of the mosque of al-Kaṣr or El-Kaṣr; at his death in 1653 a mausoleum (*turba*) for himself and his family was built in the square of the Kaṣaba or Kaṣbah.

The Murādīl deys built a great deal; in the same style as the mosque of Yūsuf Dey and in a street quite near it, Hammūda built the Hanafi mosque of Sidi b. 'Arūs (finished in 1654) with a family mausoleum beside it. He also rebuilt the minaret of the Great Mosque; he built a *māristān* in the street El-Azafine and began to rebuild the Aqueduct. His son Murād built the Medersa al-Murādīya (in 1673), in the *Sūq* for Textiles and while his second son Muḥammad al-Hafṣ founded the *Sūq* of the *Shashiyas*, his grandson Muḥammad gave the town the original mosque of Sidi Maḥris (after 1675). The French architect Daviler is said to have supplied the plan for the domes. About 1666 we have an excellent description of Tunis in the memoirs of the Chevalier d'Arvieux (Paris, vol. iv., 1735). The Kaṣaba or Kaṣbah, at first the residence of the pashas before the collapse of their authority, comprised two main buildings: the first housed the dey's guards, officers and their families; the other behind it contained a long hall (*al-jāḥiḥ*) in which the dey gave audience to the soldiery and in the remotest part were his private

apartments. The *Diwān*, where the Aghā presided over the council of the soldiery, was a large oblong court (cf. also a detailed description by La Condamine in 1731, *R. T.*, 1898, p. 86): the religious tribunal of the Charḥa (*al-Shar'*) still sits here. The district west and northwest of the medina (especially the Rue du Pacha) formed the aristocratic quarter, the real Turkish quarter. The sumptuous houses of the deys and the other high personages were adorned with marbles; the central court, which was, a regular feature, was ornamented sometimes with a kiosk or a little pool of water; the furniture and the decoration already showed an unfortunate tendency to imitate Italian work of poor quality.

With the extraordinary development of the activities of the corsairs the number of Christian slaves increased (6,000 in 1654; on their life cf. Pignou, *R. T.*, 1930, p. 18 *sq.*); whence the multiplication of those strange prisons called by the name of the Saint to whom was dedicated the chapel contained in them. Father Dan gives 9 in 1635; there were very soon 13. If we must, with P. Grandchamp (*La France en Tunisie au XVII^e siècle, Avant-propos des t. VI et VII*, Tunis 1928–1929) regard as a legend the story of St. Vincent de Paul's captivity at Tunis from 1605–1607, special importance on the other hand should be attached to the mission of the Lazarist Julien Guériu (1645 to 1648) who succeeded in converting Muḥammad Shalabi, the celebrated Don Phillip, son of the dey Ahmad Khōdja, and to the work of another missionary, Jean le Vacher, consul of France for 1648 to 1653 and 1657 to 1666 (cf. R. Gleizes, *Jean le Vacher*, Paris 1914 and in *Revue des questions histor.*, July 1928). It was in his time that the first public chapel was built at the consulate and dedicated to St. Louis; it was he who raised from its ruins the church of St. Antony, in the centre of the Roman Catholic cemetery around which he built high walls, outside the Bāb al-Bahr (on the site of the present Cathedral); it was he who organised worship in the chapels of the prisons; it was he again who obtained from the Diwān a site and permission to build a new French consulate or "funduk of the French" finished in 1661 (rus de l'Ancienne-Douane; Grandchamp, *op. cit.*, vi., p. xxii.—xxiii.). From 1672 the Italian Capucins were in charge of the mission: their house is described about 1730 by St. Gervais (*Mémoires historiques*, Paris 1736, p. 86) as well as the Greek Church and the richly endowed Hospital of the Trinitarians. Protestants were buried outside the Bāb Kartājanna in the cemetery of St. George where the English church now stands. In spite of consular protection, the Christian merchants never seem to have been very numerous. The French "nation" for long numbered only six merchants. Foreign trade was mainly in the hands of the Jews, among whom the fugitives from Spain or Portugal (expelled in 1492 and 1496), who had come either directly or through Italy, were distinguished from the Tunisians of old stock (*Zuḥāna*); the "Portuguese" or "Livornese" (*Grāna*) ultimately formed a separate community; they gave their name to the *Sūq* el-Grāna. The Jewish cemetery was outside the walls, to the east of the Bāb Souika quarter in the vicinity of the present Rue Sidi Sifiane; then it expanded southwards.

In the political troubles which mark the end of the xviii century and the beginning of the xviii, Tunis was twice occupied by the Algerians (in

1686 and 1694) with bloody disorders. The ramparts could not resist a serious attack; they followed "no rule of fortification, for one cannot consider as fortifications the square towers attached to the walls at intervals". Again, even under the Husainids, Tunis was at the mercy of the Algerians; pillaged by the latter in 1735, it was in vain that in 1756 the Tunisians tried to withstand them with the help of defensive works hurriedly thrown up by 'Alī Pasha and his son Muḥammad: an entrenchment with loopholes and a ditch between the two recently built forts on the Djabal Djellaz and the Mannūbiya, a fortified redoubt behind the Kaṣaba or Kasbah. At this period two other forts are mentioned crowning the slight eminences on the N. W. These are no doubt the *Burj al-Samīra* or *Tahūnat al-Riṣ* (of the Windmill; it is the fort of the Spaniards) and the *Burj al-Rubīa* (of the siloes [of the Bey]; this is the Rabta), itself flanked at a little distance by the little *Burj Filfil* (cf. Piantet, *Corresp. ... Tunis*, II, 501; and for the year 1829: Monchicouri, *Relations inédites ... Filippi* ..., p. 47 and 91).

In the intervals of peace the town was also enriched with other buildings. It was in the reign of the founder of the new dynasty, Husain b. 'Alī, that the princess 'Aṣṣa 'Uṭmāna, great granddaughter of the Dey 'Uṭmān, died in 1710 and was buried near the Medersa al-Shammā'īya. Many charitable and pious institutions benefited from her bountiful gifts. Husain, himself a great builder, built in Tunis (cf. *al-Maḥra' al-Malakī*, R. T., 1895, p. 328—329) in the southern quarter of the Medina, the *Djāmi' al-Djādīd* or "Mosque of the Dyers" with an octagonal minaret. He planned out the streets and buildings which adjoin the *Sūq al-Sakkāṣīya* (of the harness-makers); it was in his reign that the Mausoleum of the Dey Kara Muṣṭafā was built beside the mosque of el-Kṣar; it was he who moved the seat of the government to the Bardo. In spite of the decline in religious teaching acknowledged in the preceding century by Ibn Abī Dīnār (p. 399; transl. p. 506), he showed a real interest in building medersas: *Madrasat al-Nakhla* (of the palm-tree), the *Medersa al-Husayniya* and *al-Djādīd*. His immediate successor 'Alī Pasha, following his example, built four: *al-Būdiyya*, in the Sūq of the booksellers, *al-Sulaimāniya*, in memory of his dead son Sulaimān, *Madr. Bīr al-Hijār*, *Madr. Hawānūt 'Aḥḥar*; and a little later 'Alī Bēy founded another *Djādīd*. It is to this name 'Alī Bēy that we owe the mausoleum of the Husainids (*Turbat al-Bēy*) not far from the Mosque of the Dyers, and (built in 1775) the home for aged poor called *al-Takya* (the Tekia). About the year 1800 the famous minister Yūsuf Ṣaḥīb al-Tiba', keeper of the privy seal, built in the Halfawīn square the mosque that bears his name, probably, as the raised outer gallery shows, on the site of the *Masjid al-Mu'allaḥ 'ala 'l-Halfawīya*, which Ibn Nāḍī mentions in the sixth century (iv. 149); in the same quarter he set up the Halfawīn fountain (in 1804), inside the *Bāb Sīdī 'Aḥd al-Salām* and at the other end of the town a large watering-trough inside the Bāb Allawa.

His sovereign Hammūda Pasha, who finished the *Dār al-Bēy* (Caroline of Brunswick stayed there in 1816) a little above the Kaṣaba or Kasbah, devoted all his energies to military works and to barracks. To defend Tunis, particularly against the

Algerians, he had the outer ramparts rebuilt by a Dutch engineer. This work, which took from 1797 to 1804 according to the inscriptions on the bastions adjoining the gates, was never completed on the south side (cf. H. Hugon, R. T., 1905, p. 373; and G. Dolot, R. T., 1908, p. 298). On this side they were satisfied with the advanced entrenchment made by 'Alī Pasha and the outer walls of the houses which formed an almost continuous line of defence. Hammūda built barracks (in 1798) alongside of his magnificent villa at al-Manouba, and others in 1814 at the close of his life, in the middle of the Sūq al-Aḥḥar (it now houses the Bibliothèque Publique and the Direction des Antiquités; cf. M. Houdas, *Notre sur trois inscriptions de Tunis*, in *Bull. Archéol.*, 1911). In the same period many other barracks were built in the Medina: Rue de la Caserne (*al-Kaṣba*; now the Société Française de Bienfaisance), Rue de l'Église (now the Administration of the Hāḥās), Rue des Moniquettes, Rue Sīdī B. Ziyād; but by far the largest, that of the "First Regiment" (*Birindīl Alāy*; now the Caserne Saussier), was built near the Murkād, on the site of the former masallā, by the Bey Husain b. Maḥmūd, then by his brother Muṣṭafā (in 1835—1836). An artillery depot (now the Caserne Forgemol) was built outside the town in 1839 by Aḥmad Bēy, the creator of the "Tunisian army". While 'Alī Pasha had been content to send on two occasions (1743 and 1744) for a founder from Toulon, who repaired several cannon in an emergency workshop, under Hammūda Pasha a regular foundry was established under the permanent charge of some Frenchmen in a wing of the *Ḥafṣiya* palace (the Hafsia; street of the same name). Lastly Aḥmad Bēy organised the *Dabḍaba* (cf. R. T., 1922, p. 276), where the bread and oil required for the army was made (Rue Dabḍaba, a little north of the Dār al-Bēy and Rue des Teinturiers).

Just when these military undertakings seemed to be going to transform Tunis into a garrison town, the European colony, which was developing with greater freedom every day as a result of the French occupation of Algiers (in 1830) and the reforms made by the bey, gained a footing in the Medina. Shops were opened by the Christians. Religious edifices sprang up in addition to the old Church of the Holy Cross (Rue de la Kasbah; moved in 1833 to the old Hospital of the Trinitarians, Rue de l'Église), the registers of which are valuable for the history of Roman Catholicism in Tunisia. In 1831 the Italian school was opened at Sulema, the Jewish in 1840 at Morpurgo, in 1841 the Bourgade College in the *Zanakaḥ al-Būḥār* (Impasse du Missionnaire). The whole of the quarter of the Place de la Bourse (recently renamed Place du Cardinal Lavergerie) with the present Rue de l'Ancienne-Douane, des Glacières and de la Commission became completely European. Outside the ramparts, the modern town began to spread towards the lake; thus the Consulat de France was moved in 1861 to the building which is now the Résidence Générale. Other consulates however are still within the city; those of Spain (rue Sīdī el-Bānī), Great Britain (place du Cardinal Lavergerie), Italy (rue Zarkoun; this is soon to be moved).

European influence became so strong that the administration of the town itself was at length affected. Under the Hāfids each of the two fau-

hours had its *shaikh*, probably under the *ashikh al-madina*; these three officials survived under the Turks; assisted by patrols of citizens taken in rotation (*lawadiga*) they saw that the town was policed at night after the closing of the gates. Below them the *muharrir* were heads of the quarters. The day police, under the Husainids, was the business of the *dawlati*, this destitute dey, who had under him 50 *hawal* and 55 *shabigi* (cf. E. Pellissier, *Deux. de la régence de Tunis*, Paris 1853, p. 52-53) and acted as police magistrate in the long hall called *Driba* in the street of Sidi B. 'Arūs. The *Kaṣaba* was administered separately under an *aghā*. In 1858, however, a municipal council was formed (a president, a vice-president, a secretary, and a dozen notables) the budget for which was provided by a tax on wines and spirits. In 1860 the *dawlati* was replaced by a general of division (*farik*) who had under him "captives" (*ghabitiya*). Vigorous steps were taken to bring the city up to date: a telegraph line was laid to Algiers and a railway to La Goulette; a drainage system was laid out and water brought from Zaghouan by the French engineer Colin. The water-tower took the place of the covered reservoir (*khazna*) which stood in the preceding century beside the gate of the outer ramparts, Bab Sidi 'Abd Allah, adjoining the *Kaṣaba* or *Kashah*.

Preoccupation with such modern works left little time for any great religious buildings; one may however mention the imposing *rāwīya* of Sidi Ilarāhim al-Riyāhi (d. 1850; cf. *R.T.*, 1918, p. 124, and on the jurists of the Husainid period: al-Sanūsī, *Muṣṣamarāt al-Zarīf*, Tunis n.d.) who enjoyed a veneration which shows no signs of decreasing. In 1875 the *Ṣādiqī* College was founded (in the barracks of the rue de l'Église) called after the bey Muhammad al-Ṣādiq. In 1880, the *Ṣādiqī* Hospital was built. Among the mansions, the Zarrūk palace (rue des Juges) was at first the residence of the deys. The Dār Husain (now the Palais de la Division) built in the xviiith century by a minister of the bey, was restored in 1876; the Khair al-Din palace, an enlargement of the old Hafsīya, was the court of justice for a time at the beginning of the protectorate (rue du Tribunal); the Palace of Muṣṭafā b. Ismā'īl was in the rue du Pāhā; that of the Khaznadār (Place Halfkwin, rue du Palais) became the Jewish Hospital, but has not been used for some time now. It may be noted that after the rising of the sons of Husain b. 'Alī against 'Alī Pāshā in the middle of the preceding century, the Halfkwin quarter, inhabited by faithful "Husainiya", enjoyed the favour of the bey to the detriment of the quarter of Bab al-Djazira, the stronghold of the *jeff* opposed to the "Bashiya" (cf. *R.T.*, 1918, p. 314).

The French occupation (from 1881) has produced tremendous developments in Tunis which are still going on. The European town stretches from the Porte de France (the old Bab al-Bahr) to the lagoon, where the quays are; it stretches from the Belvedere to the Djellāz, then, in the south of the southern quarter, within and without the walls, it covers the heights of "Montfleury". The outer wall is still standing. That of the Madina has almost completely disappeared except for a few gates. The *Kaṣaba* or *Kashah*, entirely rebuilt, is used as barracks. The Dār al-Bāy houses the Direction de l'Intérieur; the other offices with the new *Ṣādiqī* College (1897) and the Palais de Justice are modern buildings stretching

along the Boulevard Bāb Benāt from the Place de la Kashah. An electric tramway runs round the Madina but does not enter it. An attempt has been made to retain the oriental character of the city itself. A number of buildings are now used for other than their original purpose but the general appearance of the city is just what it was fifty years ago. Religious instruction remains centralised in the Great Mosque, the minaret of which was entirely rebuilt in 1894; in 1896 the resident Millet founded the Khaldūniya in the Suq al-'Aṭṭārin, to instruct young Muslims in the elements of modern sciences. The Sūks continue to group the native trades in guilds each under an *amīn*; some of them are visited by large numbers of tourists and a busy trade is done with them in "Oriental" articles, perfumes, carpets and leather goods; public criers offer for sale books and jewellery in the Suq of the Booksellers and Suq al-Berka. The wretched Jewish quarter, abandoned by those of its inhabitants who have acquired sufficient to enable them to live beside the Place des Potiers or in the European town, will shortly be replaced by modern buildings and broad streets. The Muslims on the other hand live in the native town, except a few rich families who have villas at the end of the Avenue de Paris and the few amirs of the houses in the new village of el-Omrane (S. W. of the Belvedere). Finally we must mention the growing population of the remoter suburbs (Rades and Hammam-Lif, or Carthage La Marsa) European, Muslim and Jewish, which really now form one with Tunis.

The Municipal Council was reorganized by decree of Oct. 31, 1883, supplemented by the decrees of 1888 and 1914 relating to the communes of the Regency. It consists of a President, two Vice-Presidents (French) and 17 members appointed by decree (8 European, 8 Muslim and 1 Tunisian Jew). At the last census (1926) the population of Tunis had risen to 185,996 divided as follows: French 27,922, other Europeans 51,214, native Muslims 82,729, Tunisian Jews 24,131.

Bibliography: Saladin, *Tunis et Kairouan*, Paris 1908 (statements should be verified); Desort (in collaboration), *Histoire de la ville de Tunis*, Algiers 1924 (the only useful chapter is that which deals with Europeans in Tunis in the sixteenth century before the occupation); G. Marçais, *Manuel d'art musulman, L'Architecture*, vol. 2, Paris 1926-1927 (excellent descriptions of the principal monuments; a. p. 871-875, a study of the architecture of the Muslim palaces of Tunis). — Cf. also the references in the text, and in the article TUNISIA.

(ROBERT BRUNSCHVIG)

AL-TUNISI, MUHAMMAD b. 'OMAR b. SULAIMĀN, an Arabic author of the sixth century. He belonged to a Tunisian family devoted to learning, especially to theological studies. His grandfather Sulaimān was a copyist of books and, when he set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca, left his three sons behind under the guardianship of his maternal uncle Ahmad b. Sulaimān al-Azhari, a learned theologian. On completing his pilgrimage, Sulaimān, as he had lost all his property, did not return to Tunis, but stayed first of all in Djidda where he made a living by copying books. There he became acquainted with some people from Sennār and on their advice went to their land. The ruler gave him a hearty welcome, assigned

him a house and other property and allotted him a regular income. Salāmān then married a woman of Sennār who bore him a son (Aḥmad Zarṛūḳ) and a daughter.

When 'Omar, the second son of Salāmān by his first marriage in Tūnis, had grown up, he went with his grand-uncle on the pilgrimage to Mecca and on the way met by accident his father Salāmān, who was on his way to Cairo on business with a caravan from Sennār. From Mecca, where his grand-uncle died, 'Omar returned to Cairo in order to study at al-Azhar. Later he visited his father in Sennār, resumed his studies at al-Azhar and in 1201 (1786) married. Two years later he returned to his native city of Tūnis where a son Muḥammad (al-Tūnisī) was born in 1204 (1789). 'Omar stayed only three years in Tūnis and then went with his family back to Cairo to devote himself once more to study at al-Azhar. There he soon obtained the office of *naṣīb al-risāṣ* [cf. I., p. 535^b], being appointed warden of the fraternity of Maghribī students. In 1211 (1797) 'Omar learned of the death of his father from his step-brother in Sennār and of their poor circumstances. He at once went there and never again returned to his own family. Fortunately for the latter, in the same year Ṭāhir, 'Omar's younger brother, came to Cairo on business, intending afterwards to go on the pilgrimage to Mecca. He adopted his brother's family and sent the young Muḥammad, who at the age of 7 had already read the *Qur'ān* through, to study at al-Azhar. When, after Ṭāhir's departure for Mecca, Muḥammad's means of subsistence gradually came to an end, he decided to seek his father in the Sūdān as news had reached Cairo that soon after his arrival in Sennār he had gone on to Dār Fūr. Among the members of a caravan which had reached Cairo from Dār Fūr he met a friend of his father, who at his request took him back with him to Dār Fūr. This must have been in 1218 (1803). In Dār Fūr he met first his father's step-brother Aḥmad Zarṛūḳ who took him to Djuḥā (in the district of Abū l-Djūdū), where his father 'Omar lived. The latter had attained a position of great prestige at the court, become wealthy and prosperous and had also founded a new family. By order of the king 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Aḥmad (d. 1214 = 1799; cf. the list of kings of Dār Fūr, I., p. 917^a) 'Omar had composed commentaries on two theological and legal works (cf. *Voyage au Dar-Four*, p. 107; on the other literary activities of 'Omar, see p. 424). When Muḥammad arrived in Dār-Fūr, a certain Muḥammad Kurā (Nachtigal, *Sakāra and Sūdān*, iii., Berlin 1879, p. 387, calls him Abū Shaikh Kurā) was acting as regent for the infant ruler Muḥammad al-Faṣl; he later met his death in a rebellion. Muḥammad received a kindly welcome from Kurā to whom he was introduced by Aḥmad Zarṛūḳ. Kurā also enabled 'Omar to make a journey to Tūnis to visit his relations on his promising to return. For the period of his absence 'Omar left his estate at Djuḥā in the hands of his son Muḥammad.

'Omar went first to Wadā'i where he stayed some years; for he managed to attain a very high position at the court of the local Sābūn sūḷṭān, being appointed a vizier and getting land in the village of Abālī. But after awaiting his son there in vain, he decided to go on to Tūnis.

Muḥammad stayed some seven and a half years in Dār Fūr after the departure of his father and became thoroughly acquainted with the land and its people. It was only after the conclusion of a war between Dār Fūr and Wadā'i that he was able to go to the latter country on an embassy from the sūḷṭān of Dār Fūr. He came first to Wāra, the then residence of Sūḷṭān Sābūn who showed him much kindness, as he had done to his father. Muḥammad was thus likewise detained a considerable period in Wadā'i. But his position became more and more difficult, in the first place because his uncle Aḥmad Zarṛūḳ who had followed 'Omar to Wadā'i and on the latter's departure had been entrusted with the care of his children and house in Abālī took full possession of 'Omar's property and only gave his son the minimum necessities of life. A second difficulty was the ill-feeling that developed with Aḥmad al-Faṣl (on him cf. *Voyage au Ouadāy*, p. 66 sq., 497 sqq., 508) who had been appointed 'Omar's successor in the vizierate on his suggestion. He slandered Muḥammad to Sābūn so that the latter became suspicious and ceased to show him favour. 'Omar, who came to Wadā'i at his son's request, was able, it is true, to get Aḥmad al-Faṣl dismissed, but on his ('Omar's) departure he regained his old rank. In these circumstances Muḥammad readily took advantage of the Sūḷṭān's permission to leave Wadā'i after eighteen months there. He joined a caravan going to Fezzān with which he travelled through the land of the Tūba (Tibesti) to Murzuk, the capital of Fezzān. Here he stayed three months, during which the ruler there, Muntāṣir, died. From Murzuk he continued his journey to Tripoli and finally reached Tūnis via Sfax (Sfax) about 1228 (1813) about ten years after leaving Cairo for the Sūdān.

Muḥammad at first settled in Tūnis; later however, he moved to Cairo and there entered the service of the viceroy Muḥammad 'Alī. When in 1824 the latter sent an army to the Morea under his stepson Ibrāhīm Pāshā, Muḥammad went through the campaign as chaplain (*waḥīḡ*) to an infantry regiment (cf. *Voyage au Darfour*, p. 6). An incident of the siege of Missolonghi (1825-1826) is related by him in his *Voyage au Ouadāy*, p. 634-635.

At the end of the war, Muḥammad acted as reviser of the Arabic translation of European medical, especially pharmacological, works in the veterinary college founded by Muḥammad 'Alī in Abū Za'īl (N. E. of Cairo). There Dr. Perron became acquainted with him after his arrival in Egypt, took Arabic lessons from him and induced him to write down his memoirs of his travels in the Sūdān, primarily for Arabic reading lessons. When in 1839 Perron became director of the Kaḡr al-'Alī medical school in Cairo, on his recommendation Muḥammad was appointed chief reviser there. A. v. Kremer, who came to Egypt for the first time in 1850, mentions Muḥammad as one of his teachers whom he esteemed highly (cf. A. v. Kremer, *op. cit.*; cf. *Bibl.*). As he further tells us, Muḥammad also devoted himself to the editing of important works of the earlier Arabic literature, for example the *Maḥāṣin* of al-Ḥarīrī [q. v.] and the *Muṣṭafā* of Iḥṣābī [q. v.]; this is probably the Bulāḳ edition of 1272 = 1856. According to Jomard (cf. *Voyage au Darfour*, p. x.), Muḥammad was also appointed to undertake, for an edition of the Arabic lexicon *al-Ḥamūs*

of Firāshādī (q.v.), a revision of the Calcutta edition of 1230 (1817) for which purpose he corrected the text of the latter with the help of seven or eight manuscripts. The new edition was printed at Bulāq in 1274 (1857). In his later years Shaikh Muhammad used to lecture every Friday on Ḥadīth in the Zaiṅah mosque. He died in Cairo in 1274 (1857) (so v. Krenet, *op. cit.*).

The many observations and enquiries made by Muhammad al-Tūnī in his long sojourn in the Sūdān about the ways and people of the districts visited by him were written down, with his own experiences, at Perron's instigation in two comprehensive works, which Perron translated into French. They are:

1. *Voyage au Darfour par le Cheikh Mohammed Ebn Omar el-Tounsi* [Tūnī, popular nisha for Tūnī; cf. Stumme, *Gramm. des tunesisch. Arabisch*, Leipzig 1896, p. 66], *Révisé en Chef à l'École de Médecine du Caire, traduit de l'Arabe par Dr. Perron, Directeur de l'École de Médecine du Caire*, Paris 1845 (lxxxviii. 492 pp. in 8°, with map). The *Préface* to this book by Jomard (p. i.—lxxi.) also appeared separately under the title *Observations sur le Voyage au Darfour, suivies d'un Vocabulaire de la Langue des Habitants et de Remarques sur le Nil-Blanc supérieur*, Paris 1845. Perron had previously published information about this book and specimens of his translation in *J.A.*, ser. iii., vol. viii., 1839, p. 177—206 (Letter to J. Mohl) and in the *Bibliothèque universelle de Genève*, N. S., 5th year, vol. xxviii. (Nº. 56), 1840, p. 325 sq. A very full review of Perron's publication was given by Sédillot in *J.A.*, ser. iv., vol. vi., 1846, p. 522—543.

Perron published the Arabic text of the Dār Fūr journey under the title: *Tashkīl al-Aḥḥād bi-Sirat Bilād al-ʿArab wa'l-Sūdān* (= *L'Agrégement de l'Esprit par le Voyage au Soudan et parmi les Arabes*) in 1850 in Paris in autograph (310 pp. in 4°, with 4 pp. in French of introduction, emendations and additions to the translation).

2. *Voyage au Ouadai, par le Cheikh Mohammed Ebn Omar al-Tounsi, traduit de l'Arabe par Dr. Perron*, Paris 1851 (lxxv. 756 pp. in 8°, with map and 9 plates with pictures). Jomard added to this book also a long preface (p. i.—lxxv.) with historical and geographical observations. Perron himself in the introduction (p. 1—35) deals particularly with the divisions of the Sūdān.

The Arabic text of the second work, which Perron (*loc. cit.*, p. 34) intended to publish, never appeared. The manuscript was probably in his possession but where it went after Perron's death in 1876 in Paris, to which he returned in 1850, I do not know.

Muhammad al-Tūnī is the first to give us full and reliable information about important parts of the Sūdān. On Dār Fūr, we had before his time only the scanty notes of the explorer W. G. Browne and on Wadā'i a little information gleaned by Burckhardt. It was not until several decades later that H. Barth and S. Nachtigal were able to visit these lands and describe them in more detail in their books. There is no reason to doubt al-Tūnī's reliability; Perron checked his statements with the help of a number of people from Dār Fūr and Wadā'i settled in Cairo and obtained complete confirmation of them. It cannot however be denied that there are certain defects in the Shaikh's description. A certain lack of order in the arrangement of the material, the lack of any approach to a regular system, a

fondness for digression and a disposition to believe much too readily statements about the popular Islam of the country (e.g. especially about magic) are not such serious defects as the fact that he gives no exact geographical, topographical, statistical and meteorological data (cf. thereon the criticisms by Barth, in *Reisen und Entdeckungen in Nord- und Centralafrika*, iii., Berlin 1859, p. 525 sqq. and Nachtigal, in *Petermanns Geogr. Mitteil.*, xxi., 1875, p. 176 and in *Sabara und Sudān*, iii., p. viii.). Nevertheless Tūnī's two works form an important and still too little appreciated source for the ethnographical, cultural, and political conditions in the Sūdān lands through which he travelled. In conclusion it should be emphasised that the Shaikh's two books supplement one another; the much larger work on Wadā'i also contains a good deal of information about Dār Fūr.

As an appendix we may give a brief account of a countryman of Muhammad al-Tūnī who resembled him in many ways, the Tunisian Shaikh Zain al-ʿAbidin. The latter, an educated, well-read man, who had studied at al-Ashar and grown up in constant intercourse with Europeans, in 1818 or 1819, when at a mature age, set out for the Sūdān where he (like Tūnī) seems to have spent about ten years, to some extent as a missionary and adventurer learned in religious matters. He went first to Sennār and Kordofān, then stayed a considerable time in Dār Fūr and Wadā'i making his living by teaching. After over three years in Wadā'i he returned via Fezzān to Tūnīa. His experiences and observations there he recorded in an Arabic book of no great length which was printed (when and where?). It was translated into Turkish and printed at Istanbul in 1262 (1846) (cf. *Z.D.M.G.*, ii. 482). This Turkish version was translated by G. Rosen as *Das Buch des Sudan oder Reisen des Scheich Zain el-Abidin in Nigritien*, Leipzig 1847.

The importance of this book lies in the description of the state of civilisation and organisation of society in Dār Fūr and Wadā'i. We are told of the court life, of the soldiers, a campaign, the natives, slaves and negroes, of trade, superstitions, a wedding etc. These interesting notes are an important supplement to the far fuller description of Muhammad al-Tūnī. Noteworthy is an account of excavations made by Zain al-ʿAbidin with the permission of the Sultan of Wadā'i in ruins near the capital (p. 47—49, 61—75). Zain al-ʿAbidin left Wadā'i just as a change on the throne took place; the name ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm given in Rosen's translation to the new ruler (p. 108) should be emended to ʿAbd al-ʿAziz (cf. Nachtigal, *op. cit.* iii. 284, where an ʿAbd al-ʿAziz, grandson of Sābūn, is mentioned).

Bibliography: The main source for the life of Muhammad al-Tūnī and his family are the two books of travel, especially the autobiography in the introductory chapter to the *Voyage au Darfour* (p. 1—25), besides scattered references like *op. cit.*, p. 48—49, and in the *Voyage au Ouadai* p. 37, 39, 50, 62, 66—67, 129, 199, 211 sqq., 215, 497—499, 508, 512 sq., 643—645. The biographical sketch by Jomard (*Voyage au Darfour*, p. viii.—x.) is not free from errors and omissions; cf. also Perron's notes (*Voyage au Darfour*, p. lxxxi.—lxxxii.) and A. v. Krenet's *Aegypten*, Leipzig 1863, ii. 324. Cf. also, in addition to the references

in the article, Wüstenfeld in Lüdde's *Zeitschr. für vergleich. Erdkunde*, I. (Magdeburg 1842), p. 67 and Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, II. 491 (where the book on Waddi is not given!)

(M. STRACK)

TUNISIA. Tunisia consists of the eastern declivity of Barbary; it corresponds approximately to the Ifrikiya of the middle ages. Since 1881, Tunisia or the Regency of Tunis has been a French protectorate.

I. GEOGRAPHY.

With its present frontiers, Tunisia, which lies between 8° and 11° E. Long. and 32° and 37° N. Lat. has an area of 125,180 sq. km. Along its western frontier it is bounded by Algeria (département of Constantine), on the south by the Sahara and, far to the southeast, by Italian Libya (Tripolitania). The Mediterranean washes its shores, which are usually low-lying, on the north and east. The climate is on the whole moderately warm; but the rainfall varies greatly with districts and even with years, and being influenced by the proximity of the sea and also of the Sahara, it varies very much with latitude and still more with altitude. The relief is very varied although the average height above sea-level is not great; the mountain-ranges, which are the continuation and end of those of Algeria, run generally from S. W. to N. E.

In the northwest, the mountains of Khrumir and of the Mogoda, of chalk and sandstone, rarely exceed 3,000 feet, towards Algeria; subjected to a heavy rainfall, covered with oaks and brushwood, they contain mines of zinc and iron (Duasia). They run along the coast where in turn we have, with the little port of Tabarka, the dunes of Nefra, Cape Nègre and the little peninsula of Cape Serrat. In the east, they gradually diminish in height down to the hills which surround the alluvial plains of Bizerta and of Mateur, both well watered and growing good crops of wheat. The lagoon of Bizerta, which communicates with the sea by a narrow strait, forms an excellent roadstead with deep water opposite Sicily, which is not a great distance away. The plain of Mateur, now almost entirely covered with soil except for a number of marshes still existing, is dominated by the curious massif of the Dj. Achkeul. Farther east, the Ra's Shit 'Alī al-Makki above Porto-Farina (*Ghar al-Arba*) bounds the Gulf of Tunis on the north, which is being filled up by deposit brought down by the Medjerda and the Wād Miliane; Utica, a port in the Roman period, is now 6 miles from the sea; the peninsula of Carthage, formerly an island, is connected to the mainland by an isthmus, which separates the Sebkhā el-Riana from the lagoon of Tunis; the lagoon, at the end of which stands Tunis, the capital, communicates with the sea by the strait of La Goulette (*Haf el-Wād*). The district of Tunis, which has not a great rainfall, is less suited for cereals than for the vine and fruit-trees.

The Medjerda, which runs through northern Tunisia from west to east, is the only real river in Tunisia and its level is very low in summer; from November to April it is flooded and very turbid. Its lower course (Medjer el-Bah, Tébourba) is separated by the gorges of Testar from its middle course, where it drains the great alluvial depression of Dakhla (the region of Suk el-Arba and Suk el-Khemis) as

rich in cereals and pasturage as the adjacent chalk-hills of Beja. Its valley is bordered on the north by the limestone hills of Beja and Teboursak, while to the south the very undulating relief of the centre and west of Tunisia present an alternation of rounded hills of limestone and great plains, the prolongation of the Saharan Atlas of Algeria: this High Tell (districts of Teboursak, of Kef, Sers, Ebbas-Ksar, Thala) covered with natural woods of Aleppo pines, and tall shrubs and great pastures, enables wheat to be cultivated, except in the drier part of the southwest, which has to be content with barley. This, especially towards the Algerian frontier, is the part of Tunisia which is richest in mines (iron at Djerina and Sata, phosphates at Kalia-Djerda and Kalat es-Senam). The rivers, tributaries of the Medjerda (W. Mellegue, W. Tessa, W. Sillana) and W. Miliana (plains of Fahs and Mornag), flow directly into the Gulf of Tunis.

To the south of the High Tell rises the most marked mountain barrier. The "backbone of Tunisia" runs from the neighbourhood of Tebessa to the Dj. Zaghwān (4,300 feet high, 30 miles from Tunis) and to the Dj. Ras and Ba Karnaïn; it includes the highest peaks: Shambi (5,150 feet) and Semama in the Byzantine range, the massif of Mactar, Serdj, Bargou, Kirine and the chain of Zeugitania. But it permits communication to be maintained easily with the south, through several passes or defiles, notably the great corridor of Kaur-Siba. On the other hand, the watercourses on the southern slopes, like the W. Merguellil, Zerud, El-Hatab (which waters the plain of Ganuda) which flow irregularly and even intermittently, lose themselves — when they flow at all — in the saline hollows called Sebkhāt: e.g. S. Kelbia and S. Sidi el-Hani in the plain of Kairawān. These are in the region of the great steppes, the land of the camel, which stretches to Gafsa, only interrupted by a few limestone-hills of no great height; covered in the west with alfa or white artemisia, and jubbe-trees towards the east, where it gradually slopes down to the olive-groves of the hinterland of Sfax, it nevertheless contains extensive agricultural land and areas suitable for cattle rearing. The only towns in it, besides Kairawān, are at the outlet of the passes of the "backbone": Sbeitla, Kasserin, Feriana. But it becomes more and more desert-like in character towards the south as a result of a decrease in rainfall, and ends, beyond Gafsa and the rich deposits of phosphates at Metlawi and Redeyef, in the depression of the Shotts (Sh. el-Gharra, 80 feet below sea-level, Sh. el-Djerid, Sh. el-Fedjed), enclosed by the the Dj. Sherb and Dj. Teboga, in the oasis of Djerid (Tozeur, Nefta) and those of Nefiawa (Kebili, Douz), which produce dates; here the Sahara begins. More to the S. E. the Dj. Dahar (1,300—2,000 feet), of limestone and chalk, with the massif of the Matmata, is only the eastern border of a great basin in the Sahara.

On the N. E. coast of the Regency, where prosperous farms have been established, the important peninsula of Cape Bon, in the prolongations of the "backbone", lies between the gulfs of Tunis and of Hammamet, the coastal plains of which are connected by the passes of Zaghwān (Fum al-Kharrūba) and of Grombalia. Then to the south of the orange-groves of Nabeul and Hammamet, the Sabel of Susa, with its valleys, is still sufficiently well watered to support by its olives and

other crops a dense population which lives in large fortified villages: Kalaa-Khira, Kalaa-Sira, Maaken, Maknine; the regularity of the coastline is interrupted by the little peninsulas of Monastir and Mabdja.

Beginning at Ras Kapadia, roughly on the level of el-Djeir, the coast turns inwards and leaves out in the bay of Sfax the islands of Kerkenna, which are separated by shallows from the shore, and then runs along the Gulf of Gabes (the ancient Little Syrtis) where sponge gathering forms a source of revenue. At the end of the Gulf rise the palms of Gabes. Between them and the oasis of el-Hamma adjoining the Shotts, lies the passage from the central or eastern plains of Tunisia to those on the extreme south coast: Arad, off which lies the large flat green island of Djerba, Djefara bordered by lagoons; a few olive-groves however flourish around Zarzis and Ben-Gardane.

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2. HISTORY.

The conquest of what is now Tunisia cost the Arab invaders who came by land from the south-west at least half a century of fierce fighting with the native Berbers and with the Byzantine governors. In North Africa as in the East, Islām was bound to come into conflict with Byzantium, but in the middle of the seventh century the situation in the exarchate of Africa was eminently favourable to the prospects of the ultimate conquerors: religious dissensions, a distant but all too faithful echo of disputes provoked in the east by monothelist doctrines, were rending the Christian community of Carthage and detaching from Byzantium the majority of those who were strictly attached to orthodoxy; the governors, less and less under the control of the Emperor, were aspiring to a state of independence which forced them to rely for support on the chiefs of the great native tribes; and the tribes, taking advantage of this, gradually cast off all Byzantine authority so completely that at the time of the Muslim conquest, all the south

of Byzacene seemed to be practically independent of Carthage.

The two first invasions of the Arabs with an interval of 18 years between them, were only raids, *razzias*; but they prepared the way for better organised expeditions for the methodical conquest of the country. Besides, by a remarkable coincidence, on each occasion the invaders found Byzantine Africa in the throes of a political crisis: in 647, the patricius Gregory had just broken with the Emperor and settled himself in the midst of the Berbers, far from the coast, when 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd b. Abi Sarb, governor of Egypt, crushed him near Sheitla and proceeded to lay waste the Djerid; in 665, the people of Carthage were most unexpectedly in open revolt against the empire, when Mu'awiya b. Hudayf ravaged Byzacene and took the stronghold of Djallila.

Was the government of the Maghrib added by 667 to that of Egypt? The real occupation only dates from the period 669-775, marked by the victories of 'Uqba b. Nāfi' and the foundation of Kairawān: this was the period of the definite occupation of Byzacene and the beginning of the conversion of the Berber tribes to Islām, but the most important event was the foundation of the new city, a Muslim town, an arsenal, caravanserai and market-place, which henceforth raised its mosque and its ramparts in the plains, facing the heights of central Tunisia which were still defended by a line of Byzantine forts.

After the governorship of Abu 'l-Mahdijir, of which little is known, 'Uqba returned in 681; but two years later on his way back from an imprudent raid which had taken him as far as Tingitania, he fell in the Zāb before Tahāda, killed in a vigorous native rising against the invader. This rising which began in the Awrās, embraced Kairawān: its leader Kusalla, supported by the Byzantines, was for several years the head of a vast Berber state, which offered a desperate resistance to new Arab attacks. He himself fell fighting in 688 in the district of Sbiba, whence Zuhair b. Qais al-Balawi is said to have come. It was however only in 693 when the position of the Umayyads at home permitted a policy of expansion to be resumed, that Ḥassān b. al-Nu'mān was able to lead an army of 40,000 men to the invasion of Byzacene and advance swiftly northwards in an attempt to crush the Byzantines before turning back against the rude Berbers of the Awrās. He took Carthage in 695, but two years later lost it again defeated by the patricius John, and again by the Berbers under the legendary figure of Kāhina [q. v.] in the plain of Baghail. He fell back on Barka and in the following year in a combined offensive by land and sea, he took Carthage finally. In 698, the Arabs had at last taken almost the whole of the modern Tunisia from the Berbers and Byzantines. Ḥassān was able to "found" Tunis and his successor Mūsā b. Nu'ajir to take Zaghwān, then to lead the 'Ifrikiya' Berbers themselves to the conquest of the west.

The greater part of the Byzantine colony had been able to escape by sea, mainly to Sicily and Malta. The majority of the inhabitants who remained in the country seems to have been very quickly converted to Islām, except for a few groups, Christian (*afāriq*) or Jewish. But even after they had entered Islām the Berbers of Ifrikiya, like those of other parts of North Africa,

tried on several occasions to regain their autonomy on the convenient pretext of religious heresies. The whole history of the eighth century is made up of risings, which in the name of socialist Kharijism roused the natives against the Arab rulers, and also of mutinies by the Arab soldiers themselves, who readily broke the bonds of discipline.

Hanzala b. Salfwan was able to put down the rising of the Sufri 'Ukasha, but he had to fly to the east when the rebel 'Abd al-Rahman b. Habib al-Fihri took Kairawan. After the last Umayyads had proved powerless to retake this distant province which was slipping from them, the 'Abbasids, seeing Spain cast off their suzerainty, were anxious at least to retake Ifrikiya from the Ibadhi Abu 'I-Khattab; their general Muhammad b. al-Ash'ath recaptured Kairawan, rebuilt its ramparts and installed himself there as governor, but not for long. The Arab soldiery, dissatisfied with him, forced him to depart in 765. Not even his successor al-Aghlab b. Salim al-Tamimi, an old companion in the east of the 'Abbasid propagandist 'Abd Mu'lim, was able to hold out against the rebel Ma'faris; he fell in the rising in 767 and anarchy prevailed for five years.

From 772 to 794, Ifrikiya was ruled by a regular petty dynasty of officials of the caliphate, the Muhallabids, Yemens by origin, who succeeded for a time in securing some degree of peace and order in the country: Yazid b. Harun, with the help of 40,000 new troops, finally disposed of the Ibadhi Abu 'I-Harith, rebuilt the Great Mosque of Kairawan (774) and organised the gilds of the capital; his son Dawud in 788 at Kef crushed the Berber confederation of the Warfajuma, and his brother Rawh, governor in his turn, concluded with the Ibadhi of Tiarret, Ibn Rustum, an agreement which put an end to the spirit of rebellion among the Berbers in Ifrikiya.

Henceforth it was only the Arab soldiery who constituted a serious danger for the domestic peace of the country. After the death of the last Muhallabid al-Fadl an era of bloodshed and trouble begins again. The aged general Harthama b. A'y'yan sent for the purpose, restored the authority of the caliph of Baghdad and built the *ribat* of Monastir; but his successor Muh. b. Mukallil al-Akkil was driven from his post by the Tamimi soldiery of Tunis whom his tactlessness had roused (Oct. 799). At this moment, Ibrahim b. al-Aghlab, son of the governor killed in 767, suddenly appeared as an 'Abbasid champion in his province of the Zab. He brought Ibn Mukallil back to Kairawan. As a reward and to establish a stable government at last, Harun al-Rashid on the advice of his councillors decided to appoint him tributary "emir" of Ifrikiya. Ibrahim received his diploma of appointment in July 800; the power was to remain for over a century in his family, down to 909, without interruption.

The dynasty of the Aghlabids (q. v.) left its mark deeply upon Tunisia. Under an outward subordination to the caliph of the East, the emirs, practically independent and hereditary, pursued a policy of pacification, organisation and expansion. The hostility of the Tamims, whose centre was Tunis, was always active. Ibrahim, although a Tamimi himself, came into conflict with these warriors of Murjar, who could ill endure the authority whether near or distant of the 'Abbasids, the friends of their ancient Yemeni rivals. He had to rely on

a soldiery which contained many non-Arabs from Khurasan; but he relied mainly for his personal security on a recently formed negro guard and on the fortifications of Kayr al-Qadim (or al-'Abdasiya) which he built in 801 a league to the south of Kairawan. It was probably there that he received the ambassadors of Charlemagne. In 802 he had to deal with a rebellion in Tunisia, in 805 with one in Tripoli, 810-811 with the mutiny of his own general 'Imrin b. Mukhallad who even laid siege to Kairawan. It was in his reign that the frontiers on the east coast began to be covered with the little military posts called *magaris*. When he died in 812, Tripoli was again in full insurrection.

His son Ziyadat Allah (817-838) who has left the reputation of an energetic, but cruel and violent man, had a powerful opponent to deal with. Mansur al-Tunbuhl was within an ace of destroying him, and for several years the whole of the north, including Tunis, was completely lost to the emir; but by a stroke of genius, Ziyadat Allah diverted to a holy war against Sicily the ardour and cupidity of the most turbulent soldiery, who embarked at Susa in 827, full of enthusiasm under the leadership of the illustrious Kadi Asad b. al-Furfi. Palermo was taken in 831; Messina fell 12 years later. Ziyadat Allah, who in 822 had built the *ribat* of Susa, was now able to devote his attention to works of a more peaceful nature, like the building of the Great Mosque of Kairawan. His architectural activity was followed on a great scale by his successor. In 850 the Great Mosques of Sus and Sfax were built; the Emir Ahmad in particular, about 860, erected ramparts around these two cities and built the famous "reservoir of the Aghlabids", a great reservoir to supply Kairawan.

In 874, Ibrahim II, the last great prince of the dynasty, succeeded his brother Muhammad, whose passion for hunting cranes earned him the name *Abu 'I-Gharanif*. Kayr al-Qadim was abandoned for a new residential town with the government offices: Rakha, the site of which is still known 5 miles south of Kairawan; but from 894, after Tunis, which had rebelled, had been taken by assault, the emir frequently moved his court to the reconquered city, on which he wished to keep a close watch. The foreign policy of the reign is marked by important events. At first in the southeast there was the disturbing exploit of al-'Abbas b. Ahmad, the son of the first Tulunid, who, in spite of his father, led a force from Egypt against Tripoli in 880 in an attempt to conquer Ifrikiya. Tripoli was saved by the Nafusa Berbers; Ibrahim arrived in time to seize a treasury of Tulunid dinars, which served to improve the financial condition of his state; the improvement was of a short duration, however, for it was not sufficient to refill the coffers, emptied at the beginning of the century by the civil troubles and later by the heavy expenditure. The terrible rising of 893 was provoked simply by a brutal requisitioning of slaves and horses in the plain of Gamuda for the benefit of a needy government. On the other hand, the conquest of Sicily was completed with the capture of Syracuse in 878 and of Taormina in 901; and when Ibrahim, on the complaint of the always hostile Tunisians, had agreed to abdicate in favour of his son 'Abdallah in obedience to an order sent him by the caliph, it was as a *muftakid* before Cosenza in Calabria that he died on Oct. 25 of the same year.

In the meantime the religious revolution which was to overwhelm Ifrīqiya was preparing in the west. In the ninth century the whole of the Berber south (Hawwāra, Lawāta, Miknāsa) was 'Ibādī from the Awrāsa to Djerba and Tripoli, the Nāfīsa in particular, who to the south of Gabes barred the road to the east, before Ibrāhīm II had massacred them in 896. But Khāridjism had not been able to prevent orthodoxy from gaining the upper hand in the greater part of the country and from producing illustrious men, like the Kādī 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ziyād, the companion of Ibn al-Agh'ath and the ascetic Buhlūl, popular and very influential, in the eighth century; in the Aghlabid period, the golden age of the discussions on points of law, which were contemporaneous with the foundation of the various schools, and the gathering of the principal collections of traditions, two pupils of the famous Mālikī jurist of Egypt, Ibn al-Kāsim: Asad b. al-Farūṭ, of a Kharrāsān family, d. in Sicily in 828, and his pupil Saḥnūn (Ibn Sa'īd al-Tanākhī), born in Syria and son of a mercenary, who in 850 as Kādī of Kairawān brought about the triumph of Mālikism, which was threatened by the Hanafism of several teachers; his *Mudawwana* is still a classic, and Mālikism, in spite of apparent eclipses, is still the *madhhab* par excellence of Tunisia. The eastern origin of the more notable teachers and doctrines is a remarkable fact; it was also from the east that the propagandist (dā'i) Abū 'Abd Allāh came in 893 to the Kitāma Kabyl of Ikḍjan (Little Kabylia east of Babors) to convert them to the cause of the Shī'ī Mahdī 'Ubaiddallāh.

An Aghlabid expedition sent in 902 against the Kitāma barely reached its objective, and in the reign of Ziyādat Allāh III, who in 903, had murdered his father, the Mu'tasill 'Abd Allāh, the Shī'a danger became pressing; in 905 while the Mahdī was hastening from Syria to North Africa to await at Sijilmāsa the proper moment to appear, his faithful dā'i was cutting the emir's troops to pieces. Events then began to move rapidly: Ziyādat Allāh had in vain had the Shī'a condemned by an assembly of jurists at Tunis and sought the aid of the 'Abbāsids; in the spring of 907, Baghaia fell; in March 909, after the fall of Lorbēus, Ziyādat Allāh fled to Baghād and the dā'i entered Rakkāda, in spite of the mute hostility of the orthodox teachers. Finally in December of the same year, the Mahdī in person received the homage of the people of Kairawān. In this way was founded in Ifrīqiya, solely through the efforts of the Kabyl infantry of the Kitāma, the heretical caliphate of the Fātimids ('Ubaiddids) which was to transform the political conditions of the whole of North Africa, before returning to its original home in the east.

From the first, the new dynasty had its eyes on Egypt, and down to the day when it was able to install itself there definitely, never ceased to send out military expeditions to prepare the way for conquest. In January 911, 'Ubaidd Allāh had Abū 'Abdallāh, to whom he owed the throne, put to death just as the 'Abbāsīd al-Manṣūr had disposed of his own propagandist Abū Muslim. In 913 an army led by his eldest son invaded the Faiyūm while another took Alexandria; and it was only after the check to this first attempt at eastern expansion that the Mahdī decided to found a capital in Ifrīqiya, but on the sea: the strong town of Mahdiyya (q.v.), a starting point for fleets

against the east, and a refuge against the expected attacks of the Berbers of the interior (916-918), but in 919 a second expedition again seized Alexandria and held it for a short time. In the west, the successes were overwhelming: Sicily which had rebelled was brought to obedience, and when 'Abd Allāh died at the beginning of 934, the whole of the Maghrib, where the Ibādī state of Tiarret, the Idrisid of Fas and the Šufri of Sijilmāsa had collapsed, recognised the suzerainty of the Fātimids.

Abū 'I-Kāsim Nizār (al-Kāsim b. Amr Allāh) maintained with difficulty his authority over the vast empire he had inherited. His fleet, it is true, was able to plunder Genoa in 935, but it was a raid of no more importance than that of the Tuscans on Carthage under Boniface of Lucca in 828. On the other hand, he all but succumbed to the formidable rising led by the Nakkārī Abū Yazīd b. Kaḍīd, the Ifranid, the 'man with the ass' (*ṣāḥib al-ḥimūr*) who proclaimed himself *ḥaḥib al-mu'minin* and under the mask of religion led the Hawwāra of the eastern Awrāsa to attack the towns of Ifrīqiya. The Khāridjī Berbers sacked Beja, Lorbēus, Kairawān (in 944) and Sūsā, seized Tunis and with their ranks swollen by volunteers from the Zāb and Nafāsa, invested the caliph in his headquarters at Mahdiyya (in 945). At the most critical moment, Abū 'I-Kāsim died in 946. His son Ismā'īl (al-Manṣūr), supported by the people exasperated by the excesses of the invaders, re-established the situation with the help of the faithful Kitāma. Defeated in a series of bloody battles, Abū Yazīd saw his partisans scattered and he himself fell mortally wounded into the hands of his enemies at a place where in time the Kal'a of the B. Hammād was to be built (947).

This troubled period was succeeded by one of calm and prosperity. Al-Manṣūr at once displayed his power by founding the luxurious town of Šalīra (al-Manṣūriyya) which was to eclipse its neighbour Kairawān (947). Commerce and industry flourished, and at sea the Kaḍīd Raḥḥē was the terror of the Christians. Under al-Mu'izz, who came to the throne in 955, the long awaited hour arrived: in spite of occasional outbursts of rebellion in support of the Omayyads of Cordova, the Maghrib as a whole seemed subdued; the raids of Spanish Muslims on the coasts of Sūsā and Tabarka in 956 were mere reprisals and not indications of a real danger. Hopes of conquering Egypt, weakened by the death of the Ikhshīdīd Kāfir, seemed to be justified. In July 969, the freedman Diawhar at the head of the Kitāma occupied Fustāt on behalf of al-Mu'izz just as Abū 'Abd Allāh had taken Kairawān for his master, the Mahdī. The following year his troops entered Damascus. Then when he had built the town of Cairo for his sovereign, who was still in the west, he urged him to rejoin him, to oppose the threatening progress of the Karmāṭians. After the last Zenāta rebel had been crushed in the Maghrib, the Fātimid, who now wore a crown in the eastern fashion, began his preparations for departure in August 972. On June 10, 973, he reached Cairo, the new capital of his dynasty.

Before leaving Ifrīqiya for ever, al-Mu'izz had entrusted its government (excluding Sicily) to one of his most valued helpers, the Berber emir Bologgīn (Bulukkīn) whose father Zīrī b. Manād, a great enemy of the turbulent Zenāta, had always placed his Ṣanḥādja of the region of Titteri

and Moden at the service of the 'Ubaydids. This plan of ruling the country by a line of Berber princes was a complete success. Under the Zirids (q. v.), who regularly received their investiture from Cairo, Ifrīkiya enjoyed happy days of material prosperity and an abundance of the necessities of life due to the development of agriculture and native industries (carpets, cloth and pottery) and trade with the outer world; there was an extravagant splendour about the great official ceremonies. Law and medicine, which under the Fātimids had already produced such famous men as Ibn Abi Zaid, Ishāq b. Sulaimān al-Iṣṣā'ī and his pupil Ibn al-Djazzār, flourished; literature produced the poet Ibn Rushd. The Jewish colony of Kairawān attracted and produced celebrated Talmudists.

The brilliance of this period had been hardly affected by the defections, more and more serious, of the Zenīta of the west, who proclaimed allegiance to Cordova, nor by the secession of Hammād who, in the reign of his nephew Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr (995–1010), founded an independent dynasty in his famous Kāf'a (in 1007). On the contrary it was under al-Mu'izz b. Bādīs, in the first half of the 11th century that it seems to have reached its zenith. But this al-Mu'izz, ostentatious in excess, held in great honour by the caliphs of Cairo, respected throughout the Maghrib, committed the fatal mistake of awakening the old religious hatreds in the name of which the north Africans used to rebel against their eastern rulers. Rallying around him the Mālikī townsfolk of Kairawān, who under his eyes one day proceeded to a regular massacre of the Shī'īs, he transferred his homage to the 'Abbasid of Baghdad and ended by breaking openly with the Fātimids, through a series of steps covering the period down to 1050.

The revenge of the sultan whom he had cast off was terrible; the Egyptian wazīr al-Yūzūr, who felt personally insulted, sent against the rebel vassal marauding bands of nomad Hilālī Arabs who were quartered in the Ṣa'īd, to the east of the Nile. The year 1051, when the first Hilālī, the B. Riyāh, arrived in Ifrīkiya, marks a turning point in the history of Tunisia. Al-Mu'izz was twice defeated at Kairawān which he vainly hurried to fortify; in 1057, overwhelmed by the nomads who ravaged all the lowlying country, he secretly moved to Mahdiyya under the escort of Arab emirs whom he had been forced to take as sons-in-law. The invaders, hundreds of thousands in number, profoundly altered the appearance of North Africa, economically, ethnographically and politically: the Berbers were driven back, the country arabicised, nomadic life and insecurity introduced, agriculture ruined and central power broken up. The chief towns fell into the hands of the Arabs or rather became autonomous little states under local chiefs or governors who proclaimed themselves independent; some even paid homage to the Hammādids of the Kāf'a, whose protection they desired. In this way were established in Tunis the B. Khurāsān, in Bizerta the B. al-Ward, at Gabes the B. Djamī, at Gafsa the B. al-Rand; in the centre there was anarchy.

In the midst of countless difficulties, the Zirids held out at Mahdiyya, from which they now held only the coast between Sūs and Gabes. Tamīm (1063–1108), son and successor of al-Mu'izz, vainly tried to regain some lost ground; he made peace with the B. Hammād but did not

succeed against Tunis and, shut up in Mahdiyya, had to withstand the attacks of the Arabs and also of a new enemy in the Christians. In 1087 Mahdiyya was taken at the instigation of the Pope by the Pisans and Genoese under Pantaleon of Amalfi; Tamīm had to pay an indemnity and admit the merchandise of the victors without duties. Yahyā b. Tamīm, who died, probably murdered, in 1116, then his son 'Alī, who died in 1121, had recognised the suzerainty of the caliphs of Cairo, obtained the support of the Arab tribes, and won some successes by land and sea, when an unexpected adversary overwhelmed them. The Normans, who had already conquered Sicily and Malta, now intervened in the affairs of Ifrīkiya; in 1118, a rupture occurred with the Zirid, who appealed to the Almoravids of the distant west. Al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, at first forced to make terms and accept the protection of Roger of Sicily against the threat from the Hammādids of Bougie, could not prevent the Sicilian admiral George of Antioch from driving him out of Mahdiyya in 1148. Roger II, then William I, lords of Djerba and the coast towns from Sūs to Tripoli, organised a kind of tolerant protectorate there, the objects of which were mainly commercial. But this was of short duration; the inhabitants, rising against the Christians, very soon regained their freedom; Sūs and Mahdiyya alone had to wait till 1159–1160 before being delivered from the infidels by the Almohad 'Abd al-Mu'min who coming from the extreme Maghrib defeated at Setif in 1151 the Arabs of Ifrīkiya, united under the Rīyahid emir Muḥris b. Ziyād, crushed all opposition, seized the fortresses, massacred Jews and Christians and restored for more than fifty years the political unity of North Africa.

In spite of the prestige of its new masters, the caliphs of Marrakesh, Ifrīkiya did not yet know peace. Almohad authority was not felt directly but through the intermediary of a governor settled in Tunis; this representative of the ruling power, usually a near relative of the sovereign, very soon proved incapable of restoring order to the province, where to the continual threat from the Arabs there was added from 1185 onwards the trouble caused by the Turkoman bands of the Armenian adventurer Karākush and by the final attempt of the B. Ghāniya Almoravids, 'Alī (d. in 1188) and his brother Yahyā. The coming of the caliphs in person, Yūsuf in 1180 and Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr in 1187, at the head of their armies, was not enough to improve the situation. Yahyā was favoured by fortune: in 1200 he had disposed of his former ally Karākush, suppressed his rival Ibn 'Abd al-Karīm al-Bagrāgī, the "caliph" of Mahdiyya, and from his base of operations in the Djerid extended his rule over the whole of the modern Tunisia. It required the expedition of the caliph al-Nāṣir in 1205–1207 to put an end to the Almoravids by reducing Yahyā to a precarious position and to install a powerful provincial government, entrusted at first to the "Shaikh" 'Abd al-Wahid b. Abi Ḥafṣ (1207–1221), the hero of Alarcos. Thus the Hafsids got their first grip on power.

This family of the Hafsids (q. v.), of which another member had been since 1184 governor in Tunis, was descended from a chief of the Hintāta Berbers (a Maṣmūda tribe of the Moroccan Atlas) who had played a very prominent part in the im-

mediate entourage of the Mahdi Ibn Tumart. They established themselves definitely in Ifrīkiya in 1226 with the appointment as governor of Abū Maḥammad 'Abd Allāh who was supplanted two years later by his brother Abū Zakariyā' (1228-1249). The latter, while gradually becoming independent, contented himself however with the title of emir and was the true founder of the great Tunisian dynasty which with various vicissitudes of fortune occupied the throne for three and a half centuries. In spite of their repudiation of Mu'minid suzerainty and the return to Malikiism, the Hafsids always proclaimed an unswerving fidelity to the Almohad tradition of which they liked to consider themselves the authentic representatives. The organisation of their government with a few slight changes reminds one of the early Almohad constitution. Even when the second independent emir, the son of Abū Zakariyā', known as al-Mustansir, had been proclaimed caliph by Mecca about 1250, the sovereign remained surrounded by an important body of Almohads, the corner stone of the political edifice and of the army, and the coins retained their Almohad character in type and weight. The government departments were collected into three great branches: the army, the treasury (*al-azīghā*) and the chancellery. The governors of provinces were for long chosen preferably, indeed almost exclusively, from among the nearest relatives of the monarch. But it would be wrong to deny the part played in the higher administration, as in the intellectual life of the country, by the numerous Muslim refugees from Spain, "Andalus" expelled at the "reconquest" of the thirteenth century.

The Hafsids in their desire to pacify Ifrīkiya came continuously up against the Arab problem. The nomad B. Sulaim having driven back the B. Riyāh were masters of the interior; their factions, hostile to one another, subjected the country districts to regular contributions. Among them, the Kū'ub, who were a Makhzan tribe, frequently interfered in the dynastic disputes, threatening Tunis, supporting pretenders of their own choice, and driving the people of the towns to desperation. In 1284 they obtained from a sovereign who owed his throne to them, a charter of *ḥifā* granting them the revenues of several cities; the rivalry of their two branches, Aḥlād Aḥl 'Lail and Aḥlād Muḥalhal, was to have immediate repercussions on the central power in the course of the fourteenth century.

Down to the death of al-Mustansir in 1277, the dynasty had its brilliant periods. In spite of sporadic rebellions, its rule extended from Tripoli right into Algeria and was solidly established in the principal towns, Tunis, Constantine and Bougie. Its prestige extended beyond the limits of North Africa, attracting the attention of Spain and Christian Europe. This is the period when commercial relations were established on a regular basis with Barcelona, Marseilles, Genoa, Pisa, Sicily and Venice: treaties of commerce and navigation, Christian consulates at Tunis, the importance of the customs duties, which justified the tribute paid by Tunis to Sicily and later to Aragon. A body of Christian mercenaries was gathered round the Hafsid, who was however seriously threatened by the attack on Carthage by St. Louis's Crusaders in 1270.

To sum up, Ifrīkiya enjoyed a more stable and more prosperous régime than in the preceding two centuries: the renaissance of legal studies and of architecture [cf. *tunis*] is evidence of this. Unfor-

tunately the successive revolutions provoked by the claims to the throne of princes of the blood true or alleged — as in the case of Ibn Abī 'Umara in 1283 — rapidly weakened the authority of the Caliph and diminished, to the advantage of the Arabs, the by no means too secure cohesion of the subject peoples. The direct line of al-Mustansir, after the forced abdication of his son al-Wāḥid (in 1279), only produced one further ruler, Abū 'Asīda (1295-1309), and died with him. It was the descendants of another son of Abū Zakariyā', Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm (1279-1283), who — after the reign of a third son, Abū Hafs (1284-1295), then that of a cousin, Abū Yahyā b. al-Lihyānī (1311-1317) — finally held the power, beginning with Abū Yahyā Abū Bakr (1318-1346).

Hafsid unity, destroyed for a period by the secession of Bougie, which made itself an independent state, was reconstituted, Djerba, in the hands of the Christians since its conquest by Roger of Loria in 1284, was taken from them in 1337; the 'Abd al-Wāḥid threat was averted by the alliance with the now powerful Marmuda. But this alliance itself concealed a danger, since, profiting by the internal disorders, the ambitious Marinid sultan Abū 'I-Hasan, already lord of Tlemcen, did not hesitate in 1347 to invade Ifrīkiya and to install himself in Tunis with his jurists and his court. It required a victorious rising of the Arabs to bring about a Hafsid restoration in 1350, and about seven years later the troops of the Marinid Abū 'Inān were able to occupy Tunis again, although only for a brief period.

It was at this period, in the reign of Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm (1350-1369), that the personality of the intriguing chamberlain Ibn Tufayr (d. 1364) began to make itself felt; his efforts, however, did not succeed entirely in consolidating again all the lands of the empire. The south in particular gradually slipped away from the caliph; local dynasties established themselves there: the B. Yamīnī at Tozeur, B. al-Khalaf at Nefta, B. Makki at Gabes and the B. Thābit at Tripoli. But Abū 'I-Hāsā (1370-1394) who had begun his career at Constantine, restored the glory of the dynasty; by his continued expeditions he reduced the rebels to obedience, in his reign, a Franco-Genoese crusade, a reprisal against the excesses of the pirates, failed before Mahdiyya (in 1390).

His son Abū Fāris (1394-1434) encouraged the development of the navy, and even despatched a fleet against Malta in 1428; but he had on the other hand to defend himself from the Catalans and Sicilians of Alfonso the Magnanimous who had taken the Kerkennas islands in 1424 and in 1432 made a great attack on Djerba. He built the forts of Ras Adar, Raḥraf and Hammamet against them. In 1424 he took Tlemcen and established his suzerainty there.

The Hafsid fifteenth century, marked by the increasing importance of the freedmen employed under the name of "ḥā'id" as governors and generals, is dominated by the figure of Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān, the last great sovereign, who reigned from 1435 to 1488. Abroad, in spite of the activity of the Tunisian corsairs, there were friendly relations with Europe. Catalans and Genoese were given concessions of the coral fishing at Taharka and of the tunny fishing at Cape Bon. At home, maraboutism, coming from the west, extended its hold and agriculture developed as the result of a period of comparative quiet, in spite of the eternal source of disorders, the nomad Arabs.

On the death of 'Uthmān, things became rapidly worse; three caliphs succeeded one another in the space of a few years; then in the reign of Abū 'Abdallāh (1494—1526) the empire, torn within by the rebelliousness of the tribes, began to collapse before the blows of the Spaniards who pursued the Turkish corsairs in these regions. In 1510 Pedro Navarro deprived it of Bougie and Tripoli, in 1520 Hughes de Moncade temporarily occupied Djerba. Finally in August 1534, the unfortunate al-Hasan, son and successor of Abū 'Abdallāh, found himself driven from Tunis by the celebrated Khair al-Dīn Barbarossa.

He did not return till July 1535, when the town was taken by Charles V, whose vassal he became; and he surrendered to the Spaniards the fortress of La Goulette in perpetuity. The conditions of the protectorate became still harsher in 1540 when Andrea Doria had taken Sfax, Sūsa and Monastir. In 1542, after great Spanish reverses and the defection of his own troops in the struggle against the Kairawān rebel Sūdī 'Arāfa and against the redoubtable marabout confederation of the Shābbīya, which held the whole of Central Tunisia, al-Hasan went to Europe to seek support but in his absence he was dethroned by his son Ahmad (Hamida).

The "cruel and brave" Hamida endeavoured in vain to reconquer the kingdom of his fathers. A new champion, the Turkish corsair Darghūth, who had only been delivered out of the hands of the Genoese in return for the surrender of the island of Tabarka, was driven from Mahdiyya by the Spaniards in 1550; but in the following April he was able to escape cleverly from Andrea Doria in the passes of Djerba, then from his base at Tripoli he occupied Gafsa at the end of 1556 and Kairawān at the beginning of 1558, where he left troops under the command of Haidar Pāshā. In 1560 he inflicted a disastrous defeat on the expedition led against Djerba by the viceroy of Sicily, the Duke of Medina-Celi; but he fell at the siege of Malta in 1565.

The continual fighting between Hamida and the Spanish governor of La Goulette, in spite of several treaties made between them, facilitated the occupation of Tunis at the end of 1569 by the lord of Algiers, 'Alī Pāshā ('Euldī-'Alī), who put a garrison in it. In the autumn of 1573, when Don John of Austria, the victor of Lepanto, had recaptured Tunis from the Turks, he restored Hafsid power for the last time in the person of Muhammad b. al-Hasan, to whom Serbelloni was appointed as adviser. In Aug.—Sept. 1574, Ottoman troops brought from Constantinople on Sinān Pāshā's fleet seized La Goulette and Tunis, putting an end to the Spanish occupation, which had always been limited and precarious, and also to the old Hafsid dynasty, the "national" one so to speak, which after periods of glory had gradually sunk into helpless impotence; its last outburst of vitality was the return of Hamida (in 1581), who held the Tunisian steppes and the Djerid for several years.

Before returning to Constantinople, Sinān made Tunisia a Turkish province under the rule of a Pāshā, at first under Algiers, from 1587 directly under the Porte. An *Aspāh* was in command of the army of occupation of 4,000 men, each hundred of whom was under a *dāy* (*dā'i*). But in 1591 the tyranny of the *dāimān*, the governing body consisting of the higher officers, provoked a bloody

revolution, at the end of which one of the 40 *dāys* was given supreme power. Under the rule of the *dāys* elected by the Janissaries, the Pāshā, the representative of the Sultān, had now only an honorary position. The *Dīwān* on the other hand was remodelled and enjoyed great influence, as did the corporation of the corsairs (*ḥā'ifa* of the *raïs*). From the religious point of view, Hanafism enjoyed official precedence.

The regency owed its final organisation to the third *dāy*, 'Uthmān (1594—1610), who evolved under the name of *miṣnā* a code of laws and maintained order in the country with the support of a *bāy* whose task it was to collect the taxes in two annual circuits with armed forces (*maḥalla*). Through the intermediary of the *kapūdān rā'is* the state controlled piracy on the high seas and shared largely in its profits, which became considerable after a number of renegades — notably Ward, an Englishman — had developed its technique. Moriscos expelled from Spain (in 1609) and settled in Tunis and Cape Bon (Soliman, Grombala) and in other localities (e.g. Tebourba, Medjex el-Bāh, Testour, Guellat el-Andleus) gave a great stimulus to market-gardening and to industry (hosiery and dyeing). Subordination to Turkey had relaxed to such an extent that France, who thanks to the Ottoman capitulations, enjoyed a privileged position throughout the Turkish empire and had established a consulate at Tunis in 1577, had in 1606 to send an ambassador S. de Brèves, to deal directly with the "Powers" of Tunis.

Under the son-in-law and successor of 'Uthmān, Ynsaf (1610—1637), the Regency regained Djerba from the Pāshā of Tripoli and, what was something quite new, delimited its frontiers with Algeria as a result of Algerian attacks in 1614 and 1628. The next *Dāy*, Usta Murād (1637—1640), a Genoese renegade and old corsair, fortified Porto Farina which he peopled with Spanish Moors. But already the authority of the *Dāys* was declining and there is no interest in detailing the 24 *Dāys* (Khodja, Lāls and others) who ruled from 1640 to 1702, generally as puppets in the hands of the *Bāys*, who had succeeded in supplanting them.

The *Bāy* Murād (1612—1631), originally a Corsican called Pāshā, had in his lifetime handed over his office to his son Muhammad (Hamida), thus creating a precedent which secured his family hereditary power. Hamida (1631—1663) made Pāshā in his turn in 1659, relying on a corps of *spahis* (q.v. *ḥā'ifa*) which he distributed between Tunis, Kairawān, Le Kef and Beja, became the real master of the country. He was the founder of the line of the Murādidis — his sons Murād and Muhammad al-Hafāf, his grandsons Muhammad, 'Alī and Ramadān — whose power was constantly threatened by civil troubles (e.g. the rising of Muhammad b. Shukr) which culminated in the assassination of his great-grandson Murād Bū Bala in 1702.

The first half of the xviiith century is marked by a resumption of trade with Europe, particularly with Marseilles and Livorno, for which Christian and Jewish merchants from Spain and Italy were largely responsible. The Marseilles companies established at Cape Negro or Bizerta competed with the Genoese of Tabarka for the trade in coral and gained profits from the exportation of leather and cereals. The foreign relations of the Regency were extended, including for example

Great Britain and the Low Countries; in the second half of the century, as a reprisal for piracy, in addition to the traditional expeditions of the Knights of Malta, European squadrons several times bombarded the coast and demanded reparation.

The position at home, at first fairly flourishing, as is seen from the public works and religious buildings erected throughout the country (medersas, mosques at Tunis, Beja, Kairawān, including those of Sidi Sāhib) gradually became worse under the later Murāḍids, until in 1685–1686 and 1694 Algerian invasions were possible. The tribes, among whom were the dreaded Awlād Sa'īd, became insubordinate; for a long time Le Kef was in the hands of the B. Shannuf and Kalat es-Senam in those of the Hanāgha. The Dī. Ouselat was a hotbed of sedition. Frequent epidemics of plague decimated the people.

After the bloody reign of Ibrāhīm al-Sharrif (1702–1705) who combined for the first time the titles of Bāy, Dāy, Pāshā and Aghā of the soldiers, Husain b. 'Alī Turki was proclaimed Bāy on July 10, 1705 in the middle of a new Algerian invasion; the Husainid dynasty which still rules was founded. Husain restored peace and did a great deal of building (e.g. at Kairawān); but having tried to establish a regular order of succession for the benefit of his direct descendants, he was dethroned by his nephew, 'Alī Pāshā (1735–1756), supported by the Algerians; thus arose new troubles, aggravated by the revolt of Yūnus, son of 'Alī, in 1752. Finally after further intervention by Algeria, Husain's son Muḥammad ascended the throne (1756–59), and the reigns of 'Alī Bāy (1759–1782), Muḥammad's brother, and of his son Hammūda (1782–1814) did much to heal the wounds of the state and to restore real prosperity to Tunisia.

Like agriculture, foreign trade made progress. Although the Bāy had in 1741 destroyed the factories at Cape Negro and Tabarka, his relations with Christian powers became more numerous: many treaties were made, now signed in the name of the Regency by the Bāy alone, who was a regular monarch. France, although on several occasions at war with Tunis, finally appointed a Consul-General there. A war with Venice lasted 8 years (1784–1792). 'Alī Bāy, who had subdued and scattered the rebels of the Dī. Ouselat in 1762, could not dispose of the Algerians, who still gave a great deal of trouble to Hammūda. The latter, aided by the *Ṣāḥib al-Taba'* Yūsof, massacred the mutinous Janissaries in 1811 and reorganised the government.

The sixteenth century was to bring marked changes into the political situation of the Regency. First of all there was the suppression of the corsairs and piracy — one of the principal sources of the revenues of the state — forced upon Mahmūd (1814–1824) by the European powers, as a result of the congresses of Vienna and Aix-La-Chapelle; there were further the incalculable consequences of the taking of Algiers by France in 1830, in the time of the Bāy Husain (1824–35). For half a century Tunisia made vain efforts to adapt herself to the new conditions by a domestic reorganisation and to steer between a slack and intermittent Ottoman suzerainty and the interference of the Christian nations in her affairs through their consuls.

The suzerainty of the Porte, encouraged by Great Britain, disputed by France, was only

manifested in a few firmans of investiture and in the sending of Tunisian troops to the Crimea (in 1855) against Russia (a Tunisian squadron had also cooperated with the Turkish fleet at Navarino in 1827). French, English and Italian influence on the other hand continued to increase steadily. It is true that the French plans for establishing Tunisian princes in Algeria did not succeed. On the other hand, Tunisia no longer levied the tribute which Christian states had formerly paid in return for the right of trading with her. The Bāy Ahmad (1837–1855), a kind of "enlightened despot", abolished slavery, granted liberties to the Jews, organised the "Tunisian army" on the European model with French instructors, and visited Louis Philippe in Paris in 1846. But his vast expenditure, further increased by the building of the arsenal of Porto Farina and the palaces of Muḥammadia, emptied the coffers of the state, already very poorly supplied; new taxes had to be raised: *maḥḥūlāt*, *kānūn* on the olive-trees, monopolies.

His cousin Muḥammad (1855–1859) introduced the *maḥḥūlāt*, a poll-tax of 36 piastres, from which the towns of Tunis, Sūsa, Monastir, Sfax and Kairawān were exempted; but the most important event of his reign was that under pressure from the consuls in the "fundamental agreement" (*ahd al-amān*; Sept. 9, 1857) which reproduced the *ahd al-sharīf* [q.v.] of Galkhane of 1839, he proclaimed the equality of all the inhabitants of Tunisia before the law and taxes, liberty of conscience, liberty to trade and to work, and the right of foreigners to acquire landed property. His brother Muḥammad al-Sādīk (1859–1882) on April 26, 1861 promulgated a constitution, which he had approved by Napoleon III; executive power remained in the hands of the hereditary but responsible Bāy (the throne passing to the eldest of the princes of the Husainid family), assisted by ministers chosen by him; legislative power was divided between the Bāy and Grand Council of 60 nominated members. The judicial power was independent; the tribunals followed a civil and penal Tunisian code; provincial administration was in the hands of the "kā'id", assisted by elected "shāikhs"; the Bāy had only a civil list and the farming out of taxes etc. was abolished.

In spite of these reforms, the situation became rapidly worse; the disastrous financial policy of Muḥammad Khaznadār (appointed minister in the reign of Ahmad Bāy) which had recourse to loans and to the raising of the *maḥḥūlāt* taxes, provoked a rebellion of the tribes under 'Alī b. Ghadthum in 1864 and the institution of an International Financial Commission (Tunisians, French, Italians, Maltese) in July 1869. In 1864 the constitution had been suspended. In Oct. 1873, the general Khair al-Dīn succeeded to Khaznadār, who was dismissed; during his ministry, which lasted till July 1877 and was marked by intelligent reforms, there was a slight improvement. But the regular resources of the country were so small and the debts so great that the Financial Commission came to nothing; the bad administration of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl (Sept. 1878) proved the last straw, while a bitter struggle for influence was going on between the French and Italian consuls, Roustan and Maccio, regarding the concession of public services.

France, encouraged since the Congress of Berlin in 1878 by Great Britain and Germany, then inter-

ferred. As a result of raids by Khumirs into Algeria and various other incidents, the minister Jules-Ferry sent 30,000 men to invade Tunisia in April 1881. On May 12, in spite of Turkish protests, General Bréart, without having struck a blow, forced Sidi to sign the treaty of Kasar-Said (known as that of Bardo), which practically handed over to France the control of the military, foreign and financial affairs of the Regency. A French "resident Minister", in the first place Roustan, was appointed, through whom all dealings of the Bâi with the French government had to be conducted. Thus, although the word was not used, were laid the foundations of the "Protectorate", which became effective and final when, after the rising in the centre and south (under 'Ali b. Khalifa) and its rapid suppression by a second French expedition, the Bâi agreed by the convention of La Marsa of June 8, 1883, to "proceed with such administrative, judicial and financial reforms as the French government" should consider useful.

The establishment of the Protectorate marks the beginning of a new era in the history of Tunisia. Never since the Muslim conquest had any political event had such a profound effect on the organisation of the country and the life of its inhabitants. The original feature of the rule, which in spite of criticism has now lasted for half a century, lay essentially in the outward maintenance of the old machinery of government, upon which a new framework and new institutions were merely superimposed.

H. H. the Bâi remains in theory the sovereign of the Regency, the "lord" (*qāḍī*) of the kingdom of Tunis; but the Resident Minister, since June 23, 1885 called the Resident-General, under the French Foreign Minister, and the plenipotentiary of the Republic in the Regency, is in practice the real ruler. Being both Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Bâi (who can correspond with Paris only through him) and President of his Council, he countersigns the beylical decrees, the promulgation of which was made compulsory by a decree of Jan. 1885; he has also under his orders the commanders of all the forces on land and sea and all the administrative services. The military guard left to the Bâi is exceedingly small (600 men); his subjects, forced to serve in the Tunisian army (beylical decree of Jan. 12, 1893 on recruiting), form in a way a part of the French army; over 10,000 fell for France in the war of 1914-1918.

On the council of ministers, alongside of two, later three, native ministers, sit the "Directeurs" or French heads of departments, the number of whom has grown rapidly, as well as the general commanding the division of occupation and the naval commander of Bizerta who act as ministers of war and of the admiralty. Each of these high officials issues by-laws. The "Caidats" into which the tribes are divided have become territorial divisions; above the "caid" there is placed a French "contrôleur civil".

Tunisian legislation, which applies to Tunisia alone, is often quite original. Only questions relating to the Resident-General, to the contrôleurs civils and to French justice have been settled by decree of the President of the Republic. The actual position in politics and administration and a juristic system which has gradually taken root seem to justify the recent view, which sees in

Tunisia the existence of a "double sovereignty", that of the Bâi, traditional, and that of France, more recent and progressive.

The first great task of the protecting nation has been to eliminate as much as possible foreign interference in its two forms, financial and judicial. France having guaranteed the Tunisian debt, Great Britain and Italy agreed to the suppression of the Financial Commission, which was carried out in Oct. 1884.

Tunisia, given a regular system of financial administration and a normal budget, regained its economic stability. The Bâi was given a civil list, for the upkeep of his family and his court. The French government still puts down officially in the budget certain expenses like an important subvention to the archbishopric of Carthage. Through the decree of July 1, 1891 the monetary unit is no longer the piastre but the franc.

The French law of April 10, 1883 having created French tribunals in the Regency, and the beylical decree of May 5 1883 having agreed that all those who formerly had the benefit of capitulations were amenable to the new courts, the foreign powers, one after the other, renounced (1883-1884) their consular jurisdictions, just as in 1896-1897 they had to abandon the customs privileges which they also held under the capitulations. Italy alone made reservations; and if at the expiration of her treaty of 1868 with Tunisia and immediately after her defeat at Adowa in Ethiopia, she had to recognise the fact of the Protectorate — which Turkey declined to recognise officially until the treaty of Sévres in 1920 — she has nevertheless retained an advantageous position in the Regency which she does not cease to covet. Her subjects are entering it in larger numbers than the French; she is developing her influence through the press (the daily *Union*), banking and especially cultural institutions (schools, societies) which by virtue of her agreements are not under French control; she complains however of certain steps which put her subjects at a disadvantage. In 1919, France recognised her ownership of the oases of Ghat and of Ghadames (the frontier with Tripolitania had been delimited in 1910) by an agreement, which is far from having put an end to the disturbing "Italian question" in Tunisia.

The Protectorate has enabled France to carry out in the Regency a remarkable work in the way of utilising natural resources, and in supplying intellectual and social needs (hospitals, dispensaries, medical men, benevolent societies, various scientific and learned institutions). Modern implements and more rational knowledge and methods have produced encouraging economic results. Primarily a land of agriculture — cereals, the vine, olive, vegetables, dates, to which may be added cork and alfalfa — and cattle-rearing, Tunisia is becoming more and more an exporter of iron, lead and zinc but especially of phosphates (since the discoveries of Ph. Thomas in 1885). It imports fuel, tropical products and a quantity of manufactured objects.

Its foreign trade is about 3 milliards of francs. For a number of years, it is true, its balance of trade has shown a deficit; the revenue from tourists is not sufficient to balance this.

To facilitate European colonization and to modernise the administration of lands, Tunisia by decree of July 1, 1885 was given an important *loi foncière* based on the Acte Torrens: optional registration

of lands, on a favourable decision by a "Tribunal mixte" instituted for this purpose (at Tunis 7 French and 3 Muslim magistrates, at Sîma 4 French and 2 Muslim); a decree of March 1924 also foreshadowed the establishment of a survey. In the early period of the occupation, colonisation by French agriculturalists was left almost entirely to individual initiative. An official policy of settling French citizens on the land has only been actively pursued since about 1900. The Domain purchases lands to sell them later on a system of very easy payments to Frenchmen, e.g. former students of the *École Coloniale d'Agriculture* in Tunis. The Italians compete with the French, less by the size of their farms, than by the number of their farmers.

In default of a great immigration of French citizens, France has begun in Tunisia a policy of naturalisation by the decrees (the one presidential and the other beylical) of Nov. 8, 1921; but as a result of litigation begun in this connection by Great Britain before the Court of the Hague, they have been replaced by the French law of Dec. 20, 1923; naturalisation, considerably facilitated to foreigners and strangers who request it, becomes automatic (with however the power to decline it) in the second generation, obligatory in the third, for foreigners settled in the Regency. Great Britain has accepted in the main these regulations which concern chiefly her Maltese subjects. The Italians however by their agreements escape any forced naturalisation; but some of them become naturalised voluntarily. The "néo-français", among whom the Muslims do not number 2,000, while they include about 5,000 Jews, form over a quarter of the present French population.

The Jews, of whom several thousands of European origin have retained Italian nationality, remain for the most part subjects of the Bâi under native authority and jurisdiction, except in personal matters in which they are dealt with by a "Tribunal Rabbîque" of Tunis (reorganised by decrees of Nov. 1898 and Nov. 1929) and by "notaires Israélites" (decrees of Febr. 1918 and Apr. 1927). The Tunisian Jews do not perform military service and in general cannot become government officials. Their rapid development in European civilisation raises the problem of their obtaining in large numbers or en bloc French citizenship. The decree of Aug. 30, 1921 established, for all the Jews in the contrôle civile of Tunis, without distinction of nationality, a "Conseil de la Communauté" of 12 members elected for four years by suffrage of the second degree, with authority to deal with matters of relief and worship. The government appoints the administrators of the other Jewish communities; it also appoints the Chief Rabbi of Tunisia. The practice of religion is declining, but Zionism on the other hand enjoys undeniable favour.

The government of the Protectorate has always tried to improve, without offending religious beliefs, the native administration and the economic and religious conditions of the Muslims (cf. above). If there are many problems to be solved, some of which are being studied, the work done so far is however quite appreciable. In spite of its resistance to the adoption of western ways of living, the Muslim world of Tunisia is undergoing a radical transformation, of which it would be rash to predict the results. The *Dawîr* movement (Tunisian constitutional party, desiring autonomy), which made progress in the years following the

war, was skillfully checked by the Resident-General Lucien Saint. It looks at present as if the native population are satisfied with the nature of the reforms towards which, during the last ten years (1920-1930), the domestic policy of the Protectorate has been directed.

The liberal measures already taken, notably in 1922 and 1928 the creation of and reorganisation of the Grand Conseil, follow two fundamental principles: an appeal to the more and more direct collaboration of the natives, and an extension of the powers of the elected assemblies. New rights are being given in the French colony: elected municipal councils, a greater liberty of the press and of combination.

At the time of writing, Tunisia is preparing to celebrate in tranquillity the jubilee of the Protectorate.

List of Bâys since the French Occupation:

- Muh. al-Sâdik 'Alî (1882-1902)
- Muh. al-Hâdi (1902-1906)
- Muh. al-Nâsir (1906-1922)
- Muh. al-Habîb (1922-1929)
- Ahmad (1929-)

List of Resident-Generals:

- Roestan
- Paul Cambon (appointed in March 1882)
- Massicault (Nov. 1886)
- Rouvier (Nov. 1892)
- Millet (Nov. 1894)
- Stéphen Pichon (March 1901)
- Alapetite (Dec. 1906)
- Flandin (Oct. 1918)
- Lucien Saint (Jan. 1921)
- Manceron (Jan. 1929)

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1. For the middle ages:

- a. The Arab geographers and travellers, among whom are Yâqūt, Abu 'l-Fida', Ibn Battûta, but more particularly: al-Yâ'qûbî, *Descriptio al-maghribi*, ed. and transl. de Goeje, Leyden 1860; Ibn Hawkal, *S. G. A.*, ii., transl. *J. A.*, 1842; al-Bakrî, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, transl. Algiers 1911-1913; al-Idrîsî, *Nuṣṣat al-Maghrib*, ed. and transl. Leyden 1866; *Kitâb al-Iṭṭihâr*, Vienna 1852, transl. Rec. Constantine 1899; al-'Abdârî, *Rihla*, transl. *J. A.*, 1854; al-Tijânî, *Rihla*, ed. in the press Tunis, transl. *J. A.*, 1852-1853; Ibn Faḥl Allâh al-'Umârî, *Muṣṣab al-Aḥbâr*, ed. fragm. 'Abd al-Wahhâb, Tunis n.d., transl. Gaudfroy-Demombynes, Paris 1927;

- b. the Muslim historians: Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Kitâb Futuh Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, New Haven 1922, transl. do., in *Bibl. and Semitic Studies*, New-York 1901; Ibn Hammâd, *Histoire des rois Ouladides*, ed. and transl. Vonderheyden, Algiers 1927; Ibn al-Athîr, *Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*, transl. Fagnan, Algiers 1901; Ibn 'Idhârî, *al-Bayân al-maghrib*, 2 vol., ed. Dozy, Leyden 1848-1851, vol. 3, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1930, transl. Fagnan, 2 vol., Algiers 1901-1904; al-Nuwairî, *Historia de los musulmanes de España y Africa*, ed. and transl.

Gaspar Remiro, Granada 1917-1919; Abū Zakariyā, *Chroniques*, transl. Algiers 1878; Ibn al-Khatīb, *Raḥm al-Hudā*, Tunis 1316; do., *Amāl al-ʿAlam*, ed. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (in *Cent. Amari*), Palermo 1910; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar* 2, Būlak 1289; do., *al-Muḥaddith*, frequently ed. pr. Bairūt and Cairo, transl. de Slane, Paris 1862-1868; do., *Histoire des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, Algiers 1852-1856 2, Paris (in course of publication); Ibn Kāfūdh, *al-Furūsiya*, ed. and transl. Iragmā, J. A., 1848-1852; lith. Paris 1263, ed. in the press Tunis; Abū l-Maḥsin, *Extraits relatifs au Maghreb*, transl. Fagnan, Rec. Constantine 1906; al-Zarkashī, *Taʾrīkh al-Dawlatayn*, Tunis 1289, transl. Fagnan, Constantine 1895; *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, transl. Fagnan, Algiers 1924;

c. Biographical collections: Abū l-ʿArab, *Tabaḥāt ʿUlamāʾ Ifriqiya*, ed. and transl. Ben Cheneb, Paris-Algiers 1915-1920; Ibn Naḍī, *Muʾallim al-Imān*, Tunis 1320; and also: Ibn al-Abbār, Ibn Khallikān, Ibn Farḥūn, Ahmad Bāliḥ;

d. Numerous passages in European chronicles like the historians of the Crusade of St. Louis (cf. Sternfeld, *Ludwigs des Heiligen Kreuzzug nach Tunis*, Berlin 1896) and Munatier, Villani (cf. Schiaparelli, *Dichiarazione... Glov. Villani relativi alla storia dei Beni Hafs in Tunisia*, Rome 1892), Cabaret d'Orreville, Froissart;

e. The documents edited by: Amari, *I diplomi arabi del v. archivio fiorentino*, Florence 1863-1867; Mas-Latrie, *Traité de paix et de commerce... de l'Afrique septentrionale au moyen-âge*, Paris 1866-1872; Marengo, *Genova e Tunisia (1288-1215)*, Rome 1901; Giménez Soler, *Epistolas... relaciones entre la corona de Aragón y Túnez*, Inst. Est. Catalana Amari 1908, Barcelona; do., *Documentos de Túnez*, ib., 1909-1910; Cerone, *Alcuni documenti sulla seconda spedizione di Alfonso V contro l'isola Gerba*, ib.; Ribera, *Tratado de paz... entre Fernando I... de Nápoles y Abuamer Otman rey de Túnez*, in *Cent. Amari*, Palermo 1910;

Special monographs: a. on the Muslim conquest: Fournel, *Les Berbères*, Paris 1875-1881; Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine*, Paris 1896; Caudel, *Les premières invasions arabes dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1900;

b. on the middle ages: E. F. Gautier, *Les siècles obscurs du Maghreb*, Paris 1927; Vonderheyden, *La Berbérie orientale sous la dynastie des Beniou 'l-Aghlab*, Paris 1927; ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Bizāʾ al-ʿAḥl fī ḥaḍarat al-Kairawān*, Tunis 1330; Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile (passim)*, Paris 1907; G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie du XI^{ème} au XIV^{ème} siècle*, Constantine-Paris 1913; van Berchem, *Titres califaux d'Occident*, J. A., 1907; Schaub, *Handelsgeschichte der roman. Völker des Mittelmeergebiets bis zum Ende der Kreuzzüge (passim)*, Munich 1906; Giménez Soler, *El comercio en tierra de infieles durante la edad media*, Bol. R. Acad. Buenas Letras, Barcelona 1909-1910; La Mantia, *La Sicilia ed il suo dominio nullo Africa settentrionale, dal sec. XI al XV*, Arch. Stor. Sicil., 1922; Sayous, *La commerce des Européens à Tunis depuis le XI^{ème} siècle jusqu'à la fin du XV^{ème}*, Paris 1929; Boissoumieu, *Les relations commerciales de la France méridionale*

avec l'Afrique du Nord du XI^{ème} au XV^{ème} siècle, Bull. géogr. du Comité des tr. hist., 1929; Alemany, *Milicias cristianas... del Almagreb*, in *Homenajes a Cordera*, Saragossa 1904; Delaville De Roulx, *La France en Orient au XIV^{ème} siècle*, Paris 1886 (p. 166-200); Cerone, *Alfonso il Magnanimo ed Abu Omar Otman*, Arch. Stor. Sicil. orient., 1912-1913.

2. The later Hafsiids and the Spanish occupation:

a. Travellers and geographers: van Ghisele, *Travels... in lande... Barbarien* (1485), Goud 1557; Leo Africanus, *Della descrizione dell' Africa*, ed. Ramusio, Venice 1550, transl. Temporal, Paris 1830, 2nd ed. Schefer, Paris 1896; Marmol, *Description general de l'Africa*, Granada 1573, transl. Perrot d'Ablancourt, Paris 1667;

b. Documents publ. by: Bégouen, *Notes et documents... histoire de la Tunisie*, Paris-Toulouse 1901; Foucard, *Relazioni dei duchi di Ferrara e di Modena coi re di Tunisi*, Modena 1881; Odorici e Amari, *Lettere di Muley Hassan a Ferrante Gonzaga*, Modena 1865; La Primaudaye, *Documents inédits sur l'histoire de l'occupation espagnole en Afrique*, R. A., 1875-1877; Grandchamp, *Documents relatifs à la fin de l'occupation espagnole en Tunisie*, R. T., 1914; Monchicourt, *La Tunisie et l'Europe. Quelques documents relatifs aux XVI^{ème}, XVII^{ème} et XVIII^{ème} siècles*, R. T., 1905; and also, *passim* the rich *Col. de doc. ined. para la hist. de España*, Madrid;

c. Studies by: Motylinski, *Expédition... contre Djerba (1510)*, in *Actes XIV^{ème} Congrès Orient.*, Algiers 1905; Mnoñl, *Tunisi e la spedizione di Carlo V*, Milan 1876; Cat. *De Caroli V in Africa rebus gestis*, Paris 1891; Medina, *L'expédition de Charles-Quint à Tunis*, R. T., 1906; Monchicourt, *Essai sur les plans imprimés de Tripoli, Djerba, Tunis-Goullette au XV^{ème} siècle*, R. A., 1925; do., *Épisodes de la carrière tunisienne de Dragut*, R. T., 1918; Charles, *La conquête de Mahdia (1551)*, *Mach.*, 1921; Monchicourt, *L'Expédition espagnole de 1560 contre l'île de Djerba*, R. T., 1913-1914; Braudel, *Les Espagnols et l'Afrique du Nord de 1492 à 1577*, R. A., 1928 (very full bibliography in the notes and in appendix, documents relating to Tunisia); Poissot et Lantier, *Les gouverneurs de La Goullette durant l'occupation espagnole*, R. T., 1930 (references to the sources given in the notes).

3. For the Turkish period:

a. Muslim travellers: al-A'yāshī, *Riḥla*, Fez 1316, tr. Paris 1846 (*Expl. scient. Algérie*, vol. ix.); Ahmad al-Nāṣiri, *Riḥla*, Fez, translated in the preceding volume; al-Warḥilānī, *Riḥla*, ed. Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1908;

b. Muslim historians: Ibn Abī Dīnār al-Kairawānī, *Kitāb al-Muʿnis*, Tunis 1286, tr. Paris 1845 (*Expl. scient. Algérie*, vol. vii.); al-Warī al-Sarrādī, *al-Hudūd al-mundusiya*, Tunis 1287, unfinished ed.; Muḥ. b. Yūsuf, *al-Maḥḥar al-malah* (1705-1765), tr. Serres and Laram, Tunis 1900; Ibn Maḥdīyah, *Nuḥat al-Awḥār*, lith. Tunis 1321; Muḥ. al-Badī, *al-Khawāṣṣ... fī Umaraʾ Ifriqiya*, Tunis 1323; Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAtz and Ibn Abī l-Qiyāf, unpubl.;

c. European writers: Lanfreducci e Rosio, *Costa e discorsi di Barberia* (1587), ed. and tr.

Monchicourt-Grandchamp, *R. A.*, 1925; Barker, *A true and certain report of ... captain Ward*, London 1609; Prévost de Beaulieu-Persan, *Mémoires*, ed. La Roncière, Paris 1913, p. 228—264; Pijnacker, *De reys naar Afrika, Tunis, Algiers ... in den jare 1625*, Haarlem 1650; Savary de Brèves, *Relation de ses voyages ... aux royaumes de Tunis et Alger*, Paris 1628; Attardo, *Relazione della guerra ... fra Algieri e Tunisia quest'anno 1628*, ed. Roy, *R. T.*, 1917; Th. d'Arcos, *Lettres inédites écrites de Tunis (1633—36)*, Algiers 1889; Dan, *Histoire de Barbarie*, Paris 1637; Thévenot, *Voyages ...*, Paris 1664—1674; Pagni, *Lettre ... di quanto egli vide a opera in Tunisi*, Florence 1829; D'Arvieux, *Mémoires* (vol. iv.), Paris 1735 (voyage to Tunis in 1666); Dapper, *Naukeurige beschrijving der Afrikaensche gewesten*, Amsterdam 1668; Galland, *Relation de l'esclavage d'un marchand Cassis à Tunis*, ed. in the *Magasin encyclopédique*, Paris 1809; Coppin, *Le bouclier de l'Europe*, Lyon 1686; *Histoire des dernières évolutions du royaume de Tunis*, Paris 1689; La Faye, *Etat des royaumes de Barbarie*, Rouen 1703; Lucas, *Voyage ... Afrique* (followed by a *Mémoire pour servir à l'histoire de Tunis*), Paris 1712; Languier de Tassy, *Histoire des Etats barbaresques*, Fr. tr., Paris 1757; Peyssonnel, *Relation d'un voyage sur les côtes de Barbarie ... en 1724*, Paris 1838; Shaw, *Travels* (1727), Oxford 1738; Tollot, *Nouveau voyage fait au Levant* (1731), Paris 1742; La Condamine, *Voyage au Levant* (1731), frag. ed., *R. T.*, 1898; Godeffroy, Comelin and La Motte, *Etat des royaumes de Barbarie*, Rouen 1731; Hobenstreit, *Voyage à Alger, Tunis et Tripoli ... en 1734*, Berlin 1780; St. Gervais, *Mémoires historiques ... royaume de Tunis*, Paris 1736; *Lettres sur l'histoire politique de la Tunisie de 1728 à 1740*, ed. Gandolphe, *R. T.*, 1924—1926; Poiron, *Mémoires concernant l'état présent du royaume de Tunis* (1752), ed. Serres, Paris 1925; Desfontaines, *Fragments d'un voyage ... Tunis et Alger* (1783—1786), Paris 1838; Stanley, *Observations on the city of Tunis*, London 1786; Poirer, *Voyage en Barbarie*, Paris 1789; Nyssen, *Mémoire sur Tunis* (1788), ed. Monchicourt, *R. Hist. Col. Fr.*, 1923; Caroni, *Ragguaglio del viaggio ... in Barberia*, Milan 1805, tr. Conor-Grandchamp, *R. T.*, 1917; Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem* (1807), Paris 1811; Magill, *An Account of Tunis*, Glasgow 1811; Blaquière, *Lettres from the Mediterranean*, vol. 2, London 1813; Frank, *Tunis* (1816), in *l'Univers pittoresque*, vii., Paris 1850; Noth, *Travels in ... the Barbary States*, New-York 1819; Filippi, *Fragments ... sur la Régence de Tunis* (1829), ed. Monchicourt, *R. Hist. Col. Fr.*, 1924—1926; cf. also Bauer's correction, *Relaciones de Africa*, vol. 3, Madrid 1922. — After 1830, in addition to numerous articles in magazines and journals (*Le Tour du Monde*, *Revue de l'Orient*, etc.), books multiply: Grenville-Temple, *Excursions in the Mediterranean, Algiers and Tunis* (1832—33), London 1835; Calligaris, *Notice sur Tunis* (1834), ed. Monchicourt, *R. Hist. Col. Fr.*, 1928; Ewaus, *Reise ... von Tunis* (1835), Nuremberg 1837; Puckler-Musau, *Sommaro in Afrika*, Stuttgart 1836; Niculy, *Documents sulla storia di Tunis*, Livourne 1838; Capitaine X., *Une promenade à*

Tunis en 1842, Paris 1844; Kennedy, *Algeria and Tunisia in 1845*, London 1846; Barth, *Wanderungen durch die Küstenländer des Mittelmeers in 1845—47*, Berlin 1849; Chassiron, *Aperçu pittoresque de la Régence de Tunis*, Paris 1849; Pellissier, *Description de la Régence de Tunis*, Paris 1853 (*Expl. scient. Algérie*, xv.; cf. also *R. d. Deux Mondes*, May 1856); Daumas, *Quotidiens à Tunis*, Algiers 1857; Finotti, *La Regenza di Tunisi*, Malte 1857; Dunsan, *Notes sur la Régence de Tunis*, Genève 1858; Guérin, *Voyage archéologique dans la Régence de Tunis*, Paris 1862; Flaux, *La Régence de Tunis au XIX^{ème} siècle*, Paris 1865; François, *Tunis et la Régence sous Mohammed el-Sadoh Bey*, Paris 1867; De Gubernatis, *Lettre sulla Tunisia*, Florence 1867; Michel, *Tunis*, Paris 1867; Maltean, *Sittenbilder aus Tunis u. Algerien*, Leipzig 1869; do., *Reise in den Regenthschaften Tunis u. Tripolis*, Leipzig 1870; Zaccane, *Notes sur la Régence de Tunis*, Paris 1875; Rae, *Barbary, Journey from Tripoli to ... Kairouan*, London 1877; Féraud, *Notes sur un voyage en Tunisie et en Tripolitaine*, *R. A.*, 1877; Nachtigal, *Tunis, Deutsche Rundschau*, 1881; Pinchia, *Ricordi di Tunisi*, Turin 1881.

d. The collections of documents published by: Plantet, *Correspondance des bey de Tunis et des consuls de France avec la Cour* (1577—1830), 3 v., Paris 1893—1899; Grandchamp, *La France en Tunisie (1582—1700)*, 5 v., Tunis 1920—1930; Heeringa, *Bronzen tot de Geschiedenis van den Levantischen Handel (1590—1726)*, 3 v., The Hague 1910—1917; Grandchamp, *Documents relatifs aux cercles tunisiens (1777—1814)*, Tunis 1925;

e. Special works: Rousseau, *Annales tunisiennes*, Algiers 1864; Fitoussi, *L'Etat tunisien (1525—1902)*, Tunis 1901, 2nd ed. in the press; Masson, *Histoire des établissements et du commerce français dans l'Afrique barbaresque (1560—1793)*, Paris 1903; do., *Les Compagnies du corail*, Paris-Marseille 1908; La Roncière, *Histoire de marine française*, 3 v., Paris 1909—1920; Conor, *Les exploits d'Alonso de Contreras en Tunisie (1601—11)*, *R. T.*, 1913; Spont, *Les Français à Tunis de 1600 à 1789*, *R. Questions Hist.*, 1900; Playfair, *The Scourge of Christendom*, London 1884; Marchesi, *Tunisi e la Repubblica Veneta nel secolo XVIII*, Venice 1882; Nallino, *Venezia e Sfax nel secolo XVIII*, in *Cent. Amari*, Palermo 1910; Grandchamp, *La mission de Pléville-le-Pellet à Tunis (1792—94)*, Tunis 1921; do., *Le citoyen Guiraud, procureur de la République française à Tunis (1796)*, *R. T.*, 1919; Loth, *Arn. Soler, chargé d'affaires d'Espagne à Tunis (1808—10)*, *R. T.*, 1905—1906; Dupuy, *Americains et Barbaresques (1776—1824)*, Paris 1910; Hugon, *Les emblèmes des bey de Tunis*, Paris 1913; Serres, *La politique turque en Afrique du Nord sous la monarchie de Juillet*, Paris 1925; Rouard de Card, *Les arrangements conclus par le général Clauzel avec le bey de Tunis (1830—31)*, Paris 1927; Gonni, *La regia marina sarda sulle costi di Barberia (1830)*, Bull. Ufficio stor., 1930; do., *Una squadra sardo-napoletana a Tunisi (1833)*, *ibid.*; Grandchamp, *Le district de la Tunisie avec la Sardaigne et Naples en 1833*, *R. T.* (appearing shortly); Monchicourt, *Le mahalla d'Ahmed Zarroug dans le Sahel (1864)*, *R. T.*, 1917.

4. On the French Protectorate and Tunisia since 1881, there is now a vast literature. The following are the principal works:

a. Establishment of the Protectorate: *Documents diplomatiques, Affaires de Tunisie* (1870-1881), Paris 1881; D'Estournelles de Constant, *La politique française en Tunisie*, Paris 1891; Crispi, *Politica italiana* (1876-1890), transl. R.T., 1913; Chiala, *Pagine di storia contemporanea*, vol. 2: *Tunisi*, Turin 1895; Broadley, *The last Punic War*, Edinburgh-London 1882; *L'expédition militaire en Tunisie*, Paris n.d.; Cappello, *La spedizione francese in Tunisia*, Città di Castello 1912; Rouard de Card, *Traité de la France avec les pays de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1906; do., *La Turquie et le protectorat français en Tunisie*, Paris 1916;

b. Political questions since 1918: *La Tunisie martyrisée*, 1920; Raynaud, *La Tunisie sous les Français*, Paris n.d.; Jung, *Les réformes en Tunisie*, Paris 1926; Winkler, *Essai sur la nationalité dans les protectorats de Tunisie et du Maroc*, Paris 1926; Aguesse, *Souveraineté et nationalité en Tunisie*, Paris 1930; Tamedel, *La Question tunisienne et l'Italie*, Bologna 1922; Sarfatti, *Tunisiace*, Rome 1924; Bonura, *Gli Italiani in Tunisia*, Rome 1929; and numerous articles in the *Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique française*, from which are reprinted: Rodd Balek, *La Tunisie après la guerre* (1919-21), Paris 1922; Cavé, *Sur les traces de Rodd Balek* (1924-27), Paris 1929; and a *Chronique de Tunisie* (1925-28), Tunis 1928;

c. General descriptions: Hesse-Wartegg, *Tunis*, Vienna 1882; Graham and Ashbee, *Travels in Tunisia*, London 1887 (in appendix a very useful *Bibliography of Tunisia*, to which nothing is added in Rouard de Card, *Liens français des XVII^{ème} et XVIII^{ème} siècles concernant les Etats barbaresques*, Paris 1911); Lanessan, *La Tunisie*, Paris 1887, 1917²; Faucon, *La Tunisie*, 1893; *La Tunisie. Histoire et description*, 4 v., Paris-Nancy 1896, 1900²; *La Tunisie au début du XX^{ème} siècle*, Paris 1904; Loth, *La Tunisie et l'œuvre du Protectorat français*, Paris 1907; *Notes générales sur la Tunisie* (1811-1921), Toulouse 1922; Despois, *La Tunisie*, Paris 1930;

d. Social life, novels of manners: Lapie, *Les civilisations tunisiennes*, Paris 1898; Canal, *La littérature et la presse tunisiennes de l'Occupation à 1900*, Paris n.d.; Duhamel, *Le prince Jaffar*, Paris 1924; Hubac, *Les musiques d'argile*, Paris 1928. — Cf. also for the natives, the works quoted under "Language" and numerous articles in the *Revue Tunisienne*;

5. For non-Muslims. In addition to Darmon (see also under "Religion"):

a. Christians: Mennage, *Le christianisme en Afrique, Eglise marocaine*, Paris-Algiers 1915; Glizès, *Jean Le Vacher, Paris 1914*; do., *Capitôté et moeurs de St. Vincent de Paul en Barbarie*, Paris 1930; Anselme des Arcs, *Mémoires de la mission des capucins de Tunisie* (1624-1865), Rome 1889; Pons, *La nouvelle Eglise d'Afrique (depuis 1830)*, Tunis 1930;

b. Jews: Cazès, *Essai sur l'histoire des Israélites de Tunisie*, Paris 1889; Chalom, *Les Israélites de la Tunisie*, Paris 1908; Arditti, *Recueil des textes législatifs et juridiques concernant les Israélites de Tunisie* (1857-1912),

Tunis 1915; Tibi, *Le Statut personnel... des Israélites tunisiens*, Tunis 1923; Slousch, *Un voyage d'études juives en Afrique*, Paris 1909; do., *Travels in North Africa*, Philadelphia 1927.

6. For the history of Muhammadan art: G. Marçais, *Manuel d'art musulman. L'architecture*, Paris 1926-1927.

3. ADMINISTRATION.

a. French administration. At the beginning of the Protectorate and by virtue of the beylical decree of Feb. 4, 1883, the Resident-General was immediately assisted by a "Secretary General of the government of Tunisia", who had control of all the official correspondence and held the same position with the Prime Minister as the Resident did with the Bey. This office was abolished on July 14, 1922 and to some extent replaced by a "Delegato to the Residence General", whose powers, fixed by presidential decree of Feb. 10, 1923, are very different and in practice not so considerable, although he is vice-president of the Council of Ministers, inspecteur des contrôles civils, and takes the place of the Resident when away or prevented from appearing. By virtue of a residential resolution of Nov. 10, 1926, the Resident is assisted by a civil cabinet and a military one.

This same resolution of 1926, supported by a number of beylical decrees of the same day, remodels the main government offices of the Regency and defines the activities of the principal services organised and directed by the French since the occupation: the "Direction Générale des Travaux Publics" created on Sept. 3, 1882, the "Direction Générale des Finances" on Nov. 4 of the same year, the "Direction Générale de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts" on May 6, 1883, the "Direction Générale de l'Agriculture, du Commerce et de la Colonisation" on Nov. 3, 1890, the "Direction Générale de l'Intérieur" (which includes the departments of public health and public assistance) and the "Direction de la Justice Tunisienne" of July 14, 1922 (the two latter were created as a result of the suppression of the office of Secretary General). We may add the "Office des Postes et Télégraphes", which was created on June 11, 1888, and became an autonomous "Direction" by the decree of Nov. 18, 1927.

If we except the southern part, which is held to be a military zone (capital Médénine) and governed by a "Service des Affaires indigènes" (2 officers of higher rank, 20 captains or lieutenants, 11 military interpreters, paid out of the French budget), Tunisia is divided for administrative purposes since 1922 into 5 "regions" (Bizerta, Tunis, Le Kef, Sfax and Sfax) each of which is sub-divided into a certain number of "contrôles civils", in all 19: Beja, Bizerta, Tabarka, Suk el-Arba, Tunis, Zaghouan, Gromballa, Téboursak, Le Kef, Maklar, Medjez el-Bab, Sfax, Kairawan, Thala, Sfax, Gabes, Gafsa, Tozeur, Djerba. The "contrôleurs civils", French officials instituted by presidential decree of Oct. 4, 1884, are appointed by presidential decree on the nomination of the Minister of Foreign Affairs; their duties, defined by the residential circular of July 22, 1887, consists mainly in supervising the native administration and aiding in French colonisation; they have the title of vice-consuls and perform the duties of French consular agents. Their status was regulated by residential resolution of April 25, 1922.

French law is administered in the Regency by two tribunals of first instance, one at Tunis (4 chambers), the other at Sfax, and by 14 regular "justices de paix" to whom are to be added the justices "forains", whose courts are itinerant. The tribunals are amenable to the Court of Appeal in Algiers. Penal law is administered, for offences and misdemeanours, by correctional tribunals, and in the same cases as in Algeria by "juges de paix". Crimes are judged by criminal tribunals sitting at Tunis and Sfax, composed of 3 French professional judges and 6 assessors, whose appointment is regulated by the presidential decree of Nov. 29, 1893; their nationality depends on that of the accused; there is no jury. All the French magistrates, who are in every respect the same as in Algeria, are appointed by presidential decree on the nomination of the "Garde des Sceaux".

France is responsible for the budget for the army and the navy. Bizerta is the headquarters of a naval prefecture which covers the whole of the shores of North Africa. The general commanding the "Division d'Occupation" assumed in 1926 the title of "Commandant supérieur des troupes de Tunisie".

To complete the list of the principal public services of Tunisia, mention must be made of the two companies which have concessions for the most important ports: that of Bizerta, founded in 1886, that of Tunis, Sfax and Sfax founded in 1894; and the 3 railway companies: a. the Company Bône-Guelma, called Compagnie Ferrière as a result of the convention of July 22, 1922 (almost all the Tunisian system, which consists primarily of a long line following the coast, two lines Tunis-Algeria through the valley of the Medjerda and by the High Tell, a line from Sfax to the phosphate mines west of Gafsa through the steppes of Sbeitla and Feriana); b. the Compagnie des phosphates de Gafsa (narrow gauge lines connecting Sfax with Gabes, Redeyef and Tonerre); c. the Tramway Company of Tunis (electric system in the suburbs: 2 lines Tunis-La Marsa, one via La Goulette and Carthage).

Besides the government departments, Tunisia has a certain number of deliberative assemblies, nominated or elected. The French alone are electors to the chambers of commerce and agriculture, elected for 6 years, one third retiring every two years: the chamber of commerce of Tunis, chamber of agriculture of Tunis, chamber of commerce and agriculture of Sfax, chamber of commerce and agriculture of Bizerta, instituted in 1895, chamber of commerce of Sfax, all four instituted in 1902. Women have the right of voting but cannot themselves be members. The chamber of mining interests which meets in Tunis, created by residential resolution of July 15, 1922, represents indiscriminately French or Tunisian owners, directors, managers or engineers of mines in Tunisia; its 12 members are elected for 6 years and half retire every 3 years.

60 places have been created municipalities. By virtue of the decrees of Jan. 14, 1914 and Jan. 1, 1924, the municipal councils appointed by decree for 3 years, one third only elected each year, consist of a native president, one or more French vice-presidents and a varying number of native or European councillors. Their deliberations, which are public, are subject to the approval of the prime minister.

The decree of July 13, 1922, replaced by that of March 27, 1928, instituted "regional councils"

whose members, elected for 6 years, were at first representatives on the one hand of the native municipal councillors and of the (native) councils of the *khâdime*, and on the other of a slight majority of Frenchmen representing French municipal councillors or chambers of commerce and agriculture; they now also include a vice-president of the municipality of each capital of a region, the delegates to the Grand Council elected by universal suffrage, representatives of the chamber of mining interests and native chambers of commerce. The regional council, a consultative body on economic and financial questions, meets twice a year, for 6 days at most at each session, in the capital of the region under the presidency of a *contrôleur civil*, appointed by the Resident General, who has however no vote. The French members elect a vice-president and a secretary, another vice-president and another secretary are appointed by the native members.

The principal representative assembly, the "Grand Conseil", replaced on July 13, 1922 the "Conférence Consultative" of 1896, which had in the meanwhile been several times remodelled. A number of decrees and resolutions of March 1928 regulate its composition and powers. It consists of a French and a native section which in principle deliberate separately. The French section, presided over by the Resident General, numbers 52-22 representatives of economic interests, 6 elected by the chamber of agriculture of Tunis, 2 by the chamber of commerce of Bizerta, 4 by that of Tunis, 4 by the mixed chamber of Sfax, 4 by that of Sfax, 2 by the chamber of mining interests, and 30 representatives of the French colony, elected regionally by all French inhabitants over 21 years of age and domiciled in Tunisia for at least two years, 6 for Bizerta, 10 for Tunis 4 for Le Kef, 5 for Sfax, 5 for Sfax and all the "territoires militaires". The members of the Grand Council, aged at least 25, are elected for 6 years, half being elected every 3 years. The Council examines and votes the budget. It can also express its wishes, except on political or constitutional questions, give its opinion on questions submitted to it by the government, and itself put questions to the government. France reserves the right to approve a decree dissolving the Grand Council or to overrule its decisions even on budget questions. The Grand Council meets once a year in ordinary session for a maximum period of 20 days; it may also be convoked for an extraordinary session. Each section elects its own officers and appoints two grand commissioners: financial commission and commission for economic machinery. The French section sends 5 representatives of economic interests and 7 of the French colony. The plenary sittings of the Grand Council are not public. A "Commission Arbitrale", presided over by the Resident-General deliberates on all proposals, votes or motions, on which the two sections have held different opinions. Its 14 members are appointed half by the French section and half by the native section: in case of persistent disagreement, the Resident General takes part in the voting, as well as the ministers or directors present, i.e. the government has a casting vote between the two disputing sections.

A. Finance. The fiscal resources of Tunisia are composed, in decreasing proportion, of direct taxes: 1. the "taxe personnelle" (*istifâ*) which has replaced the old *madjâ* (cf. Barthès, *Les impôts arabes en Tunisie*, Algiers 1923) and is levied on every male inhabitant of Tunisia over 20 years of

age; 2. ground taxes (*khann* on the date-palms, *khann* on the olive-trees, *uqar* or tithe on cereals, from which lands newly brought under cultivation are exempted for five years, *maradji* on orchards and irrigated lands except those of Djerba, *khadar*, "special tax on the cultivated lands of Djerba", tax on cattle instituted in 1918, tax on the vine instituted in 1919, tax on undeveloped land instituted in 1927, tax on the rentable value and on the rentals of urban and suburban estates levied mainly for the benefit of the communes); 3. taxes on commercial and industrial profits (licence instituted in 1927 and mining dues); 4. tax on the income from personal property, mortgages etc., created in 1918; and a few taxes called "assimilées".

Indirect taxes, which are increasing in importance, are: a. stamp and registration duties, b. customs duties, calculated in such a way as to favour French products, c. a series of duties on the manufacture and sale of various products, which in 1920 replaced the old *makhlalat*, under the name of "indirect contributions". In addition there are d. the revenues from monopolies (tobacco, salt, matches, playing-cards), e. the profit from the Post Office, f. from various industrial enterprises and g. from the state lands.

c. Native administration. The native ministers number 3: the "prime minister" (*al-wazir al-akbar*), assisted by the "minister of the Pen" (*wazir al-kalam*), with the Director General of the Interior at his side; the Minister of Justice (*wazir al-adliya*) whose office was instituted on April 26, 1921 and who is advised by a French "Directeur de la Justice Tunisienne".

The basis of the territorial organisation of Tunisia is the division into *kaidates*, at present numbering 37: Beja, Bizerta, Mateur, Ain-Draham, Suk el-Arba, Suk el-Khemis, Tunis-ville, Tunis-banlieue, Zaghouan, Soliman, Nabeul, Téboursouk, Le Kef, Tajerouine, Ouled-Ayar, Ouled-Aun, Medjes el-Bab, Susa, Monastir, Mahdia, Souassi, Kairawan, Djelass, Fraichich, Madjeur, Sfax, Djebeiana, La Skira, Arad, Gafsa, Hammama, Djerid, Djerba, Matmata, Nefzaoua, Ouerghemma, Tatahouine. In Tunis-ville, the *kaid* keeps the old name of *shahid al-madina*. The *kaid* (*khay*), appointed by decree, has retained functions which are administrative, judicial and financial: he acts as intermediary between the government and the people, has to see that the public peace is maintained, deals without appeal with civil or penal affairs of slight importance and collects taxes. He has at his disposal a native gendarmerie (*mijaz*) composed of "spahis" (*shahis*) who collect the fines (*khidma*) from defaulting taxpayers. There is a tendency to replace by a fixed salary the taxes which he used to collect for himself from those under him; some steps have already been taken in this direction.

The *kaid*s are assisted or supplemented by *khalfas* appointed by decree since Nov. 28, 1889; they now number 67 divided into 2 grades, of which 20 are in the upper grade. Since June 4, 1912, there has been a group of "*kaid stagiaires*" (*khafiya*) or "probationers" and of *khalfas* of an exceptional class, now numbering 16, who represent the *kaid* in certain spheres of his duties.

Each *kaidate* is subdivided into a certain number of *shaikhates*, in all 604, placed under the authority of a *shaikh* appointed by the government on the nomination of the *kaid*. The *shaikh* is responsible for public order and aids in the collection of taxes.

A number of decrees and resolutions of 1922, modified in 1928, have instituted and organised (except in military territory) "councils of *kaidates*", whose purpose is to discuss the economic needs of the *kaidates* and to reply to government enquiries and elect representatives to the regional councils. Each *shaikhate* sends 4 delegates, 1 or 2 principals, the others subsidiary, of at least 30 years of age, chosen from among themselves, subject to ministerial approval, by the notables, i.e. by the most distinguished taxpayers, over 25 years of age, living in or owning land in the *shaikhate* outside the communes. The lists of notables drawn up by the *kaid* are revised by a commission on which sit along with him the civil comptroller and the *khdt*. Solicitors, officials or policemen cannot be delegates to the council. The sittings, which last 2 days, are quarterly. The elections take place every 6 years.

Native chambers of commerce and agriculture were created in 1920, reorganised in 1924 and 1928: the "*chambre d'agriculture indigène du nord*" which includes an agricultural section (1 member for each *kaidate*, chosen by the government from two candidates presented by the delegates of the *shaikhates*) and a section for rural economy (2 members, matriculants or agricultural engineers, chosen by the government from 4 candidates presented by the delegates from the *shaikhates*); the "*Chambre de Commerce indigène du nord*" which includes a commercial section (12 elected Muslims and 5 Jews) and a section for general economics (2 Muslim or Jewish members, chosen by the government from 4 candidates presented by the electors). The electors must be at least 25 years of age and the candidates 30.

Since 1928 it has been provided that these two assemblies should have joint meetings with the similar French bodies. There has also been founded, inside each "*chambre mixte*" of Susa and Sfax, a native section of 7 members.

We have already seen what share the natives take in the municipal councils and regional councils. In the Grand Council they form a distinct section of 26 members, 10 of whom represent the 5 regions (2 each), 3 the territories of the south, 4 the native chamber of commerce of the north, 4 the native chamber of agriculture of the north, 2 each of the native sections of the mixed chambers, 1 the Jewish community of Tunisia. This section of the Grand Council is usually presided over by the Delegate to the Residence General or a high French official of the protectorate nominated by the Resident, exceptionally by the Resident-general. The two sections may agree to deliberate in common; the votes are then considered as having been given by a single assembly.

Tunisian law, the statutes of which were settled by decree of Jan. 1928, carefully preserves the distinction between lay and religious jurisdiction. At the head of the first category, the tribunal of the "*Ouzara*" (*Uzara*) at Tunis has comprised since 1921: a. a kind of court of appeal for all Tunisia, the two courts of which (civil and penal) each sit with 3 magistrates; b. a criminal court which judges cases of first instance and without appeal; c. a court of arraignment; d. a commission des requêtes, a kind of court of appeal. The Ouzara is completed by regional tribunals with 3 magistrates created at Sfax, Gabes and Gafsa in 1896, at Susa and Kairawan in 1897, at Kef in

1898, at Beja in 1926. In 1906 "commissaires du gouvernement" were attached to them, i.e. French lawyers speaking Arabic. Parties can be represented by "oukils" (*wakīl*, pl. *ukalā*). In conclusion it may be noted that the regional tribunal of Tunis is still called *Drība*, and that Tunis has also the tribunal of the "Oul" (*ʿUḷ*), a kind of tribunal for trade and commerce on which sit the *Shāikh al-Madīna* and ten assessors.

Bibliography: Zeys, *Codex annuél de la Tunisie*, 1901 (annual supplements down to 1912); Lagrange and Fontana, *Codex et lois de la Tunisie*, Paris 1912 (supplements to 1928); *Journal Officiel tunisien*; A. Girault, *Principes de colonisation et de législation coloniale* (vol. v., *La Tunisie et le Maroc*), 5th ed., Paris 1928.

4. MUSLIM RELIGION.

With the exception of the island of Djérba, $\frac{2}{3}$ of the inhabitants of which are Shāridjīs, Tunisia has for long adopted Malikiite sunnism. The descendants of the Turks or those who claim to be such profess to be Hanafīs; they are a small, but aristocratic, minority, and privileged from the fact that they include the beylical family.

a. Institutions. — *Shariʿ*. Under the Hafṣids (q.v.) the highest religious functions were performed in Tunis by the "Kādi of the community" (*ḥāfiʿ l-ʿjamāʿa*) and the "Kādi for marriages" (*ḥāfiʿ l-tanhiḥa*) appointed, like the chief mufti (q.v.) or *khatib* (q.v.), by the sovereign. Below them again there was a *ḥāfiʿ l-muʿamalat* and a *ḥāfiʿ l-ahilla*. The "Kādi of the camp" (*ḥāfiʿ l-maḥalla*) accompanied the government troops in the field.

Ibn Abi Dīnār (p. 276; transl., p. 470) has pointed out how the Kādi gradually allowed himself to come under the domination of the mufti to such an extent that they are associated in the tribunal of the "Charḥa" (*Shariʿ*; cf. Saint Gervais, p. 93—95), and that under the Turks the Hanafī chief mufti (*ḥāfiʿ mufti*) took the title of *Shāikh al-Islām* (q.v.), which he still retains; the Maliki *ḥāfiʿ mufti*, who occupies a position which is officially not so high, has sometimes been honoured with the same title.

The "Charḥa", exclusively applied in personal law (civil law, marriage, divorce, trusteeship, guardianship, inheritance), is formed in each town of the interior by a Maliki *awḥḥ*: one *ḥāfiʿ* with one or more muftis. In Tunis, a Hanafī *madjlīs* sits in the "Dīwān" alongside of a Maliki one; both take cognisance of cases submitted to them by litigants from the interior or remitted to them by other *ḥāfiʿs*.

The operation of these courts, formerly regulated by decrees of 1856 and 1875, is now fixed by that of Dec. 15, 1896, which defined the procedure of the *muḥtadals* by insisting that they should be recorded in a register kept by notaries. The decree of March 6, 1926 installed a system of legal assistance, which frees the natives from a tax of enrolment created on March 3 of the same year. In conclusion, registrars were appointed by decree of January 28, 1930.

Notariate. The native "notaries" (*ʿadl*, pl. *ʿudāl*) are appointed by beylical decree. Their recruitment and method of practice have long been regulated by the decree of 30th Dhu l-Kaʿda 1291 (Jan. 8, 1875); appointments were made on the nomination of the *ḥāfiʿs*; former students who had received the diploma of the Great Mosque were almost automatically appointed notaries without

necessarily practising. The decree of May 8, 1928 made appreciable modifications to the earlier statute; new regulations were again made by the decree of July 1, 1929, which came into operation on Jan. 1, 1931. In future, Muslim notaries must be at least 24 years of age, have spent two or three years in a notary's office, and — most remarkable innovation — have passed an examination which demands a knowledge of Tunisian legislation. The diploma of the Great Mosque confers the right to present oneself for the notariate examination of the "first category", which enables the recipient to practise in a large town; the notaries of the "second category", after a slightly different examination, can only practise in towns of less importance. The registers (daybook and minute-book), supplied and checked by the ministry of Justice, are subject to a regular and serious system of inspection.

Habūs. The *waḥf* (q.v.) properties in Tunisia are called "habūs" (*ḥabūs*). The public habūs have been managed since Khair al-Dīn's time in 1874 by a central office (*djāmʿiya*) reorganised by decree of March 19, 1924; at its head are a director and an administrative committee: it is divided into a certain number of offices, and has a representative (*nāʾib*) in each of the principal centres of the Regency who delegates the actual managing agents (*wakīl*). The decree of July 17, 1908 has placed the *djāmʿiya* under the control of a "conseil supérieur des habūs" directed by the Minister of the Pen and the Director-General of the Interior. The *djāmʿiya* has the right to supervise the management of private habūs.

The legislation relating to the habūs has been cleverly got round with the help of the three following processes (cf. H. de Montety, *Une loi agraire en Tunisie*, Cahors 1927): a. the contract of "enzel" (*imzāl*) or transference of habūs on payment of a rent in perpetuity (decree of May 26, 1886, frequently modified and supplemented; since 1905, the enzelist debtor has been able to redeem the rent; the sale of land is by public auction except that the rights of the occupants of rural estates are safeguarded); b. exchange in kind or money (decrees of Jan. 11 and Nov. 13, 1898); c. long-term leases (Jan. 31, 1898).

The *Bait al-Māl* is under the *djāmʿiya*. It gives grants for charitable purposes and receives estates for which there are no heirs.

Brotherhoods. It would be very risky to give definite figures about the Muslim religious brotherhoods of Tunisia (cf. Depont and Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897, *passim*). We cannot adopt without reserve those given in the *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*. The total number of adherents is certainly much greater than the figure of 58,143 given there. According to an unpublished official enquiry made in 1924 by the Résidence Générale, the administrative district of La Kef alone has 18,000 *kāḥḥ* or *ṣuḥarāʿ*, while the members of the brotherhoods form a third of the population in the district of Beja, which includes in all 66,000 Muslims. There are over 13,000 in the annexe of Tatahouine alone. The four orders most widely spread are: the *Kāḥḥiya* and the *Rahmāniya*, then the *Ṣūfiya* and the *Tajidiya* (q.v.); the *ʿArabiya* are also quite numerous. Further, in addition to local groups like the *Bāʿiyya* of Nefta, there are scattered groups of *Madaniya*, *Shādhiliya* and *Taiyibiya*. The administrative officials of Tabarka

and Thala agree in estimating in their areas the proportion of Rahnāniya and Kādriya respectively at 50% and 40% of the total number of members; but this proportion is of course smaller elsewhere, where rival orders have had more success. We may note the spread of the recently-formed sect of the *Alawiya*, which originated in Mostaganem in Algeria, and seems to have its Tunisian centre at the Zāwiya [q.v.] of Kaibet el-Medjouni near Monastir. While Tunis, Menzel bou-Zelfa, and the Djerid are centres of important brotherhoods, Le Kef contains the most influential mother-zāwiya. It is true that the political role of these organisations is practically nil and that even their religious influence is gradually declining.

The right of asylum of the zāwiya was abolished on Feb. 6, 1883.

6. Education: The Qur'anic schools are called *buttab*. At the top, the "medersas", directed by certificated former students of the Great Mosque, maintained by the Djam'ia under the supervision of the Director of Public Instruction, are now practically nothing more than hostels for the students at the Great Mosque; at the very most a few tutorial lectures are given there. Only the medersa *al-Aḥḥadīya* trains *mu'addib* or teachers for the *buttab*.

The Great Mosque. Under the Turks, the Great Mosque gradually became the centre of all religious teaching; in our day, it has secured a monopoly of it and is attended by some 2,000 students, from Tunisia, Tripolitania, Algeria and even sometimes Morocco. The organisation of its courses, in what may be called the modern period, goes back to the edict (*manḥūr*) of Ahmad Bāy of Rasmajā 27, 1258 (Nov. 1, 1842) known as *al-Muḥalla*, because it was affixed to the Bāb al-Shifa' gate of the Great Mosque. The principal arrangements were: 30 teachers (*ālim*, pl. *ulamā'*) of whom 15 are Mālikī and 15 Hanafī, were each to give 2 lectures a day, except on Thursday and Friday, the days of the Two Feasts and the month of Ramaḍān; their pay was to be 2 piastres a day, except when absent without regular cause. The two *Shaykhs al-Islām*, Mālikī and Hanafī, were appointed inspectors (*muḥṣṣir*) and were to receive 100 piastres a month; they were to be assisted in their task by the two *kāḍis*, one of each rite, who drew 3 piastres a day. These four also audited the accounts of the administrators of the Bait al-Māl, from which the above salaries were paid. If the funds of the Bait al-Māl showed a substantial surplus, it was to be divided under certain conditions among the most diligent students. The appointments of teachers were to be made by beylical decree (*ṣakir*) on the advice of the inspectors and the two *kāḍis*.

But it is only from Khair al-Din's time that a more detailed organisation dates: the decree (*amr 'alī*) which he made Ṣādiq Bāy issue on 28th Dhū l-Ka'da 1292 (Dec. 26, 1875) lays down in 67 articles the subjects to be taught, the list of authors to be expounded, the privileges and duties of the students, teachers and supervisors, and regulations for the library. — The number of partial modifications afterwards made caused this decree to be replaced by that of Sept. 16, 1912, of which the 82 articles with a few additions still govern the institution. In it we find, somewhat mixed up, alongside of pedagogical provisions of an old-fashioned type, strong recommendations in favour of correctness and good behaviour and, in article

19, the prohibition to doubt principles traditionally admitted by the *ulamā'*.

The subjects taught, more numerous and more varied than the "eleven branches of learning" provided for at the Azhar by the regulation of 1872 are, in the order in which they are given in article 1: Qur'anic exegesis (*tafsīr*), traditions relating to the Prophet (*ḥadīth*), biographies (*siyar*), dogmatic theology (*tawḥīd*), the reading and proper recitation of the Qur'ān (*ḥirā'at*, *taḥṣīn*), technology (*muṣṭalaḥ*), judicial methodology (*uṣūl al-fihh*), jurisprudence (*fihh*), the law of inheritance (*far'ī'at*), mysticism (*taṣawwuf*), the determination of the hours of prayer (*niḥāz*), syntax (*naḥw*), grammatical morphology (*ṣarf*), elocution and rhetoric (*ma'ānī*, *bayān*), style, composition, literature (*lugha*, *luḡa*, *adab*), history and geography (*ta'rīkh*, *ḡurrahāya*), drawing and calligraphy (*raṣm*, *ḥaṭṭ*), versification (*'arūḍ*), logic (*manṭiq*), dialectic (*adab al-baḥth*), arithmetic (*ḥisāb*), geometry (*ḥandaia*), astronomy (*ḥul'a*), mensuration (*miṣāha*). Of these subjects the latter are somewhat neglected. The rigidly traditionalist spirit and the archaic methods of instruction used in the Great Mosque are obstacles to all progress in profane sciences, and to any liberalism in religious matters. Under history and geography the programme, in addition to a brief résumé of Muslim history, gives only two books to be studied: the *Raḥm al-Ḥalāl* of Ibn al-Khaṭīb and the *Muḥaddima* of Ibn Khaldūn, both of the xivth century. The geometry is still Euclid, whose propositions are read in al-Tūsī's version (xiiith century).

The courses, which are free, are divided into three stages, and there are examinations to pass from one to the other. The following is a list of the works on religion and language expounded in the highest course (art. 4):

<i>tafsīr</i>	the <i>Asrār al-Tamīl</i> of al-Balḡawī, the commentary of the two Djalāis; the <i>Mawāḍi'at</i> with commentary of al-Zarkānī, the <i>Ṣaḥīḥ</i> of al-Bukhārī with commentary of al-Kastallānī,
<i>ḥadīth</i>	the <i>Ṣaḥīḥ</i> of Muslim with commentary of al-Ubbī, the <i>Ṣiḥīḥ</i> of the Kaḍī 'Iyāḍ with commentary of al-Shihāb al-Khaḍḍjī; the <i>Mawāḥib al-Iḍā'iyat</i> of al-Kastallānī with commentary of al-Zarkānī,
<i>siyar</i>	the <i>Sira al-kilā'iyat</i> ; the commentary of al-Iḥḍjānī on the <i>Mawāḍi'at</i> of 'Aḥmad al-Dīn al-Idrīsī,
<i>tawḥīd</i>	the commentary of al-Taḥṣīnī on the <i>'Alf'id</i> of 'Umar al-Nasafī, the <i>Kubrā</i> of the Shaykh al-Sanūsī; the <i>Tawḥīd</i> of Ṣadr al-Sharī' 'Uḥaid Allāh al-Maḥbābī, the commentary of 'Aḥmad al-Dīn al-Idrīsī on the <i>Muḥṭaṭar</i> of Ibn al-Hādḍjib,
<i>uṣūl al-fihh</i>	the commentary of al-Maḥallī on the <i>Djam' al-Djawāmi'</i> of 'Abd al-Waḥḥāb al-Subkī; the <i>Taḥyīm al-Haḍī'at</i> of 'Uḥmān al-Zallā'ī (commentary on the <i>Kaṣṣ al-Daḥī'at</i> of 'Abd Allāh al-Nasafī), the <i>Durar</i> (commentary of the <i>Ghaurar</i>), the commentary of Sidi 'Abd al-Bāḥī on the <i>Muḥṭaṭar</i> of Khallī, the commentary of Sidi Muḥammad al-Khirāḥī on the same;
<i>fihh</i>	

- taḥṣīn*: the *ḥiṣṣ* of al-Ḥaṣṣī;
naḥṣ: the *Mughni al-labib* of Ibn al-Hishām;
muḥant,
ḥayān { the third part of the *Miftāḥ* of Yūsuf
 al-Sakkākī with commentary of al-
 Dīrdjānī,
 the *Muḥawwal* of al-Taḥṣīn;
 the *Muḥṣir* of al-Sayūṭī,
luḡha,
inṣhāʾ,
adab { the *Fikḥ al-Luḡha* of 'Abd al-Malik al-
 Tha'alibī,
 the commentary of al-Marāṭikī on the
Ḥumāna,
 the *Muḥṣir al-nūr* of Ibn al-Aṭhir.

The thirty original teachers along with a teacher of *taḥṣīn* take the title of "teachers" (*muḥarrir*) of the first class; they are qualified for the higher course. For the middle course there are 12 teachers of the second class, half *Mālikī* and half *Ḥanafī*, and also a teacher for *taḥṣīn*. The elementary course is conducted by "voluntary" teachers (*mutaḥṣin*), certificated former pupils, who are unpaid (art. 9). The teachers have two months' leave a year, from the middle of July to the middle of September, and the month of Ramiḥān in addition; there is also a holiday every Friday, the days of the two feasts and the four days that follow each of them, the day of 'Arafa and the two preceding days, the 10th Muḥarram, the 11th, 12th, 13th Rabi' I (art. 29); Thursday is expressly restored as a working day (art. 28). — Each student carries a roll book which the teachers endorse once a month (art. 32), and in which they certify that the course has been attended by the person concerned (art. 33). — Supervisors appointed by the inspectors secure that discipline is maintained (art. 40). The duties of these inspectors are carefully laid down in accordance with the regulations of the *Mu'allama* (art. 44 *seq.*).

A complementary decree of the same date, in 11 articles, settles the conditions of the final examination which gives the right to the diploma of the *taḥṣīn*. Success in a written examination on *fiḥ* admits to classes for two consecutive sessions (art. 6). The oral examination allows six hours of preparation with the assistance of the books in the library (art. 7). A special *taḥṣīn* is provided for the reading and recitation of the *Kur'ān* (art. 9).

Since 1928, 50 "auxiliary" teachers (*muḥawwin 'ala 'l-taḥṣīn*) have been appointed by competition from among the *mutaḥṣin* in; they draw a fixed salary of 500 francs a month. From Jan. 1, 1931 the annual emoluments of the teachers of the second class are fixed at 13,000 francs, those of the first class at 16,000 francs. The budget of the Tunisian state has since 1924 included a subvention for the Great Mosque; being continually increased, it rose from 50,000 francs the first year to 350,000 in 1927 and to 770,000 in 1930.

The recent reorganisation of the Muslim notariate has provoked vigorous protests on the part of the students who can no longer pass straight into their profession and whose studies at the Great Mosque do not enable them to pass without further preparation the new examination required of future notaries. The whole question of the reform of religious instruction has thus been raised, or at least that of the introduction of modern legal teaching into the Great Mosque. A commission appointed by the government in December 1929 is studying the possibilities of reform and painfully endeavouring to draw up a programme.

The Catalogue of the Library, which is in course of publication in Arabic, was published incompletely in French by B. Roy and Bel-Khodja (Tunis 1900).

Modern Education. In addition to the Sāḥkī College (417 pupils in 1928—1929) where the double system of teaching French and Arabic prepares for administrative careers, the young Muslims are attending in increasing numbers the French schools: primary establishments (among which are Franco-Arab schools and special schools for Muslim girls, cf. *R. M. M.*, vi, 123—126) and secondary (open to all). In Dec. 31, 1928 (cf. *Statistique générale de la Tunisie*, année 1928) the Muslim population was sending to the French primary schools of the Regency 25,876 boys and 2,930 girls (in addition to 67 boys and 617 girls in the private schools), to the Lycée Carnot of Tunis 359 pupils out of a total of 2,000, but only 28 at the girls' Lycée out of over 1,200, and lastly 461 pupils in three other institutions in Tunis (Collège Alsoufi, École normale d'instituteurs, École professionnelle E. Loubet).

An "École supérieure de langue et littérature arabes" in Tunis gives after examination a certificate in spoken Arabic to its European students, and a certificate in written Arabic and a higher diploma in Arabic to its pupils, whether Muslims or not.

Inaugurated under the influence of the Residency, the Muslim Society *al-Ḥabshūniya* organises for nearly 200 young members popular courses in Arabic on all kinds of subjects.

Finally the Department of Justice in Tunisia has courses of law given in Arabic to prepare natives for legal careers.

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5. POPULATION.

4. *Ethnography*. The population of the Regency includes, in addition to the native Muslims and Jews, an increasing number of Europeans, the result of a considerable immigration of Italians and of the French Protectorate. The census of 1926 gives a total of 2,159,708 (density 17.3 to the square kilometre) of whom 1,932,184 are Muslims and 54,243 Tunisian Jews (not including the Jews who have acquired a European nationality). The 173,281 Europeans were distributed as follows: 71,020 French (41%), 89,216 Italians (51.5%), 8,396 Maltese (English subjects) (4.8%), 4,649 of various other nationalities (2.7%). The Italians, who come mainly from Sicily and Sardinia, are masons, miners (Le Kef), agricultural labourers and vine-growers on a small scale (Beja, Medja el-Bah, Gromballia, Zaghouan). The French are principally officials, merchants or colonists.

The bulk of the Europeans are in the Tunis area (103,000 or 60%) and in some of the towns of the coast: about 6,700 in Bizerta, 4,150 at Ferryville, 6,900 at Sūsa and as many at Sfax. The Tunisian Jews, of whom 28,141 (more than half) are in the Tunis area, are over 3,700 in Sūsa and nearly 3,300 in Sfax. They are also fairly numerous in Bizerta, Beja and Nabeul, and there are very few in the interior (a few called *Bāghūj* live in tents towards Sers), but there are groups of some size in the south, nearly 2,500 in Gabes, nearly 3,800 in Hout-Sak (Djerba) out of 4,645 inhabitants, and over 2,300 in the military territories.

Excluding Tunis the capital with 185,466 inhabitants, 12 other towns have over 10,000; these are

Sfax	27,723
Sūsa	21,298
Bizerta	20,593
Kairawān	19,426
Msaken	16,620
Gabes	15,119
Nefis	13,250
Moknine	12,191
Kal'a Kabira	11,830
Tozeur	11,056
Beja	10,468

We may note that Msaken and Kal'a Kabira, both in the Sahel, are inhabited exclusively by Muslims.

4. Tribes. In the present state of our knowledge we cannot sketch with certainty the evolution of the present divisions of the Muslim population of Tunisia. Even if we set aside the urban centres and the more thickly populated areas (districts of Bizerta, Beja, Tunis and Sūsa) where very varied elements are found together and intermingled, the constitution of the great tribes, clearly individualised at different periods in the history of the country, is far from being clear. We do not know the origin of many of them; even their disappearance is not always free from mystery.

For a long period the Arab soldiers were numerically insufficient to produce a real change in the old Berber bloc. But the great new factor was the invasion in the middle of the xth century of the Hilali Arabs, followed in the xlii and xliii centuries by the Sulaim; they drove up into the highlands the greater part of the native Berbers, occupied the plains and completed the arabisation of the country; it is true that, frequently fusing with bodies of natives, they completely subjected them to their influence, so that it is impossible to-day to discriminate at all between "Arab tribes" and "Berber tribes". We can only say that of all North Africa, Tunisia is on the whole the most arabised region.

In the sixth century Ibn Khaldūn gives us some information about the surviving Berbers. One group lived on the island of Djerba (Khāridjī Djarba) and in the mountains of the south: Lawāta (*Hist. des Berbères*, transl. i. 235) to the south of Gabes in the Djabal which bears their name, Maṣnāṣa (*ibid.*, i. 246) in the district they still inhabit, Zanāta driven from Tripolitania, who had taken refuge in the Djabal Demmer, where the most important body was the confederation of the Warghamma (*ibid.*, iii. 288). Other Zanāta, the B. Wartādja (*ibid.*, iii. 204), maintained their independence in the oasis of al-Hamma, while the Marādja Ifrānīda (*ibid.*, iii. 225-226), half agriculturalists, half cattle-rearers, between Tunis and Kairawān were exposed to the exactions of the Ku'ub Arabs. A remnant of the Sumāta (*ibid.*, i. 231) still exists near Kairawān. But the most compact Berber group, formed of Hawwāra (*ibid.*, i. 278-279) in part nomads, occupied the region of the High Tell: Wanifa of Tebessa at Marmādja (no doubt the present Dermādja), Kaijar between Ebba-Kur and Lorbeus, Bazwa of Tebusutk on the Djougar. The Bazwa had, however, already incorporated a body of Riyāh Arabs who were

neighbours of their relatives, the B. Hābiḥ; and in the same way in the mountains of the north, Arabs of Muḍar, the B. Hudhail, had become fused with the Hawwārid tribe of the B. Sulaim.

Among the Arab invaders, the Hilāl, pushing further west, only left in Ifriqiya a few of the B. Zughba near Tunis. The B. 'Awf of the Sulaim, on the other hand, as is shown by the *Riḥla* of al-Tijjānī (in 1306-1309), occupied the whole of the eastern coast district: from Nabeul to Sūsa were the Dallādī, then up to el-Djem the Hākim, who were later joined by the Turūd (these latter were later moved on towards Wargla), then up to al-Mubāraka the B. 'Alī of the Hīq. The hinterland was dominated by their Ku'ub relatives and masters, of whom the two rival gangs, Awlād Muḥalhal and Awlād Abi 'l-Lail, played in Hāfīd politics that considerable role which has been well brought out by G. Margais. During spring and summer, the Mirdās b. 'Awf, of whom a detached branch arrived near Beja, regularly replaced the Ku'ub in their winter quarters, the Djerid. Finally, starting from al-Mubāraka, the southern plains were occupied by other Sulaim, the Dabbāb: these were, in the interior, the Awlād Ahmad, reinforced by the confederation of the B. Yazid (Sahba, Hamāma, Khārdja, Aslī'a), the Sharīd and Zughb; on the coast, the Nawā'il, as far as Gabes, and the Maḥmūd of the confederation of the Washāh, up to the present frontier of Tripolitania.

Some of these names reappear in the memoir published in 1536 by B. de Mendoza, in *Les Arabes du royaume de Tunis* (publ. by La Primaudaye). The B. 'Alī, the most powerful of all, mentioned by Leo Africanus, were at that time scattered along the coast from Bizerta to Djerba; the Awlād Abi 'l-Lail in the district of Mateur and Beja; the Awlād Muḥalhal who swallowed up the Awlād 'Awn, between Kairawān and Beja. But alongside of these appear the dreaded Awlād Sa'īd of obscure origin, who extended from Monastir to the interior of Cape Bon; the Awlād Yahyā in the region of Tebusutk; and near Tebessa, probably of Hawwārid stock, the Hanānsha whose chiefs long exercised political influence from their citadel of Kal'at al-Sinān (cf. Féraud, *Les Harde* . . . , R. Afr., 1874).

In spite of the considerable adulteration and wastage of the tribes, their old names have frequently survived. In the south, where the Berber element is flourishing, we still have the troglodyte Maṣnāṣa and the Warghamma, the tribes of which have reconquered the plains: 'Akkāra of Zarzis who live in tents from February to June to harvest the barley and pasture their flocks and herds, Twāzin, who, formerly nomads, now tend to settle in the gardening country of Medenine and Ben-Gardane, the Djābaliya who inhabit villages in the highlands of the sunnec of the Tatahouine, and the Wādarna, partly settled and partly nomad. Two shāikhates bear the name of the Lawāta, in the kaidates of W. 'Awn and Bizerta. In the High Tell towards Algeria, the Wanifa group comprises several tribes among whom are the Wargha (cf. this name in the *Hist. des Berbères*, transl. i. 275). The Washāta, now in the country round Beja and Suk el-Arba, are not unknown to Ibn Khaldūn (*ibid.*), like the Nafra (i. 182 and 290) settled in our days on the northern coast.

The names of the mediaeval tribes of Arab origin are fairly well preserved in the south; the Nawā'il

and the Maḥmūd, it is true, were driven into Tripolitania by the counter-offensive of the Warghamma, but the berberised Dablah form a *shaiḥate* in the annexe of Tatahouine, and the important B. Zid (= Yaid), a section of whom still call themselves *Kharja*, still lead a nomadic life with the Hamāra near Gabes. We also find scattered and in diminished numbers giving names to *shaiḥates* the Hedil or B. Hadhal (kaidate of Ain-Draham), the Turūd (Bizerta), the Hākim (Suk el-Arba), the Awlād Muḥalbal (O. Ayar), the Ka'ib Awlād al-Ḥādīdī (Djellaz; cf. *Hist. des Berb.*, transl. i. 143). Several of the O. Bellil or Awlād Abi 'Lail survive in the plain of Beja, and of the Riyāh near Zagħwan. It was only in the xvth century that the Khumra or Khumaira settled in the mountains of the northwest, not far from the Mogods or Muḥ'id, whose name at least has an Arab sound, and in the Sera and around it, as a Maḥsen tribe, the Drid or Duraid, a branch of the B. Athbadj b. Hilal, who were for a period across the Algerian frontier. The Naḥḥū in the hinterland of Sfax are mentioned as Arabs by Ibn Khaldūn (*Hist. des Berb.*, transl. ii. 101 and 290).

Among the groups mentioned under the later Hafūda, some Awlād Yahyā survive in the kaidate of Tebarusk, the Awlād Sa'ūd are very scattered but their chief centre is the domain of Enfida, the O. Awn or Awlād 'Awn form a whole kaidate around Siliana, N. E. of Maktar.

Finally, in the present mosaic of the tribes of Tunisia, some of quite uncertain origin, if it is not maraboutic, are of sufficient importance to be mentioned: not far from the coast, to the south of el-Djem up to the north of Gabes, the Maḥlūth, 'Agarba and Maḥādḥba; in the interior, occupying the steppes, the Swāsi, Djlās, Frāshūsh, Mādḥir and Hamāma, who form the same number of kaidates; in the High Tell, the Wartān, the O. Ayar or Awlād 'Aiyar, the Gwātin; in the Nefrawa and Tunisian Sahara, the Gharib, Mraṅg, the Adāra, and the Awlād Ya'kūh.

c. Native Life. Nomadism is clearly dying in Tunisia; there are no longer migrations of considerable extent nor in large bodies ("amahas") except in very bad years. Usually the tribe remains stationary and a few herdsmen take the flocks away. It is the flocks only which move: the cattle pass the winter in the steppes and the summer in the Tell; the route most frequently traversed is the *colloir* Sbiha-La Kef; the migrants like to spend some time in the plain of Gamouda. The Maḥlūth alone go in summer as far as Bizerta and the Djlās and Swāsi as far as the neighbourhood of Beja. The Nefrawa and the Tunisian Sahara are of course still peopled by nomads.

The government of the Protectorate actively pursues a policy of leading the natives to adopt a settled life by making it easy for them to acquire land and directing their energies towards agriculture. Alongside of the old contract of *ḥammāna*, regulated by the *Ḥunūn al-Filāḥa* of Khair al-Din in 1291 A. H. (cf. *Bibl.* in W. Marçais, *Telremus*, p. 252), the sale on credit by the Domains of the "terres salines" (around Sfax for a radius of about 50 miles), and of the *hanshr* of Sherahil (near Kairawān) suitable for growing olives (decrees of 1892 and 1905), has been the occasion of putting into practice the contract known as *Mughāra*: the native farmer, who contracts to plant with olive-trees the whole extent of a piece of ground granted to him, becomes

the owner of half the ground when the trees begin to bear. The new legislation dealing with *habūs* estates has made it possible to settle on the land a number of native families, by establishing their rights as "occupants" in a legal and definite form (most recent decree: that of July 17, 1926). In the military territories of the south, the "terres collectives" of the tribes are under special regulation laid down by the decree of Dec. 23, 1918, modified in 1926; each collectivité or group of lands forms a unit and is represented by a council of notables; in the capital of each kaidate sits a council (*conseil de tutelle locale*) which has local authority and whose decisions can be revised by a central council in Tunis. The authority of one of these bodies being always required when land changes hands, or is let on a long lease, or similar occasions, the native ownership is safeguarded. Finally, besides the technical progress made since the occupation, the Tunisian agriculturist owes to the Protectorate his powers to form irrigation companies (decree of May 25, 1920), the distribution of lands for cultivation to native farmers, the creation of the native chambers for agriculture and the institution of an "Office public de crédit agricole" for the natives (decrees of June 10, 1925).

In 1928, the number of animals belonging to natives and Europeans respectively was as follows: horses 77,000 and 10,500, asses 157,000 and 2,500, mules 28,500 and 11,500, cattle 430,000 and 55,000, sheep 2,000,000 and 103,500, goats 1,360,000 and 30,500, pigs 6,000 and 13,000, camels 151,500 and 300. — The natives own about 9,000,000 *taxel* olive-trees (the Europeans 878,000) and 4,800,000 *untaxed* (the Europeans 1,100,000). We may note that several thousand natives live by fishing.

Throughout the Regency the tent is disappearing before the *gourbi*, a sure sign that the people are becoming settled, or even before the house. In the south we find two peculiar types of habitation: the subterranean dwellings of the troglodytes, over 7,500 in the districts of the Maḥmāta, Medenine and Tatahouine, and the *ghurfa* "kasura" (*kuṣūr*) (keel-shaped buildings with curved sides, long, narrow and low used as storehouses) of which the most remarkable are Medenine and Metameur. The number of town-dwellers is relatively large among the natives, for it reaches 18%; Tunisia has always been remarkable for the development of its urban life. In Tunis, the foreign Muslim elements (*āmmāniyye*) are grouped in several separate communities.

Native commerce is becoming more and more modernised; one of its most striking achievements is the organisation of co-operative buying by the Djerbiin grocers who are established in large numbers in Tunis. As to the local industries, they have been suffering for a considerable time from the fierce competition of European produce; it is true that the government does its best to support it, especially as regards native works of artistic interest; regular training courses have been instituted for the purpose, and attention is being devoted to the improvement of technical or artistic methods in manufacture. Besides milling, the manufacture of oil and soap, the main old-established industries of the Regency are dyeing, now threatened by the aniline dyes imported from Europe, the manufacture of wool (in various districts: blankets at Djerba, Gafsa and in the Djerid), of cotton (at Tunis), of silk (at Tunis and Ksar-Hellal), of goat and camel-hair (in the south), the weaving of carpets (by

women, especially at Kairawān), and of "shaiya" (at Tunis with a fulling-mill at El-Bathan) and of ceramics (at Nabeul). We may also mention the manufacture of sieves (at Tunis, Kairawān and Sūsa), of mats, baskets and esparto (at Nabeul), tannery and shoemaking (at Tunis, Kairawān and Nabeul), saddlery (at Tunis), cutlery, metal-work, stone- and woodwork. The tinmiths are all Jews, as are some shoemakers, many tailors and almost all the jewellers.

The trade-gilds, of which the most important in Tunis is that of the manufacturers of shashiyas (*shashīya*) of Spanish origin, are regulated by beylical decrees; they may admit Jews but the *amīn* is always a Muslim. The *shawāshī* have a common reserve fund; their trade mark (*ashāsh*) has to be approved by beylical decree. In spite of the competition of importations (from France, Austria and Czechoslovakia) and the disappearance of the Turkish market, the production of shashiyas is still much the same as it was 25 or 30 years ago, i.e. about 50,000 kg. of which about the half are exported.

According to statistics, not yet published, compiled by the Direction de l'Agriculture, the gilds of Tunis are constituted as follows:

	Masters	Workmen
Makers of shashiyas	200	600
Tailors	60	100
Makers of burnous	120	150
Millers	10	40
Silkweavers	300	1,200
Cotton spinners	100	300
Dyers	30	45
Shoemakers	200	300
Saddlers and leatherworkers	20	70
Jewellers and goldsmiths	45	70
Carpenters	90	125
Smiths	20	35
Painters and decorators	100	230
Tanners	25	45

Masters and workmen combined only number about 4,630.

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6. LANGUAGE.

a. Berber. Berber dialects have almost entirely disappeared from Tunisia. Berber speakers are now only found in the region of Sened (kaldate of Gafsa), the dialect of which has been studied by Provostelle, at Tamest among the Matnāya and in the island of Djerba, where the women in particular preserve the old idiom.

b. Spoken Arabic. The linguistic arabicisation

of Tunis is thus practically complete but it has proceeded along lines of which we do not know the details. W. Marçais would allow, at least for the Sāhil, that it has been more rapid than is usually thought. Since before the coming of the Hīlāl and Sulaim (xth—xiii centuries), the "urban centres, those permanent foci of arabicisation", Sūsa, Monastir and Mahdia, have been disseminating among the peasants of the surrounding country their own town-language which, gradually transformed by a rural population, has given birth to various rustic dialects. In their consonant system and their grammar the Beduin dialects differ, as Ibn Khaldūn noted, from the Arabic of the towns and therefore from that of the Sāhil.

Von Maltzan has pointed out (*Z.D.M.G.*, xxiii. 655—656) that the Arabic spoken in Tunis has retained the classical consonant system more perfectly than any in the Maghrib. We need only note the fusion of the *q* and *g*, both pronounced like an emphatic sonant interdental spirant; the *f* is pronounced as a postpalatal sonant (*g*) in borrowed words (e.g. *qidra*, *gūmrug*) or influenced by Beduin dialects (e.g. *bāgra*, *nāga*); *dh*, sonant palatal (French *j*), is treated after the article as a solar letter and has a tendency to pass into *t* in words which already contain this sound (e.g. *dhaw* > *tā*). The confusion which appears in the use of the liquids *l*, *r* and *n* affects borrowed words almost exclusively.

The "nunation" has disappeared except in some rare formulae; it has left traces in certain adverbial accusatives where the vowel of the old termination has survived, sometimes even lengthened (e.g. *dhāim* > *dīma*, *dīnā*).

The careful observations of W. Marçais for the dialect spoken at Takrīna still constitute the only satisfactory record of the Tunisian vowel sounds. Although the dropping and weakening of vowels is far from being so serious as in the extreme Maghrib, it is a broken down vowel system. Sometimes to facilitate pronunciation, transitional sounds are developed, secondary ultra-short vowels, notably before a laryngeal preceded by *i* or *u* (cf. the *ḥāḥ* *ḥāḥ* of Hebrew). It will be remembered that in Tunis the women have preserved the old diphthongs *ai* and *au* while the men have reduced them to *i* and *u*; the Beduin dialects in general bring them back to *i* and to *u*, but some of them make a false diphthong with an ultra-short second element: *ie*, *ue*. With some nomads the *ināla* *ā* > *z* open is forced in certain positions into a very much closed *z*. Educated people read the *ḥarra* of the classical language as *i* in an open syllable, but almost like the French *e* in a closed syllable.

H. Stumme, to whom we owe a detailed morphology of Tunisian Arabic, has laid down the following rules for accentuation: If the word ends in two consonants or with a consonant preceded by a long vowel, the accent is on the last syllable; in the other cases, it falls on the penultimate syllable, if the latter is long or closed, if not it goes back to the first syllable of the word; exceptions: the verbal form *yāfa'lu* (for *yāfa'la*) and *fā'il* (for *fā'il*) a type at once verbal and nominal. The accent goes back from the last syllable to the penultimate when the first syllable of the following word is accented.

The conjugation naturally reveals the essential features of all the Maghribi dialects: the alternation sg. *naf'al*, pl. *naf'alū* in the first persons of the

norist. A few notes on the syntax have been made by Th. Nöldeke.

The vocabulary has made borrowings from Turkish and Italian; it is every day taking more from the French. But French is affecting Judæo-Arabic much more, and it will perhaps die out without being studied.

c. The native press. For a long time the publication of newspapers was forbidden in Tunisia; even printing and book-selling were not unrestricted but subject to an administrative control regulated in 1875 by the decree relating to teaching in the Great Mosque. From 1859 the "Journal Officiel" (*al-Kā'id [al-rasmi] al-Tūnisi*) gave a certain amount of information, mainly relating to administration, but it also accepted other articles. The press decree of Oct. 14, 1884 and particularly the more liberal one of Aug. 16, 1887, modified however several times later, permitted the establishment in the Regency of a press in French, Italian and Arabic.

In 1888-1889 the daily papers *al-Hādīra* belonging to Bū Shūḥa and *al-Zuhra* belonging to Shūḥlī appeared in Arabic. The *Zuhra* still exists and is now regarded as conservative although in its early days it was thought to be very advanced. Alongside of it, the principal newspaper is *al-Nahḍa*, which appears every day except Monday. The majority of the present Arabic journals are weekly: *al-Zamān* (liberal), *Līdān al-Shar'* and *al-Sawāb* (both nationalist in tendency, especially the former), *al-Nadīm* (literary, satirical, much appreciated); also the humorous *al-Zakā*, which admits to its columns the popular dialect. *Al-Waṣīf* is in theory a monthly as is *al-Manāṣir* which is very irregular. Recently an illustrated monthly magazine has appeared dealing with history and literature: *al-Ālam al-adabī*; but the most widely circulated Arabic magazines in Tunisia come from Egypt, notably *al-Sayāra*. The "Journal Officiel" which has also had a French edition since 1883, confines itself to publishing twice a week documents of an official nature. Lastly a kind of almanac, *al-Ruḥāma al-Tūnisiya*, which appeared from 1899 to 1921, has been replaced by an annual, almost exclusively administrative: *Taḡmīn al-Tūnisi*.

It is interesting to note the unsuccessful attempts to create a local Arabic press, which have been made at Sfax with *al-Aḥd al-ḡadīd* or at Kairawān with *al-Kairawān*. On the other hand, a little weekly in French edited by Muslims has been a success in Sfax: the *Tunisite Nouvelle* belonging to Zuhair 'Aiyādī; in Tunis also where Bāsh Hānba's *Le Tunisien* was already established about 1910, Shūḥlī Khair Allāh edits the *Voix du Tunisien*, which has taken the place of the *Etendard Tunisien*, which in turn succeeded the *Libéral*; since August 1930, 'Abd al-'Azīz Laroui has been publishing the *Crépuscule*. Those organs show a Tunisian nationalist spirit, which is exclusively Muslim.

The Jews, who used to have a fairly abundant literature and press in Judæo-Arabic (in Hebrew characters), of which E. Vassal wrote a history down to 1907 (*La Littérature populaire des Israélites tunisiens*, 1905-1907), no longer publish in this dialect, which is disappearing before French, except the intermittent and poor *al-Sukūḥ*. Their three weeklies are in French: the conservative *Égalité*, the *Justice* ("assimilationist") and the best

known, the *Réveil Juif* (Zionist) founded in 1924 at Sfax by Félix Allouche and recently transferred to Tunis.

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AL-TŪR, 1. DJARAL AL-TŪR, more rarely TŪR SIKK, Mount Sinai. The Arab geographers (Abu 'l-Fida', ed. Reinand, p. 69; al-Kalkashandī, transl. Wüstenfeld, in *Abh. G. W. Gott.*, xxv, 100; Makrizi, *Geogr. d. Kopten*, transl. Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, iii, 113; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii, 557) explain the name as of Hebrew origin; it occurs once in the Qur'an as *Tūr Sīnā* (xcv, 2, emended in Ibn al-Fakḥ, *B. G. A.*, v, 104 to *Tūr Sīnā*). The mountain which lay not far from the Red Sea (*Baḥr al-Kulūm*) was climbed from al-Amn (Elim?), where the children of Israel once encamped. In the vicinity was the Wādī Tuwā, where Moses spoke with Allāh before he was sent to Pharaoh (Qur'an, xx, 12; lxxix, 16; Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, iii, 553; Saḥī al-Dīn, *Marāqīd al-Iḥḥāṣ*, ed. Juyḥoll, ii, 213).

On the north side of the mountain (now Djabal Mūsā) in what is now called the Wādī Shu'āib (valley of Jethro) at a height of 5,000 feet is the monastery of Catherine, on the site of the castle built by Justinian I probably between 548 and 562 A. D. (Grégoire, *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.*, 1907, p. 327-334) to protect the monks of Sinai (Procopius, *expl. arripadras*, v, 8, ed. Haury, III, i, p. 168 sq.; Eutychios, *Annals*, in *Corp. Script. Christ. Orient.*, series III, vol. vi, p. 202-204). According to the Book of Churches (*Kitāb al-Diyārāt*) of Shāluḡḡī (quoted by Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, ii, 675; Saḥī al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, i, 434), the "Church (hundra for which Yāqūt, *loc. cit.*, writes *dār*) al-Tūr" was on the top of the mountain, built of black stone and strongly fortified; there was a spring outside and another inside the building. The monastery was inhabited by monks and much visited on account of the miracles wrought there (Sochau, *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1919, fig. x, p. 21). In this description the Christian church of the Mother of God (*Isōrōtes*), which was built also by Justinian on the slope of the mountain, probably on the site of the present Chapel of Elijah (see below), is confused with the monastery at its foot.

The monks of the monastery possess a copy of an alleged letter from Muḥammad granting protection (Pococke, *Description of the East*, i, 268-270; Moritz, *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1918, Abh. iv, p. 6-8; cf. a similar letter of protection for Coptic Christians, publ. by G. Graf, *M. V. A. G.*, xxii, 181-193; Moritz, *op. cit.*, p. 21-23) and a number of genuine documents of the time of the

Sulṭān Isḥāq, Khushkadam and Kā'itbey (Moritz, *op. cit.*, p. 25 *seq.*). They mainly deal with the protection of the Christian monks from the raids of the marauding Beduins of the country round, but seem to have been regarded by the latter as empty threats, as their frequent renewal shows (Kā'itbey issued no fewer than 22 firmāns for the monastery during the 30 years of his reign). The monastery was frequently stormed, set on fire, its gardens robbed and pilgrims and merchants plundered; sometimes the monks even had to seek refuge in the monastery of the village of al-Tūr (see below) (Moritz, *op. cit.*, p. 28).

Within the monastery "between the church and the dwellings on the northern part of the buildings" there is still a mosque, the pulpit of which was, according to an inscription, presented by Abū 'Alī al-Manṣūr Anṣhaktān al-ʿAmir in Rabi' I 500 (Nov. 1106) in the reign of the caliph ʿAmir bi-ʾAḥkām Allāh (Moritz, p. 50-52). The monastery of Sināi in this inscription is called the "upper monastery" (*dair al-ʿalā*) to distinguish it from monasteries in al-Tūr (*Ṭaṣṣū*) and Fārān. According to another inscription, this same Anṣhaktān founded three maṣṣidj (places for prayer) on the Munḍijāt Mūsā, a mosque on the hill of the monastery of Fārān and another below Fārān al-Djādida, and a light-house on the shore of the coast (al-Sāhil). By Munḍijāt Mūsā is certainly meant the traditional Sināi, now Djabal Mūsā (Moritz, *op. cit.*, p. 54); it was only in the xivth century that the name was transferred to a smaller hill east of the monastery of St. Catherine, which is now called (like a hill near Fārān) Djabal Munḍijāt. Of the three Maṣṣidj only two could have been on the top of Djabal al-Tūr, namely the Christian church built in 364 A.D. by St. Julian and a small mosque, also mentioned by al-Idrīsī; the third place of prayer no doubt lay on a small plateau 500 feet below the summit on which now stands a chapel of Elijah erected at a later date. The mosque on the "hill of the monastery of Fārān" is perhaps to be sought on the Djabal al-Muharrat, that of new Fārān in the oasis of Fārān, in the gardens of which the inhabitants of the "city of the Amalekites" Fārān later settled (Maḥrisī, *Kāḥṭat*, Bulāq, i. 188; Moritz, *op. cit.*, p. 36). Moritz supposes the lighthouse (*op. cit.*, p. 57) to have stood at that point on the coast where the Wādī Fārān enters the sea and there is a poor anchorage.

In a Syrian description of the seven climes of the xiiith century A.D. the mount of Sināi (*Ṭūrā ʿal-Sināi*) forms the centre of the crescent shaped map in the second clime (Chabot, *Notice sur une mappemonde syrienne*, in *Bulletin de géogr. hist. et descript.*, 1897, p. 104 and pl. iv.).

The tradition that Selim I visited Sināi on his Egyptian expedition is an invention; neither his journal nor Ibn Iyās make any mention of it (Moritz, *op. cit.*, p. 5, note 1).

The little town of al-Tūr lies S.W. of the Djabal Mūsā on the Gulf of Suez, about 50 miles from Rās Muḥammad, the most southern point of the Sināi peninsula. It is in regular caravan communication with the monastery of St. Catherine, some of the monks of which usually stay there (Weill, *La presqu'île du Sināi*, 1908, p. 82). It lies at the only spot on the west coast of the peninsula which is completely free from coral reefs and has therefore an anchorage. As al-Tūr is further excellently supplied with water, and has

large palm-groves in the vicinity, it has always been the most important harbour in the peninsula. In ancient times it was called *Πορταία* (Agatharchides in Strabo, xvi. 776 and Diodorus, iii. 42) and later (from the Arab tribe of the *Ṭaṣṣū*) *Ṭaṣṣū* (*Ṭaṣṣū* in Suidas); probably the monastery there dated from the pre-Arab period.

Kalkashandī already knows al-Tūr as the most important Egyptian harbour for the ships of the pilgrims to Mecca, until about 450 (1047) 'Aidhāb [q.v.] took its place. It was not till 780 (1378-1379) that the harbour of al-Tūr was restored and the pilgrims henceforth again took the northern route (Weill, *op. cit.*, p. 92-94). After the discovery of the sea-route to India by the Portuguese al-Tūr gradually lost its importance and sank to be a mere fishing-village, until in the second half of the xviiith century a quarantine station was put there for pilgrims returning from Mecca and the place began to flourish once more. Sulṭān Murād built the fort of Kaṣrat al-Tūr near the old monastery but both are now completely in ruins.

Bibliography: al-Mukaddas, *B.G.A.*, iii. 179; Abū 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinand, p. 69; al-Idrīsī, ed. Gildemeister, in *Z. D. P. F.*, viii. 2; Yāqūt, *Muḍjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 557; Saḥī al-Dīn, *Murāyid al-ḥitā'*, ed. Juynboll, ii. 214; *Kirāb al-Kawāḥid*, ed. by Ibn al-Zayyāt, Cairo 1907, p. 12; al-Maḥrisī, *Kāḥṭat*, Bulāq, ii. 509 *seq.*; al-Dimashqī, ed. Mehren, p. 231; Ibn Duḥmāq, *Description de l'Égypte*, publ. de la Bibl. Khédiviale, Cairo 1893, v. p. 43; Kalkashandī, *Die Geographie u. Verwaltung von Ägypten*, transl. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1879, p. 100, 169 *seq.*; Quatremère, *Histoire des Sultans Mameluks*, i. 79, note 112; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 1890, p. 73, 547; R. Weill, *La presqu'île du Sināi* (Biblioth. de l'école d. haut. études, fasc. clxxi.), Paris 1908, p. 93 *seq.* and pass.; Maspéro-Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géogr. de l'Égypte*, i. (M. I. F. A. O., xxxvi.), p. 122, s.v. AL-TŪR and TŪR SINĀ'.
2. TŪR ZAITĀ of DJABAL ZAITĀ, the Mount of Olives, east of Jerusalem (see AL-GUDS, ii. 1094 *seq.*) still called DJABAL AL-TŪR. According to tradition, 70,000 prophets died there of starvation and are buried there. The Ascension of Jesus, according to an old tradition, took place from the Mount of Olives. Between it and the town ran the Wādī Djahannam (vale of Cedron, now Wādī Sitt Maryam with the well of Siloam, Arabic 'Ain Sulwān) over which ran the bridge of al-Sirā'. The village of Kaṣr al-Tūr now stands on the hill.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Muḍjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 558; Saḥī al-Dīn, *Murāyid al-ḥitā'*, ed. Juynboll, ii. 215; Ibn al-Fakīh, *B.G.A.*, v. 101; Abū 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinand, p. 69; al-Idrīsī, ed. Gildemeister, in *Z. D. P. F.*, viii. 8; al-Mukaddas, *B.G.A.*, iii. 171 *seq.*; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ed. Deffrémery-Sanguinetti, i. 124; Nāṣir-i Khawarizmi, ed. Schefer, p. 26; Muḍḡir al-Dīn, Bulāq 1283, p. 412; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 1890, p. 72, 74, 162, 211, 218-220.
3. AL-TŪR, the hill of Tabor (still called Djabal al-Tūr). At the spot where Jesus revealed himself to his disciples, the monastery of Dair al-Tūr or Dair al-Tadjiālā' stood on the hill. In the crusading period there was a fortress on the top, which Saladin captured and al-Malik al-ʿAdil had restored in 608 (1212). The Crusaders tried

in vain to recapture it in 614 (1217). Bathers in Djamāla II 661 (1263) used the fortress as a base of operations for his raids against 'Akka.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 649, 675; Sa'ī al-Dīn, *Marā'id al-Ippā'*, ed. Juynboll, i. 426, 434; Abu T-Fida', ed. Reinaud, p. 69; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iii. 438, 440; iv. 46 sq.; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 75, 434 sq.; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, p. 124, note 4.

4. AL-TŪR, the hill of Gerizim (3,000 feet) above Nābulus, the sacred mountain of the Samaritans. Jewish tradition makes it the scene of the sacrifice of Isaac. The hill is still called Djabal al-Tūr or Djabal al-Kibit to distinguish it from the Djabal al-Shamālī or Isfāmīya (Ebal) to the north of the town.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 557; Sa'ī al-Dīn, *Marā'id al-Ippā'*, ed. Juynboll, ii. 214; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 74.

5. TŪR HĀRĪN, the hill of HŪR (5,600 feet) west of Petra, called after Aaron, who according to an old tradition, is buried there (Josephus, *Archael.*, iv. 4, 7). When the children of Israel accused Moses of having slain him, he showed them on the top of the hill the bier on which Aaron lay. In al-Mas'ūdī the hill is called Djabal Ma'rib in the district of al-Sharḥ; he also mentions the caves in the mountain. On the eastern peak (3,200 feet) of the Djabal al-Nabī Hārūn is Aaron's grave (Qabr Hārūn) which is still a place of pilgrimage for the Beduins.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 559; Sa'ī al-Dīn, *Marā'id al-Ippā'*, ed. Juynboll, ii. 215; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murū'if al-Dihād*, ed. Paris, i. 94; Borchhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, London 1822, p. 429 sq.; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 74; Dalman, *Petra*, 1908, p. 15 sq., 42, 168; do., *Neue Petra-Forschungen*, 1912, p. 2, 8, 26.

TŪR 'ABDĪN, the name of a mountainous plateau in northern Mesopotamia. It stretches roughly from Mārdīn in the west to Djaṣira: b. 'Omar (called briefly Djaṣira; q. v.) in the east. The Tigris forms the eastern and northern boundary, from Djaṣira up to the point where it is joined by the Batman-an from the north. A line drawn from the confluence of the two rivers to Mārdīn would roughly mark the western boundary of the area known as TŪR 'ABDĪN, while the Koros-Dagh which lies in the northern part of this western boundary is also to be regarded as belonging entirely to TŪR 'ABDĪN, as an outlying portion of it. In the south the frontier is very well marked, for there the rocks of the tableland slope steeply, often precipitously, to the Mesopotamian plain and seen from the latter look like a strong well-built wall. The road, in constant use from the earliest times, which goes from Mārdīn via Naṣībīn to Djaṣira, runs a short distance from the southern edge of TŪR 'ABDĪN. With the latter are usually included the mountains in the centre of which is the town of Mārdīn (hence sometimes called after it; cf. also the Turkish name Mārdīn-dagh-ları; see Schäffli, *op. cit.*, p. 48). It stretches — west of Mārdīn part of it is called Djabal al-'Aṣṣ — roughly up to 40° 15' east long. (Greenw.) and is separated by a very marked depression from the

gigantic basaltic ridge of the Karadja-Dagh.

The average height of TŪR 'ABDĪN is in its central portion about 3,000—3,500 feet above sea-level. In the district between Midyāt and Hīn Kaifā on the Tigris (cf. ii., p. 320) and in the mountains of Mārdīn, individual peaks reach 4,300 feet. In general however, TŪR 'ABDĪN lacks any marked heights and looks everywhere like an undulating plain which is cut by deep and broad wadis. The largest is the Wādī Khaliṣa, which flows into the Tigris at Finik (N. W. of Djaṣira).

TŪR 'ABDĪN consists almost entirely of limestone, often with beds of marl. In places however we find angular basalt blocks scattered, which are of volcanic origin. Such outcrops of basalt are found especially in the east, towards Djaṣira, where the basaltic Ellim-dagh rises as a continuation of the southern wall of limestone of TŪR 'ABDĪN, and also west of Mārdīn where the lava from the Karadja-Dagh flowed out. To the nature of the rock composing it, TŪR 'ABDĪN owes its many caves, which are often, as in ancient times, used as dwellings. Such caves are numerous, for example in the region of Midyāt (mentioned as early as the Assyrian inscriptions), and notably at Hīn Kaifā, which is the regular troglodyte capital. Cf. thereon Lehmann-Haupt, *op. cit.* (see *Bibl.*) p. 370 sq.; Streck, in *Z.D.M.G.*, lxxi. 310 and in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl. d. class. Altertumswiss.*, viii. 2457 (art. HOKKEN); see also above ii., p. 320.

The eastern and western part of TŪR 'ABDĪN is in general characterised by an absence of trees, but in its centre east of Midyāt, a strip of forest runs from north to south. Here we have many small hills overgrown with stunted trees (dwarf oaks) and shrubs. As a result of the scarcity of forests and the fact that most of the rainfall sinks into the porous limestone, there is a serious scarcity of water in a large part of TŪR 'ABDĪN. For watering the cattle, water is collected in cisterns, often very old, and large ponds. The south has the most plentiful supply of water; there we find numerous springs and countless little streams running southwards through the hills, usually to disappear in the sands of the Mesopotamian plain at no great distance from the foot of the mountains. The streams that flow from the southern side of TŪR 'ABDĪN enter the river Djaḡh djaḡh, which divides into two arms above Naṣībīn. The southern slopes of the Karadja-Dagh, as well as the Mārdīn mountains, are drained by the Khābār [q. v.] which receives the waters of the Djaḡh djaḡh at Hesaka (36° 25' N. lat.).

In spite of many barren patches and the generally unfavourable irrigation conditions, there are many stretches of ground which grow cereals well and excellent pastures, especially in the hollows which hold the fertile reddish-brown earth, and on the slopes of the little hills, which are preferably used for the vine. At all the monasteries we find well cared for vineyards. Terraces to which the soil has been carried have also been built to grow the vine and fruits. The people are exceedingly skilled in irrigating their fields. In addition to cereals (usually barley) and the vine, cotton and all kinds of fruits (especially very fine apricots) are grown. In the wooded portions of TŪR 'ABDĪN gull-apples and manna resin are gathered, and are found in large quantities. A ridge west of Mārdīn, the already mentioned Djabal al-'Aṣṣ, takes its name from the plentifulness of gull-apples there (*uṣṣ*). On the wines and other products of the

soil of Tūr 'Abdin, see Prym and Socin, *Die neu-assyrische Dialekt des Tūr 'Abdin*, Göttingen 1881, i, p. viii. and Cuinet, *op. cit.*, p. 429. On the manna of Tūr 'Abdin cf. Flüchiger, in *Archiv der Pharmazie*, vol. cc., Halle 1875, p. 159—164.

Tūr 'Abdin was already known to the Assyrians. They call it the Kashiari mountains; it is found under this name as early as the inscriptions of the early Assyrian King Adadnirāri I (c. 1300—1270 A.D.) and Salmannassar I (c. 1270—1240); see the pertinent texts in *Alt-oriental. Bibliothek*, vol. i. (= Ebeling-Meissner-Weidner, *Die Inschrift. der altassyrischen Könige*), Leipzig 1926, p. 58 sq., p. 118 sq. The Kashiari are still mentioned in the documents of the later kings of Assyria. Tūr 'Abdin-Kashiari corresponds fairly well to *rā Mārin šar* (Masius), a term found in the later Greek writers (Arrian, Ptolemy); cf. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?*, Leipzig 1881, p. 259; Streck, in *Z.A.*, xiii, 82—87; xiv, 169; Streck, *Assurbanipal etc.* (= *Vorderasiat. Biblioth.*, vol. vii.), p. 790; R. Kleper, in *Ferret orbis antiqui*, Heft v. (*Mesopotamia etc.*), 1909, p. 8. The view put forward by Lehmann-Haupt (s. *Z.A.*, xiv, 371; *Klio*, ix, 1909, p. 409 and *Armenien einst und jetzt*, vol. i, Berlin 1910, p. 368 sq., 510, 513) hardly seems to me tenable, that Kashiari and Masius represent a wider geographical conception than that of Tūr 'Abdin and mean the whole eastern or southern part of the Taurus of the ancients i.e. include the Karadja Dag and the Harz Daghlari to the north of Malayārikin (Farkın).

In the cuneiform inscriptions we find besides Kashiari two other names which apparently refer to parts only of Tūr 'Abdin: *Nirā*, probably used for the centre of this plateau (see Streck, in *Z.A.*, xiii, 82; xiv, 169) and *Isala*, to all appearance a special name for the southern strip of Tūr 'Abdin and particularly for the district of Mardin (probably including the Mardin Hills). In the Babil-Assyr. texts mention is made of the wine of Isala. In Achaemenid documents also there is probably a reference to Isala (see *Z.D.M.G.*, lxi, 726); it occurs twice in late classical sources and is common in Syriac literature in the name of the mountain Isā (Arabic Djabal al-Isal); cf. thereon Streck, in *Z.A.*, xiii, 104—105; xiv, 171; Weissbach in Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, x, 1390; Socin, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxv, 238 and G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, Leipzig 1880, p. 167 sq.

As to the Aramaic name Tūr 'Abdin = "Mount of the Servants" (of God) — cf. the analogous place-name Kaphar 'Abdin in Wright's *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1871, No. 950, 20^e —, it is of course of Christian origin and belongs to the period when the region had through the number of its monasteries become a great centre of eastern monachism. The earliest attestation of the name Tūr 'Abdin is in a Syriac Lives of Saints of the time of the emperor Julian, i.e. about the middle of the fourth century; see Wright, *op. cit.*, No. 960, p. 1136 and Socin, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxv, 239.

Of great topographical importance for the Tūr 'Abdin region is the *Descriptio orbis Romani* of Georgius Cyprinus of the first decade of the seventh century, because it gives a whole list of forts in this area; see the edition by Gelzer, Leipzig 1890, p. 46, l. 913—938. There we find *Kārrap Mārdin* (= Mardin) followed immediately by *Kārrap Tōpādīn*

(l. 914); it is very natural to amend this name with Hoffmann in Gelzer (p. 158—159) to *Tōpādīn* = Tūr 'Abdin. Here we may point out that of the Roman forts of Mesopotamia one group were near the Tigris and the others on Tūr 'Abdin; cf. V. Chapot, *La frontière de l'Euphrate*, Paris 1907, p. 322. In the Syriac Lives of Saints above mentioned of the time of Julian there is a reference to the building of two large fortresses in the region of Tūr 'Abdin.

In the chronicle of Pseudo-Moses of Chorene, which at the earliest was compiled at the end of the seventh century, we also find the name Tūr 'Abdin (see Marquart, *Erzählung = Nachr. d. Gott. Ges. der Wissensch.*, Berlin 1901, p. 141, 158); but here it apparently denotes a smaller area, the southern border (= Isal!).

In the Arab authors of the middle ages we also find the term Tūr 'Abdin. For the pre-Islamic period we have it in verses of the poet Abū Du'ād al-Iyādī, which tell us that the legendary founder of the kingdom of al-Hadr (q. v.), Šāḥrūn, also ruled the land of Tūr 'Abdin (see *B.G.A.*, ed. de Goeje, vi, 95, 11—12 = Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii, 559, 5 and cf. also Yāqūt, ii, 284, 19 sq.). Tūr 'Abdin is also mentioned in a poem the subject of which is Khosraw and Šīrīn: see *B.G.A.*, v, 159, 19 sq. Mas'ūdī (*B.G.A.*, viii, 34, 1) mentions that in Tūr 'Abdin remnants of the Aramaeans still survive. Ibn Rosta (*B.G.A.*, vii, 90, 2) and Balādhuri (ed. de Goeje, p. 175, 12) point out that the Hirmās (the modern, already mentioned, Djaḥdjaḥ), a tributary of the Khābūr (q. v.), rises in Tūr 'Abdin. We may also mention that the Arab geographers (see *B.G.A.*, ii, 73, 3 and Abū 'l-Fidā', *Taqwīm al-Bulād*, ed. Paris, p. 282) also have the special name Djabal Mārdin = Mardin Hills (cf. above) for the southern borders of Tūr 'Abdin, the district of Naḡbīn and Dārā. The modern Syriac pronunciation of Tūr 'Abdin (one also hears Tūr al-'Abdin) is *Tūr da 'Abdī*. The name Tūr 'Abdin is locally not unknown, especially in Christian circles, but belongs to the literary rather than to the spoken language. At the present day in Syriac, this hill-country is called usually *Tūr* or in Arabic *al-Tūr*, also *al-Djabal* and *Djabal Tūr*, or *Djabal al-Tūr*; cf. Prym and Socin, *op. cit.*, i, p. i, ii and Sachau, *Reise etc.*, p. 387. As Schäffl, *op. cit.*, p. 49 tells us, the Turks use the term *Kara-Dagh*, the Kurds *Maw-Dagh* or *Ča-rāz* = "Black Mountain".

The district of Tūr 'Abdin passed with the rest of Mesopotamia (al-Djazīra) into the hands of the Arabs in the years 18—19 (639—640); see Balādhuri, p. 176, 3—5 = Yāqūt, iv, 390, 15—16 and Caetani, *Anali dell'Islām*, iv, 36, 156. The Tūr belonged to the Mesopotamian province of Dīyār Rabi'a under the caliphs.

As regards its political history after the conquest, Tūr 'Abdin generally shared the fortunes of the adjoining districts forming the rest of Mesopotamia. On the interior, Tūr 'Abdin proper, there is comparatively little in the Arabic sources. On the other hand, important towns on its borders like Mardin, Djaḥrāt b. 'Omar, Hīn Kaifā and Naḡbīn are frequently mentioned. There is important material for local history in Syriac literature, particularly in chronicles and hagiographic texts, but it has still to be collected and sifted (cf. especially J. S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca orientalis*, 3 parts, Rome 1719—1728). Valuable information for

the history of Tūr 'Abdin in the xvth century, especially for the period of Timār's campaigns, is contained in a continuation of the *Chronicon Syriacum* (of profane history) of Barhebraeus (Abn 'l-Faraj) by anonymous monks (one of whom belonged to a monastery in Bāshehrin); see the edition by O. Behnisch, in *Revue sacerdotale quinziesme de Mesopotamie gasterone*, ed. . . O. Behnisch, Neeslau 1838; cf. also Baumstark, *Geich. der syrisch. Literatur*, Bonn 1922, p. 328. In the middle ages and down to the present day the history of the Kurd tribes in Tūr 'Abdin and the country round it is of importance. The history of the Kurd dynasties of Džarist b. 'Omar and Hiṣn Kaifā is of special importance in this connection; cf. the account based on the Kurdish chronicle *Sharaf-nāma* by Bart, in *S.B. Ak. Wien*, vol. xxx. (1859), p. 217 *sp.*; see also the article KURDS.

In the redistribution of territory which followed the War, Tūr 'Abdin was left to the Turks. In the administrative division of the Turkish empire as it existed down to the War, Tūr 'Abdin belonged to the wilāyet of Diyarbakir and to the sanjak of Mardin, which was divided into five kads: Mardin, Džarira, Midyāt, 'Awne, and Naṣlān; see Cuinet, *op. cit.*, p. 412, 496 *sq.* For the administrative division since 1921 and 1927 cf. 'Abd al-Kādir Sa'idi, *Yeni Türkiye Mülkiyet Džihāz-ı-ıyāt*, Stambul 1927, p. 174.

In the early middle ages and the first centuries of Islam, Tūr 'Abdin was probably inhabited almost entirely by Christian Aramaeans. Later, more and more Muslims (mainly Kurds) settled there, so that with the gradual decline in the numbers of Christians, the result of frequent persecutions by the Muslims, the proportion altered more and more in favour of the latter down to the War. According to Cuinet's statistics, not however too reliable (*op. cit.*, p. 412, 496 *sq.*), the sanjak of Mardin which in area at least is larger than Tūr 'Abdin in the wider sense, had in 1890 in all 194,072 inhabitants, viz. 122,522 Muslims, 67,970 Christians, 1,500 Yezidis, 1,500 gypsies and 580 Jews: the Christians were thus a third of the whole population. In the two kads which are almost entirely within Tūr 'Abdin, the kads of Midyāt and that of 'Awne, Cuinet (*op. cit.*, p. 513, 517 *sq.*) gives the population in 1890 as 31,920 Christians and 37,712 Muslims. In the central kads of Midyāt the numbers were about equally balanced: 22,632 Muslims and 22,126 Christians. The present distribution of nationalities and creeds within Tūr 'Abdin is not known. Muhammadans are however certainly in an overwhelming majority, since the Christians suffered severely during and after the War; in particular many Armenians had to leave the country. When in a new persecution in 1924, the Patriarch of the Jacobites, Ignatius Elias III, was driven from his residence in Dair Zafarān (east of Mardin), the bulk of his followers (3—4,000) migrated with him to Syria; cf. H. C. Lake, *Mosul and its Minarets*, London 1925, p. 113.

Christianity spread in Tūr 'Abdin at a very early date from Edessa, which is quite near. At the Council of Chalcedon (451) among the six Mesopotamian bishops we find one of Hiṣn Kaifā, but not one of Isala as Noldeke assumed (*Z.D.M.G.*, xxxv., 219, note 2) on the authority of Mansi's statements in *Council . . . collectio*, vii. 403; here *Isalas* = Isala is, as the new edition in Schnit-

hess, *Die syrisch. Kämpfe des Synodus von Nicaea bei Chalcedon* (= *Abh. d. Gott. Geolisch. d. Wiss.*, N. Folge, vol. x., N. 2), p. 135, shows, a wrong reading. Since the time of the Christological quarrels, Tūr 'Abdin has been the citadel of the Jacobites; nowhere do or did they exist in such solid masses as in these highlands and in Mardin and its vicinity. Tūr 'Abdin proper originally seems to have been a single Jacobite bishopric; about 1089 it was divided into two dioceses, the bishops of which lived in Kartamin and Hāh respectively. Later, in the xiiith century, other sees were created in the chief towns of the district. In the middle of the xvth century differences between the patriarch of Mardin and the Bishop of Sālāḥ (2 hours journey north of Midyāt) led to a schism, in the course of which the bishops of Tūr 'Abdin cast off the authority of the patriarch and chose the bishop of Sālāḥ as patriarch of Tūr 'Abdin and Hiṣn Kaifā. This split lasted for over a century. Cf. thereon Pognon, *op. cit.*, p. 45, 62—63, 75. Lists of the bishops of Hāh, Hiṣn Kaifā and Kartamin may be found e.g. in Wright, *op. cit.* (see *Bibl.*), p. 1350—1351.

In addition to Jacobites there were in Tūr 'Abdin in the middle ages, and even later, communities of Nestorians. The oldest monastery there, that of Mār Awgen, was for long in their possession (see Pognon, *op. cit.*, p. 109). These Nestorians were won over to Rome in the xvth and xviiith century and henceforth called themselves Chaldaeans (Kaldāi), as a religious community with their own ritual. The members of this so-called Chaldaean church settled in Tūr 'Abdin have at their head two bishops (in Mardin and Džarira); according to a native Chaldaean cleric, they numbered in 1914: 8,070 souls; cf. *Annuaire Pontificale Catholique*, xvii. (1914), p. 502—511 and based on it Lubeck, in *Histor.-polit. Blätter für das kathed. Deutschland*, vol. 154, Munich 1914, p. 92, 101—102. According to Cuinet, there were in 1890 in Tūr 'Abdin about 4,000 Syrians (Suriyāni), i.e. Jacobites in union with Rome, who were under a Patriarch of Mardin and a bishop of Džarira. According to Cuinet there were in the administrative district of Mardin also 28,666 Armenians, of whom the one half professed to belong to the Orthodox Church, the other in fairly equal portions to the Roman Catholic and to the Protestant churches. The Armenian Protestant community is a creation of the activity of American missions. The prosperity caused by the civilising influence of the American missionaries, who had their main centres in Mardin and Midyāt, spread practically over the whole of Tūr 'Abdin but has ceased since the War; cf. on this American mission: Sachau, *Reise etc.*, p. 404, 410, 413, 422—423. Finally Cuinet gives from about 1890 as further Christian inhabitants of the sanjak of Mardin 6,730 Greeks (who had to leave Turkish territory after the War) and 580 Jews.

We may assume with certainty that before the War the Jacobites were the largest in numbers of the Christian communities in Tūr 'Abdin proper, but we have not the material available to enable us to make an approximately reliable estimate of their numbers. Cuinet's estimate (for the sanjak of Mardin!) which puts the Jacobites at 13,754, only half that of the settled Armenians, is obviously based on incorrect premises and seems unreliable. In 1838 Southgate (see *op. cit.*, ii. 268, 275) estimated the number of Jacobites (from information given him by the Patriarch of the day) at 6,000 families

or 60-70 villages with populations of 50-60 families. In the mountains, i.e. in Tūr 'Abdin proper, according to him there were 30,000 Jacobites, to which were to be added 5,000 settlers in the vicinity of the monasteries; in Mārdin there were 2,000, Jacobite Christians in the immediate neighbourhood of Mārdin and in the plain of Sūdūr 6,000. Badger who visited Tūr 'Abdin in 1850 put the number of Jacobite villages there at 150 (see Badger, *The Nestorians* etc., i. 63). That the number of Jacobites of Tūr 'Abdin from the time of Badger and Southgate till the beginning of the War steadily if slowly decreased there is no reason to doubt.

The Muslim part of the population of Tūr 'Abdin consists mainly of Kurds. They have spread more and more widely in the heart of Tūr 'Abdin in recent centuries and the Christian peasants with whom they are constantly warring are being driven more and more from the southern slopes of the mountains towards the plains. On the constant state of civil war among the people of the villages of Tūr 'Abdin see Pognon's observations, *op. cit.*, p. 108-111. For Kurdish tribes or families settling within the region of Tūr 'Abdin cf. Niebuhr, *op. cit.*, ii. 388; Lerch, *Forschungen über die Kurden und iranischen Nordkhalasien*, St. Petersburg 1837-1858, vol. ii. (Glossary); Schlaff, *op. cit.*, p. 49-51. Lists of tribes in Prym and Socin, *Der neuarameische Dialekt des Tūr 'Abdin*, ii. 416-418 and Prym and Socin, *Kurdische Sammlungen*, ii. 275-284; Sachau, *Reise*, p. 387; Sykes, *op. cit.*, p. 378 (under No. 15); see also above, vol. ii. 1132, 1141, 1144. The followers of the Yazidi religion in Tūr 'Abdin are also Kurds but their numbers are insignificant. The most important Yazidi tribe there is called Džilki (Tshelki); see Niebuhr, *op. cit.*; Prym and Socin, *Dial. des Tūr 'Abdin*, ii. 379; Sachau, *Reise* etc., p. 387; Menzel in Gothe, *Meine Vordrasiens Expedition*, Leipzig 1911, I, p. cxvi.

Arab Beduins also encamp occasionally in Tūr 'Abdin especially on its southern outliers; for the names of some of them see Taylor, *op. cit.* p. 54-55 and M. v. Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, ii. 68. A special position is occupied by the large tribe of the Mehallemti (Mahallemtiya) whom we find as early as the already mentioned anonymous continuation of the *Chronicle of Barhebraeus* (year 1407; see Behnisch's edition, p. 6, 7-10). They are the result of the intermarriage of Arabs and Kurds (with Arab influence predominant) and are said to have renounced Christianity over 300 years ago. They dwell mainly in the *kaḍa* of Awaie, the part of Tūr 'Abdin running west of Mārdin to the Tigris; on this tribe see Niebuhr, *loc. cit.*; *Z.D.M.G.*, i. 59; Sachau, *Reise*, p. 421; Sykes, *op. cit.*, p. 356, 378.

Three languages are spoken in Tūr 'Abdin: Kurdish, Syriac and Arabic. They have all strongly influenced each other. The most widely disseminated is Kurdish, which all the Christians also understand and speak in addition to Syriac. The Kurdish dialect here spoken is the northern and western branch of the Karmāndjī dialect, which is now better known from the investigations of Lerch, Prym and Socin, and Makas (see above ii, p. 1152). See especially Prym and Socin, *Kurdische Forschungen, Erzählungen und Lieder in Dialekten des Tūr 'Abdin und des Buhān*, 2 parts (text and transl.), St. Petersburg 1887-1890.

The Jacobites, like most of the other Christians

of Tūr 'Abdin (especially the Kaldāni), use among themselves a peculiar Syriac dialect, usually called briefly Tōrāni, 'The language of Tūr'. It differs very much from the modern Syriac idiom spoken in the east (in the district of Urmia and Mōḡul and in Eastern Kurdistan) by the Nestorians and Chaldeans (Kaldāni). The Jacobite modern Syriac (or modern Jacobite) is much closer than this dialect to Edessene, i.e. to the Syriac literary language. It cannot however be said to be derived from this without further enquiry, but is to be traced to an older form of the language which was closely related to Edessene. Tōrāni texts of importance for our knowledge of the language have been collected by Prym and Socin and also by Sachau. On texts taken down by Prym and Socin in 1869 from the mouth of a Mīdyāt man see Prym and Socin, *Der neuarameische Dialekt des Tūr 'Abdin*, 2 parts (text and transl.), Göttingen 1881; cf. thereon the important review by Nöldeke, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxxv. 218-235. Sachau through the intermediary of the American mission got specimens taken down in Tōrāni by a Syrian priest; this MSS. material is now in the Berlin State Library, see Sachau, *Katalog der syrisch. Handschriften*, p. 812-816 (No. 278-292). Of these so far only one text (No. 290, the story of the wise Halkār) has been published, namely by Lidbarski, in *Die neuarameischen Handschriften der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Leipzig 1896, vol. i, p. 1-77 (text) and vol. ii, p. 1-41 (transl.). The Aramaic texts collected by Parisot in 1897 from Tūr 'Abdin (s. *Contribution à l'étude du dialecte néo-syriaque du Tour 'Abdin*, in *Act. du XI^{ème} Congrès Intern. des Orientalistes*, Paris 1897, vol. iv, p. 179-198) differ in language considerably from those collected by Sachau and Prym and Socin. Do we perhaps have here another modern Syriac local dialect? A. Siegel has prepared an excellent *Lauf- und Formeltre des neuarame. Dialekts des Tūr 'Abdin*, Hannover 1923, based mainly on the texts published by Prym and Socin; cf. thereon Littmann's review in *O.L.Z.*, xxix, 1926, col. 1003-1008. Of other works, the grammatical and lexicographical sketch of Tōrāni given by Nöldeke, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxxv. 218 sq., should also be noted; cf. also Gindl's observations, *op. cit.*, xxxvii. 294-301. On the boundaries within which the modern Jacobite dialect is spoken cf. Prym and Socin, *Der neuarame. Dial. des Tūr 'Abdin*, vol. i, p. vi-viii; *ibid.*, p. vii. (repeated in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxxv. 255), and in Sachau, *Reise*, p. 412-413 a list is given of the localities in which at the present day (or rather 1870 and 1880) Tōrāni is still spoken. There are also Syrian villages in Tūr 'Abdin where Aramaic is no longer spoken but only Kurdish.

Arabic is understood by the majority of the inhabitants of the larger villages. It is more frequently spoken in the south towards the Mesopotamian plains and particularly in the region of Mārdin. The dialect of Mārdin, which shows many peculiarities, belongs to the Tigris groups of the dialects of Mesopotamia (cf. above i, p. 339). It is closely related to the Arabic spoken around Mōḡul. Cf. Socin, *Der arab. Dial. von Mōḡul und Mārdin* (a collection of texts), in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxxvi, 1882, p. 1-53, 238-277; xxxvii, 1883, p. 188-222 (also separately, Leipzig 1904).

The number of villages in the sandjak of Mārdin, which however includes territory not in Tūr 'Abdin, is given by Cuinet (p. 412, 496) as

1,062; of these 410 are in the *ḥadā* of Midyāt and 97 in that of 'Awīn. A manuscript Syriac chronicle (according to Prym and Socin, *Der neuarab. Dial.* etc., i., p. iii.) estimates the number of villages in Tūr 'Abdin at 243. In *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxv, 258—269, Socin gives a list of 168 names; cf. also the list of places in Prym and Socin, *op. cit.*, ii, 416—418 and in Prym and Socin, *Kurdische Sammlungen*, ii, 275—284. One should also consult the geographical indices to the catalogues of Syriac manuscripts, especially Wright, *Catal. of the Syriac Manuscr. in the British Museum*, London 1870, p. 1239 sq.; Sachau, *Verzeichnis der syriach. Hss. der Kgl. Bibliothek in Berlin*, Berlin 1899, p. 923 sq.; Payne Smith, *Catal. codic. mss. bibloth. Bodleiana*, vol. vi., Oxford 1864, p. 664 sq. and Zotenberg, *Catal. des mss. syriaques... de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Paris 1874, p. 230 sq. The number of Syrian villages in Tūr 'Abdin has already been mentioned; most places have a mixture of nationalities and religions, i.e. have Muslim (Kurd) as well as Christian (Jacobite, Armenian etc.) elements in their population. In earlier times Tūr 'Abdin must have been better cultivated and more thickly populated; this is shown by the numerous ruins that exist.

For the larger towns on the edge of Tūr 'Abdin like Mārdin (Maridin), Ḥiḡn Kaifā, Dījzārā b. 'Omar and Naḡbīn see the special articles. The capital of (inner) Tūr 'Abdin proper is Midyāt (Syriac: Midyād) which lies practically in the centre in a beautiful plain surrounded by hills (3,400 feet above sea-level) in about 41° 25' E. Long. and 37° 25' N. Lat. This very old place, already mentioned in the early Assyrian inscriptions (as Matīāte; see Streck, *Z. A.*, xiii, 95; xiv, 169; xix, 249) lies at the intersection of two great roads which cross Tūr 'Abdin from North to South (Naḡbīn-Ḥiḡn Kaifā) and from east to west (Dījzārā-Mārdin). Before the War, Midyāt is said to have had an exclusively Christian (mainly Jacobite) population of about 5,000.

Of the other larger places in Tūr 'Abdin may be mentioned: Sawr (15 miles N.E. of Mārdin), the capital of the *ḥadā* of 'Awīn (see above). East of it lies the village of Kīlīlīh and somewhat S.E. of the latter Erbil (Kardīsh; Hahliḡ: cf. above ii, p. 523 and Prym and Socin, *Kurdische Sammlungen*, ii, 206, 238). North of Midyāt, halfway between it and Ḥiḡn Kaifā, is Kofr Dīz (Kurdish: Kardīsh), a fairly large Kurd village, in the neighbourhood of which is the Muslim place of pilgrimage Tell 'Abād ('Abāde), which Rawlinson wished to identify with the old Armenian royal city of Tigranocerta (cf. Sachau, *Reise*, p. 415 sq.; Lehmann-Haupt, *op. cit.*, i, 372—373, 539). Twelve miles north of Midyāt is the village of Ḥāh with many ruins, which testify to its former importance. We may also mention Zāz and 'Arnās, both N. W. of Ḥāh, one and a half and three hours' journey distant respectively, and twelve miles S.E. of Ḥāh the large village of Midāḡ. Two hours west of the latter is the large Christian village of Bāzabrtina (Old Syriac: Bēth-Sabrtina) which plays an important part in the ecclesiastical history of Tūr 'Abdin. 20 miles S.E. of Mārdin on the S.W. spurs of Tūr 'Abdin lie the great and impressive ruins of the town of Dīrā built by Anastasius I (491—518) and later refortified by Justinian I (527—565) (also called from its founder Anastasiopolis); its name is still borne by an adjoining

village. On the ruins of Dīrā cf. Sachau, *Reise*, p. 294—398, and especially Preusser, *op. cit.*, p. 44—49 (with plates 53—61).

Tūr 'Abdin plays a very important part in the history of eastern monachism. According to a tradition in Nestorian circles, St. Eugenius came from Egypt in the fourth century and founded a monastery in the southern part of Tūr 'Abdin, and thus laid the foundation of the monastic system which developed to such an extent in Mesopotamia. St. Eugenius, who had many followers, is said after his death in 363 to have been buried in the monastery built by him. This is not the place to go into the question of the truth of the Syriac legend of St. Eugenius; it may be sufficient to refer to the serious objections raised to it by Labourt, in *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse sous la dynastie Sassanide*, Paris 1904, p. 302 sq.; cf. also Baumstark, *Geogr. d. syriach. Litt.*, Bonn 1922, p. 235—236. In any case, it is certain that in the middle ages Tūr 'Abdin became a regular monks' citadel like an eastern Mount Athos. When Niebuhr (*loc. cit.*) is told that there are over 70 ruined monasteries in this mountain land, one need not think this is an exaggeration. At the present day, Tūr 'Abdin is still full of remains of old monasteries. Only a few are in good repair and still inhabited by monks. Great churches, for the most part of the 5th—12th centuries, are still to be seen. These monuments of the mediaeval ecclesiastical architecture of the east are of considerable importance for the history of Christian art. They have been studied recently by different investigators, notably Pognon, G. L. Bell, Preusser and Guyer; for the literature see the *Bibl.* Pognon has earned special praise for collecting the numerous Syriac inscriptions on the churches and monasteries visited by him.

Strzygowski, Guyer and Herzfeld have devoted special attention to the dates and appreciation as documents of the history of art of the buildings of Tūr 'Abdin; cf. M. v. Borchers and Strzygowski, *Amida*, Heidelberg 1910, p. 269—273, 293; Guyer, in *Repert. f. Kunstwissenschaft*, xxxviii, 1916, p. 215—237 and in Sarre-Hersfeld, *op. cit.* (i, *Bibl.*), ii, 45, 336; Herzfeld, in *O. L. Z.*, xiv, 1911, p. 402 sq., 413 and in Sarre-Hersfeld, *op. cit.*, ii, 277, 296, 298—299, 336, 345. Strzygowski's thesis that the art of the Mesopotamian monasteries is older than that of Syria and that Mesopotamia, especially Tūr 'Abdin, and not Egypt, is the cradle of monasticism, has been rejected, in my view on good grounds, by Guyer and Herzfeld, who champion the later date of the Mesopotamian buildings compared with the older Syrian; cf. also Becker's remarks (*ibid.*, ii, 396) against the assumption of priority for Mesopotamian monachism.

The mother-house of all the Mesopotamian monasteries of Tūr 'Abdin, the already mentioned Mār Awgen (Kurd.: Marōke), is 13 miles N.E. of Mārdin (41° 30' E. Long. and 30° 7' N. Lat.) clinging to the cliffs of the southern declivities of the plateau. In the middle ages it was the headquarters of the western Nestorians and is now inhabited by Jacobite monks. Half-an-hour's journey from Mār Awgen is another old monastery, Mār Yuhannā, founded by a disciple of St. Eugenius and bearing his name (on him cf. the work by Veshūdēnah, No. 2 quoted above ii, p. 801a).

In the middle ages one of the most important monasteries of Tūr 'Abdin was the Monastery of

Abraham, frequently referred to in Syrian literature briefly as 'the great monastery (on mount Ila')'; cf. e.g. the indices to Chabot's edition of Yeshu'dnah's work just mentioned. Its founder was the celebrated creator of definitely Nestorian monachism, Abraham of Kaskar (d. 588); on him see vol. II, p. 801. G. Hoffmann (*op. cit.*, p. 170 sq.) wished to identify this monastery with the monastery in ruins at Mār Bawāl (= Mār Bāb, 3 miles S.W. of Mār Awgen) mentioned by Taylor. This is not possible: we must rather identify the monastery of Abraham with Dēr Mār Ibrahīm, visited by Hinrichs on his journey in 1911; see his notes in *Bell, Churches and Monasteries of Tur 'Abdin*, Heidelberg 1913, p. 49—50 or p. 105—106.

At the present day the principal monastery of Tur 'Abdin and the greatest centre of pilgrimage for the Jacobites is now the monastery of Kartmin (Old Syr.: Kartamin), about twelve miles S.E. of Midyat. This coenobium, perhaps the most celebrated of the Jacobites in Asia, was in the middle ages one of the richest and most venerated in the whole of the East. In its greatest days it held 300 monks, while at the present day there are only about a dozen there. It is said to have been founded in 399 under Arcadius; its founders are said to have been St. Samuel (d. c. 406) and Simeon (d. 433). It is still usually called among Syrians Mār Gabriel after its great Abbot, St. Gabriel (d. 667). The Muslims and Greeks usually call it Dēr 'Amr (in travellers also we find Der Amar and quite wrongly Der el-Amr) = Dair 'Umar, the monastery of 'Umar. The caliph 'Umar at the time of the Arab invasion is said to have given the Abbot rights of jurisdiction over all Christians in the country. In Kartmin are three churches, i.e. two, in addition to the principal called after St. Gabriel, which are dedicated to the Virgin and to the forty Martyrs. The structure of the church of St. Gabriel, perhaps the oldest in the country, is typical of the monastic churches of Tur 'Abdin. The village of Kartmin is built among the ruins of another monastery, that of St. Simeon. For the history of Kartmin cf. the essay by Nau, in *Act. du XIV^{ème} Congrès Internat. des Orient. à Alger*, vol. II, Paris 1906, p. 76 sq. and the Syriac chronicle discussed by Baumstark, *op. cit.*, p. 273 sq.

Among the oldest churches in Tur 'Abdin is that of Mār Kyriakos in Arnāa and that of Mār 'Azariel in Keṣr Zeh (1½ hours S.E. of Arnāa); stylistically they are closely connected. According to Guyer, the village of Hāh is the archaeological centre of Tur 'Abdin. In it are two very interesting old churches: Mār Sōwā (Sāwā) and that of the Virgin, the al-'Adhūwā, which is very rich in ornament, and has come down to us practically uninjured from the time it was built. Among the latest of the mediaeval churches is that of Mār Yaḥyā in Sālāh; this monastery became one of the most important in the country when it became the residence of a separate patriarch for Tur 'Abdin.

We may further mention that ruins of monasteries and churches — Pognon, *op. cit.*, p. 116 mentions twenty — are particularly numerous in Bāsehrina (cf. above); but they are mainly of more recent origin. In conclusion we may just mention the famous monastery of Dēr al-Znāṣ-farān (one hour east of Mārdin) which till 1924 was the residence of the Jacobite patriarch; he now lives in Aleppo; cf. on it especially Peter-

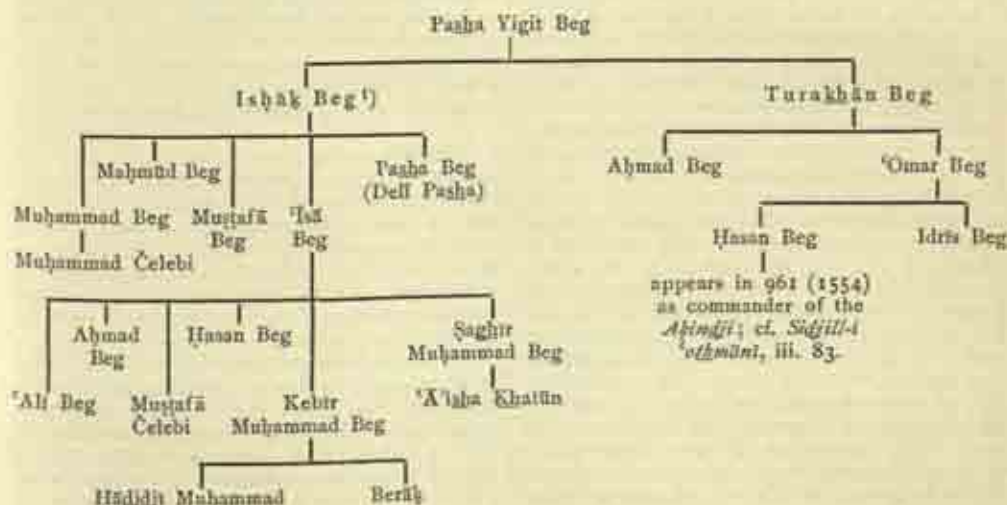
mann, *op. cit.*, II, 343 sq.; Sachau, *Reise*, p. 405 sq.; Parry (who stayed six months in it), *op. cit.*, p. 103—140 and Freusser, *op. cit.*, p. 49—53 (with plates 62—65).

As already mentioned, there was in the area of Tur 'Abdin in Roman-Byzantine times a large number of forts which were mainly intended to defend the Roman frontier from Persia. Ruins of such citadels may be seen in several places, for example the *Paḥḥā* of Byzantine writers is probably identical with the modern Kal'at Hāṭim Tayyī (about three hours' journey south of Bāsehrina); cf. Weissbach in Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, 2nd ser., I, 13. Another citadel frequently mentioned in the classics, Sarbane (the forms Sisara and Sinaarana also handed down are probably corruptions), is probably to be located on the site of the modern Sērwan (cf. Weissbach, *op. cit.*, 2nd ser., I, 2433). On other celebrated citadels, like the 'new citadel' (Arab. al-Kal'a al-Djadida), apparently the modern Kal'at Djadid (two and a half hours' S.W. of Kal'at Hāṭim Tayyī), and the citadel of Hāṭim (Syr. Hēnā de Hāṭim), often mentioned in Syriac or Arabic sources, which must have stood near Bāsehrina, see Guyer in Petermann's *Mitt.*, vol. 62 (1916), p. 297. On the citadel of Finik on the north bank of the Tigris (above Djastra) which is mentioned as early as late classical writers (as *Phasa*, Phoenice) and has played a notable part in the history of the Kurds (cf. above II, p. 1139b) see Tuch, in *Z.D.M.G.*, I, 57—61; M. Hartmann, *op. cit.* (see *Bibl.*), index (s.v.).

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Nothing is known of the early career of Turakhân Beg. His name is found for the first time in May 1423, when he appeared in command of the cavalry in the Peloponnesus, broke through the ruined trenches of the Isthmus at Hexamilia, took most of the defences recently restored by Emperor Emmanuel on this tongue of land and, meeting no resistance, ravaged the interior of the country. He attacked a number of Byzantine towns like Mistra, Leonidari, Gardhiki, Dabia (cf. *Chronicon breve*, in the Bonn edition of Ducas, p. 199) and subdued the Peloponnesus for the Ottomans as far as the lands held by the Venetians. This whole campaign (cf. Phrantzes, p. 117; Chalcocondyles, p. 238) was most probably intended as a reconnaissance against Venice. Soon afterwards Turakhân appeared, if Ducas reports correctly, with his cavalry on the Black Sea (p. 50, 1). He also took the field against the Albanians and inflicted a decisive defeat on them (cf. Chalcocondyles, p. 239, 1, 252, 1) and reappeared in the Peloponnesus, where from Naupaktos he prevented the despot Constantine from taking the town of Patras (Phrantzes, p. 150, 18). At the end of 1431 he again destroyed the walls of the Isthmus of Corinth, besieged Thebes in the summer of 1435 and conquered it in a few days (cf. Phrantzes, p. 157, 18 and 159, 17). At this time the Byzantine historian Georgios Phrantzes made his acquaintance in Thebes (p. 160, 3 sq.). In the beginning of Nov. 1443, Turakhân Beg commanded one of the Ottoman corps in the battle against John Hunyadi. His peculiar conduct in the battle of Islâhi (cf. *Altunian, Chron.*, ed. Giese, p. 58, transl. p. 90) was held to be responsible for the defeat (cf. Katona, xiii. 253: *Turakhanbeg*; Chalcocondyles, p. 315) and he was sent in custody to the state prison of Hedewi Çardak at Tokat. Nothing is recorded of the next ten years of his life. In the early days of October 1453, Sultan Muhammad II sent Turakhân with his two sons

Ahmad and 'Omar with a large force to the Peloponnesus, where he again took the outer defences of the Isthmus, invaded Arcadia plundering and burning, and ravaged and burned the whole Gulf of Messene passing via Ithome (i.e. Messene). When the difficulties of communication made it necessary to divide his army, his son Ahmad was captured in the pass of Dervenaki between Mycenae and Corinth by the brother-in-law of Matthew Azanes, the despot Demetrius of Sparta (cf. Phrantzes, p. 235 and W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, London 1908, p. 426), but was liberated in December 1454 by his brother 'Omar (*ibid.*, p. 383, 11 sq.). In October 1455 Turakhân appeared with his sons in Adrianople (Phrantzes, p. 385, 1 sq.). He died in the middle of 1456, probably at a great age (Phrantzes, p. 386, 1). His official residence as governor was at Larisa in Thessaly (Turkish: Yenishehr-i Fanâr; q.v.), the lands of which he held as a fief. There he built a mosque and numerous other buildings for charitable purposes; even a Christian church, in Tirnovo (Greek Tyrnawos) not far from Larisa, which is still standing, was built by him. His tomb, a chapel-like *türbe*, is in Larisa on the north east edge of the town. The cemetery around it with a monastery has now disappeared. Turakhân Beg had two sons, Ahmad and 'Omar, who accompanied their father on his campaigns. 'Omar, who appears as Ottoman warden of the marches in the Peloponnesus, while his brother Ahmad succeeded his father in Thessaly, was left in 1456 by Muhammad II on the Peloponnesus with an army (Phrantzes, p. 388, 11 sq.), in 1463 acquired the country round Naupaktos and in 1467 after an initial reverse inflicted a defeat on the Venetians (Phrantzes, p. 425, 2); a fuller account of 'Omar, 'Omarbeg (Phrantzes always writes 'Amâbeg, is given by Chalcocondyles, cf. the Index s.v. Omars). On the further life of the two brothers, of whom Ahmad, like his father, had made the pilgrimage,



1) The left part of the genealogical table is taken from the book by Cl. Elerović, *loc. cit.*, p. 121. It requires to be checked, as there might be confusion with the descendants of an Evrenos-oghlu, among the sons of Isâ Beg at least. Cf. also C. J. Jireček, *Staat und Gesellschaft*, iv. 8, note 1, where attention is called to such possible confusions.

not much is known. 'Omar seems to have been the more active of the two. In 1477 he fought on the Iskonzo against the Venetians (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. 151), next year defeated the Albanians (*ibid.*, ii. 157) and was still alive in 1484, as his will dated Muharram 889 (February 1484), shows (cf. E. G. Pharmakidis, *op. cit.*, p. 287—303 or 307—310). 'Omar Beg had two sons, one of whom, called Hasan Beg, is known from his will written in Shawwâl 937 (May 1554; cf. Pharmakidis, p. 310 *seq.*), while the other, Idris Beg, made a name in his day as a poet and excellent translator of Hâfiz's *Shorru u-Shirîn* and *Lailâ u-Madînu* into Turkish (cf. Sehi, *Tedkîr*, p. 36 *seq.*). The family of Turakhân-oghla, which was established around Larisa and owned extensive estates until quite modern times, later played no important part in history. A certain Fakî Pasha, recorded as a late descendant of Turakhân Beg, by his extortions as governor of Rûm-eli made his name hated; he was beheaded in the court of the Serai in Istanbul at the age of 70 in March 1643 (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, p. 322 from Na'imâ, and Zinkeisen, *G. O. R.*, iv. 535). J. Ph. Fallmerayer in 1842 saw "at the chief mosque [of Larisa] a biography of Tarchan-Beg preserved there" (cf. *Fragments aus dem Orient*, 1877, p. 381 *seq.*) but this seems to have since disappeared (like the MS. biography of the Everenos-oghla [q.v.] mentioned by Beaujour, *Tableau du commerce de la Grèce*, i. 117). The genealogical table on p. 877 gives a conspectus of the descendants of Pasha Vigit Beg, the real founder of this Ottoman noble family.

Bibliography: D. Urquhart, *Spirit of the East*, London 1838, vol. i.; cf. the German transl. by F. G. Buck, Stuttgart and Tübingen 1839, i. 226 *seq.*, from an Arabic biography of T. and his family preserved in the public library at Thessaly. (F. BAERGER)

TURÂN (or Tawrân), the old name of a district in Baluchistan.

According to Tabari, i. 820, the kings of Turân and of Makurân (Mukrân) submitted to the Sasanian Ardashir (224—241). The Palkuli inscription only mentions the Makurân-ghâh. Herzfeld, *Palkuli*, p. 38, thinks that these princes at first owned the suzerainty of the Sakas and their submission to Ardashir was the result of the conquest of Sakastân (= Sistan) by this monarch.

Baladhuri does not mention al-Turân. According to one of his sources, Hadîdjîdî [q.v.] appointed Sa'îd b. Aslam to Mukrân and "(all) that frontier". Isakhri, p. 171, and Ibn Hawqal, p. 226, among the inhabited places in Turân mention Mhâlî (?), Kizkânân, Sûra (Shûra) and Kuzdâr (or Kuzdâr). Ibn Hawqal, p. 232, says that Turân is a valley with a fortified town (*qapâh*) also called al-Turân and in its centre is a fortress (*qish*) commanded by an ignorant Râsrian. Ibn Hawqal, p. 232—233, mentions Kuzdâr separately from the *qapâh* of the same name. Kuzdâr was the town (commercial?) of Turân possessing "a district and several towns". A certain Mughîr (or Ma'n b. Ahmad) had seized Kuzdâr and only recognised the direct authority of the 'Abbâsîd caliph.

The statements in Idrizi, i. 166, 177, confuse the situation, for he gives the name al-Turân to the station in Makurân which Ibn Khuridhbih, p. 55, calls al-Tawrân [ten farsakhs S.E. of Fakhrij, on the river which is now called Sarbâr and flows

into the sea near Gwattar], but then associates Kuzdâr and Kizkânân (towns in the district of Turân) with this Turân. On the other hand, he places Turân 4 days' journey from Kuzdâr, in the direction of Mastudj, i.e. to the north. At the site of Kuzdâr [q.v.] is known (85 miles S. of Kalât at a height of 4,050 feet: cf. the article BALUCHISTÂN), Turân (the town) must be located at Kalât.

The town of Kandâbil, five farsakhs (more accurately 5 *marhal*) from Kuzdâr, is outside of Turân and is the capital of the district of the Budhas (Baladhuri, p. 436: Zuhî al-Budha). Kandâbil, lying in the plain, is identified with Gandâwa (75 English miles N.E. of Khordar, to the north of the Indus, at a height of 314 feet above sea-level).

The position of Kizkânân, the residence of the already mentioned Ma'n b. Ahmad (chief of Turân according to Isakhri, or of Kuzdâr, according to Ibn Hawqal), is unknown. Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 192, 275—276, connects Kizkânân with Kikân (cf. Baladhuri, p. 432) and seeks it at Kalât. In this case, Kizkânân = the *qapâh* al-Turân. The land between Kizkânân and Kandâbil, inhabited by Budhas and possessing vines, bore the name of its chief Ayl (or Uil [?]).

Yaqût, iii. 557, reckons Turân (the *qapâh* of which is Kuzdâr and which has several *rustâq*) among the *nahiyas* of Sind. He also mentions a *nahiya* of Turân in Madâ'in and a village of Turân belonging to Harât.

The Arabs write Turân with *t* which may represent some local aspiration of *t*. In principle there is nothing to object to in the connection of Turân with Turân but it would be unwise to go beyond stating the similarity of the names. The connection is still weaker if we connect Turân with Tabarân and Tabarân.

Bibliography: Tomaschek, *Zur hist. Topogr. Persiens*, i. 56, thinks the name Turân may come from the Iranian term Tûra, which means "enemy, non-Iranian countries"; Marquart, *Erânshahr*, p. 31—33, 187, 190; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 332; Hünning, *Völkerlichter in Iran, Mitt. d. Anthropol. Gesell. Wien*, xxxvi., 1916, p. 200, seeks the real Turân not in Turkestan but in Turân of Kuzdâr (inhabited by the ancestors of the Brahûi of our day!). (V. MINORSKY)

TURÂN, an Iranian term applied to the country to the north-east of Iran. The form of the name is not earlier than the Middle Persian period. The suffix *-ân* is used to form both patronymics (Fâpâkân) and the names of countries (Gêlân, Dailamân) (cf. *Grundr. d. iran. Phil.*, i/ii., p. 176; Salemann, *ibid.*, i/ii., p. 280 expresses doubts as to whether *-ân* is from the genitive plural *-ânâm*).

Three questions are raised by the name Turân: 1. its origin, 2. its later acceptance, which identifies Turân with "the land of the Turks", 3. its modern geographical, linguistic and political applications.

The Tûra in the Iranian sphere, the element Tûr of Tûrân has analogies in the Avestan Tûra- (Tura-). In the parts preserved of the Avesta, we have 1. Tûra, the father of two pious individuals, who bear the Iranian names of Arvâhant and Frânti but of whom nothing more is known (*Yast*, xiii. 113—123); 2. the people called Tûra or Tura, probably nomads (*Yast*, xvii. 55: *âru-aspa* "having swift steeds"); [The adjective from Tûra, with epenthesis, is *âsrya*].

The Turyans are several times represented as enemies of the Iranians and of the true religion (cf. *Yasht*, xvii. 55 where they pursue *Ashī wazuhī*). A subdivision(?) of the Turyans is called *Dānu* (*Yasht*, xvii. 55-56), which may be connected with the Sanskrit *dānava* "demons". A particularly hateful figure is that of the "Turyan brigand" *Frangrasyan* (= *Afrāsiyāh*), whose fruitless attempts to seize the royal power (**aryana*) are related at length in *Yasht*, xix. 56-64. But the same *Yasht*, xix. 93, admits that the **aryana* had once been in the possession of *Frangrasyan*, when he played the part of defender of Iran against the tyrant *Zainigav*. The hostility to *Frangrasyan* might therefore have political roots.

Quite a number of passages reveal that there were pious people among the Tūra. The family of the Turyan *Fryāna* is particularly praised in a very early passage in the *Gāthās* (*Yasna*, xvi. 12). The passage in *Yasht*, xiii. 143 is very well known: "we sacrifice to the *fravashī* of the pious men and the pious women of the Aryan (Iranian), Turyan, Sairinyan, Sāinyan and Dāhyān lands".

An indirect indication of the abode of the Tūra is given in *Yasht*, v. 57, where the descendants of **Vāisaka*, lieutenant of *Frangrasyan* (*Shāh-nāma*, ed. Vullers, I. 248, 264; *Wēss*), are located at the pass of *Nāshirō-saka*, situated "very high" in *Kapāha* (= *Bakharā*?; cf. Marquart, *Komanen*, p. 196; in Chinese: *K'ang* = *Samarqand*). On the other hand, the name of the caucian Tur, which the Armenian translator of Ptolemy mentions in *Khwarizm* (ed. Soukry, § 34; cf. below), is very significant.

Several hypotheses have been put forward regarding the ethnical character of the Tūra. Geiger, *Ostir. Kultur*, p. 194, thought that this term referred to all the peoples of the steppes without distinction of race ("ein Kollektivbegriff... der keine ethnographische Trennung bezeichnet, sondern die Steppenvölker der Ebenen vom Kaspische bis an den Sir und darüber hinaus umfaßt"). Geiger thought it possible that there were Tatar elements among the Tūra ("Überreste einer tatarischen Urbewölkerung"?). It should however be noted that Geiger's attempt (p. 198) to find the Huns among the Tūra is now rejected (*Annuaire*, "son, descendant"; Bartholomae, *Altir. Wörterb.*, col. 1831).

The term *dānu* (cf. above) may also have a non-ethnical significance and mean the non-Mazdācan Tūra ("demons") [Christensen (1928) has revived Geiger's thesis; he supposes that Tūra was "originally the designation of the nomad peoples, whether they were of Iranian race or not"].

On the other hand, Blochet, in his article "Le nom des Turcs dans l'Avesta" supports the popular etymology Tūra = Turk and seeks to explain the names of the Turyan *Dānu*, *Kam* *Asabana* and *Vara* *Asabana*, by the Turkish words *bara* "black" and *gür* (?) "clever": "the name Turk, or at least the root from which it comes [sic!], was in existence at a date long before the sixth century". In this connection it may be recalled that whatever may be the etymology of the name Turk (cf. *Arch-türk*, "force, power": F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica*, II. 10; *türküm*, "family": Kāshghari, I. 368), the name Tūra is readily explained in Iranian as "courageous", "brave"; cf. *tūr* in Persian and in Kurdish and the significant allusion of Firdawsī to the character of Tūr, son of Faridūn. It is true that the etymology of *Tūr* and *Vara* is still obscure and that, ac-

cording to Firdawsī, a member of the *Vēsa* family bears the name of *Kurākhān* (?) (ed. Vullers, I. 261), but alongside these names one could place other Turyan names of clearly Iranian appearance, including that of the third companion of *Kara* and of *Vara*, *Uhrānkašta* "whose wish goes far". (This argument would lose its value if we could prove that the princes of Tūra were of foreign origin, but at the same time, one would lose all means of identifying the people).

The most elaborate hypothesis concerning the Tūra is that of Marquart, *Erānshahr*, p. 155-157. According to him, the celebrated ancestral home of the Iranians *Airyanem waejō* was in *Khwarizm*. The legendary wars of Iran and Tūrān reflect the struggles between the settled Iranians (who, proud of their superior culture, had monopolised the name *airyana*) with the nomad *Massagetai* "fish-eaters" (cf. *Avesta marya* "fish" and the Scythian plural suffix *-ān*). It is these Scythian *Massagetai*, living at first to the east of the Oxus and the sea of Aral, who must have taken the name of Tūra. The district of Tūr which the Armenian translator of Ptolemy (Annius of Shirak?) mentions in *Khwarizm* must be a memory of the Tūra people. [The connection of the district of Tūr with the Bactrian satrapy of *Tropisōa* (Strabo, II. 517) has still to be settled (cf. Oberhammer, *op. cit.*, p. 194, 202)]. The later migrations of peoples have completely changed the ethnical map of Asia and gradually the term Tūra was transferred to the new enemies of the Iranians, the *Sacraucacae*, the *Tokharians*, the *Yü-ei*, the *Küshāns*, the *Khionites*, the *Hephthalites* and the *Turks*.

The Sanskrit translation of the *Avesta* renders Tūra by *Turushka*. This last word seems usually to refer to the Turks, but as the Sanskrit translation is very late (*Grundr. d. iran. Phil.*, II, p. 50), its interpretation of ethnical terms has no value.

The influence of the *Shāh-nāma*. The connection between the Tūrān and the Tūra was found quite late (cf. Spiegel, *Iranische Altertumskunde*, 1871, I. 553 and especially Geiger, *op. cit.*, 1822, p. 193). The Middle Persian sources which might retain traces of the evolution of Tūrān from Tūra have had no direct influence on the formation of the current connotation of Tūrān. We can therefore say that the principal source of oriental and European views on this subject has been the *Shāh-nāma*. The parallel Persian and Arabic sources, also based on the Middle Persian *Kāwāday-nāmah*, have served only as a supplement to Firdawsī's poem.

Tūrān is mentioned in the chapter of the *Shāh-nāma* relating to the tripartition of the world by Faridūn (*Thraētaona*, *Frēdhōn*), the last universal monarch (ruler of the climate *Xvāntara*; cf. Macan's edition p. 58; Mohl, I. 138; Vullers, I. 77-78).

Tūrān and its eponym. *Yasht*, xiii. 143 (cf. above), which is very early, reflects the idea that the world is made up of five nations. On the other hand from the Pahlavi *Dinkart* we know that an Avestan book, now lost, spoke of the tripartition of the world among the sons of Faridūn (*Thraētaona*, *Frēdhōn*); Sarm, Tūc and Erēc (Pahlavi forms). We have evidently a case of two sets of traditions being amalgamated by giving the ancient peoples Iranian eponyms. But as the changes had taken place in the world as known to the Iranians, the two eldest sons of Faridūn had to be given, one in the west the

other in the east, apomages in conformity with the political divisions of the period (Sasanian?). The west was thus identified with Rūm (Byzantine empire) and the east with the Turks, neighbours of the Persians since the defeat of the Hephthalites under Khusrāw I (ca. 557).

The ancient legend of the tripartition of the world among the sons of Thraētaona symbolised the relationship of the ancient peoples of whom they were the eponyms. In the time of Firdawsi, the legend was totally deprived of ethnical foundation and the contradictions had to be concealed by playing upon words. In the *Šāh-nāma*, Farīdūn gives his sons the name of Salm, Tūr and Irāji only after subjecting them to a test to reveal their characters. The eldest, who has escaped the danger without scathe (*salāmāt*) receives the lands in the west (*Rūm mo-xāwar*) with the title *Xāwar-khudāy*. To the dashing second son (*tūr* = courageous) is given Tūrān and he becomes Tūrān-šāh, or Shah-i Chin, "lord of the Turks and Chinese" (Türk wa-Chin; cf. ed. Vulliamy, reign of Farīdūn, verses 460 and 295). The youngest, as brave as he is prudent, receives *Irān and the plain of the heroes (or perhaps of the Kuris; cf. *ibid.*, verses 291, 300 and 321) with the title *Irān-khudāy*.

In the Arabic writers (cf. Tabari, i. 226) the name of the eldest son still has the form Sarm < Sairima. But as the Pahlavi alphabet does not distinguish *r* and *l*, Firdawsi (as well as the *Muḥḥal al-Tawārīkh*) preferred the variant Salm which lent itself to a play on the Arabic root *s-l-m*. [Modi's attempt: *Adabic Papers*, Bombay 1905, p. 244, and Blochet's: *Rev. de l'Or. Chrétien*, 1925, xxv, p. 431, to connect Sairima directly with Rome (**Rim*, cf. Armen. *hRōm*) is wild in every respect]. That the connection of Salm with the west is still very slight is evident from the fact that the two brothers Salm and Tūr fight east of the Caspian Sea (Tha'alibi moves the scene of war to Adharbāydjān) and hold there jointly a naval stronghold Alānān-dī (Dihistānān Šār, on the Cape of Hasan-kuli? on which see Barthold, *K. istoriia vostochnykh Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914, p. 33). The name of the Alāna (ancestors of the Ossetes and descendants of the Sauromates = Sairima?) in these regions can relate only to a period about the first century B.C., when the Iranians still ruled around the Caspian (Marquart, *Komanen*, p. 108).

The name Tūr (Firdawsi and *Muḥḥal al-Tawārīkh*) appears in the *Denkārī*, viii. 13 as Tūr and this form predominates in the Arabic sources: Ibn Khurdašbih, p. 15; Tūdj or Tū; Dīnawarī, p. 11 (the sons of Nimrūd: Irāji, Salm and Tū); Tabari, i. 226; *Pikrist*, p. 12; Mas'ūdī, *Murūū*, ii. 116; Birūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāhiya*, p. 102; Tha'alibi, ed. Zotenberg, p. 41 (Tūr, Tūr). In any case the form Tūr chosen by Firdawsi to explain Tūrān as the apomage of the bearer of this name differs from the forms found in the Pahlavi and Arabic sources. According to Marquart, *Bilrāge*, Z.D.M.G., 1895, p. 664–7, Tūr < Taurī (from Tūr); according to Christensen, Tūr is from Tūr + ē = "of Tūryan origin".

Tūrān as a geographical term. The term Tūrān, formed from the name of the people Tūr, which is derived from that of its eponym Tūr/Tūr, and ultimately applied to the country of the Turks, ought to be found in the Sasanian *Khāwāz-nāma*, the source used by the Arab

historians and by Firdawsi. It is true that the *Bundahish*, iii. 13, 39, etc. uses only the term Turkestān [while Salmān, "land of Salm" *ibid.* xx. 12, there designates the country from which the Tugra comes] but we find Tūrān in the *Denkārī* viii, and in the fragments from Tārān (F. W. K. Müller, ii. 87).

For Firdawsi, Tūrān, land of the Turks and of the Chinese, is separated from Irān by the Oxus (*Šāh-nāma*, ed. Vulliamy, reign of Farīdūn, verses 295, 309, 322, 456, 459, 542, 792, reign of Nawdhar verse 133; ed. Mohl, v. 680, reign of Bahrām Gūr). On the other hand in the account of the defeat of Afrāsiyāh, the beginning of his domains seems to be extended to "Kibchāq". Marquart, *Komanen*, p. 110, from the manuscripts, emends this name to Kockāe (*Kōckā*) and identifies it with the encampment of the Karlukh [q. v.] 5 fursakh beyond Tārān [q. v.]; cf. Ibn Khurdašbih, p. 24: *Kiry kūr*. In the same way the capital of Afrāsiyāh, Kang-diz, is located by Firdawsi somewhere near China, without any connection with the country of Kang (*Bukhārā*) (ed. Vulliamy, verse 1381; cf. Bartholomae, col. 437; Marquart, *Komanen*, p. 109). These details may record the early stages in the western movements of the Turks. As to the Chinese, subjects of the kings of Tūrān, Firdawsi may have substituted their name for that of the old Avestan people Sūnāv, already assimilated to the Chinese in the *Bundahish* (Darwesteter, *Le Zend Avesta*, ii. 554).

The Muslim writers, Arabic, Persian and Turkish, have not been logical in the use of the term Tūrān. But since for the Arab geographers, the land of the Turks began only to the east of the Str Daryā and did not include Transoxiana (cf. Barthold, *Turkestan, Gikh. Mem. Ser.*, p. 64), it seems that there was a tendency to identify Tūrān with Transoxiana, i. e. with the lands between the Amū-Daryā and the Str Daryā. According to Khwārizmī, *Mafatih al-'Ulūm*, p. 114, the Persians call the land beside the Oxus, Marz-i Tūrān. For Yāqūt, i. 892, Tūrān is the country of Mā warā' al-Nahr (Transoxiana); after the tripartition of the world by Afrīdūn, the Turks called their land Tūrān after their king Tūdj (Yāqūt also mentions a village of Tūrān near Hātrān). Very curious is the archaïcising reference in Dimishki, *Cosmographie* (ca. 1320), ed. St. Petersburg, p. 114, according to which the Sayhūn (Str-Daryā) forms the frontier between Transoxiana, i. e. "the land of the Hayūtila called Tūlān (= Tūrān)" and the land of Turkestān which is called Farghāna (on Hāitā = Transoxiana, cf. also *Erānshāh*, p. 307). Much more vague is the use of the term in the *Masālik al-Abyār* (xivth century) where the Volga is called Nahr-Tūrān and the summer camps of the old kings of Tūrān (the former Khāns of Kiptāk; Marquart, *Komanen*, p. 138) are located at Arč-tagh (?), identified by Quatremère and Marquart with the Ural Mountains.

In the *Zafar-nāma* (xvth century), Tūrān is only used for poetical comparisons (i. 34, 624: "the heroes of Tūrān in Iran"). Abū l-Qhāz (xvth century) sometimes uses it as a mythological term (ed. Desmaisons, p. 2, 129, 140), sometimes identifies it with western Siberia (p. 177), sometimes seems vaguely to regard the lands of Muḥammad Khwārizmshāh as situated between Iran and Tūrān (*Irān hīlūn Tūrān arast*; p. 96).

The term Tūrān became known in Europe from Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale*, Paris 1697,

p. 63, where we are told that Afrāsiyāb, a Turk by birth but a descendant of Tūr, son of Faridūn, was king "of all the country which lies beyond the river Oxus... to the east and north this country used to be called Tūran but it has since received the name of Turkestan". This last term is already found in the maps of Ortelius and Mercator in the xvth century (Oberhummer). The term Tūran became naturalised in Europe only in the xixth century. Its vague character has earned it a certain degree of popularity as applied to ideas where accuracy of definition is out of the question.

Bibliography: Justi, *Iran, Namenbuch*, sub Tūra, Sairima; Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wörterbuch*, sub Tūra, tūrya, Sairima; Spiegel, *Iranische Alterthumskunde*, 1875, i. 270; 546; 575; 579; Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur im Altertum*, 1882, p. 193—202; Bruhns, *Urgeschichte der Arier in Vorder- und Central-Asien*, Band I: *Iran und Turan*, Leipzig 1893, in the series *Einzelbeiträge z. allg. u. vergl. Sprachwiss.* (cf. Bartholomae *Wochenschr. f. klass. Phil.*, 1890, col. 1161); Marquart, *Eränlahr*, p. 155—157; cf. also Marquart, *Unters. z. Gesch. v. Iran*, ii. 78, 136; Marquart, *Über d. Volkstum d. Komanen*, Berlin 1914, p. 104, 196; Feist, *Kultur, Ausbreitung u. Herkunft d. Indogermanen*, Berlin 1913, p. 404; Blochet, *Le nom des Turcs dans l'Avesta*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1915, p. 305—308; Blochet, *Le pays des Tchata et les Éphtalites*, *R.E.A.L.*, 1925, No. 6, p. 331—351; Blochet, *Les sources grecques et chrétiennes de l'astronomie hindoue*, *Rev. de l'Orient chrétien*, xxv, 1925, p. 430—431; Blochet, *Le nom des Turcs*, *ibid.*, xxvi, 1927—1928, No. 1, p. 188—206; Oberhummer, *Die Türken u. d. osmanische Reich*, Leipzig-Vienna 1917; Oberhummer, *Der Name Turan, Tūran*, Budapest April 1918, p. 193—208; Christensen, *Études sur le vœuisme de la Perse Antique*, D. Kgl. Danske Vid. Selskab, Copenhagen 1928, p. 16; Gny, *Foundations of the Iranian religion*, Bombay 1929, in *Journ. Cama Orient. Inst.*, No. 15, p. 12.

Turanian languages. The inventor of this term seems to have been the historian Bunsen (1854) who applied it to those languages of Asia and Europe, which are neither Indo-European nor Semitic. The real populariser of the term was Max Müller, *The Languages of the Seat of War in the East, with a Survey of Three Families of Languages, Semitic, Arian and Turanian*, London 1855, who includes in this group (for he avoids the term "family") of agglutinative languages not only Finno-Ugrian and Altaic but also Siamese, Tibetan, Malay etc. Lenormant, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens et les origines acadiennes*, Paris 1874, extended the term to include Sumerian. J. Oppert, in *Les Peuples et la Langue des Mèdes*, Paris 1889, wrongly taking the language of the second column of the Achaemenian inscriptions (the Neo-Elamite) for Median concluded that the Medes were "Turanian". Turanian became a regular dumping ground for languages awaiting classification. But already Castrén (1862) pointed out the proper line of criticism. He first of all isolated the quintuple group of "Ural-Altaic" languages with its branches, Finno-Ugrian, Samoyed, Turko-Tatar, Mongol and Tungus. Later researches have brought further restrictions by separating the first two of these from the last three, which form the Altaic group. G. Ramstedt, the founder of the comparative gram-

mar of this group, has, after some hesitation, solidly established the relationship of Turkish with Mongol and their connection with Tungus is also admitted. On the other hand, the connection of Altaic with Finno-Ugrian and Samoyed still lacks decisive proof. As to the term Turanian, it has been completely banished from modern linguistics. Cf. Dony, *Langues turques, mongoles et toungouses*, in *Les langues du Monde*, Paris 1924; Poppe, *La parenté des langues altaïques, Histoire et état actuel de la question* (in Russian), Baku 1926; Sauvageot, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire des langues ouralo-altaïques*, Paris 1929.

Pan-Turanianism. This political term is used on the one hand as synonymous with the Pan-Turkic movement (*Türk-çülük* "Turkism") and on the other is applied to something much more vague, the tendency to a rapprochement among the "Turanian peoples".

In the latter meaning, it has been particularly employed in Hungary where the first appearance of the term Tūran, in the ideal sense of the distant fatherland, dates from 1839 (according to Count Teleki: "eine gewisse Schwärmerei für Stammland und Stammverwandte"). The review *Turan* founded at Budapest during the World War by the *Turanische Gesellschaft*, to judge from the Bulgar and Turkish prospectuses, was intended to study the history and civilisation "of the peoples who are related to us" (in Turkish: *bizimle karabelli olan milletler*). The editor however (1918, No. 1, p. 5) took up quite a distinct attitude in the following pronouncement: "Our Tūran is geographical; it is neither the Tūran of Max Müller, the subject of lively controversy, nor the Tūran of political aspirations". Count Teleki and Prof. Cholnoky (*Turan, ein Landeskulturbegriff*, *ibid.*, No. 1, p. 85) conceived this region as lying between the following boundaries: the Caspian Sea, the Iranian plateau, the mountains at the sources of the Sirdaryā and the Irish and the plateau of Akmolinsk. Setting aside the value of the ideas of these authors on the uniformity of this geographical milieu and on the influence it has exerted upon the peoples who have lived there, it must be recognised that from the point of view of geographical terminology (cf. above) such a use of the word Tūran is quite new and personal. Broadly speaking, this Tūran is a useless term substituted for Turkestan, which has at least the merit of being a definite conception.

In Russia also we can find tendencies parallel to those of the Hungarian "Turanians". The group called "Eurasian" has interested itself in geo-politics and the cultural influences of the Eurasian peoples; cf. I. R., *L'héritage de Čingis-khan* (in Russian), Berlin 1925; Prince N. Troubetzkoy, *Sur l'élément touranien de la culture russe* (in Russian), Paris 1927. Much clearer in principle are the tendencies of the Pan-Turanian movement comprised in the narrower sense of "Pan-Turkish" but in the absence of a complete study of this cultural and political movement we can only give a summary account of its stages of development and programme.

The Ottoman empire at the period of its greatest expansion was quite without any tendencies to Turkism. The highest offices were filled by non-Turks, whose conversion to Islam was often of recent date. The levies of Christian children [cf. *newittians*] provided the state with the most capable civil and military officers (cf. Lybyer, *The Govern-*

ment... of *Suleiman the Magnificent*, Cambridge Mass. 1913, p. 51—56). The theory of the *sulphur* excluded the possibility of preferring the Turkish elements to the other Muslim subjects of the empire. Even in the 19th century the word *türk* had in the Ottoman empire the definite meaning of "peasant, rustic, yokel" (cf. the popular proverbs). In this connection the poem by Mehmed Emin Bey, written during the war with Greece in 1897, marks the date of the complete change of meaning of the word: *Ben bir türk-üm, dinim dînim ulu-dur*: "I am a Turk, my religion and my race are exalted ones".

Several factors have determined the development of the "Turkist" movement, sometimes called Türianism.

a. The formation in the 19th century of numerous national movements (Greek, German, Italian, Slav, Armenian, Arab) several of which were directed against the Ottoman empire.

b. The reverses suffered by the Ottoman empire, which deprived it of its possessions in the Balkans, in Africa and finally in Asia also (Syria, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Mawjil). With each diminution of Ottoman territory the Turkish element of Anatolia gained in importance, not only as regards numerical proportion but also from the point of view of the only sure and stable basis upon which the state could be established.

c. The progress made by Turcology, which has drawn up an inventory of the Turkish peoples, established the affinity of their languages and thrown light upon the early history of the Turks. [More direct has been the influence of the romantic work by L. Cahun, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie*, Paris 1896 (Turkish adaptation by Neğib 'Asım). Among the earlier works which have exerted an influence on these lines Ziya Gökalp mentions de Guignes, *Histoire générale des Turcs, des Mongols et des Huns*, Paris 1756—1758 and Lamley Davids, *Turkish Grammar*, London 1832 and 1836. Here also we should mention the sketches of national movements published by the R. M. M. and the work of R. Hartmann tending to establish a bond of union among Turkish peoples].

d. The formation in Russia of a Muslim *intelligentsia*, primarily Turco-Tatar, and the impetus given to the Turkish press in Russia by the events of 1905. The emigrés from Russia, like 'Ali Hüsnî-zâde (Bakkî), Yusuf Ak-çura (Kazan) and Ahmad Agha-oghlu (Kharabagh) have been the driving forces in the movement and even had to overcome considerable opposition emanating from the Turks of Turkey.

At the beginning of the 20th century, three political theses were to the front in Turkey: Pan-Islamism, Ottomanism and Pan-Turkism. An open discussion of these was instituted (in 1902—1903) in the journal *Türk* published in Cairo. The Pan-Turkish point of view was championed by Yusuf Ak-çura-oghlu whose article *Üç tavaiz* (reprinted at Stambul in 1327) has played an important part in the elaboration of the programme of the movement. Ak-çura criticised Ottomanism as tending to diminish the privileges of the Turks and contrary to Islam which recognises equal rights for all believers. On the other hand, Pan-Islamism would exacerbate the non-Muslims and meet resistance from certain European powers. The author then declared for Pan-Turkism, thinking it would overcome the greatest obstacle, represented

by Russia, with the help of other governments (R. M. M., xiii, p. 179—221).

In the same journal *Türk*, Ak-çura's thesis was criticised by the liberal 'Ali Kemal, in the name of Ottomanism, and by Ahmad Ferid on grounds of possibility, for pan-Islamism seemed to him unrealisable and pan-Turkism so far non-existent.

In the early days of the revolution of July 1908, Ottomanism (= equal Ottoman citizenship for all ethnic elements) triumphed officially but before a year had passed the Committee of Union and Progress had reluctantly to recognise there were irreconcilable tendencies among the nations that composed the Ottoman empire. The Turkist movement was growing rapidly.

On Dec. 24, 1908, the Turkish Assembly (*Türk Dîniyeti*) was founded at Stambul with the object of studying the situation and the activities (*ahvâl ve-âfâl*) of all Turkish peoples. In practice, the interest of this body has been confined to questions of language, which have been discussed in the reviews *Yeni-lâhân*, *Günâzî pâlemler* etc. In 1911 the Türian Society for the propagation of knowledge (*Türân nish-i m'ârifî cem'iyyeti*) was created and in December appeared No. 1 of the periodical *Türk-yurdu* edited by Y. Ak-çura. On May 25, 1912, the *Türk ocakları* (Turkish Hearths) were founded, circles for the study of Turkish culture.

At the same time the great theorist of Turkism, Ziya Gökalp [q.v.], elected in 1910 a member of the Central Committee of Union and Progress, began his activity first at Salonica (1909) and later at Stambul (1912). In a series of poetical works he aroused the memories dormant in the blood of the Turks and sang the Turkish ideal as personified in the mysterious land of Türian: "The children of Oghuz-khân will never forget this country which is called Türian" (*Türkçük*, 1911). This land is associated with Attila, Fârahî, Uluğ Beg, İbn Sinî (the Turkish origins of the latter [q.v.] are not by any means proved). "The fatherland of the Turks is neither Turkey, nor Turkestan, their fatherland is the great eternal land of Türian" (*Türân*, 1914).

The teaching of Ziya Gökalp was summed up in the formula "Turkicise yourself (from the point of view of culture, *parth*), Islamicise yourself, modernise yourself (from the point of view of civilisation, *mediniyet*)". The systematic exposition of the theories of this writer will be found in *Türkîlâhân esâsîleri*, "The foundations of Turkism", published at Angora in 1339 (1923) a year before the author's death. In this work, the idea of Türian is a little more practical. Ziya Gökalp defines the nation as a group of individuals connected by language, religion, ethics and aesthetics. Türian is not a mixture of Turks, Mongols, Tungus, Finns and Hungarians. "The word Türian is a name covering the Turk tribes exclusively". The reunion of the Turks can only be brought about by stages. The immediate ideal of Turkism is the cultural union of the Oghuz-Turks, i.e. the Turks of Turkey and the Turkomans of Adharbâidjân, of Persia and Khâvarizm. Their political union is not at present envisaged but one cannot foretell the future. On the other hand, if the Tatars, the Özbeks and the Kirghiz succeed in creating civilisations of their own and in forming separate nations, they will retain their respective names, but in that case "Türian" will serve as a common term

for all the peoples enumerated, forming an ethnical union (*dünya*).

Turanian romanticism has had various repercussions in the purely literary field in the works of Ahmad Hikmat (*Alfin orin*), Khâlid Edib Khânîm (*Yeni Tûrân*, 1913), Aka Gündüz (*Muhterem kâit*, a drama produced in 1914 whose subject is a Turkish rising in the Caucasus), Müfide Ferid Ehanîm (*Ay Demir*, a Turkish rising in Central Asia). On literary Turanism during the War, cf. M. Hartmann, *M.S.O.S.*, 1918, xxi., p. 19-22.

During the War of 1914, the Young Turks (Committee of Union and Progress) governing the Ottoman empire officially professed Ottomanism, at least so far as Muslims were concerned, but in fact the deportations of Armenians in 1915 were realising the programme of the Turkicisation of Turkey.

Expansion towards the East. The war of 1914 had drawn a curtain between the Turks of Turkey and their kinsmen. The Russian revolution of 1917 entirely modified the situation. By the clause added at the last minute to the treaty of Brest-Litowsk, Turkey obtained the return to the frontier of 1877 in Transcaucasia (surrender by Russia of Batum, Kars and Ardahan). The refusal of the Turks of Adharbâidjân to resist the Ottomans put an end to the Transcaucasian confederation (April 22, 1918), which was replaced by three independent republics (Adharbâidjân, Georgia and Armenia). Under the command of Enver Pâshâ's brother, the Turks advanced as far as Petrowsk on the Caspian Sea but the armistice of Madros (Oct. 30, 1918) forced them to turn back. The English then occupied and later withdrew from Transcaucasia. While in the capital, occupied by the Allies, Dâmîd Ferîd Pâshâ's government in *extremis* was making a last attempt to unfold a programme of Ottomanism, the nationalist government was formed in Asia Minor (summer of 1919) and by energetic measures was able to retain the ground gained by the Young Turks at Brest-Litowsk. The republic of Armenia was conquered (Peace of Alexandropol of Dec. 3, 1920). Georgia declared its neutrality and submitted to the ultimatum (of Feb. 23, 1921) which demanded the evacuation of Artwin and Ardahan. On March 16, 1921, the Turkish-Soviet treaty was signed at Moscow and on Oct. 13 confirmed at Kars, with the participation of the three Caucasian republics (now Soviets). Turkey withdrew her claim to Batum but, what was not in the Brest-Litowsk treaty, received the district of Igdir on the Araxes (which Persia had ceded to Russia in 1828) and thus enabled her territory to be contiguous to that of Nakhicewân, which had been created as a dependency of the Soviet republic of Adharbâidjân.

The government of Angora thus secured concrete gains in Transcaucasia but publicly disowned Enver Pâshâ's achievements, who had at first allied himself with the Soviet government but finally raised the standard of revolt in Turkestan where he dreamed of founding a Turkish empire. He fell in a skirmish in eastern Bukhârâ on Aug. 4, 1922 ("as a martyr to Turkism" as his colleague Dr. Nazim said at the trial of the Young Turks in August 1926); cf. Castagné, *Les barmatchis*, Paris 1927.

Cultural Movement. The old leaders of the Turanian movement had early rallied to the government of Angora. (The poet Mehmed Emin

and Ak-çura Oghlu arrived at Angora in April 1921). From April 23, 1924 the Turkish Hearths (*Türk ocakları*) resumed their activity in Angora under the leadership of Hamdullah-Subhî. Their first *kurultai* met at Angora on March 28, 1926. In 1928 Yûsuf Ak-çura produced at Stambul the annual *Türk Yılı* (The Turkish Year) with summaries of the doings of Turks abroad. As a result of the Russian revolution of 1917 a new wave of emigration swept over Turkey. The supporters of the old nationalist governments overthrown by the Soviets established the review *Yeni Kafkasiya* (1924) which was succeeded in March 1929 by the *Odlu Yurt* "Land of Fire" (= Adharbâidjân). These organs of Turkish solidarity have not however linked up with the local Turkish press.

As regards the Turks in what was the Russian empire, since the revolution of 1917, they have realised and even gone beyond their old programme of establishing their own civilisation and autonomy. But alongside of this natural evolution, the Turks of the U. R. S. S. have actively and passively taken part in all the phases of the Soviet revolution. For the moment (1930) it is impossible to separate the results of the particular and general factors and to say to what point the tendencies of all the peoples of Turkish origin are converging.

The communications and discussions at the first Turcological congress at Bâkû from Feb. 26 to March 6, 1926 (131 delegates, Soviet and foreign, including two from Turkey) were of great interest (see the shorthand reports published in Russian, Bâkû 1926, and Menzel's detailed analysis in *Der Islam*, 1918). The decision of the congress regarding the optional adoption of the Roman alphabet (compulsory since 1928) had a great influence on the introduction of the new alphabet into Turkey (1928) (cf. H. Dada, *Die neue Lateinschrift in d. Türkei*, O.L.Z., June 1929, col. 441-453; E. Rossi, *Il nuovo alfabeto*, *Oriente Moderno*, Jan. 1929, p. 33-48).

It is difficult to foretell the future of the Pan-Turkish movement. The cultural attraction of Angora, this great centre of Turkism, is legitimate and inevitable. But Angora is now a lay capital entirely free from the Islamic prestige of the old Stambul. The intensity of its influence will therefore depend primarily on the worth of the Turkish culture (*harâth*) which will be developed there. Even the bringing of all Turks "descended from Oghuz" under one culture according to Ziya Gökalp's idea would not be easy, because, for example, the Persian Turks, the immediate neighbours of Turkey, are very much under the influence of Persian culture, the persistence of which is a historical fact. As to the political union of the Turkish peoples, account must be taken of the very different conditions under which they live. Their lands are very scattered. They are separated by the Caspian Sea and the desert. In Transcaucasia the corridor between Georgia and Armenia on the one side and Persia on the other is very narrow and is of no importance, unless a complete reversal of the situation in Transcaucasia and in Persia should take place simultaneously, which is quite beyond the programme of Turkism pure and simple.

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(V. MINORSKY)

TURANSHAH b. AIYUB AL-MALIK AL-MU'AZZAM SHAMS AL-DAWLA FAKHR AL-DIN, founder of the Aiyubid dynasty of the Yemen.

He was born at the beginning of Raddj 569 (February 1174); two years before the death of the last Fātimid 'Adil [q.v.] had formally made Saladin lord of Egypt; the relationship of vassal and overlord between him and the Zangid Atabeg Nūr al-Dīn Mahmūd had now become unnatural and threatened to end in war; King Amalrich of Jerusalem, with whom Saladin had been fighting, was still unsubdued; the Crusaders of Kerak and Shawbak [q.v.] were harassing the roads to Egypt. That Saladin should choose such a time for the conquest of Yemen is remarkable and is not completely explained by the religious grounds which induced him to wage this war, namely the expulsion of the Kharijī Mahdī [q.v.] from Zabīd and of the Sufī Hanū Karam [q.v.] who were formally incorporated in the Fātimid hierarchy from 'Aden. It is characteristic of Saladin's foresight that he wished to secure for himself a province to which he could retire on any emergency; the general situation indicated that this could only be found in the south, where alone his troops could be employed; for if he wanted to avoid an open breach with Nūr al-Dīn, it was best to leave Frankish power in Palestine as a bulwark between them for the time. Only a year before, he had sent to Nubia one of his five brothers, an elder one, Tūrānshāh, whose name popular rumour had connected with the death of the last Fātimid; but Tūrānshāh did not think the country worth the difficulty and expense of taking it. The old-established relations between the holy cities and Egypt now attracted his attention to the Arabian

peninsula at the northern approach to which the port of Aden [q.v.] had already been occupied in 566 (1171). Tūrānshāh was therefore sent to Yemen, took Zabīd in Shawwāl of the year 569 (May 1174), 'Aden in the same year and in the following year drove from San'ā' the Hamdānīd 'Alī b. Hātim al-Wahīd, whose power to resist had been weakened by the continual attacks of the Zaidī Imam Aḥmad b. Sulaimān of Sa'da. Tūrānshāh however did not feel comfortable in a country where snow never fell and he could not obtain his favourite fruits. As a result of urgent representations to his brother, he obtained a transfer to Syria in 571, which had in the meanwhile passed to Saladin on the death of Nūr al-Dīn. After spending three years in Damascus as governor of Syria, his brother transferred him to Alexandria where he died on 1st Šafar 576 (June 27, 1180).

The career of Tūrānshāh is not unimportant but the initiative was always Saladin's; Tūrānshāh was more a man who enjoyed life. Even while still in Egypt he had acquired considerable wealth; from the Nubian campaign he brought back many slaves, including the Christian metropolitan; before the Yemen campaign he had been given large old family fiefs in Baalbek; in Yemen itself his brother gave him rich estates as his personal property. On leaving there, his main anxiety was that his representative should send him the revenues promptly. This man with all these estates nevertheless left behind him 200,000 dinars of debts which his brother paid. The body of Tūrānshāh, always homesick for Syria, was taken by his sister Sitt al-Shām Zamarrud and buried beside the medresa built by her in Damascus.

The Aiyubid conquest was of considerable significance for the Yemen. The three small states there were combined and united to a great power. The occupation was very thoroughly carried through. It is true that the last Hamdānīd was able to escape to the highlands, but the last Mahdī 'Abd al-Nabī and his two brothers and the last real ruler of the Karam, the major domo Yūsuf, were put to death some time after their surrender by Tūrānshāh's orders. The latter's departure so soon after the conquest was not calculated to keep the conquered territory together. Dangerous risings at once broke out. It was only when Saladin sent his other brother Tuḡtigin Saif al-Islām who stayed there from 578—593 (1182—1196) that Aiyubid rule became more of a reality. He was followed by his sons Mu'izz al-Dīn Ismā'īl till 598 (1201) and al-Nāṣir Aiyūb till 611 (1214); both were assassinated. In 612 (1215) the head of the family, Saladin's brother al-'Adil Saif al-Islām Abū Bakr, sent his young grandson al-Mas'ūd Yūsuf there. The gradual breakdown in family discipline however had resulted shortly before this in a great-grandson of Saladin's brother, Nūr al-Dīn Shihānshāh called al-Muẓaffar Sulaimān, on the appeal of Nāṣir's brother, establishing himself in Yemen, posing as a Sufī with a retinue of Sufīs. Along with Tūrānshāh, five brothers of the family of the Hanū Rasūl had come into the country and soon attained great importance as indispensable councillors and wealthy owners of land. In the fight between Sulaimān and Yūsuf, 'Alī b. Rasūl brought about the success of the latter, conquered the Hūdjar in his name and was appointed wālī of Mecca in 619 (1222). His son 'Omar, after the death of the weak Yūsuf in 626 (1228), assuming

the name al-Mansūr, founded the dynasty of the Rāshidīda, which ruled the land for over two centuries as a native Yemen dynasty, after the foreign rule of the Aiyūbids had prevailed for only half a century.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), xi. 260 sqq., cf. index; Ibn Khallikān, Būṭā, 1299, i. 123 sq. (in de Slane, ii. 284); Khazrudjī, *al-Ukūd al-ʿalīya* (G. M. S., iii), iv. 26 sqq.; Lane-Poole, *The Mohammedan Dynasties*, 1894, p. 98; von Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie*, Hanover 1927, p. 98.

(R. STROTHMANN)

TURBAN, the headdress of males in the Muslim east, consisting of a cap with a length of cloth wound round it. The name turban is found in this form in European languages only (English turban, turbant; French turban, tulban; German Turban; Italian, Spanish and Portuguese, turbante; Dutch tulband; Rumanian tulipan; all going back to older forms with *o*: *tol(l)iban*, *tolipan*, *tolopan*, *tourbant*, *tourban*, *torbant*) and is usually traced to the Persian *dulband*, from which is also said to be derived the word tulip (cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1911, p. 682, where also is cited from the *Reine des Langues Romanes*, iii. 54 the Spanish name of the hammer-headed shark, *torbandalo*). It should be remembered however that the word *dulband* is by no means so widely disseminated in the east as one would have expected from the general use of the word turban in Europe, but is limited to the Persian (and to a smaller extent Turkish) speaking area and even here is not the only name in use. The commonest word in Arabic is *ʿimāma*, which properly means only the cloth wound round the cap and then comes to be used for the whole headdress, and in Turkish *şarף* is the usual name for the turban. Besides these however, there are a large number of other names for what we often loosely call turban and for its parts in different Muslim countries; these are given in a preliminary list at the end of the article.

The origin of this form of headdress ought probably to be sought in the ancient east; a turban-like cap seems to be found represented on certain Assyrian and Egyptian monuments (cf. Reimpell, *Geschichte der babylonischen und assyrischen Kleidung*, p. 40; Josef von Karabacek, *Abendländische Künstler zu Konstantinopel*, Denkschr. Ak. Wien, lxii, 1918, p. 87 sq. and von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vii. 268 and *Statuenfassung*, p. 441). In Arabia the pre-Muhammadan Beduins are said to have worn turbans, and it has been supposed that the high cap is the Persian and the cloth wound round it the true Arab element of the turban (Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, p. 44. 237).

In Islam in course of time the turban has developed a threefold significance, a national for the Arabs, a religious for the Muslims and a professional for civil professions (later divided into religious and administrative offices *waṣāʾif dīniya wa-dawliya*) in contrast to the military.

Many details about the Prophet's turban have been handed down by tradition but most of these hadiths bear obvious traces of a late date. They therefore prove nothing for the time of the Prophet but only show what later ages wanted to believe. To the latter the turban, as succinctly expressed in a hadith, signified "dignity for the believer and strength for the Arab", *waṣār li 'l-Muslim wa-*

izz li 'l-'Arab and the Prophet to them is the owner of the turban par excellence (*ṣāhib al-'imāma*). The makers of turbans in Turkey (*dulbandgīān*) have actually chosen the Prophet as their patron saint, for he is said to have traded in turbans in Syria before his call and to have exported them from Mecca to Bosra (Ewliya, i. 590). The only reliable hadith is negative: the *muhrim* is not allowed to wear the turban, nor *ḥamī*, *ṣayḍ* etc. This hadith is also found in Buhārī in the *Bāb al-'Awā'im* (Libā, bāb 15) contrasted with the following, mostly weak, hadiths. According to one, for example, Adam is said to have worn a turban which Gabriel wound round his head on his expulsion from Paradise; previously he wore a crown (*taḡ*). The next was Alexander Dhu 'l-Qarnain who wore a turban to conceal his horns. A much quoted hadith runs "turbans are the crowns of the Arabs" (*al-'amā'im taḡān al-'Arab*), which is variously explained to mean, either that turbans are as rare among the Arabs as crowns among other peoples for most Beduins only wear caps (*ḡalānis*) or no headdress at all, or that the Arabs wear turbans as the Persians crowns, so that the turban would be a national badge of the Arabs as the crown of the Persians. A similar hadith runs "wear turbans and thus be different from earlier peoples" (*ṣtamū ḡalānis 'l-umam ḡabīlukum*).

Still more numerous are the hadiths which describe the turban as a badge of Muslims to distinguish them from the unbelievers; turbans are a mark of Islam (*al-'amā'im imā al-Islām*); the turban divides the believers from the unbelievers (*al-'imāma ḡalānis bain al-kufr wa 'l-'imān or bain al-Muslimin wa 'l-muḡrīkīn*); the distinction between us and the unbelievers is the turban on the cap (*farḡ mā bainunā wa-bain al-muḡrīkīn al-'amā'im 'ala 'l-ḡalānis*); or the prophecy: my community will never decay so long as they wear turbans over their caps (*lā taḡala ummatī 'ala 'l-ḡalānis wa labīn 'l-'amā'im 'ala 'l-ḡalānis*); and on the day of judgment a man will receive light for every winding of the turban (*kaḡura*) round his head or round his cap. Thus "to put on the turban" means "to adopt Islam". Nevertheless the stage was never reached where it was a religious duty (*farḡ*) to wear the turban; it is however recommended (*muṣtaḡabb, sunna, mandūb*) and a general recommendation runs: "wear turbans and increase your nobility" (*ṣtamū ḡalānis ḡilman*).

Especially at the *ḡalāt* and on going to the mosque or tomb is the wearing of the turban recommended and it is said: two rak'as (or one rak'a, or the ḡalāt) with a turban are better than seventy without; for it is not proper to appear before one's king with head uncovered. Or: God and the angels bless him who wears a turban on Fridays. In great heat and after the prayer however, it is permitted to take off the turban, but not during the prayer itself, on the other hand the want of a turban is no reason for absenting oneself from prayer. At other times also — in great heat or at home or while washing — the turban may be removed, and as a rule the Arabs always wore the turban "until the ascension of the Pleiades", i.e. until the beginning of the great heat. Even in later times the turban played an important rôle in the spreading of Islam, e.g. in the Sudan (cf. A. Brass, in *Isl.*, x. 22, 27, 30, 33; *M. S. O. S. Ar.*, vi. 191 sq.).

It has not always been the custom in Islam for

none but Muslims to wear turbans. The later regulations for dress demand, it is true, that only believers may wear turbans while unbelievers are only to wear a cap (*ḥalimma*). But in earlier times unbelievers were only to wear turbans of another colour or with some distinguishing mark. Rulers who were not generally well disposed to members of other faiths were always distinguished by strict regulations about dress; but with a change of attitude the observation of the prescriptions became slack until it again became necessary to enforce them more strictly. In later days appeal was frequently made to an alleged dress regulation by 'Omar I. which is however probably a later invention and was probably transferred from 'Omar II to 'Omar I. The latter is said to have been the first to forbid Christians to wear the turban or dress resembling that of the Muslim (cf. now Tritton, *Islam and the protected Religions*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1927, p. 479-484). Further laws about dress are attributed to Hārūn al-Rashid who, like 'Omar II, is said to have issued a general order forbidding Christians to wear the same dress as Muslims. Mutawakkil is said to have prescribed yellow for the unbelievers, including the turbans if they wore any, and the Fātimid Ḥakim black because this was the colour of the hated 'Abbāsids. At one time Christians were forbidden to wear red, at another any one who wore white was to be punished by death. In Egypt and Syria in the eighth century A. D. Christians wore blue, Jews yellow and the Sāmīra red and they might also wear silk turbans, and neck-veil (*ḥarīr*, *imāma*, *ḥallāṣa*) of these colours (Kalkasbandi, *Ṣūḥ al-ʿAḥd*, xiii, 364).

Turkey has had a whole series of dress regulations of its own: the earliest was enforced by 'Alā' al-Dīn Paṣṣa (d. 732 = 1331) in the reign of Orkhan (cf. above i., p. 247^b). He introduced a cone-shaped cap of white felt but only for officials in the Sultan's service; other subjects apparently had freedom of choice in their dress. In the reign of Meḥmed the Conqueror (*Fātiḥ*), further laws about rank, titles and dress of the officials were issued. Under Sulaimān the Legislator, ranks and professions were carefully graded as described in the *Shumū'īnāma-i Alī 'Othmān* of Luḳmān b. Saiyid Husain about 1580 (v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, lii, 17; Karabacek, p. 4). Sulaimān also regulated the use of the turban, hitherto apparently quite arbitrary, and issued regulations about the trade of turban-makers, *ḥatībīllar* (v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 443). Unbelievers were given red, yellow and black, while white was restricted to the Ottomans. About 1683 in the reign of Murād IV, only the Stambul Turks wore white turbans, the Arabs in Egypt various colours, the people of Barbary, white with gold. Jews and Christians in the east in those days wore blue (*Voyage d'Hercule Vernet en Orient*, ed. M. Goupil Fesquet, Paris 1839-1840) and according to Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern* (Copenhagen 1774), Christians wore a blue stripe on their caps so that the tax-collector could at once readily recognise them.

In other countries also the colour of the turban was not at all uniform and for every colour authority was given from alleged ḥadīṭh of the life of the Prophet, which of course are all weak. A pious Muslim like Kāṭṭānī deduces from the contradictory description of the shape and colours of the Prophet's turban that he allowed himself considerable liberty

and sometimes wore the turban without the cap and sometimes the cap without the turban, and sometimes both together; in the house or when visiting the sick he put off both, but never when addressing the community, when he wished to make an impression on the people.

The commonest colour for the turban is white. The Prophet is said to have been fond of this colour and it is considered the colour of Paradise. There is not actually a ḥadīṭh telling us that the Prophet's turban was white, but probably only because white was the normal colour. The angels who helped the believers at Badr are said to have worn white turbans.

If now the following references speak of turbans of other colours, they are not in direct contradiction with white, for the colours in question are connected with the events and have therefore a special reason. For example another tradition says that at Badr the angels wore yellow turbans with the object of encouraging the fighting Muslims. According to another story, only Gabriel had a yellow turban of light, the other angels white, and others again reconcile the various statements about the angels at Badr by ascribing to some white, others green, black, red etc. turbans. The Prophet is said to have at first liked the colour yellow but later forbade it.

The Prophet is said to have worn a black cloak and a black turban on entering Mecca and at the address at the gate of the Ka'ba, also on other occasions at addresses from the minbar, on the day of Hudaybiya and during his illness. In black there is said to be a subtle allusion to sovereignty (*ṣulṭa*) and besides black is the foundation of all colours. The 'Abbāsids claimed that the black turban of the Prophet worn at the entry to Mecca had been handed down to them, and in a tendentious ḥadīṭh in which Gabriel prophesies the coming of the 'Abbāsids, he of course wears a black turban. Turbans of black silk (*ḥaṣṣ*) are said to have been at first permitted but later forbidden by the Prophet; the so-called *ḥarḥāniya* turbans are black (the derivation of the word is uncertain, according to Suyūṭī from *ḥ-r-ḥ*, to burn) and the Prophet is said to have worn them on his campaigns. Many great men in Islam are also said to have worn black turbans, such as Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Ibn al-Zubair, Mu'āwīya etc. and Suyūṭī wrote a whole book on black dress (*Ṭhalab al-Fa'ād fī Lubā al-Sawād*). Later writers often claim the black turban as the special headdress of the *ḥafīṭh* and the *imām*.

The Prophet is said to have at first liked to wear blue but then forbade it because the unbelievers wore it. On behalf of red, it is urged that the angels at Uhud (or also at Hunain) wore red turbans. According to others, Gabriel wore red at Badr and on one occasion appeared to 'A'isha in a red turban. The so-called *ḥirriya* turban which the Prophet wore is also said to have been red. Sometimes also striped material has been used as turban cloth, e.g. yellow and red or green and red (Fesquet).

In the history of religion the green turban is important, as the well known badge of the descendants of Muḥammad. Tradition is unanimous that the Prophet never wore a green turban, and there is no support for the colour green in law or tradition. But green is the colour of Paradise and it is also said to have been the Prophet's

favourite colour and some say that the angels at Hunain (or also at Badr) had green turbans. The green turban as a badge of the sharifs is however of much later origin: the 'Abbāsīd al-Ma'mūn in Ramaḍān 201 is said to have clothed the eighth Shī'ī Imām 'Alī al-Riḍā in green, when he designated him his successor; the latter died before he could succeed, the 'Abbāsīds went back to black and there were even persecutions to compel the 'Alids to wear black (cf. Ibn 'Abdūn, *K. al-Wuzarā'*, ed. Mark, p. 395 ff.). They seem however for a period at least to have worn a piece of green cloth in the turban as a special badge (*shatfa*) and to have been fond of wearing green, especially in times of liberty of conscience. In 773 A.H. the Mamlūk Sulṭān Ashraf Sha'hān ordered that the turban cloths (*al-aḡā'ib 'ala l-'amā'im*) of the 'Alids should be green and from 1004 A.H. the whole turban became green by order of the Ottoman governor of Egypt al-Saiyid Muḥammad al-Sharīf. This fashion spread from Egypt to other Muslim countries, at first regarded as a late innovation and sometimes disputed, but has now become generally approved. It is now regarded as a law that no non-'Alid should wear the green turban nor strictly anyone who is only connected with the Prophet on the mother's side but this last point is frequently disregarded. A short essay has recently appeared on the green turban in the Baghdad monthly *al-Murhīd*, ii. 6 (July 1927) *Tarīkh Aḡwār al-'Amā'im*, p. 229-232; cf. also *al-Khawḍra Shī'ar 'Al Muḥammad* by al-Saiyid Hibat al-Dīn al-Shahrastānī, i. 4 (March 1926), p. 106-108.

Not only the colour but other *ādāb* of the turban are regulated by religion: 1. When should a boy be first given a turban? When his beard begins to grow, when he reaches maturity or at the age of say 7 to 10 years. One should go by the practice of the country; but in any case it shows shamelessness to wear a turban before one's beard begins to grow. 2. How should a turban be wound? Here again the answer is given by stories of how the Prophet wound his. It should be wound standing (trousers on the other hand are put on sitting), with the right hand, twisted to the right around the head and not simply laid upon it and in doing this, one should act according to the sunna, as regards pulling under the chin (*taḡnīk*) the loose end (*'adhaba*) and the size of the turban. As in putting on any other garment, one should utter a *basmala* while the *ḥamḍala* is only used for new articles of clothing. A new turban should if possible be put on for the first time on a Friday. It should be carefully done before a looking-glass but one should not spend too much time over it. People of position may have their turban wound by two servants. There are countless ways in which a turban may be wound; 66 are mentioned but these are not all. 3. The question whether gold and silver ornaments may be worn in the turban is usually answered in the negative. In the course of the development of the headdress, it was the women in particular who adorned their turban-like headdress in this way. Silk on the other hand is allowed with certain restrictions. 4. The turban has acquired considerable religious significance as a symbol of investiture, since there is no crown or coronation proper as symbols of sovereignty in the Muslim east. The prototype is again an act of Muḥammad's; he

is said to have put a turban on 'Alī at the pond of Khumm and again when in Ramaḍān of the year 10 he appointed him governor of the Yemen; he is next said to have wound the turban on every governor in order to teach him fine manners (*taḡammul*) and to give him dignity. Following this example, the caliphs, the successors of the Prophet, put the turban on their viziers and later on sulṭāns. For example Kaḷkaḡhandī, iii. 280 *sq.* describes the investiture of the Egyptian Mamlūk Sulṭān Abū Bakr b. al-Nāṣir in 742 by the Egyptian 'Abbāsīd caliph Ḥakīm II. The caliph wore a black neck-veil (*farḡa*) with white stripes (*marḡūma bi l-bayḡd*) and placed on the head of the sulṭān a black turban (*'imāma sawḍā'*) with white stripes round the edge (*marḡūmat al-farḡa bi l-bayḡd*). Then we have a description of the investiture of Nāṣir Faraj by Mutawakkil in 801 A.H. where we are told *'imāma sawḍā' marḡūma, farḡahā farḡa sawḍā' marḡūma*. The turban is also an essential feature of the robe of honour (*khī'a*) which Muslim rulers used to bestow upon their viziers and emirs (there is a poetical description of a turban, for example, in Miḡyār al-Dallāmī [d. 428=1037], *Diwān*, i. 242; a description of a robe of honour of the Mamlūk period: Kaḷkaḡhandī, iv. 52 *sq.*) and this is the origin of the differences in the turbans of the different classes, which were such that the initiated could at once tell an individual's profession by his turban. In general it may be said that the largest turbans belonged to the highest and most respected ranks, especially of the clerical profession, and the differences in sizes of the turban are, according to some, more important than those of colour. With this is connected the endeavour to give oneself as large a turban as possible and against this religion has had to fight: a warning is uttered against wearing too large a turban as it is an extravagance — but not among learned men; on the contrary, they ought to be recognisable at once by some external feature to attain success in their labours. Hence the dress of the scholar is not a censurable innovation (*bid'a*), although earlier men of learning did not wear it. All other statements about the sizes of turbans, including definite lengths like seven or ten ells, are again defended from the example of the Prophet.

To mention a few isolated examples, we have in Kaḷkaḡhandī, iii. 280 the description of the turban of the 'Abbāsīd caliph Mu'ta'īn, who in 815 was for a period independent Sulṭān of Egypt; his turban was round, of pleasing appearance (*ḡaffa*), with a tail hanging behind (*raḡraf*) $\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{2}$ ells in length. (The Christian patriarch also had a larger and more regular shaped turban than the other priests). The dress of the Sulṭān of Morocco is described for example in the published portion of the *Masālik al-Aḡḡār* of Ibn Faḡl Allāh al-'Omārī (*Waf' Ifrīḡiya wa l-'Andalus*, ed. Hasan Husnī 'Abd al-Waḡḡib, Tunis about 1923), p. 31, as not too large with *ḡaḡnamak* and *'adhaba*; cf. Kaḷkaḡhandī, v. 203: with a long narrow turban. The head-dress of the Ottoman Sulṭāns is frequently described. The turbans of dead Sulṭāns were kept in their tombs, e.g. in the mausoleum in Brussa (v. Hammer, *Staatserfassung*, i. 446) and in other places we find them modelled in stone on the tombs.

The turban, generally speaking, has, as we have said, become the badge of the civilian profes-

sions. Turban-wearer (*ṣāhib al-'imāma*: Ibn Shūh, *Mo'ālim al-Kutub*, p. 34 or *raḥib al-'imāma*) is synonymous with civilian and there is the expression: he abandoned the turban of men of the law and assumed in its stead the cap (*ṭharīḥ*) and the dress of the emirs (Makrizi-Bloch, p. 335, note). Kalkashandi often uses *al-muḥammimūn* in this sense, e.g. xi. 114: *al-m. waṣn ar-rāḥ al-waḥīf al-dīniya wa 'l-dīnīya* and *al-m. dūna ar-rāḥ al-waḥīf*. To distinguish the various officers, the officials in Turkey under the old régime had different badges on their turbans, clusters of feathers and egrettes (*ṣūṣūr* and *ḥalḥāl*), and soldiers wore on them decorations awarded for bravery (*ṣaḥāb* and *ṭalṭal*; v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i. 446). Fouquet says that secretaries and scholars wore the turban high with many windings, merchants and artificers loose and broad and slaves very small.

It is on this point that we find the differences in the various countries and especially between the east (Syria, the 'Irāk, Egypt, Persia) and the west (Spain, North Africa). This is noticeable in the description of western dress in Kalkashandi and in the *Maṣālik al-Aḥqār*, and vice-versa in the accounts of eastern customs as given by the Moroccan Kattāni. In Muslim Spain very few turbans were worn at all; the neck-veil (*ṭalṭal*; *Maṣālik*, p. 42; Kalkashandi, v. 271) was rather worn instead; the loose end (*ṣaḥāb*) and the chin-strap (*ṭaḥnīk*) are, originally at least, apparently western fashions. In 1596 we find the Turks being struck by the narrow turban of striped silk worn by the Persian ambassador (*G. O. R.*, iv. 275).

In modern times there has arisen a movement against the turban, which is more or less apparent through the whole of the east. Men are reluctant to wear a turban and the young people and the women laugh at it and say *al-dafṣa ḥayr min al-lafṣa*, "the board for washing the dead is better than winding a turban". But the conservative classes vigorously attack the *bid'a* implied in this and declare that contempt for the turban is heresy and unbelief. Associated with this we often find abandonment of the old Muslim style of hair-dressing with clean upper lip and a beard on the chin. These two things are essential features of emancipation and are regarded by many as signs of the Day of Judgment (*ṣaḥāb al-ṣā'a*). This modern development is attacked in a number of special treatises on the turban mentioned below, notably the last one by Kattāni, and according to them, any one who succeeds in restoring the turban to a country, acquires the merit of reviving a good tradition (*ḥayr al-sunna*). The modern development however can hardly be checked, and in Turkey a hundred years ago the turban was officially replaced by the fez, which in its turn had to give way in 1925 to the modern European hat (*ṣapka*) (cf. *Oriente Moderno*, v. 630 sq.), just as in modern Persia the turban has been driven out by the *kulāh*.

The turban could also be used for many purposes other than that for which it was primarily intended. We give a few examples: in Sa'di, *Būstān*, p. 156, a man in the desert giving a dog dying of thirst water uses his cap (*kulāh*) to get water out of the well and his turban-cloth (*ḥalṭal* or *maṭar*) as a rope. The turban was often used as a pocket, also as a rope to tie up criminals, or to the firmly in the saddle or to strangle. In 1623 the rebel Turkish 'ulamā chose the

turban of Shaikh Aḥ Shams al-Dīn as their standard (*G. O. R.*, iv. 390). In Mamlūk coats of arms *ṭalṭal* means the cross or long bar, in European heraldry a turban is the sign of a Crusader (*Papyrus-Erkerung Kaiser, Führer*, p. 272). Some mussels of the genera *turbo* and *clanculus* are called turban; Persian turban = *turbo cidaris*; Pharaoh's turban = *clanculus Pharaonis*; Turkish turban = *balanus tintinnabulum* (Grande Encyclopédie), and Turkish loans used to be known as "turban stock", and "turban lotteries" the shares of the Banque Ottomane, which were of very uncertain value.

As a survey of the many names for the turban and its parts we give below an alphabetical list with short notes. The merit of first making a classification possible is due to Dozy, who in his *Dictionnaire des Vêtements* and in his *Supplément* has collected ample material, which should generally be consulted. There are also the more recent works by Karabacek, Brunot, and Kattāni.

Alḥaba is the end of the turban-cloth which usually hangs behind from the turban "between the shoulders". When this form of turban first came into use cannot be ascertained exactly; it is of course said to have been worn by the Prophet and by the angels at Badr and according to Ibn Taimiyya, Muhammad had a dream in this connection in which God pointed to the place between the shoulders; but many orthodox people regard this dream as anthropomorphism. The leaving of one end hanging down is recommended and a turban without tails and *ṭaḥnīk* is said to be *bid'a*. On the position and length of the tail there are differences of opinion; the most usual is four fingers long between the shoulders. The Sūfīs wear the tail on the left because the heart is on that side; wearing the tail behind the right ear was a privilege of the Ḥafṣid sūfīs; the legists of the Imāmiyya are said to have left two tails hanging down, one before and one behind, and the so-called Baghdad turban had two tails. *ḥab* VIII means: "to wind the turban leaving a tail hanging".

Aḥḥal, a coil of brown camel hair, which the Anṣari wear instead of a turban cloth wound two or three times round their head-dress, which is called *ḥaḥḥa*.

Amāma, turban, another form of *'imāma*. According to the dictionaries, the pronunciation with *a* is wrong but according to Brunot, p. 121, this is the pronunciation in Algiers. It is there an unwound turban, and is also given as a present to the wali of the woman one wishes to marry.

Araḥṭiya, perspiration-cap, a little cap of some light material which is worn below the turban-cap, to collect the perspiration, and which often peeks out below it. The Turks say *ṣarḥ araḥṭiyah*. The name *ma'raba* is also found; some write *'araḥṭiya* and would connect the word with the 'Irāk (Brunot, p. 120; Kattāni, p. 33). In everyday language the word is said to mean ordinary cap (*ḥalṭarwa*) and in earlier times in Syria it was a square-shaped cap adorned with pearls worn by women.

Aḥḥa = *ṭalṭal*, bandeau. Rukhārī (*Lihāz*, bāb 16) says that the Prophet once wore a black *ṭalṭal*. Among the Mamlūks, *ṭalṭal* was the double camel-hump-like erection on the *ṭarṭar* worn by men and women (Karabacek, p. 71), and in modern times it is a square black silk kerchief worn by women (Lane, *Manners and Customs*, p. 50 sq.).

Alḥaba (another form of *ṭalṭal*) seems to be

a headdress with pearls and gold worn in Morocco and Egypt.

Baida is properly an iron helmet but, according to Kattāni, p. 3, may also mean a turban.

Bughlā or *Bughlā* or *Bukhlā* or *Bughlā-rā* etc. may mean turban and especially the high head-dress worn by Mongol princesses and ladies of rank, adorned with gold and pearls.

Burnus, *burnūs* was in earlier times not a cloak but a high cap and in this sense it is used in Bukhārī, *Liḥā*, bāb 13. Of later writers, for example, Kalkashandī, v. 204 still uses it in this sense: the Sultān of Morocco wears a high white burnus. The corresponding verb is *taharnata*.

Burūf [or], a high cap, with the pronunciation *burūfa* a low skull-cap; in modern language it means the *rāḡ* of a bishop. The Persian has *perete* from it.

Danniya (perhaps from *daniya*), the "pot-hat" of the *kādīs* called *urf* in Turkish.

Deṭār (Pers.), turban-cloth; *deṭār bendū*, the "turban-wearers", are learned men, dervishes etc.

Dhū'aba, the tail = *aghāba*. This word seems to occur usually in Egyptian writers. In the dress of the Fatimid caliph and officials an end of the turban cloth is left hanging down with or without a *ṭaḥnīk* (cf. Ibn al-Sayrāfi, *Kānūn*, ed. Bahgat, introduction). According to Kalkashandī, iv. 43, the Sūfi Shaikh has a small *dhū'aba* at the left ear. According to Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥādara*, ii. 226, scholars and *ḥafṣa* wear a *ḥūlīh* with ends hanging down between the shoulders.

Dulband (Pers.) is perhaps the original of our worn turban; cf. von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, p. 442; *G. O. R.*, iii. 17. *Dulband-dārān* are the turban-wearers, Turkish *dulband aghā*, the keeper of the sultān's turbans.

Farḥiyya, a square kerchief worn by women who make a kind of *raḥya* with this and the *ṣāḥiya* and *farḥūh*. Two or three pieces of cloth used to be used, which formed a kind of small turban but quite distinct from that worn by men. The turban proper is distinctly a man's head-dress but the women have occasionally had similar fashions. The vigour with which theologians attack women who wear turbans or otherwise ape men's dress, quoting hadiths to support their strictures, shows only too clearly the existence of such practices (cf. Kattāni, p. 42, 112 sq.).

Fes [q. v.], the red cap originally belonging to Fes in Morocco, which was replaced in Turkey in 1925 by the European hat (*ṭaḥṭa*), while it is still commonly in use for example in Egypt.

Fidān, turban, also a mouth-veil worn by the Persians and a kind of muzzle for camels and oxen.

Fimṣān seems to have been a head-dress worn by women in Cairo and Syria, gilt below and decked with pieces of silver.

Ghifāra in early times was a kind of *ṣāḥiya* for women, a red cloth with which they protected their veil from the oil on the hair. In Muslim Spain it was the name of a similar cap for men, who usually wore not turbans but *ghafā'ir* of red or green wool, and Jews a yellow one. It would therefore perhaps correspond to the cap often called *ghāḥiya* in the Maghrib which was worn under the turban.

Gulṭa (Pers. pronunciation of the Arabic *kallawta*), a cap worn by women and children.

Hen(n)in (French), a high head-dress worn by women in France and Burgundy, a xvth century

fashion influenced by the east, which still survived in Germany in the xvth century. The form changed and was sometimes shaped like a sugar loaf or dome, sometimes like a roller or a truncated cone; sometimes it had two peaks, like the double headdress worn by Queen Isabella of Portugal (Karabacek, p. 11, 67 sqq., 84; there it is explained from the Arabic *ḥanīn* "tinkling" [from the metal pendants on it?]) which occurs once in the *Arabian Nights*).

Harfīya is a name for the cap of the turban; cf. Brunot, p. 105.

Hunfā is a head-dress worn by women in Morocco, triangular in shape, made of linen, three inches long and broad and a span high, with silk and silver, the whole looking something like a camel's hump; cf. Kattāni, p. 112 sq.

Imāma, the most general Arabic word for the turban cloth and also for the whole turban; other forms are *amāma*, *imma*, plur. *amām* and *imām*. The verb is *imma*, II, V, VIII, X. Details and variations according to colours, profession, and countries are mentioned above. Among special kinds may be mentioned *imāma Yūsuf* [q. v.], *imāma Sūfi* from Sūs in Morocco.

Imma is properly the style or form of winding the turban, then the turban itself. Kattāni, p. 4: *ḥasan al-imma* = *ḥasan al-timīm*.

Ṭaba, turban-cloth like *aḥa*, in modern times also a head-dress for women, as in the *Arabian Nights*: *aḥāb mawarḥa* of women and an *isḥat al-ḥusn*. The *aḥāb sultāniya* under the Aiyūbids and Mamlūks in Egypt (Kalkashandī, iv. 46; Suyūṭī, ii. 110) were the flags of the Sultān in the public processions (*mawāhib*), for the flags envelop the head of the lance like a turban (Kalkashandī, ii. 128; cf. Kattāni, p. 12 sq., 36).

Kalanṣuma [q. v.], a high head-dress.

Kalewī or *kalewī* in old Turkey was a state turban which was worn in Stambul by the Grand Vizier, the High Admiral (*Kapudan Paṣha*) and the chief eunuch (*ḥiṣār aghā*) and in the provinces by the *paṣhas* of three tails; cf. v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i. 440, 444; *do.*, *G. O. R.*, iii. 17; vii. 268; viii. 191.

Kalṣa, plur. *kalfatāt*, a high cap, another form of *kallawta*.

Kallawta, *kalūta*, plur. *kalūwāt*, a cap. The word is perhaps connected with the French *calotte*, Pers. *gullūta* and perhaps even with the Latin *calantica*, *calantica*, *calantica*; in Syriac, *kalwā* is found with the meaning of tiara, mitre. This name was particularly common under the Turkish dynasties of Egypt; under the Aiyūbids, the sultān, the emirs and the soldiers wore yellow *kalfatāt* without turbans (*amām*) with *ghawā'ib* hanging down behind (Kalkashandī, iv. 39; Makrizi, ii. 98). In the reign of Ashraf Khalīl b. Kalā'ūn caps embroidered with gold were introduced (*kalfatāt al-sarkāsh*; Makrizi, *op. cit.*); according to another source (Kalkashandī, *op. cit.*), they were red with *amām*; from the time of Ashraf Shāhūn they were worn larger. The emir Velbaghā al-'Omārī introduced a special form, the so-called *kalūwāt yelbaghāniya* which were large, but under Zāhir Barḳūk still larger *kalfatāt terkeshiya* appeared (Makrizi, *op. cit.*). In those days a set of robes of honour included a *kalfatāt sarkāsh* (Kalkashandī, iv. 52 sq.).

Kalṣāḥ [q. v.].

Kamfa, a red cloth, adorned with pearls, which the Egyptian women twisted round their *farḥūh*.

Kawuk (cf. the article *KAUKUKU*).

Keffiyé, *kéfe*, popular pronunciation of *küfiya*, *Kelle puhi*, a small white or red cloth cap, around which the turban can be twisted.

Kürdün in old Turkey was the round turban worn by viziers and other officials, who were no longer in active service and therefore did not wear the *mudjerrawa* (v. Hammer, *Staatverfassung*, I. 444). According to d'Ohason, II. 135, 'Othman I is said to have worn a cap of a red material, which was called *kürdün* and was worn by the Tatars and the Çaghtai.

Kind, plur. *akn'a*, also *mikna'a* was a cloth, which men and women wound on the head, like the *iqāba* and the *küfiya*. Sometimes also it seems to mean a woman's veil of silk embroidered with gold, then again to be the same as *fallān* (Kattāni, p. 12, 106). From *al-kind* came the Spanish *al-quinal*. Buhārī has a *ḥab al-Takannū*.

Kiā, properly a general word for garment, is a piece of flannel worn by learned men in North Africa, around the body and head. In earlier times every one wore it and called it *ḥak*, which was the name for a woman's veil (cf. Brunot).

Kenfil, a cap worn by women in Algiers and Tunis.

Kub, plur. *akbā*, was in Egypt the name for the innermost cap of the turban, which could be kept on, even when sleeping, while the turban proper was taken off and put on a special turban stand, *kursi al-imlūma*; the *kub* thus corresponds in a way to the modern *fūfiya* and *'arāfiya*. The Egyptian texts of the *Arabian Nights* have *kub* for *fūfiya*. *Kub ḥalālī atrāk* is a similar cap of blue Chinese silk. According to Makrīfī, II. 105, there was a market called *sūḥ al-akbāfiyā* in Cairo. *Kubba'a* = Chald. *ḥōbā*, Syr. *ḥōbā*, Hebr. *ḥōbā* is also said to have been a kind of cap or turban, but it also means the capital of a column.

Kūfiya, popularly *kefiya*, plur. *kanūfi*, is in Arabic probably a loanword from the Italian (*cuffia*, Lat. vith century *coffa*, Span. *cufia*, Port. *coifa*, Fr. *ciffe*, Engl. *coif*, to which the Turkish *uñkūfiya*) is also said to be traced. It is a rectangular piece of cloth worn by the Bedouins and their women in Egypt, Arabia, and the 'Irāk on their heads, of linen or silk in various colours, almost a yard square. The cloth is folded diagonally, the ends hang down or are tied below the chin and above it the Bedouins sometimes, and townsmen usually, wind a turban. This form, which was already known in Egypt in the Mamlūk period and is mentioned in the *Arabian Nights*, has in modern times come into prominence again as part of dress of the Wahhābīs.

Kūfi is a head-dress worn by women, along with an *iqāba*. The word is perhaps a corruption of *serāḥūdi*, *serāḥūdi*, which is said to mean a Tatar cap.

Kūfa, a Persian word, is applied in Turkish to the plumed head-dress worn by the princes of Moldavia and Wallachia and by the Aghas of the Janissaries (cf. v. Hammer, *Staatverfassung*, I. 444).

Kulūb is the general Persian word for the cap, which replaced the turban in Persia. In old Turkey it meant more particularly the sugar-loaf-shaped head-dress of the cooks, confectioners and woodcutters of the Serail, and also a white felt head-dress worn by the Janissaries = *kāle* and one of red cloth worn by the *kushangīs* = *baretta*. *Surḥ*

bulūbān is the Persian name for the Shī'ī Persians corresponding to the Turkish *ḥatībān*; cf. Babinger, *Islam*, II. 81).

Kulūta (cf. *kallawta*) means in Persian a veil worn by women or a child's cap = *gūlān*.

Kumma, *ḥumma*, plur. *ḥumām* is a little tight-fitting cap; cf. Abu 'l-Fidā', IV. 232, 5; Kattāni, p. 40 14.

Kursiya, *karziya*, *kursiya*. The word seems to be a loanword in Arabic and Berber and to come from the Persian; it is found mainly in the Maghrib and Spain and was there applied to a man's head-dress of white wool or strips of wool which the Berbers wound round their heads like a turban cloth. But now it seems to mean a cloak; cf. Brunot.

Lāḥa (supply *ḥalānwāwa*) means a small tight-fitting (*ḥāḥa*) cap, but is probably not a proper name for it; cf. Kattāni, p. 37, 40, 43.

Lihā, *luhāda*, a small cap of brown or white felt (*liḥ*) which the common people in Egypt wear under the *ḥatībān*. The very poor wear it alone, without *ḥatībān* and turban.

Lithām, a mouth-veil for men [q. v.].

Mandil, *mindil*, a loanword from the Latin *mantile*, is applied to cloths generally, but may also mean the turban, especially in Turkish and Persian. It is found in this sense also in Arabic authors, like Tha'ālībī and Makrīfī, but they probably get it from the Persian.

Mūsar means in Persia the turban, probably derived from *mī'sar*, which however means a veil.

Ma'rāḥa, a parallel form for *'arāfiya*, perspiration-cap.

Mighfar, also pronounced *wighfar*, the helmet, is a network of iron worn to protect the head in battle under the cap (*ḥalānwāwa*); the Prophet is said to have worn one at the entry into Mecca. Soldiers wore a turban around the helmet, not only when fighting, but also in times of peace (Fries, *Das Haremwesen der Araber*, p. 59). Thus the Turkish sultan Murād IV, who was continually in the field, used to wind his turban cloth around his helmet (v. Hammer, *Staatverfassung*, I. 443). Hence the phrase "to slacken the turban" = to live in peace and security (Kattāni, p. 4) while "the turban on the neck" (*fi 'unḥīhi mindil* or *'imlūma*) is a sign of submission.

Mikna'a is the same as *kind*, a head-cloth but the former is usually smaller. The *mikna'a* of women is also called *ghifāra*.

Mikwar(a), *mikwāra* is a word for turban and *mukawwir* thus came to mean the same as *mar'ammīn*, i. e. theologian, man of learning, and in Muslim Spain, the officials and jurists, because these alone wore the turban there.

Mishmash, *mishwāsh*, *mishwāsh*, *mishwāsh* are rarer words for turban.

Mudjerrawa, Arabic, but apparently only found in Turkish, a barrel- or cylindrical-shaped cap, which was worn with the turban cloth from the time of Soliman's dress edict, as the proper court and state head-dress. Soliman is said to have been the first sultan to wear it himself (v. Hammer, *Staatverfassung*, I. 442; Pečewi, I. 4; *M. turkī*) the *mudjerrawa* was previously the military cap, the red top of which peeped out from the turban cloth. The conqueror (*Fatih*) Mehemmed II is said to have worn his turban over a spiral *ḥāḥ*, like the *mudjerrawa* of scholars, and the turban of his son Bayazid II, like his father's, resembled the type worn by learned men (Karabacek, p. 15;

Hammet, *G. O. R.*, iii. 17; vii. 268; viii. 191).

Muḥḥā, a large turban worn by learned men of unvarying shape, but also the head-dress of Copt priests with a long narrow band.

Nuḥḥ ra's = "half the head", is a small helmet or cap worn by seamen in the Maghrib; the name is also found in Egypt. In Morocco the *ṣarḥūḥ* is also called "*nuḥḥ al-ra's*" because it covers half the head, tightly fitting; cf. Brunot.

Pirḥānī, the "untidy turban", was the name of the turban worn by the common people in the reign of Soliman; *G. O. R.*, iii. 17.

Pertele, Pers. pronunciation of *bartulla*.

Raḥḥa of women consists of the *ṣāḥiyya*, *ṣarḥūḥ* and *ṣarḥūḥiyya*; together they make a kind of woman's turban, but it is very different from that worn by men.

Ruḥḥa is a small turban for young people in Morocco (cf. Brunot).

Sādī is a green or black *ṣallān*; cf. Kattānī, p. 106.

Salmī, a special variety of the kind of turban called *Yāsuḥī*, called after Sulṭān Selīm I, who is said to have preferred it, as did Selīm II also; *G. O. R.*, iii. 17; vii. 268.

Sharḥūḥ, *ṣharḥūḥ* pl. *ṣharḥūḥ*, *ṣharḥūḥ*, probably from the Persian *ṣarḥūḥ*, but the latter is a woman's head-dress. In Syriac we find *ṣarḥūḥ* in Bas Hebraeus. The *ṣharḥūḥ* was the head-dress of the emirs under the Mamlūks in Egypt; according to Makrīzī, ii. 99, it resembled the *ṣādī*, was three-cornered, worn without a turban, and one formed part of a set of robes of honour. It had a markedly military character and the *ṣharḥūḥ* of the emirs is contrasted to the turban of the jurists (Makrīzī-Bloch, p. 335). In Cairo in those days, there was a special market for sellers of *ṣharḥūḥ*, in which however in Makrīzī's time only robes of honour were sold, and in Damascus there was a madrasa called *al-Madrasa al-Malikīyya al-ṣharḥūḥiyya*. Under the Circassian Mamlūks, the *ṣharḥūḥ* fell into disuse (and was replaced by the *ḥalḥāl al-ṣharḥūḥiyya*).

Ṣarḥ also *ṣarḥī*, a bandage, is the usual Turkish name for the turban. *Ṣarḥīl* = turban-wearer e.g. *ṣarḥīl ḥodja* = cleric with the turban, *ṣarḥīl* = turban-maker; *ṣarḥīl ḥodja*, the sultan's turban-keeper. The first gold regulation of the turban-makers dates from Soliman's time, when their shops were first opened, and regulations about the wearing of turbans were drawn up (v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i. 443).

Ṣāḥḥ [q. v.], the turban-cloth, then the whole turban, a name used particularly in North Africa and Egypt. The Egyptian texts of the *Arabian Nights* have *ṣāḥḥ* for *imāma*. Sometimes *ṣāḥḥ* was particularly the white and blue striped turban of the Copts, while that of the Muslims was called *ṣāḥḥ*; the *ṣāḥḥ al-ḥalḥāl* was particularly well-known. The *ṣāḥḥ ṣādī al-ḥalḥāl* at the court of the Fāṭimids was the office of the turban-winder to the Fāṭimid caliph; Kaḥḥāndī, iii. 484.

Ṣāḥ. The word has passed into the languages of Europe, "shawl" etc., and means the turban-cloth or whole turban, especially in Egypt, sometimes also kerchiefs worn by women e.g. in Arabia and North Africa.

Ṣāḥḥa is the Turkish word for the modern European hat, which was introduced into Turkey by law in 1925. Only clerics already wearing turbans (*ṣarḥīl ḥodja*) were allowed to retain

their turbans. A number of publications appeared at the time on the hat question (*ṣāḥḥa mar'etī*).

Ṣāḥḥ, from which we get the English word "shawl", meant the turban-cloth in Egypt, Syria, Arabia and Persia. Under the Aiyūbids the *ṣāḥḥ* and learned men wore turbans with large *ṣāḥḥ*, some let a tail (*ḥuḥḥa*) hang down between the shoulders or wore the neck-veil in addition (*ṣallān*; Kaḥḥāndī, iv. 42; cf. Makrīzī, ii. 98 and Suyūṭī, ii. 226). The *ṣāḥḥ* however also meant a cap (= *ṣāḥḥiyya*) and formed part of a set of robes of honour; e.g. Kaḥḥāndī, iv. 52 sq.: *ṣāḥḥ raḥḥ*, *maḥḥal bihi ṣarḥūḥ min ḥarir abyāḥ*. From 780 we also find the *ṣāḥḥ* as part of a woman's dress; it is the cloth embroidered with gold and pearls, thrown over the double *ṣarḥ*; cf. Karabacek, p. 67 sqq.

Ṣāḥḥiyya in Egypt was a cap, around which the turban-cloth was wound; it was of silk and might be trimmed with pearls and gold. On the other hand, however, it was the name given to the paper cap, put upon criminals, and also to iron helmetlike caps. To put on the *ṣāḥḥiyya* = to adopt Islam. In modern Morocco, it is a black cap for young people in the form of the *ṣarḥūḥ*, also a head-dress in the form of a sugar-loaf, which the Derḡāwa dervishes wear, in Algiers a woman's cap (Brunot), in the oasis of Siwa it is pronounced *ṣāḥḥa*. *Ṣāḥḥiyya* seems originally to have been the turban-cloth made of *ṣāḥḥ* muslin; cf. Z. D. M. G., xxii. 161.

Ṣāḥḥ was in Turkey in the reign of Soliman a carelessly wound turban-cloth, worn by the common people (*G. O. R.*, iii. 17). In North Africa it is a cloth, still sometimes wound over the turban (*imāma*); cf. Brunot.

Ṣāḥḥ = Span. *sombrero* is the name given in Morocco to the European hat, sometimes also called *ṣarḥ*; cf. Brunot.

Ṣāḥḥ is a skull-cap like the *ṣāḥḥiyya* worn under the *mikna'a* and *ḥijāba*.

Ṣāḥḥ, the name for the Turkish dervish cap; cf. Jacob, *Bektāshīyya*, p. 40.

Ṣāḥḥ, *ṣāḥḥ* is a green *ṣallān* worn by women, especially in winter time as a protection from cold.

Ṣāḥḥ [q. v.], "Crown", also turban.

Taḥḥik (*al-imāma*) is a special adjustment, in which the turban-cloth is brought under the chin as a protection against heat and cold or its two ends tied under the chin. This form is found particularly in the Maghrib and those who use it defend it intemperately and describe all other forms of the turban as innovation (*bid'a*), as the dress of the devil or of the Copts, or as a survival of the turbans of the followers of Iḥḥ (Kattānī, p. 70). The opposite of *taḥḥik* is *ḥāḥḥ* or *ṣāḥḥ* (even letting the ends hang down is also wrong in contrast to it) while other rare synonyms for the *taḥḥik* are *ṣāḥḥ* or *ḥijāba*. From the Maghrib, the Fāṭimids seem to have brought the *taḥḥik* to Egypt, and the *ustādḥūn muḥammakūn* were the chief emirs (eunuchs) at the Fāṭimid court who held the highest offices in the personal service of the Fāṭimid caliph (Kaḥḥāndī, iii. 484; Ibn al-Ṣāḥḥi, *ḥāḥḥ*, ed. Bahgat, Introduction). Farther east also the *taḥḥik* was occasionally found; for example even al-Ṣāḥḥ is said to have recommended it. But it is not *sunna* with the *Shāḥḥ*s, while, for example, Ibn Ḥayyim recommends it.

Ṣāḥḥ [q. v.], neck-veil of the *ḥāḥḥ*.

Tāb, a green *tailān*, a name of very rare occurrence.

Tāhiya, plur. *ṭawāhi*, is originally a Persian word and in Persia was the turban or a high cap. French *toque* and Spanish *teca* are perhaps connected with it. The name seems to be first found in Mamlūk Egypt in the sixth century, when it was a round cap with flat top in various colours, worn without the turban-cloth. Under Nāṣir Faraj it was extended in height from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ ells and swollen out like a cupola (perhaps under the influence of old Egyptian models) and called the Circassian *ṭāhiya*. Egyptian women are said to have imitated this for erotic or other reasons and this form then made its way to the east. The *ṭāhiya* was stiffened with paper and in a Fātimid cap, similar in shape, of the xth century have been found fragments of papyrus with writing upon them. These headresses were quilted and had a rippled appearance. Other forms were evolved from them, such as the bottles, barrels, cones and the so-called unicorns (Makrizi, ii. 104; Karabacek, p. 73; cf. *ṭurṭur*). In modern times *ṭāhiya* is used as a synonym for *ʿaraḥiya*; cf. Brunot; Kattāni, p. 98.

Tāḥ, parallel form for *tailān*.

Tarbūḥ, probably, like *ṭarbūḥ*, going back to the Persian *urpūḥ*, only found in Arabic from the xvth century, was a tight-fitting cap, in Egypt usually of red wool, with a tassel of black or blue silk. Around this cap, men of rank wore the turban-cloth and under it the small *ṭāhiya* or *ʿaraḥiya*. In Syria and in the 'Irāk the *tarbūḥ* has sometimes a peak, which hangs behind or at the side and is kept in position by a piece of cloth. In Egypt this cap used to be called *ṭāḥiya* (in Morocco we still find both terms in use side by side), in Spain *güfara*. *Trāḥiḥ* is a name given in Morocco to a young man, who does not yet wear the turban (Brunot). The *tarbūḥ* there is always imported from Europe; the *ṭāḥiya* on the other hand is made in the country itself.

Tarḥa = *tailān*.

Tawāḥin is also a kind of *tailān*.

Turṭur, *ṭurṭur* (s), *ṭurṭura*, *ṭurṭura*, in Arabic a loanword of unknown origin (the Latin *turrita*, tower-shaped, has been compared), a high cap round which the turban can be wound. *Turṭura* seems to be found as early as a papyrus of the viith century A. D. (Karabacek, p. 67), and in the fourth century A. H. it was a popular head-dress in Kairawān (Karabacek, p. 68). The *ṭurṭur* at a later date seems to have been a head-dress of the Bedouins (they swore by it, *wa-baḥḥi ṭurṭur*); there is a saying, "he fell at the first blow like the *ṭurṭur* of a Bedouin") and to have gone out of fashion with the denizens of the towns. A *ṭurṭur* of paper used to be put on the heads of criminals and prisoners captured from the enemy, and it was worn also by the "prince of the New Year" (*naṭurū*) at a popular festival in Cairo, which was prohibited in the reign of Barkūk. The pointed *ṭurṭur* was in the xivth century, with or without the turban, the head-dress of the common people in Egypt and the countries adjoining it (Karabacek, p. 68); at a later date dervishes in Egypt wore sugar-loaf-shaped *ṭurṭur* with trimmings (Lane, *Manners* etc.); in Turkey it was worn by the volunteer corps of the Delis, in Algiers by the Dey's *ṭawḥes*, in Morocco by the negro soldiery. The name is found wherever

Arabic is spoken and *ṭurṭur* in Arabic seems to correspond to *ṭurṭur* in Turkish and Persian. About 780 A. H. the double *ṭurṭur* with two peaks like a camel's hump, and the *ṭāḥ* above them, appears as a lady's fashion in Egypt and was taken to Europe (Karabacek, p. 71), and in modern times we find among the Druse and Maronite women of the Lebanon a *ṭurṭur* plated with gold or covered with horn like the horn of a unicorn. In Fās, Algiers and Tunis also, the name is given to certain forms of women's head-dress (cf. Brunot, p. 119; Karabacek, p. 80).

Uḥṭāf, *uḥṭāf*, a high cap common in the Maghrib, which could be made either quite simply or of valuable material.

Urf was in old Turkey a large globe-or pad-shaped turban worn by learned men, corresponding to the Arabic *ḍunniya* and the Persian *ḥuṭhi-ḥādī*. Sulṭān Meḥammed II was fond of wearing the *urf* embroidered with gold; cf. von Hammer, *Staatverfassung*, i. 444; do. *G.O.R.*, vii. 268; viii. 191.

Urṭūḥ, *arṭūḥ*, *urṭūḥ* is said to be a melon-shaped hat.

Uṭṭāf also *uṭṭāfiya*, from the Italian *scuffa* = Arabic *ḥuṭfiya*, was a peaked cap embroidered with gold, which the officers of the Janissaries and some officials of the Serail like the Balladjis wore, also called *ḥuṭḥa*. Sulaimān Paṣhā, son of Orkhan, is said to have invented it; he is said to have introduced it out of affection for Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and even to have worn it. It came into general use in the reign of Murād I and became a kind of ruler's crown; cf. v. Hammer, *Staatverfassung*, i. 444 sq.; do. *G.O.R.*, iii. 17.

Yāruṣī, *imāma-i Yāruṣī* is an old name for the Turkish turban; it is said to have been originally invented by Joseph and to be called after him. Selīm I and II wore these *Yāruṣī*, which were then called *Selīmī* after them; cf. v. Hammer, *Staatverfassung*, i. 442 sq.; do. *G.O.R.*, iii. 17.

Bibliography: Arabic works dealing especially with the Turban:

1. Abū 'Abd Allāh M. b. al-Waddāḥ al-Andalusī al-Mallikī, *Kitāb Paḥl Libās al-'Amūm*, a contemporary of Raḳī b. Maḥḥad, d. 276 (889), *G. A. L.*, i. 164; 2. Nāṣir al-Dīn M. b. Abī Bakr 'Aḥ b. Abī Sharīf al-Maḥḍī al-Shāfi', *Ṣawb al-Ghimāma fī ṭurṭur al-'Imāma*, d. 906 (1500), *G. A. L.*, ii. 98, Berlin, No. 5453; 3. Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *al-Aḥdith al-ḥiṣṣa fī-mā warada fī 'l-Tailān*, or: ... fī Paḥl al-Tailān, d. 911 (1505), cf. *G. A. L.*, ii. 143; 4. do., *Taḥy al-Liṣān 'an Dhamm al-Tailān*; 5. do., *Djawāb fī Simat al-Maṭā'ika wa-* fī 'l-*Adhāba* (*wa-kol yadūn an yuḥāl*), fī 'l-*Adhāth Kalām Allāh*, *G. A. L.*, ii. 150, 118, Berlin, No. 2509; 6. M. b. Yahyā al-Bukhārī, *Riḥla fī Paḥl al-'Imāma wa-Sunankū*, d. 934 (1527), Berlin, No. 5459; 7. 'Alwān al-Hamawī, *Manẓūma fī 'l-Kalām 'ala 'l-'Imāma*, d. 936 (1527), *G. A. L.*, ii. 333; 8. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ḥadjar al-Haitamī al-Makkī, *Kitāb Darr al-Ghimāma fī Darr al-Tailān wa 'l-Adhāba 'l-'Imāma*, d. 973 (1565), *G. A. L.*, ii. 388; 9. M. b. Sulṭān M. al-Kāri, *Riḥla fī Maṣālat al-'Imāma wa 'l-Adhāba*, d. 1014 (1606), Berlin, No. 5460; 10. M. Ḥijān b. M. b. 'Abd Allāh 'al-Waṣī' (al-Sharāwī Turṭur), al-Kalkaghandī Baladn, al-Shāfi' Madhaban, al-Manṣūrid al-mustaḥab wa-Maḥḍir al-'Imāma wa 'l-Adhāba,

d. 1035 (1636); 11. A. b. M. h. A. al-Makkari, *Akhar al-Kumama fi Akhar al-Imama*, d. 1041 (1632), cf. G.A.L., ii. 296; 12. Abu 'l-Faql M. b. A. 'Ibn al-Imam', *Tuhfat al-Ulama li-Akhar al-Imama*, d. 1062 (1652), Haddaji Khalifa, No. 2551; 13. Shihab al-Din A. b. M. al-Kha-
(adji) al-Efendi (Shari' al-Shifa), *al-Zimama fi Safat al-Imama*, d. 1069 (1659), cf. G.A.L., ii. 285; 14. al-Sayid M. b. Mawlaya Dja'far al-Kattani, *al-Difaa li-Mawrifat Akhar Sunnat al-Imama*, modern, printed Damascus 1342 [s. the art. KATTANI].

No. 14 is the most detailed monograph on the turban and has been much used for the above article. Of other writings he mentions No. 1, 2, 3, 8, 10, 12, 13, but has himself only seen and used No. 8. In addition to No. 14 we have used No. 2 for some points.

Of European literature in addition to the works of Dory, Karabacek and Brunot cited above we may mention a few general works on costume: Rosenberg, *Geschichte des Kostüms*, 5 vols., plates with brief descriptions, pl. 297 on the turban; J. v. Falke, *Kostümgeschichte der Kulturvölker*; Alb. Kretschmer, *Die Trachten der Völker*; *Katalog der Lipperheidenischen Kostüm-Bibliothek*, — 16 forms of turban are illustrated by Fesquet, 44 different ones by Niebuhr, and no less than 286 are given by Michael Thalman, *Elenchus librorum or. max.*, Vienna 1702, vi. 29 sq. on Cod. turc., vii. Bologna (according to E.L., ii. 751); cf. Victor Rosen, *Remarques sur les mœurs orientales de la Collection Maragli à Bologne (Atti della Real Acc. dei Lincei)*, 281, 1883—1884, p. 182. (W. BJÖRKMAN)

TURBAT-I HAIDARI. [See ZAWA.]

TURBAT-I SHAIKH-I DJAM, a place in the north-east of Persia (province of Khurasan), not far from the Afghan frontier; its position is approximately 61° East Long. and 35° N. Lat. It is a stage on the Mashhad-Herat road (the distance from Turbat-i Shaikh-i Djam to Mashhad is about 96 miles, roughly half the distance between Mashhad and Herat) and lies on a tributary of the Harirud. In the first half of the 19th century the number of houses was given at about 200 (Canolly, about 1830); towards the end of the century (1894) Yate put the number at about 250. The last named traveller observed that the place was called Djam by the inhabitants; the inhabitants themselves are called Djami. In 1894 there were about 4,000 families, all agriculturists; they used to have a chief of their own; when Yate visited the little town, however, the Djami were under the direct authority of the district governor. Turbat-i Shaikh-i Djam has also a primitive citadel built of clay; east of the village is the tomb of the saint to which the village owes its name. He was the mystic Shaikh Ahmad-i Djam (d. 536 = 1142; cf. the article AHMAD DJAM). According to Ibn Battuta (ed. Paris, iii. 75 sq.), he was called Shihab al-Din Ahmad and the place belonged to his descendants, quite free from the authority of the state. What Ibn Battuta further tells about the Shaikh is obviously local tradition without any great historical value. The tomb was visited by Timur and at a later date by Hamayun.

The mediaeval name of Turbat-i Shaikh-i Djam was Būrdjān (also Pūrkān; Yāqūt, iii. 890 sq., gives a further variant: Fuzā or Fazz, while some scholars have the nisba al-Fazzī; the nisba,

al-Būrdjānī, of course, is also found). It was the capital of the district of Djam (also written Zām) in the N.E. of Kūhistan. According to Yāqūt, Būrdjān lies 4 days' journey from Nisābūr and 6 from Herat, while al-Iṣṣāḥrī (p. 282) gives four days' journey as the distance from Būrdjān to Būghandj. The town, on which no fewer than 180 villages were dependent, lay in a fertile and well-watered neighbourhood. According to Ibn Rusla (p. 181), Djam belonged to the 19 *wasā'il* dependent on Nisābūr. Al-Muḥadḍaf (at least according to the text quoted in de Goeje, p. 319, note 4) says that the name Būrdjān is only applied to the town (*ḥaṣr*) proper, not to the whole district which included the villages depending on it [cf. the article ḤAṬṬIK]. We have the less doubt about this notice as the not very clear passage, p. 321, note 6, again seems to identify *al-ḥaṣr* with *al-madīna*.

Bibliography: G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 356 sq.; E. Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, p. 35 sq.; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii. 264 sq., 278, 286 sq.; C. Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire... de la Perse*, p. 121, 149 sq. (V. F. BUCHNER)

TURFAN, usually written Turfan, locally pronounced *Turfan*, a town in Chinese Turkistan. The oasis, fertile although suffering from a scarcity of water, between the depression of Lukčun, which lies below the sea-level, and the ranges of the Thian-shan, has been of importance from ancient times not only for trade between China and the west but also politically; the settlements mentioned in ancient times and the early middle ages were however not on the site of the modern Turfan but west and east of it. In the second century A.C. the principality of Ku-shi was here; in the year 60 A.C. it was destroyed by the Chinese and eight small principalities took its place, including anterior Ku-shi in the region of Turfan; the capital of this was the little town called Kiaoh by the Chinese, the site of which is marked by the ruins about 4 miles west of Turfan called Yarkhoto by Klements (*Nachrichten über die von der Kais. Akad. der Wiss. zu St. Petersburg im Jahre 1898 ausgerüstete Expedition nach Turfan*, St. Petersburg 1899, p. 24 sq.). Considerable importance was later attained by the Chinese settlement Kao-tang, called in Turki first Khoṭo (Mahmūd Kashghari, l. 103; Kudjā), later Kara-Khodja, now the ruins of Idikut-shahrī, 20—25 miles east of Turfan. Immediately south of the modern Turfan lie the ruins called Old Turfan by Klements (*op. cit.*, p. 28); according to S. Franke (*Eine chinesische Tempelschrift aus Idikutshahr bei Turfan, Anhang zu Abh. Preuss. Akad.*, 1907, p. 36) these ruins "must date from ancient times and have been an unimportant place"; but they occupy a rather larger area (3 square kilometres) than Idikut-shahrī.

Turfan is not mentioned in the Mongol period and not on the Chinese map of 1331 (E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, vol. ii.). The only suggestion that there was perhaps a town of Turfan in ancient times also, is found in a Saka document found in Tun-Huang and published by Sten Konow (*Orlo Etnografike Muzeuma Skriften: Publications of the India Institute*, iii. 3, Oslo 1929, p. 137 and 148) where a town called Turpaṣini is mentioned. The first Chinese (in the Ming-shi) reference to Turfan (Chinese T'u-lu-fan) is in the year 1377; some foreign em-

hassies on the way to China were robbed at Turfan and a Chinese army was sent against the king of Turfan as a reprisal (*Med. Res.*, ii. 193). To a somewhat later date belongs the first Muslim account of Turfan; according to the *Ta'rikh-i Rashidi*, Khidr Khodja, Khan of Moghulistan (c. 1389–1399), undertook a campaign against "Kara Khodja and Turfan, two very important towns on the frontiers of China"; the inhabitants were forced to adopt Islam and the two towns were henceforth regarded as within the territory of Islam (*Dar al-Islam*) (*Ta'rikh-i Rashidi*, transl. Ross, p. 52). When the celebrated embassy of the Timurid Shahrukh [q.v.] passed through the country in 823 (1420) the inhabitants were, however, for the most part still idolaters; there was a large temple of idols there and a great statue of Buddha Sakyamuni (*Shakamuni*) and many other idols, some old, some of recent erection (*N. E.*, xiv, p. 310 and the original text of Hsüeh-i Abrü [q.v.] in Barthold, *al-Muṣaf-fariya*, p. 27). The present inhabitants of Turfan (Turfanliq) know that Uighurs used to live there, but these Uighurs are now considered to have been Muslims; all Buddhist relics are ascribed to the Kalmucks (Klementz, *op. cit.*, p. 29) or to king Däkyänüs [see *ASHKAR AL-KAHIR*].

Turfan suffered in those days from want of water even more than it does now. In the reign of Wais-Khän (1418–1428) agriculture was conducted in a very primitive and laborious fashion; the Khän had a deep well dug and out of this he himself and his slaves drew water for their fields in earthen vessels (*küna*) (*Ta'rikh-i Rashidi*, p. 67). Conditions seem to have improved later; towards the end of the xvth century the land of *Çalış* (the modern *Karashahr*) obtained its corn from Turfan (*Zap.*, xv, 251; quoted by M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient*, i. 302). The present underground irrigation channels are said not to have been made till the xvth century (Sir A. Stein, in *Geogr. Journ.*, 1916, Sept., p. 47).

Under the princes claiming descent from Çaghatay Khän in the modern Chinese Turkistan (xvth–xvith century) Turfan is frequently mentioned as the residence of various Khäns; at a later date it was, like the rest of the country, subjected first to the Kalmucks, then after the destruction of the Kalmuck empire in 1758 to the Chinese. In 1765 the town of Üe (west of Ak-su, q.v.), which had rebelled against the Chinese, was destroyed and its population completely wiped out; in order to restore the town, inhabitants were imported from other towns, especially from Turfan. Üe was henceforth known as Üe-Turfan or Üeh-Turfan; to distinguish the two, Turfan proper was called Old Turfan (*Köhne Turfan*). In the time of Ya'küb Beg (1866–1877) Turfan was the frontier town of his dominions in the east; in 1876 it was visited by a famine and in 1877 occupied by the Chinese without resistance. Turfan now belongs to the territory of the "king" (*wang*) of Lukün. The first European to visit Turfan was Dr. A. Regel (see below) in 1879. The modern fort of Turfan is said by Regel to have been built by Ya'küb Beg; east of it is the Chinese fort, which, according to Gram-Griffiths (*Opisanie putestvoia v Zapadny Kitai*, i, St. Petersburg 1856, p. 275), was not built till 1886; but it is already mentioned by Regel. Still farther to the east, according to Regel, lay the "ruins of the Turfan of the last centuries" with "numerous fine tomb-mosques and a

beautiful minaret". The minaret and the mosque, to which it belongs, have been several times illustrated (Klementz, *op. cit.*, p. 49; O. Donner, *Russ i Zentralasien 1898*, Helsingfors 1901, p. 120; A. v. le Coq, *Auf Hellas Spuren in Ostturkistan*, Leipzig 1926, pl. 2). The minaret was not, as has been asserted, a Christian help, but was only built in 1760 by a *wang* of Lukün. These ruins are probably identical with the Old Turfan of Klementz, which in this case would belong to a later date than Franke (see above) and Grünwedel ("a terribly ruined old town of the Uighur period") have assumed; Klementz also (*op. cit.*, p. 28) seeks "to identify the Tu-lu-fan of the Ming geographers with the present Old Turfan, which lies S.E. of the modern Chinese Turfan". The ruins of most of the buildings of the old town seem to have been destroyed between 1879 and 1898, but, as Oldenburg established in 1909, more has survived than one would suppose from Klementz's description. The modern town is of some importance as a commercial centre, the highest estimate of the number of inhabitants is about 20,000.

Bibliography: (in addition to the references in the article): A. Regel, *Turfan*, in *Pittermanns Mitteilungen*, xxvi, 1880, p. 205 sqq.; Sir A. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, Oxford 1928, p. 566 sqq. where further references are given; G. Gram-Griffiths, *Opisanie putestvoia v Zapadny Kitai*, i, St. Petersburg 1856, chap. xii-xvi.; A. Grünwedel, *Bericht über archäologische Arbeiten in Idikutschari und Umgebung im Winter 1902–1903*, Munich 1905 (*Abh. Bayer. Akad.*, Kl. I., vol. xiv., ser. I.), p. 4; S. Oldenburg, *Russkaya Turkestanskaya Ekspeditsiya 1909–1910*, St. Petersburg 1914, p. 25.

(W. BARTHOLO)

TURGAI, the name of a river system and of a small town in the steppes of Central Asia. The main river Turgai is formed of the Karin-said Turgai, which receives the Tsai Turgai, and the Kara Turgai, and flows into Lake Durakka; north of it runs the Sari Turgai, which is called Ukun-tamd in its upper course and receives from the west the Mailai-Turgai and the Sari-bui Turgai. The Sari Turgai flows into Lake Sari-Kopa. In Turkish *turghai* or *terghai* means "little bird" (*Radloff, Wörterbuch*, iii. 1184, 1457); *Kari Turghai* is a name of the starling. The fortifications of Orenburg are called *Torghai Kala*.

The modern town of Turgai on the river of the same name was built in 1845 by Major Tomilin as a fortress and one of the centres of Russian power among the Kirgiz [q.v.] under the name of the Orenburg fortress (*Orenburgskoe Ukreplenie*). In 1865 the territory of the Orenburg Kirgiz was divided into two provinces (*oblasti*), the Ural and the Turgai. When the Turgai province in 1868 was divided into districts (*uезд*), the fortress was made the capital of the district and called Turgai. As there was no suitable centre in the province itself, the Turgai province was administered from Orenburg. The governor lived there and in it was published from 1881 the official gazette, *Turgaiskiya Oblastniya Vedomosti*. Among the four capitals of district in this province, the town of Turgai only takes the third place and has never been important; the number of inhabitants according to the census of 1897 was only 896, to that of 1911, 1,657. The southern part of the province with the town of Turgai is less suitable for agriculture and Russian

colonisation than the north, on account of the scarcity of fertile areas, although in the sixties about 1,300 hectares were cultivated on the river Turgai alone. From Turgai, trade routes lead northwards to Orsk and Kustanai, and southwards to Irgiz and Perowsk (now called Kizil-Orda).

Before Russian rule the present Turgai territory was inhabited only by nomads and hardly mentioned in political history. An exception is Nisawi's account (ed. Hodas, p. 999) of the campaign of the Khwarizm-shah [q.v.] Muhammad in the year 612 (1215—1216) against the Kipchak and his encounter with the Mongols; cf. Barthold, *Turkestan* etc. = G. M. S., N. S. v., p. 370 199; J. Marquart, *Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, Berlin 1914, p. 128 199, where on p. 133 a later date (midsummer 1219) is assumed.

Turgai now belongs to the autonomous republic of Kazakstan. Instead of the earlier division into provinces and districts, the land is now divided into administrative areas (*okrug*); the town of Turgai now belongs to the area Aktyubinsk, the most southerly part of the former Turgai province to the area of Kizil-Orda.

Bibliography: *Rossiia*, xviii.; *Kirgizskiy Krui*, Petersburg 1903, esp. p. 341 19. and map; articles by Ya. Polferov and A. Kaufman, in *Encklop. Slovar'*, Brokhaus-Efron, xxxiv. (1902); *Asiaticheskaya Rossiia*, i., Petersburg 1914, p. 347 and 351. — On modern conditions I have been informed by word of mouth.

(W. BARTHOLD)

TURKISTAN or TURKESTAN, a Persian word meaning the "land of the Turks". To the Persians of course only the southern frontier of the land of the Turks, the frontier against Iran, was of importance and this frontier naturally depended on political conditions. On their very first appearance in Central Asia in the sixth century A. D., the Turks reached the Oxus (cf. AMU-DARYA). In the time of the Sasanians therefore the land of the Turks began immediately north of the Oxus; according to the story given in Tabari (i. 435 19.) the Oxus was settled by an arrow-shot of Irgh as the frontier between the Turks and the "territory" (*amāl*) of the Persians. According to the Armenian Sebōos (seventh century A. D.) the Vohrot, i.e. the Oxus, rises in the land of Turk'astan (*Histoire d'Hiradiz par l'évêque Sebōos*, transl. by Fr. Macler, Paris, 1904, p. 49; J. Marquart, *Erānshahr*, p. 48); in another passage in the same work (p. 43; Marquart, p. 73) Turk'astan is associated with Delhastan i.e. Dehistan (in the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea, north of the Atrak [q.v.]).

By the victories of the Arabs, the Turks were driven far back to the north; for the Arab geographers of the third (ninth) and fourth (tenth) centuries, Turkistan therefore began, not immediately north of the Oxus, but only north of the area of Arab culture known as "the lands beyond the river" Mā warā' al-Nahr [q.v.]. Turkistan, the land of the Turks, was then regarded as the regions north and east of Mā warā' al-Nahr. The town of Kāsān in Farghāna [q.v.] north of the Str-Daryā [q.v.] was "where the land of Turkistan begins" (Yāqūt, iv. 227). The towns of Djand and Shahr-kand on the lower course of the same river were in Turkistan (*op. cit.*, ii. 127; iii. 344); in Turkistan lay the town of Shōtan (*op. cit.*, ii. 403). From this use of the name it has been held (especially

by M. Hartmann, *Chinesisch-Turkestan*, Halle 1908, p. 1) that the name "Turkestan" was first applied by the Russian conquerors of Central Asia quite arbitrarily to the land of Mā warā' al-Nahr. As a matter of fact, the name Turkistan had long regained its earlier significance as a result of the Turkish conquests, perhaps less in literature than in everyday usage. To the people of Persia and Afghanistan the "Turks in Turkistan" were their immediate neighbours on the north; thus in a lullaby taken down in Shirāz in 1886 we are told "Two Turks came from Turkistan, brought me to Hindustan" (V. Žukovskiy, *Obrasci persidskago narodnogo tvorstva*, St. Petersburg, 1902, p. 169 19.). Through the Ozbeg conquests of the xvth century a new Turkistan arose south of the Amu-Daryā. The corresponding province of Afghanistan still bears the name of Turkistan; as the southern frontiers of this Turkestan some travellers (R. Burnes, *A Peep in Turkistan*, London, 1846, p. 57 19.) give the pass of Ak Rahat north of Hāmīyān [q.v.]; others (J. Wood, *A Journey to the Source of the River Oxus*, new edition, London 1872, p. 130) the pass of Hadjikak, a little farther south, where the watershed between the basins of the Helmand [q.v.] and the Amu Daryā is; farther west, in the region between the Murghāb and the Ab-i Maiman, the frontier of Turkistan is given as the range of Band (or Tirkand)-i Turkistan. The name Turkistan was introduced into the scientific terminology of the xixth century, not by the Russians but by the English, probably under the influence of the Persian and Afghan usage.

In literature, especially in travellers' records, a distinction has usually been made between Russian, Chinese and Afghan Turkestan, although the word Turkestan (or Turkistan) had an administrative significance only in Russia and Afghanistan. Sometimes instead of these we find the terms West and East Turkestan. The governor-generalship of Turkestan was founded in 1867 by the Russians with Tashkent [q.v.] as its capital. The frontiers of this governor-generalship were sometimes contracted, sometimes extended. From 1882 to 1898 the province of Semirychye, at one time included in Turkestan, belonged to the governor-generalship of the Steppes with Omak as its capital. In 1898 Semirychye and the Transcaspian province (Turcomania) were incorporated in Turkestan.

In 1886 Prof. I. Mughketow attempted to give the name "Turkestan" a definite geographical significance, independent of administrative conditions. Under the influence of A. Petzhold's book *Umschau im Russischen Turkestan mit einer allgemeinen Schilderung des Turkestanischen Beckens*, Leipzig 1877, he proposed to give the name Turkestan or the Turkestan basin to the lands between the central mountains of Central Asia and the basin of the Caspian Sea, the Iranian plateau and the sea of ice; Mughketow had no doubt that the frontier between Russia and England in the not distant future would be established on the Hindū-Kush [q.v.]. He proposed to replace the term "Chinese Turkestan" by the Chinese Han-hai (interpreted by European scholars since Richthofen as the "dry sea"). Mughketow deals only with geographical facts and hypotheses, without regarding the etymological significance of the words or any ethnographical considerations.

Mainly on ethnographical grounds the word Turkestan has gradually dropped out of use

in Soviet Russia. After the revolution, a "Turkestan republic" lasted a few years with the old capital Tashkent. In comparison with the earlier governor-generalship the area of this republic was much smaller; in the north isolated parts were attached to the Kirgiz republic [cf. KNEZT]. After the principle of nationality had been finally carried through in 1924, the common name of the land had to give way to terms formed of the names of the various peoples like Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Tadzhikistan. Only a few, mainly economic questions, are still settled in Tashkent for all the lands in question; for Turkestan in such cases the expression Central Asia (*Srednaya Azia*) is used.

Turkestan was also the name in use under the Özbeks for a town on the middle course of the Syr Darya. From the accounts of the Arab geographers it may be assumed that in the fourth (tenth) century the town of Shāwghar (in Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 485; Shāwghar) must have stood there; unfortunately no trace of it has been found. In the sixth century and probably as early as the sixth, the later Turkestan was called Yast and is mentioned as late as the history of Timur (*Zafar-Nāma*, Ind. ed., II. 9) as a village (*karya*). The importance of the town increased from the cult — first known in the Mongol period — of the saint Ahmad Yessawi [q. v.], regarded as the converter of the Turks to Islam (on his period see also Barthold, in *Der Islam*, xiv. 112), and especially after the splendid tomb had been erected there by Timur. The saint was regarded as the patron of the land of the Turks and was called Hadrat-i Turkistan, which probably explains the new name of the town. At the time of the Russian conquest the circumference of the town was about 2 miles, the population about 5,000 and in 1908 it had risen to 15,000.

Bibliography: In addition to the reference in the text: Mushketov, *Turkestan*, St. Petersburg 1886, 2nd ed. 1915; W. Barthold, *Stand und Aufgaben der Geschichtsforschung in Turkestan* (*Die Geisteswissenschaften*, I. 1913-1914, p. 1075-1099); do., *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 1928 (*G.M.S.*, new ser. v.); do., *Ittiriya kulturenoi žizni Turkestana* Leningrad 1927; W. Masalskij, *Turkestan'skij kraj*, St. Petersburg 1913, p. 600-109; A. Dobroszlowski, *Goroda Syr-Dar'inskoi oblasti*, Tashkent 1912. — On the tomb see especially M. Masson, in *Izv. Sredn. Az. Geograf. Obšč.*, xix. (1929) p. 39-109.

(W. BARTHOLD)

TURKMĀN-ČAI (better T-čay), a village in the district of Garmārud in the province of Adharbājdžān. Turkmān-čai, "the river of the Turkomans", is really the name of the stream on which the village stands; it comes down from the Člakli pass (between Turkmān-čai and Sarāb). It is one of the northern tributaries of the river of Miyāna (Shāhār-čay) which flows into the Kizil-uzān (cf. the article SAYD-RUD). The village of Turkmān-čai marks a stage on the great Tabriz-Zandjān-Kazwin-Tihān-Khurasān road. The distances are Tabriz-Turkmān-čai c. 60 miles; Turkmān-čai-Zandjān c. 80 miles. Hāmdallāh in the *Nuhat al-Kullūb*, *G.M.S.*, xlii. 183, puts these distances at 16 and 25 farsakhs respectively. He calls the village Turkmān-kāndi; the word *kand* = village, only used in Adharbājdžān and unknown elsewhere in Persia, is certainly of eastern Iranian origin (cf. Sogdian, *kandā*, town; cf. Barthold,

Ittiriya Kultur. Žizni Turkestana, Leningrad 1927, p. 38); the word must have been brought into Adharbājdžān by Turkish invaders. Hāmdallāh also says that at one time the village was a town, the Iranian name of which, Dih Kharrān (several variants), he gives.

Clavijo, ed. Srenowski (St. Petersburg 1881, p. 172 and 354), calls Turkmān-čai *Tucllar* and *Tunglar* (evidently a corruption of Türk-lār) and says that it is inhabited by Turkomans.

Turkmān-čai is known in history from the treaty signed there between Russia and Persia on Feb. 10/22, 1828. This diplomatic document consists of two parts. 1. By virtue of the political treaty, which was to take the place of the treaty of 1813, Russia annexed the khanates of Eriwān and Nakhitewān and received from Persia a contribution of 5,000,000 *timāns* = 20,000,000 roubles, but this was later reduced. 2. A special agreement fixed at 5% *ad valorem* the customs duties between the two countries and regulated the personal status of Russian subjects; in criminal cases they were to be tried by Russian courts, civil cases concerning both nationalities were dealt with by Russo-Persian tribunals with the participation of the Russian consular representatives etc. This particular agreement of 1828 is the historical origin of the Persian capitulations. By the most favoured nation clause, all the states of Europe in time secured similar rights. On its accession to power in 1917 the Soviet government renounced *in sponte* all the old political and judicial privileges in Persia and this renunciation was sealed by the Persian-Soviet treaty of Feb. 28, 1921. Since 1918 Persia has shown a desire to abrogate capitulations generally, but not till May 10, 1927 did she address a circular note to this effect to the powers, several of whom, from May 10, 1928, have made new treaties on a basis of equality.

The frontiers of 1828 between Russia and Persia (Little Ararat-Caspian Sea) still remained unchanged even after 1921.

Bibliography: Turkmān-čai is mentioned by all the travellers who have gone from Tabriz-Kazwin, cf. Hommaire de Hell, *Voyage*, Paris 1854-1860, iii. 83-84 (the village has 200 houses) and the atlas pl. lvi. (room where the treaty was signed); Brugsch, *Reise*, Leipzig 1862-1864, I. 181; Lycklama a Nijeholt, *Voyage*, II. 85; H. Schindler, *Reisen*, *Zeitschr. Geogr. Ethn.*, 1883, p. 333 (100 houses, altitude 5,285 feet).

The text of the treaty of 1828 in F. Martens, *Nouveau recueil des traités*, VII/2, 1830, p. 564-572; Šaoh' al-Dawla, *Mir'at al-baldān* I. 410-418; Vuzefović, *Dogovori Rossii s vostokom*, St. Petersburg 1869, p. 214-227; Hertzslet, *Treaties concluded between Great Britain and Persia*, etc., London 1891. Analysis of the treaty in Greenfield, *Die Verfassung des pers. Staates*, Berlin 1904; K. Völlers, *Das Orientalische Ministereamt der Universität Jena im Jahre 1906*, Dresden 1906, p. 7. (V. MINORSKY)

TURKOMANS, a Turkish people in Central Asia. The name has been used since the fifth (sixth) century, first in the Persian plural form *Turkmānān*, by the Persian historians Gardizī [q. v.] (cf. also now the printed edition by Muḥ. Nazim, *E. G. Browne Mem.*, vol. 1, Berlin 1928) and Abu'l-Faḍl Baihaqi [q. v.] in the same sense as the Turkish Oghuz, Arah, Ghuzz [q. v.]. The Oghuz of course used to live in Mongolia, where they are mentioned as early as the Orkhon

inscriptions of the eighth century. These Oghuz are, so far as we know, only called Turks, not Turkomans; the Turkomans are mentioned only in the west, first (in the transcription T'o-kü-mong) in the Chinese Encyclopaedia of the eighth century A.D., *T'ung-tien*, chap. 193 (F. Hirth in *S. B. Bayer, Abad.*, II, 1899, p. 263 sq.). According to *T'ung-tien* T'o-kü-mong was another name for the land of Suk-tak i.e. the land of the Aians (see *ALIAN* and *SUKTAK*) which in the beginning of our era stretched as far east as the lower course of the Sîr Daryâ [q. v.], which in the fourth (tenth) century was the main centre of the Oghuz.

In the Arabic geographical literature the Turkomans (al-Turkman or al-Turkmanîyûn) are only mentioned by al-Mukaddasi (or al-Makdisî, *B. G. A.*, III, 274 sq.) in the description of a number of towns N.W. and N.E. of Arbiljâh or Sairin, the situation of which cannot be exactly defined. By the fifth (xith) century the origin of the word Turkoman had already been forgotten; the popular (Persian) etymology *Türk mânand* "like Turks" is found as early as Mahmûd Kâshghari (III, 307). From his time onwards we often find "Turks and Turkomans" opposed to one another. The language and particularly the type of the Turkomans was influenced by their migration to the west so that only a "similarity" was allowed to exist between them and the rest of the Turks. The Turkomans living in Central Asia at the present day are particularly easy to recognise by their long heads (dolichocephalic); this formation of skull is partly produced by artificial deformation in the cradle, but is also explained by intermixture with Iranian nomadic peoples of Central Asia. Mahmûd Kâshghari (i. 80 and 393) calls the *Karluq* [q. v.] Turkomans as well as the Oghuz.

On the wide dissemination of Turkomans in western Asia as a result of the political events of the fifth (xith) century, see *GHUZZ* and *SALJUQS*. As a result of the political importance of the Seljûk dynasty, we possess fuller notices of their people, the Turkomans, than of the all other Turkish peoples of the middle ages. Rashîd al-Dîn (text in *Trudi Vost. stud. Arkh. Obsh.*, VII, 32 sq.) for example gives the names of the individual "Oghuz tribes". In a linguistically older form (e.g. *Salghur* for *Salur*, *Yaghtr* for *Yazir*) we find these names in Mahmûd Kâshghari (I, 56 sq.). Of the 24 names given by Rashîd al-Dîn, 21 agree with the list in Mahmûd Kâshghari. Three names (*Yayirîl*, *Karîk* and *Karîkî*) are found only in Rashîd al-Dîn and one (*Djarukluq* or *Carukluq*) only in Mahmûd. The total number of tribes according to Rashîd al-Dîn was 24 (the same number occurs in many Turkish and Turkoman legends), according to Mahmûd 22; but the latter also knows (III, 307) that the original number was 24; two tribes are said to have separated in the pre-Islamic period from the rest and formed the people of the *Khaladj* [q. v.].

The name Oghuz was not ousted by that of Turkomans till the Mongol period; in the sixth (xith) century the word *Ghuz* is found even in official documents (text in Barthold, *Turkistan*, I, 28 sq.). On the place of abode of the separate tribes nothing is said either by Rashîd al-Dîn or by Mahmûd Kâshghari. In the historical references (e.g. *Zaf.*, IX, 303; Newswi, ed. Houdas, p. 39; *G. M. S.*, XVI, 120 and 122, where *Tâk* should be read for *Yâk*) the *Yaghtr* or *Yazir* are the

earliest (end of the fifth = xith and beginning of the sixth = xith century) to be associated with a definite region — east of Balkhân [q. v.] where the fortress of *Tâk*, later the town of *Durûn*, now a ruined site near the railway station of Boharden, once stood. According to Hamîd Allâh Kâsimî (*G. M. S.*, XXIII, 159 supra; there and in the transl. II, 155, wrongly *Dâzar*) there was much corn there; the *Yazir* seem therefore to have taken to agriculture. At a later date the *Yazir* are called *Karataghîl* or *Karadaghîl*; it was only towards the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century that they were driven out of *Âkhal* (see *ÂKHAL*, *TAKKA*) by the tribe of *Tekke*.

Among the Turkomans who migrated into western Asia the ethnic Turkoman gradually disappeared and has survived only in a few districts. Ibn Battûta [q. v.] still calls even the Ottoman Turkomans (*Voyages*, II, 321). In the ninth (xvth) century *Khalîl al-Zahîrî* (*G. A. L.*, II, 135) gives a list of the Turkoman tribes living in the empire of the Mamlûks [q. v.] from *Ghazna* [q. v.] to *Diâr Bakr* [q. v.] (*P. E. L. O. F.*, VII, s. v. XVI, 105). Of the tribes mentioned there only that of *Dulghadîr* (see *DUU*, *U-KADIR*), attained any political importance. The only really important Turkoman states in western Asia were the kingdoms of the dynasties of the *Kara-Koyunlu* [q. v.] and the *Ak-Koyunlu* [q. v.]. The still celebrated Turkoman carpets are first mentioned in the west (Abu 'l-Fidâ, ed. Reinaud, p. 379, from Ibn Sa'îd). The carpets were made by women, mainly by girls.

The Turkomans were among the few Turkish peoples of Central Asia, who retained their old ethnic even after the Mongol period. But very few of the old tribal names survived; the names of the most important and largest tribes of the present day (the *Tekke*, *Göklen*, *Yomut*, *Ersari*, *Sark* etc.) are not mentioned before the Mongol period. As with other nomads or semi-nomads, new formations were produced by the activity of single individuals; thus a clan of the *Sark* still calls itself *Bairat*, after a leader who fell in 1051 (year of the hare) (Abu 'l-Ghâzi, ed. Desmasez, p. 324 sq.). The most information about the Turkomans in the sixth and seventh centuries is given by Abu 'l-Ghâzi [q. v.] in his larger work and also in his history of the Turkomans, *Shajara-i Tarâkima* (not mentioned in the *Encyclopaedia*), which so far is only accessible in a Russian translation (Arkhabad 1897).

As the Turkomans were unable to form a state of their own, they dwelt in various kingdoms (Persia, *Khwarizm*, *Bukhârâ*, and in the eighth century *Afghanistan* also). As a matter of fact, the Turkomans usually succeeded in practice in maintaining their independence against these kingdoms; they frequently inflicted disastrous defeats on armies sent against them. The separate tribes were also frequently at war with one another. In the sixth century the *Tekke* tribe especially distinguished itself by its victories over other Turkoman tribes. It was only in poetic literature that the Turkoman people felt itself united; they all regarded Mahmûd Kullî of the tribe of *Göklen*, who flourished in the second half of the eighth and first half of the ninth century, as their common national poet (his father *Dawlat Mamal* was writing in 1167 [1755—1754]) (*Zaf.*, XVII, 146). Towards the end of the eighth century a section of the Turkomans migrated from *Mangishlak* [q. v.] and went north-

wards from the Caspian Sea into Russian territory, where they still dwell in the basin of the Kura and of the Maniç: the number of these Turkomans in 1912 was 15,534, less than in 1906 (15,990). Even for these Turkomans, completely separated from their kinmen, Makhdûm Kâlî was still the national poet.

The Russian conquests in Central Asia, especially the occupation of Krasnowodsk (1869) and the campaign against Khiva (1873) made inevitable the subjection of the Turkomans, and was concluded by the storming of Gök-tepe [q. v.] in 1881 and the "voluntary" surrender of Merw in 1884 and of the lands south of it in 1885. The treaties determining the frontier in the following years settled the present distribution of the Turkoman lands in Russia, Persia and Afghanistan. Russian Turkomania was at first administered as a separate (Transcaspian) district, but in 1898 it was incorporated in the governor-generalship of Turkestan [q. v.]. After the Revolution and the settlement of the problem of nationalities Turkomania was organised in 1924 as a Socialist Soviet Republic. According to the census of 1926-1927 the population of this republic was 1,030,641, of whom 719,792 were Turkomans; in the towns and larger villages there were 136,982, of whom only 8,790 were Turkomans. On the number of Turkomans in Persia and Afghanistan we have of course no accurate statistics. According to Aristow's estimates (1896) the figure was only 80,000, 50,000 in Afghanistan and 20,000 in Persia.

Bibliography: (so far as not given in the article itself): H. Vámbéry, *Das Turkenvolk in seinen ethnologischen und ethnographischen Beziehungen geschildert*, Leipzig 1885, p. 382 sqq.; N. Aristow, *Zambetki ab etimologicheskoye tyurkchikhi plemen*, St. Petersburg 1897; A. Semenov, *Očerki iz istorii presostoineniya volnoi Turkmanii (1881-1885)*, Tashkent 1909; R. Karutz, *Unter Kirgizen und Turkmenen*, Berlin [n.d.]; L. Oshanin, *Tyurkchikhiya dunnat' dolikhocefalni u turkmeni i summe dle puti do preishkhodeniya (sv. Sredneaz. Komiteta, 1. 131 sqq.)*; do., *Nikhozhie dopolnitelnye dunnat' k gipotesis skifo-summatkoge preishkhodeniya turkmen*, Tashkent 1928; *Turkmaniya*, vol. I, Leningrad 1929; in this W. Barthold, *Očerki literat' turkmenikogo naroda*; A. Samoylovich, *Očerki po istorii turkmenikoi literat'ur*; N. Aitakov, *Tri godo Turkmenii*, Ashkhabad 1928.

(W. BARTHOLD)

TURKOMAN LITERATURE.

The literature of the Transcaspian Turkomans until quite recent times was confined to a popular unwritten literature consisting mainly of poems by *shayhs*. This backward condition of the written literature is due to the fact that these Turkomans have never formed a state and that they have retained a nomadic mode of life and never adopted the settled habits of town life. Although there is a great resemblance between the popular literature of the Turkomans (consisting of proverbs, riddles, tales, songs, lullabies, etc.) and that of the Oghuz living farther west, i. e. the Turks of Persia, the Caucasus and Anatolia, we find among the Turkomans very many more traces of the pre-Islamic period.

The written literature of the Turkomans consists of lyric poems and epics, poetry of a religious and didactic nature as well as popular romances, which were recited among the Turkomans by *shayhs* [q. v.], i. e. wandering musicians. In form and subject, these poems differ very little from those popularised in Adharbaidjan and in Anatolia by the *shayhs*. They are written in the syllabic metre and in the quatrains called *ghazals* [cf. ГОЗМА]. Among the Turkomans this word is used in the general sense of poem. The popular anonymous romances deal with the same subjects as those of Adharbaidjan and Anatolia, like the *Fisher and his Companion* (*Sahid de Hemrah*), *Abd al-Gharib*, *Ak Oguz*, *Tahir and Zuhra*, *Yusuf and Ahmad*, motives which belong originally to the Oghuz. We may also note the close relation between the popular music of the Turkomans and Adheri music. These links between the different Oghuz Turk groups may be explained partly as a continuation of their common ancient culture and partly as a result of mutual influences of later date. Thus there are obvious connections between the famous romance *Yusuf and Ahmad* (which has also been adopted by the Osbeqs) and the book of *Dide Korkut* which is a remnant of the ancient Oghuz epic. In addition the intercourse of the Turkomans with the centres of Turkish culture in Khurasan, Khazaria and Turkestan have caused the Turkish literature of Central Asia to influence Turkoman literature. Among the Turkomans the Oghuz-Adheri poets like Nesimi and Fuzuli and the poems of the great Chaghatai poet 'Ali Shir Nava'i are also studied and the memory of the last, as well as of his patron Sultan Husain Baikara is still alive among the people. The influence of Ahmed Vesewi and of his pupils is visible in the work of the best known Turkoman poet, Makhdûm Kâlî (cf. *ib. Mutajawwifler*, p. 199).

We have as yet very little information about the early works of the Turkoman literature composed in the what is now Turkmenistan. Abu 'l-Qhasi in his *Shajjara-i tarikhina* mentions a poetical work called *Mu'in al-Murid* which, according to him, had been popular among the Turkomans down to his own time. But this work, written in 1313, although containing some references to nomad life, in reality originates among the Turks of Khazaria and has no connection with the Turkomans. Next comes the *methnawi*: *Kaw-nak al-Islam*, attributed by tradition to Shaikh Sharaf of Khazaria, but Zeki Velidi has shown that the work was composed in 889 (1484) by a poet named Wafa'i. This book is still studied among the Turkomans; it is written in the 'aruz metre but has no literary value. Perhaps this Wafa'i was one of the poets in the entourage of the Turkoman princes of Khurasan of the time of Shah Isma'il Safawi. We know however that as late as the Timurid period, poems in the Turkoman-Chaghatai style were recited in Khurasan, and from the *Tadhkirah* of Sam Mirza [q. v.] and from the *Tadhkirah* in Chaghatai of Sadqi, called *Majma' al-Khawass*, we know the poems of several Turkoman poets belonging to the 15th century (for the *Majma' al-Khawass* see: W. Peruch, *Die türk. HSS. in Göttingen*, No. 169). These poems however were intended for town-dwellers and were not known among the nomads. A work which was known to the Turkomans is the *Shajjara-i tarikhina* of Abu 'l-Qhasi (not mentioned in the article

ABU 'L-GHANI). This book was published in 1897 by Tumanaki at Ashkhabad (a sixth manuscript was recently discovered by Samoilovitch; cf. *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences de l'U. R. S. S.*, 1927, No. 2, p. 39-42). Although this work contains some borrowings from the historical books of the Oghuz, it also includes ancient popular traditions of the Turkomans. As the language of the known manuscripts has been much altered by copyists, it has not the value it might have had as a specimen of the old Turkoman dialect.

The literary traditions of the Turkomans of the present day and the other sources available only help us for the xviiith and xixth centuries. Samoilovitch, the best authority, has been able to collect the names of about 20 poets belonging to Turkoman tribes. Their poems celebrate the battles and rivalries between the different tribes and are read, without exception, by all the Turkomans. The tribe of the Göklen, probably because it adopted a settled life before the others, produced most poets in the xviiith and xixth centuries: in the first place the greatest poet Makhdüm Kuli, his father Dewlet Muhammad Molla Asadi, then his son-in-law and pupil Dhalili, and lastly Saiyidi, the poet of the Ersari, who sought refuge among the Göklen. Dewlet Muhammad Molla Asadi in 1167 (1753) composed a *metnevi* entitled *Wa'z-i Asadi* in the 'arud metre, a moralising poem showing the influence of Caghatay literature. The same poet also wrote poems in the style of the 'ashks. Among the poets of the xviiith century may also be mentioned Ma'rufi and Sheidkyl. Another poet, a product like Asadi of the *medrese*, of the xixth century is 'Abd al-Sattar Kadi of the tribe of the Teke, whose *Qit'atnâme* was published by Samoilovitch in 1914. This *metnevi*, written in the metre ---/---/---, is a historical poem describing an episode of a struggle between the Sunni Teke and the Shi'i Persians. The work is not, however, a pure specimen of the popular language of the Turkomans.

Makhdüm Kuli received his education in the *medrese* of Shtr 'Ali Khan in Khwārizm but his real life has been much obscured by legends. His popularity has been so great that the works of many other poets have also been attributed to him, even although the *mukhammas* of these poets are given at the end of the poems. Among the Turkomans of Khotan and even among the Osbeqs, the expression "to read Makhdüm Kuli" means "to read didactic poems in Turkoman". We do not know which of the 279 poems attributed to him are really his. Among them we find pieces of a religious and didactic nature as well as of warlike poems inspired by the struggle with the Persians. These poems are our most important source for our knowledge of the Turkoman conception of life. The *ghazals* of Dhalili and Saiyidi also reflect this popular wisdom and are written in the 'arud metre and in the form of *mukhammas*, *muraddas* etc.

Since the Russian revolution of 1905, there have been signs of a revival among the Turkomans but it is only since 1917 that the movement has been a steady one. The centre of this renewed intellectual activity is Ashkhabad. School-books, periodicals and newspapers are published in the Turkoman dialect and an in-

stitute for Turkoman culture has been founded. Ethnography, music and popular literature are being studied and the foundations laid for a marxist literature just as in the other lands belonging to the Union of Soviets. Although the products of this new literature are not yet of much literary value, several important works have been published, like the collected works of Saiyidi and Dhalili and the *Saiyid il-Hemrah Hikayasi* (by scholars like Geldiyeff and Kulmehmedoff). These researches by learned Turkomans assisted by Russian orientalisks will probably in the near future throw much light on unknown periods of this literature.

Bibliography: The earliest account of Turkoman poets and of Makhdüm Kuli is found in A. Chodsko, *Specimens of the Popular Poetry of Persia*, 1842. After him Berzin published several Turkoman poems in his *Chrastomathie*. H. Vámbéry in his *Travels*, London 1864 gives some information about Makhdüm Kuli; in 1879 the same author published in *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxiii, 31 fragments of his poems. This article, however, as well as that of Ostroumof, publ. in 1907, contains many errors. The most important researches have been those of Samoilovitch in the following articles: 1. *Turkmenkij poet-derjakh Kär Mulla i jego pesnja o Rusikh* (*zhiznja Sharina*, serija XVI, St. Petersburg 1907, p. 215-23); 2. *Pojezdka v Turkistan v 1906-1907 g.* (*Zap. Vost. Otd. Imp. Russk. Akad. Obsh.*, xviii, p. xviii-xix.); 3. *Po povodu isdanija N. P. Ostroumova "Svetlo Islama"* (*Zap.*, xviii, 158-166); 4. *Materialy po Sredniasiaticheskij literature* (*Zap.*, xix, 1-30); 5. *Ukavatel k pesnyam Makhdum-Kuli* (*Zap.*, xix.); 6. *Ulebihi Turkmenkij narechiya* (*Zap.*, xviii.); 7. *Kitabat "Ukavatel k pesnyam Makhdum-Kuli"* (*Zap.*, xix, p. 125); 8. *Abdu-Sattar Gazy, Kniga razskazov o bitvakh i zhizni Turkmenikaya istorikskaya poema XIX veka*, St. Petersburg 1924.

H. Vámbéry, *Yusuf und Ahmed*, Budapest 1911; this story has also been printed at Kazan in 1904; some sections have already been published by Vámbéry in *Cagatäische Sprachstudien*, Leipzig 1867, p. 95-114. On the *Mu'in al-Marid* cf.: Zeki Walidi, *Khawarizmiye yastilish ishi turkiki Esheler*, in *Turkiyat Medenisat*, ii, 313-45. The various manuscripts of the *Kawnah al-Islam* have been described by Samoilovitch (a new manuscript of the xixth century is in my private library); the work was printed for the first time at Kazan in 1850; in 1905 it was again published at Tashkent by Ostroumof. The *Divan* of Makhdüm Kuli publ. at Constantinople in 1340 by Sheikh Muhsin Fani contains more mistakes than Vámbéry's edition. For a critical bibliography of the publication relating to Makhdüm Kuli see: Zeki Walidi, *Turkiyat Medenisat*, ii, 465-474; Kul-Mehmedof, *Seydi ghazallari*, Ashkhabad 1926; do., *Dhalili ghazallari*, Ashkhabad 1926; do., *Saiyid il-Hemrah*, Ashkhabad 1927. The last and most complete publication on Turkoman literature is the article by Samoilovitch, *Oterki po istorii turkmenkij literature*, in the periodical *Turkmeniya*, vol. i, 1929, publ. by the Academy of Sciences of the Union of Soviets.

(KÖRÖLÖ ZÁRÉ FÖ'AD)

TURKS.

A. (GENERAL)

- I. HISTORICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHICAL SURVEY (W. BARTHOLD)
 II. LANGUAGES (A. SAMOILOVITCH)
 III. ÇAGHATAI LITERATURE (W. BARTHOLD)

B. (THE OTTOMAN TURKS)

- I. LANGUAGE (J. H. KRAMER)
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 IV. HISTORY (J. H. KRAMER)

A. — I. HISTORICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHICAL SURVEY.

The word Turk (Chin. Tu-kue, Greek Τούρκοι) first appears as the name of a nomad people in the sixth century A.D. In this century a powerful nomad empire was founded by the Turks, which stretched from Mongolia and the northern frontier of China to the Black Sea. The founder of the empire, called Tu-men by the Chinese (in the Turkish inscriptions: Bo-mün) died in 552; his brother Istämi (Chin. She-tie-mi, Greek Σιρτιέμις, Δαλτίβουλος; in al-Tabari, I. 895 and 896: Sindjibü Khākan) by whom the conquests in the west were made, seems to have lived till 576. The two brothers seem to have been quite independent of each other. The Turkish empires in question were distinguished by the Chinese as the empires of the Northern Turks and of the Western Turks. In 581 under the influence of the Chinese dynasty of Sui, which had now risen to power, a final breach was made between the two kingdoms. In the next century both had to submit to the nominal suzerainty of the Tang dynasty (618—907), the Northern Turks about 630, the Western in 659. In 682, after 50 years of foreign rule, the Northern Turks succeeded in regaining their independence and former power. To this new empire, which lasted till 744, belong the "Orkhon inscriptions" (called after the river Orkhon in Mongolia), the oldest monument of the Turkish language. From time to time, especially in 699 and 721, these rulers succeeded in bringing the Western Turks under their rule but could not subdue them permanently. Of the Western Turkish tribes the Türgesh were the most distinguished, whose chiefs in the last years of the ninth century assumed the powers of Khāns. The kingdom of the Türgesh was ended by the Arabs under Naṣr b. Sayār in 121 (739) (Tabari, II. 1593 sqq., 1613, 1689 sqq.).

Various views have been expressed regarding the relations of these, the oldest Turks, to their predecessors, the nomad peoples in the east and west. The attempt has been made to prove that in earlier centuries also there were Turkish languages, of course under other names, and to explain from the Turkish isolated words that have survived from the pre-Christian period. In the west it has been often assumed that the ancient nomad people par excellence, the Scythians, or at least a section of them, were related to the Turks. In Curtius VII. 7. 1, in the history of Alexander the Great, Caribasis, a brother of the king of the Scythians who dwelt beyond the Vaxartes (cf. Strabo, II. 116), is mentioned. Th. Nöldede pointed out to A. Gutschmid that this might be the Turkish Kar-

daghl "his brother" so that we have here "perhaps the first reference in history to a Turkish people" (A. Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans und seiner Nachbarländer von Alexander dem Grossen bis zum Untergang der Sassaniden*, Tübingen 1888, p. 2, note 1). Nöldede himself, as he observes in his preface to Gutschmid's work, "no longer wished seriously to support this suggestion casually thrown out by him".

To an even earlier period belong the references in Herodotus, IV. 23 to the people of the Agripacans or Argimpacans and to the sap of a tree called *ἄργυ* which was drunk mixed with milk. The word *ἄργυ* (according to Müllenhol, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, III. 15: Turk. *ağı* or *alı* "bitter"; Tomaschek, *S.B. Ak. Wien*, cxvii. 60 equates it with a hypothetical *argā* in the meaning of "food"; cf. also F. Braun, *Rosikuniya v oblasti getokul'-anskikh stepeney*, St. Petersburg 1899, p. 88) has been sometimes held to be the oldest Turkish word that has come down to us. The Turks are described by the Chinese as descendants of the Hsiang-nu (Hans). In the *T'ien-shu-shu* in the account of a treaty concluded in 47 B.C. between the Emperor of China and the ruler of the Huns, a Hun word (in Chinese transcription *king-lu*, old sound *king-luk*) is mentioned as meaning "ceremonial sword of the Huns". This word is connected by Fr. Hirth (*Bulletin de l'Acad. etc.*, 1900 p. 222) with the Teut. *flingraf* "a two-edged knife" (Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, II. 709) and the eastern Turkistan *flingraf* "a broad knife" (R. Shaw, *A Sketch of the Turk Language*, II. 183). In still older Chinese sources, the same Hun word is mentioned in the account of an event of the year 1022 A.C., which makes Hirth consider it "the oldest Turkish word on record" (*The Ancient History of China*, New York 1911, p. 67). K. Shiratori (*Bulletin de l'Acad. etc.*, 1902, xvii. N° 2, p. 1 sqq.) has made an attempt to explain a large number of Hun words preserved in Chinese sources from the Turkish; but at a later date the same scholar (*J. A.*, ccii. 1923, p. 71 sq.) attempted to show that the language of the Huns was a Mongol language with an admixture of Tungust elements.

As eastern neighbours of the Huns the Sien-pi are mentioned in Chinese sources, by whom the Huns were driven out of Mongolia towards the end of the first century A.D.; at a later date several dynasties were founded by the Huns and also by the Sien-pi in China; among the Sien-pi dynasties, that of the Northern Wei (386—534) was of special note. The Sien-pi are usually regarded as a Tungust people (e.g. E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kue [Turcs] occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. 155, note 5); but, as P. Pelliot announced at a lecture given in St. Petersburg in autumn 1925, a Sien-pi glossary has survived in Chinese, from which it is evident that the Sien-pi were a Turkish-speaking people. So far as I know, nothing has so far appeared in print about this glossary; and so long as a source like this is not accessible to us, the question of the origin of the peoples concerned cannot of course be decided. If it should be definitely proved that the Huns were Mongols, and the Sien-pi Turks, it would follow that in these days, unlike later times, the Turks lived to the east of the Mongols. How the name of the people, which survives only in Chinese transcription, was really pronounced,

we do not know. E. Blocher (*G.M.S.*, xii. 201) connects Sien-pi with Sibir. In Byzantine and Armenian sources we find a people called Sabirs mentioned for the first time in 463 and the last in 558 (cf. J. Marquart, *Ostergeschichte und estnaische Strifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, index), but of migrations of the Sien-pi to the west nothing is known.

N. Poppe has recently dealt with the question of the origin and early history of the Turks from another standpoint, the linguistic. An Altaic primitive language (*Ursprache*) is presupposed, to which the primitive Turkish, the primitive Mongol and the primitive Tungus go back. The primitive Turkish was on the same level of development as the language of the Orkhon inscriptions; "the phonetic system of the Orkhon Turkish is completely in keeping with our ideas of the primitive Turkish phonetic system" (*Ungerische Jahrbücher*, vi. 98).

The writer of course does not assert that all modern Turkish languages are descended from the language of the Orkhon inscriptions; this would be impossible, if only because the inscriptions themselves mention several tribes of Turks; it was only an "archaic dialect". "The period of primitive Turkish" must be placed "at the latest in the centuries just before the Christian era" (*op. cit.*). In general the Turkish languages are on a higher level than the Mongol ones; even "the modern Mongol of any district one likes to choose" in the Mongol world "is much more archaic than the oldest Turkish languages known to us". "The Mongol of literature, not however the living dialects", is phonetically "almost at the same stage of development as the Altaic primitive language" (*op. cit.*, p. 117).

Special attention is devoted by the author (*op. cit.*; cf. also *Bulletin de l'Acad. etc.*, 1924, p. 289 sqq.; *Asia Major*, i. 775 sqq.; *Körsi Csoma-Archiv*, ii. 65 sqq.; *Ungerische Jahrbücher*, vii. 151 sqq.) to the relation of the "Cuwassisch" (his form) to the other Turkish languages. Cuwass does not go back to the primitive Turkish language but the latter and the oldest form of Cuwass both go back to a "Cuwass-Turkish primitive language" and these with the primitive Mongol go back to an "Altaic primitive language". The division in the Cuwass-Turkish original language is with caution brought into connection with the migrations of Hun tribes to the west. The Cuwass are descendants of the Western Huns; the Cuwass-Turkish primitive language was then the language of the Huns. The change characteristic of the Turkish language (unlike the Cuwass) of $r > z$ and $l > \lambda$ did not take place as Ramstedt thought (*J. S. F. O.*, xxxviii/1, 31) between the fourth and sixth century, but much earlier, perhaps about the beginning of the Christian era.

V. Thomsen (*Z.D.M.G.*, lxxviii. 122) supposes the word "Turk" means "strength, power" (cf. also F. W. K. Müller, *Uguria*, ii. 97: *ürk türk*, "might and power"); it is said to have been "at first probably the name of a single tribe or more probably rather of a ruling family". In the inscriptions, the word *türk* seems to have a political rather than an ethnographic significance; the expression "my Turks, my people" (in Thomsen, l. E. 18; ii. E. 16; ii. S. 10) points in this direction. Alongside of the Turks, the Oghuz or Tokuz ("nine"; from the number of their separate tribes or families) Oghuz are frequently mentioned, sometimes as

enemies of the Turks and their rulers, sometimes as the Khān's own people, esp. l. N. 4; ii. E. 30, where the Khān calls the Tokuz Oghuz his "own people" and regards their rising against his rule as the dissolution of all order in heaven and earth. The Khān and his followers had probably belonged originally to the people of the Oghuz; the Oghuz hostile to the Khān dwelt to the north of his residence, which was near the mountains of Ötüken (on this word see now also B. Vladimircov, in *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. etc.*, 1929, p. 133 sq.), according to Thomsen (*Z.D.M.G.*, lxxviii. 123) "probably a part of the present range of Hangai near the river-system of the Orkhon in northern Mongolia". The people of the Uighur are also mentioned in northern Mongolia, on the Selenga river, although only in one passage (ii. E. 37). The Oghuz enemies of the Turks had about 680 a Kaghān of their own, a vassal of the Chinese emperor; in the eighth century he is no longer mentioned. The leader of the Uighur bore the more modest title of an *altābir* (e.g. ii. E. 38); in the inscriptions the expressions *qaghanlīgh budun* "people under a Kaghān" (e.g. i. E. 9; ii. E. 9) and *altābir-līgh budun* "people under an altābir" (e.g. ii. E. 38) are contrasted. In addition to the Turkish Kaghān in the east (according to the Chinese view in the north), there was also a Turkish Kaghān, the Kaghān of the Türgish (or Turgesh) in the west. From Arabic (Tabari, ii. 1593, where the town of Nawāket is mentioned; on its situation: *B. G.A.*, vi. text, p. 29 and 206) and Chinese sources we know that his royal residence was on the river Ču [q. v.]. His people is called *en shē* "ten arrows" town the number of their tribes. There was a third Turkish Kaghān, the Kaghān of the Kirgiz [q. v.] on the Yenisei; the Khān of the inscriptions claims to have himself given the ruler of the Kirgiz the title of a Kaghān (ii. E. 20; ii. E. 17). The opinion that to become a Khān (Kaghān) the title had to be received from another Khān is also found in Muslim sources (Awfi in Barthold, *Turkistan v. epokhu mongol'skago nashestviya*, l. 96).

*East of the western Turks and into their territory between the Altai and the upper course of the Irtysh" (so Thomsen, *Z.D.M.G.*, lxxviii. 172) lived the Karluq, a people of undoubted Turkish origin. In 766 the lands of the Western Turks passed into their possession; their ruler at that time, like the ruler of the Oghuz on the Sfr-Daryā, bore the Turkish (originally Tokhari: cf. Marquart, *Erzählung*, p. 204; W. Bang, in *Ung. Jahrb.*, vi. 102, note 3) title of *yabghu*, which is mentioned in the Orkhon inscriptions as the title of a prince. The only Turkish people at that time already leading a settled life (at least in the east) was the Basmlī in Biḡbalk [q. v.]; their ruler had the title of *idūgh-bat* "holy majesty" (ii. E. 25). The prince of the Uighur in the same region had the same title in the xiith century, when its origin had already been forgotten (hence the attempts to explain it in Rashid al-Dīn and Abu Ṭ-Ḥāzī; cf. the passages given in Radloff, *Kudatku Bilik*, part i., p. xxvii. and xxxix.). A. Grünwedel seems to have heard the pronunciation *idikut* in this very region; hence the name of the ruins of Idikutshari at Turfan (A. Grünwedel, *Bericht über archäologische Arbeiten in Idikutshari und Umgebung*, Munich 1905). Thomsen (*Z.D.M.G.*, lxxviii. 172) describes the Basmlī as only "a tribe related to the Turks". That they were not a pure Turkish

people seems to be clear from the name. Aristow (*Zaměstki k etimologickému rozboru tyurkských jmen*, St. Petersburg 1897, p. 91 sq.) has pointed out that according to Ducange (*Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae aetatis*) the children of a French father and a Greek mother were called Gascones or Gascones in Byzantium. Even in the 13th century, in Mahmūd Kāshgharī (I. 30), the Basmlī are mentioned among the peoples, who have a (non-Turkish) language of their own although they also know Turkish.

The other peoples mentioned in the inscriptions were probably not Turks, notably the Tatars, although Turkish numerals like *otuz* (30) and *toqus* (9) are prefixed to their names. As Thomsen (*Z. D. M. G.*, lxxviii. 174) rightly points out, they were "undoubtedly the Mongols".

From the Oghuz ("Turks") rule over Mongolia passed about 745 to the Uighurs, whose ruler henceforth assumed the title of Kāghān. His dynasty ruled till 840. Of this period also we possess inscriptions, including one published by Ramstedt (*J. S. F. O.*, xxx. 3), of the Kāghān who reigned from 746 to 759. The view, also shared by Thomsen (*Z. D. M. G.*, lxxviii. 128 sq.), that the Uighur belonged to the confederation of the Oghuz and that there is only a slight difference of dialect between the forms Oghuz and Uighur is not confirmed by this inscription; the Uighur appear as a separate confederation, distinct from the Oghuz; the Kāghān calls himself ruler over the On (10) Uighur and Tokuz Oghuz, although according to Chinese sources, the Uighur also numbered nine tribes. Some of the Oghuz appear to have remained in Mongolia under the rule of the Uighur, and others to have migrated west and south. Among the latter was the tribe of *Ču* (in Chinese transcription Ču-yue, in Chinese translation Sha-t'o = "sand-desert") which belonged originally to the Western Turks. In the 11th century, the Sha-t'o lived on Lake Barkul (properly Barskul) where they were exposed to the attacks of the Tibetans, and at a later date (since 712) somewhat further west at Bishbalık. After 808 they were driven from there also by the Tibetans and had to go over on to Chinese territory. In the history of China, they are best known in connection with the suppression of the rebellion of Huang-Čao (877-883); in Muslim history this is ascribed to the people of Toguz-ghuz [q. v.]. In the tenth century, three short-lived dynasties were founded in the province of Ho-nan by the Sha-t'o Turks (the Later T'ang 923-936, the Later Tsin 936-947 and the Later Han 947-951).

In the Chinese inscription of Karabalgasun, composed by the Uighur Kāghān who died in 821, the adoption of Manichaeism by the Uighur is recorded. The Uighur had become acquainted with Manichaeism in a campaign against China in 762 in the town of Lo-Yang (near Ho-nan), and four Manichaean missionaries were taken from there back to their land (Mongolia). "The land with barbaric customs and the smell of blood" was to be "changed into a land where men lived on vegetables, the land where men slew one another, to a land where they exhorted to the good" (*J. A.*, xi. 1, 194). Buddhism and Syrian (especially Nestorian) Christianity at this time developed a zealous missionary activity in China and among the Turks. The expeditions to Chinese Turkestan have found many Turkish fragments which testify to this activity; but the inscription of Karabalgasun

seems to be the only record that has survived about the conversion of a Turkish ruler to one of these religions. The Soghdians [cf. SOGHDI] in particular seem to have spread Manichaeism in China and among the Turks; besides the Chinese inscription, there is a short one formerly thought to be Uighur, now recognised as Soghdian by F. W. K. Müller (*Ein iranisches Sprachdenkmal aus der nördlichen Mongolei*, in *S. B. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1909). According to R. Gauthiot (*Essai de Grammaire sogdienne, Première partie, Phonétique*, Paris 1914-1923, xiii.), the language of this inscription is "somme toute, la tradition la plus vieille et la plus constante du sogdien". From the Soghdian script developed the Uighur which later, probably in the same 10th century, was to drive out of use completely the oldest Turkish alphabet, that of the Orkhon inscriptions. The Uighur alphabet was adopted by the Mongols in the 13th century; in the period of the Mongol empire, the Uighur alphabet was used in all countries from Mongolia to South Russia and Persia.

About 840 the Kirgiz put an end to the Uighur empire. Two new kingdoms were founded about the middle of the ninth century by the Uighurs driven out of Mongolia, one in Kan-čou (see KANČOU, better Kan-djou), the other in Bishbalık and Kara-Khodja. Manichaeism are mentioned in both in the tenth century as well as in Khotan (*J. A.*, xi. 1, 265 sq.).

The ruler of Bishbalık and Kara-Khodja undertook the defence of his co-religionists against the Chinese Emperor (Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj*, I. 300 sq.) and the ruler of the Sāmānids (*Fihrist*, p. 337). In Bishbalık and Kara-Khodja, Manichaeism had probably already spread under the predecessors of the Uighur, the Tokuz-Oghuz. Tamim b. Bakr al-Matawwa', who is quoted by Yāqūt (*Ma'ājam*, I. 840, supra) and was certainly utilised by Ibn Khurdadbeh also (*B. G. A.*, vi., text, p. 30 sq.), seems to have visited not the Uighur but the Toghrughuz proper (Tokuz-Oghuz).

At that time Manichaeism predominated, especially in the Kāghān's (Kāghān) capital; in the country west of the capital there were Manichaeism also but the Zoroastrians were more numerous there. Whether, as Chavannes and Pelliot (*J. A.*, xi. 1, 269) suppose, the turkification of what is now Chinese Turkestan was for the most part ("en grande partie") first carried through by the Uighur, is doubtful. This process may already have made considerable progress under the predecessors of the Uighur. Kāshghar and all the lands east of it are from the very beginning regarded by the Arabs as purely Turkish areas.

Of the two Uighur kingdoms, one (in Kan-čou) was conquered by the Tanguts in 1028 and the second was still in existence in the Mongol period. In the year 924 the proposal was made to the Uighur in Kan-čou by the founder of the kingdom of the Kitai [cf. KARA-KITAI] Apaoki, who had shortly before driven the Kirgiz out of Mongolia, that they should return to their original homes on the Orkhon, but the Uighur had already settled down to the conditions of their new home and did not wish to become nomads again (E. Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, I. 214; J. Marquart, *Gökalın's Bericht über die Bektürung der Uighuren*, *S. B. Pr. Ak.*, 1912).

The victory of the Kitai over the Kirgiz really marks the end of Turkish and the beginning of

Mongol rule in Mongolia. The Kirgiz were the last Turkish people to live in Mongolia and the only one whose memory has survived there to the present day. All the pre-Mongol tombs in Mongolia, including the Uighur, are called "Kirgiz tombs" (*qirgiz ur*). The hills of Otukin mentioned in the Orkhon inscriptions as Turkish country *xar' k'igiz* were according to Mahmūd Kāshgharī (*Divān Lughat al-Turk*, i. 123) in the Tatar steppes.

Most references to the Turkish peoples are from this time found in Muslim sources. For the older period also the information in the Turkish inscriptions and in the Chinese annals is often supplemented by the western sources. From Byzantine sources we learn that Turks in 576 conquered the Tauric Bosphorus, in 581 they were before the walls of Chersonesus, but their rule over the Tauric Peninsula was not of long duration; by about 590 Byzantine rule had been restored there (A. Vasil'yev, in *Izv. Akad. Mater. Kul'turi*, v. 185 sq.).

There are also Byzantine sources from 568 (Byzantine embassy under Zemarchoz to the Turks) to 598 (letters of the Turkish Kaghān to the Emperor Maurice; cf. the latest study of these sources in E. Chavannes, *Documenti sur les Tou-Kiue [Turcs] occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. 233 sq.).

Of the Byzantine envoys only the first, Zemarchoz, crossed the Volga and visited the residence of the Kaghān of the Western Turks which, as Chavannes has shown, at this time was in the Ak Tagh ("White Mountains") north of the town of Kuča. There were often negotiations for joint campaigns against the Sāsānids, but no lasting alliance was made; in a few years the Turks were at war with the Byzantines as well as with the Persians. After the conquest of the Alans (cf. ALLĀN) by the Turks the kingdom of the Sāsānids became bounded by the land of the Turks not only in Central Asia but also west of the Caspian Sea. It was probably against these Turks that the walls of Derbend (q.v.) were built. The tradition of the Turkish nomad empire was continued by the Khazars, who became a great power in the seventh century (see NUTGHĀN and KHAZAR), just as at a later date the Golden Horde carried on the traditions of Čingiz-Khān's [q.v.] empire. The language of the conquerors of the sixth century has left no more traces in Eastern Europe than the Mongol has in the lands of the Golden Horde. The language of the Bulghar and Khazar belonged to the above mentioned older stratum of Turkish now represented only by the Cuman and the Turkish elements in Magyar; Turkish proper was brought to Europe only towards the end of the ninth century A. D. by the Pelenegs.

In the lands east of the Caspian Sea also, defences were erected by the Sāsānids against their Turkish neighbours. A wall of brick was built to defend the province of Djurdjān [q.v.] but it was not able to prevent the victorious invasion of the Turks (Baladhuri, p. 336; *B.G.A.*, vi, text, p. 261 sq.); the remains of this wall on the right bank of the river Gūrghen are called Kifli-Alan at the present day (description e.g. by I. Polzawski, in *Festschrift Turk Krutka Lyub. Arkh.*, v. 185). The loss of the province of Djurdjān probably explains the erection of another wall also of baked bricks on the frontier between Djurdjān and Tabaristān [q.v.] attributed to Khumraw Anūshirwān (*B.G.A.*, vii, 150). During the fighting between the Arabs and

Turks in the year 98 (716—717), the Turks of Djurdjān were led by Šul, the Dihkān of Dihistān (Tabari, ii. 1320). Šul here is certainly a Turkish proper name or title, probably for Turkish *Čur*. In the history of the fighting against the Turks in the Sāsānid period, the word *Šul* appears in one passage in Tabari as the name of a people, and on this J. Marquart (*Erānshahr*, p. 51 and 73) bases his views on the people or tribe *Čul* (see also above under *QURĀNĀN*). But this statement probably does not refer to the Gūrghen region, as the Šul are mentioned along with the Alans (Tabari, i. 895). According to a late source (*Kitāb al-Aghāni*, ix. 21), the Turks on the Gūrghen had adopted the language and religion of the Persians; they must therefore have already conquered this region under the Sāsānids, probably as early as the sixth century, although in the *Kitāb al-Aghāni*, the same persons (Šul and his brother Firās) are mentioned as Turkish conquerors of the land and as fighting against the Arabs.

The fighting in the lands south of the Amū-Daryā [q.v.] generally went in favour of the Turks; as Marquart (*Erānshahr*, p. 53 and elsewhere) and following him Chavannes (*Documenti* etc., p. 252) have shown, the northeastern boundary of the Sāsānid empire at this time was the Murghāb. The Turks and with them their protégés, the last Sāsānids, were less successful later in the same area, during their struggle with the Arabs. In the accounts of this fighting only the "Turks" are mentioned, not separate Turkish peoples; an exception is the mention of the *Qabghā* of the Kariuk (the name of this people is written *Kharlukh* in Arabic and *Khallukh* in Persian) in the year 119 = 737 (cf. Tabari, ii. 1612 *infra*); more frequently the same prince is called "Qabghā of Tukhristān" [q.v.]. A portion of the Kariuk had therefore by this date reached the lands south of the Amū-Daryā, where they have survived to the present day (now regarded as an isolated family of the Ozbeks). There were also Arab embassies sent on peaceful missions to the Turks: e.g. the caliph Hishām (105—125 = 724—743) is said to have asked the "king of the Turks" to adopt Islam. Unfortunately in the only record we have of this mission (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, i. 839; the source of Yāqūt is Ibn al-Fakih; cf. *Bulletin de l'Acad.* etc., 1924, p. 241) we are not told where this king's capital was.

We get more detailed accounts of the separate Turkish peoples and their habits only from the Arab geographers of the third (ninth) and especially the fourth (tenth) century. In this geographical literature the word "Turk" is used only as the name of a group of peoples and branch of languages, not as in the Orkhon inscriptions and the Chinese Annals of a single people or kingdom. Five peoples in particular are mentioned (*B.G.A.*, i. 9) who spoke one language and could understand one another: the Toguzghuz [q.v.], the Khirithiz (Kirgiz, q.v.), the Kimak (cf. KIMAK), the Ghuzz (q.v.), i.e. the Oghuz, and the Kharlukh, i.e. the Kariuk [q.v.]. As at the present day, the lands on the Upper Yenisei were even then the extreme limits in the northeast of the land inhabited by Turks; they also marked the limits of the world as known to the Arabs; according to the Arab view, the lands of the Kirgiz, then the extreme northeasterly of Turkish peoples, stretched to the Ocean. The Oghuz and Kariuk were the immediate neighbours

of the Muslim lands in Central Asia. The land of the Oghuz adjoined the Muslim lands of Djurdjan in the west as far as Farkh [q. v.] and Ashidjib (the modern Sairam near Chinkent [q. v.]); in the east, still farther to the east, lived the Karluk. To go to China one had to travel through the lands of the Karluk and the Toghrughuz: over 30 days from the eastern frontier of Farghana [q. v.] through the land of the Karluk to the frontier of the land of the Toghrughuz; thence about two months through the land of the Toghrughuz and through China to the shore of the Ocean (*B.G.A.*, II, 11; other descriptions vary). Two other names of peoples are mentioned by Ibn Khurdādhbih (*B.G.A.*, VI, p. 28 sq.); not far from the winter quarters of the Karluk east of Tarāz (at the modern Awliya-Ata, q. v.) were the winter quarters of the Khaladj (q. v., where only the southern branch of this people are dealt with; for the Khaladj who migrated to Persia, see *SAWA*); between the rivers Talas and Chir, nearer to the latter, was the town of the "Khajān of the Türgesh". Further notices are given in the Persian sources in the *Ḥudūd al-'Alam* and in Gardizi [q. v.]. The Türgesh according to these were divided into the Tukhsi (so vocalised in Mahmūd Kāshghari) and the Az; the Tukhsi lived on the Chir [q. v.]; the town of Snyāb was in their territory. East of them on the Isfīk-Kul [q. v.] lived the Čigil (the pronunciation is established by a story giving a popular etymology in Mahmūd Kāshghari, I, 330). South of the river Narīn [see *SA-DARYĀ*] lived the Yaghmā, a branch of the Toghrughuz; their king was a descendant of the royal family of this people. The town of Kāshghar was in their territory. According to Mahmūd Kāshghari (I, 85), the Yaghmā and the Tukhsi lived on the river Ilī [q. v.], as did a part of the Čigil. The term Tukhsi-Čigil (I, 354) is also found. The Čigil were divided into three parts: in addition to the Čigil on the Ilī there were Čigil in villages near Kāshghar and in a little town or stronghold called Čigil near Tarāz; this latter was near the land of the Oghuz and was frequently besieged by them. The Oghuz therefore called all the Turks from the *Amū-Daryā* to China Čigil. In this sense the word Čigil is sometimes used by Kāshghari himself; it is recorded that the word *Yarīlgā* "edict", which implies a certain degree of culture, was unknown in the language of the Čigil and of the Oghuz (III, 31). The Yaghmā were also called *Ḥarā Yaghmā* ("black Y."); there was also a village of this name near Tarāz (III, 25 sq.). The name Turkoman first occurs in the geographical literature in Muḥaddasi in two passages (*B.G.A.*, III, 274 sq.) with a not quite certain significance.

On the *SA-DARYĀ* below Sawrān, that is in the land of the Oghuz, are mentioned the towns of Baladj and Barūkat "frontier forts against the Turkomans", who had by that time already adopted Islām "out of fear". In another passage, in this region between the Talas and the Chir, i.e. in the land of the Karluk, is mentioned a king of the Turkomans, from whom the lord of Ashidjib regularly received gifts. Kāshghari also says that not only the Oghuz (I, 27 and 56; III, 304) but also the Karluk (I, 393) were called Turkomans; the well known popular etymology in Kāshgharī al-Dīn (*Ṭurūd Vost. Oid. Arh. Osh.*, VII, 26, *infra*: *Türk mülkündü* "resembling the Turks") is found as early as Kāshghari (III, 307). As F.

Hirth (*S.B. Bayr. Akad.*, 1899, II, 263 sqq.) has told us, the word Turkoman, in Chinese transcription To-ku-mang, appears much earlier, in the eighth century A.D., in the T'ung-tien Encyclopaedia; there also it refers to the west, to the land of the Alans. It is possible that the Oghuz or Turkomans (as early as the eleventh century we find the names used promiscuously) are descended from nomad Iranians who had become Turkicised and this explains their peculiar craniology (*dolichocephalic*).

Whether non-Turkish, perhaps Mongol, peoples wandered westwards with the Turks has still to be investigated. As one of the seven tribes of the Kimik are mentioned the Tatars (Gardizi in Barthold, *Orlet* etc., p. 82), also called a tribe of the Toghrughuz (*op. cit.*, p. 34). A full account of the Turkish peoples, their lands, their language and dialects including also the not purely Turkish elements, is first given by Mahmūd Kāshghari, but he does not seem to be always reliable, even apart from the fact that the name Turk, as frequently elsewhere in Muslim literature, is sometimes given to non-Turkish peoples of Eastern Asia.

According to one passage (I, 27 sq.) there were twenty Turkish peoples, who fell into two groups, a northern and a southern one, each of ten, as follows, from east to west as the author tells us. The ten peoples of the northern group were the Bedjenek, Kildjik, Oghuz, Yamak, Bashghrut, Basml, Kay, Yabaku, Tatar, Kirgis; the ten peoples of the southern group were the Dikil, Tukhsi, Yaghma, Ighrak, Djaruk, Djumul, Uighur, Tankut, Khitai, Tafigha. This order for the northern group obviously cannot be the right one. As in *Ishtakhi* (see above) the Kirgis (the Kirgis on the Yenisei) are moved to the extreme northeast, although according to another passage (I, 123), the Tatars lived in Utikan (Otukan on the Orkhon), i.e. much farther east. The Yamak (Yemek, originally a tribe of the Kimik [q. v.], not mentioned by Kāshghari) lived on the Irish (I, 273). The Bashghrut (the Bashkirs, see *NAZGAT*) obviously could never have lived so far to the east (to what was already known of them, it may be added that in *Farjān* [q. v.] in 922 [309-310] met the first Bashkirs to the south of the Euba, much farther south than any other mention of them; see *Bull. de l'Acad.*, etc., 1924, p. 246). Of the northern peoples the Kay, Yabaku, Tatar and Basml had their own languages, although they could also speak good Turkish (on the Kay cf. J. Marquart in *Osttürk. Dialektstudien*, p. 55, where there is an erroneous association with the name of the Oghuz family Kayi, in Mahmūd Kāshghari: Kayigh; cf. thereon Köprülü Zade, in *Türk. Dil. Mecmuası*, I, 187 sqq.). The Yabaku lived on the great river Yamar (III, 21), on the situation of which the author does not seem to have had any very clear idea; it was probably the Ob (still called by the Tatars Omar or Umor). The Yamar was crossed in the 9th (10th) century (the author had spoken with participants in the campaign) by a Muslim army under Arslan Tegis in the war against the Yabaku under Bukā Budradj and their allies the Basml (on the war see especially III, 173 sq.; on various episodes other passages; on the crossing II, 5; cf. C. Brockelmann, in *Hirth Anniversary Volume*, p. 11 sq.).

Of the ten peoples Dikil, Tukhsi, Yaghma, Ighrak, Djaruk, Djumul (in other passages like I, 382: Djumul), Uighur, Tankut, Khitai, i.e. Sin,

Tawghād, i. e. Mān) of the southern group the Djumul were one of the non-Turkish speaking peoples, who nevertheless knew Turkish quite well. We are told even of the Uighurs that they had another language, in addition to their "pure Turkish", in which they communicated with one another. The Tankut (Tangut), like the inhabitants of Khotan and Tabut (Tibet), were people with a foreign language, who had settled in the land of the Turks. Khotan had its own language and alphabet; they did not speak good Turkish there. In Šin and Mān the inhabitants had a language of their own but the people in the towns could also speak Turkish well. Their letters to the Turks were written in the Turkish alphabet. A wide meaning is given to the word Šin in one passage (i. 378); there were three Šins, the upper or Tawghād (Mān), the central or Khitai (Šin), and the lower or Barkhān; this was also the name of a fortress on a high hill near Kāshghar; there were rich gold-mines there.

Of these peoples the Djaruk (probably to be pronounced Čaruk) lived in the town of Barčuk (Barčuk), the modern Maral-başı (i. 318; on the site of Barčuk cf. especially Valiḡhanow, *Selimiye*, p. 85 sq.). This enables us to define roughly the habitation of the not originally Turkish Djumul (east of Barčuk and west of the Uighur). During the fighting on the Yamā, the Djumul were the allies of the Yabāq and had therefore presumably not yet adopted Islām. In the land of the Uighur there were five towns, among them Bishballik and Kōdja, i. e. Kōso or Kārā-Khōdja near Turfan. The Uighur were Buddhists and worshippers of *Burkhān* (idols). The only evidence that there was also Christianity among the Turks is the translation of the word *bağdāq* (*bağāq*) known also from Manichaean texts (e.g. *Chavastuonise*, App. to *Abh. Preuss. Ak.*, 1910, p. 39) by "Christian fast" (i. 345).

In other passages Mahmūd Kāshghari mentions other Turkish tribes, who are not included in the list of the twenty Turkish peoples; e.g. the Adhkish (i. 89), known from the geographical literature also (e.g. *B. G. A.*, vi. 31) and the Kudjat (i. 298) settled in Kh'arizm and known also to Baihaqi (ed. Morley, p. 91). Of the peoples of Eastern Europe, in addition to those already mentioned, the Bulghar and Suwār are called Turks; the Khazar are not mentioned; they had probably ceased by then to have a separate political existence. In contrast to Istakhri (*B. G. A.*, i. 222 and 225) who says the Khazar and Bulghar had a common language distinct from Turkish, Kāshghari includes the dialects of the Bulghār, Suwār and Pečenegs in one group.

The dialects of the Kirgiz, Kipčak, Oghuz, Tukhsi, Yaghma, Čigil, Ighrak and Čaruk were pure Turkish. The dialects of the Yamek and Bakhirs were closely allied to this language. The language of the nomads from the Iul to the Yamā were generally purer than the language of the (originally probably not Turkish) settled peoples, such as the Arghū from Sairām to Balāsaghūn (in the towns there Soghdian had survived alongside of Turkish) and the Kendjak (Kendjek) in the villages near Kāshghar. Various phonetic peculiarities of the different dialects are discussed, including several which are still of significance in Turkish, like the interchange of *y* and *ğ*, *š* and *ž* etc. In the vocabulary Oghuz (Turkoman) had already the form still characteristic of the south Turkish

dialects. Turkoman was already so different from the other Turkish languages in vocabulary that Turkoman and Turk were contrasted like Oghuz and Čigil (i. 3; ii. 253 *infra*).

Although in the first centuries of the Hidsra campaigns were undertaken into Turkish territory, in addition to the defensive fighting against Turkish raiders, the successes of the Muslim arms had little influence on the conversion of the Turks. The principle laid down by the Prophet for the Abyssinians was applied to the Turks: "Leave them in peace so long as they leave you in peace" (see Goldziher, *Mus. Studien*, i. 270; ii. 127; in the first passage translated: "Leave the Turks alone as they have left thee"; in another sense and in somewhat different form the ḥadīth is quoted in *B. G. A.*, v. 316; vi. 262; Yāqūt, *Muḡam*, i. 838 *infra*). Islām was adopted by the Turks in the 10th (10th) century of their own free will. In 904 (904) the last great inroad of heathen Turks into the frontier lands of Islām, the Sāmānīd kingdom, was driven back (Tabari, iii. 2249); in 381 (992) Muslim Turks entered Bokhārā victoriously for the first time. Of even greater importance was the conquest of Asia Minor by the Muslim Seldjūks in the fifth (eleventh) century. Other sayings about the Turks are now ascribed to the Prophet. He is said to have remarked: "Learn the language of the Turks, for they are destined to long rule" (Kāshghari, i. 3). Allāh said to the Prophet: "I have a host which I have called 'Turk' and settled in the east; if any people shall arouse my wrath, I shall give them into the power of this host" (*op. cit.*, p. 294). On the story of the adoption of Islām by a numerous (300,000 tents) Turkish people see Kāshghari, where also is the suggestion that this story is connected with the rise of the dynasty of the Ilk-khāns [q. v.] or the "race of Afrāsiyāb". No source tells us from what people this dynasty came; they and their people are always simply called "Turks". In Kāshghari also these rulers are simply called "Khānā kings" (*al-mulūk al-khānāniya*, i. 30 *infra*, or simply *khānāniya*, e.g. i. 347 *infra*). Khotan was conquered in the early decades of the fifth (eleventh) century by the Muslim rulers of Kāshghar but nothing is known of the exact date or any details of the campaign. According to Kāshghari, an emir named Djenkshi was the cause of the conquest of Khotan (iii. 279). This shows that there was a story then known of the conquest which has not come down to us. In Kāshghari's time, the frontier towns of Islām in the modern Chinese Turkestan were Kusen or Kuč (i. 336) and east of it "between Kuč and Uighur" on the hill-fortress of Būgūr (i. 301) in the north, Čerden (in Kāshghari, i. 364: Djurdjān) in the south. At a later date the Turks living farther west were converted to Islām. According to Ibn al-Athīr (ix. 355 sq.), a Turkish people which had its winter home near Balāsaghūn and its summer pastures in the vicinity of the land of the Bulghār i. e. probably in the Ural, adopted Islām in Šafar 435 (Sept.-Oct. 1043). Their name is not given; in spite of the great area covered by them, they were less numerous than the Turks in Central Asia converted in 960. According to Ibn al-Athīr, they had only 10,000 tents, according to Abu 'l-Fida' (*Muḡam*, ed. Reiske-Adler, iii. 120) only 5,000.

Some alterations in the ethnographic conditions of the Turks were produced by the advance of

the Kıpçak [q. v.] from the Irtysh to the southwest as far as the Sır-Daryā and in another direction towards Eastern Europe. Just as the migrations of the Oghuz explain the formation of the present group of South Turks, so probably the migrations of the Kıpçak explain the formation of the group of Western Turks. On the Sır-Daryā in the xth (xiith) century we find the Kıpçak mentioned along with the Kaŋghī, and the distinction between the two is left very vague (cf. also J. Marquart, *Osttürk. Dialektstud.*, p. 78 and 172). In the time of Mahmūd Kašghari there was not yet a people called Kaŋghī; the word Kaŋghī is there quoted (iii, 280) only as the "name of a great man among the Kıpçak". In the second half of the sixth (twelfth) century the Kıpçak had not yet adopted Islām, even when living close to the Muslim lands on the Sır-Daryā; in a document in which the arrival of a prince of the Kıpçak in Dījān [see SİR-DARYĀ] is recorded, the wish is expressed that God may convert him to Islām (*ruszakaku Allāh'ın ul-Islām*: cf. W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, etc., i, 79).

Most information about the Kıpçak in Eastern Europe and about their predecessors, the Pečenegs and Oghuz (Greek Οὔζοι, probably the Russian Torki; the Russian annals also mention the Berēndeī, probably the Oghuz family of Bayundur; cf. Mahmūd Kašghari, i, 56), is found in the Greek and Russian sources. From the middle of the xth century in the Russian annals all Turkish peoples of Eastern Europe with the exception of the Kıpçak (Polowci) are included under the name Černī Klobuki ("black caps") (cf. on this: D. Ruzowsky, in *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, Prag 1927, i, 95 sq.). Whether, as might be thought from the identity of the names, the Kara-kaipak are descended from the Černī Klobuki cannot yet be decided. It would also be in favour of the western origin of the Kara-kaipak (first mentioned in the xvith century) that, unlike the people of Central Asia, they lived mainly by cattle-rearing. Although Islām had already conducted "successful propaganda" among the Pečenegs (J. Marquart, *Ostturkische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, p. 73), it made little progress among the Turks of Eastern Europe before the Mongol period.

In Central Asia, the spread of Islām was not checked by the foundation of the empire of the non-Muslim Kara Khitai [q. v.] nor by the persecution of Islām in the beginning of the vith (xiiith) century. At the time of the foundation of the empire of the Kara Khitai (soon after 1130), the principality of the Khān of Balasaghūn was still the most northerly Muslim country in this region; when the empire broke up there were Muslim kingdoms north of the Il also, namely that of the Karluk [q. v.] in Kayālghī, and that founded by a member of the same stock in Almālghī near the modern Kulja [q. v.]. In the time of the Chinese traveller Čang Č'un (1221), the town of Čang-ba-la, i.e. the Uighur capital Djanbalīk already mentioned by Kašghari (i, 103), was the frontier town of the non-Muslim lands to the west (E. Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches*, i, 67 sq.); according to the Armenian Hethum (journey in 1254), "Djambalekh" was immediately east of "Khotapai", the Khotukhai of the modern maps, immediately east of Manas (*op. cit.*, i, 169). The region of the modern Manas was therefore the limit of the spread of Islām in Central Asia at this date.

In contrast to the lands of the modern Chinese Turkestan which had long been under Turkish

influence, the turkicisation of MŠ wār³ al-Nahr and Kh-wārim only seems to have made appreciable progress after the Mongol conquest; this is suggested by the appearance of geographical names of Turkish origin like Karā Kōl on the lower course of the Zarafshān (Narshakht, ed. Schefer, p. 17) and Karā Sā (*Tubqāt-i Nāṣiri*, transl. Raverty, p. 474) or Sā Karā (Ibn al-Aṣḥr, xii, 122) in Kh-wārim. Turkish culture was brought to Asia Minor and Adharbāidjān by the Seldjūks. The Turks were probably settled here at first to guard the frontier and to fight against the Byzantines and the growing power of the Georgian kingdom [cf. GEORGIA]. Nothing is known of the gradual progress of Turkish culture in these countries now completely Turkish (in Southern Persia the Turks have for the most part remained nomads, by the ninth (xvth) century the process had been completed. Saladin brought bodies of Turkish troops to Egypt whence some of them found their way to North Africa and Spain; on the Turks in Spain see especially 'Abd al-Wahid al-Marrakushi, ed. Dory, p. 210. These soldiers were of no importance for the spread of Turkish culture.

The foundation of the Mongol empire was of much greater significance for the Turks than for the Mongols themselves. In spite of all attempts by later writers to prove the contrary, the view of Abel-Rémusat (*Recherches sur les langues tartares*, p. 240) must be upheld that the area inhabited by the Mongols had the same western frontiers at the time of the rise of Čingiz Khān as it has to-day (with the exception of the much later migrations of the Kalmūks [q. v.]). Of the descendants of the Mongols who came westwards in the time of Čingiz Khān and his successors only the Moghol in Afghanistan, whose dialect has been investigated by G. Ramstedt (*Mogholia*, in *J. S. On.*, xxiii, [1905], 4), have retained their Mongol speech to the present day. Their habitats have not yet been exactly defined. Dr. Emil Trinkler (*Afghanistan*, Gotha, 1928 = *Peterm. Mitt.*, supplement 196, p. 53 sq.) in spite of all his enquiries found no Mongol speaking people in Afghanistan. Most of the Mongols have been merged in the Turks and thus strengthened the latter numerically and especially politically. Of special importance in the political history of the Turks, since their conversion to Islām in the xivth century, was the kingdom of the Golden Horde. By the end of this century, this kingdom had become completely turkicised; its documents were written in Turkish, and Čawass, which had earlier been spoken on the Volga, had given way to a pure Turkish language. After the break up of this empire, three new "Tatar" kingdoms were formed in Karān [q. v.], Astrakhān and in the peninsula of Krim [q. v.], which only came under Islām and Turkish influences in the Mongol period. A new "Tatar" kingdom also arose on the Irtysh [q. v.] in Siberia, at the modern Tobolsk; this land now became instead of Bulghār the outpost of Islām in the north. The word Tatar, originally applied to the Mongols, now became the name of a Turkish people and, especially in the Crimea, was used by themselves. In Russia the word "Tatar" was given a very wide meaning, although not quite so extensive as in China and in European Sinology (cf. the preface to Abel-Rémusat, *Recherches sur les langues tartares*). Down to the second half of the xivth century (W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*,

vol. I, Contents, has still the same usage), all not-Ottoman Turks were called Tatars by Russian scholars and under their influence by Europeans generally; thus arose the term "Turco-Tatar", which has not yet entirely disappeared. In the lands of the Golden Horde arose the peoples of the Orbeg and Noghai, called after princes of the house of Djuchi [q.v.]. The Orbeg migrated in the xvth century to Mä warä al-Nahr, where in the xvth century they put an end to the power of the Čaghatai and founded the kingdoms of Bukhārā and Khīwa [q.v.], to which towards the end of the xviiith century a third Orbeg kingdom was added, that of the Khāns of Khokand. The people called "Noghai" by the Russians are always called Manghit in Oriental sources in the xvth century and later. Under Russian suzerainty, the Manghit or Noghai formed an imperfectly unified nomad state east of the lower course of the Volga; the native Turkish element in Astrakhān still belongs to people of the Noghai. In the xvth century the Noghai were driven out of the lands east of the Volga by the Kalmūcks. The term Noghai has now been extended by the Orbegs to the Turkish inhabitants of the Volga area, called by the Russians "Tatar" (now also by themselves). The Kazaĥ [see KAZAK] had separated from the Orbeg as early as the xvth century; down to the xixth century they had their own Khāns, some of whom had considerable forces at their disposal.

The last Turkish kingdom to arise out of the Mongol empire in the east was the kingdom of the Moghol from Kāshghar to the Chinese frontier, which arose after the fall of the kingdom of the Čaghatai [see ČAGHATAI-KHĀN (at the end), and MOGHOL]. In spite of their name, these Moghol, at least in the xvth century, spoke Turkish. They had adopted Islām only about the middle of the xivth century. Muhammad Khān (1408—1416) is given special credit for the spread of Islām among them; if a Moghol did not wear a turban a nail was driven into his head (*Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, transl. Ross, p. 58). Nevertheless in 823 (1420) Buddhist statues are still mentioned in Turan, including some "newly made" (*N.E.*, xiv. 310; *al-Mufaṣṣarīya*, p. 27). In the same century the Buddhist culture of the Uighur had to give way to Islām. Uighur as the name of a people gradually fell into disuse, probably with their conversion to Islām, and the name Moghol also began to disappear after the conquest of Eastern Turkestan by the Kalmūcks in 1682. The "yellow Uighur" (*Sarīgh Uighur*) also mentioned in the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* (see index) at Tuen-huang, Su-djōu and Kan-djōu have alone retained their own name and the Buddhist religion down to the present day; they dropped the Uighur script only in the xviiith century and adopted the Tibetan in its place (*Bibl. Buddhica*, xvii., preface). In the province of Kan-su, in addition to the Chinese speaking Dungan, Islām is also professed by the Turkish speaking Salar already mentioned in the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, p. 404 [see CHINA, KAN-SU and SALAR].

In the west the Turkomans have been most prominent in political history, in addition to the Ottomans (also of a Turkoman stock) or Anatolian Turks [see TURKEY]; the kingdoms of the Turkomans of the Black Sheep (Kara-Köyünlu, q.v.) and of the White Sheep (Ak-Köyünlu, q.v.) were a considerable political power, especially in the xvth century. There were also many Turkoman tribes

in the empire of the Mamlūks [q.v.] from Diyār Bakr [q.v.] to Ghazna [q.v.]; a list of them is given by Khali al-Zāhiri (*Zubdat Naṣṣ al-Mamlūk*, ed. Ravaisse, Paris 1894, p. 105). Only the family of Dulğadir (Turkish pronunciation from Dhu 'l-Qadr, q.v.) attained some importance; in the xvth century they founded a little kingdom of their own, as vassals of the Mamlūks.

In Central Asia, the Turkomans were not merged, like so many of the Turkish peoples mentioned in the early Mongol period, into the new formations of the Mongol period, although among the Turkomans there were migrants from the kingdom of the Golden Horde; this is indicated in the xvth century by the name of the tribe Sayin-Khān (on the epithet Sayin-Khān see KAITU-KHĀN) S.E. of the Caspian Sea (*Turkmeniya*, vol. I, Leningrad 1929, p. 47 sq.). The Turkomans were never able to form a state of their own in Central Asia, but it was only in 1884 that an end was put to their independence by the advance of the Russians from the north and the Afghāns from the south.

In the xvth and xviiith centuries, the Turkomans, like other Turkish peoples of Central Asia, notably the Kazaĥ and Kīrghīz, suffered a great deal from the attacks of the Kalmūcks, the founders of the last great nomad empire in Central Asia. The Kazaĥ and Kīrghīz were driven out of a part of their lands by the Kalmūcks; it was only after the destruction of the Kalmūck empire that the conditions that had previously existed there were restored. A section of the Turkomans still live in the government of Stavropol, into which they had been driven by the Kalmūcks towards the end of the xvth century from their earlier habitations on the peninsula of Mangīshlak [q.v.]. At an earlier period, the Turkomans fought unsuccessfully for this peninsula with the Noghai and later with the Kazaĥ. In contrast to the Kazaĥ, the Kīrghīz had not their own Khāns, either on the Yenisei or in Semirečye [cf. KIRGIZ]. The Kīrghīz on the Yenisei, where they lived down to the beginning of the xviiith century, have remained quite unaffected by Islām, as have the Turkish peoples living in the Yenisei area at the present day, who after the Russian revolution took the name of "Khakas" (in its origin a mistaken reading of the Chinese transcription for Kīrghīz). The mountain peoples in the Altai on the upper Ob are also non-Muslim Turks. The Altai people (*Altai Kīth*) were called "mountain Kalmūcks" by the Russians, but after the Russian revolution took the name of "Oirat", which properly belongs to the Kalmūcks; their land is now the "autonomous Oirat territory". Completely distinct, even in language, from the other Turks are the Yakuts (who call themselves Saka or Sakha, probably connected with the ethnic Sagai in the Yenisei area) who were driven out of the Yenisei territory, probably not before the xiiith century, into the valley of the Lena. The language of the Yakuts shows, in vocabulary and grammatical structure many divergences from Turkish, although this language, unlike Čuwass, is directly descended from the primitive Turkish language.

In the first half of the xvth century, all the lands from the Balkan Peninsula and north shore of the Black Sea to the Chinese frontier were under the rule of Muslim Turks. The economic life of almost all these countries at this period

showed a considerable setback compared with earlier periods; nomadic life had developed at the expense of agriculture and especially of the towns; the future of these lands had also been undermined by the fact that world trade had taken other routes. The Turks were neither economically or intellectually fit to cope with the rising power of Russia. Through the conquest of the Volga territory by the Russians (Kazan 1552, Astrakhan 1554), the connection between the Turks of Central Asia and their relatives in the west was broken; it was restored by another route but only for a short period during the rule of the Turks on the western shore of the Caspian Sea (1578—1603). As early as the 17th century, Russia had laid down the principle that all the lands of Northern Asia should be divided between Russia and China; but this process of settlement was only completed by the Treaty of St. Petersburg of Feb. 12—24, 1881.

Islam as a religion [cf. e.g. BARADA] and Turkish as a language have made new progress under Russian rule; in the Caucasus, as well as in Central Asia, Turkish as a *lingua franca* is much more widely disseminated than before; the level of civilization has also been raised by the influence of European culture introduced by Russia. After the Revolution of 1917, and especially after the principle of nationality had been put into practice in 1924, republics were formed in Soviet Russia among the Turkish peoples also on a national basis under their own government and following their own lines of development. The Özbek and the Turkomen Republics form separate parts of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (U.S.S.R.), and the Aşkerbajdjan Republic is a part of the Transcaucasian alliance. Seven autonomous republics (the Krim-Tatar, Çuvasş, Başkırt, Tatar, Kazak, Kirgiz and Yakut republics) are members of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic (R.S.F.S.R.), as are four autonomous territories (the Karadai, Balkar-Kabardin, Karakalpak and Öirat region) with preponderatingly Turkish populations.

With the carrying through of the principle of nationality the names of certain peoples have received meanings which they did not possess before. At one time, many Turks in Central Asia, especially the town-dwellers, were content to describe themselves as Turkish-speaking Muslims and inhabitants of a particular town; the question with what Turkish people they should be numbered was a matter of indifference; names which originally did not refer to nationality, like the word Sart [q.v.], were also used. This word has now been driven out of use, and the term Özbek is now used in a much wider meaning than formerly; those who used to call themselves Sari are now called Özbeks. Names have also been invented (on the word Khakas see above): the Tarançi [q.v.], who belong to Kāshgharia, and the Kāshgharlık now call themselves Uighur, a name which does not belong to them historically. Uighurs never came so far west. Most of the Turkish peoples in Soviet Russia have joined the movement to introduce the Roman alphabet; the Çuvasş, Khakas and Öirat refuse to join it and adhere to the Russian alphabet.

An attempt to estimate the total number of Turks was made by N. Aristov, *Zametki ob etnikoskoy sostavke turkikh plamen i narodnostei v sovetskoye i kh. vostochnoye plamen i narodnostei* (q.v.), p. 170. According to Aristov, in 1885 there were about 26,000,000 Turks, but even he thought the

figure should be higher. At the present day, the number of Turks living in Soviet Russia alone is about 16,000,000; the total therefore is probably over 30,000,000. Much higher figures have been given by Turkish publicists and statesmen: Ahmed Agoev, 70—80,000,000 (A. Samoylovich, in *At. I.*, 1912, p. 490); Mustafa Kemal Paşa, 100,000,000.

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II. THE TURKISH LANGUAGES.

1. The Classification of the Turkish Languages and their geographical Distribution.

The Turkish languages are divided according to their general phonetic character into two main unequal groups: the R-languages (*tekkār* = nine) and the Z-languages (*teke* = nine). Among the old languages, Bulghār or one of its dialects belonged to the first group; among modern languages, the Çuvasş alone; but we find sporadic cases of *r* corresponding to *z* in all the Turkish languages. To the second group, the Z-group, belong all the other Turkish languages, ancient and modern, including Yakut. The question of the ethnic and linguistic origin of the predominating nationality in the nomad union of the Huns as well as those of other ancient peoples of Central Asia and eastern Europe (Siangpi, Avars, Khazars) is still uncertain or insufficiently elucidated. The languages of the Z-group were formerly dispersed over the territory corresponding to modern Mongolia, southern Siberia and the steppes of the Altai and later gradually occupied all the modern habitats of the Turkish peoples, from the Sea of Okhotsk to the Mediterranean, except the Çuvasş region.

The Z-group is again divided into two groups: the D-languages (*adaş* or *adaş* = foot) and the Y-languages (*ayaş* = foot). This division is attested as early as the 11th century by Mahmūd Kāshghari, but is much older. To the D-division belonged the following ancient languages; the Kırkiz, Turkish in the strict sense and Uighur. This group is at the present day represented by a limited number of languages and dialects in Eastern Siberia, Mongolia and China proper and is divided into three sections: the T-section or Yakut (*ataş* = foot), the D-section or the Tsam-tuwin dialect, or Soyote or Uriankhay, and the Karaghas dialect, related to the latter (*adaş* = foot), and the Z-section composed of the Kamasine, Koybal, Saghay, Kachine, Beltir, Khil, Cullm-küerik, Shor and Sarigh-Uighur (*ayaş* = foot). The dialects of the Z-section of the D-division which at the present day are found in the northeast part of the Turkish world, existed, according to Mahmūd Kāshghari, in Eastern Europe in the 11th century. The philologists of the middle ages writing in Arabic included Bulghar in the Z-section. A trace of one of the Z-dialects is still to be found in eastern Europe in the name of the Sea of Azov (*ayaş* = the "foot", i.e. estuary of the Don).

According to Mahmūd Kāshghari, the Kırkiz

and Oghuz languages, spoken in the west of Central Asia and in Eastern Europe, belonged in the 11th century to the Y-division of the second great group of Turkish languages (*ayub* = foot). At the present day this Y-division is the largest, for it is found over large areas in Asia and Europe, from western Siberia and the Altai to the Mediterranean (excluding the Ćuwash). Mahmūd Kāshghar in the 11th century noted a criterion for the establishment of two sections in this Y-division: *balghān* and *balan* (remained). The latter section includes the Oghuz of the 11th century and their modern descendants, pure or mixed: the Turkomans, the Aĥar-bāidjāns and the other Turks of Persia, Anatolia and the Balkans, the Gagauz of Bessarabia and the Tatars of the Southern Crimea, i.e. the S.W. part of the Turkish world. The Oghuz section of the Turkish language is distinguished by this criterion, *balan* not only from the first section of the Y-division (*balghān*) but also from all the other Turkish languages except Ćuwash. The first section — *balghān* of the Y-division — is much larger than the second, and the peoples of all the central part of the Turkish world from Tobolsk to Baghĉiseraĉ and from Kaĉimow (q.v., in the province of Kizan) to Turfan speak its dialects. The *balghān* section can be further divided. It includes two sub-sections: *tawil* and *taghlil* (highlander). The criterion *il* connects the *tawil* sub-section with the *balan* section (in both *awil* = yellow, in place of *arilgh* of the northeastern division and the *aril* of the *taghlil* sub-section) and with the Ćuwash, whereas the criterion *taw* connects it with the Ćuwash (*ta*) and Yakut (*ta*). Kersch considered the correspondence of *aw* and *ag* to be very old and thought that the Turkish languages were originally divisible into two groups, the northern (*aw*) and the southern (*ag*). But this correspondence has not yet been attested by any ancient document.

The dialects of the *tawil* sub-section are represented in the N.W. part of the Turkish world by the Teleut-Altai-Teleng group and the Kumandl and Lebed dialects in Altai, by the Kĉirghĉs (q.v.), Karaĉ and Karaĉalpĉk (q.v.) dialects, by some of the purest Oĉbeg dialects, by the dialects of the Tatars of Tobol-Tumena and of Kazan, of the Mishars, Bashkirs, Noghais (of Astrakhan q.v.), of Stavropol, etc.), of the Kumĉks of Daghestan (q.v.), of the Balkars and Karaĉays of the Northern Caucasus, of the Tatars of the Crimean steppes, of the Karaites (except those that have been osmanised) and the Kĉintaks (the Turkish-speaking Jews of the Crimea). The dialects that form a transition between the *tawil* sub-section of the Y-division to the D, are represented in Siberia by the Ćulm, Aba, Ćernĉ (yĉsh) which have *y* instead of *a*, but *agh* in place of *aw* and *lgh* in place of *il* (*ayub*, *taghlilgh*).

The *taghlil* sub-section of the *balghān* section of the Y-division, which we have just mentioned, is represented in the southeastern part of the Turkish world by the dialects of the settled populations of Western and Eastern (Chinese) and in part of Afghan Turkistān, by the Oĉbeg dialects (except the Kĉhwan and those of the *tawil* type), the Taranĉi and those of the Turks of the oases of Kāshghar (q.v.), Khotan (q.v.), Aĉam, Turfan (q.v.) etc. This sub-section sometimes called, not very happily, Ćaghatai shows a mixture of the northwest *tawil* sub-section with the northeast D-

division. The Oĉbeg and Sart (of the turkicised Iranians; cf. SART) dialects of the former Khānate of Kĉhwa (Kh-wārim, q.v.) form a transition between the dialects of the southwest and northwest; their criteria are *balghān*, *taghlil*.

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2. General Sketch of the Turkish Languages.

The syntax of the Turkish languages is based on the following principle: the governing parts of a grammatical statement or of a group of statements follow the parts governed. This is why the principal part of a statement — the attribute — is usually placed at the end, the completed parts follow the complement, the qualified parts are placed after their qualification, the principal statements follow incidental ones. In keeping with this principle, the auxiliary morphological elements, which can historically be traced back to governing roots, follow the stems of the words to which they refer and cannot precede them. The auxiliary morphological elements represent a series of links starting from the post-positions which remain phonetically unchanged, to the formative and modificative suffixes, which unite with the preceding word to form a unit as regards accent and vowel harmony, which we shall discuss later.

It is thought that the accent in Turkish languages originally fell on the first syllable, as is still the case in the Mongol languages. In modern Turkish languages, the principal accent usually falls on the last syllable but even now the first syllable still, particularly one with a broad vowel (*a*, *e*, *o*, *ö*), retains a trace of the old accent in the form of a secondary accent, stronger in some and weaker in other dialects. By the existence at one time of an accent on the first syllable we can explain the fact of progressive vowel harmony which is of two kinds. First, by the law of assimilation, the posterior vowels (*a*, *ä*, *o* and *u*) are followed only by posterior vowels and the anterior vowels (*e*, *i*, *ö*, *ü*) always by anterior; this assimilation was also extended to consonants, especially to *h*, *g*, *l*: *bal* stop, *balghān*, stopped; *äil*, come!, *hülgem*, come (p.p.). In some dialects we see more or less weakening in this fundamental vowel harmony as a result of the influence of other languages, particularly Iranian (some Turkoman and Aĥar-bāidjān dialects, the Turkish of Anatolia, and the Iranicised Oĉbeg dialects). The harmony of the second kind is much less consistent than the harmony of the first kind: the assimilation between rounded vowels (*a*, *u*, *ö*, *ü*) or unrounded (*e*, *i*, *e*, *ï*). The rounded vowels are ordinarily followed by the narrow rounded vowels (*u*, *ü*) in the nearest and by preference closed syllables, while the broad vowels (*a*, *e*) remain unrounded. The non-rounded vowels are followed usually by non-rounded broad or narrow vowels: *bil*: know, *bil + dim*: I knew; *äil*: die, *äil + düm*: I died; *beĉ*: five, *beĉ + ten*: of five; *öl*: lake, *öl + den*: of lake.

It is only in some dialects (e.g. the Kura-Kirghiz) that the vowel harmony of the second class is extended to all the broad vowels, while in others (e.g. in Kirghiz-Kazak) to the anterior broad vowels (*e, i*) only: *köl* = lake, *köl + der* = the lakes (in both dialects) but *kol* = hand, *kol + der* (Kirghiz-Kazak) and *kol + der* (Kara-Kirghiz). Harmony of this kind has attained its greatest development with regard to the narrow vowels in the Turkish of Stambul, in which, however, it does not affect the broad vowels.

In the Turkish language there are nine fundamental vowels: *a, ä* (open), *e* (closed), *ə, ɛ, ɪ, i, u, ü*. There used to be long vowels, which did not attract sufficient attention except in Yakut and Turkoman. In some languages (e.g. the Kazan-Tatar) the number of vowels is over nine and the series has undergone modifications (*ə > a, ɛ > ä, e > i, i > ü*). The Turkish consonant system has not yet been sufficiently studied either, and sufficient attention has not been paid to the existence, in addition to mute and sonant consonants, of middle consonants (e.g. in Turkoman and Adharbaidjani). The progressive assimilation of the sonant vowels with mutes and vice-versa is widespread: *yaz + di*, he has written; *tut + ti*, he has seized; *köz + dü*, in the eye; *baş + ta*, on the head.

There are other kinds of progressive assimilation of consonants. Cases of progressive dissimilation are features of certain dialects only (e.g. Kazak, Kirghiz, Altai): *ata + lar*, the fathers; *köl + der*, the lakes. A very distinctive feature of the Yakut language is the regressive assimilation of consonants: *at + lar*, my horse; *at + lar*, thy horse; but *ap + par*, to my horse; *ak + kitta*, from thy horse.

In the majority of the dialects the only initial sonant consonants are *b, m* and exceptionally *n* and *d*; the sonants *d, w, g* are found initially in Turkoman, Adharbaidjani and in Anatolian Turkish and were found in the Oghuz of the 11th century. Words cannot begin with the consonants *r, l, ʃ, z* (the latter, except in loanwords, is only found initially in a few onomatopoeic words) nor with two consonants. Two consonants at the end of a word are only admissible in cases where the first of them is *r, l* or *z*. This is why we find supplementary vowels in loanwords: *arabjāh < rādjāh* (Arab.), *istāp < steppe* (Russ.), *šibir < šib* (Arab.). Morphological formations or modifications are, as we have already said, produced by the addition of one or more formative or modificative suffixes to the verbal or nominal roots and to stems, which, even without this accretion, have a certain definite meaning: the verbal stem, the 2nd pers. sg. with imperative meaning (*tap* = find!), and the nominal stem — that of the nominative, genitive, accusative and some other cases of the sing. or plur. (*alma*, apple, of apple, the apples). Cases of formation by analogy are also found: *bir* = one, *bir + ar* = by one, and by analogy: *iki* = two, *iki + ar* = by two (Caghatai); or *besh* = five, *besh + ar* = by five, and by analogy: *altı* = six, *altı + ar* = by six.

There are two fundamental grammatical categories: the noun and the verb. Nouns are divided into pronouns, numerals, and nouns in general; there are no special morphological features for the adjective. Nor can one make a sharp distinction between nouns and adjectives, e.g. *temir* = iron and of iron, *taş* = stone and of stone, *su* =

water and pertaining to water. The adjective forms with the noun it qualifies a grammatical whole; thus the suffixes of the plural and of the declension are added only to a qualified noun while the adjective is undeclined. The verbal forms are divided into: 1. finite verbs, very limited in number, 2. verbal nouns having the meaning of nouns of action or of agency and 3. verbal adverbs (gerundives). The adverbs of nominal or verbal origin are very few in number and like the postpositions and interjections form a secondary grammatical category, in addition to the noun and verb.

The possessive suffixes in the nouns correspond to the possessive pronouns of the Indo-European languages: *at + lar* = my horse, *at + lar* = thy horse, *at + lar* = his horse, *ata + m* = my father, *ata + a* = thy father, *ata + lar* = his father, *at + lar* = our horse, *at + lar* = your horse, *ata + m* = our father, *ata + lar* = your father. The same suffixes in certain verbal forms are used as personal endings: *köl + gū + m*, I shall come, *köl + gū + a* = thou wilt come, *köl + gū + ti* = he will come (Caghatai); *köl + di + m* = I came, *köl + di + a* = thou didst come, *köl + di* (*köl + d + i*) = he came.

The predicative (enclitic) demi-suffixes, derived from personal pronouns and, in certain dialects, having been influenced by the possessive suffixes, correspond in the nouns to the substantive verbs of the Indo-European languages while the verbs take the most used personal endings: 1st pers. *ben, men, bin, min, in, im*; 2nd pers. *sen, sin, iñ*; pl. 1st pers. *biz, us, iza, mis*; 2nd pers. *siz, iñiz*. Examples: *adgu-ben* (*bin, men, min*) > *ay-yim* I am good; *yazar-ben* (*bin, men, min*) > *yazar-iz* (*iz*) I write. In the old language the demonstrative pronoun *ol* was used in the third person of the substantive verb: *adgu + ol*, he is good; in the modern languages — the predicative demi-suffix *dir* (*di*), from the verbal form *turur* = he is erect.

The suffix of the plural *lar*, *lar* is used with nouns as well as with verbs: *at + lar* (*at + lar*) — the horses, *at + lar + lar* — they have thrown.

The personal verbal forms are formed as follows: in the imperative from the pure verbal stem; in the other cases from the stems of one or other mood or tense. In addition to the possessive and predicative suffixes, special suffixes are also used as personal endings, e.g. *su, suu, sun, sunl* for the 3rd person of the imperative, *ş, şe*, for the first pers. of the plural of the preterite and conditional in the modern dialects (*köl + di + ş*, we have come, *köl + şe + ş* if we had come). The latter suffix (*ş, şe*) is used in the Adharbaidjani dialects, in some Anatolian dialects and in the Gokleng dialect of Turkoman, instead of the predicative enclitic of the first pers. plur. of nouns and verbs.

In the majority of the modern Turkish languages there are five cases in declension with special terminations: genitive (*ın, ınn, ın, ni, in*), accusative (*i, ul, old is*), dative (*sa, a, ya, şar, şan*), locative (*da*), ablative (*dan, dan, din*), but in the old languages and in some modern ones there were also affixes for the directive, instrumental and other cases.

Grammatical gender does not exist; there are only two numbers.

The differences in phonetics and vocabulary are more marked in the Turkish languages than those of morphology. Cuvash and Yakut occupy

a position apart; all the other Turkish languages may be regarded as dialects and variants of a single language.

The Turkish languages show considerable conservatism in the whole extent of their known history (from the viiith century). The comparative historical study of the Turkish languages is still in its initial stages (the works of Radloff, Grönbeck, Thomsen, Melioranski, Bang, Brockelmann, Deny). As a result of the researches of Ramstedt, Gombocz, Németh and Poppe, it may be regarded as more or less proved that the Turkish languages are related to the Mongol and Čuwaš; is closely allied to both. A new light has been thrown on the past history of the Turkish by N. Marr, who has examined Čuwaš from the point of view of the Japhetic theory and places the Turkish languages in a group not any larger than that proposed by the earlier theories of the Turanists.

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3. Literary Scripts and Languages.

The oldest dated monuments of Turkish writing date from the eighth century. These are the inscriptions on the steles erected in honour of princes of the Turkish dynasty of the sixth–eighth centuries, Kul-Tegin and Bilge-Khān, found in 1889 by Iadrincev in the valley of the Orkhon in Mongolia. Other inscriptions in the same script, large and small, are known in Mongolia, Siberia and Western Turkestan. The Siberian monuments were discovered in 1721 by Messerschmidt in the valley of the Yenisei. Manuscripts in the same hand, approximately of the ninth century, have recently been found in excavations in Chinese Turkestan. This script, deciphered in 1893 by the eminent Danish linguist V. Thomsen, was given by him the name of Turkish runes. Others

have called it the Orkhon alphabet. The name "Kök-Türkisch" proposed by W. Bang for the Orkhon inscriptions has been rejected by Thomsen, Radloff and others. The Turkish runes are derived from the Aramaic alphabet through the intermediary of the Old Soghdian alphabet; but some of them have an independent origin and are ideographic in character, e. g. 𐰽 (𐰽) = arrow, 𐰺 (𐰺) = moon, 𐰻 (𐰻) = house. Some documents in Turkish runes may be dated to the seventh or even the sixth century A. D.

The language of the Turkish runes, whether on stone or in manuscripts, is distinguished by a certain archaism in its phonetics (the sounds 𐰽 , 𐰺), in morphology (by the directive and instrumental cases, genitive in -𐰽 , ablative in -𐰺 , verbal forms in -sar , -𐰽𐰺) and in vocabulary (𐰽 = father, 𐰺 = mother).

The Uighür alphabet, which came into general use in the viiith–ixth centuries among the Turkish people of the Uighürs, is derived from one of the northern Semitic alphabets, also through the intermediary of the Soghdian; it has been wrongly suggested that it is derived from the Estranghelo. The Uighür literary language belongs to the same group as the Turkish of the Mongolic monuments but with certain dialectic differences (genitive in -𐰽 , ablative in -𐰺). The Uighür xylographic and manuscript literature, found by the English, Russian, French, German and Japanese expeditions, is very vast. In addition to the Uighür alphabet, the ancient Turks of Chinese Turkestan used Turkish runes, Manichaean, Syriac and Brahmi alphabets. Among the Turks of China, who did not adopt Islām, the Uighür alphabet remained in use down to the beginning of the xviiith century. After the conversion to Islām of the Turks of Central Asia followed by the adoption of the Arabic alphabet (tenth–eleventh centuries), the Uighür alphabet remained in use as the court script. It was used in the xiiith–xvth centuries among the Golden Horde and among the Timūrids for the Kiptak and Čaghatai languages (Yarlıks, works in prose and verse). At the beginning of the xvth century, there were still at Stambul experts in writing Uighür ("Abd al-Raziq Baksh"). In Western Europe, Klaproth, Rémusat and Jansert began to read the Uighür script in the first half of the xixth century.

Founded on the literary Uighür of the pre-Islamic period, there developed in the lands of the Ilek-Khāns [q. v.] or Karakhānids, converts to Islām, the Turkish literary language of Central Asia of the Muslim period written in the Arabic alphabet. It may be supposed that Arabic was the script of the original of the oldest document of this language known to us, the *Kudat-gu-bilig* ("the science of giving happiness"), a didactic poem of the eleventh century, composed by Yūsuf Khān Hādīb [q. v.] at Balasaghūn and Kāshghar. The language of this work, which has come down to us in two later copies in Arabic and one in Uighür script made at Herāt in the xvth century, cannot be considered as pure Uighür. M. Köprülü-zāde regards the language of the *Kudat-gu-bilig* as Karluk but it would be safer to call it Karakhānid.

Data are lacking to enable us to decide if there was a literature in the Bulghār language in the Bulghār kingdom on the Kama where Islām was established in the tenth century. In any case Bul-

ghār elements are found in the sepulchral inscriptions of the xivth century in the Volga region. The development of the literary Turkish of Central Asia went on without interruption from the eleventh century but its centre changed from time to time.

We may date to the xiiith century the didactic work in quatrains by Edib Ahmed entitled *‘Almet ul-fakhlīq*, the language of which is closely related to that of the *Kutadghu-bilig*, without being identical with it. The absence of early manuscripts prevents us giving a definite name to the language of the *‘Ikmet* of Ahmed Lessewi (xiiith century), the founder of Turkish mysticism, whom M. Köprülü takes to have been a Karlak also. Literary activity in the different parts of the Djüdid kingdom or “*Deşhiklîpçak*”, in Khwarizm which included the mouth of the Sir-Darya [q. v.], in the capital Sarai [q. v.] and in the Crimea, had attained a considerable development by the beginning of the xivth century. A uniform literary language did not come into use in the Djüdid state; in all the literary materials of this epoch which we possess, the elements of the literary language of the Karakhânid period are combined with those of local dialects still living, Kiptak and Oghuz (Turkoman). The copy of the romance in verse of the xivth century in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the *‘Ashraw u-Sairis* of the poet Kutb, an imitation of the corresponding work of Nizami, dedicated to Tenebek and his wife of the White Horde, is in a language very close to that of the *Kutadghu-bilig* but showing also Kiptak (*saia* = village etc.) and Oghuz elements. Khwarizm’s poem *Mahabbet-nâme*, written in the xivth century on the Sir-Darya and preserved in two copies of the xvth and xvith centuries in the British Museum, reveals far more Kiptak and Oghuz than Karakhânid linguistic elements.

In the xiiith century in the Turkish Muslim world the different literary languages were not yet clearly separated from one another. The formation of the Mongol empire which embraced almost the whole Turkish world of the period created for a time an atmosphere favourable to the development of a uniform literary language for a considerable part of the Muslim Turkish peoples. In its beginning literary activity in Turkish in the lands of the Saldjûqs of Asia Minor was no doubt to some degree bound up with that of Central Asia and Eastern Europe. It would be very difficult to determine exactly where the romance in quatrains of the xiiith century by a certain ‘Ali entitled *Kiyya-i Yûsuf* was written; its language has much in common with the literature of the xivth century of the Golden Horde, in which the Oghuz-Turkomans shared, and it later became very popular in the region of the Volga. Differing from Brockelmann, who connects the *Kiyya-i Yûsuf* with the literary products of Anatolia, Merdjani, a Kazan scholar, thinks it is Balghar. The language of the prose work of the xivth century with passages in verse called *Kiyya ul-Kabiya*, written by Rabat-i Oghuz, is closely related to the Karakhânid language. It would not be correct to call its language Caghatai. The Syriac Christian Turkish inscriptions on the tombs of Semiriedie of the xiiith-xivth centuries are in a language closely resembling the Karakhânid (*ad* = bull, *pond* = horse, *yertünü* = this world, *ata* = father, *ana* = mother).

We may date in the xivth and xvth centuries the beginning of the development — starting from

the Central Asiatic Turkish literature which we may suppose to have been the only literature of the period — of the different literary languages of different parts of the Muslim Turkish world. The greatest development was that of the Ottoman Turkish and Caghatai Turkish literary languages. The first goes back to Central Asiatic Turkish literature through the Anatolian Turkish literature of the Saldjûk period. Caghatai Turkish represents the third, longest (xvth—xxth centuries), and most brilliant phase of the development of Central Asiatic Turkish literature and takes its rise directly out of the second phase, the Djüdid. The Caghatai language developed in the lands of the Timurids, which consisted of the domain of the second son of Čingis-Khân, Caghatai [q. v.]. The Kiptak and Turkoman elements of the preceding phase of development of the literary Turkish of Central Asia were replaced in Caghatai by living elements from the predominant Turkish dialects of the Caghatai country. The emperor Bâbur says that the language of the most distinguished figure in Caghatai literature, Mir ‘Ali Shir Nawa’i, is identical with that of the dialect of the town of Andijân. The Caghatai poetical language was distinguished from that of prose by its morphology and its vocabulary.

Until lately some scholars have used the term Caghatai cf. [CAGHATAI LITERATURE] wrongly by applying it to the language of the literary monuments of the xivth century as well as to the living Turkish dialects of Western and Eastern Turkistan. A renaissance in Caghatai literature, prose and poetry, was observable in the xixth and early xxth century in the khânates of Khokhand and Khiva. At the present day in Uzbekistan Caghatai is giving way to the Özbek literary language, the fourth phase of the development of Turkish Central Asiatic literature, the sphere of which has been considerably restricted by the coming into use in the xxth century of new literary languages by the peoples of Central Asia. Even in the xvth century, the historian Abu ‘l-Ghâsi Khân wrote in Khiva in Özbek and not in Caghatai, contrary to the tradition of the time.

The Turkomans of Central Asia, who took part in the foundation of the literary language of Khwarizm in the time of the empire of Djüdi, had in the centuries following their own literary language, especially for poetry, which after the xvth century came under Caghatai influence and did not develop further. In our own day there is growing up in Turkmenistan a new literary language based purely on living Turkoman dialects (particularly Tekke and Yomut).

Afharbâidjâni (*Azeri*) developed among the Turks of Persia from the same stock as the language of the Saldjûqs of Anatolia; after a flourishing period in the xvth century under the patronage of the early Safawids [q. v.], it continued in existence in the following centuries, without being able to make progress against the influence on the one hand of Persian culture and on the other of Ottoman Turkish. The rehabilitation of Afharbâidjâni, which is closely related to the spoken dialect, began in the middle of the xixth century in Transcaucasia (Mirzâ Fath ‘Alt Akhândow). It became strongly influenced by Ottoman Turkish at the beginning of the xxth century and the result has been two rival currents which still exist at the present day.

In spite of the division of the Golden Horde into different khânates in the xvth century, the

Crimea retained a literary language based on Kıpçak and known to the Ottomans as Crimean or Deşt (ateppe), but the influence of Ottoman culture, felt especially in the historical literature and belles-lettres, interfered with its further development. The official language of the Khān's chancelleries in the Crimea retained down to the eighteenth century the Djüdid tradition to a great degree. At the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century Mirzā Gasprinskii tried to establish a Pan-Turkish literary language in the Crimea, based on a simplified Ottoman and closely resembling the living dialect of the south of the Crimea. Gasprinskii's paper, the *Tarjümān*, circulated as far as Kāshghar. In the Crimea at the present day as in Adharbūdjan the struggle between two rival influences, Ottoman and local, still goes on in the literary language, and the situation is complicated by the fact that the living dialects of the Crimea belong to two different groups, southwest and northwest.

The Djüdid literary language was also inherited by the khānate of Kazan where it was influenced by Čaghatai and old Ottoman and in the sixteenth century by modern Ottoman. In the second half of the sixteenth century, since Kayūm Naşiri, there began among the Tatars of Kazan a movement to link up the literary language with the local dialect. The movement, in spite of the opposition of followers of Gasprinskii, has attained complete success. A barrier has now also been set up against infiltration of Russian influence into the Tatar literary language, which used to be very marked in certain authors, not only in vocabulary but also in syntax. The Tatar of Kazan is used not only among the Tatars but also among the Mishars and the Noghais of Astrakhan; before the foundation of the Bashkir republic, it was also used by the Bashkirs and Tepters (cf. ТЕРТЕР). The Bashkirs at the present moment are creating for themselves a literary language of their own, but without completely avoiding the struggle between various tendencies of which the most powerful is one which takes a middle course and refuses to base the literary language on dialects having too pronounced peculiarities in phonetics and vocabulary. The Kazan-Tatar literary language is the most developed and most stabilised, next to the Turkish of Anatolia, and like it enjoys a popularity which reaches far beyond the boundaries of the Volga region.

Literary Turkish languages began to increase in number especially after the Russian Revolution of 1905 and still more after that of October 1917, with the awakening of national sentiment and the consciousness among the different nations of the Turkish world of possessing a culture of their own. The literary (Kırghız-Kazak) language, young, but rich and flexible, developed considerably at the beginning of the twentieth century. It is comparatively free from Arabic and Persian borrowings and, in close touch with the popular dialect, uses the Arabic alphabet ingeniously reformed by Baytursan. With the foundation of the Kırghız republic, the (Kara-)Kırghız have undertaken to create a literary language of their own, distinct from (Kırghız-Kazak).

In the northern Caucasus is being formed the Karachai-Balkarian literary language, the development of which is hampered by the scanty population and the proximity of more developed languages, Crimean and Adharbūdjan. The latter

shows its influence still more in Daghestān, where it is on the point of being recognised officially and is offering serious competition to the young local literary language, the Kumik, which began to develop in the sixteenth century by ousting Arabic, which was the language in every day use in Daghestān.

As to the alphabet, two forces are at present at work against one another in the Turkish Muslim world. One advocates the Arabic alphabet reformed to fit the Turkish phonetic system and has succeeded in giving new Arabic alphabets to the Kazan-Tatar, (Kırghız-Kazak), (Kara-)Kırghız, Özbek, Turkoman and Crimean languages. The other is in favour of a Latin alphabet with additional letters for all the Turkish languages; it has been well received in Turkey itself, has gained a decisive victory in Adharbūdjan, where the movement started in the middle of the sixteenth century, and it is still making progress among the other Turkish peoples. The new Turkish uniform alphabet based on the Latin was formally adopted in 1927 by the Turkish Muslim peoples of the Soviet Republics.

The oldest Turkish writing found in the Runic alphabet had Semitic features and in many cases did not indicate the vowels (*eghn* = *ezghan*, *yghz* = *yaghiz*, *ghlmsh* = *ghlmlsh*), the sound *a* being indicated in the first syllable only when it was long (*t* = *at*, horse; *at* = *är*, name). In the Uighur alphabet, the vowels were marked more frequently than in the Runic and more precisely than in the Arabic alphabet used later: to distinguish the sounds *a*, *ä* from the *e* and *u*, to the latter was added the letter *i*; *wa* = *wa*. Under the influence of the Arabic alphabet, this practice was dropped from the Uighur writing of the Muslim period. The notation of consonants in the older Uighur writing was more precise than in the later alphabet, which used the letters *t* and *d* indiscriminately and introduced other simplifications, which led Radloff to defend the erroneous Uighur consonant system, later corrected by Thomsen. Uighur orthography as regards vowels, with the exception of the special notations for *ö* and *ü*, was adopted in Central Asia at the time of the adoption of the Arabic alphabet and henceforth a distinction was made between Čaghatai and Ottoman orthographies. In Asia Minor under the immediate influence of Arabic orthography a special Turkish orthography became established which was very characteristic of the old Ottoman writing (no indication of vowels, use of Arabic *harakāt's* etc.). In later centuries, some of these Arabic orthographical peculiarities were, it is true, abandoned but to the present day Ottoman orthography is distinguished from Čaghatai by a considerable restriction in the indication of vowels (Ott. *el* = Čagh. *hl*; Ott. *ör* = Čagh. *ör*) and the use of the Arabic characters *z* and *ṣ* to mark the sounds *e* and *i* in words of Turkish origin, in combination with posterior vowels (*su* = water = Čagh. *su*; *tağ* = mountain = Čagh. *tağ*). The old Kazan-Tatar orthography was based on that of Central Asia but in some cases also it showed the influence of old Ottoman.

The movement for the reform of orthography in the form of the adoption of a phonetic script began to make itself felt in the Turkish Muslim world from the end of the sixteenth century. It has had most results, not in Turkey but among the Turkish peoples of Russia, and particularly among the (Kırghız-Kazak). The Turcological congress

of 1926 at Baku decided in favour of a mixed orthography — a combination of the phonetic with the etymological —, for the establishment of which steps have now been taken with the help of the reformed Arabic alphabet and the new Turkish Latin alphabet.

The modern non-Muslim Turkish minorities, Çuwas, Yakut, Turks of the Altai and Yenisei were, until quite recently, to be classed among the illiterate peoples, although the Yakuts preserve the tradition that they possessed an alphabet in older times and although among the Turks of the Altai the Mongol alphabet as adapted to the Turkish language is still used, although to a very limited degree. All these peoples received from the Russians in the xviiith and xixth centuries, the Russian alphabet, slightly adapted to their particular requirements. In 1917 the Yakuts replaced the Russian alphabet by a Latin one based on the international phonetic alphabet and prepared by a Yakut student, M. Novgorodov. The Tannu-Tuwa (Ouriangkhai or Soyots) who are much under the influence of Mongol culture are at the moment trying to develop a national literary language and to choose themselves an alphabet.

The Greek alphabet used for the Turkish language from the ninth century in the Turk Balghar kingdom on the Danube was quite recently in use among the turkicised Greeks of Anatolia and Stambul. The turkicised Armenians have adapted the Armenian alphabet to the Turkish language. There are Adharbaidjani manuscripts written in the Georgian alphabet. The Karaites who speak Turkish have from early times used the Hebrew alphabet.

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logue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum, London 1888.

4. Turkish Borrowings from neighbouring Languages and vice versa.

In the pre-Muhammadan monuments of the Turkish languages we find words borrowed from Chinese, Soghdian, Sanskrit and the northern Semitic languages. Foreign influences may even be observed in the syntax of these monuments, especially in passages which are translations from other languages. In the modern dialects of Siberia and Mongolia, especially in Yakut, there are a number of Mongol elements which have come in by direct borrowing as well as through intermixture of races. It is by the latter means that the palaeo-Asiatic linguistic elements and other elements not yet elucidated have entered these dialects. The name of the river Yenisei, *Ärm*, known from the time of the Orkhon inscriptions, comes from the Kot language where it means "river" as in the modern dialect of the Soyot Turks. Finnish elements are found in the Turkish dialects of the Volga region. At the time of the foundation of the Mongol empire of Činghiš-Khān [q. v.], a certain number of borrowed Mongol words found their way into the majority of the Turkish languages. It was in this way that the old Turkish word *yular* "halter", preserved by the Yakuts, Soyots and the Turks of Anatolia as well in the women's language of the Altai Turks, was gradually ousted in the xiiith century by the Mongol *nefta*, which is now used in all the other Turkish languages including Çuwas. The Turkish dialects of the Özbeks, Turkomans, Adharbaidjians and of the Turkish tribes of Persia show considerable Iranian influence as a result of the intermingling of races and cultures. As a result of the complicated intermixture of the Turks with other races of Asia Minor and the Balkan Peninsula and of the cultural borrowings, we find in the language of the Turks of Anatolia and the Balkans, Greek, Slav — especially Serb —, Armenian, Kurd, Italian, French and other elements in addition to Arabic and Persian. The intermixture of the Turks with the natives of the Northern and Southern Caucasus has introduced into their dialects elements from the phonetics and the vocabulary of the Caucasian languages. The Turks who entered Syria and Egypt have been very strongly influenced by Arabic, as have the Kumyks of Daghestān, among whom, unlike other Muslim Turks, the names of the days of the week are Arabic and not Persian. In the other parts of the Turkish world, the adoption of Islām brought more Persian than Arabic elements. The Arabic and Persian loanwords in the Turkish literary languages are sometimes over 50%, but they also found their way into the popular dialects of Turkish tribes but little influenced by Islām, like the Kazaks and the Kirghiz (*ten* = body, *šan* = soul).

A certain number of Arabic and Persian words have also found their way among the non-Muslim Turks, not only among the Çuwas, but also among the Turks of the Altai and Yenisei and even through the intermediary of Russian among the Yakuts (*amgar* = *onbār*). The influence of Russian makes itself especially felt in the Turkish dialects of the Volga region and among them in Mishar in particular, but there are Russian loanwords in all the Turkish languages of the U. S. S. R.

The Turkish languages in their turn have from early times influenced the neighbouring languages, beginning with Chinese. There are Turkish words in the Mongol languages, in several Finnish languages (especially *Ceremiss* and *Magyar*), in the Iranian languages, in modern Arabic, in Armenian, Georgian, Kurdish, Greek, Albanian, Rumanian, in the Slav languages of the Balkan Peninsula and of Eastern and Western Europe. History records fewer cases of the loss of their language by a Turkish people (the *Belghars* in the Balkans, the *Kumans* in Hungary, the *Tatars* in Lithuania, the *Dungans* in China and the *Turks* in India) than of cases of the turkicisation of other peoples: in Siberia, in Central Asia, in the Caucasus, in Asia Minor, in the Balkans and in Eastern Europe (the *Mishars*). We find turkicised gipsies in Turkey, Transcaucasia in the Crimea and in Turkestan.

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(A. SAMOYLOVITCH)

III. ČAGHATAI LITERATURE.

Under the influence of the brilliant development of Turkish literature in the Čaghatai kingdom [cf. ČAGHATAI-KHĀN] under the rule of the Timūrids, this eastern Turkish literary language has been given the name "Čaghatai" in the east itself, as well as in European literature. In an anonymous Turkish work (probably written in India, Brit. Mus., Or. 1912; Rieu, *Cat. Turk. MSS.*, p. 268), all Turkish dialects are divided into two languages, Čaghatai and Turkoman, Ibn Muḥannā (Turk. ed., p. 73; Melloranskii, *Arab filolog*, p. xx.) uses the word "Turkistanish" in the same sense. The language of the Turks is said to have come from Turkistan just as Arabic came from the Hīdžāz. The "language of the Turks of our (presumably Persian) lands" is also contrasted to Turkistanish as well as to Turkoman. In Radloff's *Wörterbuch* (iv. 15), the word Čaghatai is quoted only in the form Djaghatai and as an Ottoman word; cf. also Shaikh Sulaimān Bukhārī, *Lughat-i Čaghatai wa-Turki 'Othmānī*, Istanbul 1297—1300; abbreviated edition with German translation by Dr. S. Künos, Budapest 1902 (*Publ. Sect. Orient. de la Soc. Ethn. Hongroise*, i.).

Radloff (Zap., iii. 1 199.) presumes a purely eastern origin for the Čaghatai literary language. The Uighur alphabet and literary language had survived from the pre-Muḥammadan period among the Muslim Turks; through the adoption of many Arabic and Persian words the Uighur alphabet gradually fell into disuse; we have books written in "pure Uighur language" but in the Arabic

alphabet, such as the *Kīyāz al-Ashīyā* of Rabghūzī written in 710 (1310—1311) (Radloff in the introduction to his edition of the *Kudatku-Bilak*, p. lxxviii. has tried to show that the "Ilek-Khāns" in whose lands the earliest Muslim works in Turkish were written are "without a shadow of doubt to be regarded as Uighur rulers"). In the period of the Mongols the Uighur alphabet and language were widely disseminated. Many "pure Uighur" words and grammatical forms were in this period driven out of use by borrowings from "Central Asian dialects"; but there are still in Čaghatai words and forms of Uighur origin, which are only used in the literary language. As the Eastern Turks, unlike the southern Turks (Constantinople), had no common literary centre, the Čaghatai literary language has been influenced in different districts by various local dialects.

In contrast to this view it has now been proved (notably by A. Samoylovich in *Mir-Ali-Shir*, Leningrad 1928, p. 1 199.) that already in the pre-Mongol period in addition to the oldest Muslim centre of Turkish literary activity, Kāshghar [q. v.], there was a second literary centre in Khwārizm and on the lower course of the Sīr-Daryā. This region retained its importance in the Mongol period under the rule of the Khāns of the Golden Horde. The literature of the Čaghatai kingdom seems not to have arisen till later and to have been influenced by the literature of the Golden Horde. Djāmāl al-Karashī, the author of the *Mulhikāt al-Shurūh* written in Kāshghar, made the acquaintance of the learned Shaikh al-Islām Ḥusām al-Dīn Abū 'I-Mahmūd Ḥamid b. 'Asīm al-'Ajimī al-Bārclnīghī in 672 (1273—1274) in Bārclnend (also called Bārcln and Bārclnīgh) on the lower course of the Sīr-Daryā. In addition to theological works in Arabic, the Shaikh also wrote verses in the three literary languages of Islām (this is probably the first time we have them classed together like this); his Arabic verses were of beautiful form (*faṣḥā*), his Persian ingenious (*maṭḥā*) and his Turkish in keeping with the truth (*ṣaḥḥā*). To the frequently recurring (as early as the *Kīyāz Baghdād* of Ahmad b. Abī Tāhir Tāifūr, ed. Keller, p. 158) contrast between the perfect form of Arabic writings and the ingenious ideas of the Persian is now added the truthfulness of Turkish; and indeed the works of the Čaghatai poets by their simpler language and more simple train of thought give an impression of being more true to life than their Persian models (cf. E. Berthels, *Newā'ī's 'Affār*, in *Mir-Ali-Shir*, p. 24 199., esp. p. 80).

Among the works written in the kingdom of the Golden Horde, Khwārizmī's *Mahabbat-Nāma* (written in 754 = 1353 on the banks of the Sīr-Daryā) had a direct influence on Čaghatai literature. Besides the Brit. Mus. MS., Add. 7914, Rieu, *Turk. Man.*, p. 284 19., we also have the *Mahabbat-Nāma* in the Uighur manuscript written in Rājāb and Shabān 835 (March-April 1432) in Yazd for the emir Djalāl al-Dīn, Or. 8193 (*Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Sciences*, 1924, p. 57 19.; *J. R. A. S.*, 1928, p. 99 199.). The *Ta'arūḥ-Nāma* of the Timūrid prince Sidi Ahmad written in 839 (1435—1436) (in the same MS., Add. 7914) is modelled on the *Mahabbat-Nāma*.

A few Turkish poets who lived in the Čaghatai kingdom are known of the viiith (xivth) century; Timūr's contemporary, the emir Saif al-Dīn, is said to have written five poems in Turkish and Persian

under the pen-name of Saifi (Dawlat-Shāh, ed. Browne, p. 108). What has survived to us belongs to the 15th (xvth) century, the period of Timur's immediate successors. Sakkiki was a panegyrist of Halil Sulhān (1405—1409) and Ulughbeg (1409—1449) (Brit. Mus., Or. 2079; Rieu, *Turk. Man.*, p. 284). Ulughbeg is also mentioned by the poet Lutfi, some of whose poems have been included in the Uighur MS., Or. 8193 (more fully on Lutfi: Rieu, *Turk. Man.*, p. 285 and 287; Ahmad Zaki Walidow, *Diagataykiy poet Lutfiy i ego dīwān*, Kazan 1914). Both poets speak of themselves with great pride. Sakkiki says to Ulughbeg: "It will be many years before such a Turkish poet as I and such a learned prince as thou appear again". Lutfi says: "The Khān Ulughbeg knows how to appreciate the services of Lutfi, whose brilliant poems are not inferior to those of Salmān" (q. v.) (text in W. Barthold, *Uluġbeg*, St. Petersburg 1918, p. 112 sq.). To the same period belongs the panegyrist of another grandson of Timur, the prince of Fārs, Iskandar Sulhān (till 817 = 1414), Mir Haidar Maḥmūdī (Dawlatshāh, p. 371; Rieu, *Cat. Turk. Man.*, p. 286; A. Pavet de Courteille, in *P. Et. Long. Or. Vm.*, ser. II, vol. VI, p. xxii sqq.). His *Makḥzan al-Aṣrār* is intended as a reply to the *Makḥzan al-Aṣrār* of Nizāmī (G. J. Ph., ii, 241 sqq.). Parts of it have been published by Pavet de Courteille from a manuscript in Uighur (now in Berlin). This poet also says that earth and heaven have been filled with the echo of his songs. Two other manuscripts written in Uighur belong to the first half of the ninth (fifteenth) century: the *Bakḥīyār-Nāma*, MS. of 838 (1435) in Oxford (G. J. Ph., ii, 324), and the *Mir'āṭ-Nāma* with a Turkish translation of the *Tuḥfat al-Awṭiyā* of Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār (see 'ATTAR), manuscript said to be (the Hijra year does not agree with the year of the cycle) of 10th Djumādā II, 840 (Dec. 20, 1436) in Paris (P. Et. Long. Or. Vm., loc. cit.).

In the second half of the 15th (xvth) century Caghatai literature reached its zenith in Mir 'Alī Shīr (b. 844 = 1440—1441, d. Sunday, 11th Djumādā II, 906 = Jan. 3, 1501). On the significance of his career and literary interest cf. Bellin, *Notice biographique et littéraire sur Mir 'Alī-Chir-Nerdī* (J. A., xvii, 1861, p. 175—256, 281—357); E. G. Browne, *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, Cambridge 1920, esp. p. 437 sqq., 505 sqq.; *Mir-'Alī-Shīr*, Leningrad 1928. Like the other Caghatai poets, Mir 'Alī Shīr, in his *Dīwān* as well as in his numerous other poems, is simply an imitator of Persian poets, but he does not follow his models slavishly; his poems seem to have suited the taste of his time and people perfectly and have enjoyed great popularity down to the present day. Of importance is his last work, finished in Djumādā I, 905 (Dec. 1499) *Muḥāmmat al-Lughatīn* (Quatremère, *Chrestomathie en turc oriental*, parts 1—2, Paris 1842); the language and culture of the Turks are compared with those of the Persians; the author endeavours to show that the Turkish language is no less suitable than the Persian for poetic efforts and intellectual purposes generally. Mir 'Alī Shīr is frequently described in European works as a minister or vizier; but as a matter of fact he never held any such official position. His influence on affairs of state and his activity as a patron of arts and sciences were the result of his friendship (not

always unclouded) with his prince Sulhān Husain (1469—1506). Sulhān Husain was himself a poet. His *Dīwān* was published in Baku in 1926. A son of this Sulhān, prince Shāh Gharīb, whose pen-name was Gharībī (in the *Bābur-Nāma*, ed. Beveridge, G.M.S., i, 166, probably wrongly Gharībī), has left a Persian (not known to Brockelmann) and a Turkish *Dīwān* in the Hamburg Stadtbibliothek, No. 15 (Brockelmann, *Katalog*, No. 183 and 277), MS. dated Ramaḍān 940 (March-April 1534). Bābur (q. v.), the founder of the Timurid Empire in India, was the author of a number of poems but is most celebrated for his *Memoirs* (*Bābur-Nāma* also *Wakā'ī* or *Wāḥī-i Bāburī*; cf. *Ta'rikh-i Kaḡhānī*, transl. Rose, p. 173 sq.); but Persian was almost exclusively used at the Indian court.

The Timurids were driven out of Central Asia and Eastern Persia by the Özbeġs. Under the latter, especially in the early period, when they had not yet completely adapted themselves to Persian culture, a good deal of Turkish was written both in verse and prose; but they stuck to the old "Caghatai" models without producing anything new or original. Mir 'Alī Shīr remained the model for poets in educated circles, and for the poets of the masses Ahmed Vesowī (q. v.), in the modernised form in which we now possess his *Dīwān*. The historian Abū 'I-Chāṭ Bahādur Khān (q. v.) probably stands alone, who endeavoured in his work (ed. Desmaisons, p. 37) to avoid Persian and Arabic as well as "Caghatai Turkish" words and to write so that "even a five-year-old child" could understand him. One of the most popular poets (also used as a school text-book) of the Özbeġ period was the mystic Shīfī Allāh Yār (end of the xvth and beginning of the xvith century). Later in Bukhārā, Turkish literature was almost completely driven out by Persian (partly influenced by the local Tadjikī (q. v.)). In Khoġand (q. v.) and Khiva (see KHIVARIZM) Caghatai literature experienced a noteworthy revival in the sixteenth century. Cf. especially M. Hartmann, *M. S. O. S. As.*, vii, 87 sqq. (the expression "revival" [*Nachblüte*], p. 79); A. Samoylovich, *Zap.*, xix, 0198 sqq.

The Uighur alphabet was no longer used among the Özbeġs as it still had often been under the Timurids; but the influence of the Uighur script can still be seen in the Arabic here (use of vowels instead of the vowel signs prevailing in South Turkish manuscripts). So far little attention has been paid to the question how far Caghatai literature was influenced by the literature of the oldest Kāshghar period. That, as M. Hartmann thought (*M. S. O. S. As.*, vii, 79), the *Kutadġu-Bilġ* (so to be written instead of Radloff's *Kutadġu Bilig*) "remained almost neglected in the land itself and was taken to Egypt at an early date", can hardly be held any longer. Samoylovich (*Zap.*, xxi, 038 sqq.) has established the fact that on a jar found in Saraitik on the lower course of the Ural of the xiiith century, quotations are given from the *Kutadġu Bilig*. Even in the *Ta'rikh-i Kaḡhānī* finished at the end of Dhu 'l-Ka'da 1280 (May 1864) of Mullā Bihā Khān (the only known manuscript is in Berlin, acquired in 1929, l. 9b), we have the verses which sound exactly like a quotation from the *Kutadġu Bilig* (although not found in it): *wazīr etḡāl dur tamāmī nīzām nīzām olmasa 'adl tapmas kīyām* ("all the activity of the vizier should be directed to

order; where there is no order, justice cannot be carried out").

The same Turkish literary language as was written in the land of the Orzbegs is written to the present in Chinese Turkestan (Kashgharia). Here also day Turkish culture has been influenced by Persian; the only work of importance from Kashgharia, the *Ta'rikh-i Rashidi* of Haidar Mirza [q. v.], is written in Persian; there are at least two Turkish translations of it (by Muhammad Sidiq in the xviiith century; by an anonymous writer in Khotan dated 22nd Jumada II, 1263 = June 7, 1847). Even under Isma'il Khan (1670-1682) Mirza Shah Mahmud Curia (*Zap.*, xxii. 313 sqq.) wrote his history in very bad Persian instead of in his own native Turkish. A little later (beginning of the xviiith century) the history in the Asiatic Museum in Leningrad (*Zap.*, xv. 236 sqq.; M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient*, I, Berlin 1899-1905, p. 291 sqq.; in addition to this manuscript, there is now a second, Petrovskiy 9, in the Asiatic Museum) was written in a pure and simple Turkish language. On the most recent historical works from Kashghar cf. e. g. *Zap.*, xvii. 0188 sqq. (on the *Ta'rikh-i Amaniya* of Mulla Musa of Sairam finished on the 11th Shawwal 1321 [Dec. 17, 1903]).

In the xixth century a new Turkish literature has been founded among the Orzbegs under European (directly under Russian and Tatar) influences (sometimes called "Modern Caghatai literature"); it includes dramatic works among its productions.

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(W. BARTHOLD)

B.—I. OTTOMAN TURKS.

Language and Alphabets.

Ottoman Turkish has since the end of the xvth century been a language of literature and culture the forms of which have become securely established during the four centuries of its existence. Its evolution and the extension of its sphere of influence have been intimately connected with the political and cultural development of the Ottoman empire. It has therefore become one of the principal languages of the Muslim world, being next in importance to Arabic and Persian. After Ottoman culture had begun its orientation to the west in the period of the *Tanzimat* [q. v.] in the xixth century and in a greater measure since the end of the Ottoman empire in 1922, this same literary language has assumed the character of a national language which in Turkey is now never called anything but Turkish (*Türkçe*). The influence of this language is still to be traced in the languages of those Muslim and Christian peoples who formerly formed part of the Ottoman empire.

Ottoman Turkish is a branch of the southwest or Turkoman group of Turkish languages (cf. Samoylovich, *Nekotorye dopolneniya k klassifikatsii*

tureckikh jazykov, Petrograd 1922, p. 5 sq.; this same group is called by Radloff, *Phonetik der nördlichen Türkischen Sprachen*, Leipzig 1883, p. 280, that of the dialects of the south). These were the dialects originally spoken by the Oghuz Turks. With the other "dialects" of this group, the Adheri and Turkoman, Ottoman shares certain phonetic peculiarities like the dropping of the consonant *g* after another consonant (cf. e. g. *halan* compared with *halgan* of the other groups) and the form *ol-* instead of *bol-* (with certain survivals in Turkoman) for the root of the verb "to be", and, from the morphological point of view, of a special paradigm for the present of the verb (*geliyorum*). In the application of vowel harmony it distinguishes two groups of variable endings, that in which *e* alternates with *a* and that in which we have *i*, *ı*, *u*, *ü* alternately with fairly frequent traces of an inflection, which knew only the alternations *u*, *ü* (V. Grönbech, *Forstudier til tyrkisk Lydhistorie*, Copenhagen 1902, p. 18-19). Ottoman is distinguished from Adheri and Turkoman particularly by the change of initial *m* to *b* (*ben* in place of *men*). The conservative character that belongs to the Turkish language in general, due to the fact that the nominal and verbal roots hardly suffer any change, is the reason why the dialects of Ottoman differ very little among themselves [cf. below, III].

Turkish, as taught in the many grammars in European languages, is based, from the point of view of dialect, on the pronunciation which prevails in Constantinople, a pronunciation which is often characterised as light and melodious. This is due to the fact that the Constantinople dialect tends to make predominate, especially in the endings, terminations with "light" and unrounded vowels, while we do not have there the pronunciation *ek* in place of *ek*, which prevails in the eastern dialects; it is probably also the great number of Arabic loanwords which has brought about the predominance of the "light" articulation. The language taught in the grammars has rather a conventional character, which is seen notably in the great regularity which they represent as prevailing in the vowel system of the roots (the two series *a*, *ı*, *e*, *u* and *i*, *ı*, *ü*, *ü*) and in the rigorous application of the rules of vowel harmony. This regularity is far from being found in practice, although the language of the educated people tends to develop in this direction. The employment of the Arabic alphabet seems to have distracted the attention of the Turkish grammarians themselves from phonetic questions in general; the establishment of an orthography in the Latin alphabet will no doubt reveal gradually what are the tendencies of Turkish pronunciation.

The question of ascertaining which is the standard Ottoman dialect is however somewhat complicated. The opinion predominating in Turkey itself is that the best *Türkçe* is that of Constantinople (Ziya Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları*, Ankara 1339, p. 97). This however is making the question much too simple. The population of Constantinople is composed of many heterogeneous elements and no doubt a large number of Ottoman dialects have contributed towards the evolution of the language of the ancient capital of the empire. The prevalent view has more real foundation if we apply it only to the language of the educated classes. As regards pronunciation M. Bergsträsser thinks he

can say it is more or less uniform among the educated classes of Constantinople (Z. D. M. G., lxxii. 236). There are however still considerable divergencies in the different classes of society, as regards pronunciation and vocabulary; many memories of ancient dialectal differences must have still survived. We owe to Vámbéry the interesting statement that the members of the dynasty of 'Othmán had retained a mode of speech among themselves which differed from ordinary Turkish. We are however not at all well informed regarding the evolution of the language of the educated classes. For pronunciation, we possess of the xvth century a few Turkish texts written down in Latin characters (cf. especially Foy, *M. S. O. S.*, iv. and v.; and Babinger, in *Literaturdenkmäler aus Ungarns Türkeizeit*, Berlin and Leipzig 1927, p. 43). But these very interesting documents rather reflect a dialectal pronunciation; later documents also like Holdermann's Turkish grammar of 1730 (cf. Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen*, Leipzig 1919, p. 14—15) show considerable divergencies compared with the Turkish of Constantinople of today, especially in the retention of endings with rounded vowels.

As to the vocabulary of the Turkish of the educated classes, we are in a position of still greater uncertainty, due to the fact that the ideal of what is good Turkish has considerably changed in course of time. This ideal down to the middle of the sixteenth century was strongly influenced by the literary language.

This written literary language developed from the first attempts at writing the Turkish spoken by the different Turkish groups who were established in Asia Minor in the thirteenth century (cf. below, iv.). It is therefore based on several dialects, which did not differ greatly from one another and still less when written in the Arabic alphabet. This Arabic alphabet even caused the disappearance of a number of peculiarities of the Adheri dialect, which was not without influence in the development of literary Ottoman. The literary language does not, strictly speaking, possess a real classic, which could serve as an ideal model of language and style, as Arabic has in the *Kur'an* and Persian in a more limited sense in the *Shāh-nāma*. The epithet classical is usually given to the language of the great Ottoman poets of the xvth and xvith centuries but the exaggerated artificiality of this language did not permit it a lasting influence.

The most prominent feature of the ancient literary language is the almost unlimited employment of words and expressions borrowed from literary Arabic and Persian. Like the other Turkish languages, whose speakers became Muslims, Ottoman Turkish shows from the first a number of words borrowed from Arabic and Persian belonging to the sphere of religion and culture. The linguistic character of the Turkish language offers no obstacle to the adoption en masse of foreign words which are not at all felt to be intolerable in the system of the language (cf. e.g. E. Sapir, *Language*, New York 1921, p. 210). This circumstance has given Turkish a great richness in possibilities of expression both in the noun and in the verb (by means of the auxiliary verbs *etmek*, *çılmek*, *çılmak*, *almak* combined with Arabic *maḍar*'s). And since Turkish literature for the most part began with translations from Persian, which has the same faculty for

adoption from the Arabic, the literary language has drawn abundantly from this source to enlarge its powers of expression. Thus there arose an ideal of literary beauty which has brought about a wide breach as regards vocabulary between the written language and the spoken language which came to be known as *şah-türkçe*. There have always, it is true, been scholars who condemned this artificial language (on the *baştürkçe* movement see below, iv.: Ottoman Literature) but it was only in the middle of the sixteenth century that a reaction set in against the abundant use of Arabic and Persian loanwords in the literary language. This movement coincides with the ascendancy of European influence on Turkish literature. But at the same time the influence of European civilization in general caused to be felt the want of new terms to express new ideas, technical, scientific, political etc., which came into Turkish civilization when it turned towards the west. In this difficulty, recourse was again had to the inexhaustible resources of the Arabic vocabulary and also to the morphological possibilities of Arabic. The result was that Turkish scholars and men of letters of the second half of the sixteenth century found themselves faced with an embarrassing wealth of foreign elements in the literary and learned language beneath which the Turkish element tended to be stifled. In spite of its faculty for adaptation, the Turkish language seemed to be supersaturated.

The study of the Arabic and Persian elements in Turkish presents much interest for the cultural evolution of the language and the people. The present pronunciation in many cases enables us to distinguish the words which have really passed into the language of the people, which can be seen from their more complete adaptation to the rules of vowel harmony, and those which remained the property of the scholar and man of letters only (cf. M. Bittner, *Der Einfluss des Arabischen und Persischen auf das Türkische*, St. A. Wien, CLXXII/iii.; G. Bergsträsser, *Zur Phonetik des Türkischen*, Z. D. M. G., lxxii.; and A. Schaade, *Der Vokalismus der arabischen Fremdwörter im osmanischen Türkisch*, *Festschrift-Münch.*, p. 449 sqq.). The study of the meanings of these loanwords is equally important; many Arabic words have a different sense in Turkish from Arabic: in these cases the old lexicographers spoke of *ghale-fat-i meḥḥūre*. Several works in Turkish are devoted to this subject.

To the generation of Turks of the period of the *Tamizât* the question presented itself as a problem of culture. It was quite naturally thought that the only means of escaping from the impasse was to return to the language of the people in which the foreign element had always been slighter. Among the first to urge the use of a simpler language was Süleimân Pasha (d. 1893), known from the Russo-Turkish war; he recommended the adoption of the simple language of the soldiers and published a Turkish grammar which he called *Şarf-i türkî*, avoiding the word *'aḥmâni* which Ahmad Djewdet Pasha [q. v.] had still used in the title of his grammar *Kavâ'id-i 'aḥmâniyyi* (Constantinople 1311). Another figure in the same period is Ahmad Wafik Pasha [q. v.] whose *Lehçe-i 'aḥmâni* is a serious attempt to regularise the use of foreign words. The literature of this period, although employing more modern literary

forms, still used the old literary languages which also prevailed in the newspapers and periodicals (school of Mu'allim Nâdî). But in proportion as the Ottoman empire approached its political crisis towards the end of the century, the interest in the language increased more and more. At this period we also find a movement for extreme purism of language, conducted especially by the paper *İhtisâs*; the great promoter of the *İhtisâsçilik* was Fu'âd Kâ'î Bey. He simply preferred to banish all Persian and Arabic expressions from the language and to form new Turkish words, even borrowing them from other groups of Turkish languages, thus creating a language which Ziya Gökalp calls "Turkish Esperanto". Even the lexicographer Sâmî [q. v.] declares himself in theory a supporter of this school. Soon this purism gave way to a more reasonable purism, which was propagated for the first time by the periodical *Gendî Kalemîler* in Salonica (1910) and later by the *Türk Yurdu* in Constantinople. Some innovators like 'Omâr Saif al-Dîn Bey even thought that the reformation of the Turkish language ought to be the principal article in the Turkish cultural reformation (cf. *Newslet-i 'Osmanî*, Constantinople 1330, p. 395). In 1917 the question was investigated by Djelâl Nûrî in his brochure *Türkçüme*. After the War, the new programme of the reform of the language was expounded by Ziya Gökalp in *Türkçülüğün Esasları* (Ankara 1339, p. 100 sq.). As a result of these new views on language, the literary idiom has also taken a direction which brings it closer to the spoken speech; as examples we may quote the language of the literary works of Khâlid Edîb Khânûm and Rüshen Eshref. On the other hand, a knowledge of the written language has spread at the same time among much larger sections of the people. The introduction of the Latin alphabet will undoubtedly influence the mutual relations of the written and spoken language.

Alongside of Arabic and Persian loanwords, Ottoman Turkish possesses a considerable number from other languages. Thus Italian has considerably enriched the terminology of navigation; then there are a fair number of words from Greek and Albanian. French made its influence felt in the 19th century but almost exclusively in scientific and quasi-scientific literature. Indirectly the influence of the great languages of Europe, and especially of French, has been felt in the simplification of literary style, in the tendency to avoid the heavy interminable phrases of the old Turkish prose.

The alphabet used for writing Turkish was the Arabic from the earliest known Anatolian documents of the 13th century. The system of transcription differs from that followed in Çaghatâi in as much as Ottoman makes a larger use of the emphatic Arabic letters (notably the *ğ* in roots with a heavy vowel, which corresponds to a real distinction in pronunciation; cf. the article quoted by Schade, p. 451) and uses the "scriptio defectiva" in the roots with vowel *e*, *i* or *ı* and even often for *a*. In 1727 printing was officially introduced into Turkey (cf. Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen im XVIII. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig 1919) but this innovation was far from having the cultural importance for Turkey that printing had for Europe at the time of the Renaissance. A perfect uniformity of orthography in Arabic characters was never attained and, especially after 1900, we find several attempts to make writing in the Arabic

character clearer, e.g. by the use of the final form of the letter *â* for the vowel *e* but none of these attempts at reform met with general approval. The technique of Arabic calligraphy has been much cultivated in Turkey. Several scripts peculiar to Turkish have been evolved, like the *divânî* hand which was used for official documents issued by the sultan and high officials, then the ornamental hand called *thulûth* and the *rif'a* which is a kind of cursive hand, that remained in use up till quite recently. Arabic calligraphy (*hün-i khatt*) in Turkey has at the same time maintained a higher level than in other Muslim countries (cf. the collection of biographies, *Khatt-u Khattâ'in* by Habib, Constantinople 1305). Other alphabets, which have been employed for Ottoman Turkish are the Greek by the Karamanlis and Armenian by the Turkish-speaking Armenians (cf. e.g. E. Littmann, *Ein türkisches Streitgedicht über die Ehe*, in *A Vol. of Or. Stud. pres. to E. G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, p. 269 sqq.). The Hebrew script has never been used for Ottoman Turkish.

In 1928 the Latin alphabet was officially introduced into Turkey to take the place of the Arabic. Since the Young Turkish Revolution there had been several attempts to simplify the Arabic alphabet for Turkish usage. The difficulty of Arabic orthography, requiring entirely different principles to write Turkish words and words borrowed from Arabic and Persian, was rightly regarded as a serious obstacle to the spread of the written language among the masses. Thus alongside of several attempts to reform Arabic orthography itself (cf. above), there appeared from time to time more radical proposals like the system which Enver Pasha tried to introduce into the army during the war. This system is based on the Arabic alphabet, but it does not join up the letters and has a consistent notation for all the vowels. But none of these systems gained any great success. On the other hand, the use of the Latin alphabet had always been resolutely opposed in religious circles, even for purely scientific purposes. After the restoration of the Nationalist Turkish state the question remained for some years in suspense. Clerical influence no longer counted and from time to time the position of the Latin alphabet was discussed in the press (brochure by A. Galanti, *Türklerde 'arabî ve latîn Harfleri ve İmlâ Mecmûesi*, Constantinople 1925). The question was also influenced by the attitude of other Turkish peoples living in Russia, notably in Adharbâidjân, and by the discussions at the Turcological Congress at Baku in Feb. and March 1926 (cf. *İslâm*, xvi, 173 sqq.) where Turkey was only poorly represented. Finally in 1928 the government, supported by the Nationalist party, decided to push the matter forward. A law of May 20 officially introduced the use of the European numerals. In the meanwhile the government had been studying the new alphabet and on Aug. 21, Mustafa Kemal Pasha delivered his celebrated lecture on the new Latin alphabet in Constantinople. After a few modifications had been made in the first scheme, the new alphabet was at last introduced by a law of Nov. 1. This law orders the use of the Latin alphabet according to the rules elaborated by the *Dil encümeni* (*Dil encümeni*) and the abolition of the Arabic alphabet, at the same time arranging the stages of the transition. It laid down June 1, 1930 as the final date at which the new alphabet must

be used in all kinds of published documents (cf. the text of the law in *Oriente Moderne*, Jan. 1929, p. 41 *sqq.* and the article by H. W. Duda, *Die neue Lateinschrift in der Türkei*, in *O.L.Z.*, 1929, col. 441—453). The newspapers had begun to appear in the new alphabet from Jan. 1, 1928. At the same time steps were taken to have the new alphabet taught to all classes of the population by means of courses lasting four months (*millet mektebi*).

The rapidity of the successive measures and the little resistance that seems to have been offered them show not only the strong position of the government but also the feasibility of such a radical reform. This is probably due to the fact that the percentage of the population seriously affected by the change was relatively small, on the other hand no one will deny that the Latin alphabet is much better fitted to render the phonetic character of Turkish than the Arabic alphabet. The time chosen to introduce the new alphabet was not inopportune but it was equally clear that the sacrifice of an alphabet which for centuries had been bound up with the religious, literary and cultural development of a people meant a cultural crisis which places a great responsibility upon the intellectual leaders of the people. The reform is still too recent to be able to judge of its effects.

The new alphabet shows several original features (like the use of *ç* for the sound *ç*, of *ğ* for *ğ* and of *ı* without dot for *ı*; *ë* for *â* shows the influence of Rumanian orthography); it is not overloaded with diacritical marks. We cannot yet speak of an established orthography but the rules given at the beginning by the *Dil endişmeni* have laid down the principle of an orthography as phonetic as possible, which applies even to words borrowed from other languages written in the Latin alphabet (e.g. *federasyon* for *fédération*). This often gives Arabic words a form which makes their identification difficult to those accustomed to the Arabic alphabet. In general, we can say that the new alphabet tends to be more suited to the spoken language than was possible with the Arabic alphabet; it has already been pointed out that this circumstance may facilitate in many points the scientific study of the Ottoman language.

(J. H. KRAMER)

II. OTTOMAN-TURKISH DIALECTS.¹⁾

1. Area of Dispersion.

For the want of the necessary detailed surveys it is impossible as yet to define the exact frontiers of the areas in which the Ottoman Turkish language is spoken. It extends over territory in Europe as well as Asia. In Europe in the Balkan peninsula, it is found in islets surrounded by other languages, which have very much broken the Turkish bloc. We may mention the following such Turkish speaking areas: 1. Eastern Thrace with the peninsula of Gallipoli, where the Turks form a solid body with a population of over a million. 2. Parts of Macedonia, namely a long stretch on the left bank of the Vardar, the land between Ilip (Štip) and Radoviš (Radoviška), along the Aegean, roughly from Salonika to Dede-Ağaç, especially the country

round the towns of Drama, Eskiçe, Gümüşina (Gümürina). On these lands there is a rich literature of the period of the Balkan Wars, some of it politically biased; cf. especially: *Carte ethnographique de la Macédoine du sud représentant la répartition ethnique à la veille de la guerre des Balkans, 1912*, by I. Ivanov (scale 1:200,000), also *Etnografska karta na egejskija vilajet km 1912 god.* by L. Miletić (scale 1:750,000), *Etnografska karta na Makedonija* by the same (scale 1:1,500,000); cf. also Vasil Kančof, *Makedonija, etnografija i statistika*, Sofia 1900. Since that time however the ethnical proportions have been very much altered. The exchange of population introduced by the treaty of Lausanne (1923) between Greece and Turkey brought about a considerable shrinkage in the number of Turkish speakers on the now Greek part of these lands, after Greece had sent over 400,000 Turks into Turkey. 3. Certain areas in Bulgaria, namely the districts of Deli-Orman, Tosluk and Gerlovo in N.E. Bulgaria (cf. D. G. Gadžanov, *Vorläufiger Bericht über die im Auftrag der Balkan-Kommission der kais. Akademie d. Wiss. in Wien durch Nordost-Bulgarien unternommene Reise zum Zwecke von türkischen Dialektstudien*, Ann. Wien of 8th Febr. 1911 and do., *Zweiter vorläufiger Bericht über die ergänzende Untersuchung der türkischen Elemente im nordöstl. Bulgarien in sprachlicher, kultureller und ethnogr. Beziehung*, *ibid.*, 24th Jan. 1912. For the question of the settlement of the Turks see also L. Miletić, *Savremeno bolgarsko naseljenje i sivozračna Bulgarija*, Sofia 1902; the map in A. Ischirkoff, *Das Bulgarentum auf der Balkanhalbinsel im J. 1912*, in *Petermanns Geogr. Mitteilungen*, Year 1915, is also very valuable, Plate 44 where the distribution of the islets of Turkish speakers is also given), also a considerable area in N.E. Bulgaria around the towns of Kyrgaly and Mastanly. In addition, Turks are found scattered throughout Bulgaria, in the territory round Philippolis (Plovdiv) in the Roza-Balkan and elsewhere; cf. Dr. Constantin Jireček, *Das Fürstentum Bulgarien*, Prag-Vienna-Leipzig 1891, p. 133—146 (out of date). 4. Turkish speakers are found scattered up and down the modern Yugoslavia, the bulk in Macedonia (cf. J. Cvijić, *Ethnographische Karte der Balkanhalbinsel nach allen vorhandenen Quellen und eigenen Beobachtungen*, *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, March etc. 1913 and do., *Raspored balkanskih naroda*, *Glasnik Srpskog Geografskog Društva*, Belgrade 1913, p. 234—265). Isolated little bodies are found along the Danube, as far up as the interesting island of Adakale at Orsova (cf. the introduction to Vol. I. of I. Kinos, *Türkische Volksmärchen aus Adakale*). 5. The whole western and northwestern shores of the Black Sea show considerable Ottoman influence. In the towns and steppes of the Dobruđa a good deal of Ottoman Turkish is spoken (cf. St. Romansky, *Le caractère ethnique de la Dobroudja*, Sofia 1917, and do., *Carte ethnographique de la nouvelle Dobroudja Roumaine*, Sofia 1915). Unfortunately we do not possess fuller information of the dialectal conditions there. It is important to note that the language of the Christian Gagauz is at bottom Ottoman Turkish. The Dobruđian Gagauz whom I met north of Varna speak a dialect which is almost indistinguishable from the popular dialect of Constantinople. The language of the Bessarabian Gagauz also which we know from

¹⁾ For practical considerations the author's system of transliteration is retained in this article. See note p. 926a.

Moškov's rich collection (Radloff's, *Proben der Volkslitteratur der türkischen Stämme*, vol. x., *Mundarten der bessarabischen Gagausen*, St. Petersburg 1904), is simply an Ottoman Turkish dialect. In spite of the fact that some students have regarded the Gagaus as descendants of the Kumans (C. Jireček, *Einige Bemerkungen über die Überreste der Petschenegen und Kumänen, sowie über die Völkerschaften der sogenannten Gagausi und Sarguti im heutigen Bulgarien*, *Sitzungsber. d. kön. böhm. Gesellschaft der Wiss.*, 1889), their present language contains in fact no Kuman elements.

Ottoman influence is very strongly marked on the south coast of the Crimea. The specimens recently published by O. Šatskaja of the popular poetry of Bažęysarai and Tuak (near Alušta) may be described simply as Ottoman Turkish (*J. A.*, April-June 1926, p. 341-369). The same must be said of many of the texts in Radloff, *Die Mundarten der Krym (Proben der Volkslitteratur der nördl. türk. Stämme*, vol. VII). The Crimean Tatar literary language does not differ very seriously from the Ottoman written language (Samoilovič, *Opýt kratkoj krymsko-tatarskoj grammatiki*, Petrograd 1916, p. 7 infra).

We have no accurate information about the present condition of the Turkish language in the islands of the Mediterranean, especially in Crete, Cyprus and the islands of the Aegean.

The Anatolian Turkish speaking area in north, west and south has well marked natural boundaries. In the northeast it gradually and apparently without a definite frontier passes into Ađharbaidžant. Many linguistic peculiarities, which even Foy took to be specifically Ađharbaidžant (*Azerbaidžanische Studien mit einer Charakteristik der Südtürkischen*, *M. S. O. S. As.*, vl. 126-193; vii. 197-265), are also found in Asia Minor dialects, as Giese (cf. above I., p. 531) has rightly pointed out. In the southeast, Ottoman meets the Arabic of northern Syria. In northern Mesopotamia it is much broken up by Kurdish and considerably influenced by Ađharbaidžant from Persia.

In addition to the settled Turks, we find in Anatolia and even in the Balkan Peninsula nomads and semi-nomads. In Asia Minor their numbers are still considerable, while they are disappearing on European soil (cf. P. Traeger, *Die Türken und Konjaren in Makedonien*, *Zeich. für Ethnol.*, 1905, p. 198-206; on the Jürüks and Konjars in Bulgaria: Jireček, *Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien*, p. 139 sq.). In Anatolia, Turkish nomads are known under rather vague names like *Aliretler* ('clans'), Jürüks, Turkomans, or by their own tribal names like Avlars (or Afars) etc. As a rule their language does not differ essentially from that of their settled neighbours.

The frontiers of the area of Ottoman Turkish are still being considerably altered. In the west, i.e. in the Balkans, it is constantly decreasing; while in the east, on the other hand, in places it is gaining ground.

2. Linguistic Minorities in the Ottoman-Turkish Area.

Steps taken by the present republican government have very much reduced the linguistic minorities within the frontiers of modern Turkey. Nevertheless the Ottoman Turkish speaking area is not yet by any means uniform and there are many other

languages in it. The following are the principal minorities: Greeks, formerly very numerous, now, as a result of the exchange of population, practically found only in Constantinople, Armenians (also almost entirely confined to the Constantinople territory), Arabs (Muhammadan on the Syrian and Iraqi frontier, Christian in Mersin and district), Kurds in the eastern vilayets, but also in isolated groups elsewhere in Asia Minor (after Sheikh Sa'id's rising in 1925, a considerable number were deported to the interior of Asia Minor as a punishment), Nestorian Syrians in the eastern vilayets (especially Hakkari), all kinds of Caucasian peoples (Laz, Georgians, Abkhaz, Circassians), who are found scattered all over Asia Minor, most thickly in the N.E., less numerous Albanians (Arnauts), gipsies, Spanish Jews, who live in the larger towns, etc.

Turkish minorities are also found in Asia Minor (e.g. the Krim Tatar emigrants in and around Eski-Shehir) as well as in Rumelia (on the Dobrudja, on the Bulgarian Danube).

3. The mutual influences of Ottoman-Turkish and neighbouring Languages.

We are at present very imperfectly informed regarding the influence of Ottoman Turkish on its neighbours and *vice versa*. We can only indicate isolated phenomena: for example the disappearance of initial *h* (*χ*): *ađ* (= Ar. *حَف*), *ain* (= Ar. *خَئِن*), *one* (= Pers. *خَند*), *ani* (= *hany*, *hany*) etc., which is so characteristic of the Macedonian dialects (Kowalski, *Zagadki ludowe tureckie*, p. 11; do., *Osmansk-türkische Volkslieder aus Mazedonien*, *W. Z. K. M.*, xxxiii. 167-168), but is also found in Bosnian Turkish (Blau, *Bosnisch-türkische Sprachdenkmäler*, p. 27), is to be ascribed to the influence of the Southern Slavonic languages. Similarly the variation between initial *š*/*š* which is often noticed in Northern Bulgaria, may be ascribed to Bulgarian influence. Possibly also the peculiar phenomena of palatalisation in the dialects of the Bessarabian Gagaus (Moškov, p. xxvii. sq.) are to be ascribed to Serbian influence.

Blau has studied the Turkish-Serbian mixed language of Bosnia, but he devoted himself not to the spoken language but almost exclusively to manuscript material. On the Ottoman-Turkish language of the period of Turkish rule in Hungary cf. the valuable information in *Litteratursdenkmäler aus Ungarns Türkenzeit* (ed. by F. Babinger, K. Gragger, E. Mittwoch and J. H. Mordtmann, Berlin 1927).

That in the southeastern regions under the influence of Arabic, a greater variety of gutturals prevails than elsewhere in Ottoman and that in particular the Arabic *ain* is pronounced there in Arabic loanwords has been noted by several observers (cf. M. Hartmann, in *K. S.*, i. 154; Balcanoglu, *Dialecte turc de Kilis*, *K. S.*, iii. 263).

The interaction between Turkish and the neighbouring languages is best seen in the vast number of borrowings. So far, Turkish loanwords in non-Ottoman languages have received more attention than non-Turkish words in Ottoman. On the influence of Ottoman-Turkish on the languages of Southeast and Eastern Europe, see especially the work of Fr. Miklosich (*Die türkischen Elemente in den süd- und osteuropäischen Sprachen*, Griechisch, Albanisch, Rumänisch, Bulgarisch, Serbisch, Kleinerussisch, Grossrussisch, Polnisch, Denkschriften d.

Kais. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, vol. xxxiv.—xxxviii.; cf. thereon Fr. Kraclitz-Greifenhorst, *Corollarium zu Miklosich „Die türkischen Elemente...“*, S.B. Ak. Wien, vol. cxvi, 1911. Very valuable also in Fr. Miklosich: *Über die Einwirkung des Türkischen auf die Grammatik der südosteuropäischen Sprachen*, S.B. Ak. Wien, vol. cxx., 1890; also N. K. Dmitrijev, *Etjudy po serbsko-tureckomu jeziku*, *izvestija Akademii Nauk S.S.S.R.*, 1928-1929. Turkish loanwords in Serbian in GJ. Popović, *Turske i druge istočanske reči u našem jeziku*, Belgrade 1889, in Rumanian: Th. Löbel, *Elements turcs, arabs et persans in limba Română*, Constantinople-Lipsa 1894, and Lazare Sainéan, *L'influence orientale sur la langue et la civilisation roumaines*, I. *La langue, les éléments orientaux en roumain*, Paris 1902. L. Rouzevalle, *Les emprunts turcs dans le grec vulgaire de Roumille et spécialement d'Adrinople* (J. A., 1911, July-Dec.), discusses Ottoman loanwords in popular Greek, while A. Danon, *Essai sur les vocables turcs dans le judéo-espagnol* (K. S., iv., 1903; v., 1904 and xiii., 1912) discusses the Turkish loanwords in the everyday language of the Spanish Jews.

The Turkish dialects of the Balkans, in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Rumania, show a very high percentage of Slav or Rumanian loanwords. The influence of Arabic and Persian on Turkish, unfortunately with reference to the written language only, is discussed by M. Bittner (S.B. Ak. Wien, cxlii., 1900), the Greek elements in Turkish by G. Meyer (*Türkische Studien*, S.B. Ak. Wien, cxviii., 1893).

Our information is very defective regarding the pronunciation of Ottoman Turkish by the numerous non-Turkish minorities in Turkey. A little can be learned from types of dialect in the Karagöz plays, although the greatest caution is necessary since its dialects, as G. Jacob rightly points out (*Das türkische Schattentheater*, Berlin 1900, p. 29-37; *Geschichte des Schattentheaters*, Hanover 1925, p. 143), are not true to life but are traditional caricatures, which cannot be taken as based on actual observation. The Turkish of the Greeks and Armenians living in Constantinople used to be caricatured in the Turkish humorous journals. Important material is also supplied by the until recently fairly important daily press, printed in Greek or Armenian type, for the Greeks (the *Karamanlis*) and Armenians who can only speak Turkish. On such literary material, excluding the spoken language, are based the able *Studien zum Armenisch-Türkischen* of F. Kraclitz-Greifenhorst (S.B. Ak. Wien, vol. cxviii./3, Vienna 1912). They deal mainly with the Armenian Turkish of Constantinople. On the language of the *Karamanlis* (*Karamanli*) cf. N. Dmitrijev, *Materialy po vsmanskoi dialektologii*, *Fontika „Karamanličko“ jazyka*, Zap. Kollegii Vostochnoveden., iii. (1928), p. 417-458.

In the pronunciation of the Turkish speaking Greeks, a striking feature is a kind of rhotacism: $i = r$, $z = r$, $\tilde{z} = r$, as *ceş* (*leş*), *afazak* etc. (cf. G. Jacob, *Zur Grammatik des Vulgar-Türkischen*, Z. D. M. G., iii. 701).

In two Turkish speaking Laz from Laz Käl near Adampol on the Bosphorus whose pronunciation I studied for sometime, I was struck by their pronunciation of *ki* as *hi*, e.g. *skin* (*skin*) "seed", and of the \tilde{z} as \tilde{s} ; the same thing was noted in a Laz in Samzun: *oda kilitlidir* (o. kilit-

lidir). They also pronounced the voiced initial consonants *b*, *d*, *g* voiceless as *p*, *t*, *k* (cf. Jacob, *op. cit.*, p. 699).

The Jewish pronunciation, according to the Turks, is characterized by the spirant pronunciation of initial *g* before *e*, *i*, *ä*, *u*, and by the lengthening of the accented vowels in the last syllable: *den geldim* (= *geldim*), *hakfym*...

4. The history of the formation of the present Ottoman speaking area.

The situation we find in the present Ottoman speaking area is the result of a very long and very complicated process of settlement and assimilation.

It is clear that the inhabitants of Turkey and the adjoining territories who now speak Ottoman Turkish are only to a very small degree descendants of the Turks who migrated hither but, on the contrary, are in the overwhelming majority descended from turkicised native elements.

A history of the settlement of Asia Minor and the Turkish parts of the Balkan Peninsula has yet to be written. So far not even the necessary preliminary work has been undertaken. The process of turkicisation of the territories in question can be represented in general outlines as follows.

Isolated South Turkish groups settled in Byzantine territory even before the Seldjûk invasion, both in Asia Minor and in the Balkans. In the latter area there must still have been also considerable bodies still in existence, surviving from the earlier North Turkish immigrations which came there by the north of the Black Sea. But it is not till the middle of the xth century that we have an immigration on a considerable scale, which may be called Seldjûk and lasts till the end of the xiii century. Towards the end of Seldjûk dominion in Asia Minor, the process of turkicising the native population must have begun. This process continued during the rule of the petty principalities which arose out of the ruins of the Seldjûk empire.

The immigration of the Ottoman Turks in the xiv century seems to have at first played a very minor part in the settlement of Asia Minor, on account of the small numbers concerned. But the political power of the Ottoman state which then began its rapid development had no doubt a far-reaching influence on the process of turkicisation. Only through the gradual unification of Asia Minor by the Ottomans and their great conquests in the Balkans were the preliminary conditions for the turkicisation of these lands created. During the whole period of Ottoman rule we have to think of continual movements of population going on within its frontiers, sometimes large, sometimes small, and with a continual infiltration of Turkish elements sometimes slow, sometimes fast, from outside, especially from the east. Large areas in the Balkans were colonised, although thinly, by Turks from Asia Minor soon after their conquest. Under pressure from the government, great masses of the non-Turkish population adopted Islâm and gradually became assimilated to the Turks even to the extent of exchanging their own language for Ottoman Turkish. The Turks of the Balkans still know in many cases whether they are descendants of Turkish immigrants from Asia Minor or

from converted Christians, who became in time quite turkicised.

The immigration of Turkish elements increased in strength after Russia had extended her power over lands with a Muslim Turkish population. Particularly after the annexation of the Crimea in 1783 and on the final subjection of the Caucasian lands in 1864 great bodies of Turkish immigrants poured over the whole Ottoman territory. The attainment of independence by the Balkan peoples on the other hand began the return of large bodies of Turks to Asia Minor, which is still going on. This latter process increased in strength after the World War and, as a result of the exchange of population with Greece, led to about half a million Turks being moved from the now Greek part of Turkey and distributed over almost the whole of Asia Minor.

That a linguistic area which had been formed in such a complicated fashion cannot be uniform as regards dialect is obvious and it is equally clear that the dialectal relations must be extremely complicated.

As regards language, the Oghuz tribes who migrated into Asia Minor must have been fairly uniform. From all that we know of it, the language of the Seldjûk Turks was barely distinguishable from what is known as Old Ottoman. There were of course dialectal nuances in the speech of the different tribes which in time sometimes became deeper and sometimes disappeared. As regards the mixture and levelling of dialects, it was much favoured, especially in Asia Minor, by the nomadic or at least semi-nomadic mode of life of the pure Turkish population which lasted for a long time and indeed is not yet quite extinct.

North Turkish elements (especially remnants of the Kumans), who were still to be found in the Balkan lands in the Byzantine period, almost entirely succumbed in time to Ottoman influence as regards language. Certain linguistic peculiarities which are observed in the dialects of the lands W. of the Black Sea (Deli Orman, Dobruja, Bessarabia) and, which, it is interesting to note, have certain analogies in the adjoining parts of Asia Minor, may perhaps be regarded as the result of contact between north and south Turkish.

In the language of the turkicised masses, one must expect to have to deal with secondary alterations in Turkish sounds, the result of inherited modes of articulation by the peoples concerned. The mobility of the population, military service, and in recent times the school have however tended to introduce a certain uniformity.

That the mixture and standardising of dialects have not gone further than we actually find, is due to the fact that new settlements do not as a rule merge completely into the old but exist alongside of them and that every settlement retains its own peculiarities for a long period unaltered.

Apart from the historical sources, which have not yet been fully utilised to write a history of the process of settlement by the Turks, we have in place-names a valuable auxiliary source for the study of the gradual settlement and turkicisation of Asia Minor and Rumelia. Unfortunately very little progress has so far been made with such toponomastic studies. In recent years Turkish scholars have devoted some attention to Oghuz tribal names which have become place-names (cf.

Köprülüâde Mehmed Fuâd, *Oghuz etimolojisi dair te'vâk-kı notlar*, *Türkiyat mecmû'ası*, i, 185-211; H. Nihâl and Ahmed Nâdî, *Anadoluda Türklerle 'âid yer isimleri*, *ibid.*, ii, 243-259). The villages of emigrants of recent date usually have artificial names derived from personal names by means of the Arabic ending *-î*, like *Ormanîî*, *Orzanîî*, *Reisîî*, etc.

5. Sources of our knowledge of Ottoman Turkish dialects and their value.

The most important source for our knowledge of the present linguistic conditions on Ottoman territory is the observations made by European students. Relatively little has been done by Turks as yet in this connection.

If we were to mark on a map of Turkey the places about which we have a certain amount of dialectological information, we would at once see what an infinitesimal amount of work has so far been done and how far we are from an exact knowledge of the whole linguistic area.

The value of the observations upon which we have to rely is very unequal. To the majority of students, the folklore content of the texts taken down by them was the main thing while the linguistic interest was quite subsidiary. The localisation of linguistic phenomena found in the texts is often made difficult by the fact that the collectors neglect to give the place of origin of their authority. The fullest collection of material, that of I. Künos, is not free from objection as regards method and has therefore to be used very critically.

Folksongs, so interesting from the folklore point of view, do not form specially suitable material for the study of dialects. For whole songs as well as their individual *motives* wander with remarkable rapidity over wide areas and their language becomes adapted to the local dialect, not at once and even after a considerable period not completely. The songs therefore occasionally show dialectal forms transmitted from distant areas. We have also to reckon with an artificial language for songs, such as has often been noted among Turkish peoples. It is the same with riddles and proverbs, and with the products of folk-literature in general, which show a more or less rigid form.

Most texts have been taken down in the towns where the population is as a rule considerably more mixed than in the country and where dialectal conditions are not so clearly distinguishable. Texts taken down from the lips of villagers on the spot are exceedingly rare. It is no wonder that in such circumstances we cannot yet speak of a study of dialects on Ottoman-Turkish territory on a sound scientific basis.

6. Specimens of language taken down in various areas.

The texts so far published concern either considerable areas or only very limited smaller ones. To the former belong: I. Künos, *Mundarten der Osmanen*, St. Petersburg 1899 (forms vol. viii. of the *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme*, ed. by Radloff). The provenance of the separate specimens is not exactly given, so that the work is of little value for dialect studies (quoted below as *Mund.*). V. Gordlevskij, *Obrazy osmanskogo narodnogo tvorčestva*, Moscow 1916; folklore texts mainly taken down in Constantinople,

some also from Asia Minor (especially at Nigde): Abbreviation *Gard*. T. Kowalski, *Zagadki ludowe turackie*, Cracow 1919; a collection of 141 riddles in phonetic transcription with exact statement of their provenance: Abbrev. *Zag*.

For the separate areas we may mention:

1. The Danube Island of Adakale. I. Kónos, *Ada-Kale török népdalok*, Budapest 1906. A hundred folk-songs collected in Adakale in transcription and with Hungarian translation: Abbrev. *Adak. Lied*; I. Kónos, *Materialien zur Kenntnis der Rumelischen Türkisch*, Part. I.: *Türkische Volksmärchen aus Adakale gesammelt, in Transkription herausgegeben und mit Einleitung vers.*, Leipzig-New York 1907, Part. II.: *Deutsche Übersetzung mit Sachregister*, ibid. 1907. Abbrev.: *Adak*.
2. Bessarabia. W. Moskov, *Mundarten der Bessarabischen Gagausen*, Text, St.-Petersburg 1904 (forms Vol. 2. of Radloff's *Proben der türkischen Volksliteratur*). Abbrev.: *Gagaus*.
3. Bulgaria. S. Čilingirov, *Turski poslovi, pogovorki i charakterni izrazi* (in *Bulletin du Musée National d'Ethnographie de Sofia*, II, 157—71; III, 59—65), Sofia 1922—23. Does not give a correct idea of the dialects of the Bulgar Turks; cf. thereon: N. Dimitrijević, *Zametki po bolgarsko-turckim govorom* (*Doklady Akademii Nauk B.*, Leningrad 1927, p. 210—215).
4. Macedonia. T. Kowalski, *Osmanskotürkische Volkslieder aus Mazedonien*, W. Z. K. M., xxi, 1926, p. 166—231. Abbrev.: *Mar*.
- A few specimens from Macedonia also in *Zag*.
5. Thrace and Constantinople. I. Kónos, *Osmán-török népdalok gyűjtemény*, 2 vols., Budapest 1887 and 1889. Very full collection of folklore materials from Constantinople. Abbrev.: *O. T.*; L. Bonelli, *Lecusani proverbiali del Turco volgare*, K. S., I, 1900, p. 308—322 (transcription of 140 proverbs and idioms collected in Constantinople); I. Halász, *Török dalok*, *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények*, xii, (1892), p. 526—528 (9 short songs in the Constantinople dialect).
6. Western Asia Minor. I. Kónos, *Kiziasai török nyelv*, I. *Brussa-Ajda vidéki nyelvmutatónyak (népdalok)*, *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények*, xii, (1890), p. 113—156, 40 songs from the district of Brusa-Aidin in transcription with Hungarian translation and notes. Abbrev.: *Brus. A.*; II. *Brussa vidéki népdalok*, p. 261—274, 165 proverbs from Brusa with Hungarian transl. and notes. Abbrev.: *Brus.*; I. Kónos, *Nasreddin Hodra Tréfák*, Budapest 1899, 165 pranks of Xoşa Nasreddin said to be in the Aidin dialect, which according to Kónos extends from Aidin to Konya. Abbrev.: *Aid.*; K. Foy, *Das Aidinisch-Türkische*, K. S., I, (1900), p. 177—194 and 286—307; T. Kowalski, *Pisnani ludowé anatolskie a czechyjskie Czasydyim, Roznik Orientalistyany*, I, 334—355, 29 czechyjsk-quatrains taken down from a man of Dumanly (Kara Ulağ). Abbrev.: *Dum.*; T. Kowalski, *Cinq récits de Günni (Vilayet Smyrne)*, *Roznik Orientalistyany*, II, 204—212. Abbrev.: *Gün.*; V. A. Maksimov, *Opyt izsledovanija turskich dialektov v Chudavendzharje i Karamanii*, St. Petersburg 1867. The majority of the authorities used by W. Heffening, in his *Türkische Volkslieder*, I, xii, 236—267 came from Western Asia Minor.
7. Wilayet of Kastamuni. J. Thury, *A Kastamuni-i török nyelvjárás*, Budapest (Academy) 1885, a grammatical sketch of Kastamunian with a glossary from Galib's *Mufayyât-i-türkiye*.

Abbrev.: *Kst.* Cf. also Cl. Huart, *Un commentaire du Qorân en dialecte turc de Kastamuni* (XV^e mois), J. A., ser. II, xviii, (1921), p. 161—216.

8. N. E. Asia Minor. V. Plazev, *Nischolizilev i trebizondskom dialektje* (*Zap. Vest. Old. Imp. Russ. Arch. Otd.*, xiii, [1901], p. 173—201). Abbrev.: *Piz.*; L. Bonelli, *Voci del dialetto turco di Trebizonda*, K. S., III, (1902), p. 55—72; I. Kónos, *Lás dalok*, *Nyelv. Köz.*, xii, (1891), p. 275—298, 11 Las-Turkish songs and a list of Las-Turkish words from the district of Samsun-Trebizond. Abbrev.: *Laz.*; M. Räsänen, *Ein Sammlung von Müni-Liedern aus Anatolien*, J. S. F. O., xli, (1926), 290 quatrains from the wilayets of Erzerum, Rize, Trebizond in accurate phonetical transcription. Abbrev.: *Riz.* [poem and verse are quoted]; Balhassanoglu, *Dialecte turc d'Erzerum*, K. S., v, (1904).

9. Wilayet of Konya. F. Giese, *Erzählungen und Lieder aus dem Vilayet Konjak*, Halle a. S.-New York 1907. Abbrev.: *G.*; F. Vincze, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des anatolischen Türkisch*, K. S., ix, (1908), p. 141—179, deals with the dialect of the town of Konya itself. Abbrev.: *Vin.*

10. Antitaurus territory. Dr. Hamid Zübeyr, *Azlar Türk öytlaryna dâ'ir*, *Türk Yurdu*, May 1928, p. 21—24, specimens of the so-called *ayyt* (dirges) of the Avlars of the Antitaurus. Abbrev.: *Avi.*

11. Borders of Syria and Mesopotamia. Balkanoglu, *Dialecte turc de Kilis*, K. S., III, p. 261—273, brief sketch of the dialect spoken in Kilis (Kilis) in North Syria; do., *Dialecte de Behesi*, K. S., IV, on the dialect of Behesi, between Maraş and Diyarbekir; M. Hartmann, *Zur türkischen Dialektkunde*, K. S., I, (1900), p. 154—156, some notes on the Ottoman dialects of North Syria (Kilis, Aintab); E. Littmann, *Ein türkisches Märchen aus Nordsyrien*, K. S., II, (1901); Felix v. Luschan, *Einige türkische Volkslieder aus Nordsyrien*, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. xxxvi, (1904), p. 177—236, mainly taken down from an Armenian from Aintab.

As is clear from this short bibliographical sketch, many important areas, in European as well as in Asiatic Turkey, have not yet been studied as regards their dialects.

7. Dialectal Division of Ottoman Turkish Territory.

All the names which have hitherto been in use for Ottoman Turkish dialects, e.g. Kastamunian, Las-Turkish, Karamanian, Kharpo, etc. are of no value as designations of dialects. They correspond simply to geographical or political administrative conceptions, the connection of which with the boundaries of the corresponding dialects would have first to be proved, if it exists at all.

Even the great division, often taken for granted, of Ottoman into the Rumelian and Anatolian, is of no value from the dialectological point of view and should be discarded as misleading, in view of the history of the settlement of European Turkey. We know positively that certain Rumelian districts were colonised from Asia Minor and as a result their dialects still show distinct traces of their Anatolian origin.

After all that has been said above it must be clear that we cannot yet expect in the immediate future a serious attempt at a scientific classification of Ottoman Turkish dialects. What has so far been

done is based rather on intuition and imagination than on established facts. This applies also to the attempt by Künos to divide up Asia Minor according to dialects.

Künos (*Künaşa türk dialectuairöl*, Budapest 1896) distinguishes the following seven dialects: 1. Zeibek in Western Anatolia between Smyrna and Brusa; 2. Kastamunian in the central littoral of the Black Sea; 3. Laz on the eastern coast of the Black Sea, towards the Caucasus; 4. Kharput in the east of Asia Minor, towards the Armenian highlands; 5. Karamanian in southeastern Asia Minor between Mersin and Konya; 6. Angoran in the heart of Asia Minor in the valley of the Kızıl Yrmak; 7. Jürüküş Turkoman in use among the wandering tribes (*aliretler*), which are scattered over a wide area of Asia Minor.

Zeibek, Angoran and Jürüküş Turkoman are regarded by Künos as unmixed dialects of the early Turkish immigrants. The Jürüks in particular are taken to be the descendants of pre-Saldjuk Turkomans and the Zeibeks of the Saldjuk Turks. Angoran is said to be the survival of the language of the earliest Ottoman immigrants. The four other dialects are regarded by Künos as dialects of the turkicised original population of Asia Minor, which arose through the influence of the original languages of these peoples upon Turkish. According to him, Kastamunian was especially influenced by Greek, Kharput by Kurdish, Karamanian by Armenian, Laz however by an "Indo-Germanic" (!) language, not more precisely defined.

This attempt to classify the dialects of Asia Minor has no scientific basis, although at first sight it appears very plausible.

The first serious attempt to collect the distinguishing features of the spoken Ottoman language is in Jacob's essay in the *Z.D.M.G.*, lii. (1898), p. 695-729, *Zur Grammatik des Vulgar-Türkischen*. J. Deny, in *Grammaire de la langue turque (dialecte ottoman)*, Paris 1920, draws the attention on certain dialectal peculiarities.

8. Dialects and the Written Language.

The written language has always exercised a levelling influence on the spoken dialects. It is based on the language of the educated classes of Constantinople, which has till now been regarded as a model and is disseminated generally by the schools.

Of this language we had till lately only a vague conception. It was only quite recently that Bergsträsser began a serious attempt to define more exactly the living written language of the educated classes, at least from the phonetic side (G. Bergsträsser, *Zur Phonetik des Türkischen nach gebildeter Konstantinopler Aussprache*, *Z.D.M.G.*, lxxii. [1918], p. 233-262). It is proved that this is by no means uniform in its phonetics. Hence the conception of an educated Constantinople pronunciation is only to be used with great caution and with all kinds of limitations.

On the origin of the Ottoman written language (cf. above, ii.) we unfortunately still know far too little. We can only suppose that it gradually developed out of the dialect of court circles in northern Anatolia. When the capital was removed to Adrianople and then to Constantinople, the course of development was probably influenced by the dialects predominating there, while it in turn

strongly influenced the latter. In any case the written language is closer to the dialects of the parts of Thrace and Asia Minor adjoining the Bosphorus and Sea of Marmora than to the dialects of the districts farther west and east.

The earliest literary monuments not infrequently reveal dialectal peculiarities, which we can still trace in various living dialects. Unfortunately their systematic study has hardly been begun.

For the history of the written language and its relation to the older and modern dialects the study of the Old Ottoman texts that exist in transcriptions would be most important [cf. K. Foy, *Die ältesten osmanischen Transkriptionstexte in gotischen Lettern*, *M.S.O.S.*, 2nd part, iv. (1901), p. 230-277; v. (1902), p. 233-293 and Dmitriyev, in *Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov*, iii. (1928), p. 420].

9. General Characteristics of the Ottoman Turkish Dialects.

The differences between the various dialects of Ottoman are as a rule not great. This is connected with the fact that there is not great differentiation among the Turkish languages in general. In the area over which Ottoman Turkish is spoken at the present day, it would hardly be possible to find two places the inhabitants of which would not understand one another.

The differences between the separate dialects consist mainly in slight differences in the articulation of certain sounds, in a few sound shiftings and in not inconsiderable differences of vocabulary. Morphological differences are as a rule very slight.

Many investigators have already pointed out that there is little uniformity within the separate dialects. It can be observed everywhere that there is considerable variation in the articulation of separate sounds as well as in the use of grammatical forms by one and the same person. Most of our records of the dialects are therefore full of inconsistencies which, although to some extent due to the carelessness of the recorders, in the main give a true picture of the actual conditions. This variation must be ascribed to an advanced stage of intermixture of dialects which is almost general.

It must be remembered that many elements of the Turkish people now settled were till quite recently nomadic and moved about over a very large area. A great body of emigrants (*muhâcir*) from all possible Turkish areas has long been breaking up the early linguistic map, especially in Asia Minor. In quite recent years Anatolia has had to receive large bodies of emigrants from the Balkans. The measures taken by the republican government aim at as great a uniformity as possible within the state as regards language also, which is being attained mainly through the schools and military service. It is obvious that this is breaking up and destroying the local dialects.

If we remember what has been said above about the historical developments, the present confusion in dialects must be regarded as natural.

To a certain degree, the variation in articulation of separate sounds is to be ascribed to a lack of precision in pronunciation, which is peculiar to the Turks. The place of articulation as well as the degree of opening and expanding of the organs of speech often show considerable latitude. I need only mention the very indolent and varying pronunciations of the *r* pronounced on the tip of the tongue (cf. Bergsträsser, *op. cit.*, p. 251).

which, as we know, *u* and *ü* otherwise never occur (cf. Deny, § 25), is doubtful.

Unrounded vowels.

§ 7. Ottoman dialects have two varieties of *e*, a narrow (higher), here written *é*, and a broad (lower) variety, written *e*. In many districts, for example, there is a clear distinction between *el* "people, strangers" and *el* "hand". The narrow *e* is found either primary or as the result of combination. The former appears in *geşe* (Räs. *d'ışe*, 146, 4), *dimek*, *itmek*, *vermek*, etc., the latter in *beş* (G 83, 3) *hiş*, *şel* or *şil* (G 63, 10) *şil*, *şir*, *şir* (G 52, 12) etc. That *e* in the immediate vicinity of *h*, *j*, *ç* becomes narrow is a phenomenon also observed in the educated speech of Constantinople (Bergsträsser, *Z. D. M. G.*, lxii. 240; cf. Deny, § 189 and p. 1000).

§ 8. Most dialects distinguish between an *i* pronounced with the tip of the tongue and a *y* with the middle of the tongue. There are however also dialects in which there is no such difference and which have no pronounced *y*. The absence of a distinct *y* is characteristic of the Macedonian Turkish dialect of the district of Skoplye. At first sight of this dialect one is struck by the forms with final *i*, *i* (from *y* and *u*): *beşim* (*beşim*, *beşim*, Max., p. 172, N^o. 1, 2), *ulı* (*ulu*, *uly* "large", N^o. 3, 1), *oldi* (*oldu*, *oldy*, N^o. 4, 6), *başı* (*başı*, N^o. 4, 28).

In N. E. Anatolia also we find, at least to judge from Räsänen's records, a similar phenomenon: *loşari* (*loşary* 67, 1), *sattı* (*satty* 69, 1), *kaldım* (71, 1).

§ 9. The position of the tongue in pronouncing final *y* in many dialects is considerably lower than usual so that the vowel articulated is similar to an *a*: *carışılaryna* (*carışılaryny*, Hefening, *Isl.*, xiii. 255, N^o. 32), *çançılary* (*çançılary* G 87, 14), *şarmamı* (*şarmamı* Räs. 38, 2), *şofra* (*şofrayı* Räs. 43, 2), *atma aratım* (*atımy aratım* Räs. 209, 2).

The confusion of the dative with the accusative noticed in Tozluğ (Bulgaria) (Gadnanov, ii. 4—5) is probably of purely phonetic origin and to be explained by this peculiarity of final *y* and its confusion with *a*.

§ 10. Ottoman Turkish, as is well known, had originally no nasal vowels. But here and there we find the nasalisation of a vowel where a nasal consonant has disappeared: *şera* (*şerra* or *şorra*), *şunu* (*şunıny*, *şunıny*) etc. In many districts also we find a kind of nasalisation of final vowels or formation of an indistinct *n*-like consonant after final vowels, where there was no nasal vowel originally. This is especially frequent with careless articulation. Most recorders write this nasal element with *n*: *şeririy karmannaryn* (for *karmannary*) *şeririy* (G 77, 1), *demiller kin* (*demiller ki* G 27, 19), *şeririy beşaryn* (for *beşary*) *demil şerir* "the father of that girl said to the girl" (G 30, 10—11), *şeririy ilinde beşunıny şeririy* (for *şeririy* < *şerir* G 79, 2 from below).

§ 11. Contraction of a diphthong from *ei* to *é*, *ei* to *é* is very common in dialects: The *é* and *é* which thus arise are, as indicated, distinctly longer than the usual *e* and *é*. Examples from G: *şer* (37, 1), *şeranda* (*şeranda*, 19, 6), *şer* (37, 86, 6), *şerim* (*şerim*, 86, 13), *şer* (37, 38, 22), *şerim* (*şerim*, 18, 11), *şer* (*şer*, 54, 21; 83, 21) etc.

Consonants.

§ 12. *ç*, *ğ*, *h*, *h* a voiced spirant pronounced with the middle or back of the tongue shows a remarkable gradation in the dialects. In addition to narrow varieties that differ very little and sound like carelessly articulated explosives, we have a broad, half vocalic variety of *ç*, here written *j*.

ç disappears entirely in many dialects, thus giving rise to diphthongs, long vowels and all kinds of contractions. This is especially the case in the Constantinople dialect. Examples from O. T.: *şamı* (*şamı*, i. 40, 2), *şidunı* (*şidunı*, i. 41, 34), *şiriy* (*şiriy*, i. 41, 33), *şir* (*şir*, i. 45, 1) etc. But this phenomenon is frequently noted elsewhere as well.

To judge from Kános' specimens, *ç* remains in all positions in the dialect of Adakale: *şamı* (*şamı*, 140, 1), *şiriy* (1, 2), *şiririy* (89, 2), *şir* (*şir*, 64, 2 from below), *şiriy* (142, 21) etc.

In the district of Skoplye in Macedonia the dative in polysyllabic substantives in *-a* ends in *-a*: *şanzaga* (*şanzaga*, N^o. 5, 3), *şamı* (*şamı*, *şamı*, N^o. 4, 3) etc.

In the same dialect the group *-şir* becomes *-şir*, e. g. *şirir* (*şirir*), *şiririr* (*şiririr*), *şirir* (*şirir*) etc. This phenomenon is also found in Selanik. In Macedonia, final *-şir*, *-şir*, *-şir* becomes *-şir*, *-şir*: *şirir* (*şirir*), *şirir* or *şirir* (*şirir*), *şirir* (*şirir*) etc.

A variety of *ç*, pronounced with a vibration of the uvula, which in popular poetry rhymes with *ç* pronounced on the tip of the tongue is worth noting; cf. Giese, p. 57, note 2; p. 64, note 3; also Hefening, in *Isl.*, XIII, 254, No. 27, 3: *şirir* (*şirir*).

§ 13. In many parts of Asia Minor original velar *ç* or palatal *ç* still survives. It would be of value to ascertain the exact boundaries of this *ç*, *ç*, which however is not yet possible. In any case Central and Eastern Anatolia seem to possess *ç*. It is also found on the Syrian-Anatolian borders (e. g. Kilis; cf. K. Sz., iii. 263). In N. E. Anatolia, on the coast of the Black Sea, *ç* seems to be represented by *n*. But Räsänen's records differ: *şirir* (*şirir* N^o. 222, 2), but in the same *şirir* we have *şirir* "new" and in the next *şirir* "at thy foot". Whether as Foy, K. Sz., i. 289 suggests, the *ç* has begun to extend its area in Asia Minor, is very doubtful in view of the unreliability of the material on which he bases his view.

In the Constantinople dialect, *ç*, *ç* are represented by the corresponding dental variants. So far *ç*, *ç* are not known to have survived in any Rumelian area.

§ 14. The relations of the unvoiced posterior or glottal spirants deserve special attention. In Macedonia, between Skoplye and Salonika, perhaps also beyond, *ç* disappears initially (cf. from below § 22, § 25), medially between two vowels and finally (cf. from below § 33). A very weak *ç* and a somewhat stronger *ç* has survived here only incidentally before consonants. We find a similar phenomenon in the specimens from the southern Crimea (Şatıkaya and Dmitriyev, *J. A.*, April—June, 1926, p. 345).

§ 15. The alternation of *ç* || *ç* after *ş*, *ş* is found in N. W. Asia Minor and in different parts of the Balkan Peninsula. *şirir* "into the village" I have heard in the villages between Scutari and Izmid. We also find: *şirir* (*şirir*: Kános, *Nyctelud*,

Kaleménysk, xxii, 130, 13, 143, 13, *şivüdü* (*şivüdü* or *şivüdü*, *ibid.*, p. 151, 21), *şivüdü* (*şivüdü* or *şivüdü*, *ibid.*, p. 151, 22), *şivü* (*şivü*, *ibid.*, p. 261, 3 from below) — all from the district of Bursa-Aidin. Güve (*şivü*) I noted (Zag., No. 45) from a peasant of Mumja near Balykesir. The most eastern points are probably those noted by Giese in the wilayet of Konya: *şivü* (G 25, 9), *şivü* (*şivü*, *ibid.*, G 22, 7) *şivü* (*şivü*, *ibid.*, G 88, 9, *şivü*).

On Rumelian territory we find *şivü*, *şivü*, *şivü* (*şivü*) from Deli Orman; *şivü* is also the usual form in the dialect of the Bessarabian Gagauz.

§ 16. Posterior *ş* (*q*) became *z* in many Asia Minor areas, particularly, it seems, in the N. E.: *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*) — all from Kastamunian (Thury, p. 12, 14); *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*) — all from the Bursa-Aidin territory, according to Künos, Bursa-Aidin. On *ş* > *z* finally cf. from below § 31.

§ 17. The *r* sounds offer great variety. In general they are characterized by a careless articulation without a pronounced trilling with the tip of the tongue. As a rule a Turkish *r* is pronounced by the tip of the tongue being brought once up to the nearest gum. This explains on the one hand the ease with which the *r* becomes silent before consonants and finally (cf. from below § 34) and on the other the change to *r* > *z* (or *r* > *l*). In some dialects of N. E. Bulgaria *r* disappears before consonants, slightly modifying the preceding vowel which is marked by the recorders as a lengthening: *arpa* (*arpa*), *götürdün* (*götürdün*), *şivü* (*şivü*), *vânaja* (*vânaja*) (all examples from Gaftanov, i. 5), while in reality there is a change in quality as well as in quantity in the vowel. In Kaizeri and district I noticed after final *r* on *r* of a similar character: *par* (*par*), *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*) etc.

§ 18. *ş*, *z*, *ş* appear slightly palatalised in many dialects, even in words with posterior vowels. This palatalisation is rarely indicated in our specimens (cf. Maz. 218, *şivü* from *şivü*, *ibid.*, v. 3, from below *şivü*; Räs. 3, 7, *şivü*, 6, *şivü* from *şivü* etc.). Sounds palatalised in this way sometimes produce a narrowing of the vowels immediately adjoining (cf. § 47): *şivü* (*şivü*, G 77, 9), *şivü* (*şivü*, Moskvi, Gagauz, p. 34, 21) etc.

§ 19. In the Turkish dialects on the S. E. coast of the Black Sea, we find a variety of setazism, *ş* being represented by *z*, *ş* by *ş*. Examples from Räs.: *cimene* (*cimene* 64, 4), *şivü* (*şivü* 67, 3), *şivü* (*şivü* 65, 3), *caira* (*caira* 71, 1), *şivü* (*şivü* 68, 9), *şivü* (*şivü* 68, 4).

As often, here also the language is not quite logical for we sometimes find both *ş* and *z* (e.g. *şivü* from *şivü* 142, 1).

§ 20. *ş* and *z* appear, in the dialects from the region of Trebizond and Rize, slightly advanced before posterior vowels so that they almost become *ş* or *z* (cf. § 48). Examples from Räs.: *şivü* (*şivü* 136, 2), *şivü* (*şivü* 138, 1), *şivü* (*şivü* 139, 3), *şivü* (*şivü* 141, 3), *şivü* (*şivü* 144, 3).

§ 21. In some parts of Asia Minor aspirated

aspirated: *şivü* (*şivü* 38, 4), *şivü* (*şivü* 33, 4), *şivü* (*şivü* 44, 4), *şivü* (*şivü* 53, 1), *şivü* (*şivü* 53, 1), *şivü* (*şivü* 50, 1), *şivü* (*şivü* 49, 4), *şivü* (*şivü* 160, 1) etc. I have noticed slightly aspirated tenues in the dialects of the region between Sivas and Kaizeri.

Initial Sounds.

§ 22. In the dialects the initial sound shows a series of peculiar phenomena. Initial vowels are usually pronounced without very definite clearness. The glottal stop is unusual at the beginning of a word; it is sometimes heard in Macedonia where it takes the place of *z*, *ş* sounds which have disappeared: *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*) etc. (cf. § 14 and 23).

§ 23. In many dialects initial vowels, especially at the very beginning, are often introduced by a slight breathing (glottal spirant): *şivü* (*şivü*, G 17, 16), *şivü* (*şivü*, *ibid.*, G 36, 1); cf. Giese G 51, note 1; *şivü* (< Pers. *ش*), Zag. No. 39 from Mumja near Balykesir, *şivü* (*şivü*, Laz., p. 285, 17), *şivü* (*şivü*, Räs., p. 18, 2 from Vezirhan). In Kastamunian there is even said to be a strong posterior spirant: *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*); cf. Thury, Kast. 16 from below). Sporadic cases are also found in Gagauz: *şivü* (*şivü*, Gagauz, p. 271, 6), *şivü* (*şivü*, *ibid.*, p. 3, 1).

§ 24. In the dialect of the Bessarabian Gagauz an *ş* has regularly developed before initial *e* and *ö*: *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*) etc.; all examples from Moskvi. On the other hand among the Turks and Gagauz in N. E. Bulgaria I frequently heard *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*) etc.

A prefixed *ş* is also found in N. E. Anatolia: *şivü* (*şivü*, Räs., p. 142, 3), *şivü* (*şivü*, Räs., p. 105, 1), *şivü* (*şivü*, Räs., p. 217, 1).

§ 25. In Macedonia every kind of initial *ş*, *z*, disappears, sometimes leaving a glottal stop (cf. § 14 and 22); examples from Radovik on the Strumitza: *şivü* (*şivü*, *ibid.*), *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*) etc.

§ 26. In Macedonia every initial *şivü* of the written language appears as *şivü*, every initial *şivü* as *şivü*; example from Radovik: *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*) etc.

In Asia Minor also a similar phenomenon is observed here and there: *şivü* (*şivü*, Räs., p. 6, 4 from Vezirhan), *şivü* (*şivü*, Räs., p. 87, 4 from Rize), *şivü* (*şivü*, Räs., p. 93, 1 from Rize), *şivü* (*şivü*, Räs., p. 137, 4 also from Rize), *şivü* (*şivü*, Räs., p. 129, 10) etc.

§ 27. Initial *ş*, *z* before *ş* with a consonant following completely disappears in many parts of Rumelian territory or is at least much reduced just as occurs to some extent in the language of the educated classes: *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*), *şivü* (*şivü*) etc.

§ 28. Loanwords beginning with *r* and *l* are in most dialects adapted to Turkish mouths by prefixing a vowel (cf. Radloff, *Phonetik der türkischen Sprachen*, § 126): *şivü* (*şivü*, G 18, 1), *şivü* (*şivü*, G 27, 19), *şivü* (*şivü*, Künos, Aid., p. 36, 2 from below, 37, 13 etc.)

ürüfar (*urufar*, Künos, *Brus.-A.*, p. 122, 10 from below), *ürüb* (*reüb*, Thüry, *Kast.*, p. 11 and 29), *ihî* (< Pers. *هه*, Bum. = *R.O.*, i. 351, 12), *ilana* (< Gr. *λαγανα*, Zag., N° 77 from the village of Kaşak near Muş), *ilusim* (< Arab. *إلسيم*, Künos, *Brus.*, p. 205, 22).

§ 29. In many parts of Asia Minor, particularly in the west, the unvoiced initial consonants *p*, *t*, *k*, *ç*, *q* are frequently pronounced voiced. Whether this is a complete voicing is a question which cannot yet be settled for want of phonetic experiments and investigations.

a. Initial *p* becomes *b*: *barmaxıys* (*barmaxıys*, *Brus.-A.*, p. 135, 4), *bülül* (*pillü*, Zag., N° 73: Muşla S. E. of Smyrna), *bilir* (*pillir*, G. 33, 8), *bekmes* (*pekmes* G 89, 17 Jürük) etc.

b. Initial *t* often becomes *d*: *durna* (*turna*, G. p. 53, 1; *Brus.-A.*, p. 121, 16), *donlan* (*taflan*, *op. cit.*, p. 122, 3 from below), *davux* (*tuuf*, *Brus.*, p. 264, 3), *dilhi* (*tiki*, G. p. 17, 5), *dutufmı* (*tutufmı*, G. p. 20, 9). Many examples from Kaştamunian in Thüry, p. 38-42.

c. Initial *k*, *ç*, *q* in considerable areas of western and central Anatolia regularly becomes *g*, *ğ*: *göppek* (*köppek*), *gya* (*kyu*), *guju* (*kiju*), *gütüb* (*kütüb*) — all from Brusa (Künos, in *Nyelotud. Kém.*, 1890, p. 261 *sup.*); *galyt* (*kaity*, Zag., N° 91: from Ayin near Söğ Gazy), *galyr* (*kaıyr*, Zag., N° 34: Mumşu near Balykeşir) etc. This phenomenon is also frequent in the north, in Kaştamunian; cf. Thüry, *Kast.*, p. 52 *sup.*

The closing of initial posterior *g* in Central Anatolia seems to be very slack so that the sound gives the impression of a voiced narrow sound and is written by many authors with *γ* instead of *g*: *γapınzın γaryıı* (*kapınza karyıı*, G. p. 55, 1), *γalem γulağlıyın* (*kalem kulağlıyın*, G. p. 61, 20), *γara γai* (*kara kai*, G. p. 73, 22) etc.

Sporadic cases of the transition from *ç* to *g* are also found on Rumelian territory: *gavuşar* (*çavuşar*: Adak., p. 8, 23). In Toxluk (Bulgaria) there are several villages the inhabitants of which are called *gablîi*, from their habit of pronouncing *ç* as *g*. (Gadlanov, i. 9).

d. Initial *s* becomes sporadically *z*: *zopa* (*sopa*, G. p. 17, 9), *zovda* (*sovda*, G. p. 88, 16), *zıia* (*sıia*), G. p. 80, 22), *zyrtıyan* (*syrtıyan*, *Kast.*, p. 12 *supra*), *zere* (*sara* < Arab. *صرة*, *R.O.*, ii. 206, 3: Güne) etc.

e. Initial *t* becomes sporadically *ç*, e.g. *çinçene* (*tinçene*: *Brus.*, p. 267, 3), *çanı* (*tanı*: Räs., p. 208, 1) etc.

§ 30. On the other hand, a directly opposite tendency is frequently observed, namely a partial or complete reduction of the voicing of initial *b*, *d*, *g*. Especially in the north or northeast of Asia Minor this tendency appears to be very strong. In what is known as Laz Turkish from the region of Trebizond we find (according to Künos, *Laz dalok*): *pevi* (*bemi*, p. 275, 3), *pliridim* (*bivridim*, p. 275, 4), *pejas* (*begas*, p. 275, 5), *paçijorun pama* (*kayijorun bama*, p. 280, 10) etc. almost without exception.

On the other hand, *t* for *d* is only found sporadically: *toşduram* (*doşdurayım*, p. 275, 4 from below), *tibinde* (*dibinde*, p. 278, 8 from below), *tılımi* (*dilimi*, p. 283, 12) etc.

Still rarer is initial *k*, *ç* for *g*: *keminta* (*geminin*, p. 277, 5), *kören* (*gören*, p. 279, 18), *karış* (*garış*, p. 282, 10) etc.

These observations by Künos are to a great extent confirmed by Räsänen's notes. The voiced initial *b*, *d*, *g* appear in his work with partial or completely reduced voicing although not quite regularly: *bir* (p. 214, 1, but in the same quatrains *burda*), *bemi* (p. 217, 3), *hula* (*buyla*, p. 218, 3), *hejüh* (*hüjüh*, p. 221, 1), *benum bolunmi haken* (p. 221, 4), *hula* (*huşa*, p. 223, 4) etc.

Similarly *çavulaman* (p. 244, 1), *çeri* (p. 246, 1), *donup* (p. 248, 4), *çularar* (p. 248, 3) etc., even *çalına* (*daşına*, p. 145, 2; p. 238, 2); also *geleşim* (*geleşim*, p. 244, 4), *gittile* (p. 245, 4), *görünür* (*görünür*, p. 246, 3) etc.

To judge from Räsänen's records initial *tennes* and *medine* are frequently not distinguished from one another in the dialect of Trebizond: *güdesem* (p. 225, 3) and *gim* (*kim*, p. 225, 4) are written initially with one and the same sign; also *beri* "hither" (p. 233, 2) and *beri* "Peri" (p. 233, 4).

I have noticed unvoiced initial consonants which are voiced in the written language, in people from various regions of the former wilâyet of Angora: *şine* (*vüne*, Bei-Tut near Çangry), *putarıyn* (*batarıyn*, Taşoşuk near Kırşehir), *paş* (*başa*, Kuzaş near Joğad), *dayıyr* (*daryıyr*, *ibid.*), *puşat* (*huşat*, Denekmaden) etc. I know sporadic cases also from western Anatolia e.g. from the village of Dumanlı in the region of Uşak. Isolated cases of this phenomenon are even found on Rumelian territory (e.g. the so striking *pinnek* < *hinnek* in N. E. Bulgaria and among the Bessarabian Gagauz; cf. Gadlanov, i. 6 from Deli Orman).

The frequent variation in our records of the spoken speech as regards voicing of initial consonants arouses the suspicion that there are no pure *medias* in this position. A final solution of the question will only be possible when we are accurately informed regarding the condition of voicing in the dialects, if possible by instrumental records.

Final Sounds.

§ 31. Final posterior *ç* (*g*) becomes *-x* in the eastern dialects. The boundary between *-ç* and *-x* may, broadly speaking, be said to be the Kyzyl Yrmak and the central Salt Steppe, although *-x* areas are also found on this side of the Kyzyl Yrmak, notably the Kaştamun district. On the other hand, the change from *-ç* > *-x* is quite unknown, so far as I am aware, on Rumelian territory.

Examples: *ıazyx* (*ıayç* from Kızıl Çaly-Ayy) near Joğad), *ıalyx* (*ıayç*, *ibid.*), *afanaşax* (*afinaşç*, Kuzaş near Joğad), *ne japax* (*ne japaç*, Joğad), *gidiox* (*gidiorus*, village of Boşalyş near Kavza).

Similarly in "Laz Turkish" in Künos: *kyeralyx* (*kyeralyç*, Laz., p. 275, 3 from below), *aralyx* (*aralyç*, *ibid.*, p. 283, 1), *ıatalux* (*ıatalyç*, *ıatalım*, p. 283, 4) etc. On the other hand, the texts given by Räsänen from the coast of the Black Sea between Trebizond and Rize show almost regularly an unchanged final *-ç*. All the more remarkable then are the forms given by him like *lıdix* (*lıdık*, p. 184, 1), *ileşix* (*ileşik*, p. 184, 4) etc., in which final *-ç* on the middle of the tongue becomes *-x*.

The change from *ç* < *x* is found not only at the end of words but also at the end of stems and derivative syllables: *goxu* (*gaşa*, *Kast.*, p. 12, 16),

soxun (*soxunur*, *ibid.*, p. 12, 13), *axdyr* (*axdyr*), *axdyr* (Causal, from *ax*, G 57, 30), *axdyrma* (*axdyrma* Lar., p. 275, 7).

The change of *š* to *ç* appears regularly in the "Aidin" dialect of the tales of Hoja Naseddin in Künas: *braxyr* (*braxyr*, G, p. 65, 9), *axdyr* (*axdyr*, p. 64, 5 from below), *axdyrma* (*axdyrma*, p. 62 ult.), *axdyr* (*axdyr*, p. 63, 1) etc. Possibly his authority came from Eastern Anatolia.

§ 32. Final *-a* pronounced on the middle of the tongue sometimes loses its explosive sound and becomes *ç* or *ç*, or disappears entirely. The cases observed are mainly due to sandhi: *güçü ağı* (*güçü ağı*, G, p. 57 ult.), *güçü xatynym* (*güçü xatynym*, G, p. 58, 3), *güçü xatynym* (*güçü xatynym*, G, p. 58, 4), *çay xatyn* (*çay xatyn*, G, p. 91, 13), *çay gibi* (*çay gibi*, G, p. 83 pu., 84, 3).

§ 33. Final *-a* in loanwords disappears very often in many dialects: *padışa* (G, p. 18, 3), *adışa* (G, p. 22, 23), but *adışa kerindir*, p. 34, 23, *tombi* (Arab. *تنبية*, G, p. 23, 7), *sahi* (Arab. *ساحي*, G, p. 27, 32), *il islam* (Arab. *الإسلام*, G, p. 40, 23), *il islam* (Arab. *الإسلام*, G, p. 25, 3) etc. On the pronunciation of *ç*, *ç* in the language of the educated classes of Constantinople cf. Bergsträsser, *ibid.*, p. 253, 499.

§ 34. For many territories the disappearance of final *-r* in verbal forms and in the words *var* and *bir* is characteristic (cf. § 17 and 64). In certain stereotyped cases, it is also found in the popular dialect of Constantinople, as in *bir kerri* (*bir kerri*, O. T., i. 29, 7 from below) and *bir is* (*bir is*, *ibid.*, i. 176, 27). Very common are *bir* (*bir*) and *var* (*var*), from sandhi also *mü*: *jorganynmü* < *jorganynm var*, Zag., No. 92; cf. below § 40*).

In the 3rd pers. sing. of the present in *-yor*, the final *-r* regularly disappears in some districts of Asia Minor (cf. below § 64). The loss of final *-r* in the 3rd pers. sing. of the aorist is not so regular (cf. § 66).

This dialectal peculiarity is found as early as the 15th century texts in Mühlbacher; cf. K. Foy, *Die ältesten osmanischen Transkriptionstexte*, II. 241.

§ 35. The voicing of the final consonants *ç*, *ç*, *ç* is weakened in the dialects or disappears completely, as it does to a certain degree in the written language also (cf. Bergsträsser, *Z. D. M. G.*, lxxii., 261 19, 20, so that they become *ç*, *ç*, *ç* or even *ç*, *ç*, *ç*. This phenomenon is really much more frequent than is indicated in our texts. Examples: *güçüç* (*güçüç*, G, p. 18, 21), *il is* (*il is*, G, p. 27, 16), *deyis* (*deyis*, G, p. 77, 6), *çap* (Arab. *چاپ*, R. O., II. 205, 27) etc.

The latest official Turkish alphabet in Latin characters does not recognise a final *-a*, *-ç*, *-ç*, but instead has a final *-ç*, which is not exactly in keeping with the actual pronunciation.

§ 36. *ç* at the end of a word, as usually before consonants, especially explosives, becomes *ç*: *ad* (*ad*, G, p. 17, 5), *ad* (Pers. *آد*, G, p. 18, 1), *haril* (Arab. *هاريل*, G, p. 19, 6), *ilmes* (*ilmes*, Zag., No. 66, from *Kuşak* in the region of Manisa), *ilmes* (*ilmes*, cf. *cit.*, No. 73).

Vowel harmony.

§ 37. Several authors have already pointed out that the laws of vowel harmony are frequently broken in the Ottoman dialects (cf. G. Jacob, *Zur*

Grammatik des Vulgar-Türkischen, Z. D. M. G., III. 719: "in Kleinasien ist die Vokalharmonie teilweise arg im Verfall"; cf. K. Foy, in *K. St.*, I. 189 299, etc.).

Vowel harmony is weakest with regard to labialisation. Attention has already been called to certain features in this connection above (§ 6).

To the very frequent cases of defective harmony belong those in which the final syllable of a word is distinguished in vowel harmony from the other syllables. We very often find the endings *-a*, *-da*, *-dan*, *-far*, *-se* after light stems and vice versa *-a*, *-da*, *-dan*, *-far*, *-se* after heavy stems: *destina* (*destina*, G, p. 60, 15), *sinema* (*sinema*, G, p. 62, 15), *sinema* (*sinema*, G, p. 82, 14), *istina* (*istina*, G, p. 60, 14), *gelina* (*gelina*, R. O., p. 209, 3), *verzin* (*verzin*, R. O., p. 85, 4), *derlar* (*derlar*, Moikow, p. 32, 23), *istimilfar* (*istimilfar*, G, p. 37, 9) and vice versa *atale* (*atale*, G, p. 60, 17), *başama* (*başama*, G, p. 51, 20), *başama* (*başama*, G, p. 91, 27), *başama* (*başama*, Moikow, Gogani, p. 32, 26), *başama* (*başama*, Zag., No. 8 from Kalkaniden in Macedonia), *dale* (*dale*, Dum., R. O., I. 344, No. 4) etc.

As these examples show, a very frequently occurs at the end of a word in place of the expected *ç*. It is possibly not a real *ç* but a very broad variety of *ç* (*ç*) as the *ç* in an open final syllable is generally pronounced very open in the language of educated people also (Bergsträsser, *Z. D. M. G.*, lxxii. 239). Dimitrijević (*J. A.*, April-June 1926, p. 343) calls attention to a similar phenomenon in the language of the osmanised Krim Tatars.

On the other hand, we find in the dialects numerous cases of vowel harmony rigidly carried through, where it is not found in the written language. Loanwords form the most cases. The vowel attraction acts progressively or retrogressively according to circumstances.

Examples: a. progressive: *uciden* (*uciden*, Brus.-A., p. 125, No. 4, v. 8), *revde* (*revde*, G, p. 88, 16), *ucur* (*ucur*, R. O., I. 343, No. 2, 3), *gilmen* (*gilmen*, *ibid.*, No. 6, 4), *atal* (*atal*, G, p. 36, 1), *lahan* (*lahan*, Pers. *لاهان*, G, p. 75, 14, 61, 3) etc.

b. retrogressive: *alma* (*alma*, Brus.-A., p. 121), *eiker* (*eiker*, R. O., I. 344, No. 5, 4), *marafly* (*marafly*, G, p. 17, 1), *varaf* (*varaf*, G, p. 17, 17), *dafa* (*dafa*, G, p. 23, 19) etc.

c. retrogressive and progressive: *haradar* (*haradar*, R. O., p. 19, 3).

Certain cases are worthy of special mention: a. *bi* and *-den*, progressively harmonised as *-du*, *-dan*: *ofurmuldu* (*ofurmul du*, G, p. 37, 1), *varmyorju* (*varmyor du*, G, p. 37, 1), *balanyrkana* (*balanyrkana* + *a*, G, p. 51, 9; cf. below § 76), *çalanyrkana* (*çalanyrkana* + *a*, G, p. 51, 11) etc.

b. *bires* "a little" from *bir* as (G, p. 53, 20; cf. K. St., I. 189);

c. by vowel attraction acting retrogressively the demonstratives *bu*, *bu* before light stems often become *bü*, *bü*: *bügün* (*bü gün*, G, 29, 10), *bügün* (*bü gün*, O. T., I. 26, 13; 27, 9; 33, 16 etc.), *bü köler* (*bü köler*, O. T., I. 26 ult.), *bü güerçin* (*bü güerçin*, O. T., I. 160, 23), *bü tençeremi* (*bü tençeremi*, O. T., I. 227, 26) etc.; cf. Foy, in *K. St.*, I. 187 199.

Sound Change in Combination.

Assimilation of Consonants.

§ 38. The dialects are characterised by a large number of peculiarities in assimilation. Most of these occur only sporadically. To define the areas

hined with a more or less pronounced palatalisation. According to Räsänen's records, *k* and *g* are pronounced before *e*, *i*, *ä*, *ö* so far forward and so palatal that they almost become *tʃ* or *dʃ* (cf. § 20). This peculiarity seems to extend from the coast region of Trebizond and Rize nearly towards Erzerum.

In Gagauz, anterior vowels *e*, *i*, *ä*, *ö* cause a regular and pronounced palatalisation of all adjoining consonants (cf. Moškov, p. xxvi-xxvii).

Simplification of groups of consonants.

§ 49. In many cases the complete assimilation leads to the disappearance of a consonant, or the doubling of a consonant is dropped (cf. § 33).

In the following cases we have the simplification of groups of three (or four) consonants:

a. *tem* > *tm* in *atmy* (*aštmy*), G., p. 38, 2 in a man from Isparta; 42 pu., in a Jürük; O.T., i. 108, 21 from Constantinople, *jümalmy* (*jümaštmy*), Räs., p. 26, 1 from Vezirhan. We also find *üt* < *ušt* (G., p. 77, 6). Cf. R.O., ii. 210, 2 199.

b. *fel* > *f* in *fişik* (*fişlik*), almost general "popular" pronunciation of this word.

c. *fiş* > *f* in *fişli* (*fişli*), e.g. O.T., i. 78, 12 from below.

d. *nşil* > *nli* > *li* in *genlik* (*genlik* < *genşlik* < *genşlik*), G., p. 56, 20; *genlik*, Dum., R.O., i. 343, N° 1, 2).

e. *riş* > *ri* in *arısan* (*arısan*), G., p. 58, 8 and frequent elsewhere).

f. *şl* (= *şil*) > *tl* as in *üt-şüz* (*üt-şüz*), G., p. 92, 4, 5).

g. *ti* (= *ti*) > *ti*: *utiam* (*utiam*), G., p. 72, 7). Groups of two consonants:

a. *k* > *h*: *şahbazar* (*şahbazar*), G., p. 19, 14), *şahmas* (*şahmas*), G., p. 19, 14), *şahmas* (*şahmas*), G., p. 19, 14), *şahmas* (*şahmas*), G., p. 19, 14).

b. *rt* > *t*: *gutuşaryn* (*gutuşaryn*), Dum., R.O., i. 348, N° 27), *şahbazar* (*şahbazar*), G., p. 19, 14).

c. *kt* > *t*: *jüşek* (*jüşek*), Maz., W.Z.K.M., xxxiii. 200, N° 38, 1), *jüşeklerden* (G., p. 56, 11 from the region of Konya), *jüşeklerden* (*jüşeklerden*), Brn.-A., p. 145, 11). The disappearance of *k* is here due to a kind of dissimilation.

d. *tk* > *t*: *imel'arşik* (*imel'arşik*), W.Z.K.M., p. 218, 11, from Macedonia).

e. *kş* > *ş*, especially in diminutive forms, before the ending *-şik*, *-şik*. The dropping of *k* is also almost the rule in the written language, cf. Demy, § 511. Examples: *kolüşik* (G., p. 78, 2), *şendüşik* (O.T., ii. 304, N° 72, 1, 305, 1, 333, 1), *şapraşyyn* (*şapraşyyn*), O.T., ii. 334, 1), *şapraşyyn* (*şapraşyyn*), O.T., ii. 334, 1), *şapraşyyn* (*şapraşyyn*), O.T., ii. 334, 1).

On the other hand we find: *şaryşlanmı* (*şaryşlanmı*), *şaryşlanmı*, Räs., p. 154, 1).

f. Finally we may class here the often noted disappearance of a final *t* after *s* or *l*: *akdas* (*akdas*), Kast., p. 16), *dos* (*dos*), G., p. 53, 11), *uz* (*uz*), G., p. 77, 1; for *u* cf. § 1), *paşa* (*paşa*), G., p. 58, 2), *şulşori* (*şulşori*), Maz., W.Z.K.M., xxxiii, p. 196, N° 35, 1; cf. *ibid.*, p. 224 19).

Interchange of sound.

§ 50. *r* and *l* in contact with another consonant show a tendency to change place with the latter.

a. *örgetili* (*örgetili*, *örgetili*), G., p. 28, 11), *terpaz* (*terpaz*), G., p. 31, 2), *derül* (*derül*), G., p. 29, 29), *şevranalar* (*şevranalar*), G., p. 59, 2), *Belirgad* (*Belirgad*), G., p. 52, N° 3 part), *şevra* (*şevra*,

G., p. 86, 20), *şiblim* (*şiblim*), G., p. 73, 1). Many examples in Thüry, Kast., p. 15 19.

b. *şiblim* (*şiblim*), Zag., N° 47 from Mamış near Halyskair, *şiblim* (*şiblim*), Zag., N° 104 from Ayin near Södi Gary, *şiblim* (*şiblim*), G., p. 90, 22), *şiblim* (*şiblim* < Arab. *şiblim*), p. 89, 23), *şiblim* (*şiblim*), Brn.-A., p. 126, 11).

This feature is especially found in Asia Minor.

Development of sounds.

§ 51. Before the explosives *p*, *b*, *t*, *d*, *k*, *g* and the fricatives *f*, *ş* secondary nasals *m*, *n*, *ŋ* are frequently developed. This phenomenon is, it is true, most frequently noticed in loanwords but it is also found in pure Turkish words (*dış* (*dış*), Zag., N° 8 from Kalkaniden in Macedonia), *şapma* (*şapma*, Radović in Macedonia), *şevran*, *şevran* (*şevran*), G., p. 36, note 2; p. 72, 3 from Bugir; *ibid.*, p. 69, 11: *şevran*), *şevran* (*şevran*), Räs., p. 4, 4 from Vezirhan), *şafak* (*şafak*), Ar. *شفاق* (Güneş), *şafak* (*şafak*), *şafak* from Dumanly near Kütahia), *şamşural* (*şamşural*), Thüry, Kast., p. 16), *şamşural* (*şamşural*), Zag., N° 103, from Ayin near Södi Gary; Brn.-A., p. 131, 12; Thüry, Kast., p. 16) etc.

Syllable Division.

§ 52. Simple consonants between two vowels frequently appear somewhat lengthened. They may even be pronounced long under the influence of stress. In this case the consonant is divided between the preceding and following syllables so that the division between the syllables divides the consonant which produces the effect of pronouncing the consonant as a double one: *şafak* pronounced with emphasis sounds almost like *şaf-şaf-şaf*. Examples: *şafak* (*şafak*), G., p. 77, 10), *şafak* (from *şafak* "pluck, pull", not from *şafamak* "to send", G., p. 80, 18), *şafak* (*şafak*), Brn.-A., p. 261, N° 6), *şafak* (*şafak*), *ibid.*, N° 25), *şafak* (*şafak*), *ibid.*, p. 267, N° 88), *şafak* (*şafak*), Räs., p. 4, 4), *şafak* (*şafak*), Räs., p. 31, 4), *şafak* (*şafak*), *ibid.*, p. 34, 2), *şafak* (*şafak*), Räs., p. 93, 1).

§ 53. On the other hand, we do not find a pronounced double sound where it might be expected on etymological grounds. The result is, taken with § 52, that e.g. the two last syllables in *şafak* *şafak* "my (beloved) with the shawl covered head" and *şafak* *şafak* "let us go around" are pronounced identically. Similarly *şafak* *şafak* and *şafak* *şafak* are practically indistinguishable in the usual pronunciation.

This enables us to understand forms like the following: *şafak* (origin *şafak*), G., p. 17, 4), *şafak* (*şafak*), G., p. 23, 1), *şafak* (*şafak*), G., p. 27, 7), *şafak* (*şafak*), G., p. 30, 2; cf. § 40), *şafak* (*şafak*), G., p. 61, 13), *şafak* (*şafak*), G., p. 55, 13) etc.

§ 54. Many dialects allow two vowels to succeed one another directly within a word, where the cultured language and other dialects have an *i* or *y* sound. This is usually found where an original guttural has been lost. Most examples are found in Räsänen's texts from N.E. Asia Minor: *şafak* (*şafak*), *şafak* (*şafak*), Räs., p. 151, 1, 14), *şafak* (*şafak*), Räs., p. 153, 1), *şafak* (*şafak*), Räs., p. 154, 1), *şafak* (*şafak*), Räs., p. 157, 1) etc.

In the wilayets of Angora and adjoining districts I have frequently noted the same thing: *cał* (*cał* "bend!" from *Tal-oluk* near Kırşehir), *zöpma* (*zöpme* from Kuzajje near Jorgad), *kyymadym* (*kyymajordam*, *ibid.*), *kzotilde* (*kutuluja*, *ibid.*), *dear* (*deyar* from Denekmaden) etc.

The same phenomenon is recorded from Tozluğ in N.E. Bulgaria: *buraa*, *beas*, *nerre* (Gadjanov, i. 4).

§ 55. In most dialects an *l* sound has developed between two vowels coming directly together within a word. But sometimes we find *h* instead of *l*: *evahilde* (*evahilde*, *evahilde*, G, p. 31, 3), *toxt-i-paki* (*toxt-i-paki*, G, p. 32, 20), *İsmehal* (*İsmahil*, G, p. 57, 22) etc.

Sentence Sanitli.

§ 56. When two words come together, of which the first ends with a vowel and the second begins with a vowel, in all dialects, as is frequently the case in Turkish languages, the first of the two vowels is usually dropped. Examples: *Hamza eyuf* (*Hamza eyuf*, G, p. 87, 3), *ıslaryyya ildim* (*ıslaryyya ildim*, G, p. 86, 21), *golget ofnuş daf ofnuş* (*golgeti v. dafy v.*, G, p. 77, 23), *elim apdururum* (*elim v.*, G, p. 82, 3), *el alyayy* (*el alyayy*, G, p. 82, 2 from below), *del İsmail* (*deli İsmail*, G, p. 85, 2), *et ofur* (*ofur v.*, G, p. 67, 8), *kele ofmyt* (*kele ofmyt*, G, p. 29 ult.).

Ne and the interrogative particle *my* deserve special mention: *nüñje* (*ne üñje*, R.O., ii. 204, 7 from below from Güne), *nuşdu* (*ne ofdu* very common; cf. e.g. Adak, p. 140 ult.), *nuşmufy* (*ne ofmufy*, G, p. 83, 15), *napsyn* (*ne japsyn*, Brus.-A., p. 149, 4 from below); cf. also the forms given by Kános without references: *nedeşen* = *ne edeşkin*, *nappaşyn* = *ne jappaşyn*, *neşşen* = *ne edeşkin*, *nappaşyn* = said to be *ne jafu* (*afaryyn*), *ayfarym* (*ayfarym ofu*, G, p. 75, 4), *ayfarym* (*ayfarym ofu*, G, p. 53, 11) etc. 1).

In the combination of *-e-* the second vowel sometimes disappears: *afendim* (*a efendim*), *padışad* (*padışad efendi*), *ta viden* (*ta viden*, G, p. 60, 12).

Reduction of Syllables.

§ 57. In words of three syllables, the central one, if it is open, is frequently reduced. This feature, also found in other Turkish languages, is much more common in all dialects than in the written language. It is connected with the accentuation of words of three syllables: *— — —* or *— — —*; cf. W. Bang, *Studien zur vergl. Grammatik der Türkischen Sprachen*, S. B. Pr. Ak. W., xxxvii. (1916), p. 920; T. Kowalski, *Ze studiów nad formą pojęci ludów tureckich*, p. 70, note 1.

Grammar.

§ 58. Declension.

Declension offers no peculiarities of a local nature. The "confusion of the accusative with the dative" noted in various Ottoman speaking districts (Gadjanov, ii. 4—5), e.g. *atima ararim* (for *atym ararim*), Rās., p. 209, 2 from Kysarna, in the wilayet of Trebizond), as explained in § 9, due to a phonetic peculiarity.

Similarly the identity of the locative with the

dative ending, which is frequently met with, is to be explained by phonetic changes (assimilation, with later dropping of the gemination, cf. § 49 and § 53): *Kojunise qe k'iz var* "in your village there are three girls" (from *Kojunise > Kojunise*, Rās., p. 156, 3), *jedi jaluua it'en* (*jaluunda > jaluunna > jaluua*, Rās., p. 149, 1), *İbilyan cimenine den bir idym* "on the meadow of the alpine pasture I was alone" (< *cimenine < cimeninde*, Rās., p. 107, 1 19.) etc.

Nominative forms frequently met with in place of expected dative forms are probably to be explained as the result of contraction: *nerre* (= *nerreje*) *gittini bilememiz* "he could not ascertain where (the other) had gone" (R.O., ii. 205, 4 24 from Güne), *nerre İekara ora gider* "whither (= *nerreje*) thou dragest her, thither (= *oraya*) she will go" (G, p. 66, 20), *İndym dere, jirmaya* "I went down to the valley (= *dereje*) to the river" (Rās., p. 105, 1). The *ne* (< *neje*) "why", often found in dialects, is probably to be similarly explained.

The Pronoun.

§ 59. The personal pronoun of the 1st and 2nd person singular appears in the east of Anatolia in the forms *ben*, *ımar*, agreeing with the other cases, for *bana* (or *bana*), *ıyaya* (or *sana*). I have heard them from a Turk from Urfa. The same forms are given by Balkanoglu (K. S., iii. 264) for the dialect of Kilis. Rāsänen notes them as heard from a woman from the wilayet of Erzerum: *ımar* (Rās., p. 16, 2; p. 23, 3). We must regard these forms as the result of Adharbūdjan influence.

Songs in Rāsänen from Trebizond and neighbourhood show a dative in *ba* (alongside of *bana*), *ba*: *ba* (p. 176, 3), *ba* (p. 263, 2), *ba* (p. 263, 4); alongside however, we have: *ba* (p. 134, 1), *ba* (p. 133, 1).

The demonstrative pronoun *bu* appears in N. E. Anatolia strengthened by a prefixed *ha* (exclamative *a* with an aspirated anlaut): *hadu* (in Rāsänen, p. 159, 4; 215, 3; 250, 3; 256, 1). The same *ha* is added to the *bu* in *buje*, *buray*, *buradu*: *haburadan* (Rās., p. 180, 4; 191, 2; 192, 1; 199, 1; 257, 1), *haburozi* (Rās., p. 258, 1), *habuofje* (Rās., p. 104, 1).

Similarly we find prefixed *ha* in the demonstrative *o*, dialectal *u* (cf. § 4): *ha*, *u* (Rās., p. 240, 4).

Conjugation.

Personal Endings.

§ 60. 1st Pers. sing.

In the dialects we find *-n* for *-m* at the end of forms in conjugation, as frequently in old Ottoman (Deny, § 551); cf. W. Bang, *Studien zur vergleichenden Grammatik der Türkischen Sprachen*, I, S. B. Pr. Ak. W., xxii. (1916), p. 534, note 1.

Examples from Asia Minor: *japaşyn* (*japaşynym*, G, p. 17, 13), *ilçim* (*ilçimim*, G, p. 88, 23), *osman* (*osmanım*, G, p. 89, 26), *ıyarym* (*ıyarymım*, G, p. 79, 19), *ımarım* (*ımarımım*, *ibid.*, p. 351, 4 from below), *ımarım* (*ımarımım*, Zag., N° 33, from Mumşu in the district of Balykesir), *japışın*, *gelışın*, *gidışın* (*japışorum* etc., Brus.-A., p. 134), *görmem* (*görmemim*, Thür., Kast., p. 19).

So far as I know, a similar phenomenon is only found in Rumelian territory at Tozluğ in N. E. Bulgaria: *bilmen*, *gizmen* (*bilmemim*, *gizmemim*, Gadjanov, i. 9), *gelirym*, *gelirymim* (*ibid.*).

§ 61. 2nd Pers. sing.

1) M. Köprülü-Zade Fu'ad is wrong in thinking (K. S., ii. 37 on v. 54), that a contraction like *lad mofurym* < *lad-m ofurym* represents an archaic feature of the 13th century.

bined with a more or less pronounced palatalisation. According to Räsänen's records, *i* and *e* are pronounced before *r*, *l*, *ʃ*, *ʒ* so far forward and so palatal that they almost become *i'* or *e'* (cf. § 20). This peculiarity seems to extend from the coast region of Trebizond and Rize nearly towards Erzerum.

In Gagauz, anterior vowels *e*, *i*, *ə*, *u* cause a regular and pronounced palatalisation of all adjoining consonants (cf. Moškov, p. XXVI—XXVII).

Simplification of groups of consonants.

§ 49. In many cases the complete assimilation leads to the disappearance of a consonant, or the doubling of a consonant is dropped (cf. § 53).

In the following cases we have the simplification of groups of three (or four) consonants:

a. *ltm* > *lm* in *atımlı* (*aftımlı*), G., p. 38, 8 in a man from Isparta; 42 pa., in a *jürük*; O.T., i. 108, 22 from Constantinople), *lücalımlı* (*jümlımlı*), Räs., p. 26, 1 from Vezirhan). We also find *lt* < *alt* (G., p. 77, 6). Cf. R.O., ii. 210, 2 199.

b. *ftl* > *ft* in *iftik* (*iftik*), almost general "popular" pronunciation of this word).

c. *ftl* > *ft* in *iftik* (*iftik*), e. g. O. T., i. 78, 12 from below).

d. *njl* > *nl* in *genlik* (*genlik* < *genlik* < *genlik*), G., p. 56, 20; *genlik*, Dum., R.O., i. 343, No. 1, 2).

e. *rtl* > *rt* in *aralan* (*aralan*), G., p. 38, 8 and frequent elsewhere).

f. *rl* (= *rl*) > *rl* as in *üt-üt* (*üt-üt*), G., p. 92, 4, 5).

g. *rl* (= *rl*) > *rl*: *utranı* (*utranı*), G., p. 72, 7).

Groups of two consonants:

a. *tt* > *t*: *yakıylar* (*kalıylar*), G., p. 19, 14), *başmas* (*başmas*), Güm., R.O., ii. 6 from below, also elsewhere over a wide area).

b. *rt* > *t*: *gutulması* (*hutulması*), Dum., R.O., i. 348, No. 17), *balıstı* (*balıstı*), G., p. 45, 3).

c. *kt* > *t*: *jürük* (*jürük*), Maz., W.Z.K.M., xxxiii. 200, No. 38, 1), *jürüklerden* (G., p. 56, 16 from the region of Konya), *jürüklerden* (*jürüklerden*), Brus.-A., p. 145, 11). The disappearance of *k* is here due to a kind of dissimilation.

d. *kt* > *t*: *temek'arlık* (*temek'arlık*), W.Z.K.M., p. 218, 22 from Macedonia).

e. *kt* > *t*, especially in diminutive forms, before the ending *-lık*, *-lık*. The dropping of *k* is also almost the rule in the written language, cf. Deny, § 511. Examples: *ölüklük* (G., p. 78, 1), *sevdiklik* (O. T., ii. 304, No. 72, 11, 305, 3, 333, 23), *jüprazlık* (*jüprazlık*), O. T., ii. 334, 1), *ayrılık* (G., p. 56, 24).

On the other hand we find: *larıplıamlı* (*larıplıamlı*), *larıplıamlı*, Räs., p. 154, 1).

f. Finally we may class here the often noted disappearance of a final *t* after *s* or *l*: *ahdas* (*ahdest*, Kast., p. 16), *doz* (*dozt*), G., p. 53, 11), *set* (*set*), G., p. 77, 5; for *w* cf. § 1), *paşu* (*paşu*), G., p. 58, 2), *paşları* (*paşları*), Maz., W.Z.K.M., xxxiii. p. 196, No. 35, 2; cf. *ibid.*, p. 224 19).

Interchange of sound.

§ 50. *r* and *l* in contact with another consonant show a tendency to change place with the latter.

a. *ırgıldı* (*ırgıldı*), *ırgıldı*, G., p. 28 11), *torpaç* (*torpaç*), G., p. 31, 2), *devril* (*devril*), G., p. 29, 29), *peranaçlar* (*peranaçlar*), G., p. 59, 1), *Bilgrad* (*Bilgrad*), G., p. 52, No. 3 pa., *perca* (*perca*,

G., p. 86, 22), *ırgıldı* (*ırgıldı*), G., p. 73, 7). Many examples in Thüry, Kast., p. 15 12.

b. *Edinçek* (*Edinçek*), Zag., No. 47 from Mumçu near Balykear), *Edinçek* (*Edinçek*), Zag., No. 104 from Ayin near Sedi Gazy), *Edinçek* (*Edinçek*), G., p. 90, 22), *mexlen* (*mexlen* < Arab. *مخلف*, p. 89, 22), *Edinçek* (*Edinçek*), Brus.-A., p. 126, 11).

This feature is especially found in Asia Minor.

Development of sounds.

§ 51. Before the explosives *p*, *b*, *t*, *d*, *k*; *g* and the fricatives *ç*, *ş* secondary nasals *m*, *n*, *ɲ* are frequently developed. This phenomenon is, it is true, most frequently noticed in loanwords but it is also found in pure Turkish words: *dimbi* (*dimbi*), Zag., No. 8 from Kaşkandelen in Macedonia), *paupier* (*paupier*, Radović in Macedonia), *hyronit*, *huryant* (*furyat*), G., p. 36, note 2; p. 72, 3 from Borgia; *ibid.*, p. 69, 11; *furyant* (*furyat*), Räs., p. 4, 4 from Vezirhan), *lafayış* (*lafayış*), Az. *لافایش* (Güneş), *şeyh* (*şeyh*), *şeyh*, from Damanly near Kütahia), *garımançural* (*garımançural*), Thüry, Kast., p. 16), *mençilis* (*mençilis*), Zag., No. 103, from Ayin near Sedi Gazy; Brus.-A., p. 131, 12; Thüry, Kast., p. 16) etc.

Syllable Division.

§ 52. Simple consonants between two vowels frequently appear somewhat lengthened. They may even be pronounced long under the influence of stress. In this case the consonant is divided between the preceding and following syllables so that the division between the syllables divides the consonant which produces the effect of pronouncing the consonant as a double one: *dofalaşym* pronounced with emphasis sounds almost like *dof-laf-dof-şym*. Examples: *yakıylı* (*yakıylı*), G., p. 77, 16), *ısfarın* (from *ısfak* "pluck, pull", not from *ısfamak* "to send", G., p. 80, 12), *köpek* (*köpek*), Brus., p. 261, No. 6), *elik* (*elik*), *ibid.*, No. 25), *külük* (*külük*), *ibid.*, p. 267, No. 88), *ellinde* (*ellinde*), Räs., p. 4, 1), *ellim* (*ellim*), Räs., p. 31, 14; *ellime*, p. 34, 2), *şeyh* (*şeyh*), Räs., p. 93, 1).

§ 53. On the other hand, we do not find a pronounced double sound where it might be expected on etymological grounds. The result is, taken with § 52, that e.g. the two last syllables in *daly* *ısfayım* "my (beloved) with the shawl covered head" and *dofalaşym* "let us go around" are pronounced identically. Similarly *harab* *ellinde* and *harab* *ellinde* are practically indistinguishable in the usual pronunciation.

This enables us to understand forms like the following: *eveli* (origin. *evetli*), G., p. 17, 1), *ak* *ısfay* (*ak* *ısfay*), G., p. 23, 1), *memlekete* (*memlekete* [locative]), G., p. 27, 7), *ayyamadyş* (*ayyamadyş* from *ayyamadyş*), G., p. 30, 1; cf. § 40), *Barıduca* (*Barıduca*), G., p. 61, 13), *ısfadyar* (*ısfadyar*), G., p. 55, 13) etc.

§ 54. Many dialects allow two vowels to succeed one another directly within a word, where the cultured language and other dialects have an *i* or *y* sound. This is usually found where an original guttural has been lost. Most examples are found in Räsänen's texts from N.E. Asia Minor: *dalaşym*, *alaşym* (*dalaşym*, *alaşym*, Räs., p. 151, 1, 214), *genlişim* (*genlişim*), Räs., p. 153, 3), *ısfayşım* (*ısfayşım*), p. 154, 1), *jürüşim* (*jürüşim*), p. 157, 4) etc.

In the wilāyets of Angora and adjoining districts I have frequently noted the same thing: *el* (*el* "bend!" from *Tal-oluk* near Kırşehir), *şiponda* (*şiponda* from Kuzkış near Jozgad), *şipındam* (*şipındam*, *ibid.*), *şipındak* (*şipındak*, *ibid.*), *dear* (*dear* from Denekmaden) etc.

The same phenomenon is recorded from Tozluk in N.E. Bulgaria: *buraa*, *deat*, *nerre* (Gadžanov, II. 4).

§ 55. In most dialects an *i* sound has developed between two vowels coming directly together within a word. But sometimes we find *h* instead of *i*: *evahlide* (*evahlide*, *evahlide*, G, p. 31, 3), *toxt-i-pahi* (*toxt-i-pahi*, G, p. 32, 30), *limchal* (*limchal*, G, p. 57, 22) etc.

Sentence Sandhi.

§ 56. When two words come together, of which the first ends with a vowel and the second begins with a vowel, in all dialects, as is frequently the case in Turkish languages, the first of the two vowels is usually dropped. Examples: *Hamiz vnyl* (*Hamiz vnyl*, G, p. 87, 5), *şulayyyz ilim* (*şulayyyz ilim*, G, p. 86, 21), *şulgeş vmas dal olmas* (*şulgeş v. dal v.*, G, p. 77, 25), *elim şpudurum* (*elim ş.*, G, p. 82, 3), *el şipary* (*el şipary*, G, p. 82, 2 from below), *del limail* (*del limail*, G, p. 85, 2), *ol şipar* (*ol şipar*, G, p. 67, 3), *hele şipary* (*hele şipary*, G, p. 29 nlt.).

Ne and the interrogative particle *my* deserve special mention: *nilişie* (*ne ilişie*, R.O., II. 204, 7 from below from Günel), *nafda* (*ne nafda* very common; cf. e.g. Adak, p. 140 nlt.), *nufmaly* (*ne şipuly*, G, p. 83, 15), *nafrym* (*ne şiprym*, Brus-A., p. 149, 4 from below); cf. also the forms given by Kinos without references: *nideşin* = *ne idişie*, *nafpaşşin* = *ne şipafşşin*, *neşşin* = *ne idişie*, *nappatyrym* = said to be *ne şipap şiparym*, *şiparmula* (*şiparmy şip.*, G, p. 75, 4), *şiparmula* (*şiparmy şip.*, G, p. 53, 21) etc. 1).

In the combination of *-a-e* the second vowel sometimes disappears: *afendim* (*a şendim*), *padışendi* (*paşendi*), *ta şelden* (*ta şelden*, G, p. 60, 18).

Reduction of Syllables.

§ 57. In words of three syllables, the central one, if it is open, is frequently reduced. This feature, also found in other Turkish languages, is much more common in all dialects than in the written language. It is connected with the accentuation of words of three syllables: *- - -* or *- - -*; cf. W. Bang, *Studien zur vergl. Grammatik der Türkischen Sprachen*, I, S. B. Pr. Ak. W., xxxvii. (1916), p. 920; T. Kowalski, *Ze studjów nad formą pomyślności* (*studjów nad formą pomyślności*, p. 70, note 1).

Grammar.

§ 58. Declension.

Declension offers no peculiarities of a local nature. The "confusion of the accusative with the dative" noted in various Ottoman speaking districts (Gadžanov, II. 4-5), e.g. *şima arajirim* (for *şimay arajirim*, Räs., p. 209, 2 from Kysarna, in the wilāyet of Trebizond), is, as explained in § 9, due to a phonetic peculiarity.

Similarly the identity of the locative with the

dative ending, which is frequently met with, is to be explained by phonetic changes (assimilation, with later dropping of the gemination, cf. § 49 and § 53): *şipındak* *il* *şip* "in your village there are three girls" (from *şipındak* > *şipındak*, Räs., p. 156, 3), *şip* *şip* *il* *şip* (*şip* > *şip* > *şip*, Räs., p. 149, 4), *şip* *şip* *il* *şip* *il* *şip* "on the meadow of the alpine pasture I was alone" (< *şip* < *şip*, Räs., p. 107, 1 19.) etc.

Nominative forms frequently met with in place of expected dative forms are probably to be explained as the result of contraction: *nere* (= *nereşie*) *şip* *şip* *il* *şip* "he could not ascertain where (the other) had gone" (R.O., II. 205, 4 19. from Günel), *nere* *şip* *şip* *il* *şip* "whither (= *nereşie*) thou dragest her, thither (= *şip*) she will go" (G, p. 66, 20), *şip* *şip* *il* *şip* "I went down to the valley (= *şip*) to the river" (Räs., p. 105, 1). The *ne* (< *nere*) "why", often found in dialects, is probably to be similarly explained.

The Pronoun.

§ 59. The personal pronoun of the 1st and 2nd person singular appears in the east of Anatolia in the forms *şip*, *şip*, agreeing with the other cases, for *baga* (or *şip*), *şip* (or *şip*). I have heard them from a Turk from Urfa. The same forms are given by Balkanoglu (R. Şa., III. 264) for the dialect of Kilis. Räsänen notes them as heard from a woman from the wilāyet of Erzurum: *şip* (Räs., p. 16, 2; p. 23, 3). We must regard these forms as the result of Adharbaidžan influence.

Songs in Räsänen from Trebizond and neighbourhood show a dative in *şip* (alongside of *şip*), *şip* (p. 176, 3), *şip* (p. 263, 2), *şip* (p. 263, 4); alongside however, we have: *şip* (p. 134, 1), *şip* (p. 133, 3).

The demonstrative pronoun *şip* appears in N.E. Anatolia strengthened by a prefixed *şip* (exclamative *şip* with an aspirated anlaut): *şip* (in Räsänen, p. 159, 4; 215, 2; 250, 3; 256, 1). The same *şip* is added to the *şip* in *şip*, *şip*, *şip*: *şip* *şip* *şip* (Räs., p. 180, 4; 191, 1; 192, 1; 199, 1; 257, 1), *şip* *şip* (Räs., p. 258, 1), *şip* *şip* (Räs., p. 104, 1).

Similarly we find prefixed *şip* in the demonstrative *şip*, dialectal *şip* (cf. § 4): *şip* (Räs., p. 240, 4).

Conjugation.

Personal Endings.

§ 60. 1st Pers. sing.

In the dialects we find *-m* for *-m* at the end of forms in conjugation, as frequently in old Ottoman (Deny, § 551); cf. W. Bang, *Studien zur vergleichenden Grammatik der Türkischen Sprachen*, I, S. B. Pr. Ak. W., xxii. (1916), p. 534, note 1.

Examples from Asia Minor: *şip* (*şip*, G, p. 17, 13), *şip* (*şip*, G, p. 88, 23), *şip* (*şip*, G, p. 89, 26), *şip* (*şip*, G, p. 79, 19), *şip* (*şip*, *ibid.*, p. 351, 4 from below), *şip* (*şip*, Zag., N^o 33, from Munju in the district of Balykenir), *şip* (*şip*, *ibid.*), *şip* (*şip* etc., Brus-A., p. 134), *şip* (*şip*, Thury, Kast., p. 19).

So far as I know, a similar phenomenon is only found in Rumelian territory at Tozluk in N.E. Bulgaria: *şip*, *şip* (*şip*, *şip*, Gadžanov, I. 9), *şip*, *şip* (*ibid.*).

§ 61. 2nd Pers. sing.

1) M. Köprülü-Zade Fu'ad is wrong in thinking (K.Ch.A., II. 37 on v. 54), that a contraction like *şip* *şip* *il* *şip* represents an archaic feature of the XIIIth century.

By confusion of the forms of conjugation in *-in*, *-sin*, ... *-iz* (*gelirim*, *gelirsin*, ... *geliris*) with that in *-m*, *-y*, ... *-k* (*geldim*, *geldiyin*, ... *geldik*, or *geldim*, *geldiyin*, ... *geldik*) in the Asia Minor dialects we very often find the personal ending of the 2nd pers. sing. *-y*, where elsewhere we have *-sin*: *gidip*, *varıy* (*gidirsin*, *varırsın*, *K. S.*, i. 155, from North Syria), *giditip* (= *gidirsin*, *ibid.*), *gelitip* (*gelirsin*, *Bras.-A.*, p. 133, 19), *gelip* (*gelirsin*, *ibid.*, p. 133, 21), *giditipin* (*gidirsin*, *Bras.*, p. 263, 6), *ofmay* (*ofmayrsın*, *G.*, p. 69, 12), *iditipin* (*gidirsin*, *G.*, p. 19, 16) etc.

In keeping with this we find: *sen*, *adnanımyy* *istimiy*? (for *istimisin*, *G.*, p. 39, 26 27), *batıyır* *İzmir* (*batıyır* *İzmir*, *G.*, p. 18, 4) etc.

§ 62. 1st Pers. plur.

As a result of a similar confusion of the two types of conjugation, the 1st pers. plur. of the opt., pres., aor. and fut. in many, especially East Anatolian dialects, ends in *-k* (*-x*): *gidik* (*gidirim* from the district of Sivas), *batıyırk* (*batıyır*, *K. S.*, i. 155 from North Syria), *doğuruk* (*doğurur* from Tatlıçak, S. from Sivas), *bilmek* (*bilirim*, *ibid.*), *durağank* (*durağır*, *Ras.*, p. 173, 2), *afıyırk* (*afıyır* is given by Balkanoglu for Kilis in North Syria, *K. S.*, iii. 264) etc.

Outside of the conjugation tables we also find *-k* with the meaning "we are" (instead of the enclitic *-(iş)e*): *biz amelek* "we are workmen" (I heard this in Amasia from labourers from Yozgat), *şuclık* "we are beautiful" (*K. S.*, iii. 264 from Kilis).

This phenomenon is characteristic of the east of Asia Minor. While it is not found far east of Angora in northern Asia Minor, in southern Asia Minor it appears to extend much farther east. In the country east of Kızılyirmak, I heard almost exclusively the forms in *-k* (*biz bu zui itmek*, *biz k'iskine giderik* etc.).

§ 63. 2nd Pers. plur.

Everywhere that we find in the 2nd pers. sing. *-y* for *-sin*, we also have in the 2nd pers. plur. *-yız*, *-yız* etc. instead of *-sınız*, *-sınız* etc.: *giditipiniz* (*gidirsiniz*), *varıyınız* (*varırsınız*) etc.

§ 64. Verbal forms ending in *-r* (3rd pers. sing. pres. and aor.) lose this *r* in various dialects (cf. § 34): *millip* (*uc ilçip*, *R. O.*, ii. 204 from Güneş), *değ-kum* (*değ-kim*, *ibid.*, p. 205, 40), *judajın* (*judajır*, Thury, *Kat.*, p. 19), *hemiri* (*hemirir*, *R. O.*, i. 347, No. 15, 4), *balary* (*balaryr*, *G.*, p. 70 from Borçin) etc.

After final *r* of the form *der* (from *dürek*) we sometimes find a vowel-like sound which is difficult to define, like *derf* (cf. *R. O.*, ii. 206, 12).

In some Rumelian dialects (notably in the dialect of Adakale) a final *r* of the aor. partic. almost regularly becomes *l*: *basal* (*basır*), *salafar* (*salafır*), *ıldırıl* (*ıldırır*) etc.

The Tmes.

§ 65. Present.

Besides the forms in *-yor* we find in dialects those in *-ür*, *-ür*, *-ir* with many slight gradations in the quality of the vowel. The half consonantal *l* may sometimes disappear so that the two vowels come together: the vowel of the corresponding gerundive form and the vowel of the ending *-ür*, *-ir*. The final *r* also may disappear completely (cf. § 64).

Forms with the vowel *u* and *i* (*-ür*, *-ir*, *-ur*,

-ir, or *-ü*, *-i*) are found in the two most north-easterly corners of the Ottoman speaking area: on the one side in the northeast on the coast of the Black Sea, towards the Caucasus, on the other in the northwest, in the N.E. of Bulgaria, in the Dobrudja and Bessarabia.

Examples from the N.E.: *d'Aliür* (*gelür*, *Ras.*, p. 68, 12 from the wilayet of Erzerum), *agair* (*agıyır*, *Ras.*, p. 166, 2 from Trebizond), *ceft* (*ceftir*, *Ras.*, p. 175, 2, *ibid.*), *ıaryıjı* (*ıaryıyır*, *Ras.*, p. 194, 4 from the wilayet of Trebizond), *denanılı* (*denanıyır*, *Ras.*, p. 254, 2), *İzmir* (*İzmirir*, *Ras.*, p. 245, 2: with very broad and low final *i*; cf. § 9), *atılmaır* (*atılmaır*, *Ras.*, p. 219, 1) etc.

With Râşid's statements, those of Künos for the district of Samsun-Trebizond agree: *ıaryıjır* (*ıaryıyır*, *Laz.*, p. 278, 12 from below), *ıyryımaır* (*ıyryımaır*, *ibid.*, i. 1, 12 from below), *gelür* (*gelür*, *Laz.*, p. 281, 4 from below).

I have noticed forms in *-ir* (*-ir*) even south of Sivas: *İzmir*, *ıaryıyır*, *ıaryıyır*, *durıyır*, *durıyır* etc., all from the village of Tatlıçak, between Sivas and Kaia-dibi.

Forms in *-ıur*¹⁾ were noted by Thury in Kastamunian (p. 19): *batajın* (*batıyır* < *batajır*, cf. § 46), *judajın* (*judıyır* < *judajır*), *ıyryımaıjın* (*ıyryımaıyır*) etc.

Forms ending in *-ıur* are also characteristic of the dialect of the Ottomanised Tatars of the Crimea: *ıaryıur* (*Satıkaya*, in *J. A.*, 1926, p. 352, 4), *ıaryıur*, *ıaryıur* (*ıaryıur*), *ıaryıur* (*ibid.*, p. 364, 7-9).

The forms in *-ıur* and *-ir* seem to cover an area which begins with the wilayet of Kastamunian and stretches along the coast of the Black Sea far to the east and north. I do not know a single case of such forms from the southern half of the peninsula.

If we now turn to the western coast of the Black Sea we find very peculiar, complicated conditions which cannot yet be considered to have been quite cleared up.

Among the Bessarabian Gagauz, according to Moikov (Gagauz, xxviii, xxix), two forms of present are used alongside of each other: the one in *-yor*, the other in *-ir* (cf. *çinir*, 2, 30; immediately following it *çinajır*, 2, 31). As forms like *ıaryıyır* (from the village of Etalia in the circle of Ismail) show, *-ir* has arisen out of *-ıur*.

Still more involved is the position in northern Bulgaria. The present forms there form one of the most important criteria for distinguishing the dialects of the different districts. According to Gadfanow, whose statements I can generally confirm, we have the following forms of the present in conjugation: a. Vicinity of Şumen, village of Troica (Turkish: Turuza); i. 5:

gelirim, *gelirsin*, *gelir*, *gelirtiz*, *gelirtiniz*, *gelirtiriz* 2).

b. Northern part of Gadlovo (i. 7):

1) I cannot see why this present form should be entirely separated from that in *-yor* and "probably compared with the Gag. present in *-ıur*" (M. Fallo, *K. C. A.*, i. 86). On the contrary, I think it is hardly possible to seek two different starting-points for the forms in *-yor*, *-ıur*, *-ir*, *in*, *-ür*, *-ü*, *-ir*, *-i*, *-ir*.

2) Gadfanow writes *gelirtir*; by *r* he indicates that *l* is not *l*.

(p. 8, 14), *arasyın* (p. 5, 30), *oturtıjı* (p. 5, 30, 6, 21, 22), *ıyğai* (p. 5, 29, 6, 8), *kaşyırjı* (p. 8, 9), *topşaj* (p. 8, 23), *burultırın* (p. 167, 26), *gideller* (p. 6, 23), *calıyırjı* (p. 5, 3) etc. Forms in *-ı* and *-e* are used promiscuously: *e gıze orda jatıj* (p. 173, 19) and immediately following it: *e gıze orda jatır* (p. 174, 8), or *fil hadar olıj* (p. 174, 4) and immediately following it: *fil hadar olur* (p. 174, 14) etc. The differentiation of the vowels before *-ı*: *gidel* but *gelij*, *ıyğaj* but *ayy* or *altıj* indicates with certainty that *gidel* goes back to *gider*, *gelij* to *gılır*, so that the forms are really aorist forms, as Foy supposed, *M.S.O.S.*, vi. 161 (cf. § 64, note 1).

In the dialect of Urfa I have noticed in the 1st pers. sing. of the negative form the ending: *-menem* (as in Adhart) instead of the literary *-mew*: *ıstılemem* (*ıstılemem*), *ellemem* (*ellemem*) etc.

The Future.

§ 67. We usually find contracted forms which may be regarded as coming from the 1st pers. sing. (*başaşım* < *başaşayım*) or from the 1st pers. pl. (*başaşız* < *başaşayız*).

The 1st pers. sing. frequently ends in *-m* (cf. § 60): *ıyğajım* (*ıyğajayım*, *R.O.*, i. 349), *ıyğajım* (*ıyğajayım*, *G.*, p. 17, 23) etc.

On the analogy of the former, the 2nd pers. sing. ends in *-şaj* or *-şan*: *ıstıleşaj* (*ıstıleşekim*, *G.*, p. 19, 16), *ıstıleşan* (*ıstıleşayım*, *G.*, p. 22, 7) etc. Interrogative, or: *gıdeşim-mi* (*gıdeşekimim*, *O.T.*, i. 66, 2), *ıstıleşim-mi* (*ıstıleşekimim*, *Gagana*, p. 1 pu.) or: *başaşajayım* (*başaşayım*, *G.*, p. 18, 4; cf. § 61).

The 1st pers. pl. ends in the east in *-k*, *-ç* (*-X*), in the west in *-ı* (*-ı*): *gidelçik* (*gidelçikiz*, *Türk Yurdu*, May 1928, p. 23^a, 9, from the Aghars of the Taurus territory), *duraşaj* (*duraşajız*, *Ras.*, p. 173, 2), *ayılajaj* (*ayılajajız*, *Ras.*, p. 173, 4), *gidelçik* (*gidelçikiz*, *G.*, p. 18, 22) etc.

The 2nd pers. plur. on the analogy of the sing.: *verekimiz* (*verekimiziz*, *O.T.*, i. 250, 28) etc.

The Optative.

§ 68. The 1st pers. sg. of the optative often shows, as in old Ottoman, the personal ending *-m* added directly to the optative stem in *-a*, *-e*: *ınenim* (*ınenim*, *G.*, p. 60, 4), *ıafam* (*ıafayım*, *G.*, p. 60, 3) etc.; cf. Deny, § 645. Similarly after verbal stems ending in vowels: *avşajam* (*avşajayım*, *G.*, p. 60, 3).

The 1st pers. pl. ends in the east in *-k*, *-ç* (*-X*). It usually represents the 1st pers. plur. of the imper. in *-im*, *-ym*: *gidelçik* (= *gidelim* from *Tatlıçak*, South of Sivas), *hilek* (= *hilelim*, *Türk Yurdu*, May 1928, p. 24^a, 22 from the Taurus territory); *ıyğaj* (*ıyğajım*, *ibid.*, p. 24^b, 3 from below), *başaşajım* (*başaşajayım*, *Kışeri*), *gidelçik*, *başaşaj* (perhaps *başaşaj*, from North Syria; cf. *K. Sz.*, i. 155) etc.

The Imperative.

§ 69. 1st pers. pl.: *ıafajaj* (*ıafajajım*, *Laz.*, p. 283, 2), but *gidelim* (*gidelim*, *Ras.*, p. 172, 1).

In the 2nd pers. pl. of stems ending in vowels or in negative forms we frequently find the ending *ş* added directly: *daşaj* (*daşajım*, *G.*, p. 86, 6), *dışaj* (*dışajım*, *G.*, p. 80, 12), *ıstıleşaj* (*ıstıleşajım*, *G.*, p. 91, 22), *ayramaj* (*ayramajım*, *G.*, p. 53, 2), *ayşajajım* (*ayşajajım*, *G.*, p. 89, 10) etc.; cf. Deny, § 608.

Verbal Nouns.

§ 70. Verbal noun in *-ay* etc. (Bibliography: W. Bang, *Studien zur vergl. Grammatik der Türk-sprachen*, article 1: Über die omanische Fluchform *edıyay* (*yana*) und ihre Verwandten (*S.B.Pr.*, *Ab. W.*, xxi. [1916], 522–535); Böhtlingk, *Türkische Grammatik*, p. 308 sq.; Thury, *Kat.*, p. 21; Brockelmann, *Qizil-Yay*, § 65; do., *Z. D. M. G.*, lxx., 212; do., *K. C. A.*, i. 31 (from Mahmed al-Kāşari); Deny, *Grammaire de la langue turque*, § 793–981).

This verbal noun, which only survives in the modern literary language in a few formal expressions, is still quite vigorous in the dialects, particularly in Anatolia. We find it in the following cases:

a. in many curse-formulae: *ah şurnıyay barmıy* (*O.T.*, i. 256, 10), *ah şurnıyay kerif kaj* (*ibid.*, ii. 19 sq.), *bataşay* (= *şere bataşay*, *ibid.*, ii. 306, 3 from below), *ıyğajay vıram başajay* (*ibid.*, ii. 312, 3), *ekmıjı taylan kucıjı tay şılayıza* (*Konya vilayeti halkıyat ve şırayatı*, p. 322, N^o 6, where many other examples are given).

b. in combination with *-ek* or *-çik*: *gidelçikçik* (*O.T.*, i. 15, 17; 18, 24), otherwise cf. Bang, *op. cit.*

c. in various formulae: *ıyğajayay ınenim* (*O.T.*, ii. 2, 21); cf. Bang, *op. cit.*

d. used as an adjective: *Şar-ıyğajajı bir mal başajay ıerde kaj var* (by a shepherd of Kaşadibi, South of Sivas).

e. predicative, used like a participle: *ayşajay ıstıleşimdir* (in *Türk Yurdu*, May 1928, p. 23^a, 22).

f. as a substantive only in the phrase *verekije* (as in the written language): *verekije bir testi daha aşarak* (*O.T.*, ii. 47, 17), *verekije larab ıltım* (*O.T.*, ii. 316, 4 from below).

g. very common in combination with *gelmek*, as in the following quatrain from Güneş:

*ıafajay varayım gıdıl,
ladır gurayım gıdıl;
ıayım şandan görünşaj,
şamı şırayım gıdıl.*

§ 71. Gerundives in *-ınçaj*, *-ınçaj* etc. appear in the dialects with final *-k*, *-ç* (*-ı*) or *-m* (cf. Deny, § 1392). Examples for *-ınçaj*: *görmünçajçik*, *ermünçajçik* (*O.T.*, ii. 194, N^o 76), *varayınçaj*, *doşunçaj* (*ibid.*, p. 260, N^o 10), *başayınçaj*, *ıayınçaj* (*ibid.*, p. 325, N^o 100), *dününçaj* (*G.*, p. 80, 23); cf. Deny, § 1392, p. 998.

Forms in *-ınçaj* (*-ınçaj*) so far had only been found in Macedonia (*W. Z. K. M.*, xxxiii. 174 and 220), in the region of Konya (Giese), in Marab (Deny), Trebizond (Pisaref) and among the Turkish speaking Armenians (Deny). To the examples given by Deny (p. 999) I may add:

*genç aşılam olunşaj,
başanmam gılınşaj.
ni ıstıleşaj ıafajım,
ıeniy gönlüy olunşaj*

from Güneş, east of Smyrna.

Forms in *-ınçaj* (for explanation cf. § 10) I know only from the texts by Giese: *yayınşaj yayıjı şırlım şala* (*G.*, p. 55, 1), *başanşajın arab alfar ıltınir* (*G.*, p. 59, 30) etc.

The Verbal Noun in *-dik*.

§ 72. By the combination of a verbal noun in *-dik* with a pronominal suffix and the postposition

le (in dialects *imen*, *yman*, cf. § 80) there arises a form with a temporal significance, which is very frequent, especially on Rumelian territory, among the Bessarabian Gagauz, in the dialect of Adakale and in N. E. Bulgaria. Examples: *bi dama jaf-jaflynnan biye künemil* "when he approached the stall, the horse neighed" (*jaf-jaflynnan* < *jaf-jaflynnan-ile*, Gagauz., p. 126, 3), *salil vldilinen (vldilinyile)* "when it became morning" (Adak., p. 2, 36), *ruza var-dyina (var-dyinyile)*, *zu buš-dyib-ise 'geime: 'zora kuce var-dyina (var-dyinyile)* *žaryny bobana jof-lama* "when you come to water and it is turbid do not cross it; also when you come to the village do not send your wife to your father" (from a folk-tale recorded by me in the village of Düşubak in Deliorman) etc.

§ 73. Instead of the usual construction with *-diklen* *ınıra* we very often find in dialects *-diklen geri: aldihdengeri, dūddūhdengeri, aldyhdengeri* (G., p. 52, 2, 3, 10), *aldūhdengeri* (G., p. 59, 21), *aldūhdengeri* (G., p. 59, 23), *gūddūhdengeri* (G., p. 59, 27) etc.

The significance of this construction is partly temporal "after", partly causal: "since however"; cf. Deny, p. 1035, 19.

§ 74. Probably by contamination from *-diklen* and *-dikte* (or *-dikten*) arise forms in *-dikten*, which are found among the Bessarabian Gagauz as well as in Deliorman: *dakije tutublon fōra ev gētiris* "after we have prepared (the boys) for the *dakje* ceremony, we bring them (the boys) into a house" (from an account of the ceremonies of circumcision taken down by me in Kemanlar, Deliorman), *bi dūda* (cf. § 24) *gittikūn xip žyrmyz adamlar* "even when one crosses, one finds nothing but red men" (Gagauz., p. 10, 1) etc.

§ 75. In the construction in *-dikte* in Macedonia, I also found a final *-a* (-): *ūddūdikte lēb ūddime jorgail* "when I freeze, draw the blankets over me" (*W. Z. K. M.*, xxxiii, p. 184, 4), *ūddūdikte ver agzima dīlīni* "when I thirst, put thy tongue in my mouth" (*ibid.*, l. 6).

Iken etc.

§ 76. We find many dialectal peculiarities in the forms composed with *iken*:

a. *-ken* (from *iken*) follows the rules of vowel harmony and after heavy stems becomes *-kan*, in the eastern dialects *-xan* (§ 37). Both *-ken* and *-kan* combine with exclamative *-i*, *-ā* to *-kene*, *-kana*. Examples: *lyxxarxan* (*lyxxarken*, Brus.-A., p. 122, 4 from below), *bolanyrkana, ūnenirkene, žulanyrkana* (G., p. 51, 3, 6, 7); cf. Deny, p. 949, footnote 1.

On the other hand, we find in the dialect of Bessarabian Gagauz *-kan* even after light stems: *giderkan* (Gagauz., p. 1, 2, 165, 13);

b. *-ken, -kan* frequently appears without final *-a* as *-ke, -ka: gelirke* (G., p. 80, 4 from below), *žya žha* (*žya iken*, G., p. 65, 13), *eldike* (*eldē iken*, G., p. 72, 3), *oturnirke* (*W. Z. K. M.*, xxxiii, p. 216, 18 from Radoviš in Macedonia).

§ 77. When the subject of the form in *-mahta* *iken* is a plural, in the dialects (as frequently also in the written language, see Deny, § 1358, p. 954) the plural termination *-lar* is added to the locative ending *-da: gelinip oturmahta-lar-ken* *gōvur-lar-ki* (O. T., ii. 29, 10), *uasmahta-lar-ken* (O. T., ii. 51, 18), *došalmahta-lar-ken* (O. T., ii. 48, 22) etc.

Note: The addition of the plural ending *-lar* to the locative ending is also noted elsewhere: *gōvur-mahdeler idi* (for *gōvur-mahdeler-idi*, G., p. 33, 28), *Otur-mada-lar-ken* (O. T., ii. 23, 1) is an isolated form; cf. A. C. A., l. 321.

On the use of the Participle in *-an, -en* etc.

§ 78. In the northeast as well as in the north west of the Ottoman speaking territory we find constructions with the participle in *-an, -en* (or *-jan, -ien*) instead of with the verbal noun in *-dik* or the gerundive in *-inje* etc. (influence of Agharī!): *jelken došana hadar* "until the sail fills" (Rās., N^o 197, 2), *kežan d'elene hadar* "till thy husband comes" (*ibid.*, v. 4), *her seni görende* "every time I see thee" (Rās., N^o 266, 3), *alup gidene hadar rahatlykle jalarler* "they live in comfort till their death" (Adak., p. 172, 3), *ge alyp kapajana hadar* "in a moment" (Adak., p. 206, 18 sq.).

Vernek as an auxiliary Verb.

§ 79. Accelerative forms combined with *vermek* are used much more frequently in many dialects than in the written language. Their original significance seems to have become much weakened. According to Gadlanow, there are in Bulgaria (Deliorman, Gerlovo) dialects which only have present forms combined with *ver-*; but it would have to be considered whether in the forms quoted by him the element *-ver-* is not perhaps, at least occasionally, a phonetic development from *-jer-* (cf. § 65). The people of South Gerlovo, who speak in this way are called by their neighbours *gelinverji* (Gadlanow, ii. 6).

In Anatolia I heard this name given to the people of Konya among whom the accelerative forms in *ver-* are continually used; *ver-* appears in the dialects also in negative verbal stems: *gelmiti-ve* (*gelmiti ver*, cf. § 34, Brus.-A., p. 140, 10), *gelmitivirdi* (G., p. 69, 4). Cf. Deny, § 824.

The Postpositions.

§ 80. *ile, -ile* is found in the dialects in many forms: *ile, -le, -len, -len, -nen, -nen*; after heavy stems also harmonised: *-yla, -la, -ylan, -lan, -ynan, -nan: jazylan gēlin* "in summer and in autumn" (G., p. 79, 2 from below), *ge jalynan* "with tears" (G., p. 59, 8), *ününen janynan* "with glory and prestige" (G., p. 54 ult.), *ajnan lylyen* "moon and stars" (G., p. 52, 3), *dalynan (tal ile, Brus.-A., p. 130, 16), jallan* (Rās., N^o 181, 2), *jarininan* (*jariny-ile*, Rās., N^o 3, 4) etc.; cf. Deny, § 876, note 2 and p. 924, middle.

§ 81. *yyra*. Much more frequently than in the written language (cf. Deny, § 902) *yyra* is used in the dialects as a postposition. Examples: *arxam yyra* "close behind me" (Brus.-A., p. 127, 7, 147, ult.), *ažderhūayn ardy yyra gidlime* "let us go after the dragon" (Adak., p. 18, 26), *arhary yyra* "close behind her" (O. T., i. 116, 25, 147, 13), *imny yyra alup gider* "takes him with him and goes away" (O. T., i. 127, 32), *ardy emi yyra došair* "he encircles him in front and behind" (O. T., i. 243, 18 sq.) etc.

§ 82. *hadar, hadar* appears in different forms in the dialects:

a. *guda* (with voiced initial, § 205, and loss of the final *-e*, § 34) is noted by Thury in Kašajmanian, (p. 52, alongside of *gudar*, cf. also p. 18).

b. *gadan* (with nasalisation of the final, cf. § 10)

given by Kânos for Bursa: *hıyyıca gadan* (Hew., p. 268, 1), *ne gadan galsa* "however much he flies away" (*ibid.*, p. 271 v. 2 from below).

c. *gadak* (probably assimilation to the post-position *dek* "up to"; cf. § 83) in Giese: *a cantione gadak* (G., p. 37, 16).

d. *ka*, added enclitically, is found on Ramelian territory: *dı'peka* "knee-high", *lı'peka* "up to us", *saba'jaka* (*sabaxa-kadar*) "till morning" (all from Macedonia, *W. Z. K. M.*, xxviii, 178 and 221), *herneka* (*her ne kadar*, Adak., p. 18, 22) etc.; cf. Dery, p. 1133 on § 904.

§ 83. *-dek*, *-dek* (cf. Dery, § 904) also appears in dialects harmonised as *-dağ*: *aylu'madağ* "till evening" (Gagaus., p. 3, 29). Alongside of *-dek* we also have *-den*, *-dan* (different from the ablative ending *-i*): *limi'dandan* "until now" (Gagaus., p. 110, 13). According to Dery, p. 613, middle, this form is also used in the dialect of Selanik.

§ 84. *gibi*. We find the following forms in dialects:

a. *gibini*: Râs., N^o. 179, 2, 4.

b. *gimi*: *girdi jel gimi* "is whirled just like the wind" (G., p. 56, 20), *peşmanlar gimi* "like butterflies" (G., p. 12, 3).

c. *kimi* (Aldharhâldjant form) is according to Dery, p. 1131 also found in the dialect of Maras.

d. *kimisi*: *gül kimin altın* "I flew thither like a bird" (Brus.-A., p. 146, N^o. 28, 3), *Lokman bekim kimin* "like the wise Lokman" (*ibid.*, N^o. 35, v. 3).

The Adverbs.

§ 85. *geri*, *geri* sometimes appears intensified by reduplication: *gerisi gerine dönüp* "returned" (O. T., i, 47, 33), *hıy gerisi gerisi evine gönderirler* "they send the girl back home" (O. T., i, 137, 12), *girdi gersingeri* "he went back" (O., p. 18, 11), *hıllarına girsingeri yalılar* "they flee back to their villages" (G., p. 22, 14).

§ 86. *başan*. In Anatolian dialects the participle *başan* is found as an adverb in the meaning of *arş*, *gairi*: *Myryra sultan iteler istemen başan* "if ever they wished to make (me) sultan of Egypt, I would not have it" (G., p. 59, 26; cf. 72, 15), *baş başan kaç* "fly, fly" (*Nyctolud. Kâl.*, xxii, 1891, p. 289).

§ 87. Adverbs in *-şene*, *-şene*. In the dialects we find the adverbial ending *-şene*, *-şene*: I know it from Kaşamuni and the northern part of Ramelian: *loşene* "in a mass", *loşene* "softly", *pekişene* "strongly", *nuşşene* "moderately" — all in Thrace, *Kast.*, p. 18; *koşşene* "so" (Adak., p. 1, 2, 34, 43; 141, 3 etc.), *oşşene* "so" (Adak., p. 2, 4 etc.).

§ 88. *amaş* etc. Instead of *karşı* "opposite" in many parts of Anatolia we have *amaş*, *amaş* etc. M. Hartmann for example (*K. Sa.*, p. 156) gives for 'Anteb (Aintab): *ümaşymışda* "opposite us"; *amaş* is noted by Balkanoglu (Neşib Asim) from Kilis meaning "vis-à-vis" (*K. Sa.*, iii, 269). *Annaş* found in the Taurus is probably a corruption of *amaş* (< Pers. *amāš*): *annaşymışa kara laze* "opposite us is a black rock" (*Türk Yurdu*, May 4, 1928, p. 22^b), as is *amaş* which I know from the wilkyet of Bolu: *arnušta guzy gördüm* "opposite I saw a lamb" (In a song from Çarşembe in the south of Bolu), *arnušta gördüm seni* "opposite I saw thee" (from the same district) etc.

Bibliography: given in the article. A number of notes and examples for which no reference is given are from the author's unpub-

lished materials. They were collected by him in his dialectological studies among Turkish soldiers in 1917–1918 and during his dialectological journeys in Asia Minor (1923 and 1927) and in N. E. Bulgaria (in 1929).

(T. KOWALSKI)

III. OTTOMAN TURKISH LITERATURE.

The literature to which the name of Ottoman is now generally given is really the literature of the Oghuz Turks, who settled in Asia Minor in the Seldjuk period and later in the time of the Ottomans in Rûm-ili, where they founded a powerful empire. This literature, which has had an uninterrupted development from the time of the Seldjûks down to the present day, is based on the literatures of still older dialects and has remained in touch with these in all periods of its evolution. Especially since the xvth century, it has become the most important and richest branch of all the Turkish literatures and has exercised an influence on the literature of the other dialects. Here we shall only sketch the general evolution of this literature, noting its main genres and principal personalities. We shall deal not only with the classical literature which was confined to the upper classes, but also — in their general features — with the literature of the masses, that of the poet musicians (*şâr şâirleri*) and the literature of the various mystic groups. We have felt the necessity of dwelling more fully on points which have hitherto not been satisfactorily studied or which are not yet well known in the learned world, while, as regards better known aspects, we have not gone into details, confining ourselves to a synthetic exposition. For example the xiiith and xivth centuries — the least known period of this literature — have been treated more fully in proportion to other centuries. This is necessary in order to be able to elucidate more fully unknown points and must not be considered disproportionate in this succinct résumé.

We divide Ottoman literature into three great periods, corresponding to the general development of the history of Turkey:

a. Muslim literature from the xiiith century to the middle of the xixth, i. e. to the period of the *Tanzîmât* [q. v.].

â. The "European" literature from the period of the *Tanzîmât* to the development of the nationalist movement.

c. National literature, arising out of the development of the nationalist movement.

We shall examine these three periods in chronological order, in order to avoid arbitrary distinctions.

a. Muslim Turkish Literature.

xiiith Century.

After the Seldjuk occupation in the xth century, Anatolia had been gradually turkicised and converted to Islam. In the xiiith century however, Greeks and Armenians still formed a considerable proportion in the towns and villages of Asia Minor (Pauthier, *Le Livre de Marco Polo*, Paris 1865, p. 33–39). Among the Turks who settled in Asia Minor some belonged to one and others to other branches of the Turkish people. But as the Oghuz formed the majority, it was the Oghuz dialect

(that formed the foundation of the literary dialect that took shape in Asia Minor. The Oghuz dialect, which had separated from the other Turkish dialects well before the tenth century, had already a rich popular literature; we know of the existence of Oghuz poems in the Ghaznavid period (Köprülü Zâde M. Fu'âd, *Ghaznavî Dövlendê Türk Şi'rî, Edebiyat Fakultesi Mecmû'esi*, vol. vii., No. 2, p. 81—83).

The Oghuz who settled in Asia Minor had brought with them all these literary traditions. But in addition the literary products of other dialects also found their way in for different reasons (cf. on this: Köprülü Zâde M. Fu'âd, *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvifler*, Constantinople 1919).

As a result of all these influences there gradually grew up in Asia Minor alongside of the popular literature, a written literature in Turkish; we do not know positively if this written literature had already begun before the xiiith century or not. We do know that from the time of the Seldjûks of Asia Minor in the xiith century, Islâmic culture had established itself in the large towns. Then, after the Seldjûks had exterminated the Dânişmendîds and disposed of the Crusaders, learning and literature attained a considerable development in Asia Minor. The products of this movement were written partly in Arabic, but mainly in Persian. We cannot therefore doubt that Anatolian Turkish had a long struggle with Arabic and Persian in order to become a literary language. We see clearly the predominance of Arabic, the language of religion and that used for teaching in the medreses; it was the official language for the correspondence of the sultans with the 'Abbâsîd caliphs, the Aiyûbîds and the Mamlûks and that used in the inscriptions and *waqf* deeds of this century and also of the following centuries. The influence of Persian was still greater. We know that in the entourage of the sultans and of various scholars and princes, Persian was used and Persian poetry was constantly read. In the same way we find in some *waqf* deeds of the Mongol period — although very rarely — phrases in Mongol, but written in the Uighur character. Nevertheless the predominant language in official transactions and state documents was Arabic.

The use of Turkish was probably confined to dealings with the people. In 676 (1277) when the Karaman Oğlu Mehmed Bey had occupied Konya, he ordered that only Turkish should be used in the business of the chancellery; according to one tradition, he had a number of the old scribes put to death (cf. Sâiyîd Lûkmân, *İdmi'at-ı Ahmâd-ı Âlî-i Sâ'îd*; J. J. W. Lagus, *Seld Lûkmân ex libro turcico qui Oghuznamam inscribitur excerpta*, Helsingfors 1854, p. 13). According to İbn İbîl, the use of any language other than Turkish was forbidden not only in the business of the chancellery but also in private life (*Saltûk-nâme*, Aya Sofia MS. No. 2895). The importance given to Turkish during this brief reign does not of course prove that Turkish had already gained a predominance over the other languages. If we bear in mind that Turkish has come into general use in the religious tribunals of Asia Minor only since the xvth century, and that at Baghdâd Persian was still employed in the registers of the chancellery in the xviith century, we can better understand this. It is however certain that Turkish began to gain in importance in state business from the end of

the xiiith century (cf. *T. O. E. M.*, No. 17—94, 1926). In this century the *siyâsat* hand was used in the Seldjûk chancellery and there was also a system of writing peculiar to the chancelleries. In documents written in Turkish on the other hand, vowels were never indicated by letters in the Arabic fashion, but only the vowel signs were used. This shows perhaps that among the Turks of Anatolia, the tradition of the old Uighur script had been quite forgotten.

It is as a result of all these conditions that we find Turkish literary works appearing in the course of the xiiith century. A very small portion only of them has come down to us. Works which we no longer possess but of which we know of the existence from historical references are: the story of *Şahîd Sâ'ân* in verse by an unknown author; the *Saltûk-nâme* in verse and prose by a poet called Şahîyâd 'Isâ, in which are described the combats of 'Alî with a demon called Şahîl; the *Dânişmend-nâme* composed in 643 (1245) by İbn 'Alî, secretary of the Seldjûk Sultân, by order of the prince Malik 'Isâ al-Dîn Kaika'ûs b. Ghiyâth al-Dîn. It is probable that the stories of Sâiyîd Battâl, the existence of which is known in Egypt as early as the xiiith century, were translated into Turkish in the xiiith century. The *Battâl-nâme* and the *Dânişmend-nâme*, a work which grew up around the personality of Malik Dânişmend Ahmad Ghâzî, a hero who came to Asia Minor in the period of the first Seldjûk occupation and founded the Dânişmandîd dynasty, is a product of the struggle between Muslims and Byzantines in Asia Minor.

The political and economic situation of Anatolia in the xiiith century and particularly the material and moral crisis caused by the first Mongol invasions encouraged the expansion of mysticism in these regions. The Yesewî and Haidarî dervishes, coming from the east, brought to Asia Minor the mystic poems in Turkish of Ahmad Yesewî and his disciples. The Turkish mystics also, under the influence of Arabic and Persian mysticism, were forced to have recourse to Turkish as the language of the people in order to gather round them as many followers as possible. It was for this reason that İjalâl al-Dîn Rûmî wrote a few Turkish verses, although very few, and that Sultân Welâd produced a certain number of Turkish poems. These were until recently the only products of Seldjûk literature known. We may also mention Ahmad Fa'îh of Konya who lived at the beginning of this century and wrote a fairly long mystic *mathnawî*, which we still possess (cf. Köprülü Zâde M. Fu'âd, *Anatolische Dichter in der Seldschukenzeit*, *Körverl. Cisma Archiv.*, ii.), and a little later Şahîyâd Hamza [q.v.], whom we may regard as a disciple of Ahmad Fa'îh. These poets composed their works in the 'arûd metre and in imitation of the Persian mystics. But the mystic movement in Asia Minor was not confined to producing works of no originality. It also created a new kind of poetry, which was purely Turkish and original, in the language of the people, in syllabic metre and in forms suitable for a popular literature. Yesewî and his pupils had a great influence on the genesis of this last poetry.

Yûnus Emre was the greatest representative of this genre; he was still alive at the beginning of the xivth century. His art is essentially one of the people, i.e. it is Turkish. A Neo-Platonic

Muslim element can be distinguished in it, which does not differ at all from the mystic philosophy of, for example, Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, and a popular element which determines its language, style, form and rhythmic metre. It was through the mystical verses of Yūnus that there developed a tradition of writing poems in the language of the people and in the popular syllabic metre, which did not lose its power even in the periods when Persian influence was at its height. The mystics of the different orthodox and heterodox sects which arose in Asia Minor in the following centuries wrote popular poetry in the style of Yūnus in order to exert an influence on the masses. Among the latter special mention may be made of the Bektāshī, Hurūfī and Kīllāshī poets who imitated Yūnus with great success.

In the xiiith century we find a profane poetry beginning in Anatolia under the influence of Persian literature. It was encouraged by the luxurious life and freedom in the fullest sense of the word that prevailed among the upper classes. This movement became still stronger under the Mongols. It produced in the palaces of the Saldjūqs a kind of profane poetry quite free from ascetic and didactic tendencies and inspired by Persian literature. The first representative of this school, the aims of which were purely artistic, is the poet Khwādja Dāhhānī. It is very probable that this branch of literature, which was practised among the eastern Turks as early as the xiiith century, had had representatives before him in Anatolia, for his poems were written in quite a perfected style and attained a high degree of perfection from the technical point of view. It is therefore a mistake for Turkish and European writers on the history of Ottoman literature to trace the development of Turkish profane poetry to the time of Bāyard Yildirim at the earliest. Dāhhānī, also wrote, by command of his sovereign, in the reign of 'Alā' al-Dīn III a *Sākhnāma* of the Saldjūqs, in Persian; he was a Turkman of Khurāsān. From the dialectal point of view, his language shows all the peculiarities of the Oghuz dialect of Anatolia. A comparison between the works of Dāhhānī and, for example, the Turkish works of his contemporary Sultān Welad, enables us to see with what success he could use the 'arūz metre. But nowhere in his works do we find any trace of mystic influence (cf. on Dāhhānī my articles in *Hayāt*, N^o. 1 and 103).

It was natural that there should exist in this period in Anatolia among the masses and the nomadic tribes — just as was the case in the preceding centuries — a popular literature and that there should be bards of the people, whom the old Oghuz called *ezan*. The latter, *ezār* in hand, went round the assemblies of the people, the nomads and the villages. They were also to be found in the armies of the Saldjūqs. They recited and sang parts of the old Oghuz epics, like the stories of Dede Korkud. These products of the popular literature were as a rule recited in the popular rhythm and in traditional forms going back to an ancient past. Sometimes the names of these forms show an ethnic origin like *türkü* (q. v.), *türkmanī*, *marzaghi*; others, like *bozhona*, *deyish*, *şayr* *başlı*, reveal their popular character by their name or show that they were always accompanied by a melody. These popular poets usually employed the old Turkish musical instrument called *şebuz*.

xivth Century.

We find the literary development begun in the xiiith century following the same lines in the xivth century. In spite of the political division of Asia Minor, the spread of Muslim and Turkish culture continued at the expense of the Armenians and Greeks. The principality of the Ottomans founded at the western end of Anatolia reached the shores of the Sea of Marmara; towards the end of the century, it entirely subjugated a great part of Anatolia and reestablished the unity of the Turks once again; by its victories over Byzantium, the Serbs, the Bulgars and finally over the united forces of Europe at Nicopolis, it gave rise to a great and powerful empire.

A certain number of beys in Asia Minor had neither Persian or Arab culture, and this was the reason why the language of the people became important, why books were written in Turkish and also why a number of works were translated from Arabic and Persian into Turkish. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa gives some interesting notes on the importance of Turkish at the courts of the Turkoman beys and on poets writing in Turkish.

We know that books were written in Turkish in the xivth century at several centres like Konya, Nigde, Ladik, Kastamuni, Sinub, Sivas, Kır Shehri, Bursa and İsmik. Many of the works of this period have been lost. On the other hand, the compilers of biographies of poets (*shakhs-nāma*), which begin to appear in the xivth century, give for this old period very little information and that for the most part inaccurate. The information we have been able to collect from the sources gives us the following works:

1. The İnandj Oghlu in the region of Denialı and Ladik (1277—1368).

A *Taşir* on the *Fātiha* by an unknown author (manuscript in the library of the University of Istanbul) and a *Taşir* on the *Sūrat al-Ikhlāq* (MS. at Angora) very probably by the same author, written by command of Murād Arslan Bey Ibn İnandj (d. before 763 A. H.). This dynasty had associations with the Mewlevis and the author speaks very respectfully of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. We know also of a poet called Mu'arrif Ladiki who lived in this century at Ladik (*İlk Mulaṣṣaṭ*, p. 263) while Nakīb Oghlu, author of a story of *Hasan and Ruṣayn* in verse (Millet Kütüphanesi, N^o. 1518), probably came from the same town. I think that Nakīb Oghlu Tādj al-Dīn mentioned in Eflakī (*Les Saints des Derviches tourneurs*, transl. Huart, II, 329) as a contemporary of Celebi 'Arif (d. in 719), is the same person.

2. The Aidin Oghlu (1307—1403).

In the library of the Ulu Dīrī in Bursa (N^o. 21) there is a *Ḥisāp-i Evlādī* of which the beginning is lost. From a complete manuscript recently acquired by the Ma'arif Wekāleti we now know that the book was translated from the Arabic for Aidin Oghlu Mehmed Bey (707—734 A. H.). The author's name is not known. Another work is a *Kat'la wa-Dimna* transl. by an author named Mas'ūd for the famous Umur Bey, son of Mehmed Bey. This is dated before 734 A. H. (there is a MS. in the Bodleian among the Turkish manuscripts, Marsh. 180; another copy in the Laleli library, N^o. 1897).

3. The Mentesh Oghlu (1300—1425).

Thanks to Hammer's publication (*Falknerklee*),

we know a *Hisn-nâme* translated from Persian by Mahmūd b. Mehmed of Bardjin for Mehmed Bey (middle of the sixteenth century). Hâdjî Khalifa mentions that Mehmed b. Mahmūd Shirwânî composed for İlyâs b. Mehmed Bey a work in Arabic entitled *İlyâsiye* which he later translated into Turkish, by command of İlyâs Bey, and adds that the language is coarse.

4. The Germiyan Oghlu (1300—1428).

It is recorded that the *Kubûs-nâme* and the *Marzubân-nâme* were translated into Turkish for Sulaimân Shâh b. Mehmed Bey, belonging to this dynasty (770—790 A. H.), but no MS. of it is known (cf. Ahmed Tawhid, *Germiyan Beyleri*, T. O. S. M., No. 8). Shâikh Oghlu in his great Mathnawî *Kawrid-nâme* only mentions it in his introduction.

5. The Hamid Oghlu (1300—1391).

In the Library of Angora there is a manuscript No. 5/42 of which the author is unknown and which contains a *Tefsîr* on the *Sûrat al-Mulk* (lxvii.) written by command of an Anatolian emir named Khidr b. Göl Bey. We believe this Khidr Bey to have been the son of Dundâr Bey, one of the Hamid Oghlu who reigned in the region of Lake Eğirdir (Eghridir Gölü) and that Dundâr Bey perhaps was surnamed Göl Beyi.

6. The Othmân Oghlu (Ottoman state).

An author named Mustafa b. Mehmed of Angora wrote a *tefsîr* on the *Sûrat al-Mulk* for Sulaimân Pasha, eldest son of Orkhan, a work of which there is a manuscript in the Bâyasid public library. Bursallî Tahîr Bey (*Othmanî Muellifleri*, ii. 13) says that there is in the same library a work by the same writer in Turkish called *Hikw al-Nâshîn*. We may add a *Dânişmand-nâme* re-written in 762 (1361) by 'Arif 'Alî, commander of the citadel of Tokat, by order of Murâd I, and a translation in verse of the *Kafla wa-Dimna* by an unknown author and also dedicated to Murâd I (Pertsch, *Die türkischen Handschriften . . . in Gotha*, p. 168).

In addition to these works, we possess also several others written in this century in different parts of Asia-Minor:

a translation of Tabarî written in 710 (Rien, *Catalogue of the Turkish MSS. of the British Mus.*, p. 22);

a *Dastân-i Mahtal-i Husain* written by a poet named Shâdî or Shaiyâd in 763 A. H. at Kastamuni;

a poem *Tûrât*, by 'Izz al-Din Oghlu bound up with the preceding;

Hâfret-i 'Umar Dastân by 'Alî;

a Mathnawî *Mîhr-i Wefâ* written in 760 by an unknown author;

a *Munâzât* by Khwâdjâ Oghlu;

a collection of maxims in verse by Sinân Oghlu (MSS. in my private library);

a mathnawî by Ma'âdh Oghlu Hasan of Bey Pazar, on the *Ghawwâ-i 'Alî* and another mathnawî written by 'Alî and entitled *Fâh-i Kâl-o-i Salât* (Millet Kütüphanesi, MS. No. 1518);

a translation of the *Tadhîra-i Awliyâ* of 'Attâr written in 741 by an unknown author and mentioned by Joseph Thury (*Türk dili Vahâretleri, Milli Tevâizler Medjmu.*, iv. 107);

another manuscript containing the translation of the *Tadhîra-i Awliyâ* in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Anc. Fonds Turc, No. 87);

Manûshîh al-Ahrâr fî Maqûlât al-Akhyâr by

Ahmed b. Derwish, Khalifa of Mewlânâ Sinân al-Din Akshehrî (MS. in the Köprülü Library, No. 253¹³);

the Mathnawî *Warha wa-Gulshâh*, written in 770 (1369) at Siwas by the Mawlawî Yûsuf Meddâh (in the Institute of Turcology);

the *Mathnawî* of Tursun Fakih (q.v.);

the mathnawî entitled *Hikâyet-i Kan'ân wa-Shim'ân*, by 'Alî (in my private library);

Tûkhl, by Hâdjî Pasha (Pertsch, *Die türk. Handschr. . . in Gotha*, p. 97; there are many copies).

Muntahab al-Shifâ, written in 790 by Ishâk b. Murâd (Pertsch, p. 99);

some *ghazals* by Afîakî, author of the *Manûshîh* (Weled Çelebi, at the end of the Turkish verses of Sultân Weled);

translation in verse of Shâhîbî entitled *Kashf al-Ma'ânî*, written in 800 A. H. by Mehmed b. 'Ashîk Selimân al-Lâdîki and another work in verse on the Qur'ân by the same author (in my private library);

a *Futûvet-nâme* by Yahyâ b. Khalîl (O. L. Z., 1928, p. 12);

another *Futûvet-nâme* written in the time of Yıldırım (in my private library);

translation of the *Manûshîh al-Tair* by Gülshehrî in 717 as well as a number of poems (*Ilk Mutezawwifer*, p. 268 sq.);

the Mathnawî *Sukail u-Nawbahâr* written in 751 by Khwâdjâ Ma'âd and his nephew 'Izz al-Din Ahmad (ed. J. H. Mordtmann, Hanover 1924);

translation of the *Farkang-nâme* of Sa'dî, made in 755 A. H. by the same Khwâdjâ Mahmûd (Weled Çelebi, ed. Kilisli Rifat, Stambul 1342; there is a manuscript in the Copenhagen Library; cf. on these two authors Köpr. Zâde M. Fu'ad, *Türkîyat Medjmu'at*, ii. 481—489).

A certain number of works in eastern and western dialects were also written in the Mamîlûk empire, such as a *Farah-nâme*, a mathnawî written in 789 at Tripoli in Syria by a poet named Kemâl Oghlu Ismâ'îl, a work which is in my private library. We mention this work because it was also popular in Anatolia; 'Ashîk Çelebi attributes it to Shâikh Oghlu and 'Alî to Ahmad Dâ'i (cf. Gibb, *Hist. Ott. Poetry*, i. 256).

In a collection of poems entitled *Madjma' al-Naqîr* composed in 840 A. H. by a poet named 'Umar b. Mazîd (unique MS. in the University Library of Stambul), in the *Dîwân al-Naqîr* written in 918 by Hâdjî Kemâl of Eğirdir and in some other collections we find the names of a great number of poets and books belonging to this century (cf. on these books and their bibliographical contents: Köpr. Zâde M. Fu'ad, *Millî Edebiyâtın ilk Muabâhatleri*, 1928, p. 60—62).

The replacement of the Seldjûk Sultâns, who were much influenced by Persian culture, by simple Turkoman beys, knowing only their mother tongue, much encouraged the use of Turkish as a language of learning and of art. Many men of learning, *shâikhs*, and poets to obtain the favour of the Turkoman beys and of the notables of their principalities — who were also equally uncultured — endeavoured to write books in Turkish and to translate into Turkish from Arabic and Persian. The princes themselves ordered the translation of religious and literary works which interested them. They began to translate into Turkish *tefsîrs*,

Nº. 20). He was a great poet whose mystic lyrics are most impressive. His style is simple but full of power and harmony. Few poets have equalled him in the science and passionate expression of mystic love. Yet he observes all the rules of poetical style and uses classical forms with success. In his *Divân* we find *tuyug*, a form peculiar to Turkish poetry and foreign to Persian literature (cf. on this form of poetry Köprülü Zâde M. Fu'âd, *Türkîyat Medjmu'at*, II. 219-243).

In the fourteenth century also the subjects of romances and fables were taken from Persian literature, like the prose translation of *Kahila wa-Dimna* [q. v.] by Mas'ûd, with verses intermingled, and the verse translation of the same work made for Murâd I. The story of *Suhail u-Newbehâr*, however, written in verse by Mas'ûd b. Ahmad and his nephew 'Izz al-Dîn has more considerable literary value. This *methnawî* translated from an otherwise unknown Persian work is not, we believe, simply a translation but rather an expanded adaptation. Instead of the metre /-u-/-/u-/-/u-/-/ almost regularly employed in the *methnawîs* of this period, we have the metre /-u-/-/u-/-/u-/-/ and here and there throughout it *ghazels* written in different metres. The eclectic translation of the *Baiken* by Khwâdjâ Mas'ûd b. Ahmad is of much less literary value.

After Khwâdjâ Mas'ûd, Shaikh Oghlu Muṣṭafâ (born in 741) acquired the greatest reputation as a romantic poet. He was a pupil of Khwâdjâ Mas'ûd and finished his *Khurshîd-nâme* in 789 (1387). Belonging to an influential family of Germiân, this poet was at first in the service of the Bey of Germiân, Salâmânshâh, as *nîhângî* and *defterdâr*; later he was in the suite of Bâyezîd Yıldırım to whom he presented a second version of his *Khurshîd-nâme* [cf. on him and his *Khurshîd-nâme* the article SHAIKH-ZADE]. We do not have a complete *Divân* of Shaikh Oghlu but many of his poems are to be found in early *medjmu'as*. He has also left a work in prose entitled *Kanz al-Kutub*. He finished it in 803 and dedicated it to Pasha Agha b. Khwâdjâ Pasha, an influential personage of this period (unique MS. in Köpr. Zâde M. Fu'âd's library). This work is occasionally embellished with passages in verse and also contains fragments of Yûsuf Meddâlî, Khâss, Dahhânî, Güllühehrî, Khwâdjâ Mas'ûd and Elwân Çelebî (cf. above; Khâss is the only one of whom we know nothing). It is a kind of *Sîyasat-nâme* and in this connection it is interesting for our knowledge of the social life of the period.

Ahmedî [q. v.] must be regarded as the greatest poet of this period, with the exception of Nestmî. He is the author of the *Iskandar-nâme*. This work, finished in 792 (1390), has always been famous and exists in numerous MSS. It has been studied in detail by Joseph Thury (*Türk Nysivmîlîkî a XIV sîzad wîgîg*, Budapest 1903) and was later studied from the philological point of view by Brockelmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, lxxiii, 1/2, 1919). The manuscripts of the *Iskandar-nâme* show great differences. Ahmedî took the subject of his work—a very common one in eastern and western literature—from Persian sources, but he added a long section dealing with the history of Asia Minor and especially with the Ottoman princes. For this reason we may look upon him as the author of the first Turkish chronicle in verse. The *Divân* of Ahmedî is undoubtedly more interesting from

the artistic point of view. Among these poems, there are some which have a local interest from the description of the town of Bursa and the attacks on its inhabitants. In the works of the xvth and xvith centuries we find evidence of his great reputation and many poets of this period wrote *nasîhs* on him. We know that the *Iskandar-nâme* was read and admired in these days in Adharbâidjân, in Khurâsân and in Transoxiana, and that the poet Shaikh Khân, founder of the Shaikhânîd dynasty, much appreciated it.

To complete this general picture of the sixteenth century we must mention Kâdî Burhân al-Dîn, although his works show the peculiarities of the Adharbâidjân dialect. Kâdî Burhân al-Dîn belonged to the tribe of the Salur and was sultan of Siwas; his stirring political life is well known (745-801 A.H.; cf. the article on him). Besides important works in Arabic on jurisprudence and some Arabic and Persian poems, according to the historian 'Ainî, he left a *Divân* in Turkish, containing *ghazels*, *rubâ'is* and *tuyug*s. Although his language lacks refinement and correctness, the poems of Burhân al-Dîn have a note of sincerity and passion of their own.

It is evident from what we have said that Turkish literature developed greatly in the xivth century and that Turkish was successfully making its way against Arabic, the language of religion, and Persian, the literary language. In following the Persian model, a classical Turkish literature laid solid foundations. Its progress had not yet reached its limits, for official documents in various districts were still written in Persian. In inscriptions, legal documents, *waṣf* deeds, Arabic was employed. Works on law and theology were still written in Arabic and books on mysticism in Arabic and Persian. Nevertheless we can see Turkish gaining in importance in official business as is the case in some edicts of Murâd I (Kraelitz, *T.O.E.M.*, xxviii. 242 *seq.*). Many authors and poets, while saying that Turkish is not yet sufficiently polished, felt, under the influence of the general trend, the need of writing in Turkish or rather translating into Turkish. They imitate and translate Persian poets like Firdawsî, Nizâmî, 'Attâr, Sa'dî, Mawlânâ, Salmân Sâwadjî and Kamâl Khudjandî. The language gradually becomes filled with Persian and Arabic elements. The grammars of these languages gave Turkish a certain number of rules, which tended to affect the independence and natural beauty of the language. Prosody and metres were also borrowed from Persian; but Turkish words were still very largely used and the domination of Arabic and Persian which is found in the following centuries is not yet felt.

xvth Century.

The invasion of Timûr in the early years of this century retarded for a brief period the evolution of the Ottoman state in Asia Minor; on the other hand, it strengthened Turkish culture in Rûm-ili, to which many educated Muslims migrated at this period.

The advance of Islâm and Turkish culture continued throughout this century with increasing force, notably through the application of the *devshîrme*. The progress was most marked in Rûm-ili; on the turkicisation of southern Anatolia we have the evidence of Bertrand de la Broquière (*Le voyage d'Outremer*, publ. by Ch. Schefer, Paris

1892, p. 100, 101). The earliest work written in Rûmî is a poem on the death of Fatîma written in 805 (1400) by Khalîl, imâm of the mosque of Kara Balut in Adrianople, which is in no way distinguishable from popular works of this kind of the xvth century (the only known MS. is in my private library).

At the same time Turkish increased in importance as a literary and official language. The *waqf* inscription of the Germiyan Oghlu Ya'kûb II of Sîg (1411) is the first Turkish inscription of this kind (Khalîl Edhem, *T. O. E. M.*, t. 116). There is a Turkish epitaph in verse of 843 (1439) at Angora and another rhymed inscription at Bursa composed by the poet Dîvânî in 870 (1463). All the official documents of the first period of the reign of Sultan Mehmed II are in Turkish (Ahmad Refik, *T. O. E. M.*, index) and also a certain number of edicts (*ferâman*) of this century, the earliest of which is dated 800 (1455) (V. von Knebelitz, *Osmânische Urkunden in türkischer Sprache*, Vienna 1922). We also know from a work written in 828 (1425) by Dewlet Oghlu Yûsuf of Balkh, that Turkish was used in the *medreses*, which we can also assume with considerable probability for the xvth century. In official correspondence with other Muslim or Christian states and in lands inhabited by non-Turkish peoples, other languages continued to be used. The historian Critoboulos mentions a Greek secretary of Mehmed II.

In the first half of the xvth century there were three great princely families who were patrons of scholars and poets: the Karaman Oghlu at Konya, the Dîvânî Oghlu at Kastamuni and the Ottoman princes at Adrianople and Bursa. In this century Fakihî, Khodja Fakih Karamani, Halimi and Nigârî belonged to the Karaman Oghlu circle. Nigârî may be regarded as the rival of Ahmed Pasha of Bursa. At the court of the Dîvânî Oghlu were Mirâmî b. Muhibî b. Sinân Sinûbî, author of the medical work entitled *Miftâh ul-Nûr wa-Shawâhîd ul-Sûrûr* (Bibl. Nat., Anc. Fonds Turc., N° 172), and the unknown author of a commentary on the Kur'an entitled *Dîvânî ul-Ajdâf* (Cl. Harv., *Un commentaire du Coran en dialecte turc de Kastamuni*, *J. A.*, 1921, p. 161—216) which exists in several copies. It is wrong to regard its language as the dialect of Kastamuni. Isma'îl Bey, a member of this dynasty who reigned from 1443 to 1457, wrote a religious work in Turkish entitled *Hulûlîyât ul-Sûlûm* (cf. Rien, *Cat. of Turk. MSS.*, p. 11). This same Isma'îl (on him cf. the translation of the *Sûrah*, p. 121, 125, 139) had a book on *rağ'as* written for him in Turkish by a certain 'Umar b. Ahmad (MS. in the Millet Kütübkhânesi at Constantinople). He also had a translation made of the *Al-Furqân* (in my private library). The poets of the entourage of the Dîvânî Oghlu are Mehmed Sinûbî, the dervish Turâbî of Kastamuni; Hamîdî, Khalkî, Thana'î and De'î were at the court of Isma'îl Bey (the two latter were later at the court of the Ottomans). There is also a *Khatîbat ul-Fîrâ* in Turkish, dedicated to Kâsim Bey b. İsfendiyâr of the same dynasty. Rostem Bey, son of the latter, composed a *Dîvân*. In the xvth century the poets Shemsî Pasha and Emîrî belonged to this dynasty.

But the greatest literary development is found under the Ottomans. Poets like Ahmedî and Ahmed De'î wrote *kasidas* for Emir Süleymân, to whom also was dedicated a *Garz-nâme* by a certain

Mehmed Şahîd Mûsâfî (Bibl. Nat., Anc. Fonds Turc., N° 104) and a *mash'ûr* called *Tuhfe-nâm* or *Ughr-nâm* begun in 800 (1395) by a poet named Mehmed; this poem is an adaptation of a *Hamîd* *work* in eastern Turkish and shows several remarkable features (Bibl. Nat., Suppl. Turc., N° 604). We also have a *Qandâr ul-Madîr*, a theological work written in 809 (1406) by Khalkî b. Ya'kûb (Bibl. Nat., Suppl. Turc., N° 499). The following also belong to this period: a *waq'at* called *Shawâhîd*, finished in 811 (1408) by Ya'qûbî Sa'îd al-Dîn (cf. Fleischer, *Cat. Lips.*, vol. ii); a poetical translation of the *Mash'ûr* *Hikâyat ul-Bakîr* *Wâsî*, in 812 (1409), by Khalkî Oghlu (*Turk. Medîna*, n. 494); and the *Mash'ûr* of Kâth al-Dîn (Bibl. Nat., Anc. Fonds Turc., N° 144).

It was Murâd II who did most for the development of the Turkish language and literature. His court was the centre of scholars, poets and also musicians, for example he had a treatise on music composed by a certain Khalkî b. 'Abd Allâh (a MS. in the Bibl. Nat., Anc. Fonds Turc., N° 150; another at Berlin); another author of this period who wrote two works on music is Ahmed Oghlu Shukrallâh (cf. Albert Languet, *Encyclopédie de la musique*, p. 2978). The poets of this period together with Shukrallâh are: Rûmî, Hamîdî, Shemsî, Hassân, Safî, Azharî, Nûjûmî, Nedîm, Ulûsî and Qasî. The names are found in the earliest *rağ'as*. We have besides the names of many poets, writers and translators, whose works have not survived, like the *Kirâ* *Wear* *Hikâyat* of Şahîd-âle Ahmed Mîrî (cf. the article *Hikâyat* *Wear*), the translation of *al-Furqân* *al-Furqân* of Mehmed b. 'Umar al-Halabî (Rien, *Cat.*, p. 224; H. Vambery, *Alphabetische Sprachstud.*, Leyden 1901), the translation of the *Manâhîk* *al-Furqân* of the same author (in the library of Köpr. Zâde M. Furâd), the translation of the *Khatîbat* *al-Furqân* by Mardînah Ahmed, in 835 (1431) (Bibl. Nat., Suppl. Turc., N° 530; Rien, p. 116; Peruch, *Cat. der türk. Bib. in Berlin*, p. 276), the translation of the *Mir'ât ul-Furqân* by Kâsim b. Mahmud Kara-Hâzîr, the translation of the *Hayât ul-Hayât* by Mehmed b. Salimî (Nile-i 'Osmâniye, N° 2998—99); the translations of the *Hikâyat* and of the *Wîdîya*, made in 828 (1425) by Dewlet Oghlu Yûsuf (several manuscripts), the translation of the *Gulîshân* *ul-Furqân* by Sheikh Elwân Shîrîzî in 829 (1426); an anonymous translation of the *Mathnawî* of Dîvânî al-Dîn Rûmî, made in 840 (1437) entitled *Mathnawî-nâm* (MS. at Cambridge); an anonymous translation of the *Mufradât* of Ibn Kâthîr (MS. in Upsala); a Turkish commentary on the Kur'an in the library of the Museum at Konya with interlinear translation; a *Farah-nâm* presented in 829 (1426) by Khalkî Oghlu (cf. *Turk. Medîna*, ii. 489—496); a *Qandâr-nâm* translated from the Persian in 833 (1430) by Mîrî 'Abdî; the treatise *Bâk-nâm*, translated from the Persian by Mîrî b. Mas'ûd (libr. of Sheikh 'Alî Pasha, N° 283); a *Salimân-nâm* of 3,500 *bill* by Sa'dî of Sîrîz; a translation of the *Turîk* of Ibn Kâthîr (libr. of Dîvânî Ibrahim Pasha); a *Sûlûk-nâm* of Ya'qûbî Zâde 'Alî (vol. iii. of the *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjûkides*, ed. Houtsma, forms a part of it); a *Manâhîk ul-Furqân* by Yahyâ b. Muhammad Kâthî, a work containing a number of important historical documents (Bibl. Nat., Suppl. Turc., N° 660); a trans-

lation of a *Tafsis*, entitled *Anfas al-Djannat*, by Abu 'l-Faql Muat b. Hadidji Humm b. 'As al-Ismi, in 838 (O.L.Z., 1927, p. 9). Hadidji Khalifa, also mentions a translation of a *Tafsis* of Abu 'l-Lath and of the *Djani al-Hikayat* of 'Awfi, made by Ibn 'Arabshah. The prose work entitled *A Qasab al-Iqbal*, dedicated in 841 (1437) to Murad II by Maniyas Oghlu Mahmud of Uzun (a MS. in the Bibl. Nat., Acc. Fonds Turc, No. 13) shows that Turkish culture was beginning to gain ground in Rumili also. The most important work for the history of the poetry of this period is however the *Majma'at al-Nuqat*, written in 840 (1436-1437) by Umar b. Mazid and containing the poems of 83 poets of the thirteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

A great enthusiasm for the advancement of Turkish literature was shown also by Umur Beg, son of Timur Tash Pasha, one of the great dignitaries of Murad II. A large number of works were dedicated to him, such as a *Djehet-nâme* composed in 831 (1428) by Mehmed b. Mahmud Shirwani (MS. at Dresden) and a translation of the *Kitab al-Sa'adat* (MS. at Dresden). The translator of this work says expressly that he has tried to use as many Turkish words as possible, in keeping with Umur Beg's wishes. A manuscript of the *Anfas al-Djannat* in the Ulu Djami of Iznik has at the beginning a list of books which Umur Beg had given as *mushf*, among them being a large number of works in Turkish. All this shows that in the first half of the xvth century, Turkish was already a language of culture and learning and had produced a literature which included all branches cultivated at this period.

As in the preceding centuries, this activity was not confined to the translation of Muslim works of a classical character; as belonging to popular literature we may mention, as the finest book of *itira*, the poem which Salim Celebi (q. v.) wrote in 812 (1409) at Iznik: his *Mawlid* has been read for centuries by the people and in every century a large number of *mesnevis* have been written on this poem, which has all the qualities of a masterpiece of Turkish literature. Mystic literature gained in importance with the birth of new mystic orders. Alongside of translations of the classical works of mysticism (*Gulistan-i râs*, *Mir'at al-Ibad*, *Faql al-Khalifa*, *Tadhira-i Anvâr*), we find a number of works in prose and verse on mystical discipline and the rules of the orders. To this class of literature belongs for example the *methnevis* *Munawwir-nâme*, *Fatihat-nâme*, *Shir'at-nâme*, *Mu'herat-nâme*, *Ellet-nâme* and the *Hairat-nâme* of Sheikh Esref b. Ahmed, rather primitive works, the composition of which I would assign to the beginning of this century (the only known manuscripts are in my private library) as well as the translation in verse by Eshref Oghlu of the *Witaya-nâme* of Hadidji Bekirish. Several Sultans of this period wrote in verse in the style of Yunus Emre. Among the latter was the famous Emir Sultan, who wrote *itihâs* in syllabic metre under the *mashkaf* Emir Saiyid. The latter, along with Hadidji Bairam Wali of Angora, founder of the order of the Mülâtiye-i Bairamiye, founded a line of poets of this genre. One of these was Mehmed, son of Yavuz Saikh al-Din, mentioned above. He became celebrated under the *mashkaf* of Yavuz Oghlu, especially through his *Muhâsemehiye*, finished in 863, and in the following centuries he acquired a great reputation for sanctity in the Crimea and also among the

Turks of Kazan and the Bashkirts (cf. Ewliya Celebi, *Siyahat-nâme*, vii 812). This great poem is written in several metres in somewhat heavy language; the subject is taken from the books of *ziyar*; it also betrays mystic influences while retaining an entirely orthodox system of ideas. The literary influence of this poem has been enormous and there are several editions printed at Constantinople and Kazan (cf. also A. 'Arr and 'Ali Rahim, *Tatar Edebiyatı Tarihî*, vol. I, part 2, p. 166-177).

One of the most remarkable mystical poets of this period is Kemal Umri. He was a dervish of the Khalwati and his works reveal him as a true poet: his influence extended as far as the Turks of Kazan, the Bashkirts and Ozbeks. 'Abd Allah b. Esref b. Mehmed (d. 874 = 1470), founder of the Eshrefiye division of the mystical order of the Bairamiye and surnamed Esref Oghlu, is equally famous. He is the author of a work entitled *Muski al-Nufus* and of a *Dirâsâ*. The appearance of the great mystics and the foundation of new orders created a regular Turkish hagiography consisting of collections of legends of saints like Emir Sultan, Esref Oghlu and later Hadidji Bekirish Wali, Kağanur and Othman Baba. This literature is of great value from the sociological point of view; it becomes especially abundant from the xvth century.

Hurufî literature, which began with Nesimi, was continued by his pupil Refi'i who wrote in 812 (1409) his *Shihret-nâme*, by Ferid Oghlu (d. 864 = 1459), author of an *Ichk-nâme*, and by Wiranî Baba. Hurufî propaganda even reached the court of Mehmed II, and under Bayazid II these heterodox thinkers were violently persecuted. Nevertheless Hurufî poets were numerous in the xvth and sixteenth centuries: Temennâ'i of Kaisariye, Hasan Rumi of Kara Ferya, Museini, Usuli of Yenidje-i Wardar, Nebati, Tarsi of Baghdad, Wahdeti of Bosnia, Penâhi of Tahriz and Muhihi. In the region in which the Adhari dialect was spoken we find among the members of this sect Shah Ismail Safawi (cf. EHATA'I), Lashkari, Tifli and Habihi, who later came to Constantinople.

To turn to the non-religious literature, the earliest representative is Ahmed Dâ'i, a poet who lived at the court of the Germiyan-oghlu and of the Othmanli. In addition to some translations, we possess by him an Arabic-Persian-Turkish dictionary, the *Ufad al-Djannat*. As a poet he imitates with great success Persians like Salim Samedî and Kamal Khudjandi. He did not however exercise any notable influence on the poetry of his time.

The most important poet of this period next to Ahmed and Nesimi was Sheikhî. He was the author of *hasidas* and was patronised by the Sultans Mehmed I and Murad II. His real name was Sinan Germiyanî but the date of his life as transmitted are in part contradictory (cf. SHAIKHÎ). The date of his death is unknown but must be after 832 (1429). He was buried at Damlu-Pinar near Kutahya (Ewliya Celebi, vol. ix.). Sheikhî must be considered a great poet. His translation of the *Kanun-nâme* of Nizam is more than an ordinary translation. The *Kasr-nâme* which he dedicated to Murad II is a masterpiece of satire (cf. Köpr. Zâde M. Fu'ad, in *Yeni Medîniye*, 1917, No. 13). The influence of this poet remained great down to the xvth century. Poets like Nedjat and

Khayālī mention him with veneration so that he merits the title of *Shāikh al-Shu'arā'*. He was also respected in religious circles and even among the Turkes of Egypt (Ibn Taghribirdi, ed. Popper, vii, 323, 23).

Next to Sheikhī we may mention 'Aṭī of Brusa of whom we possess a *Divān*. His real name was Akhi Çelebi and his epitaph at Brusa is dated 841 (1437—1438). This poet was clearly influenced by Sheikhī but there is a pessimistic note in his poems. It was he who was the first to make use of proverbs in the *ghazal*. Another remarkable figure of this period is the painter Sa'ī of Brusa. His *Divān* contains *ghazals* dedicated to Murād II, to the vizier Khālī Pasha and other great personages. The biographer Saḥī gives a few details of his life.

Other poets of the same period are 'Ulwi of Brusa, Hamāmī of İznik, author of a *methnawī*: *Si-nāme* (Bibl. Nat., Anc. fonds turc., No. 304), dedicated to Khālī Pasha, Ahmed Rūmī of Gallipoli, Baba Nedīmī, the poet of the Bektaşis, Da'īfī of Gallipoli, who described in verse the wars of Murād II. We may also mention Djemālī, who dedicated his books to Mehmed II and Bayazid II; all the sources confuse this Djemālī with the poet Shoiḫ Oğlu Mustafa of the xvth century (cf. also the article *SHAIKH-ZADE*). Djemālī wrote in 850 (1446) a *methnawī* entitled *Gülshen-i 'Ushshāf* for Murād II and another *Humūn-i Humāyūn* for Mehmed II as well as a third called *Miftāḥ al-Farādī* (Pertsch, *Kat. d. türk. Hss. zu Berlin*, p. 371). There is also a poem by him on the art of letters entitled *al-Riḍā al-'adība fi 'l-ṣanā' wa 'l-badā'* (Brown, *Cat. of MSS. in Cambridge*, 1900, p. 87). Laṭīf praises this poet. He also wrote several inscriptions in verse for buildings in Brusa (T.O.E.M., No. xv).

The period of Fatih Mehmed II and Bāyazid II, themselves poets, is marked by a great development in the language and literature of the Ottomans. After the disappearance of the Turkoman dynasties in Asia Minor, the court and entourage of the 'Oḡlmanlı was the only refuge of poets and scholars. The great conquests had carried Ottoman influence to the Crimea and the islands of the Aegean; they were accompanied by an increased movement for the spread of Turkish and Muslim culture. At the same time the economic prosperity of the empire reached a great height, while the legislation of Mehmed II adapted itself to the needs of the period. The *medrese* and the *tekke* and especially the heterodox mystic orders like the Bektaşis contributed much to the spread of Islam; the state on its side secured the political unity of the empire by continual transportations of bodies of its subjects.

Mehmed II and his grand vizier Mahmut Pasha granted considerable pensions to poets and men of learning. Poets and musicians like Nedīmī, Fenāyī, Nūrī, Tahkī, Khafī, Da'ī, Du'āyī, Kādī, Kātibi, Nakīfī, Waḥīdī and others received great rewards for their labours. Mehdi, Melih, Barsaḥ Ahmed Pasha and others were continually with Mehmed II. Hayātī, Şarīfī Kemāl and Enwerī enjoyed the special patronage of Mahmūd Pasha. To the entourage of prince Djem belonged Shāhidī, Sakḥāyī, La'ī, Haidar, Kādī, Sa'ī and Turābī, the tutor of the prince. Bayazid II and his sons kept up this tradition. In the period of Bayazid II over 30 poets were receiving allowances from the

treasury. As the literary and learned activities of the second half of the xvth century are sufficiently well-known from various sources, we shall confine ourselves here to giving a general survey of the various forms cultivated and their most notable representatives.

The greatest poet of the period of Mehmed II was Ahmed Pasha [q.v.] of Brusa; although influenced by Niyāzī, Sheikhī, 'Aṭī and his master Melihī (cf. *Yeni Mecmua*, 1918, No. 31) he surpassed his contemporaries in the *ghazal* and especially in the *ḫalida*. Next to Sheikhī he may be regarded as the greatest figure in Turkish poetry. His influence is obvious on the poets of his time: Resmī, Harṭī, Kādī, Wāḥī, Niyāzī of Konya, Sa'ī (the vizier Djemālī Kāim Pasha) and Sulṭān Djem, and is felt even in Nedjātī, Baḡī and down to the xvth century. Like the other poets of his age, he was also under the influence of Persian poetry, which was unjustly used as a reproach against him by some authors of *tedhirs* like Dja'fer Çelebi and Laṭīfī. On the other hand, the very widespread opinion (which we find for the first time in the *Tedhirs* of Hasan Çelebi) that Ahmed Pasha began his poetical career by making *naṣire* on some poems of Newāyī is quite erroneous (cf. *Türk Yurdu*, 1927, No. 27). Ahmed Pasha collected and arranged his *Divān* by order of Bāyazid II. In it we have satires, *ḫiṣa* and notably very fine *marahib*.

Next to him the greatest poet of the xvth century is Nedjātī, particularly known for his *methnawīs* and his *ghazels*. He owes his reputation notably to his frequent use of proverbs in his poems. İdris Bitlisī calls him the Khuraw of Rūm and all writers regard him as the greatest Ottoman poet after Ahmed Pasha (cf. also Pertsch, *Kat. d. türk. Hss. zu Göttingen*, No. 168). His fame spread beyond the bounds of the empire. The influence of Nedjātī is traced in Şun'ī, Tāḥī, Shawḫī, Rūḫāyī, Zhārī of Uakub, Saḡī of Filibe, Sehi, Kurbī of İznik, Wāḥī, Werdi and Şāwēr, poets of the xvth and xvth centuries, and also in poets of his own time like Mihri. Many poets composed *naṣires* on his works and some of them like Walihī of Tokat have an almost religious reverence for him.

Along with Nedjātī should be mentioned his contemporary Meṣṭhī [q.v.] famous for his *Divān* and his *Shehr-engiz*; his work reflects more or less the life of his milieu. He also had some influence on Baḡī.

The *methnawī*, which came into vogue in the xvth century, became very popular in this period. Among mystical works we may mention the *Gulshen-i ma'nawī* of İbrāhīm Taṣnūfī (d. 887 = 1482), *Khulfa* of Ak Shems al-Dīn, the *Wahdet-nāme* of 'Abd al-Rahīm of Kara Hışar (written in 865 [1460], cf. Pertsch, *Die türk. Hss. zu Berlin*, No. 375—376), the *Methnawī* of Rūḡhenī of Aidin, a famous Sheikh of the Khalwatiya, d. at Tabriz in 892 (1487), the *Firak-nāme*, written in 876 (1471) at İznik by Khālīlī of Diyar Bekr [cf. KHALIL]. The romantic subjects of these poems were taken from Persian literature; the best known are the *Yāfūn-i Zālīkha* of Ak Shems al-Dīn Zāde Hamādī [cf. HAMAD], the *Khuraw-n Shīrīn* of Aḥī (on him cf. *Yeni Mecmua*, 1918, No. 54), the *Tahret-nāme* of Rewānī and particularly the *Remet-nāme*, written in 899 (1493) by Dja'fer Çelebi [q.v.]. This last work is entirely original

and the author shows himself a distinguished poet in whom imagination gains over sentiment. Towards the end of this century, the subjects of the *khamsa* were also very popular. Nişâni's *Khamsa* was several times translated.

A certain number of chronicles in verse also belong to this period. There is a *methnâme* in 11,000 *baits* on the exploits of Kemal Reis, composed by Şaflay of Sinub, a poet skilled in naval matters who lived in his *teke* at Galata; also a *methnâme* in 15,000 *baits* by Şahayî of Edirne on the conquests of Koca Dâvud Paşa in Bosnia; a rhymed chronicle dedicated by Şarî Kemal to Bayazîd II entitled *Selâtin-nâme*; a *Destû-nâme* written in 869 (1466) for Mahmûd Paşa by Enwerî, mainly important for the history of the Aids-oghlu (*Türk Tarihî-i Enjâmî-i Kâliyyat*, No. 15); lastly a chronicle in 15,000 *baits* on the conquests of Mikhal Oghlu 'Alî Beg by Süal of Priştin. We may also mention the *Kutb-nâme*, dedicated to Bayazîd II, in which the poet Urzûn Firdavî describes the taking of the island of Midilli, and which is a valuable historical source. The same poet acquired fame from other works like the *Sifâhî-hur-nâme* and the *Sulaimân-nâme*.

Prose developed considerably in this period. It was mainly artistic prose that was cultivated; its most brilliant representative was Sinân Paşa [q. v.], author of the *Tudarrû-nâme*, as well as of a *Risâle-i Ahlâk* and a *Tedkîk-i Evliyâ*. The former is interspersed with poetry; he shows power as a writer of religious lyrics. His style is the same as in the famous treatise by 'Abd Allâh Anşârî, i.e. artistically elaborated yet natural and sincere. The principal representatives of artistic prose in this period are Şarî Kemal, who translated the *Tarîkh-i Mülkân*; Ahi who adapted to Turkish the *Hün-u Dil* of Fezâhî Nishabûrî; Mesîhî, author of the *Gul-i şad-berg*, and Dja'fer Çelebi. Other great stylists (*münâşî*) were the grand vizier Mahmûd Paşa who wrote under the *mahallat* of 'Adnî; the nishandji Mehmed Paşa (*waḥḥat*: Nishânî) and Tarsun Beg, known as Yârdîlî.

The writing of history in prose also began to develop, Turkish taking the place of Arabic and Persian. In the time of Bayazîd II we find many specimens of the anonymous *Tevârîkh-i Âl-i 'Othmân*, the prose of which is intermingled with poems taken from the *Ishkandar-nâme* of Ahmedî; they show us that there existed in the xvth century among the people and especially the soldiers, chronicles which were almost of the nature of epics. The historical works of Derwîsh Ahmed 'Ashîkî, known as 'Ashîk Paşa-Zâde and of Urzûn-Beg do not differ much in point of style from the anonymous chronicles. The chronicles of Kâtib Şewkî, Behîştî and Neşrî belong to the same period. Works like the *Tarîkh-i Ahn 'i-Fâḥ* of Tarsun Beg [q. v.] and the *Djân-i İsm-i Âḡlu* of Beyâtî, on the other hand, were written for the upper classes of society and are very different from these other chronicles. The work of Yârdîlî 'Alî, who wrote in the time of Murâd II a *Selâḡh-nâme*, which contains among other things a synopsis of Rawandî and a translation of Ibn Bibî is in a way a model for this second class of historiography. Several of these historical works, like that of Tarsun Beg and the *Istanbul Fetḡ-nâmeh* of Dja'far Çelebi were written

rather with the object of displaying a particular style and extensive literary ability, which has had a regrettable effect on some of the literary works in prose.

A fine specimen in unaffected prose of this period is the treatise by Deli Laṭfî which is one of the oldest works of humour (*menâḡ*) in Turkish (publ. by O. Reischer, *Orientalistische Mitteilungen*, II, 1926, p. 40-43; on the life of the author cf. *Hayât*, 1928, No. 100).

In this period we have also a number of works in the Turkish of Anatolia which were composed in Egypt and Syria. In Egypt the Circassian Mamûks were Turkish by language and culture and under their régime works were composed in Eastern and Anatolian Turkish. To the latter category belongs the translation of Kudûrî by the historian 'Ainî [q. v.]. Other works are: a *Hikmet-nâme* in verse written in 893 (1488) by İbrâhîm b. Bâllî, who dedicated it to Kâ'it Bey; the Turkish poems of Kâsû Ghûrî, a translation of the *Sââhnâme* written in 903 (1497) by a poet named Sherîf for Kâsû Ghûrî (manuscripts in the British Museum, at Upsala, Leningrad, in the library of İbrâhîm Paşa in New-Shahr and in the Millet Kütüphanesi in Constantinople). There is also a translation into Anatolian Turkish from the Eastern Turkish of the *Kitâb-i Gûda*, by the hand of Mehmed b. Bâllî, who is perhaps the same as the İbrâhîm b. Bâllî already mentioned. We also have a letter in Turkish written by Kâsû to Selim I (publ. by Khalîl Edhem, in *T. T. E. M.*, 1928, No. 19).

We thus see that Persian influence in Turkish prose and poetry had increased considerably in the xvth century, even to the extent of becoming a fashion. Mehmed II even had the Anatolian poet Şehîdî write for him in Persian a *Şâhnâme* of the 'Othmanî and Bayazîd II also ordered the history of İdrîs Bitlîsî to be written in Persian. Scholars and poets who belonged to Mesopotamia, Aḡharâjdân, Persia and Khurâsân visited the Ottoman court and were treated with honour and given handsome presents, which even caused Turkish poets to complain. A remarkable figure among the poets who came from the east is Hâmîdî (born in 834 = 1430) whose *Divân* contains Turkish and Persian poems. He himself was of Turkish origin. After having lived at the court of İsmâ'îl Beg of Kâstânîni, he enjoyed the favour of Mehmed II from 864 (1459). His *Divân* is of considerable interest for the history of the period.

The court of Mehmed II and Bayazîd II was in very friendly relations with the court of Herât and with other Oriental courts, and the cultural and literary bonds which connected the Ottoman empire with the Muslim lands of the east and especially with Turkish lands remained close. Mehmed II and Bayazîd II as well as Mahmûd Paşa had relations with poets like Khâdîs-i Djihân, Djâmî and Djâlâl al-Dîn Rûmî (cf. e.g. Brown, *A Literary History of Persia*, iii, 422-423). In the same way the eastern poet 'Alî Shîr Newâ'î was famous throughout Turkey at the end of this century. The persistence of the old Turkish tradition in the xvth century is further proved by the fact that the Uighur characters had not been entirely forgotten; there is in the Millet Kütüphanesi a little work prepared to teach these letters to Bayazîd II as well as a copy of the *Hikâet al-Hâḡâ'îk*, written in Uighur characters. Towards

the end of the century there was actually a reaction against the excessive use of Arab and Persian words in poetry. They tried to write poems in the *arud* metre, while avoiding foreign words and expressions; one representative of the movement, called *Türkî-i Basîf*, is the poet Wîşâîl.

The literature of the people, of which the vehicles were the *esna*, continued in this century as in the preceding ones and was still appreciated at the courts although the *esna* had become poor musicians alongside of the great "classical" poets. They retained their popularity however among the people. We know of the existence of *Şîrîn-Şîrîn* also called *Şîrîn-Şîrîn* and *medîhâ* (cf. *Şîrîn*, *Şîrîn*, *Şîrîn* and *medîhâ*). They used to recite the old Muslim epics and were beginning to borrow their subjects from the everyday life of their neighbourhood; the latter provided a coarseness which separated them still further from the classical poetry. We have no longer any work of the popular literature of the period. We may presume that the theatre of *Kara Gök* also developed in this century (cf. *KARA GÖK* and *KHAYAL-İ TİLL*).

xvth century.

The xvth century is the period of the apogee of Ottoman might, in which the empire attained its greatest power in the reigns of Selim I and Süleimân the Magnificent. This was reflected also in the sphere of language and literature, which were fostered by the great centres of culture which had grown up with the foundation of schools, *tekkes* and *medreses*. As Rûm-îlî received the particular attention of the government, it is here that we find many poets appearing. It was also at this period that the Turkish language and the Greek and Slav languages had most influence on one another. By the conquests in the east, where the *Adhari* dialect was predominant, the poets of these regions were led to use the Ottoman dialect. The Crimea also gradually returned to the fold of Turkish culture: it began to produce Ottoman poets among whom were several of the *Khâna* themselves (cf. *III Müstawwîler*, p. 197). The same influence reached the *Dere-bey*s in Kurdistan. The intellectual classes of the non-Turkish populations were forced to learn Turkish and on the other hand, Stambul attracted learned men and poets from other Turkish and Muslim lands.

All the sultans and princes of the dynasty of *Othmân* were patrons of art and learning and their viziers followed their example. Selim I (q.v.) wrote, in addition to a Persian *Dîvân*, poems in Ottoman Turkish and in *Çaghatâi*. Süleimân (q.v.) wrote poetry under the *mukhlâs* of Muhibbî and from the very first recognised the extraordinary talent of the poet Bâkî. The grand vizier Ibrahim Pasha, himself a poet, was the special patron of the poets *Khayâlî*, *Lâmi'î* and *Rahmî*. Under Selim II, Murâd III and Mehmed III, the same tendencies prevailed so that, in this century, Anatolian Turkish became a great vehicle of art and learning.

The influence of the Persian poet *Djâmi* and of the Eastern Turkish poet *Newâ'î* made itself felt very markedly in the xvth century: many of their poems were translated into Ottoman Turkish. The poet *Lâmi'î* is sometimes called the *Djâmi* of Rûm, on account of his translations. On the other hand, it became fashionable to write poems in *Çaghatâi*. Poets from the east like *Djemîlî*

(his *Çaghatâi Dîvân*, containing only *nâzms* on *Newâ'î*, is in the Museum of Topkapı, N° 755) did much to spread the glory of *Newâ'î*. Many *Adhari* poets sought refuge at the court of the Ottoman sultans: the most famous among them were *Shâhî*, who left the court of *Shâh Ismâ'îl*, and *Habîbî* who had been a member of the court of the *Ak-Koyunlu* Sultân *Ya'kûb* and of the *Safawid* *Ismâ'îl*. *Habîbî* was a precursor of *Fuzûlî* (cf. on *Habîbî*: *Köpr. Zâde Fu'ad, Adhari Edebiyatına 'Aid Tadhkirat*, Baku 1926), and a few *Adhari* poets, like *Bâkî*, were also beginning to write in the Ottoman dialect. There is also a good deal of evidence that the cultural relations between the Ottoman court and those of the *Safawids*, *Shahânids* and even of the Great *Moghuls* were quite close. There are interesting details of these relations in the narrative of the famous traveller *Sayyidî Rûn*, who wrote under the *mukhlâs* of *Kâtibî* (cf. *'Alî b. Rûsîkî*).

Literature flourished not only at Stambul but also in *Baghdâd*, *Diya'r Bakr*, *Konya*, *Kastamuni*, *Brusa*, *Edirne*, *Yeni'dje-i Wardar* and *Üskûd*. At Stambul the poets used to meet in various places, such as little shops where some poets plied their trade, gardens (the garden of *Bakshî* at *Beshiktash*), the famous cabarets (*mevâhîr*) of *Galata*, *Teke* (the *teke* of *Djâ'far-âbâd* at *Sütlü'dje*) and the mansions (*kona*) of rich men (among them poets like *Nigârî* and *Zîrekî*). After the introduction of coffee, the *kahve-khâne* also became important meeting-places, and the visitors belonged to all classes of society. This progress in literature goes parallel to the development of architecture, decoration (*muşîk*), calligraphy, music and several branches of science. By the genius of the great poets like *Rahmî*, *Dhîrî* and *Khayâlî*, and especially *Bâkî* and *Fuzûlî*, there was created a Turkish classicism which was of no less merit than the Persian classicism which had been its model. It is wrong to deny an original character to Turkish literature: an intensive study enables one to discover in it the reflection of the ideas of the period and state of society, the results of the great military successes of the empire and of local conditions. In this connection we would especially call attention to the high importance of the different categories of prose and of the historical works.

In the xvth century, the literary language still makes borrowings from the Arabic and Persian. The activity of scholars like *Surârî*, *Sûdî*, *İbn Kemâl* and *Rîyâdî* produced philological commentaries, lexicographical and grammatical works. Books without number were translated into Turkish from Arabic and Persian. The borrowings from the two languages enabled Turkish poets to perfect the prosody and style of their poems according to the taste of the day. The product of the movement however was a beautiful but artificial language in which many of the natural qualities of Turkish were lost. On the other hand, we find poets who fill their poems — probably under the influence of *Nedjâtî* — with proverbs (like the *Pend-nâme* or *Kamî al-Badrî* of *Guwâhî*). Other poets like *Derâzî* of *Trebizond*, *Âgehtî* of *Yeni'dje-i Wardar*, *'Ishâkî* and *Yetim* fill their *fasîhas* and *ghazals* with terms taken from navigation. The movement known as *Türkî-i Basîf* (cf. xvth century) has two representatives in this century in *Mahramî* of *Tatavla* (d. 942 = 1535), author of a *Basîf-nâme*, and *Nâzîmî* of *Edirne* (d. after 962 =

1555); cf. Köpr. Zâde M. Fu'âd, *Millî Edebiyât Tercümanîh ile Muahhizat-ı ve-Divân-ı Türkî-i Sultânî*, 1928).

The greatest figures in the *şâzâde* and *ghazâl* in the xvth century are in chronological order: Dhâtî, Khayyâlî, Fuzûlî and Bâkî.

Dhâtî wrote besides *şâzâdes* and *ghazals* a large number of works in poetry and prose which are of very unequal value. In his early works the influence of Ahmed Pasha and particularly of Nedjârî is evident. His imagination and his new ideas made him very popular and he had a number of disciples. In the evolution of Turkish poetry his place is between Nedjârî and Bâkî.

Khayyâlî [q. v.] began his poetical career when Dhâtî was at the height of his fame, but as a poet he surpasses the latter and many others. The *Tercümanîh-i Ahl-ı Baghdâdî* calls him the "Hâfiz of Rum". His *Divân* contains all his work and is said to have been arranged by a certain 'Allî Celâbi, although the poet himself says in a *şâzâde* addressed to Sultan Süleimân that he had arranged a *divân*. In his youth Khayyâlî had been under the influence of the mystics, notably Uşşî, but mystical poems form only a small proportion of his work. His most original poems are his *ghazals*. He met Fuzûlî in Baghdâd and seems to have written *nağmets* on his poems.

Fuzûlî must be regarded as the greatest poet of Turkish literature in general, although he was born in the neighbourhood of Baghdâd and used the Adhârî dialect in his poems. He was of Turkish origin of the Bayat tribe. He composed a *Divân* and a *methnawî* *Leilâ ve-Mecmûn* which have secured him a place in literary history. Love in his works is never entirely profane in character, thanks to the inspiration of his mysticism. But as soon as he turns to the *şâzâde* we find him falling into artificiality of no value. His *Leilâ ve-Mecmûn* must be regarded as an original work rather than an adaptation. No other poet except Nâzîmî and Newâ'î has acquired a reputation like his throughout the whole Turkish world; he even exercised an influence on the musician-poets of the people (cf. Köpr. Zâde M. Fu'âd, *Introduction aux Kulliyât de Fuzûlî*, Constantinople 1342, p. 3—22; *Türkiyât Medjma*, II. 434—436).

Bâkî after the death of Khayyâlî was undoubtedly the greatest poet in Stambul. His reputation spread very rapidly throughout the empire and even as far as India. All the later poets down to the xixth century have praised him as their master. His *şâzâdes*, *merthiyes* and *ghazals* really do attain a high pitch of perfection. In spite of the fact that he was inspired by a number of predecessors, he retains all his own personality. In the expression of sentiment Bâkî is below Fuzûlî, but the musical charm and faultless ease of his poems have given him the reputation of an inimitable master of classicism.

The xvth century also produced a number of other great masters of the *ghazâl* and *şâzâde*. We may mention Hâfîretî, a very original poet, who describes the towns of Rûm-ili and his amours; his friend Ishâk Çelebi; Rahmî of Brusa, known from his translation of the *Shâh-n-Deiwân* of Hâlîlî and for his fine *ghazals*; Fîghânî executed by order of İbrahim Pasha; his successor Ma'jûlî; Durri Zâde 'Ulwi of Stambul, author of remarkable *şâzâdes*. In the second half of the century, Emrî, 'Ubeidî, Ma'edhîdîn Hadâyî and

New'î are masters of the *ghazâl*. New'î was at the same time a great scholar and stylist. We must also mention Rûhî of Baghdâd whose *Terkibend* only won him fame later. Then Fawrî, Djenânî of Brusa and Selîktî, who became known by their *muhammes* and *misalides*. Sânnî and the celebrated Kara Fazlî wrote *rubâ'îs* in the style of Khayyâm. Sa'atî, Shâhretî, Riyâzî and 'Ata excelled in the *ahîv*. Others like Sâghîrî, Thânnî and Ghazâlî, unnamed Deli Bîrâder, wrote *hesel*, *mevâz* (bantering poems; cf. QHAZÂLî and Köpr. Zâde M. Fu'âd, *Yeni Mecmû'a*, 1917, No. 15). Finally two forms very fashionable in the poetry of this period were the *me'âmme* (enigma) and the *te'rîkâ* (chronogram). The poet Emrî excelled in both of these.

As regards the *methnawî* we find, alongside of numerous translations and imitations of Persian works, original poems on local subjects like the *Şâhr-engele*, mystical poems and rhymed chronicles. The subject of *Yûsuf-u Zuleikha* was very popular, especially one by Hamdî. Many poets also wrote a *Leilâ-u Medjûn*, of which by far the finest was Fuzûlî's. Other subjects were the *Mîhr-u Mûsh-terî*, translated by Mîrî from the Persian, *Ebbâr-ı Eşkâr* and *Bahram-u Zühre*, both of which were chosen by Fîhrî as subjects, and many others. The best known authors of *methnawîs* were Kara Fazlî [q. v.] of Stambul, author of *Gül-u Bâkî*, Yahyâ Bey of Taşhîdjâ and, not quite so celebrated, Lâmi'î [q. v.]. Yahyâ Bey's most celebrated poem is his *merthiye* on the death of prince Mustafa (1553); his *methnawîs*: *Shâh-u Gedâ*, *Gençlîne-i Rûz*, *Kitâb-ı Uşşî*, *Günâhen-i Envar*, *Yûsuf-u Zuleikha* are distinguished by a remarkable originality (cf. YAHYÂ BEY). We must also mention Âdherî İbrahim Çelebi (1593 = 1585), author of a *Nağme-i Kâhyâl*, and Mustafa Djinânî of Brusa (d. 1604 = 1596), who wrote *Mahzun al-Avrâr*, *Riyâz al-Djinân* and *Djalâ al-Kullûb*. Among descriptions of towns we have several descriptions of Brusa beginning with that of Lâmi'î; there are similar works on Edirne, Diyâr Bakr, Stambul etc.; to the same class belongs the *Risâle-i Terâfât* of Fakîrî (d. 941 = 1534) of considerable historical value for its description of the various classes of society (cf. Köpr. Zâde M. Fu'âd, *Hayât*, 1921, No. 2). The *ghazals* of Nihâlî of Brusa (d. 949 = 1542) are of equal interest, in which the poet describes young beauties belonging to the trade-gilds (cf. Köpr. Zâde M. Fu'âd, *Yeni Mecmû'a*, 1918, No. 62).

The *methnawî* form was also still used for mystical works, lives of saints, collections of rules for the mystic orders, lexicographical works etc., most of which have little literary value. Several poets wrote *Hadîth-i arba'in*, in imitation of Djinânî and Newâ'î. To this class also belongs the famous *Hilye* of Khalkânî [q. v.] and the translations of the *Hadîth-i arba'in* by the same author. Encouraged by the fame of the *Mawlid* of Süleimân Çelebi, many poets, beginning with Ak Shams al-Dîn Zâde Hamdî took up the same subject but without attaining the same popularity. Lastly we may mention a *Deh-murgh-nâme*, inspired by the *Manţîk al-Tair* of 'Awhâr and dedicated in 919 (1512) to Selim I by Shemâl.

As the mystic movement increased in strength in this century and new *tekkes* were everywhere opened, it is not surprising that poets belonging to the different orders should write didactic works,

mystic poems and collections of legends of saints, alongside of translations of Arabic and Persian mystical works. We may say that each *tarika* had its own literature; among these literatures the more important belong to the heterodox groups. Thus the literature of the Bektāshis, begun in the xvth century by Nedīmī, had representatives in Yetimī and Āskerī, dervishes of the *ṭāke* of Saīyid Ghāṣī, and others. Many of these figures are of great interest in the history of religion for the freedom with which they expressed their thoughts — which sometimes cost them their lives. Their heretical doctrines were not only disseminated among heterodox bodies like the Bektāshis and Hārūfīa but also in orthodox orders like the Khāl-wettis and Mrlāmts, as we know from the historical sources. Other mystics wrote very simple poems, like Vahyā Efendi of Beşiktaş and others.

Finally a number of historical works were written in the form of *mathnawīs*. With the exception of the Ottoman history of Hādīdī written in 937 (1531), they always deal with a single event (the taking of Buda, of Djerbe, the Yemen etc.) or with the victories of a sultan (particularly Süleimān) or of a commander (like Khair al-Dīn Pasha Barbarossa, Öz Demir Oğlu 'Othmān Pasha etc.).

Prose in this century assumes a heavier and more artificial form: exaggerating Persian models, the simplest ideas are expressed by the most complicated images to the detriment of the subject. This lack of taste is found in the greatest stylists of the period: Lāmī'i, Kemāl Pasha Zāde, Djelāl Zāde, Feridūn Beg, Āṣmī, the translator of the *Humāyūn-nāme*, 'Alī Celebi, Kinnālī Zāde 'Alī Celebi, Khwādja Sa'd al-Dīn [q.v.] and others. This artificial tendency had a much more disastrous influence on prose than on poetry. Works written in simple language were despised by the educated classes. We find however that in very long works, it was only the preface that was written in this turgid and clumsy style. Many literary, historical, religious or moralising works of the period were in fact written in more simple language. The same applies to official correspondence and other state documents. In religious works intended for the people, every endeavour was made to write as simply as possible. The prose which we possess by Bāḳī and Fuzūlī shows an elegant and comparatively simple language.

We shall begin with the historical works, a field in which great progress was made in this century, mainly on account of the interest taken by the educated classes in the military successes of the empire. Beside the rhymed chronicle, in continuation of the Seldjūk tradition, we find from the time of Bāyazīd II and Selīm I historical works in prose. The official Ottoman history written in Persian by İdrīs Bitlīs was translated into Turkish by his son. Other general histories were those of Ibn Kemāl, Djelāl Zāde Muṣṭafā Celebi, entitled *Tuhfat al-Manāzil*, of Muhyī al-Dīn Ejemālī, of Luṭfī Pasha, of Khwādja Sa'd al-Dīn and of 'Alī. There are also a number of special histories, dealing with particular periods or certain events (the *Fethnāmes*) and biographical works (like the *Diwān al-Manāzil* relating to Sokollī). At the same time the office of *Shāh-nāme* was maintained at the court. In the time of Süleimān, it was filled by Feth Allāh 'Arif Celebi, whose successors included Afīkūn

Shirwānī, Seīyid Luḡmān and Ta'likī Zāde (d. 1013 = 1604). These were also Turkish poets, but tradition demanded that the official *Shāh-nāme* should be written in Persian in the *mutkārīb* metre, until Mehmed III ordered it to be written in Turkish. From the time of Ta'likī Zāde, prose began to appear scattered through the text. From the historical point of view these *Shāh-nāmes* are naturally of less importance than the non-official chronicles. While works like the *Tuhf al-Tawārīkh* of Sa'd al-Dīn were regarded as models of style, the *Tārīkh* of Luṭfī Pasha [q.v.], whose style more resembles that of the old chronicles, and especially his *Āṣf-nāme* are very important for our knowledge of the social history of this period. The *Tārīkh* of Seīnīkī Muṣṭafā Efendi shows how corrupt the administration was at the end of the century. We must regard 'Alī [q.v.] as the greatest historian of the time and his other works reveal him as a man of almost encyclopaedic learning. Not only his *Kunh al-Akhbār*, but also his *Nāḥiyyat al-Salāṭin*, *Kawā'id al-Madā'il* and *Menāzil-i Hünerwerān* show that the author was a severe critic, well informed about the conditions of life of his time. The style of his historical works is relatively simple (on his life and works cf. the introduction by Ibn al-Amin Māhūd Kemāl to the edition of the *Menāzil-i Hünerwerān*, Istanbul 1926). To this century also belongs the *Shāh-nāme* written in Arabic by Tashkoprū Zāde [q.v.] and translated into Turkish with additions by Mejdī of Edirne and Khākī of Belgrad; also an extensive biographical literature among which the biographies of the Turkish mystic sheikhs are of considerable historical interest. A similar interest is contained in a few light works of hadīthage (*meṣāliḥ*) like the *Nafis al-umr-nāme* of Lāmī'i and of Nikā'ī Zāde (cf. *Millī Tarihler Medfūn'at*, No. 3).

Among historical works, those which deal with literary history occupy an important place. The first Ottoman *tezkere* is the *Huṣṣat Bekhiyye* written in 945 (1538) by Seḥrī, in imitation of the *Madā'il al-Nafīs* of Newā'i. He was followed by Luṭfī [q.v.], 'Ashīk Celebi [q.v.], 'Ahdī of Baghdad and Hasan Celebi [q.v.]. 'Alī also gives important notices of poets in his *Kunh al-Akhbār*. The compilation of collections of *nāṣīr* on poems of other poets, like the *Djāmī al-Nafīs* written in 918 (1512) by Hādīdjī Kemāl, containing poems by 266 poets, and others, is a custom which is also found in the xvth century and has contributed greatly to our knowledge of Turkish poets.

It is in this century that we find geographical works and travels beginning to appear. In the xvth century we have only translations and excerpts from Ḳarwīm and Ibn al-Wardī as well as a translation from the Greek of Ptolemy. In the xvth century, these two works are again translated, as well as those of Abū 'l-Fidā' (by Sīpāhī Zāde) and Iṣṭakhrī (by Sherīf Efendi) and 'Alī Ḳushdjī's work on mathematical geography, and geographical descriptions of Egypt. A *Cin Siyāhat-nāmesi* written in Persian by the merchant 'Alī Ekber Khāṭrī was translated into Turkish for Murād III. The celebrated *Buḥriyye* of Pīrī Re'īs [q.v.] written in 935 (1529) was a result of the maritime policy of the Turkish empire. It is based in part on older cartographers like Ṣafā'i and

on Italian maps. As a result of Süleimân's campaigns by land we have Mitrâkçî's Naşüh's work, full of admirable little sketches. Seyyidî 'Allî Râ'îs wrote his *Muhtâş* as a result of his unfortunate exploit in the Indian Ocean, although the book is based entirely on earlier Arab works. The *Mirât al-Mamlûk* by the same author is much more original. After it we have the *Siyâhat-nâme* in verse of the merchant Ahmed b. İbrâhîm, describing his voyage to India. The *Manûşîr al-Awâim* of Mehmed 'Ashîk of Trebizond is very important; based on the old Arab geographies, it gives valuable new information about Ottoman lands. Finally we may mention a *Türîk-i Hind-i Garbi* on the discovery of the New World, translated in 990 (1582) from a European language by Mehmed Vüsaf al-Herewî (on this literature cf. Tanschner in the *Z. D. M. G.*, lxxvii, 1923).

Alongside of classical Turkish literature, we find the literature of the people increasing, the knowledge of which was spread by the *şîşâ-kân*, the *meddah* and the *şoragöçü* in the popular cafés and in the barracks of the Janissaries. Many classical poets also wrote *türkü* [q. v.] intended for the masses. These *türkü* are in the *arûs* metre and in the form of *mürceha*; later they were called *şerhî* [q. v.]. This form of poem goes back to the earliest forms of verse among the Turks. But the works of unlettered poets, like Enwerî, Thiyâbî, Kâyi, Raîkî and others, written in imitation of the classical poets, were more to the taste of the people. In popular gatherings such themes as *Abû Muslim*, the *Hamza-nâme*, *Battâl Gâzî* etc. were enthusiastically received. This encouraged Hâşimî of Stambul to write the *methnewî*: *Barîk ve-pûlâs* taken from the *Hamza-nâme* and inspired several authors and poets to write similar works. Sütlân Süleimân had the story of *Fîrâz-nâmâ* translated into Turkish in 8 vols. by Şâlih Efendi, translator of the *Djâmî al-Hikâyet*. There were *şîşâ-kân* even in the palaces of the sultans. Alongside of old Muslim and Iranian subjects we find also collections of stories of everyday life like the *Bursâî Kâwâdjâ 'Abd al-Râ'îf Efendi Hikâyesi* by the poet Wahîdî, also called *Ana Badîlî Hikâyesi*. The stories of everyday life by Muştâfâ Djinânî of Bursa in an unaffected style give us a valuable insight into different aspects of the life of the people in these days. Another poet of this kind is Medhî, whose real name was Derwîsh Hasan, who was the *meddah* of Murâd III (cf. Rien, *Cat. of Turk. MSS.*, p. 42).

In the xvth century we are a little better informed regarding the activities of the *evân*, although they are now generally known as *âzâdî* or *teğürdîn*. These wandering musicians were to be found wherever the people congregated and used to recite their poems in syllabic metres, love-songs, heroic tales, *methwes* and *türkü*. At the beginning of this century we have a portion of Bakhshî's epic on the Egyptian campaign of Selim I and at the end of the century we have the names of Kul Mehmed (d. 1014 = 1605), Okâs Dede, Khayâlî and Kâr Oghlu, and, in the garrisons of the Maghrib, Çirpanîk, Armudlu, Kul Çalkha, Gadâmuslu (cf. also Köpr. Zâde M. Fu'âd, *Türk Saz Sâ'irleri*, 1930). The influence of the various classes of society on one another had even the result that syllabic

metre was sometimes used among the cultured classes (but especially in the *kezel*) and the *arûs* metre in popular poems, just as had been the case formerly for poems of a religious character. The mystic poets however, following the tradition of Yunus Emre, wrote their *ihkâs* in syllabic metre. We may note the names of Umîr Sinân (d. 958 = 1551), Ahmed Sîrhan (d. 952 = 1545), İdrîs Mukhtefî (d. 1024 = 1615) and Seyyid Seif Allâh Khâlvetî (d. 1010 = 1601). But the greatest successors of Yunus and Kaighusar were found among the Bektaşîs and Kıldibash's, such as Kul Hîmet and his pupil Pîr Sütlân Abdal, a native of Siwas who was executed in 1600 by order of Khidr Pasha (cf. Sa'd al-Din Nûrhet, *Pîr Sütlân Abdal*, 1929). Other products of the popular literature of the period were *Haşan Oghlu Türküleri*, *Kara Oghlan Türküsü*, *Geyik Düşünü*.

xviii Century.

In spite of the political decline of the empire we still find intellectual and literary life pursuing its normal course. The knowledge of the Ottoman literary language spread among the Muslim lower classes generally and also through districts with a non-Turkish population or speaking a non-Ottoman Turkish dialect like eastern Anatolia (*Âdharî* dialect) and the Crimea. The Crimea began to produce a number of Ottoman poets, among them actually some of the Khâns. The influence of Turkish literature and culture is found as early as the xvth century in the use of Arabic characters by the Muhammadan Hungarians and Croats (cf. *Ungarische Bibliothek*, 1927, No. 14). There is also a Turkish-Serbian dictionary in verse, called *Petar Şühâdiye*, composed by Hawâyî (*Bull. de la Soc. scient. de Shoplye*, iii, 189-202), a similar Turkish-Bosniak vocabulary by Uskûfî and several rhymed Turco-Greek glossaries.

Stambul was always the centre to which men of letters and learning flocked from all parts of the empire and from beyond its frontiers. With the exception of Murâd IV, no sultan took an interest in literature, and among statesmen there were relatively few patrons of literature like İlyâs Pasha, Muştâfâ Muştâfâ Pasha, Râim Pasha and the Sheikh al-Islâm Yahyâ and Behâyî. In spite of this and of the decline in the medreses this century saw scholars of ability like Şarî 'Abd Allâh [q. v.], İsmâ'îl Ankarawî, İskâk Khwâdjâsî, Ahmed Efendi, and others. The various branches of religious learning and Arabic philology have however no great representatives in this century, and the conflict between the *medreses* and the *tekke* known as the "question of the Kâdî Zâde's" shows what a narrow point of view still prevailed in the *medreses*. The persecutions of the mystical orders, which sometimes had a political object also, did not however prevent these orders from continuing to prosper throughout the empire.

The "classical" Turkish poetry of the xviii century was in no respect below the level of the Persian models. But in place of devoting themselves to imitations and translations the Turkish poets were now working on original subjects. It is true on the other hand that the influence of contemporary Persian and Indo-Persian poets is still felt. Nef'î shows the inspiration of 'Urfî, Nâbî of Şâib and Nâ'illî-i Kâdim that of Shawket.

Nef'i [q.v.] may be regarded as the greatest Turkish master of the *şâzide*, on account of the power of his imagination, the richness of his language and the harmony of his style. His *ghazels* and his *hişn* on the other hand are less successful. The influence of Nef'i was always great on his successors, although his period saw several eminent *şâzide* like New'î Zâde 'Aîyî, Kâf Zâde Fâîdî, Riyâdî, Şabîrî and Rîqâyî. The greatest representative of the *ghazel* is the Sheikh al-Islâm Yahyâ [q.v.] who may be regarded as the successor of Bâkî, especially on account of his great power to express feelings and emotions. His fame likewise survived into the following centuries. Other representatives of the school of Bâkî and Yahyâ are the Sheikh al-Islâm Behâî and Wedjîdî. In contrast to the latter, the poets Fehîm [q.v.], Na'îlî-i Kâdîm [q.v.], Şükrî and even the poet Nâblî [q.v.] were under the influence of contemporary Persian poetry, Nâblî on whom can be noticed the influence of Şâhî became renowned for his *methnawî* *ghazîyes* and his *ghazels*. His poems are characterised by the preponderance of intellectual conceptions but this has not affected his popularity. In many of his poems he describes and criticises the social life of his time. His young contemporary Thâbit [q.v.] endeavours to show his originality by mingling proverbial expressions with his poetry. Among the masters of the *ghazel* in the xviii century we may also mention Nîshâî, Mewlewî, Djewrî and Râmî Mehmed Pasha.

'Azîmî Zâde Hâletî [q.v.] excelled in all poetical genres and is best known for his *rubâîs*. The *şâzide* and the *mu'ammâ* became very popular as did the *tarîkât* (chronogram). The *hişn* and *mezâh*, composed in different forms, came poets of the first rank to write very coarse things. Some products of this genre however can be appreciated, like the *teşhîs* in the form of a *methnawî* by Gûstî in which the author depicts contemporary poets; the *hişn* of Fehîm and of Djewrî, written in the form of *mu'ammâs*, are curious because the text is scattered with passages in non-Turkish languages.

Some *methnawîs* of the first half of the century show a remarkable perfection. The subjects of the old *ghazels* are gradually replaced by more topical subjects. The greatest representative of the style is New'î Zâde 'Aîyî [q.v.] who acquired his great reputation with his *ghazels*, the subjects of which are taken from the life of his time. This poet reveals the influence of his Turkish predecessors like Yahyâ of Tashhîdjâ and Djânânî (cf. xvth century). After him we may note the following authors of *methnawîs*: Kâf Zâde Fâîdî, Çhanî Zâde Nâdîrî and Riyâdî. It was mainly in this century that it became fashionable to write *Şâh-nâmes* in imitation of the Persian poet Zuhârî, although this genre is already found earlier, as is shown by the *Şâh-nâme* of Rewânî (xvth century). Among the *Şâh-nâmes* we may specially note those of 'Aîyî, Riyâdî and Hâletî; all are tinged with mysticism. The *methnawî* thus served for all sorts of subjects taken from daily life, stories, descriptions, speculative works, tales of actual events etc.

The number of religious and mystical works, lives of saints and didactic works connected with the different *tarîques* is very great in this century. Poetical forms were often used for them. Very well known is the *Me'râdîye* of Nâdîrî. Then there were

panegyrics of the Prophet (*nâ't*), imitations in verse of the *Hadîth-i arbabîn*, of *muwâlids* etc. Among the mystic poets there were some who used the syllabic metre; we may note Niyâzî-i Mîsrî, founder of the Mîsrîye division of the Khalwatiyye order, whose poems were long popular; the Bektaşîya also numbered several poets in their ranks. There are also a large number of historical works in verse, *Şâh-nâmes*, *Çhan-nâmes*, etc., like the *Şâh-nâme* of Nâdîrî of the time of Othmân II and others. The *Şâh-nâme* written by Mülhemî by order of Murâd IV has only the preface in Turkish; the rest is Persian in keeping with the old tradition. It is in this century also that the custom begins of writing brief Ottoman histories in verse; we have that of Tâlibî, written in 1017 (1608), of Nîshâî (d. in 1075 = 1664) written for Mehmed IV and the *Fîrîst-i Şâhân*, dedicated to Mehmed IV by Söleğ Zâde Hemdemî, and continued by a series of poets down to Zîyâ Pasha in the xixth century. This kind of work has neither much historical nor literary value.

Literary prose follows the same lines as in the preceding century. The great stylists (*munâzzîs*) like Weîsî, Nergîsî, Oğdju Zâde and others carried affection of language to a still more advanced degree. A fine specimen is given by the official documents addressed to the Persian court and written by *munâzzîs* like Hâkîmî; this same style, devoid of any taste, was sometimes used even in private correspondence. The works which were considered to have no literary value in their day are those which are now most appreciated, like those of Kocî Beg, Kâtîb Çelebî, Ewliyâ Çelebî and Na'imâ. Histories, in this century also, take first place among prose works. There are several which have the character of semi-official chronicles like the *Şâh-nâme* written in prose by Tashkôprüzâde for Othmân II. Murâd IV appointed Kâbilî as *wağ'a-nâmîs* for the Eriwan campaign. In 1074 (1664) the nîshândî 'Abd al-Rahmân Pasha was appointed by Mehmed IV to chronicle events, as was Mehmed Khalîfa of Fındıklî by Muştafâ II. It is only later that Na'imâ was appointed *wağ'a-nâmîs*. The historical works of this century are translations of the general histories of Islâm, original works on the same subject, general and special works and monographs on Ottoman history. From the historical point of view, the most important are the *Djâmî al-Dawal*, written in Arabic by Münedjîm Bâshî, the *Fedâleke* of Kâtîb Çelebî, the *Tarîkîk* of Peçewî and the best that of Na'imâ. The great encyclopaedist Kâtîb Çelebî (cf. HÂJJIJÛ KHALÎFA) also reveals himself in his *Musn al-Hatâ* and *Dastûr al-Amâl* as a historian of penetrating insight. Peçewî [q.v.], who made use of Christian sources, is also very valuable for his sound judgment and impartiality. Na'imâ [q.v.] who possessed descriptive powers of the first order, gives vivid psychological analyses of historical characters. Kocî Beg [q.v.] examines in his celebrated *Ricâli* the causes of the decline of the empire. Kara Çelebî Zâde is a *munâzzî* rather than a historian. We must also mention chroniclers like Wedjîhî, Hasan Bey Zâde and Söleğ Zâde, as well as the *ahkâl* to the *Şâh-nâmeh-i nu'mûniye* by New'î Zâde 'Aîyî and the continuation by 'Ushshâkî Zâde.

The *teşhîs* is much below the level of the xvth century; the most notable is that of Riyâdî written in 1018 (1609). The *Riyâd al-Su'arâ* of

Kâf Zâde Fâzîlî composed in 1030 (1621) also contains specimens of the work of the poets dealt with in it. There is also the *ahîrî* to this work by Mehmed 'Asîm (d. 1086 = 1675), the concise *teferrûat* of Rîdâ and that of Gâfîr already mentioned. The *Ma'ârif al-Nasâ'ir* by Khîsâlî (d. 1062 = 1652) is a collection of *ma'ârif*.

In the field of geography the most important works are those of Kâtib Çelebi and Abû Bakr Dimashkî. They use European as well as Muslim sources. The *Seyâhat-nâme* of Ewliyâ Çelebi [q.v.] is important for the history of all aspects of social life. In spite of its defects it is a work without an equal in Turkish literature. In this century also the first *isfret-nâmes* appear.

The great popularity of the *shihînâcelîs*, *medtâh*, *karagöçlî* etc. continued in this century in all classes of society. At Bursa we have Derwish Kâmilî, Kurbânî 'Alîî and others, at Erzurûm Kâsîb Kûrdî, Kandillî Oğlû etc. At Stambul there were eighty *medtâh*, who were organised in a gild (*çinnîf*); the best known is Tîfîlî [q.v.] who was *medtâ* to Murâd IV. Towards the end of this century the *medtâh* Kîrîmî (d. 1120 = 1708) flourished.

The musician-poets (*sânî şâirleri*) became very numerous in the xviii century. We find them among the Janissaries, the sipâhîs, the lewends, the dîvalîs, and in the religious bodies like the Kâfîyah and the Bektaşîs. They were always to be found in military retinues. The writer has succeeded in collecting and identifying the works and names of about thirty musician-poets of this century. The most notable are Gemherî and 'Ashîk 'Omâr; the latter has almost become the patron saint of the *sânî şâirleri* (cf. Köprülü Zâde M. Fu'âd, *Türk sazâirlerini ait metinler ve tefkîkler*, 1-5, Istanbul 1929-1930). The influence of this popular literature is felt even among the upper classes, as in the poems of the Khân of the Crimea, Mehmed Girây, who wrote under the *mahtâf* of Kâmil, and a *merthîye* of 'Aîfe Sultân, one of the favourites of Mehmed IV. Several "classical" poets also wrote *ghazels* for the masses. The poem on the hero *Gendî 'Othmân* by Kayîkçîlî Mustafa has actually given rise to a folk-tale which still survives in Anatolia (Köprülü Zâde M. Fu'âd, *Kayîkçîlî Mustafa wa-gene antan hikayesi*, Istanbul 1930). It is probable that several other folk-tales originated in this century, like those called '*Asîk Kerem*', '*Asîk Ghârib*', and '*Sâhî İsmâ'îl*'. Lastly we see from the statements of Ewliyâ Çelebi that it was in this century that the *Orta Oyuna* [q.v.] began to be popular with the people.

xviii century.

Literature and culture continued in this century to follow the same lines as in the preceding centuries. There was a vast output in prose and poetry, while the intellectual links with Persia and Transoxania continued to exist. Persian poets, especially Shawkât and Sâ'ib, exercised a great influence on Turkish poetry. But in spite of all this, the tendency to a more individual development gained in strength and was shown in the endeavours to simplify the language. It is mainly due to the great poets of the beginning of this century that classical Turkish poetry entered on a path entirely independent of contemporary Persian poetry.

The period of Dâmâd İbrâhîm Pâshâ [q.v.] is a very important one. Many works were written

and translated by his orders or those of Sultan Ahmed III. Committees were appointed to translate important works rapidly. Among the poets of this period we may mention 'Othmân Zâde Tâ'ib, who was called the king of poets, Seyyid Wehbî, Sâmi, Râshîd, Neillî, Selim, Kâmil, of Edirne, Durî, Thâkîb, 'Arîf, Sâlim, Çelebî Zâde 'Âşîm, and 'İzzet 'Alî Pâshâ. Nedîm [q.v.] in particular acquired a great reputation in the second half of the century and later. His *ghazels* and his *ghazîs* recall the period of Sa'd-ahâd and by his original subjects, rich imagination and harmonious language, he surpasses his predecessors and his contemporaries. In the *ghazîs* he reached a level which neither Nâzîm before him nor Fâzîlî Enderûnî after him attained. It was also through the patronage of Dâmâd İbrâhîm Pâshâ that İbrâhîm Muteferrika [q.v.] was able to inaugurate Turkish typography; but for several reasons printing remained confined to a very restricted sphere throughout this century and did not exercise any particular influence on intellectual or artistic life.

Among the great poets of this century we must also make special mention of Kâdî Râşîb Pâshâ [p.v.], the greatest representative of the school of Nâzî, and Sheikh Ghâlib [q.v.], the last great poet of the classical period. In the *ghazîs* it was the influence of Neftî that dominated, while in the *ghazels* there was a rivalry between the disciples of Nedîm and Sâmi on the one hand and admirers of Nâzî on the other. But towards the end of the century a decline in both schools became apparent; poets like Fâzîlî Enderûnî [q.v.] and Sübûlîzâde Wehbî [q.v.] are only mere imitators. The poets of this century practised all forms of poetry and special attention was devoted to genres characteristic of an epoch of decadence, like the *şîrîze*, the *hazîl*, the *nu'ammû* (enigma) and the *tarîkîh* (chronogram), while immortality and a general decline in good taste increased. On the other hand, true religious inspiration still continued, as may be seen from the *munâşşîrât* and the *na'îs* of Nâzîm, the *Mî'râ'îyye* of poets like Nâzî 'Othmân Dede, Nâzîfî and 'Arîf Süleimân Bey and the verse translation of the *Methnawî* of Mowlânâ by Nâzîfî. The *methnawîs* of this period are numerous but of little literary value, the old subjects of the *ghammas* are entirely dropped, with the exception of the *Hum-u 'Ishk* of Sheikh Ghâlib, the last masterpiece of this class. Finally, the rhymed historical works of this period and the mystic poems by initiates of the various orders are of little importance.

Literary prose tends to become gradually simpler, although we still find imitations of the style of Nergîs and Okâs Zâde. A well-known stylist like 'Othmân Zâde Tâ'ib openly declared against exaggerated artificiality in prose. Historical works occupy the first place. Among authors serving as *wa'û-nâmîs* [q.v.] we may mention Râshîd, Çelebî Zâde 'Âşîm and Wâsîf, but none of them can be compared to their predecessors like Nâ'imâ, although hundreds of people were writing biographical and historical works. The political and military decline of the empire caused a large number of *îshk* ("memoirs") to be written investigating the causes. The most remarkable of these memoirs is that of Kâdî Segbân Bâshî. From the point of view of geography we may note a number of important *isfret-nâmes*, of which

the *Fransız Sefâret-nâmeleri* of Yirmi Sekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi is a typical example; these works were occasionally, although rarely, written in verse. The *sür-nâmeler* written to celebrate the splendid festivals held by the sultans are important sources for sociological research. Those best known are the *Sür-nâme* of Selyid Vehbi and of Hâşmet. The collections of biographies of poets are even more numerous than in the preceding century. We may mention the *tevhîdler* of Safâî and Salim and that of Beligh; the *tevhîdler* of Esrâr Dede is specially devoted to Mewlavi poets; to this century belong also the *Wakâ'i al-Fuqatâ'* of Sheikhî, which is the final continuation (*dhail*) of the *Shakâ'ik*. Lastly the *Tuhfe-i Khattâ'in* of Mustafaîm Zâde — whom we may regard as the greatest encyclopaedist of this century — is the most important source for the Mualim and Turkish calligraphers (*khattâ'in*). In the field of geography we have only translations and excerpts from European works.

The *meddah*, *harâgânî* and *orta ayundju* continued to enjoy the same popularity among all classes of society. The works of the musician-poets were also known everywhere; we may mention Kîmetî, Nûrî, Lewnî, Kâba Sa'âl Mehmed and Fa'îhî, but the popularity of Gewherî and 'Ashîk 'Omer continued; some of these poets were of Armenian origin, like Medjûn and Warjan who lived at the beginning of the century. This influence of Turkish musician-poets on the poems of the Armenian *aybûğ* perhaps begins as early as the xvth century (cf. Köpr. Zâde M. Fu'âd in *Edebiyat Fihristi Medjmu'at*, 1922, No. 1, p. 1—32). The best example of the way in which the literary taste of the people had penetrated among the upper classes is the fact that the great poet Nedim also wrote a *türkî* in the popular metre. This tendency became more marked as the century advanced.

xixth century.

At the beginning of this century, Ottoman literature had sunk to a very low level which continued till the period of the "Tanzîmât". Wâsîf Enderûnî [q.v.] and 'Izzet Molla [q.v.] alone show some originality. Wâsîf appeals to the popular taste and shows the influence of Nedim as well as that of Fâzil Enderûnî. 'Izzet Molla, while strongly influenced by Nedim and Shaikh Ghâlib is, however, a much greater poet than Wâsîf, especially as regards the purity of his language and his poetical technique; in addition to *ghazels* and *ghazels* he wrote quite good *metârets*; he is the last "master" of classical poetry before the "Tanzîmât". It is true that even after the "Tanzîmât", many poets wrote *ghazels* and *ghazels* in the ancient style and among them the great advocates of literary innovations like Nâmîk Kemal and Ziyâ Paşa; to this period also belong Ghâlib Bey of Leskofca, 'Awnî Bey and 'Arif Hikmet Bey, all imitators of Nâ'îlî and Fehîm-i Kâdim. They had, however, no influence on the course of literary development. It was only natural that the old literary tradition could not disappear at one stroke; Shio'îs and his school had to maintain a long and hard struggle against the old school.

The prose of the period before the "Tanzîmât" is not of much value, although the production was not less than in preceding centuries. In history,

the *Târîkh* of Mâterdjim 'Âşim is remarkable for its style and critical ability; the author uses even simpler language in his translation of the *Burhân-i Kâfî* and of the *Kâmûs*. The well-known Es'âd Efendi, translator of the *Mustatraf* and author of the well-known *Usûl-i Zâfer* on the extermination of the Janissaries, is far below 'Âşim, with his insipid language and confused style. The same writer edited the *Tahvîn-i Wâk'î* and Sulţân Mahmûd II reproached him with the obscurity of his language in an account of a journey of the sultan which he had drawn up in this capacity. On the other hand, in his translation of the *Mustatraf*, he recommends the use of Turkish instead of Arabic and Persian words and the simplification of literary style, which shows to what an extent the movement to simplify the language had made progress. Lastly we must not forget the celebrated poet and stylist 'Âkif Paşa [q.v.] who, in spite of several poems written in the popular metre and some works in simple prose, ought not to be regarded as the first to spread literary innovations. 'Âkif Paşa, indeed, remained entirely unaffected by European culture and is one of the last representatives of the old literature.

Among the representatives of the popular literature we have information about the *meddahs* Pîç Emîn, Kîz Ahmed, Hâdjî Mû'eddhîn, Kôr Hâfîz and others, as well as of some writers of shadow-plays (*khayâlî*) like Sherbetdjî Emîn, Hâfîz of Kâim Paşa, Mu'âhib Sa'îd Efendi; it is only towards the end of the century that Kâzîb Şâlih in breaking with the ancient tradition began to imitate the modern theatre.

The best known musician-poets of this century are Dirdîl, Dîhânî of Baiburt and Emrah of Erzerum, who acquired a great and well merited popularity in Asia Minor as well as in Constantinople among all classes (cf. Köpr. Z. M. Fu'âd, *Erzurumlu Emrah*, İstanbul 1929). Down to the end of the reign of 'Abd al-'Azîz these *âshîqs* used to assemble in a café in Tû'âk Pasarl. They had an organisation of their own with a chief (*velî*) at their head, recognised by the government. This organisation was broken up later on, but in the xth century we still find musician-poets in Asia Minor.

This classical Turkish literature and especially the poetry had lost almost all its vigour and originality by the time the Tanzîmât began. Classical poetry had lost the ability to create anything new within its narrow limitations, and the poets could only produce imitations (*nâzire*) of the great masters of the past, or in their efforts to show a little originality fall into artificiality and platitude. As a result of continually repeating the same conceptions by the same limited means of expression, all the vitality of Turkish poetry was destroyed. Even great artists like Nedim and Sheikh Ghâlib had not been able to escape the rigid rules of the old models. On the other hand, the attempts to draw upon the language and literature of the people and to appeal more to popular taste and language, efforts such as we observe in Fâzil Enderûnî and Wâsîf, only resulted in vulgarity and banality. In spite of the political and economic connection with Europe which had existed for centuries, the social structure of the Ottoman people had never emerged from the frame of

Islamic civilization, which kept it imprisoned in a mediaeval system of ideas. It is true that the continual military defeats and the gradual economic decline had impressed upon thinking people the material and technical superiority of Europe and that, as early as the xviiith century, they had begun to take advantage of European skill to reorganise the army and the fleet. But it was much more difficult to admit the superiority of Europe in the field of culture. The *medreses*, which were in a very backward state compared with earlier centuries, still clung tenaciously to the mentality and tastes of the middle ages. Modern science was beginning to be introduced only in institutions founded for the army, like the Engineering School (*mühendishānane*) and the Medical School (*tibb-hānane*). These innovations owed a great deal to a few individuals, who had studied western languages and modern sciences, like Khodja Ishāk Efendi, Gelenbert and Şānī Zāde. It was the need felt by Selīm III and especially by Mahmūd II to reorganise the army and navy and to establish a central administration to prevent the empire being parcelled out between feudal chiefs, that led them to consent, in spite of the opposition of the *medreses*, to the reform of the teaching of mathematics and natural sciences.

From the end of the xviiith century, there were in Turkey men who knew French and recognised the cultural superiority of Europe. In bringing teachers from France and sending students to Europe, the movement of Europeanisation was encouraged in Turkey. It was natural then that as a result of all these needs, European influence began to show itself little by little, as in every branch of life, also in the field of thought and art.

δ. "European" Turkish Literature. Period of the "Tanzīmāt" and the New Literature.

The great industrial and capitalist development in Europe as well as the political expansion and rivalry of the imperialist Great Powers could not long ignore so vast and rich a field of exploitation as Turkey. At the same time the mediaeval institutions of the empire had lost their power of resistance and the revolutionary movements in France had propagated the principle of nationality among the non-Muslim elements. All these circumstances made the urgent need felt of introducing reforms in the social and administrative institutions of the empire. These reforms were to meet with considerable resistance, not only among the lower classes but also among those members of the educated classes who had been educated in the *medreses*. It was due to Reshīd Pasha and his little group of followers that the reforms were gradually introduced into the country. In Turkish history these reforms are known as "Tanzīmāt" [q.v.].

The Tanzīmāt were not confined to the fields of administration, justice and finance; with the object of securing the progress of education among the Muslim Turks, primary and secondary schools were opened and plans made to found a university. An *Enfjūmen-i dānīh* was formed to prepare schoolbooks (1269 = 1853) and students were sent to Europe. The *Enfjūmen-i dānīh* was soon replaced by the *Diyānet-i ilmiye 'otkūnātıye* (1277 = 1860), which began to publish its own organ: *Medjma'ı-i Funūn*. In the following year,

the Girls' School was opened and in 1279 (1862) University courses were begun. In 1282 (1865) was formed a *Terdjüme Dīm'iyyeti*, in 1284 (1867) the Civil School of Medicine (*Tibbiye-i mülkiye Mektebi*) began its lectures, and in the following year, the Lycée of Galata Seray was opened, the curriculum of which was adapted from western secondary schools and French was used for teaching alongside of Turkish. The University (*Dār al-Fünūn*) was opened in 1286 (1869) but the intrigues of the conservative elements forced it to be closed two years later. In 1287 (1870) the School of Law (*Hukuk Mektebi*) was opened and in 1294 (1877) a School of Political Sciences (*Mekteb-i mülkiye*). At the same time museums and libraries were founded as well as technical schools like the engineering, agricultural and commercial schools. Thus there was gradually created an educated class outside of the *medreses*. All this activity was accompanied by a gradual development of the daily press. In 1247 (1831) the official publication *Tağvīm-i Vekāf* began to appear which was followed by the *Diğerde-i Hawādith* in 1256 (1840), the *Terdjüman-i Ahvāl* in 1276 (1859) and the *Tağvīm-i Efkār* in 1278 (1861) [cf. DJARIDA]. These two last mark an important stage in the history of modern developments for it was through them that Şināsi, founder of the new literary school, and his disciple Nāmīk Kemāl addressed the public. Down to the period when the absolutism of 'Abd al-Hamid prevented any kind of publication, the Turkish press developed very rapidly. Many scientific and literary works were translated from European languages, especially from French, and the Turkish language began to be simplified, at the same time enriching itself with a large number of scientific expressions.

The three great figures of the new literature are Şināsi [q.v.] who had been educated in France, his great disciple Nāmīk Kemāl [cf. KEMAL] and Ziyā Pasha [q.v.], both of whom had lived in France as exiles. Through these circumstances the new school was imbued with the French literature of the xviiith and xixth century, and the principles proclaimed during the political revolutions in France. The innovators wished to exterminate the old feudal literature and proclaim the ideas of "fatherland" (*vatan*), "liberty" (*hürriyet*), "democracy" (*halkıyılık*) and "constitutionalism" (*mushavvıfıye*); they aimed at creating a "bourgeois" literature. It was in this way that journalism, political and literary criticism, the theatre, the translation of western literary works, the novel and the philosophical and sociological essay began. Şināsi was neither a brilliant stylist nor a great poet, but his programme was well defined; he wished to free himself from the trammels of the old unintelligible language; although he was not able to realise all this programme, his theories exercised a great influence on those around him. Ziyā Pasha, by his translations of Rousseau and Molière and by his literary and political criticism, gave great support to this movement. He was well versed in the classical literature, yet he went so far as to allege that this literature had no relation to the Turkish character; he upheld the thesis that one ought to follow nature, i.e. borrow from the popular language and literature. In reality Ziyā Pasha had neither the strength nor the courage to put these theories into force.

It was undoubtedly Nāmīk Kemāl who assured

the definite success of the new school. He was a great artist, a keen fighter, a prolific author and a great patriot. For him art was a means of provoking a revival in the land and he contributed vigorously to the cultural and political revolution in Turkey by his political articles, his dramas, his novels, his patriotic poetry, his historical works, his critical essays and even by his private letters. He exercised a profound influence. The presentation of *Watan* was a great political event in the country. He attacked the old literature even more bitterly than Ziya Paşa and thought that it was impossible to write Turkish poetry in the *arud* metre. However, not even Kemal could cast off the old traditions entirely, nor could his friends. It is for this reason that Sa'd Allāh Paşa was able to write in 1297 (1880) in an anonymous article in the journal *Wakıf*, that pupils should only be given literal translations of western works because the "new" writers had not been able to produce in reality any really new.

'Abd al-Hak̄k̄ H̄amid [q.v.], a pupil of Nāmīk Kemal, brought about a great revolution in the field of poetry, which hitherto had not been able to free itself from ancient forms. This extremely prolific poet introduced into Turkish the lyric and the drama in which his models were Dante, Racine, Corneille and Shakespeare. Even Nāmīk Kemal acknowledged that the new Turkish poetry begins with H̄amid. Other important figures were Rıd̄a's Zāde Ekrem [cf. EKREM] and Sami Paşa Zāde Sez'î [q.v.], but in proportion as the pressure of despotism increased, the second generation of the period of the Tanzimat began more and more to pursue purely artistic ends.

Many other thinkers or writers have contributed to the cultural evolution of the country. We may mention the famous historian Ahmed Djewdet Paşa [q.v.], Ahmed Tewfik Paşa [q.v.], Süleiman Paşa, and the great writer and encyclopaedist Ahmed Midhat Efendi [q.v.], as well as the lexicographer Şams al-Din Sâmî Bey [q.v.]. Djewdet Paşa, well versed in oriental learning and author of a Turkish grammar in collaboration with Fu'ad Paşa, has written beautiful prose in Turkish. Ahmed Tewfik, animated by western ideas, wished to revive national culture, and proclaimed the fact that the Turks of Anatolia were a branch of the great Turkish nation. He compiled the first dictionary of Anatolian Turkish, collected proverbs and translated the *Shahjahan Turk* of Abu 'l Ghāsi. By his adaptations of the comedies of Molière he played a great part in the development of the Turkish theatre. Süleiman Paşa, who reorganised the military schools, was a great patriot. He claimed that the language and literature should be called "Turkish" and not "Ottoman"; in his *Tarih-i 'Alam* he devoted a special chapter to the early Turks, taking his material from Deguignes and other sources.

Lastly Ahmed Midhat wrote and translated hundreds of volumes of a popular nature, beginning with books of the alphabet; he thus trained the people to read and contributed to raising the level of education, which was his only aim, for his books have no scientific or literary value. Sâmî Bey showed himself a worthy successor of Tewfik Paşa in his *Kamûs al-'Alam* and *Kamûs-i Türkî*.

At the end of the sixteenth century appeared

Mu'allim Nâdî [q.v.], who obtained great fame under the protection of Ahmed Midhat. Nâdî was well versed in eastern culture and wrote *ghazels* in the classical style alongside of good poems in the new style. The followers of the old school expected from him almost a resurrection of classicism, although Nâdî was not at all a champion of such a reaction, as is shown by his beautiful simple prose (as in *'Omri'n ledvulluğu*). His quarrels with Ekrem Bey originated rather in personal reasons. At the same time Nâdî Zāde Nâzım, who died very young, came to the front; his novel *Zehrâ* makes him a figure of first importance in literary history.

The most important event at the end of the sixteenth century is the literary movement begun by a group of youthful men of letters who had associated themselves, at the instigation of Rıd̄a's Zāde Ekrem, with the periodical *Theruet-i Fünûn*; this movement marks the second and last stage of the Europeanisation of Turkish literature. It is dominated by the figures of Tewfik Fikret [q.v.] and Khâlid Ziyâ and is very much under the influence of the literary movements in France at the end of the sixteenth century. Started in a period of absolute despotism and having only a short life of five or six years, this movement produced works of a neurotic and pessimistic sentimentality. Its motto was "art for art's sake". If we except Djewdet Shihâb al-Din, who acquired after the revolution the reputation of a great prose writer, Süleiman Nâzîf, who may be considered a pupil of Nāmīk Kemal with an originality of his own, Fa'ik 'Alî, an imitator of 'Abd al-Hak̄k̄ H̄amid, and İsmâ'il Safâ, an independent figure, who finds his subjects in everyday life, all the poets who wrote in the *Theruet-i Fünûn* were imitators of Tewfik Fikret. Khâlid Ziyâ, who has a very choice style, is the true founder of the literary novel in Turkish. He takes his subjects generally from the upper middle classes, but some of his short stories describe the life of the people. The latter genre has been more successfully treated by the novellists Ahmed Hikmet and Hüsein Dîshid, in more simple language. Mehmed Re'îf is a novelist who makes excellent psychological analyses, but his language is incorrect. In the field of science, philosophy and criticism, the collaborators on the *Theruet-i Fünûn* did no more than translate. But the severe censorship and the short life of the group did not enable them to show greater vitality.

While the school of Tewfik Fikret and Khâlid Ziyâ reflected only the life of the upper classes, Hüsein Rahmî [q.v.] depicted in his novels various aspects of the life of the people; and at the same time the notable publicist Ahmed Râşid [q.v.] was dealing in several of his works with the same subject. Among the poets of this period, we may further mention Rıd̄a Tewfik [q.v.] who has written the finest lyrics in the style of the *zâfir* poets and Bektaşî, but in syllabic metre, the poetess Nigâr Khânım and lastly Mehmed Emin Bey [q.v.] who suddenly became celebrated during the Turco-Greek war by his *Tuhtâ Şâirler*. Mehmed Emin employed a very simple language in the syllabic metre and wished to reach the people directly (*khafîya doğru*), although the existing popular literature with its mentality, tastes and traditional forms were entirely unknown to him. As a man of letters he was entirely of the school

of Fikret; he was not however an individualist like his contemporaries but imbued with the democratic spirit (*halkçılık*). This was the first occasion on which a Turkish poet had descended to the level of the people. Perhaps it is right to charge him with a lack of lyrical feeling, but this does not prevent us from regarding him as an interesting figure in literary history. At the same time the movement to simplify the language continued and even gave rise to an exaggerated purism. By the translation of the works of European scholars the early history and culture of the Turks became known, while the journalistic activities of the young Turks abroad began to envisage Turkish nationalism from the political point of view. These were the main elements in the cultural and literary life of Turkey before the Revolution of 1908.

xxth century.

The revolution of 1908, having brought about the abolition of the censorship, caused an extended literary activity. The patriotic pieces of Kemal and Hâmid re-appeared on the stage and a large number of works of a sociological, philosophical and historical nature were translated into Turkish. At the same time, great improvements were made in education and the relations with Europe raised the general cultural level to a height never before reached.

The most important literary organisation after the Revolution was "Fedâî-i Âl", although it was a literary circle which lasted only a short time; its members began by following the school of Fikret and Khâlid Ziya, but the majority of them ended up as members of the national literary movement. Ahmed Hâşim alone continued to develop in the way he had first chosen. He never abandoned the *'arûf* metre, nor the conception of "art for art's sake" in its strictest form. Besides, he had ideas of his own on the relation between music and poetry (cf. H. Duda, *Ahmed Hâşim* in W. L. II., 1928, No. 3-4, p. 300-244). The poet Yahyâ Kemal who had a great influence after 1912 had literary views entirely different from those of Ahmed Hâşim for he sought music rather in the exterior elements of his poems, while he retained the motto "art for art's sake".

Another poet, who remained outside of the national literature is Mehmed 'Akif, the advocate of Panislâmism and unrivalled master of the *'arûf* metre; in simple language he describes the life of the people in its most realistic aspects. 'Akif, whose lyrics sometimes rise to great heights, has remained quite uninfluenced by western poetry; he is a democratic poet, born of the people. In the work of these three poets, very different from one another, we see Turkish poetry striving to free itself from the too limited sphere of Tewfik Fikret and his school; but under the stimulus of the great development of the nationalist movement which manifested itself in the whole domain of art, poetry also has ended by entering on new paths.

a. The National Literature.

After the Revolution of 1908, it was the ideal of Ottomanism (*'osmanlılık*) that animated the governing classes. But the political events which rapidly followed, soon proved that this ideal was a chimera, by the attitude of the Muslim elements no less than by that of the Christians. The Turkish element, which was dominant in the empire, thus

needed a new ideal; this was the national ideal, which had already revealed itself in the period of the Tanzimat and which had existed through the Hamidian period in a cultural form. After the revolution also, this movement began by assuming a cultural aspect. On December 28, 1908, the society *Türk Dervisi* was founded, the object of which was to study the past and present of the Turkish peoples, to simplify the Turkish language and to make it a language of science. This society had not much power, but in November 1911 the periodical *Türk Yurdu* began to appear and on March 12, 1912, the *Türk Odjagı* was founded. This movement was not confined to a few Turkish patriots; associated with it were a number of Turkish intellectuals from other countries who had fled from the oppression of Tsarism, like Agha Oghlu Ahmed, Hussein Zade 'Ali and Ak. Çora Oghlu Yusuf. The movement was violently opposed by the followers of a badly understood occidentalism (*gharbçılık*) on the one side and by the partisans of Panislâmism (*ittihâd-ı İslâm*) on the other. At the same time, the periodical *Gemî-i Kalemîler*, published at Salonika, again started, under a pretentious name, a campaign to purify the Turkish language, and Ziya Gök Alp, a member of the Committee of Union and Progress (*ittihâd-ı terakki*), began his activities. With the transfer of the central office to Constantinople, Ziya Gök Alp joined the *Türk Yurdu*. Later, after the disastrous conclusion of the Balkan War, the younger generation also rallied to the national movement. The time was very opportune for the success of the national ideal; it only required a man capable of directing the national idea and laying down a programme and giving it a philosophical basis. It was Ziya Gök Alp who did this. He exercised a great influence on the youth by his university courses, by his lectures and by his articles and poems; all his life, from the time of the Balkan War to the Armistice, when he was exiled to Malta, and later during his sojourn in Diyar Bakr and Ankara, he displayed an uninterrupted activity: the résumé of his teaching is contained in his book *Türkçülüğün Esasları* (Angora 1339 = 1923). His death, soon after, was a cause of general mourning throughout the land.

As in all branches of life, the national movement made its influence felt in literature: the syllabic metre attained the dominant position in poetry; the language was simplified; the motto "art for art's sake" was replaced by "art for life"; writers began to borrow from popular literature and its traditional forms; literature began to reflect the life and characteristics of all branches of society. Philological and historical studies were made on the works of the musician-poets, on the popular literature, the music of the people. In brief, the science of Turkology was founded. [It is to Köprülü Zâde Mehmed Fu'ad, the author of this article, that almost all the credit of these important studies is due. Edd.] All this contributed greatly to give a definite direction to the new literary movement.

Among the poets of this movement we may give first place to Fâruk Nâfidî, who in his last poems depicts the scenery of Anatolia, then Orkân Seifî, Enta Behîdî, Yusuf Ziya, Khâlid Fakhrî, Nedîb Fâzîl. All these show the influence of Ziya Gök Alp and Yahyâ Kemal rather than of Mehmed Emin. In prose, the

progress is still more marked and the writers in it have still greater force. The greatest figure of the period is Khalide Edib Khanım. After the stories of love and passion which are characteristic of her first period she wrote books in the style of *Ateşden Gümlek* in which she describes the struggle of Anatolia for independence. Ömer Seifeddin, who died young, has left a number of very good little stories, some of which, like *Bombı*, are masterpieces of national literature. Refik Khailid, who is perhaps the best writer of simple Turkish, describes in his *Memleket Hükümetleri* realistic scenes of Anatolian life, hitherto unknown to literature; his realism however is expressed in a merciless sarcasm, quite devoid of sympathy and feeling. Ya'kub Kadri, even in his novels, is rather a stylist and a mystic poet than a story-teller. Other well-known figures in the new prose are Faliş Rifki, who describes in *Ateş ve Güneş* episodes of the war in Palestine and Rüshen Eşref. Among the novelists Reşad Nuri achieved fame by his novel *Canlı Kadın*. The evolution of the Turkish theatre is being hampered by the interminable adaptations of worthless French vaudeville. But the fact that the Turkish woman has appeared on the stage, that there are many good actors and that important western pieces are now being played gives good hope for the future.

By the foundation of the Turkish nationalist republic, nationalist principles have entered into the things of everyday life. The government is devoting much attention to the simplification of the language and to the creation of a scientific terminology in Turkish. The adoption of the Latin alphabet will contribute a great deal to the simplification of the language. But there is no resting. While the nationalist literature is still in its beginnings, we already see announced an internationalist literature. The young and vigorous Marxist poet Nâzım Hikmet, who has returned to Turkey after a long stay in Russia, is endeavouring to create a proletarian literature with poems without metre and without rhyme, at the same time launching his thunderbolts at the capitalists and the literary men who defend them. Several young poets and novelists have gathered round Nâzım Hikmet, while others are trying to spread futurist ideas. It may be doubted if this new seed, brought by wild winds from beyond the Black Sea, will find a fertile soil in this country, where industry and capitalism are only beginning to develop. It is impossible to say if the young national literature will be capable of resisting these foreign influences. In any case, future developments will take a course parallel to that of the country's destiny.

Bibliography: a. Methodology: Köprülü Zâde Mehmed Fu'ad, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinde Üçü* (in the periodical *Bilgi*, i, 1329, p. 1-52); do., in *Millî Tebbül'ar Medî-nâtı*, i, 1331, p. 35-46.

b. Texts: The majority of the texts of the old literature are still in manuscript. Some have been printed at Cairo and Constantinople but not in critical editions. For the manuscripts, the catalogues of libraries in east and west may be consulted. Very few texts have been translated into European languages. For details, see this article and other articles relating to the subject.

c. Chrestomathies: The most important

manuscript selections are mentioned in the article. In Europe there have been published: E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, vol. v, vi; W. D. Smirnov, *Münâzâhât-ı Akhâr-ı 'Eshmâniye*, St. Petersburg 1903; M. Wickerhauser, *Wegweiser zum Verständnis der türkischen Sprache*, Vienna 1853; A. Fischer and Muhleddin, *Anthologie aus der neuzeitlichen türkischen Literatur*, i, Leipzig-Berlin 1919. *La Muse ottomane* by Servan de Sagny, publ. in 1855, gives translations in verse. For the classical poetry we have *Kharâât* by Ziya Paşa (3 vol., 1291), and *Muntahabât-ı Mir Nâzif* (Bulâk 1261). For prose: Ebazzîyâ Tewfik, *Namûnât-ı Edebiyât-ı 'Eshmâniye* (6th ed., Constantinople 1330). Lastly there are a number of chrestomathies for Turkish schools; the most recent is *Türk Edebiyatı Numûneleri* by Hıfzı Tewfik, Hammâmî Zâde İhsân and Hasan 'Alî (vol. I, Constantinople 1927).

d. Biographies of poets. The most important *tezkere-i şâ'arâ* have been mentioned in the text. A large number are not yet printed. For bibliographical information see the introduction to Ibn al-Amin Mahmûd Kemâl, *Şa'ir Türk Şâ'irleri* (publ. by the T. T. E., vol. i, Constantinople 1930). There one will find information about old and new bibliographical works on literary history. In addition, there are important notices of the poets in all the historical sources, the *siyâhatnâme*, and books of legends (*menâkıb-nâmâ*) etc.

e. General Works. There is not yet a literary history on really scientific lines, either in Turkey or Europe. J. von Hammer, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst* (4 vols., 1836) is a collection of biographies taken from the *tezkere-i şâ'arâ* which were known to the author. The works of Smirnov, Krymski and others are defective as regards the information and the judgment of their authors. For the bibliography of these works see Th. Menzel, *Die türkische Literatur* (in *Kultur der Gegenwart*), who however has omitted to mention Krymski, *İtiryâ Turîyî-i yzya literatürü*, 2 vols., Moscow 1916. The most important work on the early poetry of Turkey is E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, 6 vols., London 1900-1909; this work is still of great value, although the account of the xiiith-xvth century is very inadequate. It is rather a collection of biographies of poets, which is complete only down to the Tanîmât; also P. Horn, *Geschichte der türkischen Moderne*, Leipzig; M. Hartmann, *Aus der neueren osmanischen Dichtung*, M. S. O. S., xix.-xxi.; O. Hachtmann, *Die türkische Literatur des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig. As to the value of the literary histories publ. in Turkey (cf. also Menzel, article here quoted), we may mention: Şihâb al-Din Süleimân, *Tarih-i Edebiyat-ı 'Eshmâniye*, Constantinople; Fa'ik Reşad, *Tarih-i Edebiyat-ı 'Eshmâniye*, Constantinople 1913; İbrâhîm Nedjmi, *Tarih-i Edebiyatı Dersleri*, 2 vol., Constantinople 1338-1341; İsmâ'il Habbî, *Türk Tefeddüd Edebiyatı Tarih-i*, Constantinople 1340; İsmâ'il Hikmet, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarih-i*, 4 vols., Haku 1925-1926. But these works are superficial in method and in information supplied. Köprülü Zâde M. Fu'ad's *Türk Edebiyatı Tarih-i* endeavours to gather together in a systematic fashion the literatures of the various Turkish peoples. So far only

the first volume has appeared (Constantinople, Dewlet Mafit'ası, 1926—1928). The most important monographs on the different figures and subjects in the literary history of Turkey are mentioned in this article and in the special articles. (KÖRKTÜ ZKÖS. MAHMED FÜ'AD)

IV. HISTORY.

1. General Features.

The Ottoman Empire is the largest and most lasting state that has been formed in Islamic times by a people of Turkish tongue. At the same time it is the largest state formed in the later centuries of Islamic history. Its original centre was Asia Minor, situated in the north-westernmost angle of the Islamic world, a country that had seen four centuries less of Islamic domination than most of the lands of the ancient 'Abbasid Caliphate. It was founded about A.D. 1300, at a time when everywhere in the Islamic world the earlier political traditions were broken and none of the existing governments seemed to give much guarantee of durability, while Muslim civilisation itself was passing through a critical period of weakness.

These circumstances are not sufficient in themselves to account for the rising of a new strong Muhammadan empire. It is right, therefore, to seek the explanation of the birth and the part played by the Ottoman Empire in the general course of political events in the world history of the later Middle Ages. It has been observed that the rise of a new strong power in the Mediterranean world had only become possible after the extinction of the 'Abbasid Caliphate and its political traditions, in 1258, and after the excessive weakening of the Byzantine Empire by the Latin occupation of 1204 (cf. R. Tschudi, *Vom alten Osmanischen Reich*, Tübingen 1930). This enabled a new state, to come into existence that continued at the same time a somewhat changed Islamic tradition and a good deal of the already much easternized Byzantine civilisation.

The process of interpenetration of these two cultural spheres had already been in action a long time before the nucleus of the Ottoman state was formed, during the epoch of the Seljuk empire of Rüm. Consequently the rapid conquests of the Ottomans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were not the elementary invasions of a wild horde of barbarians, but the realisation of a scheme that may have been in some degree present to the mind of great conquerors like Bayezid I, Muhammad II, Süleimân I and some of their statesmen. The conquest spread at the time a type of civilisation that took its definite shape in the sixteenth century. As history advanced, this Ottoman civilisation came into an ever more pronounced contrast with its eastern Muhammadan neighbours, thus giving a new political meaning to the Sunna-Shi'a controversy while the ancient relations with Turkish Transoxania gradually slackened. At the same time the gap between the Ottoman and the western European civilisation — which in the sixteenth century did not yet seem unbridgeable — became constantly wider, as Turkey did not join in the transition from the Middle Ages to modern times. All the more firmly was Ottoman civilisation rooted in the many countries that had been subjected to the rule of the Turkish sultans, and this Ottoman tradition became most perceptible

at the very time of the weakening of the Ottoman political power; a very good example is Egypt (cf. KAPITZ). It is a curious fact that, when after the revolution of 1908 the Young Turks tried for a brief period to make this Ottomanism once more a political reality, these endeavours proved to be a complete failure, owing to the political decomposition caused by the penetration from the west of nationalist feelings.

Born in a religious sphere that was far away from orthodox Islam, the Ottoman Empire soon took a definite turn towards official orthodoxy after the Hanafite *madhhab*, but with remnants of older tradition. The claim to the Islamic Caliphate, however, and to the hegemony of the Muhammadan world, as well as the pan-Islamic policy of 'Abd al-Hamid II do not belong to the primary features of the Ottoman Empire; they were more a part of its outward politics, especially towards Christian powers (cf. KHALIFA).

The influence of western civilisation began in the sixteenth century, at a time when the Ottoman Empire, having acquired its own cultural type, began to feel its political inferiority towards Europe. Ancient relations made France the first European country to provide Turkey with some technical (military) innovations; this tradition remained stable until the first part of the eighteenth century. The introduction of western reforms and institutions has never had a revolutionary character; it consisted chiefly in government measures and its programme was successfully carried out during the period of the *Tanzimat* [q. v.]. A more indirect result of western ideas was Turkish nationalism, which new ideal the war of 1914—1918 has enabled Turkey to realize in a most unexpected manner. Modern Turkey has become a state of much smaller territory than the Ottoman Empire, but continuing a great deal of the traditions of the Ottoman Empire.

2. Historical survey.

First period. The founding of the state and its first expansion until the temporary dissolution by the invasion of Timur.

'Othmân I	1299—1326
Orkhân (son of 'Othmân I)	1326—1359
Murâd I (son of Orkhân)	1359—1389
Bayezid I Yildirim (son of Murâd I)	1389—1402

The dates of 'Othmân and Orkhân cannot be established beyond doubt. Bayezid's reign was closed by his capture in the battle of Angora (July 20, 1402); it was followed by a period of 11 years, during which Bayezid's sons 'Isâ, Muhammad, Süleimân and Mûsâ disputed with each other the crown. This period ended by Mehmed's victory over Mûsâ in July 1413 at Çamurlı near Sofia.

Second period. The restoration of the state and its rapid growth until its greatest expansion.

Muhammad I (son of Bayezid I)	1403—1421
Murâd II (son of Muhammad I)	1421—1451
Muhammad II Fâtih (son of Murâd II)	1451—1481
Bayezid II (son of Muhammad II)	1481—1512
Selim I (son of Bayezid II)	1512—1520
Suleimân I Kânîni (son of Selim I)	1520—1566

Third period, during which the state maintained its territory, until the loss of Hungary.

Selim II (son of Suleimân I)	1566—1574
Murâd III (son of Selim II)	1574—1595

Muhammad III (son of Murād III)	1595—1603
Ahmad I (son of Muhammad III)	1603—1617
Muṣṭafā I (son of Muhammad III)	1617—1618
Oṭmān II (son of Ahmad I)	1618—1622
Muṣṭafā I, 2nd time	1622—1623
Murād IV (son of Ahmad I)	1623—1640
Ibrāhīm (son of Ahmad I)	1640—1648
Muhammad IV (son of Ibrāhīm)	1648—1687
Suleimān II (son of Ibrāhīm)	1687—1691
Ahmad II (son of Ibrāhīm)	1691—1695
Muṣṭafā II (son of Muhammad IV)	1695—1703

Fourth period, during which the state gradually loses its strength and is broken up at the hands of powerful vassals.

Ahmad III (son of Muhammad IV)	1703—1730
Mahmūd I (son of Muṣṭafā II)	1730—1754
Oṭmān III (son of Muṣṭafā II)	1754—1757
Muṣṭafā III (son of Ahmad III)	1757—1774
‘Abd al-Hamid I (son of Ahmad III)	1774—1789
Selīm III (son of Muṣṭafā III)	1789—1807
Muṣṭafā IV (son of ‘Abd al-Hamid I)	1807—1808
Mahmūd II (son of ‘Abd al-Hamid I)	1808—1839

Fifth period. Cultural and administrative renaissance of the state under the influence of western ideas.

‘Abd al-Medjid (son of Mahmūd II)	1839—1861
‘Abd al-Aziz (son of Mahmūd II)	1861—1876
Murād V (son of ‘Abd al-Medjid)	1876
‘Abd al-Hamid II (son of ‘Abd al-Medjid)	1876—1909
Muhammad V (son of ‘Abd al-Medjid)	1909—1918
Muhammad VI (son of ‘Abd al-Medjid)	1918—1922

The national Turkish state, since October 29, 1923 a republic under the presidency of *Ḳāsim Muṣṭafā Kemāl Paṣha*.

A good general view of the history of the Ottoman Empire is given in *Ḳhalīl Edhem, Dīwān-ı İslāmiye*, İstanbul 1927, p. 320 *ff.*

3. Conditions in Asia Minor at the end of the thirteenth century.

The more recent researches on the subject of the founding of the Ottoman state have made clear many things that formerly had been seen mainly through the medium of Ottoman historical tradition as reflected in the sources belonging to the xvth century and later. Epigraphic and numismatic discoveries, combined with a critical study of older historical sources (the different versions of the chronicles of the *Alī ‘Oṭmān*) and half legendary sources (*menākıb-nāma*s and *vilāyet-nāma*s of mystic orders) have cleared up many historical relationships, hitherto unsuspected.

The nucleus of the state of the dynasty of ‘Oṭmān was a far advanced outpost (*hüdud*) on the north-western frontier of the territory once ruled by the Seljūq dynasty of *Ḳonya*, which had gradually relapsed into anarchy after the victory of the Mongols over *Kāikhuraw II* in 1243. Asia Minor, at that time, had already been turcized to a large degree; the greater part of the Anatolian Turks belonged to the *Oghuz* tribes who had been introduced during and after the Seljūqian invasion; there were also groups of Christian Turks, who had come by way of the European part of the Byzantine Empire, besides Turkish elements from Russia. Moreover the Mongol conquests in the east had brought crowds of fugitives into the country, especially from the former *Khwariz-*

miya sultanate; many of these immigrants were Iranians. We do not know the relative strength of the graecized original population of Asia Minor; they probably were found chiefly in the towns. In *Ḳonya* the original inhabitants no doubt were already considerably islamized. But the Christian element was still largely represented in the areas under Byzantine rule in the west and in the north-west in the Empire of Trebizond, where many of the population were Lazes, in the mountains of central Armenia and in the Cilician Armenian Kingdom (1080—1375). It does not appear that, within the former frontiers of the Seljūq empire, there existed a sharp social controversy between Muhammadans and Christians. Much sharper, at any rate, had become the antithesis between the townspeople and the still nomadic Turkish tribes or Turkomans (*avāḡim-e Kān*), who were roving all through Asia Minor, as they did also in the adjacent territories of Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia. The Turkish tribes had still preserved many pre-islamic religious traditions within the particular form of Islam they had adhered to. This form of Islam was the result of the preaching of wandering derwishes, known under the name of *Kalenderiye* and *Haidariye*, who spread from the xth century all over northern Iran and Transoxania; their preaching was imbued with mystical doctrines containing a large amount of Shi’ite elements. After their immigration into Asia Minor the Turkomans had remained under the same influences and those who exercised religious authority amongst them, called *bādes*, had still much resemblance to the pre-islamic *shāhans*. Under these religious leaders in 1239 the fearful revolt of the *Bābā*s under *Bābā Ishāq* had taken place. The government, at that time, had been able at last to suppress the revolt, but the heterodox opposition among the lower classes in Asia Minor has still deeply influenced the history of the first centuries of the Ottoman Empire. These Turkomans were indeed far more numerous than the governing classes and the townspeople, as is shown by the present geographical nomenclature of Asia Minor; the names of numerous villages, rivers and mountains are now pure Turkish and we meet among them ancient tribal names as such *Ḳay*, *Salur*, *Bayat* and *Çepni* (cf. *Koprulu-Zāde Fu’ād, Oghuz Etnolojisi Türkiye Neflari, Türkiye Mefrū’atı*, i, 185 *ff.*). As far as the Turkoman tribes were still militant, the best use that could be made of them was as frontier guards and as conquerors of new territory. After settling down, they may have mixed with a good deal of the original rural population and by this mixture is to be explained the curious religious, half-Christian, views and customs that are reported in later times as existing among the lower classes in Anatolia, and that were especially current among the mystic order of the *Bektāshī* in the time of the Ottoman Empire. The *Bektāshī* derive their name from *Hādjdj Bektāsh Wali*, who is reported to have been a disciple of the above mentioned *Bābā Ishāq* (*Kopr. Z. Fu’ād, Les origines du Bektachisme, in Actes du Congrès International de l’Histoire des Religions, tenu à Paris 1925*).

The government and the higher classes of society had followed in Seljūq times the orthodox Islamic tradition, just like the other Seljūq dynasties, and this tradition is to be traced back to the times of the Sāmānid empire in *Ḳhwarizm* and Transoxania. These were also the regions with

which the Turkish element in Asia Minor has been, since its immigration, in constant relations; in the Seldjûk period, the higher culture of Asia Minor was mainly Iranian in character. These relations explain also how the Hanafi *madhhab* became officially predominant in Anatolia and afterwards in the Ottoman Empire. But the upper classes of society were not free themselves from a strong mystic influence of a higher order. It had likewise its source in Khurāsān, whence had come Djālāl al-Dīn Rūmī [q.v.] himself, who lived at the Seldjûk court in Konya, and who influenced for centuries Ottoman-Turkish culture through the Mewlawi-order. So the townspeople were likewise familiar with formations of fraternities on mystic lines, entering within the category of the *futuwa* [q.v.]; on the fraternity of the Akhi's we are now fairly well informed (F. Taeschner, in *Islamica*, iv., 1929, fasc. 1); a similar fraternity was formed by the Ghaziyān.

On this basis of religious and social controversy is to be understood the development of events since the end of the thirteenth century. In the many small principalities that appeared (*şarā'ifi mulūk*) we see sometimes the influence of the orthodox element and sometimes of the heterodox Turkoman element predominant. This last was especially the case with the powerful principality of the Karamān Oghlu [q.v.], at least in the beginning.

As the date of the foundation of the state of 'Othmān in Bithynia the year 1299 is generally accepted. About the same time sprang up the principalities of the Karasi Oghlu [q.v.] in Mysia, of the Şarukhān Oghlu [q.v.] in Lydia, of the Aidin Oghlu [q.v.] in Ionia, of the Monteshe Oghlu [q.v.] in Caria and of the Teke Oghlu [q.v.] in Lycia. All these dynasties had this in common with the 'Othmān Oghlu, that they held large parts of the western coast of the Peninsula; their territories were on the outskirts of the former Seldjûkian empire and the dynasties were the descendants of the chiefs of the Turkoman frontier guards (*uđı begleri*); these regions were the most remote from the Islamic cultural centre of Anatolia; on the other hand they entertained relations with the Greeks of the coasts and with the Italian colonists on the islands; some of these principalities (Şarukhān, Aidin, Monteshe) even had coins with images and Latin letters. But the most important feature of these principalities of the coast was the possession of fleets, by which they were able to undertake raids on the Greek isles and on the European continent from Morea as far as the Dobruča. Especially the Aidin Oghlu Umur Beg (died in 1348) is famous for his maritime expeditions as ally of the Byzantine emperor Cantacuzenos. It was this opportunity of westward expansion, which has been most favourable for the 'Othmān Oghlu and secured them in the end the superiority over the other principalities.

To the east of the maritime principalities had risen at the same time the Germiyan Oghlu [q.v.] in Phrygia and the Hamid Oghlu [q.v.] in Pisidia, together with the less important Eshref Oghlu in Bey Shehir (later incorporated in the dominions of the Hamid Oghlu) and the Denizli Oghlu in Ladik (later incorporated in the territory of the Germiyan Oghlu). The important dynasty of the Djandas Oghlu — later called Isfandiār Oghlu [q.v.] — in Paphlagonia held the Black Sea with Sinûb, but had less opportunity of maritime ex-

pansion, although these regions too were in relation with the European continent, especially the Dobruča. A similar position on the south coast was held by the Karamān Oghlu [q.v.], whose origin can be traced back to about 1256, and who, by their geographical position on the main road to Syria, were able to develop more power and stability than the other principalities (cf. Khalil Edhem, *Düvel-i İslamiye*, p. 270 sqq.).

The regions enumerated can be said never to have been a part of the territory administered by the Mongols in the thirteenth century. The Mongol governors, appointed by Uldjaitu (1304—1316) and Abū Sa'īd (1316—1325), resided principally in Kaizeriye and governed the central plateau of Asia Minor as far as Ankara. The last of these governors was Timur Tash, who, in 1327, had to fly to Egypt, leaving as his lieutenant Ertēnā. This Ertēnā made himself independent in 1325 and founded the dynasty of the Ertēnā Oghlu [q.v.]. About the same time, in 1301, originated in Mar'ash and Elbistan the dynasty of the Dūhā 'l-Kādiriye [q.v.]. In these south-eastern parts of Asia Minor the Mamišk power of Egypt was at that time an important political factor and both the Karamān Oghlu and the Dūhā 'l-Kādiriye had many dealings, friendly and unfriendly, with state state.

The social and religious conditions in all the principalities enumerated were much the same. The military power of the Beg or Emir depended on still more or less nomadic tribesmen, and to this class are to be reckoned the half religious and half military chiefs that in several regions bear the title of Paşa [q.v.], as for instance with the 'Othmān Oghlu, Teke, Aidin, Denizli and Djandar Oghlu. In several regions we meet also with the *ghazis*; these apparently were akin to the more orthodox *futuwa*-organisations of Seldjûk times. The court of the beg became also a gathering place of more orthodox scholars and of literary men who now began to write their works in Turkish (cf. LITERATURE, *supra*, B, III.). The bigger towns had often retained older social forms; this is especially known for Ankara, situated at the extremity of the Mongolian territory; the government was here really in the hands of the corporation of the Akhi's.

On the religious history of this pre-Ottoman period are to be consulted the works of Köpr. Züde Fu'ād, *İlk Muhtawwifler*, İstanbul 1918, and *Anadoluda İslamiyet, Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecm.*, 1922—1923.

4. The first period (1299—1402).

The historical tradition of the Ottomans has preserved reminiscences of the Turkoman nomadic origin of the founders of the state. The father of 'Othmān, Ertoghul [q.v.], is said to have established himself with his little tribe in the neighbourhood of Sögüd [q.v.] as an *uđı begi*; the pedigree given for Ertoghul and his father Suleimān Şah shows them as belonging to the Kayi [q.v.] division of the Oghuz Turks. The various reports, however, about Ertoghul and his clan have a good deal of a legendary character and this is also the case with what is told about the youth and the first exploits of 'Othmān himself. The different sources allow a historical reconstruction according to which 'Othmān — or 'Othmānşah, as the oldest known form of the name is given — was not even a real son of Ertoghul, but rather belonged to the non-

nomadic element of the population, with whom the orthodox Islamic tradition was stronger than with the Turkomans (J. H. Kramers, *Wer was Osman?*, in *A.O.*, vi. 242). He was, at any rate, one of the *ghaziyūn-i Rūm* and, together with other *ghazis* (Turkish *alps*), he possessed, after Ertoghul's death (about 1265?), the leadership of the clan. He likewise was surrounded by people belonging to the fraternity of the Akhi's, and it is probable that even 'Orkhān's father-in-law, the Shaikh Edeballi, whatever his extraction may have been, belonged to the same fraternity. As a result of the collaboration of these various elements the clan was transformed into a territorial state with the fortress Karadja Hisar as centre; in this state gradually the more orthodox Islamic tradition became predominant, though the popular religious leaders (*baba, dede, abdal*) remained in high esteem.

During his reign and that of Orkhān the history of the small principality was not different from that of the contemporary Anatolian principalities. With the aid of his tribesmen, but also by stratagem and personal relations, he succeeded in extending his territory, so that at his death, the Sakarya was practically the eastern boundary of the state; to the south 'Orkhān's power had probably reached Eski-Shehir. The Greek towns near or on the coast, however, Iznik, Iznikmid (Izmid) and finally Bursa were only taken in the beginning of Orkhān's reign; forthwith Bursa became the capital. All these new territories had been conquered from the Byzantines, mostly local commanders of garrisons; the Turks were seldom (in 1301 and 1329) opposed by a regular Byzantine army. Under Orkhān there was also added other Turkoman territory to his dominions, namely the principality of the Karai Oghlu [q.v.]; by this territorial acquisition the 'Orkhān Oghlu became at once the most prominent maritime power among the Anatolian principalities.

It is a noteworthy fact in the history of 'Orkhān and 'Orkhān, that there apparently existed close relations with Christian chiefs and commanders in the neighbourhood. Kösé Mikhāl, lord of the fortress of Khirmendjik, is said to have been a constant friend to 'Orkhān; and after the acquisition of the Karai principality, Orkhān was joined by Ghazi Ewrenos [q.v.], also of Christian descent. The descendants of both become afterwards notable feudal families in the Ottoman state. This early collaboration with Christian Greek elements makes it probable that in this way Byzantine traditions and customs early entered the Ottoman state, in the same way as was the case in some other contemporary maritime principalities. Both the Christian and the Turkoman-nomadic element were gradually assimilated by the growing influence of the orthodox mollas, often indicated in the older sources as *dünishmänd*; some of these belonged to the Akhi-circles, as is said of the Kadi Djandaril Kara Khalil, later vizier to Murad I under the name of Khair al-Din Pasha; many of them had also come from the more eastern parts of Asia Minor. To them may have belonged also 'Alā' al-Din Pasha, Orkhān's vizier and, according to tradition, his elder brother.

So, during Orkhān's on the whole peaceful reign, these very different elements contributed to the foundation of a typical form of administration and civilisation, from which the later development of the Ottoman state must be explained. The details are little known. The administration was a military

one and probably followed Seldjuk tradition; the division of territory among feudal chiefs may have reposed on earlier Byzantine institutions [cf. TIMAK]. Fiefs were given under Orkhān to the newly created cavalry called *müsellem*. During Orkhān's reign was also formed the new regular infantry called *yaya*, as the irregular force of the *apingir*, originally composed of the Tarcoman tribesmen, was no longer adequate. In this time also the title *paşa* [q.v.], originally peculiar to militant derwishes, began to be given to statesmen (e.g. Sinan Pasha under Orkhān) and military commanders.

The natural extension of the young state was towards the west, in keeping with the naval raids of the Sarukhan Oghlu and Aidin Oghlu on the iles and on the Greek coast. Already under Orkhān there had been several military expeditions on the other side of the Hellespont, mostly in connection with his alliance with the emperor Cantacuzenos and the latter's civil wars. In 1353, however, begins the military occupation of towns on the European side by the famous expedition of Orkhān's son Süleimān Pasha, followed in 1357 by the capture of Gallipoli. This was the prelude to the military operations of Murad I and Bayazid I, which took place nearly entirely in Rūm-ili. At first all the Byzantine territory to the west of Constantinople was taken; Adrianople (Edirne), conquered in 1361, became in 1365 the European capital of Murad. Then followed the wars against the Bulgarians and the Serbians, which assured the Ottomans the greater part of the present kingdom of Bulgaria. The Serbian power was crushed in the battle of Kosovo in 1389, where Murad I was killed, and Wallachia became tributary. Bayazid's military expeditions extended over a still wider range, including Hungary, Bosnia and southern Greece, but in these regions the Ottoman conquests were not yet permanent, notwithstanding the victory won at Nicopolis in 1396 over the allied Hungarian, French and German armies. Constantinople became a mere vassal town where the Ottoman sultan could exercise his influence as he pleased; it did not come yet to a real occupation, although Bayazid's attitude towards the town was little less than a continuous siege [cf. F. Giese, *Türkische und abendländische Berichte zur Geschichte Sultan Bajazids I.*, *Ephemerides Orientales*, No. 34: April 1928]. The Ottoman policy in Asia Minor had another character. Ankara, in 1359, fell to them in a peaceful way; Murad acquired a large part of the Germiyan Oghlu territory as a wedding present to his son and the country of the Hamid Oghlu by sale; even the expeditions against the Karaim Oghlu in 1386 and 1391 were conducted with much leniency, and it seems that the definite conquest of Konya, Siwas and Kastamuni in 1392 was a mere consequence of political necessity, felt perhaps through the conquests of Timur, who finally crushed the impetuosity of Bayazid in the battle of Ankara (1402). Many of Bayazid's conquests, indeed, were as ephemeral as those of Timur himself.

While the sultans conducted the military operations, the organisation was in the hands of their statesmen, among whom Djandaril Kara Khalil, later known as Khair al-Din Pasha, is the most notable (cf. F. Taeschner and P. Wittek, *Die Vaterfamilie der Gendaryas und ihre Denkmäler*, *Der Islam*, 1929, p. 61 sqq.). To him is attributed the institution of the Janissaries in con-

nection with the reservation of a fifth part of the war booty for the sultan. The Janissaries [q. v.] were taken from the captured Christians, and there is no indication that in the sixteenth century the *devshirme* [q. v.] was already applied. Their organisation on the lines of a fraternity after the model of the *ahls*' or the *ghāsi*'s, and their connection in this respect with the derwish-order of the Bekrahi's, shows again the influence of the peculiar religious tradition of the state.

The first beys of the 'Othmān Oghlu, in the older sources generally bearing the title of *ahunkār*, had originally taken over some of the Saljuk customs and traditions, such as the bearing of *labas*'s composed with *dir* and *dunya*, but from the time of Murād I this custom was abandoned. Murād is also the first to take the title sultan in inscriptions. These first rulers followed also the traditions of other Anatolian rulers by marrying high born Christian ladies; Orkhan was the first to take a Byzantine princess for his wife. On the other hand, the proper names of some of the first Sultans (Murād, Bāyazid) have preserved older, mystic-Shi'i, traditions; to the same early time is to be traced back the investiture of the sultan by the girding on of a sword, which perhaps symbolized originally his admission to the order of the *ghāsi*'s [cf. *ḡilīḡ alayī*]. An important fact of the first century of Ottoman history was the enforced migration of populations, which ancient oriental custom was particularly applied by Bāyazid I, mostly from the east to the west. This general drift towards the west may have occasioned also the increasing estrangement between 'Othmān Oghlu and Ḳaramān Oghlu and, together with other influences, the religious opposition in Anatolia.

On this first period of the Ottoman Empire are particularly to be consulted: H. A. Gibbons, *The Foundations of the Ottoman Empire*, Oxford 1916, and F. Giese, *Das Problem der Entstehung des Osmanischen Reiches*, Z. S., vol. I. (1912), p. 246 sqq.; Köpr. Zāde Fu'ād, 'Othmānī İmparatorlukunun Kuruluşu Metelisi, in the weekly review *Hayât*, No. 11 and 12 (February 10 and 17, 1927).

5. Second period.

When Timur left Asia Minor again, he left the peninsula as divided as it had been hundred years before; the principalities on the west coast, as well as Ḳastamuni and Ḳaramān, had been given back to their former dynasts, one of whom was replaced in 1403 by the enterprising İsmir Oghlu Dünceid [q. v.]; two sons of Bāyazid, İsa and Muḥammad, were residing at Brusa and at Amasia respectively. Although the European possessions, where Süleimān resided, had been left untouched by the Tatars, the restoration of the Ottoman state had again its centre in Anatolia, where Muḥammad had been able in a short time to establish himself as master of a considerable territory, including the old capital Brusa. After that his first move was the reconquest of the European possessions that were held first by Süleimān and afterwards by Mūsā. Only after 1413 was Muḥammad I in a position to begin the gradual incorporation of the other Anatolian principalities into the newly restored state; this policy was followed by Murād II and by Muḥammad II. This time again the rounding off of the Anatolian territory was effected without much bloodshed, with the exception of the Ḳaramān Oghlu state, the old rivals of the 'Othmān Oghlu. But even here the Ottomans began

by following a remarkably conciliatory policy. The descendants of these dynasties were generally granted high military posts in Europe. Muḥammad II finished the conquest of Anatolia proper by the conquest of the empire of Trebizond in 1461 and when, at last, the Ḳaramān dynasty was extinguished in 1468, the Ottoman Empire stood face to face with the Ak Ḳoyunlu dynasty in the north and the Egyptian state in the south-east. The dangerous raid of the Ak Ḳoyunlu Uzun Hasan, in 1472, had not, however, the disastrous consequences of Timur's campaign, the Ottoman Empire being now more firmly established; under Bāyazid II this neighbour was succeeded by the young Ṣafawid dynasty of Persia; still, until the end of the reign of this Sultan, the Ottoman territory was not enlarged on the Asiatic front, though there were several inglorious frontier wars with the Mamlūk forces in Syria.

All through the reigns from Muḥammad I to Bāyazid II the chief military activity of the Ottomans was given to the establishing of the Ottoman power in Europe. The sultans themselves resided most of the time in Europe, where they led many campaigns in person. Already under Muḥammad I there broke out a conflict with Venice with the advance of the Turks in Albania and Morea, and under Murād II Hungary became the other chief Christian opponent, as a consequence of the Turkish raids and conquests in Serbia and Wallachia. These raids and conquests, as well as those in Albania and Morea, frequently were not ordered by the sultans themselves, but they were undertaken by the frontier chiefs. The first results were more often the occupation of a few towns, where a *pa hasıl* was appointed as chief of the garrison; most of the territory was left under the administration of the local rulers, who were responsible for the payment of the *harādj* in the form of a tribute. Also Constantinople and the rest of the other Byzantine possessions kept for a long time their semi-independence in this way and succeeded even several times in defying a siege. Gradually these strongholds of Christian political and cultural independence were taken; the capture of Constantinople in 1453, which made such a profound impression among the Turks as well as in the Occident, was only the realisation of a part of the political scheme of Muḥammad II, of bringing the whole Balkan peninsula under the direct government of the Ottoman state; at his death this scheme had nearly become a reality. There were still Venetian colonies in Morea and Albania, and in the north Belgrad was still held by the Hungarians, but even Bosnia was ruled by Turkish beys. The isles of the archipelago, except Rhodes, were incorporated in the same manner. Only the Danube principalities Wallachia and Moldavia and, since 1475, the Crimean Khanate had remained vassals.

During all this time the Christian powers had been scheming and planning crusades to expel the Turks from Europe, while trying also alliances with the Asiatic opponents of the Ottomans. But no really great enterprise was ever undertaken; only temporary damage was done by the Hungarian Hunyadi, the Wallachian Wlad Dracul, the Albanian Skander Beg [q. v.] and by some Venetian naval expeditions.

All these military successes in Europe would not have been possible without the strong base in Turkish Anatolia. Still more astonishing is per-

happened the permanence of the Turkish occupation. The reason may be sought mainly in the lack of any sufficiently great political Christian power in the much divided Balkan peninsula.

After the relatively peaceful reign of Bāyazīd II, there is no more question about Asia Minor or the Balkan Peninsula. The struggle continued in Albania and Morea, but had on the whole a local character. The empire was now strong enough to face its new Asiatic neighbours. The war waged against Persia by Selīm I was in a way a continuation on an international scale of the former internal struggle against the Shī'ī opposition in Asia Minor itself. This war secured Turkey the temporary possession of Aḡārbağdījan and the lasting domination over Kurdistan and Northern Mesopotamia. Very soon afterwards the Egyptian state of the Manlikas, with whom the Ottoman Empire had clashed under Bāyazīd II in a rather unglorious way, was incorporated by Selīm in one single campaign. The consequence was the extension of Turkish overlordship to the holy cities of Islām and soon to Yaman. Finally, under Suleimān I the Magnificent, the empire obtained its greatest extension by the conquest of the greater part of Hungary, one of the two great mediæval opponents in Europe; in the same campaign the Turks went even so far as to besiege Vienna. Only the other old rival, Venice, was not broken by the victorious empire. After Muhammad II's death, official wars with Venice had become rather an exception. The Ottoman empire never had acquired an absolute maritime superiority, and this weakness appeared almost immediately after the great period of conquest was over, in the battle of Lepanto. Rhodes was conquered, but Malta has never been Turkish and the maritime exploits of Kemal Re'is [q. v.] under Bāyazīd and those of Barbarossa Khair al-Dīn and others, which assured Turkey's political authority in the Suleimānian era on the North coast of Africa and in the Indian Ocean, never wholly lost the character of piracy. On the Asiatic front the continuation of the conflict with Persia led for the time to the conquest of Baghdad and 'Irāq, so that the sultan was now in reality *ṣifān al-barrain wa'l-bahrain*.

In the course of this second victorious period the inner religious and social evolution of the state had not been less astonishing than the enormous expansion of its territory. The originally somewhat dubious Islāmic orthodoxy had gradually converged towards an unimpeachable orthodox attitude of life among the higher classes; many Muhammadan jurists had found their way from eastern countries to the new cultural centres of the Ottomans and the jurists of Christian extraction (as e.g. Molla Khuraw) joined without reserve the leaders of the official form of Islām. Under this orthodox cover the sympathies for mystic organisations and doctrines continued to exist; the mystic orders and the derwishes were generally favoured and the ancient mystic traditions continued to be reflected in many points, such as in the proper names of persons. Very probably we must see a reminiscence of the older influence of mystic religious leaders in the state in the remarkable institution of the *Shaykh al-Islām* [q. v.] which first appears distinctly under Murād II and was gradually sanctioned by the *ṣultān*. On the other hand, the controversy with the more extremist Shī'ī under-current of mystic feelings, which existed of old in Asia Minor, has

several times taken the form of open revolts against the government, such as the rebellion connected with the name of Simawna Kaḡi Oghlu Badr al-Dīn (cf. Ibn Kaḡi Simawna and F. Babinger, in *IL*, xi.) in 1415, and the revolt of Shāh Kālī or Shāhān Kālī and his Khālī Bāgh under Bāyazīd II. This last revolt was intimately connected with the contemporaneous political-religious movement that led to the establishment of the Safawid dynasty in Persia. For this reason the Khālī Bāgh rebellion was also a grave danger to the existence of the Ottoman state itself, and this explains the ferocity with which under Selīm I the adherents of the Shī'a were persecuted. The attitude of the Muhammadan rulers towards the Christian and Jewish population followed the tolerant tradition; no one was compelled to embrace the Muhammadan faith, with the exception of the Christian children levied by the *devshirms*. It is true that many churches were converted into mosques — like Aya Sofia —, but the constitution of the Greek-Orthodox and of the Jewish *millet* as autonomous communities, immediately after the capture of Constantinople, is the most famous example of a policy that was constantly applied. Muhammadan fanaticism began only in the end of the xvth century.

The overwhelming importance of the person of the sultan for the existence of the state is still more accentuated during this period. This is shown by the menace of military revolts after the death of nearly every sultan and the artifices by which his death was kept secret until the arrival of his successor; also by the grave disturbances caused by pretenders [cf. *DIEM*] and the tradition of fratricide, inaugurated by Bāyazīd I, which was the necessary consequence of it. The supporting of Ottoman pretenders was justly considered as one of the most effective means at the hands of the Christian enemies of the empire. For the Christian subjects the conquest made little difference; after Muhammad had taken the Byzantine capital, he had taken for them all the attributes of their legitimate "basileus".

The wars of Timur had again caused great racial movements in Asia Minor, and in the times that followed it remained the policy of the sultans to transplant contingents of the population from one part of the empire to the other. In this way Constantinople — to which town now all the main military roads in Asia Minor were directed — was deliberately peopled with the population of different parts of Anatolia (Istanbul = Islambol), and in the same way Adrianople had become earlier an Islāmic town. Still the Turkish settled population in Rūm-ili has always lived side by side with the Christians, the relative proportions varying considerably in the different territories. The islamisation of large parts of the population in Bosnia and Albania had other causes.

Now it is especially this state of affairs in European Turkey that has been important for the development of the Ottoman political system that has found its highest achievement in the reign of Suleimān I. The beginnings of this new inner evolution of the Ottoman civilisation are to be sought in the reign of Murād II, parallel with the consolidation of the Ottoman type of religious orthodoxy. The new leading men in the state and in the army were now for the greater part Christian renegades of Albanian, Slav, Greek or even more western origin; the older families that had

come from Asia Minor, such as the Mikhāh Oghlu and the Ewrenos Oghlu, receded to the second place as owners of large fiefs on the Danube and in Thessalia; the high position of the Djandar Oghlu as viziers ended with the execution of Khalil Pasha shortly after the fall of Constantinople. The newly converted Christians served the state to their best, but the all-dominating authority of Islam prevented the formation of a hereditary nobility; statesmen and military commanders (as beglerbegs and sandjaks) were the slaves (*kul*) of the sovereign and much less independent than they had been in a former century. Less dependent was the class of the scholars and jurists who provided the ecclesiastical hierarchy with the *Shaykh al-Islām* at the head; among them there are signs of an ecclesiastical nobility. So there was formed an Ottoman ruling class composed for the greater part of non-Turkish elements; they were continually recruited from the ranks of the Christian renegades that were taken in war or by the *devshirme*-levy. Under these circumstances it was inevitable that the administrative institutions should show the influence of Byzantine ideas, as was also the case with the court organisation. By *Kānūn-nāmis*, of which those of Muhammad II and Süleimān I are the best known, the hierarchy of officials was minutely regulated.

Besides the older troops of irregular *ashuks* and *azabs*, the army consisted chiefly of the *spahis* — whose organisation was intimately connected with the military administration of the territory (cf. *Tümāk*) — and of the Janissaries who, in the time of Murād II, were for the first time (probably 1438) levied by the method of the *devshirme* [q.v.]; guns were for the first time used during the siege of Constantinople by Muhammad II. The fleet [cf. *KAPUDAN PAŞHA*] was mainly manned with *azabs*, besides Christian prisoners as galley-slaves, but had not by far the importance of the army.

The revenues of the state or rather of the sultan consisted for the most part of the constantly increasing *harāḍī* levied on non-Muhammadan subjects and of the tributes paid by the semi-independent states. The different kinds of customs-duties were equally considerable. Trade remained mainly in the hands of Greeks and, so far as foreign commerce was concerned, it was in the hands of the colonies of Venetian, Genoese and Florentine merchants. These colonies were treated in the same way as the indigenous non-Turkish communities; they were allowed considerable autonomy under their consuls, including consular jurisdiction. These privileges were granted by the sultans in the well-known form of "capitulations", in which were prescribed also the commercial duties to be paid by the foreigners, who, in accordance with the principles of Muhammadan Law, were considered as *muslimin*. On account of the various wars, those with Venice had to be renewed after each peace concluded (1454, 1479, 1502, 1540). Only afterwards the capitulations took the character of bilateral international treaties. It was after the same model that the famous capitulation of 1535 was granted to France, but the political side of this instrument was much more important than in the capitulations with the Italian republics; it is the beginning of the normalisation of Turkey's international position in the following period.

The civilisation of the Ottoman Empire of the later Middle Ages was not yet separated from central and western Europe by the wide gap that became characteristic for later centuries. It has even been pointed out that the friendly relations between Muhammad II and Italian princes and artists and his liking for pictorial art entitles him in a way to a place among the renaissance rulers of the time (Tschudi, *op. cit.* p. 19). Soon afterwards, however, the Muhammadan attitude to life began to be again more predominant.

6. Third Period (1566—1699).

At the end of the reign of Süleimān I the Ottoman Empire found itself between two powerful continental neighbours: the Austrian monarchy in Europe and the Safawid empire in Asia. In Europe the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Hungary were the bulwarks against Austria, while further to the east the half-independent principalities of Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia, and the Tatar Crimea were allowed to exist; from the Turkish point of view also Poland with its Cossacks, and even Muscovy held similar intermediate positions between the two empires; during this period Turkey raised more than once claims to the suzerainty of the last-mentioned countries. In Asia the geographical situation did not allow for the existence of this intermediary kind of state, with the exception of Georgia, which was invaded and brought under Turkish authority in 1578. In Asia, however, the Turkish feudal system left places for a number of petty local rulers who were given the title of Pasha. They were found on the Persian frontier in Kurdistan (the princes of Bitlis), but also in Syria (the Druse emirs). The sharif of Mecca occupied likewise a vassal position, while Yaman, after its reconquest in 1568—1570, was again partly a more direct Ottoman possession. After 1550 the Turks had even obtained a footing in Maghawi on the African coast and had begun to interfere with Abyssinian affairs; the opportunities here came to an end after the unlucky war of 1578. Egypt was at this time still somewhat under the control of the Turkish Pasha [cf. *MAMLUKS*]; the Barbary states were nearly independent; the sharif of Morocco recognized in 1580 the authority of the Turkish sultan.

This general political system of the empire was maintained throughout the third period, a kind of equilibrium being established between the Ottoman Empire and the great continental powers.

Under Selim II, or rather under the administration of Mehmed Sokollu Pasha, Cyprus was conquered (1570—1571), but this conquest occasioned immediately the naval defeat in the battle of Lepanto [q.v.] in 1571, considered to be the first great military blow inflicted on the Turks. The impossibility of further military expansion brought about an inner weakening of the Empire that was marked on the whole by unsuccessful campaigns against Austria (defeat of Keresates in 1596) and against Persia (loss of Tabriz and Eriwan in 1603 and 1604) and found its expression in the unfavourable peace treaty of Zsitvatorok with Austria in 1606 and the peace of 1612 with Persia, then under the strong rule of Shah 'Abbās the Great. In the last decade of the 17th century, Transylvania and the Rumanian principalities even made themselves for some time independent; from 1572

Poland also played often an active rôle in the complicated political and military course of events on these northern frontiers of the Turkish Empire. The raids of the Cossacks in the Crimea had not yet the dangerous aspect of a century later, when the Muscovite power began to appear on the horizon. A favourable circumstance for Turkey was the weakening of Central Europe by the Thirty Years War; among the west-European countries the already existing friendly relations with France, followed in 1580 by England and in 1603 by Holland were on the whole profitable for the Empire, while Spain had ceased since the end of the century to be a serious maritime danger. In view of the never very strong maritime position of Turkey, the relations with Venice remained subject to surprises on both sides, such as the annexation of Cyprus; during the xvith century this was followed by the not less astonishing conquest of Crete (1645-1666) and about 1655 by the important Venetian conquests in Morea and in the archipelago, so that for a moment even Constantinople was threatened. Still the relations with Venice were on the whole friendly, Turkey being the stronger power on account of its continental position. On the Asiatic frontier Turkey's weakness led temporarily to the loss of Baghdad in 1623 and a renewed Persian danger. But here the old position of the Empire was restored by the revival of its military strength under Murâd IV; under his reign and after Shâh 'Abbâs' death Persia was invaded by Ottoman troops, Eriwân and Tabriz, and finally Baghdad reconquered (1638); in 1639 there began a long period of peace with Persia. After 1640 the stronger position of the Empire was used, as well as for the conquest of Crete, for strengthening the authority of the Porte in Transylvania and the Danube principalities, and for a fortification of the frontier to the north of the Black Sea, where Azov was taken from the Cossacks, now under Muscovite authority, and fortified in 1660. In this same year the hostilities with the now recovered Austria began again and took at first a crusading character; even France was this time an ally of Austria (Turkish defeat of St. Gothard 1664). But this was only a prelude to the final struggle with Austria that began in 1683 with the unsuccessful siege of Vienna and finished in 1688 with the loss of the Ottoman province of Hungary, and the invasion of the Balkan peninsula by Austrian armies, followed at last by the peace of Carlowitz (1699) in which Turkey, considerably weakened again, had to give up nearly the whole of Hungary and its claim on Transylvania, while it had to recognize the authority of Venice in Morea.

The weakening of the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of this period was mainly due to domestic reasons. During the xvith century it had already been observed that the Empire in this form could only subsist by continuous warfare; it had to be adapted now to peaceful conditions and this went beyond the possibilities of the personal rule of the sultan, which was based essentially on military conquest. The successors of Selim the Great were not equal to the task of meeting these new conditions; it is true that Muhammad III, 'Othmân II and Muhammad IV occasionally accompanied their armies, but Murâd IV was the last sultan to revive the military traditions of his dynasty, the last real ghâzi. So the sultans, whatever their personal qualities were, became less directly concerned

in the administration of the state, though their personality remained surrounded with the traditional veneration. This did not prevent, however, the deposition and murder of 'Othmân II in 1628, nor the deposition of Ibrahim in 1648 and of Muhammad IV in 1688. Instead of the sultans, the statesmen and generals became now more prominent, first in time and in importance Mehmed Sokollî Paşa [q. v.] under Selim II, Sinân Paşa [q. v.], the great enemy of the Austrians, under Muhammad III, Murâd Paşa [q. v.] and Khalîl Paşa [q. v.] under Ahmad I and 'Othmân II; and in the second half of the century the great members of the Köprülü family: Mehmed Paşa, his son Ahmad Paşa and their cousin Mustafa Paşa; to the same period belonged also Kara Mustafa Paşa [q. v.], the besieger of Vienna in 1683. These military statesmen belonged to the numerically feeble renegade class and were supporters of the typical Ottoman government system as it had been perfected under Selim I, but they did not represent any considerable group of the strongly diverging population of the empire. There was not yet an Ottoman-Turkish nation. Several other groups were competing with them in the direction of the state affairs; the most formidable being the military corps of the Janissaries and the Sipâhîs, who several times, especially after serious military defeats as at the time of the enthronement of Murâd IV in 1632 and of Muhammad IV's deposition in 1688, were masters of the political situation. The Janissaries were now even less recruited in the ancient way from the Christian populations, while many abuses had ruined the former discipline of their corps. Several grand viziers fell victims to their fury. Another powerful group, that made occasional use of these military elements, was the court circle, led several times by a powerful Walide Sultân or by a Kizlar Aghâ. Finally the 'ulama' with the Shâikh al-Islâm succeeded repeatedly in playing a decisive part in the direction of the state affairs (e.g. the muftî Sa'âd al-Dîn under Muhammad III); the deposition of Sultan Ibrahim was sanctioned by *fermân* of the Shâikh al-Islâm. These symptoms of decay were truly analysed in Koçî Bey's [q. v.] famous *Risâle*. Only Murâd IV was able to suppress, often by violent means, the influence of these different groups; he succeeded even in raising a new military force (the *Seğbân*) alongside of the Janissaries. In the capital there were several times outbursts of religious fanaticism directed against the Christians, as happened under Ibrahim I, but it cannot be said that political events were influenced by them; the great statesmen showed on the contrary a remarkable tolerance.

The non-Muslim element, though excluded from all direct influence on the government, had adapted itself to the circumstances. A new Greek aristocracy had arisen in Constantinople, which by wealth and intrigue had powerful relations in Turkish circles, as well as in the leading circles of the Christian principalities on the Danube; they likewise were able to control the nomination of the Greek patriarchs. To this time belongs also the definite turn of the Ottoman Greeks towards Greek orthodoxy under the influence of the patriarch Cyrillus Lucaris (executed in 1638); the consequence was a decisive rupture with the Roman Christian world and indirectly a strengthening of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Turks had still many religious traditions in common with the Greeks, and Christian

saints were also venerated in Turkish circles. Next to the Greeks the Jewish element, considerably strengthened since the arrival of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews under Bayazid I, played a great social role, chiefly as bankers; the best known representative of this group was Joseph Nassy, the favourite of Selim II.

The lower classes in Asia Minor participated as little in the direction of the state as those of European Turkey. Some dangerous revolts proved, however, that the old religious traditions of the xiith and xivth century had not wholly disappeared. In 1599 began the movement of Kara Vaulâdî [q.v.] in Urfa; much more dangerous for the unity of the Empire was the revolt of Kalender Oghlu in Şarukhân (1606), who ruled for some years independently over a great part of western Anatolia, until he was crushed by Murâd Pasha. Soon afterwards, 1623—1628, took place the insurrection of Abâza [q.v.], the relentless persecutor of the Janissaries. Farther to the east the movement for independence under the Kurd Djanbulat [q.v.] in Northern Syria like that of the Druse Fakhr al-Dîn [q.v.] in the Lebanon had to be tolerated to some extent. The inclination to mysticism and veneration for mystic shaikhs (such as Mahmûd of Skutari, where several grand viziers found asylum under 'Othmân II) continued its hold on all classes of the population; several new mystic orders were founded during this period. The foreign trade remained as before in the hands of foreigners, Venetians and other Italians; of Italian origin were also many of the leading personalities of the Turkish navy that was rebuilt after the battle of Lepanto, such as Cigâle Zâde Sinân Pasha [q.v.].

7. Fourth period (1699—1839).

During the xviiith century the inevitable action of the elements of decay began to be felt more and more in the empire and brought about a situation that has been, too superficially, described as decadence. The causes of the decline were to be sought mainly within the body politic; they were still the consequences of the transition from a conquering state to a peaceful administration, but they were now ever more exploited by foreign powers. Among these Austria was in the beginning still a formidable opponent; after the war of 1716—1718 the peace of Passarowitz meant the loss of what had been left to Turkey of Hungary and Transylvania, and even of Belgrad, but the peace of Belgrad in 1739, in which this town itself was restored, proved that from the Austrian side the real danger had ceased. Moreover, in 1715, Morea had been reconquered from the Venetians by the grand vizier Dînn 'Alî Pasha, which success had shown that Venice also was no more to be feared. A new and formidable enemy had risen, however, in the form of the now much enlarged Russia, which, to the Orthodox Christians of Rumania and Servia, seemed a more welcome liberator than even Austria had ever been. The war of 1711 with Peter I, intimately connected with the coming of Charles XII of Sweden to Turkey, ended with a Turkish victory at Poltava and brought back Azov to the Empire in 1712, and the war of 1732, equally successfully closed by the already mentioned treaty of Belgrad in 1739, was not yet disastrous for Turkey; Russian navigation in the Black Sea was even formally prohibited. After 1739 there followed a period of peace for the empire in Europe. The military and

peaceful relations with Persia during this time were mainly influenced by the political events in that empire, by which the Turks sought to profit. The successes of Nadir Shâh in 1730 were for a moment threatening; they even occasioned the deposition of Ahmad III, but at last the peace of 1736 restored the frontiers of the time of Murâd IV. The real military weakness of the Ottoman Empire was finally revealed in the conflict with Russia that had begun in 1768 with a Turkish declaration of war; this war brought the Russian armies deep into Bulgaria and was ended by the memorable treaty of Küçük Kainardî in 1774, by which the Crimea became wholly independent (to be annexed in 1783 by Russia), while Turkey had to recognize the Russian protectorate in the Danube principalities. The right of religious protection accorded to the sultan with regard to the Muhammadans in the Crimea, was the beginning of the religious claims of Turkey, that were to acquire such importance in its international relations in the xixth century. After an equally unhappy war with Kerim Khân in Persia (1776), in which Basra was temporarily lost, the Ottoman Empire again suffered serious losses to the Russians by the war of 1784—1792, closed by the peace of Jassy; this time the Dniepr became the frontier between the two Empires. Austria also had tried to profit by this war and occupied Bukarest, but in the separate peace of Zsitowa (1791) Austria did not gain the expected profits.

During all this time the friendly relations with the western countries, France, England and Holland, to which Sweden was added in 1737, Denmark in 1756 and Prussia in 1763, had often been of great value to Turkey by the services rendered by them as intermediaries in the peace negotiations; especially France, which obtained in 1740 its well-known final capitulation, had considerable influence by its right to protect the Roman Catholics. At the end of the century, however, the Ottoman Empire began to be a factor in the new imperialistic schemes of the western powers, in connection with their colonial acquisitions and political influences in Southern Asia. These colonial interests did not show at that time any wish to possess Ottoman territory, but the rising colonial powers needed between themselves and their possessions a state over which they could exert control, since they saw the necessity of communicating with the Persian Gulf and India by a more direct way than the southern sea-route. The more immediate cause of the occupation of Egypt by the French in 1798 was the rivalry between France and England; this made for the moment England and even Russia allies of Turkey. But in 1802 peace with France was restored, to be followed some years later by a new war with Russia and hostilities with England (the English fleet before the capital in 1807). By the peace of Bukarest (1812) the Ottoman Empire again lost territory (Bessarabia) to Russia, while England, after the elimination of France's colonial power in India and the weakening of the Ottoman authority in Egypt, was for the moment satisfied. The Empire was again severely affected by the ups and downs of the Greek insurrection, that began in 1820 and ended in 1830 with the recognition of the independence of Greece, not, however, before a disastrous war with Russia — that had played from the beginning an important part in the Greek

troubles — had obliged Turkey to conclude the peace of Adrianople (1829). Still, the action of the other European powers had prevented Russia from realising its territorial aims; it had to be contented with a strong political ascendancy over Turkey, as was proved in 1833 by the treaty of Hünkâr İskelesi, which, in a secret article, forced Turkey to become Russia's ally in the matter of the navigation in the Black Sea. This unnatural alliance with Russia was occasioned by the action of Mehmed 'Ali of Egypt (begun in 1831), who threatened for a moment to deprive the Empire of Egypt, Syria and Cilicia, but led at the end only to the recognition of Egypt as a privileged part of the Empire under a hereditary dynasty (1840). This time again the intervention of the European powers had been decisive for the territorial status of the empire. The existence of the Ottoman Empire was justly considered as a political necessity; already in 1789 there had been a treaty between Prussia and Austria to guarantee the northern frontiers of the Empire. About the year 1830, moreover, Turkey concluded several new treaties, on the lines of the capitulations, with the United States of America, Belgium, Portugal and Spain. The conquest of Algiers by France (1827—1857) could hardly be called a loss to the empire.

The administrative system of the empire remained much the same during this period; in every direction the central authority was however losing its influence. In the beginning of the xviiith century this was not yet very perceptible. Constantinople was still the brilliant capital of a powerful empire, where the court of Ahmad III set the example of a luxurious life; to this time falls the curious passion for the cultivation of tulips, that makes the epoch known as *lale devri*. To this period also belongs the expansion of higher literary, specifically Ottoman, culture beyond the class of the 'ulamā'; a new class of literates came into existence, who were the precursors of the intellectual Turkish middle class that originated in the beginning of the xixth century. The beginning of Turkish printing in 1727 is likewise intimately connected with the new cultural orientation of the higher classes. Most of them served the government in higher or lower functions, and from this class have come forth grand viziers, such as Dâvid İbrâhîm and Râghîb Paşa. This changed considerably the ancient military character of the government system; the home and foreign affairs of the empire were now treated in a more statesmanlike way by the Sublime Porte (Bâb-ı 'Âli), and the modest office of the Re'is al-Kuttâb [q. v.] now became more and more important since the holders began to act as competent ministers of foreign affairs; one of them, Ahmad Rasîm, is well known as one of the first Ottoman ambassadors. Still this new class of functionaries was, according to tradition, the sultan's slaves; only under Mahmûd II was their position regulated in a more liberal way. The new cultivated upper classes had manifold relations with the cultivated Greek Phanariots of their time, many of whom occupied high offices in the government service, especially as dragomans (as e.g. Nikusios and Mavrocordat); there were no ties with the lower Muhammadan classes. Under these governing functionaries the Janissaries and Sipâhîs, now that their discipline was loosened, more than once interfered in a dangerous way. The Janissary rebellion under Patrona Khalil in 1730, which cost Ahmad III

his throne, seems to have been directed mainly against this new aristocracy. After Ahmad III court life became much more sober. The ruling classes and most of the sultans with them had begun to realise the weakness of the empire and sought now a remedy in the introduction of military reforms, in which they were aided by several foreigners, of whom the Frenchman Bonneval (died in 1747) is the best known. Another French officer, de Tott, worked in the same direction under Mustafa III, but the Russian war that broke out under this sultan showed how little effective the measures had been. Selim III undertook the army reforms with much more energy, but even in his time very few leading people had real understanding for these things; the institution of the new troops (*nizâm-ı cedid*) provoked another formidable rebellion of the Janissaries, seconded by a large percentage of the 'ulamâ'. Mahmûd II, finally, took up the question of reforms with more deliberateness; this sultan finally concluded there was no other way of imposing the reforms than by the famous massacre of the Janissaries in Constantinople on June 16, 1826; at the same time the Bektîshî derwish order was persecuted. The events showed, however, that so far more destructive than constructive work had been done; still this sultan succeeded at least in subjecting a number of powerful semi-independent local dynasts. The weakening of the central authority had indeed been characteristic of the Ottoman Empire of the xviiith century. Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli were ruled by hereditary Beys; only Tripoli was brought by Mahmûd again under the direct authority of the Porte. Egypt had seen in 1767 the usurpation of 'Alî Bey. In Rûm-ili some powerful vassals had come forth from the ranks of the great timariots: they were called *a'yân*. Under Selim III and Mahmûd II the most noteworthy were 'Alî Paşa of Vanîna and Farvân Oghlu at Widdin. In Anatolia there had been in 1739 the dangerous insurrection of Sarî Beg Oghlu, after which the so-called *dere-beys* were as good as independent, as was also the case in Kurdistan. In Mesopotamia and 'Irâk the same conditions were prevalent; in 1706 was formed in 'Irâk the powerful Bedonî confederation of the Muntakî, and under Selim III Baghdâd was ruled autocratically by Sulaimân Paşa (died in 1810). In Syria the Druses of the Lebanon had their own emirs, and on the coast ruled, in Selim III's time, Dîarrîr Paşa [q. v.] of 'Akka. In Arabia the Wahhîdîs had taken Mecca in 1803, and Yaman and 'Asir could hardly be called parts of the Turkish empire. On the islands of the archipelago hardly any Turks were to be found; here as in Syria there was strong European influence. Still, although the Ottoman real power had sunk everywhere, the Ottoman type of administration had put its seal on the cultural life of all these different regions; the great Ottoman tradition held them together and enabled Mahmûd II and the statesmen who, after him, continued the centralisation of the Empire, to keep together their political unity for a century more to come.

8. Fifth period (1839—1922).

In this period the transition of the Ottoman Empire to a national Turkish state was completed, but in a way not intended by the Christian powers, nor expected by the Turkish ruling classes themselves. The new course followed in the admini-

stration by the gradual application of the *Tanzimat* [q. v.] had meant to establish, mainly after the French model, a modern state where all citizens, whatever their religion, had equal political and civil rights, under the direct authority of the Ottoman Government; only Egypt, the Danube principalities and Serbia (since 1815) and in Asia the *Hijaz* were allowed a privileged position. The ideal of the new Ottoman State was, however, far from the democratic ideals that worked in Europe and which by now began to show their effect, especially among the Christian populations. The democratic revolutionary movement of 1849 in Moldavia and Wallachia was equally opposed by Turkey and by Russia, but had as result the convention of Balta Liman, by which the Turkish authority in these principalities was reduced to a negligible point. When Russia, as a result of a conflict over the holy places in Jerusalem, invaded again the principalities, in 1853, the Ottoman Empire found England and France at its side; this was the beginning of the Crimean war. By the peace treaty of Paris (1856) the integrity of the Empire seemed secured. In reality the intervention of England and France and soon again of Russia was now more firmly established than ever. This was not only the case in political questions, as for instance the armed intervention in the Syrian troubles of 1845 and 1860, after the troubles of Djidda in 1858, and in the international regulation of the position of Crete in 1866. For the influence of the foreign powers was likewise extended to many points of inner administration, which kind of intervention was made possible by the capitulations. These originally unilateral privileges were looked upon now as bilateral treaties, but their contents had become incompatible with the new state conception that the *Tanzimat* tried to realize. From 1856, indeed, the Porte had tried in vain to get rid of this international servitude, which, at the end of the sixteenth century, had taken the character of a collective tutelage of all countries possessing capitulations. Not till 1914 did the conflict between the European powers enable the Turkish government to put the capitulations aside.

In 1862 the Ottoman government was able to restore its authority in Montenegro and the Herzegovina, while, on the other hand, Serbia, and the two Danube principalities, since 1861 united in one state, recovered a nearly complete independence in 1865. Twelve years later the Bulgarian troubles again brought about an armed conflict with Russia, which country, in 1870, had already broken the conventions of 1856 about the Black Sea. The preliminaries of San Stefano (1878), mitigated by the Treaty of Berlin (1879), brought the definite loss of Serbia, Montenegro and Rumania, while Bulgaria was constituted a semi-dependent principality; on the Caucasian frontier Turkey lost Kars and Batum, and Great Britain obtained the administration of the Isle of Cyprus. This abandonment of England's policy hitherto followed of respecting the integrity of Ottoman territory was followed in 1882 by the occupation of Egypt [cf. *KHEDIW*]. The remaining dates in the dismemberment of Turkey in Europe are the Greco-Turkish war (1897), by which the Greek territory was enlarged towards the north, the autonomy of Crete (1898) and, after the deposition of 'Abd al-Hamid, in 1909 the declaration of independence of Bulgaria and the annexation of Bosnia and the Herzegovina

by Austria. Then, after Tripoli had been lost in the war with Italy (1912, peace of Lausanne), the Balkan war of 1912-1913 reduced the territory of Turkey in Europe to Eastern Thrace, including Adrianople, which town had even been occupied for some time by the Bulgarians.

During the sixteenth century the relations with Persia had been on the whole peaceful; conflicts were only occasioned by frontier questions, such as the dispute about the authority over the Kurdish territory of Salcimāniye, which was settled in 1847 in favour of Turkey. The territory round the Persian Gulf had come more and more under the control of the British, but the territorial status in Asia remained for a long time unchanged. In the meantime Turkey had been drawn gradually into the economic expansion schemes of the German Empire as manifested by the project of the Baghdad railway; this diminished England's interest in the territorial integrity of the Ottoman State. So, when in the first year of the world war, Turkey was not able to maintain its neutrality and joined the central powers, Russia and England co-operated for the first time to take away Turkish territory. The attempts of the Allies to enter the Dardanelles by sea and by land failed however during the war; but the combined action of the French and English troops in Palestine and Syria, and the different English campaigns in Iraq and Mesopotamia succeeded at last in conquering these provinces from the Ottoman armies. In Syria they were aided by forces of the Sharif of Mecca, who had made himself independent in 1917 as King of the *Hijaz*. The Russians, in the meantime, had made considerable progress in north-eastern Anatolia, but from this side the danger came abruptly to an end with the Russian Revolution, and the peace of Brest-Litovsk (August 3, 1918) gave back to Turkey the lost territory, besides Kars, Ardahan and Batum. Soon afterwards the war with the other powers came to an end by the armistice of Mudros (October 30, 1918). Subsequently Constantinople was occupied by Allied troops; France occupied the whole of northern Syria and Cilicia, England occupied the not yet conquered parts of northern Mesopotamia, including Mosul, and Italian troops landed in Adalia. Greece was allowed to occupy eastern Thrace and Smyrna in May 1915. All this the Constantinople government had to witness passively. The Turkish parliament, convoked in January 1920, took for a moment a firmer attitude by adopting the so-called National Pact (*millet-i Milli*); but when in March the occupation of Constantinople was rendered more severe, the parliament was dissolved. Finally, in August, the Ottoman Government was compelled to sign the Treaty of Sevres, by which large parts of the remaining Ottoman territory, including Constantinople and Smyrna, were brought under the control of one or more foreign powers. In the meantime another, interior, enemy had risen against the Ottoman Government as a result of the organized national opposition against the foreign occupations, especially the Greeks' landing in Smyrna. In the course of 1920 the Constantinople government lost gradually all control over Anatolia and the measures undertaken with Allied help to restore its authority failed. Under the growing successes of the nationalists the authority of the Sultan's government dwindled down ever more, and the Great National Assembly of Angora was able at last to pronounce on November 1, 1922 the abolition of the Constan-

tinople Government and the deposition of Sultan Muhammad VI Wahid al-Din. This meant nothing less than the extinction of the Ottoman Empire and its dynasty. Constantinople and eastern Thrace were occupied by nationalist troops and the last Sultan left his capital, that now ceased to be the capital of Turkey. The only remnant of the dynastic tradition was that 'Abd al-Medjid, son of Sultan 'Abd al-'Aziz, continued to reside in Constantinople as Khalifa. This dignity was abolished by decree of the Great National Assembly of March 2, 1924; 'Abd al-Medjid, as well as all other members of the dynasty of 'Othman were at the same time banished from Turkey.

Such was the outcome of a long series of events, in which the inner development of the empire played no less a part than the outward political circumstances. The "tanjimat" period, in fact, was a no less powerful factor in the dissolution than the political interest of foreign powers. The "tanjimat" was a more deliberate continuation of the reforming measures under Selim III and Mahmud II and it was by no means the execution of a programme supported by a large group of the population. Rasid Pasha, 'Ali Pasha and their helpers wanted to turn Turkey into a modern state ruled by a council of ministers, whose president kept the title of *pad-i a'zam*, but their methods were those of an absolute government in the name of the sultans, who did not in the beginning interfere. When, however, the first real constitution was elaborated by Midhat Pasha, it happened that the new Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid preferred to govern himself, and with the same absolutist methods as his predecessors; only his aim became ever less the copying of a western European state, but rather the strengthening and the securing of the position of the sovereign, to which end there was finally developed the notorious system of censorship and espionage which has made known this period in Turkish history as *devir-i istihlal*. This period cannot be called reactionary in that it abolished the institutions of the "tanjimat"; it opposed only some consequences of the reforms. The reforms had brought into existence a middle class of intellectuals of Turkish speech and Islamic religious tradition, mostly divided between the army and the state functionaries and, in a less degree, the 'ulamā'. These intellectuals, of very different extraction, had developed a new ideal of patriotism, as reflected most eloquently in Namik Kemal's *Watan*, and they had begun to form a public opinion that claimed a certain influence in the government of the state. About this time was also born the Turkish daily press (cf. *QARIDA*). Gradually, as this social group took more definite forms, it became ever more separated from the different groups of the Christian and Jewish population, and also from the non-Turkish speaking Muhammadans in the Asiatic provinces. At the same time, however, the general religious controversy between Christianity and Islam had been deepened since the beginning of the sixteenth century as a result of the subjection of many Muhammadan countries to the rule of Christian powers. By this process was generated the pan-Islamic feeling and Constantinople, as the capital of the relatively most powerful independent Islamic state, became the political capital of Islam. With a great many of the Turkish intellectuals, and among them chiefly the 'ulamā', the pan-Islamic feeling surpassed the still somewhat vague patriotism.

Moreover the Islamic sentiment found sympathy with the lower classes of the Turkish population, still strongly imbued with mystical traditions and with the non-Turkish Muhammadans of the Empire. 'Abd al-Hamid, while emphasizing his dignity as Khalifa, relied mainly on Islamic sentiment, though, in course of time, the persons who surrounded the ever more suspicious monarch came to be of the worst kind. Utterances of patriotism were opposed in the most drastic way and many intellectuals had to take refuge abroad. The growing opposition against the *istihlal* found at last a means of organizing itself in the province of Macedonia, since 1906 governed by a Turkish governor under European control. Saloniki became the centre of the new patriotic, more conscious, Young Turkish movement, led by the Committee of Unity and Progress (*ittihad-ı ısmailiyye*) and supported to a great extent by the army. Its influence obliged the sultan to promulgate again the constitution of Midhat Pasha on June 24, 1908 and to abolish at once the onerous system of censorship and espionage. In November the first Ottoman parliament came together, but in the troubled years that followed this parliament never had the opportunity to exert a real influence on the government. On April 13, 1909, followed an attempt to reestablish the Sultan's former authority; this time the Young Turkish cause could only be saved by the occupation of the capital by the Macedonian army and the deposition of the Sultan (April 27). Then, for a time, Ottomanism became the political ideal, meaning the equality of all Islamic and non-Islamic elements in the state. But it soon appeared that these elements were already too much estranged from each other, so that the foundation of a strong state on these principles became impossible. The Young Turks, under the influence of the ideas of Pan-Turkism, began now a policy with the final object of making the Ottoman Empire a state where the Turkish element should be predominant; they turned to the lower Turkish speaking classes, especially in Anatolia, to form a real Turkish nation. Pan-Islamism, too, was propagated again by several persons as a way of attaining this aim, but this course was gradually abandoned, although used occasionally for outward political manifestations. The very unfavourable international development after the revolution, however, brought the Young Turkish rulers to measures that certainly were not originally on the programme, such as the Armenian massacres during the war and the severe government in Syria. And as a consequence of the final loss of nearly all non-Turkish territory in the war, Turkish nationalism was born at last, the simplest and at the same time the most effective form of Turkish patriotism, not hampered by any ideas of religion or original racial connections.

The statesmen who had carried out the "Tanjimat" programme had been careful not to offend the religious scruples of the leaders of orthodox Islam. In spite of the remonstrances of foreign representatives no measures were taken that were in direct conflict with the *sharia*, though the application in practice might have been changed. The *sharia* was also the basis of the new Civil Code or *Medjelle* [q.v.]. In Midhat's constitution, Islam was declared the state religion and the Shaikh al-Islam was given a rank as high as the grand-vizier. This wise religious policy could not prevent, however, occasional religious outbursts of which

Christians were the victims, as in 1858 at Djidda and in 1860 at Damascus, both places situated outside the purely Turkish provinces. Under 'Abd al-Hamid religious activity was mainly under the influence of pan-Islamism, shown in the various attempts to enter into relations with Muhammadans in all parts of the world. Even the Young Turkish government did not refrain from proclaiming the Holy War on its entering into the world war. In their inner administration the Young Turks clearly opposed the influence of the religious authorities, as was proved by their attempt in 1917 to bring the medreses under the administration of the ministry of Public Instruction. Another break with the Islamic tradition was the reform of the calendar. In 1789 the Greek Julian calendar had already been introduced officially for the financial administration but by a curious compromise the era of the Hijra (*senc-i millîye*) was preserved; and in 1917 the Gregorian calendar was adopted. The Christian era came gradually into use after the war.

It was also by the "Tanziimat" that domestic administration was separated from the military by the laws concerning the *vilayets*. The chief occupation of the home department was still for a long time the tax-gathering. The europeanisation and centralisation of the financial system proved to be one of the chief difficulties, as a reliable corps of functionaries had to be created at the same time. After the Crimean war, Turkey was able to conclude a number of foreign loans, but the money was not well administered nor well used. In 1876 a state bankruptcy had to be declared with foreign intervention as a consequence and the establishment of the service of the Public Debt, which was very much resented in all Turkish circles. A serious hindrance for the recovery of the finances was also the antiquated custom rules of the capitulations, although the original dues of 3% were several times raised. After the Revolution, however, the greatest difficulties seemed to have been overcome.

The new Turkish army created gradually by conscription, after the extinction of the Janissaries, had during this period many occasions to show its valour. It contributed considerably to the strengthening of the patriotic Turkish spirit and played an important role in the Revolution. After 1856 it was theoretically admitted that Christians and Jews also could be enrolled, but in practice they always liberated themselves by paying an exemption tax. It was only after the revolution that these non-Turkish elements also became Turkish soldiers.

9. The national Turkish state (since 1922).

The nucleus of the new Turkish state was the opposition to the foreign occupations after the armistice of Mudros. The organisation of the opposition began in 1919 under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, who had gone at first to Asia Minor as army inspector. The first stage was the Congress of Erzurum (July 23, 1919), followed by the Congress of Sivas (September 11). Here a Representative Committee (*hey'et-i temhiliye*) was formed under the presidency of Mustafa Kemal, and this Committee was charged with the execution of the new national programme; the armed opposition of the *hümayt millîye* against the occupation of Smyrna was supported and the landing of English

troops in Samsun, as well as the attack on Iznik from Constantinople were frustrated. In 1920, after the Constantinople parliament had been dissolved, many deputies escaped to Asia Minor, where in Ankara, on April 23, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey was convoked by the Representative Committee. The Assembly gave itself legislative and executive powers and appointed a governing committee (*hey'et-i vukûfiye*) under Kemal Pasha's presidency. In 1921 began the struggle with the Greek troops (battles of Inönü on January 11 and March 31), followed in July by a Greek advance as far as Eskişehir. This advance was ended by a Greek defeat on September 13. In the meantime, the new national government had entered into relations with the Allies; by the treaty of November 20, 1921, France restored Cilicia. As other negotiations did not lead to definite results, the Ankara government decided in August 1922 on an attack on the Greek forces and gained a decisive victory at Dumlupınar; on September 9 Smyrna was recovered and for a short time it seemed that Constantinople was threatened. By the armistice of Mudania (October 10) the national government obtained the right to occupy Thrace and Constantinople, which was effected in the following weeks. Therewith the war was finished, and after difficult negotiations the peace treaty of Lausanne (July 23, 1923) established peaceful relations between the Allies and the new Turkey, this country being recognized as a completely independent state. The peace treaty had left undecided the question of the wilâyet of Mosul, the restitution of which was claimed by the Turks; after great efforts of the League of Nations, Turkey and England came at last to an arrangement by which Mosul was left to Iraq (June 5, 1926). The new Turkey had already concluded a consular treaty with Russia in November 1922; after the peace of Lausanne relations of friendship and commerce were successively renewed with other countries. The relations with England and Russia are now the most important in Turkish foreign policy.

Since the Turkish constitution of April 20, 1924, Turkey is a Republic. Ghâzî Mustafa Kemal Pasha has been state president (*re'is-i cumhûriyet*) from the beginning. Constantinople has fallen from the rank of capital and has been replaced by Ankara, the Medina of the new Turkey. The Grand National Assembly has displayed since 1922 a considerable legislative activity in order to adapt the country to its new conditions and to modernise its institutions. In religious matters the new rulers have taken deliberately the way of laicization, after the abolition of the Caliphate in March 1924. There is no longer a *Shâikh al-Islâm* and no Minister of *Evkâf*.

In September 1925 the *Tekkes* of the mystic orders were closed and these orders themselves interdicted. These measures, directed against the traditional popular forms of religious expression, were a consequence of the great rebellion of the Kurds under Shâikh Sa'îd, which began at the end of 1924. Similarly in September 1925 the *fez* was abolished as head-dress; only the "ulama" were henceforth allowed to wear the turban. A noteworthy reform was the official introduction of the Latin alphabet and the abolition of the use of Arabic letters in 1928, which measure had also an anti-clerical aspect. The principal aim of these and other measures is, to raise the Turkish people to a higher cultural level;

their application has repeatedly provoked resistance in several parts of the country among circles attached to traditional institutions. Still the national evolution aimed at by the republican government has in any case more chances of success than ever before, as the large majority of the population is now really Turkish or turkicised. Many *wahhajir*'s had returned already after the Balkan war to Asia Minor and the population exchanges with Greece have likewise increased the Turkish majority.

A comprehensive collection of the historical facts since 1918 is to be found in G. Jaschke and E. Pritsch, *Die Türkei seit dem Weltkriege, Geschichtskalender 1918—1928*, in *Die Welt des Islams*, 2, 1927—1929, containing also extensive bibliographical notes on the new Turkey. An independent survey of this period is contained in the article *Türkiye Dönüşümü*, in Khalil Edhem, *Dünya-i İslamiye*, İstanbul 1927, p. 334.

Bibliography: Among the sources of Ottoman political history the historiographical literature of the Ottoman Turks themselves takes the first place. For this literature it is sufficient to refer to F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1927. The study of documentary sources is still in its beginnings; historical documents have been published in various places, as in the *T. O. E. M.* (*T. T. E. M.*) and in the works of the Turkish historian Ahmed Refik. Some of the *Gâzî-nâmeler* have been published in *T. O. E. M.* and other Turkish publications. For the treaties of the Ottoman Empire a most valuable collection is to be found in Gabriel Effendi Noradounghian, *Recueil d'Actes Internationaux de l'Empire Ottoman*, iv. vols., Paris 1897—1903. On the epigraphical sources there are important monographs, such as those of Khalil Edhem and the more recent publications of Muhârek Ghalib. The chief work on Ottoman Numismatics is still İsmâ'il Ghalib, *Taşınmaz Mevâkîf-i 'Othmânîye*, Constantinople 1307, besides other publications (such as Ahmed Refik, *'Othmânî İmparatorluğunda Mevâkîf*, in *T. T. E. M.*, No. 6, 7, 8, 10; *British Museum Catal. Oriental Coins*, vol. viii.).

Of non-Turkish literary sources the Oriental ones have been partly treated by Babinger in his bibliographical work. Among the Western sources the Byzantine historians are of extraordinary importance for the first centuries of the Ottoman Empire (Phrantzes, Ducas, Chalcocondyles, Critobulos). Since the xvth century a very important place is also taken by the *Relazioni* of the Venetian bailios, to be consulted in the great publications of Albéri (Florence 1839—1865) and Barozzi and Berchet (Venice 1856—1877). To them were added in course of time the reports of the representatives of other governments that entered into relations with the Ottoman Porte. To the same category may be reckoned the numerous descriptions of travels in the Ottoman Empire by European travellers, beginning in the xvth century. Not sharply separated from the travel literature are the many descriptions of the Turks and of the Ottoman Empire, of which the best known is d'Ohsson, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol. i.—iii., Paris 1787—1820. This kind of literature continued all through the xixth century (the important works of Ubbelini) and the beginning of the xxth century.

The first great "general work on Ottoman Turkish history was Josef von Hammer's *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, vol. i.—x., Pest 1827—1835; zweite verbesserte Ausgabe, vol. i.—iv., Pest 1834—1836 (French translation by J. J. Hellert, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol. i.—ix., Paris 1835—1843). This work is for the greater part based on Turkish literary sources and ends with the peace of Küçük Kainardji in 1774; vol. x. contains an extensive list of works concerning Ottoman History, that had appeared in Europe until 1774. A work of the same scope is J. W. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, vol. i.—vii. (until 1812), Hamburg 1840 and Gotha 1854—1863; Zinkeisen uses Western sources much more than von Hammer, but does not draw directly from original Turkish sources. The same is the case with N. Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. i.—v. (until 1912), Gotha 1908—1913. The *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman* of de la Jonquière, vol. i.—ii., Paris 1914, is important for its historical treatment of the end of the xixth and the beginning of the xxth century. Among the several works that treat only a certain period of Ottoman history may be mentioned G. Rosen, *Geschichte der Türkei* (1826—1856), Leipzig 1866.

As a result of the greater interest in Turkish history after the war, there began to be published in 1922 the *Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte*, by F. von Kraelitz and P. Wittek; it is much to be regretted that this publication has had to cease after only two years.

Ottoman history has begun to be studied more and more in Turkey itself since the revolution of 1908. Since 1910 was published the *Türkî-i 'Othmânî Endjümeni Mecmû'atı*, the name of which was changed, after the war, to *Türk Türkî Endjümeni Mecmû'atı*; the last number in Arabic script was No. 19 (96). This valuable publication contains a great number of historical contributions, but other publications too (such as the *mecmû'a* of the Literary Faculty and the two vols. of *Türkiyat Mecmû'atı*, İstanbul 1925 and 1928) contain important articles on historical subjects. The *Türkî Endjümeni* has made possible, moreover, the publication of considerable historical monographs in its series *Kulliyât*. A comprehensive survey of recent historical studies in Turkey is to be found in the series of articles by P. Wittek in *O.L.Z.* under the title *Neuere wissenschaftliche Literatur in osmanisch-türkischer Sprache* (since 1928). A complete new History of the Ottoman Empire has not yet been written in Turkey; there has already appeared, however, the first volume of an *'Othmânî Türkî-i* by Nedjib 'Asim and Mehmed 'Arif, İstanbul 1335 (1917).

(J. H. KRAMERS)

TÜRKÜ is the usual name for the folk-song in Ottoman Turkish. It is to be distinguished from *manî* [q. v.] on the one hand and from *şarh*, on the other. The distinction between *türkü* and *manî* lies in the fact that the former are polytrophic and the latter monostrophic. This distinction is not however always observed. In many districts of Ottoman Turkish the people know only the name *türkü* and use it without distinction in speaking of mono- or polytrophic songs. As to the distinction between *türkü* and *şarh*, the

former are genuine folk-songs, the latter more artificial in character. The former go back to proto-Turkish models and have marked analogies among other Turkish peoples, while the latter belong to the sphere of Muslim culture and follows Arabic and Persian models. The language of the *türkü* is therefore as a rule much purer Turkish than that of the *şarkî*.

As to the form of the *türkü* it is written in a syllabic rhythm or accented syllable rhythm in rhymed strophes. The single lines contain 7 to 15 syllables; the seven (4-3, 3-4, rarely 2-3-2) and the eleven syllables (usually 4-4-3 and 6-5) are the most frequent. It is worth noting that the nine syllabled form, so popular among the Kasas Tatars, is not found among the Ottomans. The rhyme is in the great majority of cases purely grammatical and owes its origin, as in Turkish generally, to the combination of two factors: the construction of the strophe in two parts and the linguistic conditions of the Turkish language. The effect of the former was to cause the Turkish strophe to fall into two rigidly parallel sentences; of the latter that these sentences, especially towards the end, represent two series of grammatical forms corresponding to one another. With the agglutinative character of the Turkish language however such forms must rhyme with one another. Turkish rhyme is therefore as a rule polysyllabic. Rhymes extending over three or more final syllables are not at all rare.

The strophes of the *türkü* number two, three or four lines; three lined strophes are the most common and are the most characteristic of Ottoman poetry in general. The three lined strophe with the same rhyme *aaa* throughout seems to have arisen out of the quatrain common to all the Turkish languages rhyming *aaa* by dropping the third unrhymed line. This as a rule destroys the bipartite character of the strophe. The single separate songs are as a rule made up of similar strophes: the only exceptions are the refrain strophes so common in love-songs and the final strophes sometimes found in longer songs. In songs collected from the lips of the people we may often find marked corruptions of the poetical form, a circumstance which points to the gradual disintegration of long poems that have been handed down for a considerable time.

As regards the subject, the *türkü* are predominantly lyrical poems. They include love-songs, soldier-songs, religious hymns, Ramadan songs of the *bekî* night-watchmen, which usually have a dash of humour in them, etc. Special mention may be made of one variety of love-songs, the poems in the popular romances, in so far as they are not artificial products (cf. D. Spies, *Türkische Volkslieder*, Leipzig 1929, p. 41 sqq.). The soldier-songs frequently contain allusions to historical events. We can observe how old songs are continually being adapted by slight alterations to new events as they crop up. In favourable circumstances one can trace these adaptations through many stages. The love-songs in the form of dialogue deserve special mention, such as for example, the ballad *Türkmen A'îs* ("The Turkoman maid") first made known by Kinos. It is not necessary to assume that this form arises out of the Persian dialogue-ghazal (Jacob, *Die türkische Volksliteratur*, p. 19). Such poems in the form of a dialogue between a young man

and a maid, recited or sung, are common to all branches of the Turks. It is evidence of their independent Turkish origin that they are found in lands where the influence of Muslim culture is very weak or does not exist at all (cf. Radloff, *Ant. Sibirien*, i. 493 on singing matches in Kirghiz between a youth and a maid) and among the Altai Turks (cf. e.g. the Teleut dialogue poem *Myrat* in Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteratur*, i. 200-204). The *türkü* are true songs, i.e. they are intended to be sung to music. It often happens however that the texts do not at all fit the melodies with which they now appear associated. In these cases the number of syllables in the text has to be adapted to the number of notes in the melody by artificial means. As the lines are usually too short, the equation is usually done by inserting superfluous exclamations like *vay vay, aman aman, validem, annem*, etc. or by quite nonsensical expletives like *gug gug, lilla tarilla*, etc. The texts of the *türkü* are often completely broken up by such parasitic intrusions.

Türkü songs are also used to accompany popular productions of trances.

Bibliography: G. Jacob, *Die türkische Volksliteratur*, Berlin 1901, p. 19 sqq.; T. Kowalski, *Ze studiów nad formą poezyi ludowej tureckiej*, L. Krakau 1922, p. 61-102; Ahmad Tal'at, *Kâhîl şehrîrinin şekli ve nevi*, Istanbul 1928, p. 32 sqq. (cf. thereon *Archiv Orientalni*, ii. 505 sqq.); Mahmud Râghib, *Anadolu türkîleri ve musikî istikbâlleri*, Istanbul 1928. The fullest collections of Ottoman Turkish folk songs have been made by I. Kinos. The following of his publications may be mentioned:

Orman-türk nâkışları gümüşü, ii., Budapest 1889, *Nyelvtudományi közlemények*, xxii. (1890), p. 113-156 and 275-284; Radloff's vol. 8 of *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme*, St. Petersburg 1899; *Chrestomathia turcica*, Budapest 1899; *Janua linguarum ottomanicarum*, Budapest 1905; *Ada-Kalei türk nâkışları*, Budapest 1906. Shorter specimens by the same author: *Türkische Volkslieder*, W.Z.K.M., ii. (1888), p. 319-324; iii. (1889), p. 69-76; iv. (1890), p. 35-42; *Küçükler türk nâkışları*, Budapest 1896; *Küçükler türk nâkışları*, Budapest 1896; *Chanson populaire turque*, Z.D.M.G., liii. (1899), p. 233-255. Shorter or longer specimens of Ottoman Turkish folk-poetry are also contained in: W. A. Makalimow, *Opis izludowanjia türkizkich dialektow w Chudawendziarje i Karamanii*, St. Petersburg 1867; A. Alio, *Fragmente de poésie turque populaire*, J.A., ser. viii., vol. 14 (1889), p. 143-192; M. Bittner, *Türkische Volkslieder nach Aufzeichnungen von Schahen Efenâi Alan*, W.Z.K.M., x. (1896), p. 41-54 and xi. (1897), p. 357-373; E. Littmann, *Türkische Volkslieder aus Kleinasien*, Z.D.M.G., liii. (1899), p. 351-363; W. Plarlew, *Nisbelko slow o trebizondskom dialektie*, Zap. Vost. Otd. Imp. Russk. Arkh. Ob., xiii. (1901), p. 173-201; R. W. Miller, *Turekija narodnyja pizni*, *Etnografickoje Obozrenije*, iii. (1903), p. 113-155; also with introduction by Krymskij in *Trudy po wostokowiedieniju*, Moscow 1903; F. v. Luschan, *Einige türkische Volkslieder aus Nordsyrien*, *Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie*, xxxvi. (1904), p. 177-202; F. Güese, *Erzählungen und Lieder*

aus dem Vilajet Qonjak, Halle a. S.—New York 1907 [cf. thereon Wl. Godlewskij, *In nabliudienij nad turckoj piewniju, Etnogr. Obozr.*, lxxix, Moscow 1909]; Hadank, *Jungtürkische Soldaten- und Volkslieder*, M. S. O. S. A., 1919; Wl. Godlewskij, *Obrascy Ormanskiego twórcstwa*, I, Moscow 1916; *Trudy po wostokowiedieniju iad. Leningradskij Institutom*, part 34. A large collection of *şîrîz* songs with notes was published by the Stambul Conservatoire of Music under the title *Halk türkileri* (Istanbul 1926—1930, 13 parts). Texts of folk-songs have also been published in Turkish ethnological periodicals like *Halk bilgisi haberleri* (Istanbul 1929 *ay.*) and *Halk bilgisi mecmuası* (Ankara 1928 *ay.*).

On the musical aspect of the *Türk* cf. O. Abraham and E. Hornbostel, *Phonographische türkische Melodien*, *Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie*, xxxvi, (1904), p. 203—221; B. W. Miller, *Türkische narodnyje piewi*; T. Kowalski, *Ze studiów nad formą poezji*, i. 97—102; Mahmūd Rāghib, *Anadolu türkileri*. (T. KOWALSKI)

TURSHIZ (Yākut: Turshish, Muḥaddas: Turshiz, Turashiz), a town in Persia, capital of the district of Buḡt in the province of Nishābūr, four or five miles from the latter town. It was destroyed in 530 (1136); its hereditary governor at that time was al-'Amīd Mansūr (or Mas'ūd) b. Mansūr al-Zur Abādī; an enemy to the Bāḡiyya or Ismā'iliyya, he summoned the Turks to aid him to defend his lands, but the latter behaved with their usual greed so that, not being able to continue the struggle, he submitted to the Ismā'iliyya. His son 'Alī' al-Dīn Mahmūd recognised the suzerainty of the 'Abīdī Caliphs in 545 (1150); receiving no support from them, he fled to Nishābūr and the Ismā'iliyya established their authority in this region. The town was besieged and taken by Timūr (784 = 1382); it was regarded as impregnable on account of its deep moat and high walls, but the water of the moat was pumped out and a mine made a breach in the wall. The garrison was spared and served in Turkestan under the conqueror. Here Timūr received an embassy from Shāh Shadja', the Muzaffarid ruler of Fārs, from whom he asked a daughter in marriage for his grandson Pir Muḥammad. During the campaign of 'Abīdī Mīrā against Herāt, Turshiz was taken by Khuraw-Mīrā in 1248 (1832).

Celebrated natives were Kātibī of Nishābūr, born in a village in the vicinity, Abī (d. 934 = 1527—1528) and Zuhūrī (d. 1024 = 1615). In the vicinity was the village of Kishmar where, according to tradition, Zoroaster planted a cypress tree which became famous and was ordered to be destroyed by the Caliph al-Mutawakkil (Firdawsi, *Shāh-Nāma*, ed. Turner Macan, p. 1068, 6; ed. and transl. J. Mohl, iv. 364; Fr. Spiegel, *Erän. Altertumskunde*, i. 54, n. 2, 703; Muḥammad Maḡdī, *Zinat al-Maḡdīr*, in Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 390, n.).

Bibliography: Yākut, *Muḡam*, i. 836; iii. 528; Ibn Hawkal, *B.G.A.*, ii. 291; Muḥaddas, *B.G.A.*, iii. 318, 352; Quatremère, *Hist. des Mongols*, i. 177; Abu 'l-Fida', *Geogr.*, i. 443; P. M. Sykes, *J. R. G. S.*, 1911; *do.* *Hist. of Persia*, ii. 83, 201, 424; Edw. G. Browne, *Liter. Hist. of Persia under Tartar Dominion*, p. 186, 487, 488; *do.*, *Liter. Hist. of Persia in Modern Times*, 233, 234, 253.

(CL. HUARY)

TURSUN BEG, an Ottoman historian. Tursun Beg whose *waḡḡay* was Lebībī, is of unknown origin; his father was an uncle ('*amīdja*) of the Bursa city bailiff Iḡubbe 'Alī and also possessed a fief which soon passed to the son. Tursun Beg took part in the capture of Constantinople and the Rumelian campaigns of Mehmed II and we find him in the campaign against Trebizond as a clerk in the *dīwān* (*dīwān kātibi*); he later became *asferdar* of Anatolia and finally of Rumelia. He still held this office in the reign of Bayazid II. The date of his death is not known. Under the title *Turikh-i Ebu 'l-Fetḥ*, Tursun Beg wrote a history of the reign of Sulṭān Mehmed II and of the first six years of Bayazid II. The work, composed between 903—905 (1497—1500), comes down to the year 893 (beg. Dec. 17, 1487). An edition of this *Chronicle* was published by Mehmed 'Arif Beg as a supplement to *T. O. E. M.*, parts 26—38. On the MSS. cf. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 26 *ay.*

Bibliography: F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 26 *ay.*, where further references are given.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

TURSUN FAḤIH, an Ottoman jurist.

Tursun Faḥih was, like Sulṭān 'Othmān the husband of Malkhatun, a son-in-law of Sheikh Ede Ball who died in 726 (1326) aged, it is said, 120, and was buried in Bileḡja. He succeeded him as *muderris* and *imām*. In this capacity he accompanied Sulṭān 'Othmān in his campaigns and preached the first Friday sermon in Kara Hışar in 'Othmān's name and the first Bairam sermon in Eski Shehit. The *Sigill-i 'Othmānī* without any apparent reason gives 726 (1326) as the year of his death. He must therefore have died practically at the same time as Ede Ball and Sulṭān 'Othmān.

Bibliography: J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, i. 56, 77; Tāshkoprāzade-Medjī, *al-Shāḡiḡ al-nawāliyya*, p. 21; *Sigill-i 'Othmānī*, iii. 254; J. Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm. Turc.*, p. 150, 48 *ay.*

(FRANZ BABINGER)

AL-TURTŪSHI, ABU BAKR MUHAMMAD B. AL-WALID B. MUHAMMAD B. KHALAF B. SULAIMAN B. AYYUB AL-KURASHI AL-FIHRI, an Arab author, see Ibn Abī Raddāḡa.

TŪS (original Iranian form Tōs, in Arabic transcription Tās), a district in Khurāsān.

In the historical period Tūs was the name of a district containing several towns. The town of Nawḡān flourished down to the end of the third (ninth) century. The form Nawḡān < Nōḡān is confirmed by the present name of the Meshhed quarter Naughān (where the diphthong *au* corresponds to the old *awāu-i mufḡḡal*, i. e. *ū*). At a later date, the other town Tābarān became more important and was considerably extended so that the original Tāharān seems to have become one of the faubourgs of the new town (cf. *Idrīzī*) which then became generally known as Tūs. The name Meshhed, at first a simple sanctuary in the village of Sanābād, is already mentioned in Muḥaddas. Meshhed first of all encroached upon the adjoining town of Nawḡān, the name of which disappears about 1330. In 1389 Tūs was destroyed and never rebuilt. The waters which supplied it were diverted to Meshhed. Under the Safawids this, the sacred city of the Shī'as, became the capital of the old district of Tūs (the valley of the Kashaf-rūd) and of all Khurāsān.

Situation. Two ranges of mountains stretch

along the north of Khurāsān. The one (Kopetdagh etc.) rises in the north of Khurāsān and runs through Transcaspiāna. The other (which is a continuation of the Alburz) is parallel to it in the south. To the south of Kūcān, the two approach one another and this narrowing forms the watershed. By the corridor which opens towards the northwest the Atrak descends to the Caspian. Through the plain in the southeast runs the river Kashaf-rūd "Tortoise river", a left bank tributary of the Hari-rūd (river of Herāt). The district of Tūs lies on the upper part of it. The outer spurs of the southern range (Himālad, with peaks of c. 2,800 feet) separate it from Nishāpūr, the waters of which lose themselves to the south in the central desert.

Origins. The nomenclature of the region seems to suggest the presence in Tūs of old non-Aryan elements. Regarding the Kashaf-rūd, the *Bundahish* says: "The river of Kānak comes out of a ravine of the province of Tūs and is there called the river of Kasp..." (transl. West, p. 81). Marquart (*Untersuchungen z. Geschichte v. Iran*, II, 28) traces the names Kasp and Tābarān (town of Tūs) to the lost peoples of the *Kābarān* and *Tābarān*, of whom traces are found in many places. The Pehlevi list of the towns of Iran (transl. Blochet, in *Recueil des travaux relatifs à la philol. et archéol. égypt. et assyriennes*, XVII, 1895, p. 165-176, §§ 14-15) relates in connection with Tūs that the hero Tūs, son of Nōtar, was *siyahpat* there for 900 years. In the *Shāh-nāma* (ed. Mohl, IV, 253) Kai Khosrow when distributing fiefs gives Khurāsān to Tūs. Other more explicit stories (*Nashat al-Kulūb*) attribute to Tūs (Tōs) only the rebuilding of the town of which the actual founder was Ijāmshīd, which reflects the pre-Sāsānid date of Tūs. According to Saif al-Dawla, I, 199, 277 and Sir P. M. Sykes, the ruins of the oldest inhabited place in the district of Tūs are at Shahr-i Band (or Kāhkhā) on the right bank of the Kashaf-rūd 4 miles S. E. (read S. W. ?) of Tūs and 10 miles N. E. of Meshhed. The ancient Tūs has been connected (Spiegel, *Iran. Altert.*, II, 539; Tomaschek, *Zur hist. Topogr. v. Persien*, I, 219; Marquart, *Untersuch.*, II, 65; Sykes, *op. cit.*) with Susia, a town in the province of Arela to which Alexander the Great went from Parthia (Arrian, *Anabasis*, XXV, ed. C. Müller, p. 84: *Σοσιας, πόλιν τῆς Ἀπλίας*). As the province of Arela (Old Pers. *Haraiva*) was traversed by the Hari-rūd (Kiepert, *Lehrb. d. alt. Geogr.*, 1878, p. 59) we may be permitted to add to this Tūs, situated on the tributary of the Hari-rūd. On the other hand, the change in the original *Sōs [Shōs] to Tōs would have parallels in Shūstar > Tostar and perhaps in Shāh > Tāshkand. [The identification of Susia with Zōtan by Khanikow, *Artacama*, in *J. A.*, Aug. 1875, p. 235-242 is untenable].

[In his recent publication, *Archäol. Mitteil. aus Iran*, 1930, I, 2, 110 and I/3, 182, Hensfeld interprets the Avestan *Taova nasharānām* as "T. of the cadet branch" and explains it from the fact that Vištāspa, father of Darius and ancestor of the younger line of the Achaemenids, lived there. According to the Iranian *Bundahish*, the mythical Vištāspa removed the fire Atarburasimihir from Khurāsān to Mount Rōshan in the land of the *Kānārang*].

Sāsānid period. In the Sāsānid period we have very little information about Tūs. Legend attributes the death of Yazdagird I (420) to a mortal

kick given him by a horse which came from the spring of Saw, near Lake Shabd (*Shāh-nāma*, ed. Mohl, v. 519-523). Noldeke, *Geogr. d. Perser und Araber*, 1879, p. 77-78, thinks that the topographical details have been added by Firdawsi. We have therefore to ascertain what the latter actually meant. Saif al-Dawla locates this spring at Cāshma-yi Gilās (Gulasp), one of the eastern sources of the Kashaf-rūd, but the *Nashat al-Kulūb*, p. 241, more in keeping with Firdawsi, places it near Lake Cāshma-yi Salar, to the west in the mountains between Tūs and Nishāpūr (cf. *Maftā' al-Sāma*, I, 241).

In 497 we find the first reference to a Nestorian bishop of Tūs and Abarsbahr (= Nishāpūr); cf. *Chronicon orientale*, ed. Chabot, p. 311, 310 and Guldī, *Ostsyrische Bischöfe*, *Z.D.M.G.*, XLIII, (1888), 410 (under year 499). On Christianity in the Mongol period, cf. below.

According to the Armenian historian Sebōs, the general Smbat Bagratuni seni (c. 616-617) by Khosrow against the Kāshān encamped in the district of Tōs of the province of Apr-shahr (= Nishāpūr; cf. Marquart, *Erānshahr*, p. 66).

The Arabic sources are less explicit regarding the administration of Tūs before the conquest.

The Arab conquest. According to a story given by Balādhuri, p. 334, c. 29 (649) the marbān of Tūs wrote simultaneously to the walls of Kūfa and Basra, inviting them to Khurāsān, on condition that the conqueror should put him in possession of this province. Khurāsān was conquered under 'Othmān (in 29-31 = 649-661) by the wall of Basra, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amir b. Kurāiz. The marbān of Nishāpūr after some resistance agreed to pay a tribute (*wafā'a*) of 1,000,000 dirhems (another version 7,000,000 dirhems) while the Marbān of Tūs (Kāztk; read Kanārang) appeared before 'Abd Allāh and made peace by paying 600,000 dirhems (Balādhuri, p. 405). One would think that the two marbāns were different individuals, and Ya'qūbi, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, p. 295, also speaks of a letter from the *malik* of Tūs and of 'Abd Allāh's reply which the descendants (*malad*?) of the *malik* still preserved in his time. According to Tabari, I, 2586, however, when 'Abd Allāh had established himself in Nishāpūr, the other half of the province, i.e. Nasā and Tūs, remained in the hands of Kanāre with whom 'Abd Allāh had to make peace in order to be able to go on to Marw. As Marquart has shown, the title Kanārang (or Kanāre; in Greek *Καναράγγος*, cf. Procopius, *De Bello Persico*, I, ch. 5, 7, 21 and 23) was that of the hereditary governors of all the province of Abarsbahr (Nishāpūr, Tūs, Nasā, Abward) probably descended from a pre-Sāsānid dynasty (cf. Marquart, *Erānshahr*, p. 75; Christensen, *L'empire des Sasanides*, p. 27). The intrigues to which Balādhuri and Ya'qūbi allude and which were to facilitate the conquest may have originated with some member of the family of the Kanārang, a rival of the lord of Nishāpūr.

In the period of Arab rule Tūs played no independent part but its name is however often mentioned in the records of civil wars. Under the Omayyad 'Abd al-Malik (65-86) the citadel of Tūs was occupied by a body of Banī Tamīm (Balādhuri, p. 415) who still held control in 125 (Tabari, II, 1771). In 130, Kāhkhā, a lieutenant of Abū Muslim, inflicted a decisive defeat on the

Omayyad *waḥī*: Naṣr b. Sa'yār near Tus (Tabari, ii. 2000; Ibn al-Athīr, v. 282, 292, 295). In 84 a certain Abū Ṭ-Khaṣīb of Naṣr rebelled in Khurāsān and for a time seized Tus, Nishāpūr etc. On the 3rd Dhu'l-Ḥijja II, 193 (March 24, 809) Ḥārūn al-Rashīd, who was operating in Khurāsān against the rebel Rāfi' b. Laith b. Naṣr b. Sa'yār, died at Tus (Tabari, iii. 733). On 1st Šafar 203, the 'Alid 'Alī b. Muṣā al-Riḍā died in the village of Sanābād of Tus. According to Ibn al-Athīr, vi. 203, al-Ma'mūn prayed to God for the deceased and interred him near the tomb of his father ("in the garden of Ḥumaid b. Kaḥṭaba", following Muṣ'ir b. Maḥalbil quoted by Ya'qūṭ). Sanābād is the modern Meshhed (q.v.). The tomb of Ḥārūn al-Rashīd, now completely disappeared, was beside that of the Imām 'Alī for, according to Ibn Buṭṭa, iii. 77, the 'Alid pilgrims who visited the latter used to kick the tomb of Ḥārūn (which however was still kept in good order in the 14th century).

According to Idriṣī, Muḥān (read Nawḥān) was the capital of the Tahirids, but "after the siege" the capital was moved to Nishāpūr (between 213 and 230; cf. Jāhiz). The historical sources state that in 265 (878) Tus was destroyed (*ukhribat*), evidently as a result of the rebellion of Ahmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Khudjastānī, an old servant of Muḥammad b. Tahir who had seized Nishāpūr in 262 (*Ibid.*, iii. 1931; Ibn al-Athīr, vii. 227; cf. Defrémery, *Mémoires... sur Ahmad, fils d'Abd Allāh*, in *Z.A.* [1845], 345-362). Ya'qūṭ (278=891) still mentions Nawḥān as the principal town of Tus. In 283 the Saffarid 'Amr b. Laith reported to the Caliph that his men had defeated near Tus the Amir Rāfi' b. Harthama who had been asserting his independence in Khurāsān from 271 (884) (Tabari, iii. 2160; Ibn al-Athīr, vii. 334).

The Sāmānids. In 309 Laith b. Na'mān, one of the generals of the 'Alid *da'ī* Ḥasan b. Kāsim, came to Nishāpūr and had the *ḥuṣūṣ* read there in the name of his chief. By orders of the Sāmānid Nūḥ I, Hammūya b. 'Alī left Bukhārā against Laith. He was at first defeated near Tus but Laith later lost his life (Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 91). In 336 (947) the governor of Tus and its dependencies Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Razzāk rebelled against Nūḥ b. Naṣr. The latter sent Manṣūr b. Kara-tegin to Khurāsān. Muḥammad went from Nishāpūr to Ustawa (=Kūzān). His brother Rāfi' was besieged in the fort of Sumailān and later in the fort of Darak (3 farsakhs from Sumailān). Sumailān was dismantled but Rāfi' succeeded in retaining what was left at Darak. Lastly in 339, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Razzāk, being pardoned by Nūḥ, returned to Tus (Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 353, 361). The personality of Abū Manṣūr is particularly interesting on account of his friendship with Firdawsī (cf. *Šāh-nāma*, ed. Mohl, i. 20, ed. Vullers, i. 10-11). Abū Manṣūr beautified the cathedral mosque of the town of Tābarān which henceforth was the first in Tus (Maḥaddast, p. 319). In 349 Abū Manṣūr was appointed *shah-dār* but immediately dismissed in favour of Alp-tegin. The latter settled in Nishāpūr and Abū Manṣūr retired to his fief of Tus. In 350 (961) after the accession of the Sāmānid Manṣūr, Alp-tegin fell into disgrace. Abū Manṣūr who had sent troops from Tābarān and Nawḥān towards Čāba (on the road from Nishāpūr to Marw; cf. *Čakūr Maḥāla*, G.M.S., p. 51) did not succeed in stopping Alp-tegin. Fearing the wrath of his master

Abū Manṣūr rebelled and was ultimately poisoned (Gardizi, *Zain al-Akbar*, Berlin 1928, p. 41-44).

The Arab geographers to the end of the fourth (tenth) century. Ibn Khurdādhbih (232=846), p. 24 and Qudāma, p. 201, place the district of Tus on the Nishāpūr-Sarakhs road; Nishāpūr-Baghīs 4 farsakhs (Ibn Rusta, p. 171; Faghīs 5 farsakhs); al-Ḥamra 6 farsakhs (according to Ibn Rusta, the distance is 5 f.; this "red village", so called from the colour of its walls, is situated in the mountains); al-Muḥakkab (Ibn Rusta: Barda') belonging to Tus 5 f.; al-Nawḥān 5 f.; Maudūn al-Aḥala 6 f.; Abḡna (Awḡna) 3 f.; Sarakhs 6 f. This makes the distance between Nishāpūr and Nawḥān (=Meshhed) 20 f. (Ya'qūṭ, 2 *marḥala*; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 3 *marḥala*) which shows that the road ran round the south side of the mountains which separate Nishāpūr from Tus, for Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 331, says that one can "ascend" in a single *marḥal* from Nishāpūr to Tus, 5 farsakhs before Nawḥān the land of Tus began which evidently means the whole district.

Ya'qūṭ (278=891), p. 277, says Nawḥān is the largest town in Tus. Ibn Khurdādhbih valued the *ḥarāḍī* of Tus at 740,860 dirhams. Ya'qūṭ says that the *ḥarāḍī* of this district (*balad*) is included in that of Nishāpūr. The people of Tus were mainly Persians but there were also some Arabs (Ta'y; cf. also p. 306).

Iṣṭakhri (340=951), p. 257 mentions four towns of Tus: Rādān, al-Tābarān, Buzdighawī (?) and al-Nawḥān. The tomb of 'Alī b. Muṣā al-Riḍā (like that of Ḥārūn al-Rashīd) was in the territory of Nawḥān in the village, of Sanābād 1/4 farsakh from the town (Nawḥān). Ibn Ḥawḳal adds that Sanābād was surrounded by a solid wall within which lived hermits (*nu'atshifun*).

Balādhuri (the passage quoted by Maḥaddast, p. 331, is not found in the *Futūḥ al-Buldan*, ed. de Goeje) already mentions Tus among the dependencies of Nishāpūr (Iṣṭakhri, read: Aburīḥāh). Maḥaddast, author of the most complete description of Khurāsān, emphasises the subordinate character of Tus. "If some said that Nishāpūr has eclipsed Tus, one would reply that Tus has never been a large town to be eclipsed". Maḥaddast repeats several times that Tus, like Naṣr and Abiward, is only a *shūṭna* ("granary, depot") of the *khāra* of Nishāpūr (p. 50, 295, 300, 301^b). Among the towns of the district of Tus, Maḥaddast mentions al-Tābarān, al-Nawḥān, al-Rādān, Djuṣab, Usir-kān, Trughbūh (the last three are uncertain). The largest of these at this time was Tābarān (375=985). It had a citadel and from the distance resembled Medina. Maḥaddast mentions its busy market in which there was the cathedral mosque which Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Razzāk had embellished (*naḥḥaraha*). The water ran in shallow subterranean canals; fruits and firewood were abundant and the prices of merchandise moderate. In spite of all this, Tābarān was a wretched little town (*bulaida*) the outskirts of which were in ruins, the water bad and the climate cold. The inhabitants professed the Shī'ī rite and were capable of being very troublesome in times of turmoil. Tus produced stone cooking vessels (*birām*), mats and wheat as well as striped materials and *tikūḥ* (cords for supporting trousers) of good quality. Nawḥān was below Tābarān (*dūna*, perhaps "lower down the river"). In Meshhed there was a citadel with houses and a market; the mosque built on the

tomb by 'Amīd al-Dawla Fā'ik was the best in Khurāsān (*ibid.*, p. 319, 323, 324—325, 333).

The Ghaznawids. In 385 (995) when Mahmūd b. Sabuk-tegin was installed in Nishāpūr by the Sāmānid Nūh II, Abū 'Alī Simjūrī and Fā'ik (a former Sāmānid general, builder of the mosque of Meshhed; cf. Mukaddasī, p. 333), refugees in Djurdjān, attempted to reconquer Khurāsān but Sabuk-egin defeated them near the village of Andarakh (?) of Tūs (Gardīzī, p. 36; Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 75; Barthold, *Turkistan*, G.M.S., p. 262). In 389, Mahmūd sought to reassert his rights over Khurāsān. His rival Bek-Tuzun was driven from Tūs and in his stead Mahmūd appointed his chief amir Arslān Djādhīb, who is still mentioned as lord of Tūs in 401 and 420 (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 103, 155, 267). In 397 however, the Kara-Khānids of Transoxiana sent an expedition which took Tūs and Nishāpūr but the tables were soon turned when Mahmūd returned from India (Barthold, *Turkistan*, G.M.S., p. 272). Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 283, without giving a date, records that Mahmūd as a result of a dream rebuilt the sepulchral building of Tūs (i.e. Meshhed) which his father Sabuk-egin had destroyed, and prevented the people of Tūs (i.e. Shūfīs?) from harassing the pilgrims ('Alids).

The Seldjūqs. In 421 the Seldjūqs making short shrift of the attempts at conciliation made by the Ghaznawid Mas'ūd penetrated into Balakh, Nishāpūr, Tūs and Djurdjān. In 425 their strength increased, which had repercussions on the situation generally. Turbulent elements gathered round the people of Tūs who declared war on Nishāpūr. The wall of this town fled but the amir of Kirman, who was on his way to Mas'ūd, arrived with 300 horsemen. The people of Nishāpūr defeated those of Tūs and Abiward. The amir of Kirman massacred 20,000 people of Tūs. He crucified them on trees and along the roads. The landlords of the villages (*qu'ami' burū Tūs*) had to give hostages.

In 428 Mas'ūd's commander-in-chief (*ru-bāshī*), defeated by the Seldjūqs near Sarakhs, was driven back to Tūs. In 430 Khurāsān became the arena of the struggle between Mas'ūd and the Seldjūq Tughril. The latter from Ustuwā (Kūcān) took refuge in "the inaccessible mountains and difficult passes" of Tūs. As from there Tughril went to Abiward the reference is probably to the district of Kalāt [q.v.]. Some people of Tūs who had been intriguing with Tughril entrenched themselves on an inaccessible summit but in spite of the winter these positions were taken by Mas'ūd who personally directed the attack.

In 465 (1072) Malik-Shāh conferred on Niẓām al-Mulk a number of fiefs including Tūs, the native city of the great vizier (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 54). Niẓām al-Mulk is said to have built there two cathedral mosques, one at Tūs and the other at Nawkān (Sanī' al-Dawla, i, 190).

In 510 a disputation at Tūs on the 'Ashūra' day (10th Muharram) between an 'Alawi and the Sunnī doctors ended in great riots. The Sunnī inhabitants laid siege to Meshhed and did great damage there. To protect Meshhed against such attacks again, a wall was built around the town in 515 (*ibid.*, x, 366). In 548 the Ghuzz having captured Sultān Sindjar invaded Tūs, this "mine of learned and pious men", slew the men, carried off the women and destroyed the mosques. Of all the wilāyet of Tūs, only the place (*balad*)

where the Imam 'Alī was buried was uninjured. Ibn al-Athīr gives a list of individuals of note slain on this occasion.

The family of al-Mu'ayyid. In 548 (1153) a slave of Sultān Sindjar Ay-Abū al-Mu'ayyid carved out for himself a small kingdom including Nishāpūr, Tūs, Nasā, Damghān etc. Sindjar's successor, his nephew Mahmūd b. Muhammad (the Kara-Khānīd; cf. Barthold, *Turkistan*, text, p. 27), had to be content with the payment of tribute by Mu'ayyid. In 552 Mu'ayyid's rival Althāk (Ay-tak?) devastated Tūs and its townships, after which the district was left waste (*ibid.*, xi, 150). In 553 the Ghuzz, having defeated Mu'ayyid near Marw followed him up and sacked Tūs. In the same period a quarrel broke out in Khurāsān between the leader of the Shāhīs Mu'ayyid b. Husain and the 'Alawids. The people of Tūs, Isfāryīn and Djuwain supported this other Mu'ayyid but the Shāhīs were vanquished. These internecine struggles brought about fresh devastation (*ibid.*, xi, 155). In 555 Mu'ayyid Ay-Abū after a quarrel had a reconciliation with Mahmūd and as soon as he was reestablished in his post began to harass the 'Alawids. In 556 his suzerain Mahmūd who was dependent on the Ghuzz quarrelled with them. The Ghuzz sacked Tūs (*nahān fāshikan*) including Meshhed but did not touch the sanctuary. In 557 (1161) Mu'ayyid blinded Sultān Mahmūd and had the *Khayfa* said in his own name (*ibid.*, xi, 180; Barthold, *op. cit.*, p. 335). He laid siege to the fortress of Waskarah-Khūy (?) which belonged to Tūs, where a certain Abū Bakr Djāndār had installed himself. Mu'ayyid took the fortress and Karastān (?) also. In 558, Mu'ayyid recognised the suzerainty of Sultān Arslān (of the 'Irāk). Ibn al-Athīr gives a list of his lands which included Kūmis, Nishāpūr and Tūs and extended from Nasā to Tabas-Knklī (?). In 568 Mu'ayyid, who had taken the side of the Khwārizmshāh Sultān Shāh Mahmūd, was taken and executed by the latter's brother Sultān Takash. Under Tughan-Shāh, son and successor of Mu'ayyid, his slave Kara-Kush in 568 took Tūs and Zām (= Djam; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 248; according to the *Matārīb al-Tadjarib* of Abū 'I-ḥasan Baihaqi). According to another source used by Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 253, the Khwārizmshāh Takash (in 568?) before his final struggle with Mu'ayyid advanced as far as Tūs. In 576 (1181) Sultān-Shāh having received the support of the general of the Kara-Khitai Fūmā defeated Tughan-Shāh and seized Sarakhs and Tūs. Tughan-Shāh died in 581 (cf. Djuwainī, ii, 19—22; Barthold, *op. cit.*, p. 339).

The geographers of the 12th century. Sam'ānī (d. 562 = 1166), G.M.S., p. 373, mentions in Tūs two towns (Tābarān and Nawkān) and over 1,000 villages. Idrīsī (548 = 1154), transl. Jaubert, li, 184 (= MS. f. 164 v) puts the distance between Tūs and Nishāpūr at 4 days' journey (*marḥal*?). Tūs was a considerable town, well built and thickly populated. In the vicinity were a number of towns with minbars: Rātkān (*nīc*), Brdghūr, Dūdān, Mīhrjān (according to Yāqūt a town of Isfāryīn) and Mīkān (*nīc*), "a most noteworthy town" with a good citadel and earth-work. On "the mountain of Mīkān" there were quarries for stone out of which were made mortars and cauldrons (*birān*), and also mines of silver, copper, iron, turquoises, *sahandī* and rock crystal. A number of inaccuracies were inevitable in Idrīsī who was writing in Sicily.

The Khwārizmshāhs and the Ghūrids. In 594 Takash, who had risen against the Ghūrids with the help of the Kara-Khitai, went by Tūs to Harāt. In 597 the Ghūrīd Ghiyāth al-Dīn seized the lands of the Khwārizmshāh in Khurāsān. Tūs surrendered after a siege of three days and was sacked (Djwaini, ii. 48). In the next year, the Khwārizmshāh 'Alā' al-Dīn Muhammad reconquered Khurāsān and laid siege to Harāt, but the Ghūrīd Shihāb al-Dīn drove him back. Takash before returning put to death the lord of Nishāpūr, the amir Sandjar b. Tughan-shāh b. al-Ma'āyid, suspected of plotting against him. Shihāb al-Dīn came to Tūs and spent the winter there (Ibn al-Athīr, xii. 89, 108, 116—118).

The Mongols. At the beginning of Rabi' al-Akhir 617 (1220), the generals of Čingiz-Khān Veme (Djebe) and Subutai pursuing the Khwārizmshāh came to Nishāpūr. Subutai left for Djam and Tūs. The eastern township of "Tūs-Nawkān" submitted but the inhabitants of the town (i.e. Tūs-Tābarān) did not give a satisfactory reply. Subutai ordered a great massacre (*katl-i ba-iṣrāf*) in the town and vicinity. Rakhān, the situation of which Subutai liked, was spared (Djwaini, *Djāhān-gushā*, G.M.S., i. 114—115). After the two generals had gone, the people were able to breathe again (*ibid.*, p. 117). The chief of the militia of Tūs (*hachariyān*) was bold enough to kill the Mongol *shahān*, but the Mongol general Kishitmur, hastening from Ustuwā (= Kācān) arrested the culprit and began to dismantle the fortifications. In the meanwhile, the advance guards of the army of Tuluy (Tūti), son of Čingiz-Khān, had arrived in Khurāsān. The last forts of Tūs were occupied. Nawkān (and Kārī) resisted vigorously; but Nawkān was taken on the 28th Rabi' al-Akhir 617. In the spring of 618 (1221), Tuluy himself arrived from Marw. At one stroke the army occupied all places in the wilayet of Tūs and the last remnants of the population (*baḡayā-yi ādamīyār*) were put to death (*ibid.*, p. 130—138). The first wali of Khurāsān appointed by the Mongols (under Ugedai, 624—639) was the Kara-Khitai Khamidbūr (Djantimur?), reading uncertain; cf. Rashid al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, p. 37). The citadel of Tūs was occupied by an adventurer, Tajī al-Dīn Farizana', who submitted to Külbulai (i) who was sent by Khamidbūr (Djwaini, ii. 220). In 637 (1239) the Uighur Buddhist Karkūz ("the Long") was appointed to Khurāsān and made Tūs his headquarters. In all the town (the old Tābarān) there were only 50 houses still inhabited. Karkūz began to build government offices (*imārāt*). "Contrary to the Mongol custom" he built a solid treasury (*khāzāna*) in the centre of the citadel (*shūr*). The town began to recover rapidly and the prices of municipal plots went up a hundredfold in a week (Djwaini, ii. 238, 240).

Karkūz was succeeded by the famous amir Oyrat Arghūn. On returning from his journey to the *arḍ* in 643, he saw that the Manṣūriya palace and the forts (*fuṣūr*) were completely in ruins and gave orders to rebuild them (*ibid.*, ii. 245, 247). Confirmed in office by Möñke-kaḡān (649) Arghūn entrusted the government of Nishāpūr and Tūs to Malik Nāṣir al-Dīn 'Alī (*ibid.*, p. 255). Arghūn then entered the service of Hülāgū and in the reign of Abaka died in 673 (1275) at Rakhān of Tūs (Rashid al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, p. 559). The place of death of Arghūn suggests that his own estates were in the district. The activities of his

son Nawrūz (who converted Ghāzān to Islam but was executed by his orders at Harāt in 696 [1297]; cf. d'Oshson, iv. 196) were closely associated with Khurāsān and thus paved the way for the later successes of his family.

Christians in Tūs. Traces of Christianity must have survived in Tūs from the Sassanid period (cf. above). In the biography of Shaikh Abū Sa'īd (967—1049), *Asrār al-Tawḥīd*, ed. Żukowsky, p. 70, we have a curious story of his meeting with the child who was later to become Niḡm al-Mulk (born in 1017—1018) at Tūs (= Tābarān) "at the beginning of the street of the Christians" (*bar sar-i k̄h̄y-i turīyān*). In the Mongol period the Christians enjoyed greater freedom. When in 1278 the future patriarch Yabballāḥ III was on his way from Mongolia to Jerusalem, he went to the monastery of Mār Šehyōn "near the town of Tūs" and there received the blessing of the bishop and of the monks. In the year 1590 of the Greeks (= 1279) the bishop of Tūs, Simeon, was ordained metropolitan of China (Bar Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccl.*, ii. 449).

The geographers of the thirteenth century. Yāqūt, iii. 560, gives few details about Tūs and only reproduces the fables of Mi'sār b. Muḥallil about a powerful stronghold on the road between Tūs and Nishāpūr built by a Himyar king (*ṭahhī'a*). Under Tābarān (iii. 486) and Niḡm (iv. 824) Yāqūt says: "Tūs consists of two towns of which the larger is Tābarān". At Nawkān Yāqūt mentions the manufacture of pots and cauldrons of stone (cf. *Lisān al-Arab*, xiv. 311 on the stone pots which the pilgrims bring from Meshhed). A village of Tābarān also existed at Bokhārā and there was a village of Nawkān at Nishāpūr. Zakariyā Kāzwinī, *Atṭār al-Bilād*, p. 275, seems to have been the source of many confusions (cf. their excellent analysis in Sanī' al-Dawla, i. 196—199) by saying that Tūs was "a town of which the two parts (*muḥallatayn*) were Tābarān and Nawkān". In reality these are two towns separated by a distance of 4 farsakhs, as Hamid Allāh Mustawī (*G.M.S.*, p. 151) rightly points out.

According to Ibn Battūṭa, iii. 77, Tūs (= Tābarān), which he reached from Djam, was one of the largest towns in Khurāsān. From Tūs he went to Meshhed which at this time must have encroached upon Nawkān for of the latter the traveller says nothing and from this time the name disappears completely.

The Djūn-Ghōrbān. These rulers were the direct descendants of Nawrūz b. Arghūn. Their name which was probably that of one of the sections of the Mongol tribe of Oyrat (**djun-ghurban* = "the three [detachments] of the left [wing]"), was later given a Persian dress as *Djān-kurban* ("those who sacrifice their souls"; cf. Dawlat-Shāh). After the extinction of the Mongol dynasty of Persia, the son of Nawrūz, called Arghūn-Shāh, won for himself a kingdom in Khurāsān which, according to Hāfiẓ Abru (quoted in Barthold, *Isis. Geogr. esset Irania*, p. 70), included Tūs, Kācān, Kāfiṣ, Abtward, Nām and Marw. Dawlat-shāh (Bombay edition 1887, p. 121) calls Arghūn-Shāh "*ṭahhī'a* of Nishāpūr and Tūs", but in 738 Nishāpūr was taken from him by the Sarbadār Mas'ūd. Arghūn-Shāh played a considerable part in the election of Tughā-Timūr [q. v.]. After the latter's death (754), his possessions were divided among the Sarbadārs, the Kartis and Arghūn-Shāh, but the Sarbadār Karābi at some time took Tūs from

Arghūn-Shāh (cf. SARBADĀR; one of the gates of Kalāt now called Darwāza-yi Arghawan-Shāh (iel) owes its origin to this prince rather than to the Ilkhān Arghūn who was never called Shāh).

The successors of Arghūn-Shāh were his sons Muḥammad-beg and 'Alī-beg. When at the beginning of 783 (1381), Timūr came to Tūs, 'Alī-beg went to pay homage to him but in the winter of 1381 he shut himself up in the fortress of Kalāt. After many vicissitudes, 'Alī-beg surrendered to Shaikh 'Alī Bahādur in 784. As a reward Timūr gave the latter Rādān. 'Alī-beg was deported to Andijān and executed there towards the end of the year. Others of the Dīnī-Ghurbānī were exiled to Tāshkent (*Zafar-nāma*, i. 324, 335, 351, 385). But in 791 (1389) a rising took place in Khurāsān which was joined by the Sarbadār, Hādījī-beg (younger brother of 'Alī-beg) and the troops of Kalāt and Tūs. The *Zafar-nāma* briefly records the suppression of the rising by Mirān-shāh (i. 468—469). A much more detailed account is quoted by Sanī al-Dawla (*op. cit.*, p. 208—209). Timūr is said himself to have appointed Hādījī-beg to Tūs (in 789?) where he amassed great wealth. The rumours of Tokhtamīsh's successes turned Hādījī-beg's head and he stopped the *khutba* for Timūr and proclaimed his desire for independence. He fought for several months with the amir Aq-buqa who remained faithful to Timūr. On the arrival of Mirān-shāh, Hādījī-beg fled but was captured and put to death. The town was taken in Rājab 791 (1389): 10,000 men were killed and towers of skulls (*munāra*) erected at the gate of the city. "No trace was left of Tūs". In 807 again, Timūr had executed near 'Ishkādān (Ashkādān) the Dīnī-Ghurbānī Aq-buqa and Kara-buqa, who had been plotting in his absence (*Zafar-nāma*, ii. 592). At the present day, the country north of Meshhed (from Colay-khāna to Kal'a-yi-Yūnī-khān which is 4 farsakhs north of Kācān) is called the encampment (*yurt*) of the Dīnī-Ghurbānī tribe (Sanī al-Dawla, *op. cit.*, p. 158).

End of Tūs. Tūs (i.e. Tābarān) never was able to recover from the events of 791. It is true that Shāhrukh after his accession to the throne of Khurāsān in 807 sent to Tūs the amir Saiyid Khwādja with orders to rebuild the town. In 809, Tūs, Kācān, Kalāt etc. were given to prince Ulugh-beg. In the period of the decline of Timūr's line, some members of it exercised more or less independent power at Tūs: in 862 Mirā Shāh Maḥmūd, in 905 Mirā Muḥammad Ḥusain (son of Saljān Ḥusain Baikara).

In 918 'Ubaid Allāh-khān Ōzbek, having raised the siege of Harāt, came to Tūs and Isfārayn but after some months evacuated Khurāsān on the approach of Shāh Ismā'il. In 927 the *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* mentions a governor "of Tūs and Meshhed". Khanikow found at Tūs a funerary inscription of a shāh-rāde Ibrāhīm dated 985. The argument of the same traveller from the fact that the name Tūs does not disappear from Persian astrolabes till the 13th century A.H. is by no means conclusive, for we know how tenacious geographical memories are in the East. Amin Ahmad Rāzi in the *Ḥafīz al-Ḥim* (Bibl. Nat. Paris, MS. suppl. Pers. 356 sq., f. 262—274) no longer mentions Tūs; in speaking of Meshhed he says: "this wilāyat was at one time called Tūs". At the beginning of the 16th century, Zain al-'Abidin Shirwānī, *Bustān al-Sayyāt*, Teherān 1315, p. 354, says: "This was a well-known town

in Khurāsān. Destiny has so destroyed it that all that remains is a village of 30 houses".

Two causes have contributed to the disappearance of Tābarān-Tūs: the weakness of its geographical situation in the plain, open to every invader, and the popularity of Meshhed which is protected by the renown and sanctity of its sanctuary, and attracts crowds of pilgrims. The Indian traveller 'Abd al-Karīm who visited Meshhed with Nadir-Shāh in 1153 (1741) rightly observes that the splendour of this town caused the ruin of Tūs (transl. Langlès, 1797, p. 74).

Antiquities. Frazer, Khanikow, O'Donovan, Żukowsky, Jackson, Dietz and notably Sanī al-Dawla and Sykes have described the ruins of Tūs, i.e. of the town of Tābarān. They are situated on the left bank of the Kashaf-rūd about 15 miles (4 farakhs) north of Meshhed (Nawkān). The walls of the town are of brick and form an irregular circle a farsakh in circumference. Their thickness at the base is 5 *dhars* (about 15 feet). The remains of 106 towers and 9 gates can still be traced. The area occupied by the old town according to Sykes is about 2,300 yards each way.

On the north side of this area are the ruins of a square fortress each side of which measures 200 *dhars* (= yards). It has 12 towers. The ditch surrounding it is 15 *dhars* broad. In the middle of this *ark* on an artificial mound was a fort, oblong in shape 80 × 50 paces (*ḥadam*). It had 9 towers. Two little villages, each of 25 houses, lie at the foot of the wall inside: to the west Tūs-i Karīm-khān and to the east Tūs-i Bahādur-khān. To the N.E. outside the wall are the fields of a third village (*maṣra'*) Iskūtiya.

In spite of all the lack of attention on the part of the authorities, popular memory, even after the lapse of nine centuries, has not forgotten the site of Firdawsi's tomb. It is shown inside the town near the N.E. wall. Niḥāmī-yi 'Arūjī, who visited the tomb in 510 (1116) locates it in the garden which had belonged to Firdawsi "inside" the Rīzān gate (*Chahār-maḥalla*, G.M.S., p. 51; *darūn-i darwāza*). By a slip, Browne, *A Liter. Hist. of Persia*, ii. 138, translates "outside the gate". As Sykes has shown, the village of Rīzān (modern pronunciation; Rādān) still exists 9 miles N.E. of Tūs and the "Rīzān gate" corresponding to it ought therefore to be at the village of Tūs-i Bahādur-khān. The Rūdār gate (cf. the story of Firdawsi) must have been at the opposite end of the town. The *Nuḥāt al-Kulūb*, p. 151, moreover positively asserts that it was S.E. (*ḡānī-i ḡibī*), i.e. opposite the great bridge over the Kashaf-rūd which still exists to-day. According to Sykes, Rūdār was the name of a mountainous district between Tūs and Nishāpūr but Rūdār may simply mean the part of the town near the river, i.e. the Kashaf-rūd. The village of Bāf, which Firdawsi owned, corresponds to the present village of Pāz (or Fāz) 4 miles S.S.E. of Rīzān (see the photograph in Sykes, *A seventh journey*, G.Z., xiv. [1915], 365. The village of Bāf-i Tūs 2 farsakhs from the town of Tābarān is mentioned in the biography of Shaikh Abū Sa'id (967—1049), *Asrār al-Tawāhid*, p. 68, which also mentions a place called Duḥirātārān, one farsakh from the town and the khānagāh of Ustād Abū Ahmad in the town). The village of Shādāb, the birthplace of Firdawsi, has also been identified in the neighbourhood of Tūs (as I am informed by Taḡī-rāde).

Tūsī's political attitude was determined by his strong sympathy with the "Twelvers", which made him with his talents and versatility a leader of the Iranian-Shī'a oligarchy on the Mongol side against the caliphate. It was through his influence that a certain degree of mercy was shown the Shī'as during the Mongol holocaust and their sanctuaries in Southern Mesopotamia were spared. Among his writings (see 56 titles in *G. A. L.*, i. 308 sqq.; cf. also Nallino, in *Oriente Moderno*, viii. 43 sq.) are two hand-books of dogmatics much esteemed by his co-religionists and several times commented upon: the *Tadwīd al-'Aḥād* (Teherān n. d.) and *Kawā'id al-'Aḥād* (Teherān 1305 with the commentary of his pupil Ibn al-Mutahhar). The teaching of the Twelvers concerning the Imāms is clearly worked out and also in the metaphysics *al-Fuṣūl* written in Persian (cf. the annotated Arabic edition in Berlin MS. N° 1770, fol. 138b sqq.). Tūsī's logic and philosophy is also occasionally expressed in his dogmatic writings as the formal preliminary to the dogmas, which are substantially derived from Shī'a tradition. It belongs to the school of Ibn Sina [q. v.]. On the latter's *al-Ishārāt wa 'l-Tanbihāt* he composed the commentary *Ḥall Muḥḥilāt al-Ishārāt* (Lucknow 1293). Here he defended Ibn Sina against Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī [q. v.] and further wrote against the latter's *Muḥaṣṣal Afkār al-Mutaḥaddithīn wa 'l-Muta'akkkihīn* the critical commentary *Talkhīṣ Muḥaṣṣal*... (see at the foot of the *Muḥaṣṣal*, Cairo 1323). The true Shī'a with a real devotion to the Imāms is further revealed in his mystical work in Persian entitled *Awqāf al-Aḥrāf* (Teherān 1320), however much the fact of his Sūfism and reverence even for al-Hallāj distinguishes him from most of his co-religionists. In Fīqh he wrote on the law of inheritance; of his occult works a *Kitāb al-Raml* has survived (Munich, Arab MS., N° 880). While still in Sertakht he dedicated to his patron there the Aḥab-book *Aḥḥāḥ-i Nāḥir* still frequently reprinted (Lahore 1265; Bombay 1267 etc.) which shows the influence of Ibn Miskawāh. His devotion to his own sect did not in any way cut him off from others. He discussed scientific matters with Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī by letter and with Naḍīm al-Dīn al-Kātib (*G. A. L.*, i. 466) orally; at court he worked with the brothers Djuwainī [q. v.]. To one, the historian 'Alī al-Dīn, he dedicated his *Talkhīṣ Muḥaṣṣal* and to the other, the Ṣāhib al-Dawā Shams al-Dīn, the *Awqāf al-Aḥrāf*; and he owes his fame beyond Shī'a circles to his books and researches in the exact sciences: medicine, physics, mathematics and particularly astrology and astronomy.

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AL-TŪSĪ's medical works are of no particular scientific importance. In Physics, as an astronomer, he was primarily interested in questions of optics, both geometrical and physiological. To this field belongs his *Tahzīb Kitāb al-Manāẓir*, a version of the *Optics* of Euclid, and the *Risāla fī 'Nikāḥ al-Shu'arāt wa 'n-Nifāḥāt*. The industry is remarkable which al-Tūsī displayed in editing and improving the translations made by Ṭahīṭ b. Qurra, Ḳusṭā b. Lūḥ and Ishāḳ b. Hunayn of Greek mathematicians and astronomers; we may mention among mathematicians, Euclid (*Elements*, *Data*, *Phainomena*), Apollonius (*Conica*), Archimedes (*Dimension of the Circle*, *Sphere* and *Cylinder*, *Lemmata*), among astronomers, Theodosius, Menelaus, Autolycus, Aristarchus, Hipparchus and Ptolemy. His most famous original work is the *Kitāb Shāh al-Kaff*, a work on the principle of the transversal, from which he deduces relations of fundamental importance in spherical trigonometry. He also wrote a book on arithmetic, *Muḥḥṣat al-Djāmī al-Hudūd bi 'l-Takht wa 'l-Tharāḥ*.

Tūsī acquired the greatest fame by his achievements in the field of astronomy. He owed the means to conduct his researches to the astrological interests of the Mongol Khāns, particularly his patron Hūlāgū. The latter entrusted him with the building of a great observatory at Marāgha which was equipped with the best instruments, some of them constructed for the first time, and a large staff of observers. Tūsī was already 60 when the building was begun, but he was spared another 12 years to finish completely his task of calculating new planetary tables based on comprehensive observations. His calculations he recorded in the *Zīj-i Ilkhānī*. The first *Maḥallā* deals with eras, the second with the movements of the planets; the third and fourth are devoted to astrological observations. Of further works we may mention the *Kitāb al-Tadhkirat al-Nāṣiriya*, a survey of the whole field of astronomy, on which numerous later scholars wrote commentaries, and the astrological *Kitāb-i al-Faḥl*.

Bibliography: The best account of the mathematical and astronomical works of al-Tusi and the MSS. still existing is given by H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1900, p. 148—153. Further references in E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Naturwissenschaften*, lxxviii., *Notiz al-Din al-Tusi*, in S.E.P.M.S. Erg., vol. ix., 1928, p. 315.

(J. RUSKA)

AL-TUSI, MUHAMMAD b. AL-HASAN b. 'ALI ABU DJAFAR, was born at Tus in Rāmān 385 (995). After receiving early education at his native place he came to Baghdad in 408 (1017) and studied under al-Shāikh al-Mufid (Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Nu'mān al-Baghdādī, d. 413 = 1022). On the latter's death, al-Tusi associated himself with al-Sayyid al-Murtadā (Abu 'I-Kāsim 'Alī b. al-Husain, d. 436 = 1044) and was his companion and pupil for about twenty-three years. When the latter died he stayed on at Baghdad for twelve years and tried his utmost to spread the doctrines of the Shī'a sect. His enemies once complained to the Caliph al-Kā'im (422—467 = 1031—1075) of his hatred of the first three orthodox Caliphs and supported their allegations by quoting passages from his book *Kitāb al-Miqbāl*. Summoned to the presence of the Caliph, he explained the passages in such a way that the Caliph became satisfied that no disrespect was meant to the Sunnī doctrines and no action was taken against him. But the public agitation against him grew vehement and at last in 448 (1056), his residence was burnt to ashes. He left Baghdad that year and came to Najaf where he passed the rest of his life. He is the greatest doctor of the Shī'a sect, and is popularly known as *Shāikh al-Tā'ifa* or simply as al-Shāikh. He died according to most of the biographers in Najaf in 460 (1067) or according to some, 458 (1065). Two of his works, *Ta'ādhūn al-Ahkām* and *al-Itibār*, are among the four canonical books (*al-Kutub al-arba'a*) which are held in the highest veneration by the Shī'a sect. He is the author of numerous books, a list of which he has given in his work called *Fihrist Kutub al-Shī'a* (*Bibliotheca Indica*), p. 285.

The more important of his works are:

1. *Kitāb Tahdhīb al-Ahkām*, a work on *Hadīth* according to the Shī'a school. Lithographed in two volumes, Tehrān.
2. *Kitāb al-Itibār fi ma 'l-hakā'ifa fīhi min al-Ahkām*, another book on *Hadīth*. The first work is a comprehensive one and contains all kinds of *Hadīth*, while the second deals only with those traditions which appear to be discrepant. Lithographed, Lucknow 1307 and Tehrān 1322.
3. *Kitāb al-Mabūd*, a digest of Muhammadan law according to the Shī'a school. Lithographed, Tehrān 1271.
4. *al-Nihāya fī 'l-Fiqh*, a compendium of Muhammadan law according to the Shī'a school. Lithographed with a collection of treatises on the same subject under the title of *al-Djawānib al-ahdiyya*. Lithographed in Tehrān 1276.
5. *Fihrist Kutub al-Shī'a*, a list of Shī'a books. Printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1848.
6. *Du'a' al-Djāwānib al-kabīr*, a book on prayers, ascribed to al-Imām 'Alī Zayn al-'Abidin (d. A. H. 94) from whom it descended to the author. Lithographed with interlinear translation in Persian, Lucknow 1288.
7. *Du'a' al-Djāwānib al-saghir*, another book

on prayers, ascribed to al-Imām Mūsā Kā'im (d. A. H. 183) from whom it descended to the author. Lithographed with interlinear translation in Hindustānī, Lucknow 1288.

8. *Kitāb al-Fuṣūl fī 'l-Uṣūl*, a treatise on the fundamental dogmas of the Shī'a creed.

9. *Miqbāl al-Mutahaddith al-kabīr*, a book of pious rites and prayers to be observed throughout the year. The author abridged this book and named it *Miqbāl al-Mutahaddith al-saghir*.

10. *Kitāb al-Hall wa 'l-Iḥdā*, a book of religious duties, especially prayer.

11. *Kitāb al-Tibyan fī Tafsi'r al-Kur'ān*, a comprehensive commentary on the Kur'ān in twenty volumes.

12. *Uddat al-Uṣūl*, a work on Principles of Jurisprudence. Lithographed in Tehrān.

13. *al-Amālī fī 'l-Ahkām*, a work on traditions. Lithographed in Tehrān.

Bibliography: *Ridjāl al-Nadwīyūn*, p. 287; *Muntakā 'l-Maṣāl*, p. 269; *Rawḍat al-Djannāt*, p. 580—590; *Kitāb al-Ulūm*, p. 312; *Shākhār al-'Iṣṣān*, ii., fol. 116—121; M. Hidāyat Husain, *Catalogue of Arabic MSS. Bihār Library*, iii. 54; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 405.

(M. HIDAYAT HOSAIN)

TUSTAR. (See SHUSTER.)

TŪTĪ NAME. (See NAKHEHWĀN.)

TUTUSH b. ALF ARSLĀN, TADJ AL-DAWLA, a Seljuq ruler in Syria, 471—488 (1079—1095). In 474, or according to Ibn 'Askir 472, Tutush took possession of Damascus, after he had been allotted Syria by his brother Sulṭān Malikshāh. He had, it is true, to conquer this province first, for the Turkoman chief Arḍī [q. v.], a few years before, had taken Jerusalem and the whole of Palestine with the exception of a few fortresses from the Fātimids, but the latter had not given up their claim to the country and waged continual war with him so that he had great difficulty in holding his own. In this same year, he was besieged by them in Damascus and therefore appealed for help to Tutush; the latter, then only a boy of 14 — he was born in 458 — answered his appeal but at once had the unfortunate Atafz put to death in order to secure the city for himself. He then turned his attention to Halab, which he besieged in vain, then retired from it and made conquests in the surrounding country (Buzā'a, al-Bira etc.). In his absence the Halabīs appealed to Muslim b. Kuraish, who succeeded in driving the ruling family of the Mirdāsids out of the town and getting his rule recognised by Malikshāh [q. v.]. This was naturally not what Tutush desired; he at once became involved in war with the 'Ukalid and was even besieged by him in Damascus (476 = 1083). He got rid of this enemy however when in the following year he fell in battle with the Seljuq of Rūm, Sulaimān. As now both Sulaimān and Tutush were rivals for Halab, they went to war, which ended in the death of the former in battle (479 = 1086). But Tutush did not yet succeed however in taking the city, for Malikshāh brought up a very large force in order to organize these districts in person; he gave Halab to his friend Aksonkor [q. v.]. Tutush had retired on his approach and had to be content to combine with Aksonkor and Buzān, to whom Malikshāh had given Edessa. In 485 (1092) they made notable conquests in Syria, Hama, Apamea etc.; but when they reached Tripolis, the commander there, Ibn 'Ammār, was

able to win over Aksonkor, so that the latter refused to do anything against him and went home with his troops, when he was vigorously reproached by Tutush for this step. Burān also did the same so that Tutush was forced also to retire, when the sudden death of Malikshāh altered the whole situation in a moment. In view of the uncertainty regarding the succession, the two Turkish emirs were forced to pay homage to the claimant Tutush and support him on his campaign to the east. Nisibis, Amid, Malyāfāriqn and al-Mawzīl had to submit and in the first named town a fearful massacre was wrought by Tutush. When it became known that Barkiyārūq was coming forward as his father's rightful heir, the emirs left Tutush in the lurch and joined Barkiyārūq, so that Tutush had to retire to Syria, firmly resolved to revenge himself on the emirs. He thereupon collected new forces to take the field against them while the emirs, who were supported by Kurbūka on behalf of Barkiyārūq, did the same. At Tell al-Sultān, six farsakhs south of Halab, the two sides met (487 = 1094). Tutush was victorious; Aksonkor was taken prisoner and at once executed. Kurbūka and Burān escaped to Halab but had finally also to surrender. Tutush had the latter also executed and sent his head to Edessa to frighten the inhabitants into obedience. Every one now submitted to the victor, who at once entered the Irāk with his troops and came to Hamadhān, while Barkiyārūq, who had only a small army at his disposal, had to flee before him to Isfahān where he took smallpox. Nevertheless the Turkish emirs in the town hesitated to submit to Tutush and when Barkiyārūq recovered from his illness, they pointed out to him that the claims of the two pretenders could only be settled by the sword. Barkiyārūq was then joined by troops from all sides so that he was able to attack Tutush at a place called Dushillā near al-Raiy (17th Šafar 488 = Feb. 26, 1095). Tutush, abandoned by his soldiers, made a valiant stand but is said to have fallen at the hands of one of Aksonkor's men who wished to avenge his master. Syris then passed to his sons Ridwān [q. v.] and Duḡāq.

Bibliography: Of the works mentioned in the article *SETDJUKS* special mention may be made here of the historians of Damascus: Ibn al-Kalānisi, ed. Amedroz, cf. index, and of Halab: Kamāl al-Dīn, *Zuhdat al-Talab* and *Bughyat al-Talab*, especially the excerpts in *Historiens Orientaux des Croisades*, iii. (p. 703—706 biography of Aksonkor); Ibn Khallikān, ed. Bulaḡ 1299, i. 168 sq. (M. TH. HOUTSMAN).

TUWAIŠ, ABŪ ‘ABD AL-MUN‘IM IBN ‘ABD ALLĀH AL-DHĀ‘IR, was the first great singer in the days of Islām. It is said that his real name was TĪ‘IS (peacock); but that when he became a *mukhannath* it was changed into Tūwais (little peacock), and that ‘Abd al-Mun‘im was changed into ‘Abd al-Na‘īm. He was born on the day of the death of the Prophet Muḥammad (June 8, 632), was weaned the day that Abū Bakr died, was circumcised the day that ‘Umar was assassinated, was married the day when ‘Uthmān was murdered, and his first son was born on the day when ‘Alī passed away. These extraordinary coincidences gave rise to the proverb: “More unfortunate than Tūwais”. He belonged to Madīna and was a *wasalā* of the Banū Makhḥūm, being in the service of Arwā, the mother of the Caliph ‘Uthmān. He first attracted attention by singing

certain melodies that he had learned from Persian slaves, and rose to fame as a musician in the reign of ‘Uthmān (644—666). About this time a new style of music was introduced into Madīna which was known as the *ghinā’ al-ruḡib* or *ghinā’ al-muḥannath*, its especial feature being the application of rhythm (*ihās*) to the melody (*lahn*) [see *MUSIQ*]. He is said to have been the first to sing this “new music” in Madīna (*Aghāni*, iv. 38; *al-Iḥd al-farid*, iii. 187). What is attributed to him elsewhere in the *Aghāni* (ii. 170) can only be properly apprehended in conjunction with the above, so that this must be read: Tūwais was “the first who sang [the *ghinā’ al-muḥannath*] in Arabic in Madīna”. Like many other musicians in Madīna at this period, Tūwais was a *mukhannath* (see my *Hist. of Arabian music*, p. 45) and the proverb arose: “More effeminate than Tūwais”. Indeed it was said that music (*ghinā’*) had its origin in Madīna among the *mukhannathūn* (*Aghāni*, iv. 161) which is probably a canard started by the *‘ulamā*. That Tūwais was the first *mukhannath* in Madīna, as the author of the *Aghāni* says, can scarcely be correct (cf. al-Bukhārī, iv. 32; al-Tirmidhī, i. 271; *Uṣd al-ghabā*, iv. 268). Whilst Abū b. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān was governor of Madīna, Tūwais was favoured by the *amir*, but when Mu‘āwiyā I (661—680) became Caliph, and Marwān b. al-Hakam was appointed governor, the *mukhannathūn* were suppressed, and Tūwais fled to al-Suwaid, a two days’ journey on the road to Syria. Here he remained until his death about 710—711. Some say that he died at Madīna, whilst others say elsewhere.

In spite of the fact that Tūwais only used a square tambourine (*duff*), which he kept in a bag or in his cloak, to accompany himself when singing, yet he had so high a reputation in music, says Ibn Khallikān, that his talent became proverbial and a poet of Madīna said, “Tūwais, and after him Ibn Suraidj, excelled [in singing], but pre-eminence belongs to Ma‘bad”. Among his pupils were Ibn Suraidj [q. v.], al-Daif Nāṣidh, Nawma al-Duḡā and Fand. Ibn Suraidj said that Tūwais was the finest singer of his day, and he was considered the best exponent of the *kaṣidī* rhythm.

Bibliography: *Aghāni*, ed. Bulaḡ, ii. 170—176; iv. 38—39 and Guidi's *Index* (Guidi registers two musicians bearing this name, but there is no doubt that they were one and the same); *al-Iḥd al-farid*, ed. Cairo 1887—1888, iii. 186; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 438; Maidāni, *Amthāl*, ed. Freytag, vii. 124; xiii. 158; Ibn ‘Ahdūn, *Commentaires hist. sur le poème d'Ibn Abdoun par Ibn Badroun*, ed. Dozy (1846), p. 64; Ibn Kutāiba, *Kitāb al-Mawāif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 164; Kosegarten, *Lib. cant.*, p. 11; *J. A.*, 1873, p. 399—401; Farmer, *Hist. of Arabian music*, p. 50—53.

(H. G. FARMER)

TÜZER, a town in Southern Tunisia, 230 miles S.S.W. of Tunis and 120 W. of Gabes in 33° 34' 48" N. Lat. and 8° 8' E. Long. (Greenwich).

Tüzer is the most important place in al-Djārid [cf. *MĀD AL-DJĀRID*]. Situated on the isthmus which separates the Shott (Gharsa) in the N. from the Shott al-Djārid in the S. and in the immediate neighbourhood of the latter; it consists of a town and a few scattered villages in the oasis which runs southwards over an area of about four sq. miles. The principal town is quite regularly

built; the majority of the houses are built of bricks arranged in geometrical patterns; the dwellings in the oasis are usually only "gourbis" of trunks and branches of palm-trees. The people make carpets and woollen and silk blankets which are much esteemed, but they are mainly dependent on their gardens and palmgroves. The oasis, the richest in al-Djard, owes its fertility to the numerous springs (194) which rise to the west of the sand-dunes and unite to form a stream which runs towards the south. The water is distributed for irrigation purposes by a system devised by al-Bakri (*Masālik*, transl. de Slane, revised by Fagnan, p. 102) and still in active use. The palm-trees, numbering 228,000, supply dates of various kinds, notably the *deblat-nūr*. Export has assumed considerable proportions since the railway was connected Tüzer to Sfax and the rest of the Regency. The population are arabicised Berbers; Tüzer itself has 11,056 inhabitants of whom 10,723 are Muslims, 181 Jews, 152 Europeans (Census of 1926).

Tüzer (*Thuzur* of the *Tab. Pent.*; *Thuzur* of Ptolemy) is of very ancient origin. The Romans founded near the site of the village of Blidat al-Hader, a township, remains of which can still be seen in the base of the minaret of the mosque, a well, shafts of columns, fragments of capitals etc. Taken by the Vandals, it was reoccupied by the Byzantines; pillaged no doubt by the first Arab invaders, it finally fell to the Arabs at the end of the viiith century A.D. The population had to adopt Islām or go into exile. Those who migrated were probably very few, since al-Tijānī (*Rihla*, transl. p. 143) regards the people of Tüzer as descendants of the Rūm who were in Ifrīqiya at the Muslim conquest.

During the centuries that followed, Tüzer seems to have enjoyed great prosperity. Ibn Hawqal (*Deser. de l'Afrique*, transl. de Slane, in *J.A.*, 1842) — who calls this district Kasilīya —, al-Bakri (*loc. cit.*) and Idriṣī agree in recording the importance of the trade here and the wealth of its palmgroves.

According to al-Bakri, 1,000 loads of dates were exported every day.

The history of Tüzer has been by no means without incident. Nominally subject to the various dynasties who ruled in Ifrīqiya the people of Tüzer endeavoured to retain their independence in practice. They showed their hostility to the Fātimids by supporting the rebel Abū Yazīd. Under the Zirids, they had local chiefs of the families of the Banū Furghān, then of that of the Banū Warrāṣ (cf. *UJAID*). In the Almohad period, their town was pillaged by 'Alī b. Ghāniya, then reoccupied by the Caliph Abū Yūsuf. At the end of the xiiith century, they threw off Hafsid suzerainty and in the xivth recognised that of Ibn Yamin whom Saḥān Abū 'I-Abbās had great difficulty in disposing of in 1379 A.D. Under the successors of this prince they continued to be distinguished for their insubordination and on several occasions forced the rulers of Tunis to resort to force to reduce them to obedience. The town was also disturbed by the fighting between the citizens and the Arab tribes of the neighbourhood (Leo Africanus, Bk. I., ed. Schefer, iii. 257). The position hardly changed in the Turkish period. The people of Tüzer took part in several risings in the xviith and xviiith centuries; the beya had always difficulty in collecting the taxes. The quarrels of the Soff also contributed to disorders. In the xixth century two of these Soff, the Ulād Hadel and the Zebda, each occupied a quarter of the town and maintained a fierce warfare until the French occupation definitely established peace and tranquillity (1882).

Bibliography: cf. *Bibliography* of the article *MILK AL-UJAID*, also: Berbrugger (A.), *Itinéraires archéologiques en Tunisie*, in *Revue Africaine*, 1858; Dollin du Fresnel, *Le Djérid Tunisien*, in *Bulletin de la Société de géographie commerciale de Paris*, 1900; Grendre (Cap^{ns}), *De Tunis à Nefta*, in *Revue Tunisienne*, 1908; du Paty de Clam, *Fastes chronologiques de Tuzur*, Paris 1900. (G. YVER)

U

'UBAID ZĀKĀNĪ (NIZĀM AL-DĪN 'UBAID ALLĀH), a Persian poet of the xivth century, born c. 700 (1300) at Kāzwin in the family of the Zākānī, which took its name from a village in the neighbourhood, whence it had originated, lived in Shirāz, which left him happy memories, in the reign of Shaikh Abū Ishāq Indjū (d. 747 = 1346—1347), was a judge in Kāzwin, went to Baghdad where Solṭān Uways of the Ilkhānīan or Djālā'irid dynasty was reigning, to visit the poet Selmān Sawedjī and died in poverty in 772 (1371). He was a satirical and erotic poet. A selection of his facetiae was printed at Constantinople in 1303 (1885—1886) by M. H. Feriḥ and at Berlin 1343 (1924); it contains: *Abḥād al-Aḥrāf* ("Morals of the Aristocracy"), a satire written in 740 (1340); *Rik-nāma* ("Book of the Beard"), a dialogue between the poet and the beard regarded as a destroyer of youthful

beauty; *Sad Fend* ("100 Counsels") in prose written in 750 (1350); *Ta'rifāt* ("Definitions"), ironical, in prose; *Risāla-i dil-gushā* ("Little book which dilates the heart"), Arabic and Persian anecdotes and facetiae; several obscene poems. This edition does not include the *'Ushshūb-nāma* ("Book of Lovers"), *Fal-nāma* ("Book of Prophecies"), etc. *Mūsh u-Gurba* ("The Mouse and the Cat") has been lithographed in Bombay, n.d. and Berlin.

Bibliography: Dawlat-Shāh, *Tadhkira*, p. 288—294; Lutf 'Alī-Beg, *Atesh-kade* (Bombay 1277, no pagination, chapter on Kāzwin); J. v. Hammer, *Geschichte d. schön. Redek. Persiens*, p. 249; Edw. G. Browne, *History of Pers. Literature under Tartar Dominion*, p. 230—257. (CL. HUARY)

'UBAID ALLĀH. [See AL-MAMDĪ 'UBAID ALLĀH.]

UBAID ALLĀH b. ZIYĀD, an Umayyad governor. 'Ubaid Allāh was the most distinguished of the sons of the favourite of Mu'āwiyā I, Ziyād b. Abihī [q. v.], celebrated for his rigour and severity, and was appointed governor of Khurāsān at the age of five and twenty. According to the usual statement, this took place in 54 (673—674). Soon afterwards he crossed the Oxus with an Arab army and advanced as far as Bukhārā [q. v.]. But he did not remain long in Khurāsān; in 55 (674—675) or according to others 56 (675—676) or the beginning of 57 (676—677) the governor of Baṣra, 'Alid Allāh b. 'Amr b. Ghailān, was dismissed and the administration of the city entrusted to 'Ubaid Allāh who temporarily appointed Aslam b. Zur'a al-Kilābi as his deputy in Khurāsān and only later was relieved of his former office. After his arrival in Baṣra, 'Ubaid Allāh at first endeavoured to win over the Khāridjīs there by kindness, but when his efforts failed, he had to use more vigorous means and exerted all his energy to bring the Baṣran Khāridjīs under his authority. In time he succeeded in restoring peace to Baṣra. In the year 60 (679—680) he was appointed by the caliph Yazid governor of Kūfa, while retaining his post in Baṣra. When Ḥusain b. 'Alī [q. v.] was persuaded to set out from Mecca to go to Kūfa, 'Ubaid Allāh sent troops against him and on the 10th Muḥarram 61 (Oct. 10, 680) the battle of Kerbela was fought in which Ḥusain lost his life. With the death of Yazid on 14th Rabi' I 64 (Nov. 10, 683) a troubled period began. 'Ubaid Allāh had homage paid to himself in Baṣra but only provisionally. The Kūfans however were dissatisfied and he had to escape to Syria, and by 1st Djumādā II of the same year (Jan. 25, 684) 'Abd Allāh b. al-Hārith b. Nawfal called Ḥabba was recognised as governor of Baṣra. After the death of Mu'āwiyā II 'Ubaid Allāh supported the Umayyad party and urged Marwān b. al-Ḥakam to come forward as a claimant to the throne. At the battle of Marj Rāhit (end of 64 = 684) where al-Daḥḥāk b. Qais [q. v.] fell, 'Ubaid Allāh commanded Marwān's left wing. In the following year he was sent with Ḥusain b. Numair al-Sakūni [q. v.] by the caliph to Ḳarḥisiyā in order to invade the 'Irāk from there and to bring this unruly province to obedience once and for all. He is said to have been appointed in advance governor of all the country to be conquered by him. Soon after his arrival in Mesopotamia the news of Marwān's death reached him; his son and successor 'Abd al-Malik confirmed 'Ubaid Allāh in all the offices and privileges which Marwān had given him. 'Ubaid Allāh spent the whole year in Mesopotamia continuously fighting with the enemies of the caliph. He then advanced on al-Mawṣil. An army, which al-Mukhtār b. Abi 'Ubaid [q. v.] sent against him in Dhū l-Hiǧǧa 66 (July 686) put to flight the advance-guard of the Syrian army but did not dare attack the main body. Soon afterwards the Shi'ī leader Ibrāhīm b. al-Aḥṭar attacked the Syrians and on the 'Āshūra' day 67 (Aug. 6, 686) a battle was fought on the river Khābir in the vicinity of al-Mawṣil. One of 'Ubaid Allāh's subordinates, 'Umar b. al-Ḥubāb, is said to have gone over to the enemy. The Syrians suffered a disastrous defeat and both 'Ubaid Allāh and Ḥusain b. Numair were killed.

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III.—IV., *passim*; al-Ya'qūbi, ed. Houtsma, II, 281, 288—291, 306—309, 317, 321; al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, index; al-Mas'ūdi, *Kitaḥ al-Tanbih wa l-Ihtirāf*, ed. de Goeje, p. 303, 311 sq.; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Wright, p. 178, 264, 329, 366, 430, 384 sqq., 592 sqq., 598 sqq., 610; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, I, 291, 306 sq., 309 sqq., 314, 318, 329 sq., 343 sq., 346, 349 sq., 360, 377, 381; Wellhausen, *Die religiös-polit. Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam* (Abh. G. W. Gott., *Philol.-hist. Kl.*, New Series, v. 2), p. 25 sqq., 61 sqq.; do., *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, p. 82, 92, 105, 107, 109 sqq., 115 sqq.; Lammens, *Le Califat de Yazid Ier*, p. 32 sq., 124—130, 137—180; Buhl, *Die Krisis der Umayyadenherrschaft im Jahre 684* (*Zeitschr. für Assyriologie*, vol. xxvii., p. 50—64).

(K. V. ZETTERSTEN.)

UD, the lute, is the most important musical instrument of Islāmic peoples from the Atlantic to the Persian Gulf (cf. also TUNBUR, KĪTARA, ŠITĪARA).

Arabic authors do not discriminate between the *barbat* and the *'ūd*, but there seems to have been a fundamental distinction between them. The *barbat* had its sound-chest and neck constructed in one graduated piece, whereas in the *'ūd* proper the sound-chest and neck were separate. Al-Mas'ūdi says (*Murūǧ*, viii, 88) that the lute was "invented" by Lamak (Lamech of *Genesis*, iv.), but elsewhere (viii, 99) he tells us that it was generally acknowledged that the Greeks were the inventors. Pythagoras, Plato, Euclid and Ptolemy are also given the credit of its invention, although in the *Tanbih* (B. G. A., viii, 129) al-Mas'ūdi says that since Ptolemy does not mention the lute the Greeks evidently did not know of it. The instrument was certainly of ancient origin. Whether the terra cotta figure found at Goshen in Egypt, and attributed to the sixth—xxth dynasty, shows a lute or not (Petric and Duncan, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, p. 38, pl. xxxvii. B), we see undoubted examples of it in India from the 3rd century B.C. (sculpture from Bharhut in the Indian Museum, Calcutta). For later Indian examples see *J. Am. O. S.*, I, 244, 253; Burgess, *Buddhist stupas of Amarāvati and Jaggaṇyapeta*, fig. 7. It also occurs in a frieze from Aīghānistān (1st cent. A.D.) presented to the British Museum by Maj. Gen. Cunningham.

We are told that the lute (*'ūd*) was known in Persia at the time of Shāpūr I (241—272 A.D.) during whose reign it is said to have been invented (Abu 'l-Fidā, *Historia antislamica*, p. 82). It is more likely however that this instrument was the *barbat*, and that the reference is rather to an improvement, possibly the substitution of a belly of wood instead of skin. The Persians called the instrument the *barbat* because it resembled the breast (*bar*) of a duck (*bat*) (*Maḥāṣin al-'Ulūm*, p. 238; cf. Lane, *Lexicon*). J. P. N. Land was of opinion that the Persian lute referred to by Arabic authors was actually a two-stringed *funbūr* (*Trans. IXth Congress of Orientalists*, 1891, p. 154), but several specimens of Sāsānian art (ivth—viith century) have preserved designs of the Persian lute showing four strings (Dalton, *Treasures of the Oxus*, ed. 2, p. 211), and the number of strings is confirmed from other sources (*J. R. A. S.*, 1899, p. 59). That a two-stringed lute (*'ūd*) existed at the end of the viith century in al-'Irāk we know

from the *lūd al-farūd* (iii. 181), and the design of a two-stringed lute (*barbat*) of the viiith–ixth century has been preserved (Pérez, *La céramique archaïque de l'Islam*, pl. 67). The *barbat* was the chief instrument of the Arab Ghassanids in pre-Islamic times (*Aghāni*, xvi. 15) and also of the Syrians in early Islamic times (*Aghāni*, iii. 84). The Greek *barbaros* would appear to have been borrowed from the Orient (Athenaeus, *Deip.*, iv. 14), and Strabo remarks on its barbaric name (*Geog.*, x. iii. 17).

The Arabs of pre-Islamic times had certain types of the lute known as the *mishar*, *kirān* and *muwatat*. These would appear to have been identical with the *barbat* but with skin bellies. The *mishar* is unanimously identified with the lute (*ūd*) by the Arabic lexicographers (see also al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, viii. 93; *al-lūd al-farūd*, iii. 186). In the xth century *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* however, the *mashar* (p. 362) or *mishar* (p. 308) equates with *symponium*, and the modern *mashar* is a tambourine. Indeed, the identification by the older Arabic lexicographers is suspect. The praises of the *mishar* are sung by the vith century poets Imru' al-Qais (al-Shalāhi, fol. 13) and 'Alkama (*Musaddaliyat*, text, p. 812). It was a great favourite with the Quraysh until al-Nadr b. al-Hārith (d. 624) introduced the *ūd* from al-'Irāk. The *kirān*, according to al-Harbi (d. 898), was also a lute (*ūd*), and this author says that it was so called because it was placed [in playing] against the breast. This instrument is also mentioned by Imru' al-Qais (al-Shalāhi, fol. 15). The *muwatat* is referred to by Labid (d. 612) (q. v.) and is generally considered to be a lute (*ūd*) (Lane, *Lex.*, i. 126). About the close of the vith century al-Nadr b. al-Hārith, as mentioned above, introduced the *ūd* from al-'Irāk into Mecca (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, viii. 93–94), the probable special feature of the instrument being its wooden belly (*ūd* = "wood"). Al-Kalbi (d. 763) records (*Aghāni*, vii. 188) that the first to play the lute (*ūd*) in Medina was Sa'ib Khathir (d. 683). About the year 684, Ibn Suraidj [q. v.] was playing on a lute (*ūd*) constructed after the Persian manner (*Aghāni*, i. 98) (see the lute delineated in Herzfeld, *Die Malereien von Samarra*, 1927). This Persian type of lute continued to be favoured by the Arabs until Zalzal (d. 791) [q. v.] invented his "perfect lute" or *ūd shabbūz* (*Aghāni*, v. 24). The Persian lute, i. e. the *barbat*, continued however to be favoured side by side with the *ūd* proper, and the xth century Mesopotamian lute shown in Bowen's *Life and Times of 'Alī b. 'Iṣā* (frontispiece) may very well be a *barbat*. The same remark may be applied to the lute depicted on the Hispano-Moorish box of the xth–xith century in the Victoria and Albert Museum London (*The Legacy of Islam*, fig. 89), whilst the lute shown in the xiiith century *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (Riaño, *Notas on early Spanish Music*, fig. 45) undoubtedly represents the *barbat* (cf. the *ūd*, or lute proper, in fig. 44, b). Two other instruments of this type that we know of are the *pipa* and *habas*. The *pipa* is the so-called "balloon guitar" of the Chinese (Van Aalst, *Chinese Music*, Shanghai 1884, p. 64), who are said to have possessed it since the days of the Han dynasty. It was introduced into Mesopotamia by the Mughals in the xiiith century, and Ibn Ghaybi (d. 1435) describes it. It may be found in the paintings of the Mughal-Persian school (Marteau-

Vever, *Miniatures persanes* . . . 1913, fig. 212). Al-Mutarrifi (d. 1216) refers to an instrument which he calls the *ma'raf* [see art. MĀ'RAF] and describes it as "a sort of *shabbūz*" made by the people of al-Yaman. According to the author of the *Tawfī al-'Arūs*, this was the instrument now known as the *shubb*. The *shubb* (al-Ḥijāz), *shabbūz* ('Uman), *shabbūz* (Hadratmūt), *shubb* or *shubb* (Turkey) is a very old instrument. Perhaps that illusive name of the musical instrument of the Varāṁika *गुणवत* or *गुणवत* in the *Murūj* of al-Mas'ūdī is a copyist's error for *گوند* (Farmer, *Studies in Oriental Instruments*, p. 59; *History of Arabian Music*, p. 6). Ewliyā Çelebi (xviiith cent.) says that the *shubb* was invented by a vizier of Muhammad II (d. 1481) named Ahmad Pasha Harsak Ughit. He describes it as being a hollow instrument, smaller than the *shabbūz*, and mounted with three strings (*Travels*, i. iii. 235). On the other hand, Ibn Ghaybi (d. 1435) says that the *shubb* *rimī* had five double strings. The instrument is no longer used by the Turks, although it has survived under the name of *boban*, *boban*, in Poland, Russia, and the Balkans, but here it is the lute proper and not a *barbat* type. For the *shubb* of the modern Ḥijāz, a long, shallow chested *barbat*, hollow throughout, with a part belly of skin and six strings see Farmer, *Studies* . . . p. 72. (For the Hadrami instrument see Landberg, *Arabica*, iii. 15, 29, 113. For a Malay gambus see *Journal of the Straits Branch of the R.A.S.*, 1904 [N^o. 40], p. 13, fig. 5). In Turkestan a rather primitive bowed instrument is known as the *shubb* (Filtrat, *Ustik Kiličik Muzikant*, Tashkent, p. 43).

The *ūd* or lute proper, as introduced by Zalzal in the viiith century, had, apparently, a separate neck like the modern instrument, whereas the *barbat* or Persian lute, which the Arabs had used until then, had no separate neck, the whole instrument from the head downwards being in one graduated piece, perhaps hollow throughout like the *shubb*. Zalzal's *ūd al-shabbūz* was so named because it resembled the fish called the *shabbūz*. The description of the *shabbūz* given by the Arabic lexicographers leads to the inference that the sound-chest of Zalzal's lute was ovoid rather than pear-shaped (cf. the Spanish *machete* in Engel's *Mus. Instr. in the South Kensington Museum*, pl. facing p. 248, which is in the form of a fish). We see the form of the *ūd al-shabbūz* persisting in Islamic art for centuries, but the pear-shaped sound-chest, upon which the *barbat* was founded, eventually became the more popular type (Lachmann, *Musik des Orients*, pl. 11). Ziryāb (viiith–ixth century), the famous Andalusian musician, is claimed to have improved the *ūd* at Baghdad, and in al-Andalus he introduced a plectrum of quill instead of the one of wood that had hitherto been used (al-Maqqari, *Andalus*, ii. 86–87). He is also said to have introduced a fifth string, a device dealt with by both al-Kindi (d. 874) and al-Fārabi (d. 950). For a full statement of the influence (*ta'athir*, cf. *ibid.*) of the strings of the *ūd* on man see Farmer, *The Influence of Music: from Arabic Sources*, London 1926.

At this period the names of the various parts of the *ūd* were: *ra's* (head, scroll), *ma'raf* (tuning pegs), *anf* (nut), *ibrah* or *unh* (neck), *awṭar* (strings), *daṣṣin* (frets), *muḥt* (bridge-tailpiece), *waḍā* (belly), *'ain* (sound-hole), *maḥṣab* (plectrum).

For the particular names of the strings and frets see art. *mūsīqī*. Dimensions and other details are given by al-Kindī (Berlin MS., No. 5530, fol. 25), al-Fārābī (D'Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, i. 163), the Ikhwān al-Safā' (Bombay ed., i. 98) and al-Khwārizmī (*Mafātīh al-'Ulūm*, p. 258). By the time of Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min (d. 1293) [q. v.], the 'ūd had five strings (Carra de Vaux, *Le traité des rapports musicaux*, p. 52), and this continued up to the xvth century in the East. This instrument, called the 'ūd *kāmīl*, was slightly larger than the older classical lute ('ūd *ḥadīm*) of four strings. Some very large types of lute have been preserved in Persian art (*Jil*, iii, fig. 6). A Persian treatise on music, the *Kanz al-Tuhaf* (xivth century) and a Turkish imitation of the game by Ahmad Ughlu Shukrullah (xvth century) give full details of the construction of the 'ūd. In the xvth century copy of a Maghribi treatise on *Ac 'ūd* we have a four-stringed instrument (Farmer, *an old Moorish Lute Tutor*, p. 4). Unlike the *iedia* val lute (see Farmer, *Arabic musical MSS in the Bodleian Library*, front.) the modern lute is not fretted. For the modern Moroccan 'ūd with four double strings see Hōst, *Nachrichten von Marokko und Fes* (1787), p. 261, pl. xxxi, and for a seven double stringed instrument see Lavignac, *Encycl. de la musique*, v. 2927. Neither Russell (*Nat. hist. of Aleppo*, 2nd ed., 1794) nor Niebuhr (*Reisebeschreibung von Arabien und anderen umliegenden Ländern*, 1774-1778) mention the 'ūd, but the seven double stringed instrument is figured and fully described by Villoteau in the *Description de l'Égypte* (1809-1826), fol. ed., i. 847, and in Lane's *Modern Egyptians* (1836). The Egyptian 'ūd of to-day has five double strings (Darwish Muhammad, *Ṣafī al-Awḥād*, Cairo 1910, p. 11; Muhammad Kāmil al-Khulā'i, *al-Mūsīqī al-ṣarāfī*, Cairo 1904) although occasionally six double strings may be found (Lavignac, *op. cit.*, v. 2785). In Syria and Palestine a seven double stringed instrument was in use (Mushāraka, *Risālat al-Shihābiya*) in the early xixth century, but this has now fallen into desuetude in favour of the five double stringed instrument (Dalman, *Palästina'scher Diwan*; *M. F. O. B.*, vii, pl. iii; *Z. D. P. V.*, I, pl. 4). Turkey favours a six stringed 'ūd with five double and one single string (Lavignac, *op. cit.*, v. 3017; Fakhrī Bey, *Nazarı ve 'ilmi 'ūd dersleri*, Istanbul). Specimens of the 'ūd may be found in most museums (South Kensington, London, No. 689/69; Brussels, No. 164; New York, No. 378). Europe owes both the instrument and its name (al-'ūd = Port. *laud*, Span. *laud*, French *luth*, German *Laut*, Engl. *lute*) to the Arabs.

Among other types of the lute are the *tuhfat al-'ūd*, *kuwitra*, *lawṣa*, *rūd*, *shahrūd*, *ṣarab al-futūḥ*, *ṣarab sūr*, *awān*, *rubāb*, *mughni*, *ghidīghā* and *rūh afū*. The *tuhfat al-'ūd* is described by Ibn Ghāibī as a half-sized 'ūd. The *kuwitra* or *kuwitra* is a lute with a smaller and shallower sound-chest, its head being fixed obliquely rather than at a right angle as in the 'ūd. It is common to the whole of the Maghrib and has four double strings (Salvador-Daniel, *La musique arabe*, 1879, p. 81; Christianowitsch, *Esquisse historique de la musique arabe*, p. 30, fig. 4). The name is a diminutive (vulg.) of *kitāra* or *kitāra*, an instrument used in Moorish Spain as early as the xth century (al-'*Id al-farīd*). The *شهرود* of al-Shakundī (d. 1231)

quoted by al-Maḥḥārī (*Analestes*, ii. 144) is doubtless *شهرود* (cf. Dozy, *Suppl. Dict. Arabes*, and Fagnan, *Add. aux Dict. Arabes*). In the xth century (Seybold, *Gloss. Lat.-Arabicum*) and the xiiith century (Schlaparelli, *Voc. in Arabico*) the words *kuwitra* and *kuwitra* equate with the Latin *citara*. For specimens of the *kuwitra* see Brussels, Nos. 292-295; New York, No. 401; Paris, No. 852. The *lawṣa* is somewhat similar to the *kuwitra*. It has four double strings, and is very popular in Turkey. It appears to have been borrowed, together with its name, from Italy, and is certainly of comparatively modern adoption since it is not mentioned by Ewliyā Celebi (xviiith century). The *rūd* is of Persian origin and the word, like *tār*, means a string. It was also an instrument of the lute family (cf. Advielle, *op. cit.*, p. 14). Ibn Ghāibī mentions a *rūd khāṣṣ* (Bodleian Library MS. Marsh, No. 828) or *rūd khāṣṣ* (Bodleian Library MS. Onseley, No. 264; cf. *rūd jāma* in Vullers' *Lexicon*). The *rubāb* and *rūda* are also mentioned. Ewliyā Celebi describes a *rūfa* which had "recently" been invented by a certain Shukrullah Beg. He likens it to the *ṣarab*. Al-Maḥḥārī (*Analestes*, ii. 143-144) quoting al-Shakundī (d. 1231) mentions the *rūfa* in al-Andalus. This may have been identical with the Latin *ruta*, *ruda*, *rotte*. The *shahrūd* or *shahrūd* was invented in the year 912 by Hakim b. Aḥwas al-Sughdī (*Mafātīh al-'Ulūm*, p. 237; cf. Kosegarten, *Lib. cant.*, p. 43 and Carra de Vaux, *op. cit.*, p. 16). In al-Fārābī's day it had a compass of three octaves (D'Erlanger, *op. cit.*, p. 42). Ibn Ghāibī says that it had ten double strings and that it was twice the length of the ordinary 'ūd. The *ṣarab al-futūḥ* and *ṣarab sūr* are described by Ibn Ghāibī. The first-named had six double strings (cf. the *ṣarab rūb* in *Z. D. M. G.*, xx. 492). The name *ṣarab* is still to be found in an instrument of India (Shahinda, *op. cit.*, p. 79). The *ṣarab* was probably the original of the European *clorha* (Farmer, *Historical Facts for the Arabian musical Influence*, p. 144). The *awān* is also described by Ibn Ghāibī. It was a Turkish instrument popular with the Mamlūk sultans of Egypt (al-Maḥḥārī, *Hist. des Sult. Mamlouks*, i/i. 136). It was certainly not a drum as Quatremère thought, since Ibn Ghāibī places it among the lutes of three strings, and says that it was played with a wooden plectrum by Turkish minstrels. The *rubāb* (a lute) is to be distinguished from the *rubāb* (a viol). The former is a Persian and Eastern Turkish instrument with a vaulted sound-chest and incurvations at the waist. For a xith century Persian *rubāb* (misprinted *rubāb*) see *The Legacy of Ilūm*, ed. Arnold and Guillaume, fig. 90. It is described at length in the Persian *Kanz al-Tuhaf* (xivth century). The lower part of the belly was of skin, and three double strings were mounted on it. Ibn Ghāibī says that sometimes four or five double strings were adopted. In Persia it has fallen into disuse. In Turkestan however, it still continues to be favoured, but here it is strung with three single strings together with twelve sympathetic strings (Fitrat, *op. cit.*, p. 42). It has found its way into India (Day, *op. cit.*, p. 128) and China (Lavignac, *op. cit.*, i. 179). The *mughni* or *mughni* was invented by Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min (d. 1294). It was a sort of arch-lute and is described in the *Kanz al-Tuhaf* (xivth century) and by Ibn Ghāibī and Ewliyā Celebi. For a design and other particulars see Farmer, *Studies in Oriental*

musical Instruments, p. 14—15, and frontispiece. The *shidūghā*, as it is written by Ibn Ghaiṭi (cf. Sachs, *Lexikon*, s.v. *shidūghā*), was a long instrument with half of its belly covered with skin. It had four strings but was mostly used, he says, in China. The *rūh aṣṣā* had a hemispherical sound-chest with six double strings of silk and metal. Many instruments with a hemispherical sound-chest are to be found in Persian art (*Fantheon*, 1929, p. 173; *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 1911, I, 131).

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Brit. Museum MS., Add. 16827, fol. 440; *Dar 'Ilm-i Mūsīqī*, John Rylands' Library MS., No. 346 (Pers.), fol. 73; *Sharḥ Mawāṭin Mūḍarrah*, Brit. Museum MS., Or. 2361; *Kanz al-Tuḥaf*, Brit. Museum MS., Or. 2361, fol. 261^v; Ibn Ghaiṭi, *Djūm' al-Ālghān*, Bodleian Library MS., Marsh. No. 826, fol. 76^v (see also his *Muḥṭaṭar al-Ālghān* and *Mafāṭih al-Ālghān*, both in the Bodleian Library); al-Djurdān, *Mafāṭih al-'Ulūm*, Brit. Museum MS., Or. 3143, fol. 277; al-Haitamī, *Kashf al-Rāṭ*, Berlin MS., No. 5517.

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(H. G. FARMER)

'UDHRA, an Arab tribe of the southern group, belonging to the great subdivision of the Qud'a. Genealogy: 'Udhra b. Sa'd Hudhaim b. Zaid b. Laith b. Aslam b. al-Hāf b. Qud'a (Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, I, 18). We know nothing of their history in the remote past, for their identification with the 'Aḥqar (var. 'Aḥqar) of Ptolemy, proposed by Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, p. 205, § 333 is anything but certain; in the historical period we find them established in the north of the Hāḡāz, in the vicinity of other Qud'a tribes (Nahd, Djuhaina, Ball, Kalb) and their territory adjoined that of the northern tribe of the Ghatafa. The Wādī 'I-Kurā and Tabūk are mentioned as their principal centres and they were found as far away as Aila on the Red Sea. Their settlement in districts in the north of Arabia is said to be due to the great migration of Qud'a tribes, which took place after the war with the Himyarites (see especially al-Bakr, *Muḥṭaṭar*, p. 18, 22, 27, 29, 30. = Wüstenfeld, *Die Wohnsitze u. Wanderungen d. arab. Stämme*, p. 25, 31, 37, 41; cf. *Aghāni*, xvi, 161) and the 'Udhra are said to have concluded an agreement with the Jews living in the Wādī 'I-Kurā by which they were allowed to lead a nomadic life there and they respected the palm-groves and gardens of the latter.

The 'Udhra seem always to have been closely allied with other tribes of the Sa'd Hudhaim (especially the Banī Dīnna, who had the same name as a clan of the 'Udhra and the Banī Salīmān) and were known together with them by the name of Ṣuḥr (of which the doubtful etymology is given by Yāqūt, *Muḥṭaṭar*, iii, 368); they were also associated with the Djuhaina, to whom some sources also extend the name Ṣuḥr; this alliance is said to have been a result of the 'war of al-Karīq' which broke up the Qud'a and caused them to leave al-Tihāma, where they had settled after their departure from the Yemen.

We know that modern historical criticism attaches hardly any value to these statements of genealogical tradition, and indeed the 'Udhra seem to be allied with tribes which the same tradition assigns to the northern group, like the Bakr b. Wā'il and the Djarā. It is true that al-Hamdānī (*Djastrat al-'Arab*, ed. Müller, I, 116, I, 17) puts a section

of the 'Udhra in southern Arabia, but it is impossible to decide if he is referring to this tribe or to another of the same name, especially as the genealogical lists mention almost everywhere other tribes bearing the name 'Udhra (cf. Maḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *Mukhtalif al-Kabā'il*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 37, gives four of them; Ibn al-Kalbī in his *Djamharat al-Ansāb* gives us another five).

According to tradition, the 'Udhra were closely related to the Meccan Quraysh; the latter's ancestor Kuṣayy [q. v.] whose mother had married an 'Udhri is said to have been brought up with this tribe, and his half-brother Riṣāḥ (in Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, i. 24, erroneously: Darrādī) b. Rabi'a b. Ḥarām is said to have fought on the side of the Quraysh defending Mecca against the Khuz'a. On the other hand, the mother of the eponyms of the two tribes of Yathrib, al-Aws and al-Khazraj, is also said to have been an 'Udhri called Ka'ila bint Ka'bil (or bint Hālik) b. 'Udhra; so that the Anṣār as well as the Quraysh were connected with the 'Udhra on the female side.

The 'Udhra are said to have worshipped a deity Shams, the sun (al-Ya'qūbī, i. 296, l. 3), but we know no details.

The principal subdivisions of the tribe (Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishṭiqāṭ*, p. 320) are the Banū Dīana, Banū Dīuḥuma, Banū Zaḥḥaḥa, Banū 'l-Djālḥa, Banū Ḥardath, Banū Hunn; Ibn al-Kalbī (*Djamharat al-Ansāb*) also adds the Banū Mudlīdj, who are said to have been numerous and powerful (they are not mentioned in Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*).

The pre-Islamic history of the 'Udhra is poor in warlike episodes. This is probably due to the fact that the 'Udhri poets of this period are not numerous and we know that the records of the wars of the tribes depend almost entirely upon the verses which mention them; there is just a mention of a battle which took place at some time not precisely stated between the 'Udhra and the Banū Maṣra b. Naṣr, a clan of the Banū Ashdūd (Yaḳūt, *Mu'djam*, i. 174). An allusion to a defeat which they sustained at the hands of the 'Abs is found in a verse of a poet of the latter tribe (*Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, p. 826, l. 2). But the 'Udhra must certainly have attained a considerable degree of influence through the control which they exercised over the road between the Hīdžra and Syria; this explains the title 'Master (*raḥb*) of the Hīdžra' borne by a certain Hawḍha b. 'Amr (Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishṭiqāṭ*, p. 320) or better: b. Abī 'Amr, whose praises were sung by al-Nābigha (cf. Dénobourg, *Nābigha Dhabyānī inḍit*, p. 48, n. xlvii. [*J. A.*, 1899] where one should read *Qinnā* for *Qabbā*). This Hawḍha is a descendant of the semi-mythical *mu'ammār* poet 'Uss or 'Ithyar (numerous other variants) b. Labīd (cf. Goldziher, *Abhandl. z. arab. Phil.*, i. 42 and notes, p. 30; Noldeke, *Z.D.M.G.*, lvi. 168). It is again al-Nābigha who sings praises of another clan of the 'Udhra, the Banū Hunn, against whom the king of al-Hira al-Nu'mān III proposed to take the field (n. xiii., Ahlwardt; cf. Yaḳūt, *Mu'djam*, i. 583).

But it is only after Islām that the part played in history by the 'Udhra becomes better known; it was undoubtedly their dominant position in the Wādī 'l-Ḥarā, which caused Muḥammad to enter into friendly relations with them; in the year 2 of the Hīdžra he sent them a letter (Ibn Sa'd, i/li. 33) but without any apparent result, and in

the year 7 he is said to have assigned a fief (*ḥaḥḥa*) to a descendant of the above mentioned Hawḍha, because he was the first of his tribe to bear the *ḥaḥḥa* to the Prophet (al-Ḥalāḥūrī, *Futūḥ*, p. 35); in the following year they fought at Mu'ta against the Byzantines (Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, p. 793; Tabari, i. 1612). These facts suggest that the 'Udhra were early converted to Islām, but on the other hand it is not till the year 9 that we find the first mention of an official embassy from them to Medina (Ibn Sa'd, i/li. 66-67); this is what makes one think that the earlier references are not authentic and even that the 'Udhra did not become Muslims until after the death of Muḥammad (cf. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii. 50, 229, 444, 1126).

The 'Udhra took part in the Syrian expedition of the year 12 under 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ and we find them settled in this country in the Omayyad period (cf. Tabari, ii. 1792, 1818) and also at Kūfa (*Aghāni*, xvi. 7, 37), but it does not seem that they distinguished themselves in any way; although their presence in Upper Egypt is noted (al-Ḥamḍānī, *Djaḥrat al-'Arab*, p. 130, l. 4-6), they played no part in politics and gave neither here nor elsewhere any personage of note to the history of Islām.

What has given the 'Udhra a fame without equal even beyond the bounds of the Arab world down to French and German (Heine) romanticism, is their love of poetry and the touching stories of some of their poets (cf. *Udhra*), whom an unfortunate passion for a woman of their tribe reduced to death by consumption (notably 'Urwa b. Ḥizām, the "victim of love" [*ḥaḥḥa al-ḥubb*]) who is the representative of this type; cf. Ibn Kūtaiba, *al-Sayr wa 'l-Shawā'ir*, ed. de Goeje, p. 394-399; *Aghāni*, xx. 152-158 etc.). But that love-poetry did not exclude the cultivation of other varieties, is evident from the example of Djamīl [q. v.] whose celebrated love affair with Buthna (Buthaina) did not prevent him writing panegyrical and satirical poetry. Besides, the romantic conception of love is found also among other tribes; in this connection is recorded the answer of an 'Udhri who was asked if his tribe was really the most tender-hearted in all Arabia (*Aghāni*, i. 179): "We were", he said, "but the Banū 'Amir (b. Ṣa'ā'a) have vanquished us with their *Madjūn*" (the poet Ka'is b. Mu'adh or b. al-Mulawwah [iii. 102]). The 'Udhra were also celebrated for their eloquence (cf. *Aghāni*, vii. 54).

The charge of cannibalism, so frequent in the satires exchanged between tribes (cf. al-Djāhiz, *Kitāb al-Buḥālā*, ed. Van Vloten, p. 260-261; *Kitāb al-Haiyawan*, i. 129-130), has also been levelled against the 'Udhra, who are said to have eaten a female slave (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-Ansāb*, Brit. Mus. MS., Add., 23, 297, fol. 184v); we know that such statements have no value except the very general one of showing that a particular tribe was reputed to be in a miserable state of poverty, and in reality the 'Udhra appear from the rather meagre information we possess about them to have been an essentially nomadic tribe, living mainly in the pre-Muḥammadan period on the tribute paid them by the Jews of the oases. The occupation of the latter by Islām must have undoubtedly reduced the resources of the Beduins.

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tellen, p. 349; Ibn Kūtaiba, *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 51; Ibn al-Kalbi, *Qamharat al-Awāṣ*, MS. Escorial 1698, fol. 260^v—262^v; al-Nuwairi, *Nihāyat al-Arab* (Cairo 1342), ii, 297.
(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

'UDHRI, a patronymic from the name of the Arab tribe of the Banū 'Udhra [q.v.], a small tribe of the Hidsa, probably of Kahtanid descent (cf. *Aghāni*², vii, 72—73), which amalgamated with the Dihaina; the remnants of them are still to be found to-day near Yanbu' (Hidsa) and in the Egyptian Sūdān.

Ḥubb 'udhri, "Udhri love", is in the history of Islamic thought a literary and philosophical theme, related to the "platonic love" of the Greeks from which it is derived, and to the *amour courtois* of the western Christian middle ages which it inspired.

This theme, which probably was invented by the Yemeni colonists of the *ḡund* of Kūfa, celebrates an ideal Beduin tribe, in which, carrying to its extreme a refinement of tenderness from delicacy of feeling and vows of chastity, lovers "die of love" rather than "place a hand" on the beloved object. The 'Udhri ideal is *Qamḥ*, who dies in this way for love of Buḥaina.

In a well-known ḥadīth inspired by this point of view, Muḥammad is represented as saying that "he who loves but remains chaste, never reveals his secret and dies, dies the death of a martyr" (*man 'aḥibba...*).

This subject is hardly found in Aṣma'ī (Ibn Kūtaiba, *Ta'wīl*, p. 410—412). It attains its fullest development in an exquisite work, the *Kitāb al-Zuhra* of Ibn Dāwūd al-Iṣfahānī (d. 297 = 910), a Ṣāḥirī legist. Following him, other Ṣāḥirī jurists sang of Platonic love, notably Ibn Ḥazm and later Ibn 'Arabī in his *Tarḡumān al-Aḥwāṣ* on which his *Ḍaḥḥā'ir* form a commentary; this is compared by Asin Palacios to the *Vita Nova* and *Convito* of Dante.

Finding a place in the classical collections like the *Maṣāirī* al-'Uḥḍiyyah of Sarraḍī, the *Divān al-Sabūḥa* of Ibn Abī Ḥaḍjāla, the *Taswīf al-Awāṣ* of Anṣārī, the theme was taken over into mysticism by Abū Ḥamza al-Baḥdādī (d. 269 = 882) who made of it an exercise in paradoxical asceticism; and by Aḥmad al-Ghazālī and 'Ain al-Qudāt al-Hamadīyāt who sang the damnation by pure love of Iḥlās. It was also celebrated by poets, adepts of a uranism, at bottom very profane, to conceal the weakness of the flesh, in Arabic (al-Safadī), in Persian (Hāfi, *Ghul*; Hūmī, *Shah n-Gadā*), in Turkish (Mevnā, *Shakir*), in Urdu and in Japanese.

'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī has made the Prophet Muḥammad the ideal type of the 'Udhri lover (in his *Ghāyat al-Mafḥūḥ*) on account of his attachment for Zaid b. Ḥāritha.

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(LOUIS MASSIGNOU)

'UDJ, also 'Adj b. 'ANAK or 'ANAK, is the Arabic name of the Biblical 'Og, the giant king of Bashan. The Qur'an does not mention him. Tabari, *Annales*, i, 500—501 tells of his great stature and death: Moses was ten ells in height, his staff ten ells long, he jumped 10 ells high and smote 'Udj in the heel; the body of the fallen giant served as a bridge across the Nile.

Tha'labi gives more details: 'Udj was 23,533 ells high, drank from the clouds, could reach to the bottom of the sea and pull out a whale which he roasted on the sun. Noah drove him in front of the ark but the Flood only reached his knees. He lived for 3,000 years. When Moses sent out the twelve spies, 'Udj put them into the bundle of wood on his head and wanted to trample on them but on the advice of his wife he sent them back so that they might put fear by their report into the heart of those that sent them. When 'Udj saw the camp of Israel, he broke from the mountain a rock large enough to crush the camp at one blow but God sent the *hukūd* (hoopoe) and birds who made a hole in the rock so that it fell like a collar on 'Udj. Moses overthrew him in one leap.

Al-Kisā'i expands the story and increases the marvellous element in it. 'Udj was the son of Kābil (Cain) banished by Adam and of his sister 'Anāk ('Anāk thus becomes a woman's name). Although chastised by his mother, 'Udj caught the stone with which Iblīs tried to kill her. She therefore blessed him with strength and longevity. When he waded through the sea, it reached to his knees; when he walked, the earth trembled; when he wept, rivers flowed from his eyes; he used to eat two elephants at a meal. He slept twice a year. In Nimrod's time, he boasted that he controlled the heavens. He worked on the Ark with Noah. He was sitting on Pharaoh's council when Yūsuf, sent by Moses, demanded that he should worship God. In order to win Pharaoh's daughter, he was going to destroy the camp of Israel with the gigantic rock, but was slain by Moses.

The sources of these legends are to be found in the Bible and in the Haggadah. The Bible mentions 'Og's great size (*Deut.*, iii, 11) and his fall (*Num.*, xxi, 33—35). E. Jōhanan describes 'Og as a fugitive who had escaped the Flood (*B. Nidda*, 61^a). Sometimes he is said to be the fugitive who brought Abraham the news of Lot's capture (*Gen.*, xiv, 13). As a reward for this, he was given long life (*Gen. Rabba*, xlii, 8). Like al-Kisā'i, *Dint. Rabba*, i, 25 puts him at the court of Pharaoh. *B. Serakh*, 54^b, *Palat. Targum* on *Num.*, xxi, 35 records how Moses slew him in one leap. It is in keeping with Muslim legend that in place of the ants, or worm, which eat away 'Og's rock we have the *hukūd*, celebrated in the legend of Solomon.

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501 (on the reading 'Adj. s. Barth's note on p. 501); Tha'labi, *Kitaḥ al-Andiyā*, Cairo 1325, p. 151—153; al-Kisā'i, *Fitae Prophetarum*, ed. Eisenberg, p. 233—235; M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, Leyden 1893, p. 180—182.

(BERNHARD HELLER)

UDJDA. [See QUDJDA.]

AL-UFRAŪ. [See AL-WAFRANI.]

UGANDA, a British Protectorate in Eastern Equatorial Africa lying to the North of Lake Victoria. It takes its name from the Bantu Kingdom of Buganda, which is one of the four provinces comprising the Protectorate. The Swahili name Uganda ("Country of the Baganda"), the Swahili prefix "u" "Country of" replacing the Baganda *ba* with the same meaning) was first applied to the kingdom of Mutesa, discovered by J. H. Speke in 1862, and in time came to include the whole Protectorate which grew out of the extension of British influence in Buganda.

a. Geographical Outline. The Uganda Protectorate lies approximately between latitude 1° S. and 4° N., and longitude E. 30° and 35°, and has an area of approximately 94,204 sq. miles including 13,616 sq. miles of water. The general level of the country is 4,000 ft., with the slopes of Mt. Elgon (14,000) in the East, and the highlands of Toro in the West at an altitude of 5,000 ft. rising to the Ruwenzori range with its snow-clad peaks, of which the highest is Mt. Stanley, 16,816 ft. Highlands are found in the South-West, culminating in the volcanic regions of Mfumbiro where great cones rise to 11,000 or even 15,000 ft. But with the exception of some highlands on the Belgian Congo boundary West of the Nile 2° 15' N., the general level in the northern districts of the protectorate has been influenced by the Nile drainage system and is consequently lower and may not be more than 3,000 ft.

Lake Victoria, or Victoria Nyanza (3,726 ft.) feeds the Nile at the Ripon Falls (discovered by Speke in 1862), and is looked upon as the source of that river. Lake Albert (2,028), which forms part of the western boundary of the Protectorate, is fed by the Semiliki River draining from Lakes George and Edward, and in its turn discharges into the Nile proper, soon after receiving the waters of the Victoria Nile at its northern end. Accordingly Uganda is situated at the headwaters of the White Nile, and the Nile is the main drainage system of the whole country. The climate of the Protectorate is more temperate than that of other tropical countries; the mean maximum in most districts averages 80° F., and the mean minimum 60° F. In the lowlying areas in the North the mean maximum may be as high as 90° F. The annual rainfall varies considerably; on the North littoral of Lake Victoria the average approximates 60 inches, and there is a good rainfall on the slopes of Mt. Elgon and in the Toro Highlands. To the North the rainfall diminishes until conditions similar to that in the Southern Sūdān are reached. In areas where the rainfall is adequate, bananas are cultivated, and constitute the staple diet of the people; elsewhere grains of various kinds are grown. The vegetation of Uganda ranges from a sparse desert type of flora to equatorial forests of the Congo type, and on the Highlands of Elgon and Ruwenzori is found an Alpine Zone of considerable interest. A great portion of the

Protectorate consists of rich grasslands in a rolling savannah country.

b. Inhabitants. The population in 1929 is given as 3,410,857, of which 1,995 are Europeans and 12,539 are Asiatics. In the 1921 Census, the native population was returned as 2,848,735, made up of 267,522 Protestants, 255,014 Catholics, 98,000 Muhammadans, and 2,228,199 pagans. The population of the Baganda Province of 774,753 includes 72,263 Muhammadans, so that nearly 75% of the adherents to Islam are found amongst the Baganda. Ethnologically the inhabitants may be divided into three divisions, following the classification of Prof. C. G. Seligman: Eastern Bantu, Half Hamites and Nilotes. Of the Eastern Bantu the Baganda are the best known. It seems that several centuries ago there were successive migrations of a Hamitic cattle-owning people into this part of Africa, who established the large kingdom of Kitara, dominating the agricultural Bantu. This kingdom in time broke up into the three present divisions: the kingdom of Ankole, where the Hamite is dominant, the kingdom of Bunyoro, where there has been considerable fusion between the original Hamitic stock and the Bantu, and the kingdom of Baganda in which, though the dominant Hamitic stock still carries on the line of Kings, there has been a still greater fusion with the Bantu element. The Half Hamite is represented by such tribes as the Karamojong and the Iteso; whilst the Nilote is represented by the Acholi, Lango and other tribes in the North West of the protectorate.

c. History. The Victoria Nyanza was discovered by Burton and Speke in 1859 and the source of the Nile, the Ripon Falls, by Speke and Grant in 1862. Stanley reached Uganda in 1875 and wrote the famous letters, depicting the native kingdom of Baganda dominated by the influence of the slave trading Arabs, flirting with Islam and ripe for Christian missionary endeavour, which had such influence in determining the future destinies of that country. A band of Protestant missionaries reached Uganda in 1877 by way of the route used by the Arabs from Zanzibar, followed in 1879 by a party of French priests. Meanwhile Sir Samuel Baker, having discovered Lake Albert in 1864, was sent by the Khedive in 1869 as Governor General to the Sūdān with instructions to suppress the slave raiding which was carried on by Turks and Arabs, whose base was Gondokoro and whose furthest station was some 15 days farther south. By 1872 he had reached Bunyoro and annexed it to the Sūdān. Gordon followed him as Governor-General and sent emissaries to the kingdom of Buganda, one of whom met Stanley at the court of the Baganda King, Mutesa, and took back with him for despatch to England Stanley's celebrated letters. On the outbreak of the Mahdi rising in the Sūdān, Emin Pasha, who was Governor of the Equatorial Province of the Egyptian Sūdān, which included the northern part of Uganda, was cut off from al-Khartūm, and was rescued by Stanley. A portion of Emin's force remained and remained in Toro, in what is now the Belgian Congo, under the leadership of Salim Bey, an Egyptian officer.

The route to the interior from Mombasa [q.v.] through what is now Keoya Colony having now been opened up by the Arabs, the Imperial British East Africa Company in 1889 sent an expedition to Uganda with a view to annexation, and on the

Anglo-German negotiations for the partition of the east coast and hinterland, Uganda was assigned to Britain.

In 1890 Captain (now Lord) Lugard, who was engaged in building a series of forts from the coast, was ordered to Uganda to consolidate the Company's position there. Mwanga, the son and successor of Mutesa, had been deposed by both Christians and Muhammadans, and had fled to the South end of Lake Victoria to take refuge with some Catholic Missionaries, and Kiwewa was put on the throne. The Muhammadans soon tired of Kiwewa, who refused to adopt their customs, and eventually Kalema was proclaimed Kabaka (king) in his stead. He, profiting by the experience of his brother, professed himself a devout Muhammadan, and tried to enforce Muhammadan rites, including circumcision, on the peasantry, which caused a considerable exodus of Christians into Ankole. Mwanga was then invited by the Protestant party to return, and with a large following, he defeated the Muhammadan army and entered the capital. The Muhammadans retreated to Bunyoro whence they made frequent raids into Buganda, and on the death of Kalema chose Mbogo, Mutesa's brother, to be their Kabaka. Lugard on his arrival forced Mwanga to sign a temporary treaty, and in order to obtain a reliable force, came to an agreement with Salim Bey, the leader of the remnant of Emin Pasha's troops. He enlisted some of these Sudanese for service in Buganda, and the others he posted in forts in Bunyoro and in Toro. The Sudanese in the forts were not under proper supervision and were left to the care of their native officers. They were allowed to forage for themselves, and accordingly the cause of Islam was not helped by them amongst the neighbouring peasantry.

In 1892 the Imperial British East Africa Company proposed to abandon the country on the grounds of expense unless subsidised by the British Government, who at first refused to assist them, but subsequently, partly owing to the pressure of public opinion, mainly organised by the Church Missionary Society, and partly because they were given proofs that the country showed every sign of returning prosperity, reversed its decision, and assumed control in 1894, when a provisional treaty was completed with Mwanga.

In 1897 a series of revolts broke out. Mwanga had never become reconciled to the new state of affairs and was secretly plotting. Finally he fled to Buddu and raised the standard of rebellion, but being defeated by the Sudanese troops, fled to German territory. Macdonald, who had been engaged on the railway survey, was under orders to survey new and unexplored country near Lake Rudolf, and required a large escort, and Sudanese troops who had been almost continually fighting in various areas were detailed for this purpose. The troops were underpaid and in a discontented state of mind, and consequently several companies seized this opportunity to break into open revolt. Messengers were sent to the Muhammadan Baganda and an endeavour was made to induce Mbogo, their leader, to throw in his lot with the mutineers who would place him on the throne. Mbogo, however, refused and remained loyal to the British despite his religion, for not only had he no wish to join the rebels, but he also knew that according to the customs of the Baganda, he, as eldest son of the late Kabaka, could not properly be placed on the

throne. Affairs were also complicated by Mwanga joining up with Kabarega, the Mukama (King) of Bunyoro, in an endeavour, whilst the troops were in a state of mutiny, to drive the British out of their countries. Eventually the mutiny was quelled and the capture of the two kings and their deportation to the Seychelles brought the troubles to an end, and since 1899 the country has enjoyed almost unbroken peace. The story of Buganda and its troubles is the real story of the Protectorate. From Buganda the other tribes have been brought under British rule, sometimes by a show of military force and minor expeditions, more often by peaceful penetration.

Islam was brought to Uganda both from the East Coast and from the North. Arabs from the East Coast had penetrated to the kingdom of Uganda and were in a dominant position when Speke arrived at Mutesa's court. With the guns obtained from the Arabs in exchange for slaves and ivory, the Baganda, a most intelligent and enterprising race of people, who had already evolved an elaborate system of government, were enabled to gain the ascendancy over neighbouring tribes, but they were anxious to learn from the Arabs the secret of writing also, as they realised the power which this would give them. In the early days the Arabs refused to give them this, but made converts. No sooner had the Christian missionaries arrived than the Baganda quickly learned that they were willing and anxious to teach them to write, and to give them other instruction which would enable them to assimilate a culture, which they recognised to be superior to their own. The Arabs, realising that they were losing ground, sent for teachers from the coast and established schools, where children were taught to write Swahili in Arabic characters. The fluctuating fortunes of Islam and Christianity represent the conflict of two different cultures, and the final ascendancy of Christianity must, in the main, be attributed to the superior educational facilities offered by the Christian missions.

Islamic influence from the North has not been so important. In the early days the Turks and Arabs were interested only in raiding slaves from unorganised tribes. The troops and followers of the Provincial Governors and other officials from the Sudan made few converts, and the imported Sudanese, remnants of Emin Pasha's force, all of whom are adherents to Islam, have not had a great influence on the native population, though they live in communities scattered through the Protectorate and at one time formed the backbone of the Protectorate military forces and the civil police. In the West Nile district, inhabited by Nilotes, there has of recent years been a spread of Islam, mostly due to the strong personalities of a few chiefs, who have embraced Islam, encouraged education, and set up schools, but this is offset by large numbers of pagans who have become Christians and receive the benefits of a better education under European supervision.

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(E. B. HADDON)

UḲĀB, the eagle, the king of birds. al-Ḳazwīnī and al-Damīrī tell remarkable things about his habits, some of which go back to Greek tradition. According to al-Damīrī, there are black, brown, greenish and white eagles. Some nest in the mountains, others in deserts, in thick woods or in the vicinity of towns. (Here there is of course a confusion with the vulture and also in the statement that they follow armies and devour the fallen). The eagle hunts small wild animals and birds and eats only the liver, because this is a protection for him against disease. He does not stalk his prey but gives a cry when he sees a bird from his lofty perch and this gives it an opportunity to escape. Sometimes it happens that his beak grows so long that he can no longer hunt and must die of hunger. When the eagle is weak with age and becomes blind, according to al-Ḳazwīnī, he rises into the air until his feathers are consumed by the sun. He then falls down, plunges into a well of bitter water and comes out again completely rejuvenated. According to al-Damīrī, the young eagles carry the old ones, when they are blind, from place to place until they reach a spring in India. They are plunged into this and then dried in the rays of the sun while the old feathers fall off and new ones grow and at the same time their eyesight is restored. According to the author of "Agriculture", vultures come out of eagles' eggs and eagles out of those of vultures. According to others, all eagles are female and mate with other birds. They lay three eggs but throw the third young one out of the nest because they can only rear two. The third is brought up by the bird called *ḥāṣir al-ḥāṣim* ("bone-breaker"). Eagles fly so quickly that in the morning they can be in the 'Irāq and in the evening in the Yemen. Their eyries are built on steep hillsides; the young ones know they must not move or they would fall out and perish but as soon as they have feathers, they fly excellently.

The eagle-stone is brought by the eagle from India and put in the nest to enable the female to lay more easily. It is a stone with another stone loose inside it, the rattle of which can be heard. It is used to relieve women in child-birth. This wonderful stone is taken from Greek tradition also.

In astronomy *al-Uḳāb* is the name of the constellation Aquila, N. of Capricorn (*ḥarīq, Aquila*). It has three outstanding stars, which are called *al-nār al-ḥāṣir*, "the flying eagle", Persian: *shāhin*

ḡūzād, "the thieving falcon". The brightest star α is called *Atair* or *Atair* on our star-maps. Opposite it in the Lyre is the star *al-nār al-wāḥī*, "the falling eagle", the *Vega* of the star-maps.

In alchemy *al-Uḳāb* (Lat. allocoph, etc.) is the most usual name for sal-ammoniac.

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AL-UḲAIṢIR, the name of a divinity of pre-Muhammadan Arabia, or better an epithet, the meaning of which (diminutive of *ḥāṣir*, "he who has a stiff neck" or perhaps simply "the short") seems to indicate an idol in human shape. All that we know of this god (whose real name is unknown) goes back to the references to him by Ibn al-Kalbi, *Kitāb al-Aḡḡām*, Cairo 1914, p. 38–39, 48–50, followed by Yāqūt, *Muḍjam*, i. 340–341 (transl. and annotated by Wellhausen, *Reise arab. Heidentümer*, 2nd ed., p. 62–64), *Djāhiz*, *Ḥayawān*, v. 114, *Buḥārā*, p. 237, *Khizānat al-Adab*, iii. 246 (abridged), Mahmūd al-Alūst, *Buḥār al-Arab fī Ma'rifat al-Ḥayāt al-Arab*, Cairo 1343, ii. 209 below (abridged). Al-Uḳaiṣir was worshipped by the tribes of Ḳuḏā'a, Lakhm, Djudham, 'Amila and Ḥaṭṭāṣān living on the plateau of the Syrian desert. Verses in old poets quoted by Ibn al-Kalbi mention the stones (*anḥāḥ*) put up around the sacred place (which another anonymous verse, *Lisān al-Arab*, vi. 416, already quoted by Wellhausen, describes as dripping with the blood of the victims), the "garments" (*al-ḥawāḥ*; is the reference to those of the idol or to a covering for the sanctuary in the style of the *ḥimā* of the Ka'ba?), the ditch (*al-ḥaṣr*) into which were thrown the offerings, the cries and chants of the pilgrims. The sacrifices offered to the god were not always slaughtered; they are said to have also included hair kneaded with flour (according to the widespread custom of pre-Muhammadan Arabia; cf. Wellhausen, p. 123–124, 198–199): in this connection a story is told, according to which the tribe of the Hawāṣin, reduced to great misery and entirely without food, went to beg around the sanctuary of al-Uḳaiṣir for the filthy remains of these offerings. The truth of this story is very doubtful; it is a common motif in the *ḥiḡḡa* between tribes, but in itself it has nothing improbable.

As Wellhausen notes, the expressions used in the verses which Ibn al-Kalbi quotes in connection with al-Uḳaiṣir might refer to a sanctuary as well as to an idol. We might then suppose that the epithet reflects the squat form of the building. It is worth while recalling that the name Uḳaiṣir is also applied to a tribe (*Aḡḡānī*, xiv. 98), to individuals (*Aḡḡānī*, xiv. 74; Tabari, ii. 647, 970, 997, 1000) and even to a sword (Ibn al-A'rābi, *Les livres des chevaux*, p. 87, 4).

Bibliography: given in the article.

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

UKHAIḌIR, the name of an imposing castle now in ruins in the Mesopotamian desert, twenty-five miles from Kербel' and ten south-east of Shīrātīya; it perhaps preserves the name of Ismā'il b. Yūsuf b. al-Ukhaiḏir who came from Yamkma and was appointed governor of Kūfa by the Karmatians in 315 (927). The Beduin tribe of the Ruwāla, which leads a nomadic life in the vicinity, pronounce this name "al-Akheizer" but prefer to call the castle Qaifar or Kajr al-Khafādīr.

Discovered by Pietro della Valle in 1625, re-discovered in 1908 by L. Massignon, visited by Miss Gertrude L. Bell in 1909 and A. Muḥil (1912) it was systematically examined by O. Reuther in 1910.

The castle, built of stone and cement, with a few bricks, consists of a rectangular fortified enceinte with forty-eight bastions, with sides 354 feet long, 69 feet high, and 9 feet thick; blind arcades support a machicolated chemin de ronde; there are four staircases in the four corner towers and four gates in the centre of the four sides. The north gate, which is the main one, gives access to the palace, one of the halls of which was, according to Miss Bell, perhaps used as a mosque, although wrongly oriented, and rooms for the women, built on to the north wall, with three stories on this side and a single storey on its three other sides around the inner court. Outside the enceinte are two annexes of less importance. From the architectural point of view we may note in the palace the numerous niches, the fluted vaulting and the seven domes on drums.

The date of the building of Ukhaiḏir is disputed: the regularity of its plan, the large scale, and the finish of the work place it in a period when the Mesopotamian *hinter* of the desert still contained royal residences. Dieulafoy and Massignon see in it a pre-Islamic winter palace, like Hīra, built by an Iranian architect for a prince of Hīra; it might be the *Kajr al-Sadīr* of the poets. Miss G. L. Bell prefers to regard it as the site of Dūmat al-Hīra and would bring its date down to the Umayyad period. Herzfeld dates Ukhaiḏir about 215 (830) from architectonic analogies with Sāmarrā. Finally Muḥil brings it down to 277 (890) in order to identify it with the *ḏur al-ḥīra* built in this year by the Karmatian rebels. It is indeed very likely that they restored it to install themselves in it, but they had not the means nor was it their custom to build such an imposing palace as a "place of refuge".

Bibliography: Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi*, Venice 1664, iv. 399; Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, Copenhagen 1778, ii. 225 (Fr. transl. Amsterdam 1780, ii. 184, 193-194); L. Massignon, *Mission en Mesopotamie*, i. (1912), p. 2-20, and ii. (1912), p. 138; Herzfeld, in *Idl.*, 1910, p. 109, 124-126; do., *Erster vorläufiger Bericht*, Berlin 1912, p. 37; G. L. Bell, *From Amurath to Amurath*, London 1911, p. 115-118; do., *Palace and Castle of Ukhaiḏir*, Oxford 1914; O. Reuther, *Ockheidir* (V. D. O. G., xx), Leipzig 1912; *Baghdad Times*, April 15, 1915; Muḥil, *Arabia Deserta*, New-York 1927, p. 366-367 (No. 95); do., *Rivista*, New-York 1929, p. 154, 155, 243, 244, 414. (LOUIS MASSIGNON).

UKUBAT. [See **ADHAR**; **HADD**.]

ULAMĀ is strictly the plural of *ʿālim*, one who possesses the quality *ʿilm* [q. v.], knowledge, learning, science in the widest sense, and in a high degree (*mudallīḡ*). In usage,

however, the accepted singular of *ʿulamā* is *ʿālim*. Both singulars are Kurʿānic and can be used of Allāh and of man; but the plural *ʿulamā* occurs only twice in the Kurʿān and three of men (xxvi. 197; xxv. 25). The plural *ʿālimūn* occurs four times: twice of Allāh (xii. 52, 81) and twice of men (xii. 44; xxix. 42). On all this see *Mafradīr* of al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, Cairo 1324, p. 348 sqq. and *Lisān*, xv. 310 sqq.

Inasmuch as *ʿilm* in the first instance was knowledge of traditions and of the resultant canon law and theology, the *ʿulamā*, as peculiarly custodians of that tradition, were canonists and theologians. They, thus, as a general body, represented and voiced the Agreement (cf. article **ḤIMMA**) of the Muslim people, and that Agreement was the foundation of Islām. In consequence the *ʿulamā*, in whatever stated form they functioned, came to have, in a wide and vague fashion, the ultimate decision on all questions of constitution, law and theology. Whatever the *de facto* government might be, they were a curb upon it, as a surviving expression of the Agreement and of the right of the People of Muḥammad to govern itself. The different governments might try to control them by giving them official status and salaries, and to some extent might succeed in that. If the success were too glaring the people would react by contempt for such government agents and would give their respect and devotion to private scholars who refused thus to be mastered. This was a constantly recurring situation under all Muslim governments. The *ʿulamā*, therefore, might be government functionaries, either controlled by the government or keeping the government in a certain awe; or they might be private and independent students of canon law and theology.

The term *ʿālim* is applied at the present day in its literal meaning to any one who is evidently a scholar in our sense. For this situation in Egypt in the early sixteenth century see Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, chaps. iv. and ix. and by index. For a similar situation under the Mamlūks see Gaudelroy-Demambryne, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamlouks*, passim and especially p. lxxvi. sqq. It is plain that the organization of the *ʿulamā* was the solid framework of permanent government behind those changing dynasties. For the Ottoman Empire see E. J. W. Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, ii. p. 394 sqq. For the same situation in the Muslim world generally see Sir Thomas W. Arnold, *The Caliphate*, by index under *ʿUlamā*. For the distinction between the *ʿālim*, canon lawyer and systematic theologian, and the *ʿarif*, the mystic who knows Allāh by religious experience and vision, see article **ʿILM** above; so, too, for the distinction between the *ʿālim* who was at first a knower of definite facts (Kurʿānic texts and traditions and their meanings) and the *ṣāḡīḡ* [q. v.] who was at first the independent thinker about these by his intelligence (*ʿaql*). It is, perhaps, hardly necessary to notice the error of western writers who frequently use *ʿulamā*, in many spellings, as a singular.

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(D. B. MACDONALD)

ULDJAITU KHODĀBENDE. [See **OLJAITU**.]

ULUGH BEG, MUḤAMMAD TURGHĀY, son of Shāh Rukh and of Gawhar Shād, was born in Sulḡāniya in 790 (1393). He became governor of a part of Khurāsān and of Māzandarān in 810

(1407). In the following year Shāh Rukh, breaking his promise, took Turkostān and Transoxiana from Khālīl Sultān, ruler of Samarqand, to give them to Ulugh Beg, who, a man of letters, artist and scholar, "really made Samarqand what Timūr had dreamt of, the centre of Muslim civilisation" (R. Grousset, *Hist. de l'Asie*, iii, 127). A theologian, he had specialised in the study of the Qur'an which he could repeat by heart according to all seven readings. Fond of poetry he had an official poet, Khwājā Jamet Bukhārī, and was the patron of others like Barandak, Rustam Khuryānī and Tāhir Abīwardī. A historian, he not only encouraged research but himself wrote a "History of the Four Sons of the House of Čingiz", *Uluḡ-i arḡa-i Čingiz*, a work which seems to have been lost and which would have been valuable for the history of the Uluḡs of Taltū in Persia and for that of Čaġatai: for the whole period before 703 (1303) it would be less complete than the work of Rashīd al-Dīn (Blochet, *Introd. à l'Hist. des Mongols*, p. 86-92). An artist, he enriched Samarqand with superb buildings: a monastery, *Khānqāh*, with the highest dome in the world; the "carved" mosque, *mosḡḡa* (or mosque of Ulugh Beg), so-called from its interior decoration in the Chinese manner, of carved and coloured wood, finished in 823 (1420); that of Shāh Zinde, finished in 838 (1434); a madrasa built in 828 (1424) the bath of which is decorated with wonderful mosaics; the palace of the 40 columns flanked by four high towers and decorated with a colonnade in blocks of marble; the throne room, *körünüş-khāne*: its pedestal, eight cubits in breadth and fifteen in length and one in height is not the "black stone" mentioned by Vāmbery; the *Činikhāne*, a pavilion, the walls of which were adorned with frescoes by one of those Chinese artists of whose work the loveliness of Samarqand was fond; lastly, the famous observatory to be discussed below; its architect was 'Alī Qāshġī and Gawhar Shād journeyed to Samarqand to pay it a visit. Ulugh Beg was a great bibliophile. A learned mathematician, he could solve the most difficult problems in geometry, but he was above all an astronomer. In 832 (1428) he began the building at Samarqand, on the other side of the Kuhik, of an observatory now destroyed, which in its day was regarded as one of the wonders of the world. Shāh al-Dīn, an astronomer of Jewish origin, was the moving spirit in it along with three other astronomers from Qāshān: Hasan Čelebi, called Qādi-zāde Rūmī, whose son Maryām Čelebi wrote a commentary on the work of Ulugh Beg; Ghiyāth al-Dīn Djamahid and Mu'in al-Dīn Qāshānī. Working with them, Ulugh Beg invented new and very powerful instruments for their joint researches. Finding Ptolemy's computations did not agree with his own observations, he sought to correct them and thus there came to be compiled the *Zīj-i Dīdād Sultānī*, a collection comprising: 1. diverse computations and eras; 2. the knowledge of time; 3. the course of the stars; 4. the position of the fixed stars. The whole is prefaced by very complicated and obscure prolegomena on the reasons which determined Ulugh Beg to compile this collection and on his collaborators. These tables became celebrated in Europe and attention was called to them by John Greaves (in Latin Graevius), Professor at Oxford (1642-1648); in 1665, Hyde gave a Latin translation afterwards revised by Sharpe (1767); the prolegomena have been edited and translated by A. Sédillot (Paris 1847-1853: 2 vols.), who

had previously undertaken to publish the Tables (Isac. i., Paris 1839). E. B. Knobel has published the *Catalogue of stars...*, after collating all the manuscripts in Great Britain and adding a Persian and Arabic glossary (Washington 1917). It has been disputed whether the original version was in Arabic, Persian or Turkish; it is probably the Persian version that we possess. The work seems to have been finished in 841 (1437). Ulugh Beg, it seems, did not observe all the stars which he mentions and takes his latitudes and longitudes from Ptolemy; he gives a disproportionate space to astrology. But Sédillot (*op. cit.*, i., p. cxxii.) can say that with him the "period of astronomical works in the East finishes".

Ulugh Beg was less happy in war and politics. He drove the invading Özbeġs back to the Aḡ Sū but Borġk Oġlān's cavalry and that of Muḡammad Dīkī soon had their revenge, advanced as far as Khodjand and laid the country waste (828 = 1422). The sole survivor of the children of Shāh Rukh, he inherited the power on the death of his father (25th Dhu'l-Hijja 850 = 12th March 1447); but plunged into despair, he remained inactive for several months, enabling the Timūrid princes to act against him. Gawhar Shād wanted to secure the throne for Ulugh Beg's son 'Abd al-Latif, but the latter, misled by false reports, thought it had gone to 'Alī al-Dawla, another claimant, who, a few days after the death of Shāh Rukh, led her prisoner with all her suite to Semnān. From there he set out for Herāt, seized it and had himself proclaimed ruler there. Sultān 'Abd Allāh, son of Ibrāhīm Sultān, took possession of the district of Shirāz. Kābul and Ghazna formed a new state with the sons of Soyurghutmish. Two other princes, Muḡammad Mirzā and Bābā Mirzā, also aspired to the power and the second had himself proclaimed ruler of Djurdjān and Māzandarān. 'Abd al-Latif, who returned from Nishāpūr with his prisoners was surprised by the entry Mirzā Salīh and Uwais. The prisoners were released and 'Abd al-Latif, who took to flight, was captured. He was brought before 'Alī al-Dawla who treated him generously.

Ulugh Beg finally cast off his lethargy, listened to the advice of his ministers and set out for Khurāsān. Wishing to conciliate a rival, Abū Bakr, he gave him his daughter in marriage but had to imprison him on being convinced of his treachery. He crossed the Oxus, heard in Balkh of 'Abd al-Latif's doings, pardoned him and ready to make any concession to be free of his troubles, sent his first minister Niḡm al-Dīn Mirek to Herāt with this object. But Bābā Mirzā invaded Khurāsān and at Dīām routed 'Alī al-Dawla's advance-guard and the latter, caught between him and Ulugh Beg, surrendered. Prisoners were exchanged and 'Abd al-Latif became governor of Balkh. Through fear of Ulugh Beg the generals of 'Alī al-Dawla forced their master to make peace with Bābā Mirzā; Khabūshān was to be the frontier.

The treachery of 'Abd al-Latif, who refused to deliver up his hostages and had them massacred after the defeat of an attack on a detachment sent to fetch them, brought about new hostilities. 'Alī al-Dawla made plundering raids but abandoned an expedition, which he had planned, on the threats of Ulugh Beg, who had now decided to assert his rights as sole heir of Shāh Rukh and to avenge the massacres of Balkh (852 = 1448-1449) by the murder of several of his son's officers. 'Abd al-Latif brought large contingents to his father

on his crossing of the Oxus. Defeated through treachery at Tarbāh after a desperate battle, 'Alī al-Dawla sought refuge in Meshhed where his brother Bābar Mirzā promised to assist him to regain his lands. He pretended to submit but Ulugh Beg was not deceived, occupied Herāt and its forts and marched on Isfārā' in where he divided his army into two: the one with Mirzā 'Abd Allāh Shīrāzī was to lay siege to Bistām and the other with 'Abd al-Latif marched against Astarabad. At this moment the Özbeks invaded Transoxiana. Samarqand was sacked, Ulugh Beg, taking the sarcophagus of Shāh Rukh and the treasure of Herāt, returned in haste. His rearguard was attacked by Bābar Mirzā and the Özbeks captured his baggage at the crossing of the Oxus. He finally reached Bukhārā, where his father's obsequies were held. Khurāsān, which was disputed between the Timūrids and the Turkmens was in complete disorder. Yār 'Alī, prince of the Black Sheep, escaped from the castle of Neretū and laid siege to Herāt. Ulugh Beg relieved the city but Bābar Mirzā rebelled and attacked it in his turn. 'Abd al-Latif escaped to his father and Yār 'Alī, entering the town by surprise, had himself crowned there and became popular. An emissary of Bābar Mirzā gave him a narcotic and he was executed.

In Dhū l-Hijja 852 (Feb. 1449) the whole of Khurāsān belonged to Bābar Mirzā who gave a ludicrous compensation, the governorship of the little town of Tūn, to 'Alī al-Dawla, who was replaced by his son. The two, accused of plotting, were sent to Herāt and suffered a harsh captivity. The discontent was general: Bābar Mirzā was reproached with debauchery, drunkenness, incapacity and the exactions of his agents. Refusing to lead an expedition against Badghīs, the powerful emir Hindūke sought to raise the country with the help of Ulugh Beg, to whom he sent an emissary Eldekkā. The latter was captured by 'Abd al-Latif and sent to Bābar Mirzā to whom he confessed everything. In spite of prodigies of valour Hindūke was defeated and slain.

'Alī al-Dawla escaped; he went to Sīstān, then to the 'Irāk where his brother Muḥammad Mirzā, who was also lord of Fārs, was ruling. The two invaded Khurāsān and at Dīlm inflicted a terrible defeat on Bābar Mirzā, who with eight horsemen escaped and sought refuge in the castle of 'Imād. At Herāt, Muḥammad Mirzā showed himself generous; he liberated his nephew Ibrāhīm and sent Bābar's son Shāh Mahmūd to his mother.

'Abd al-Latif had a hatred for his father which has been explained in various ways. Ulugh Beg in his communiqué at the battle of Tarbāh is said to have substituted the name of his other son 'Abd al-'Azīz for his. He is said to have refused to restore to him the money and arms which he had stored in Herāt, relying on astrological predictions, he distrusted a son in whom he saw a parricide. Rebelling, 'Abd al-Latif seized Balkh, defeated his father and his brother 'Abd al-'Azīz at Shāhrukhiya and handed over Ulugh Beg to a Persian servant 'Abbās who, after a pretence at trial, had him executed on 10th Rabi' al-Thani 853 (Oct. 27, 1449) after a reign of two years eight months. After this murder, the dismemberment of the Timūrid empire made rapid progress; claimants arose in all directions, many of whom achieved their aims. At the end of six months, 'Abd al-Latif himself met a violent end.

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UMAIYA a. 'ABD SHAMS, ancestor of the Umayyads, the principal clan of the Quraysh of Mecca. His genealogy (Umayya b. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf b. Qurayy) and his descendants are given in Wustenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, U. V. Like all other eponyms of Arab tribes and clans, his actual existence and the details of his life have to be accepted with caution, but too great scepticism with regard to tradition would be as ill-advised as absolute faith in its statements. As those Umayyads who were living at the beginning of the Muslim epoch were only in the third generation from their eponym (e.g. 'Abū Sufyān b. Harb b. Umayya), there is nothing improbable in the latter's being a historical personage; besides there is nothing in tradition to suggest he was a mythical individual or a later invention. The name Umayya is common in Arab nomenclature and is found in both northern and southern tribes; the meaning which anti-Umayyad polemic gives to it (a diminutive of *ama* "servant") would make it a sobriquet; we also have the positive form Banū 'Ama as the name of a tribe (cf. Ibn Durayd, *Kitāb al-Ishārah*, p. 34).

Umayya was the cousin on the father's side of Ḥāshim b. 'Abd al-Muttalib, and tradition relates that, being jealous of the latter's influence, he challenged him to a *munāfara*, the judge of which was to be a *shāh* of the Quraysh. Being defeated, Umayya had to exile himself from Mecca for ten years (cf. Tabari, i. 1090; Ibn Sa'd, i. 43—44). This story is evidently only an anticipation of the rivalry between the Umayyads and Ḥāshimids ('Alids and 'Abbāsids) which forms the centre of the political struggle in the Arab empire during the first two centuries of the Hijra (cf. al-Makrīzī, *al-Tawārīkh wa'l-Taḥqīq* from *ḥadīth* Banī Umayya wa-Banī Ḥāshim, ed. Vos, Leyden 1888): it looks like a legend of learned origin. Similarly the story of the embassy of Umayya and his nephew 'Abd al-Muttalib b. Ḥāshim and other chiefs of the Quraysh to the Hīmanite king Saif b. Dhī Yazan after the latter had defeated the Abyssinians (al-Azraqī, in *Chron. d. Stadt Mekke*, ed. Wustenfeld, i. 99; *Aghāni*, xvi. 75—77; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī, *al-'Iqd al-farīd*, Cairo 1293, i. 131—133 etc.) is only intended to enhance the

prestige of the Quraysh and to prophesy the coming of Islam. Lastly the truth seems very problematic to us of the stories of alleged eye-witnesses who had seen Umayya, a decrepit old man going through the streets of Mecca leaning on his son Abū 'Amr (according to the historian Haiṭham b. 'Adī, this was really his slave whom he afterwards adopted; cf. Tabari, i, 967; *Aghāni*, i, 7-8).

We come down to historical ground with the statement (Asraḳī, p. 71, etc.) that Umayya, like his father 'Abd Shams, commanded the Meccan army in time of war (*al-ḥiyāda*), a post which was later transmitted to his son Ḥarb and his grandson Abū Sufyān. Although we perhaps should not interpret this literally as implying a permanent military post (it seems to have been rather an occasional appointment) and although we find alongside of descendants of Umayya as military leaders, numerous members of other clans and even *ḥulafā'* (clients) (cf. on this question: Lammens, *Les 'Aghāni' et l'organisation militaire de la Mecque*, in *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'Égipe*, Beyrouth 1928, p. 273-293), there is nothing improbable in the story, especially if we regard the *ḥiyāda* as the direction of the military affairs of the republic rather than the actual command of troops in the field. As a matter of fact, the descendants of Umayya never lacked talent either for military organisation or for politics.

At the beginning of Islam, the clan of the Banū Umayya appears as the most powerful in Mecca; it was represented by two main branches: the *ʿA'yā* and the *ʿAnābisa* (plural *a'yan* from the name 'Anbasa common in the family). The former claimed to be descended from a son of the eponym whose names come from the same or a similar root (a common occurrence in Arabic nomenclature): Abū 'I-ʿIs, al-'Uwais, al-'Āṣi, Abū 'I-ʿĀṣ; the others were represented by families of Ḥarb, Abū Ḥarb, Sufyān, Abū Sufyān (from his name 'Anbasa, uncle of the celebrated Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb), 'Amr, Abū 'Amr (the latter whose name is said to have been Dhakwān was probably, as already mentioned, an adopted son of Umayya). From a son of Abū 'I-ʿĀṣi, al-Ḥakam, are descended, through Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, the Umayyad caliphs who succeeded Marwān, as well as the emirs (later caliphs) of Andalusia. Some branches of the family of the caliphs settled in Egypt and Persia; although the greater part of the family was exterminated in 132 A. H. by the 'Abbāsids, some of its members survived: among these were Abū 'I-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, the author of the *Kitāb al-Aghāni*, a descendant of a brother of Marwān I; his Shi'ite views contrasted strangely with his descent. Another son of Abū 'I-ʿĀṣi, 'Affān, was the father of the Caliph 'Uthmān; his descendants are numerous (among them the poet al-'Arḍī; cf. *Aghāni*, p. 153-166), and several of them held important offices under the Umayyads. Of the line of al-'Āṣi b. Umayya, the most celebrated member is Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣi b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣi, governor of Kufa under 'Uthmān, whose misdeeds were one of the main causes of the rebellion against the latter. The family of Abū 'I-ʿIs also produced a number of notable individuals under the Umayyads who were all descended from Asīd b. Abī 'I-ʿIs.

As to the *ʿAnābisa* branch, its most illustrious family is undoubtedly that of Ḥarb, whose son Abū Sufyān plays so remarkable a part in the story of the origin of Islam. Through his son

Mu'āwiya, he is the founder of the dynasty of Sufyānid caliphs, which early became extinct with Mu'āwiya II, son of Yazīd I. Another son of Yazīd, Khalīd, is said to have been the founder of Arabic alchemy, and a grandson, Abū Muḥammad Ziyād b. 'Abd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Sufyānī, was slain by the 'Abbāsids at Madīna in 132 (Tabari, iii, 54). Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, who was Mu'āwiya's predecessor in command of the army of Syria in 'Umar's reign, left no descendants. Of the other sons of Abū Sufyān, 'Uṭba, 'Anbasa, Yazīd, Muḥammad, 'Amr, only the two first had issue. A collateral branch of the Banū Umayya, descended from Abū 'Amr b. Umayya, whose paternity, as we have seen, was not absolutely certain, included among its members al-Walīd b. 'Uḳba b. Abī Mu'āṣi b. Abī 'Amr, governor of Kufa under 'Uthmān and later a favourite of Mu'āwiya during his caliphate and also known as a poet (*Aghāni*, iv, 175-190); his father 'Uḳba had been made prisoner at the battle of Badr and put to death by Muḥammad, who could not forgive the insults which he had heaped upon him at the beginning of his preaching in Mecca; the shameful memory of the father weighed heavily on the son and is often revived in 'Alid polemics against the Banū Umayya. A son of al-Walīd, Abū Ḥaṭifa 'Amr, is also known as a poet (*Aghāni*, i, 7-18). All the members of the line of Abī 'Amr settled in al-'Irāk and al-Djazīra.

Bibliography: Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Iḥṭāṭ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 45-50, 103-104; Ibn al-Kalbi, *Qiyāsat al-Anṣāb*, Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 23,297, fol. 11v-18r. Much information also in H. Lammens, *Études sur le règne de Mu'awia Ier*; do., *Le califat de Yazīd Ier* (*M. F. O. B.*, i-vi.). (G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

UMAIYA n. Amr 'L-SALT, an Arab poet of the tribe of Thaqif, lived in Tā'if, the son of Abū 'I-Salt, 'Abd Allāh and Raḳaiya bint 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf, grandson of Abū Sufyān, cousin of the 'Uṭba and Shaiba who were killed at Badr and closely related to the Quraysh patrician families of Mecca. A lament on the Quraysh who fell at Badr, preserved by Ibn Hiṣham, p. 331 *app.*, shows that he was still alive in 624 A. D. According to tradition, he died in 8 or 9 A. H. Traditions differ regarding his attitude to the Prophet and to Islam. But the statement that he was not in personal touch with the Prophet and refused to recognise his claim to be a prophet may be regarded as the better founded. It is also in keeping with his sympathy for the Quraysh expressed in the poem above mentioned. The poems and fragments transmitted under Umayya's name, which have been collected by F. Schulthess and added to by E. Power, may be divided according to their subject into two main groups. The one, a smaller group, consists of poems and verses which are panegyrics of individuals — notably the rich Meccan 'Abd Allāh b. Djud'ān — and do not differ essentially from similar pieces by other old Arab poets. The other, a larger group, which begins in Schulthess' edition with N^o. xxiii., reveals almost entirely the point of view which we may call Hanifi. On a basis of the recognition of one personal God as "lord of the slaves" we have apocalyptic pictures of the abode of God and the angels of his kingdom, stories of the creation, eschatological conceptions of the last judgment, hell and paradise; appeals are made for the practice of a moral life and reference

made to "warning examples" which are taken, some from Arab ('Ad, Thamūd) and some from Biblical legends (the Flood, Abraham, Lot, Pharaoh etc.). As the same time he is fond of using the beautiful. We may also note the references to magical practices (charms to produce rain, poem xxxiv. towards the end). As regards religious ideas and the treatment of these themes, Umayya's poems thus show a far-reaching agreement with the Qur'an, which in many passages is almost word for word (cf. Frank-Kamenetzky's investigations). The question of the dependence of the one on the other has therefore naturally been raised. Haart (see *Bibl.*) holds the view that Umayya's poems on Biblical legends quoted in Pseudo-Balakh's "Book of Creation" are all genuine and direct sources of the Qur'an. As to their genuineness, this is, as in the case of old Arabic poems in general, in each case questionable. But apart from some Muslim insertions, which at once strike one by their bias (e.g. p. xxiii, a panegyric on Muhammad) and such pieces, as have already been recognised by tradition as not genuine, there are no cogent reasons to doubt the genuineness of the poems handed down in Umayya's name as a whole. But that Muhammad actually drew upon Umayya's poems seems to be improbable for the simple reason that Umayya had a greater knowledge of the legendary material in question and one that differs in many details from the Qur'an. The same fact is against the view that Umayya might have borrowed from the Qur'an, although this is not chronologically impossible and one tradition (*Agghānī*, iii. 187, 10) says that Umayya

l. 119 177; Pseudo-Balakh (Maḥdīn), *Kitaḥ al-Baḥr*, ed. Cl. Haart; *Kitaḥ al-Aghānī*, i. 199 177. (transl. in Sprenger's *Leben Muhammads*, vol. i.); much scattered material in Dīhī, *Kitaḥ al-Aghānī*, the dictionaries etc. (complete list of sources in Schulthess' edition of the *Diwān*); Fr. Schulthess, *Or. Studien, Nöldeke-Festschr.*, 1906, p. 71-89; do., *Umayya ibn Abī Ṣalt, die Gedichtfragmente*, Leipzig 1911, reviewed by Nöldeke, in *Z. A.*, xxviii. 159 177; E. Power, *The Poems of Umayya b. Abī Ṣalt, additions, suggestions and rectifications*, in *M. F. O. B.*, i. (1906), p. 145 177; J. Frank-Kamenetzky, *Unters. über das Verhältnis der dem U. b. Abī Ṣalt zugeschriebenen Ged. zum Qur'an*, Kirchham 1911 (*Dissert.*); Cl. Haart, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1904; do., in *J. A.*, 1904, p. 125-167; Tor Andrae, *Die Entstehung des Islams und das Christentum, in Kirchengesch. Archiv*, Upsala 1926, p. 48 177.

(H. H. BRÄN)

UMAIYADS (BAND UMAIYA), the dynasty of the caliphs from 41-132 A. H. = 661-750 A. D. It takes its name from the fact that its founder Mu'awiya b. Abī Sufyān was the representative of the principal branch of the Banī Umayya; even after the exclusion of this branch from the caliphate on the death of Mu'awiya II, the dynasty retained its name, for the caliphate passed to the head of another branch, Marwān b. al-Hakam b. Abī 'l-'Ās. For the reader's convenience we give below a list of the Umayyad caliphs with their dates of accession.

Mu'awiya b. Abī Sufyān
Yazīd b. Mu'awiya
Mu'awiya (II) b. Yazīd
Marwān b. al-Hakam
'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān
al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik
Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik
'Omar (II) b. 'Abd al-'Āzīz b. Marwān
Yazīd (II) b. 'Abd al-Malik
Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik
al-Walīd (II) b. Yazīd (II)
Yazīd (III) b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik
Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik
Marwān (II) b. Muḥammad b. Marwān

Rabī' I or II or Djumādī 1 41 (July-Sept. 661)
Radjab 60 (April 680)
Rabī' I 64 (November 683)
Dhu 'l-Ka'da 64 (June 684)
Ramadān 65 (April 685)
Shawwāl 86 (October 705)
Djumādī II 96 (February 715)
Safar 99 (October 717)
Radjab 101 (February 720)
Sha'ban 105 (January 724)
Rabī' II 125 (February 743)
Radjab 126 (April 744)
Dhu 'l-Hijja 126 (October 744)
Safar 127 (December 744)

was the first to read Allāh's book. The agreement between Umayya's poems and the Qur'an may more easily be explained from the undoubted fact that about the time of Muhammad's mission, and probably for some time before, currents of thought of a Hanifi nature had attracted wide circles of the Hajaris, especially in Mecca and Ta'if, stimulated and nourished by Jewish legends and Christian legends, which were in circulation there and over South Arabia in many recensions — and this explains the occasional divergences between the Qur'an and Umayya. Muhammad and Umayya like other *hominis religiosi* (Zaid b. 'Amr, Waraka, Maslama, etc.) drew upon common sources, whether written or oral as Nöldeke holds (see *Bibl.*). Recently Tor Andrae (see *Bibl.*) has put forward with weighty arguments the view that none of the religious poems of Umayya are genuine and should be regarded as the work of older Qur'anic exegetes, *huffa*, like al-Suddi, Ibn 'Abbās etc.

Bibliography: Fragments of the lost *Diwān* with commentary by M. b. Jahis, in *Khāṣṣa*,

*The Arab empire" is the title given by Wellhausen to his classic work on the Umayyad period; by this he wished to indicate that the Umayyad caliphate represents the attempt made by the Arabs to assert their power in the world as a nation, while religion only played a secondary part in this attempt. After thirty years Wellhausen's historical structure still stands; if on the one hand the numerous researches of Lammens, full of erudition, have filled up with details the framework supplied by Wellhausen, a little remote and rather schematic; if Cartain on the other hand by happily developing — perhaps rather too systematically — a hint from Winckler, has connected the expansion of the Arabs after their conversion to Islam with a long series of armed migrations made by the desert tribes seeking more fertile settlements in the north of their peninsula, the main lines laid down by Wellhausen are still followed in modern research in the field of Umayyad history. If there is one thing to be modified in Wellhausen's panoramic view, it is perhaps the too strictly political idea which he had of the

development of Arab history, as if one ought to recognise in the actions of the Umayyad caliphs a conscious desire to give expression to purely national values (cf. Becker's remarks in *ZfA*, ix, 95-99). Although the existence of a national consciousness among the Arabs, especially in the Umayyad period, is beyond doubt (Goldziher, *Mus. St.*, i, 101-145), we are now convinced that the irrational element plays as important a part in individual initiative as reasoned reflection; in this particular case it should be recognised that Wellhausen and still more those who have followed in his footsteps have somewhat neglected the importance of the religious factor. In reality, if pietist or mystic tendencies were quite foreign to the descendants of this Meccan aristocracy which had fought Islam in its early stages, and if one ought rather to recognise in it the survival of the spirit of the *saḥāba* of the Dāhiliya and of the business men of the merchant republic, we should run the risk of evading the historical truth if we took no account of the fact that the unprecedented triumph of the Arab movement took place under the banner of the religion of the Qur'ān, and no mentality, even the most modern and "agnostic", could escape the impression made by this circumstance. The Umayyad caliphs, as men of their period and milieu, must have believed in good faith that the propagation of the Muslim faith and the expansion of their temporal power were one and the same thing, and they must have been convinced that the enemies of their policy, whether Shī'a or Khāridjīs, were also enemies of the true tradition of the Prophet. The tradition of the historians has preserved us a certain amount of evidence which leaves no doubt of the presence of this conviction among the Umayyad caliphs; and if tradition, as established after their fall under the influence of the ideas dominant in pietist circles, has cursed the memory of the Umayyads, we ought not to forget that it was precisely under their regime and partly under their stimulus that Islam established itself as a universalist religion.

This pietist tradition, which under the 'Abbāsids became the official history of Islam, further reproaches the Umayyads, even more than with having failed in the duties of religion, with having betrayed the spirit of the constitution of the theocratic state as Muhammad had established it and with having replaced the caliphate by *mulk*. In this charge we find (analogous to what may be noted in the attitude of the prophets of Israel to the monarchy) combined the protest of the theocratic spirit which gives to God alone power on earth and the intolerance of the Beduins towards any kind of regular authority. In reality, as the researches of Caetani and Lammens have shown, even the governments of Abū Bakr and 'Umar were far from corresponding to the ideal of the theocratic regime which the schools of *fuḳahā'* later constructed; but the personal prestige of the two great companions of the Prophet, if it did not succeed in silencing the opposition that centred round 'Alī, prevented a constitutional theory which was in contradiction to the actual situation from being developed in the early days of the caliphate. It is only under 'Othmān, whose rule marked the open triumph of the Umayyad party at the expense of the first converts, that people began to regard the historical paradox, which made the former enemies of the new regime now reap the profits of it, as treason against the "rights of

God" by which the Prophet's work was disowned and destroyed. We can easily see how the same aim of opposition united on one side the resentment felt by the pious souls of the heroes and martyrs of the infant religion, and on the other the ambitions of a more positive nature of those who sought to maintain for the family and entourage of the Prophet the privileged position which the founder of the new theocratic state had secured for them. Religious legitimism and dynastic legitimism found a common champion in 'Alī. 'Alī was able to boast an initial success in his elevation to the caliphate at Medina; then the occupation of Kūfa, the victory which he won at Basra against the coalition of Talha, al-Zubair and 'Ā'isha, the triumph of his party in Egypt seemed to have secured him authority over the whole Arab empire. In the conflict with Mu'āwiya, 'Alī actually represents, at first at least, considerations of state in conflict with the primitive and quite pagan idea of blood vengeance demanded by Mu'āwiya and by the Umayyads for the murder of their relative. But the situation, ambiguous even from the point of view of the new Islamic ethics, in which 'Alī found himself by his compromise with the murderers of 'Othmān, was skillfully exploited by the political talents of Mu'āwiya and was not long in developing and dividing the anti-Umayyad party into its two original constituents: on the one side the religious intransigence which culminated in the extremist attitude of the Khāridjīs; on the other, the dynastic legitimism of the Shī'a. This division made the fortune of the Umayyads, who came to stand for the moderate element which would guarantee law and order in face of the guerilla war which was ravaging the 'Irāk and brought the country into a position to reap the benefit of the conquests.

At what moment was Mu'āwiya's formal candidature put forward? This is still an obscure point on which tradition gives divergent views, dating the candidature from the beginning of Mu'āwiya's struggle with 'Alī (37 A.H.) or putting it as late as the latter's death (40 A.H.). In any case it raised a new and exceedingly delicate constitutional problem: that of the assumption of supreme power over the believers by one who was not among the earliest companions of the Prophet. The different chronological statements are themselves an indication of the confusion which must have prevailed when the solution given by the course of events suddenly caused a breach with the precedents. Indeed the indignation of the *fuḳahā'*, which takes no account of the requirements of historical development, is quite legitimate from the point of view of doctrine: the caliphate of Mu'āwiya opens an entirely new period in the constitutional history of Islam: the caliph ceases to be the executor or continuator of the *sunna* of Muhammad, to which he has been a witness since its beginning. He is henceforth something more: the outstanding personality of the Arab world, the first among the tribal chiefs in military strength, in family connections and influence and in individual prestige, he is in fact, if not in official title, a "king" or rather a "tyrant" in the Greek sense of the word. This was the ambiguous situation which lasted for a century, i.e. as long as the Umayyad dynasty lasted, and which formed the platform for the Shī'a propaganda, which was to be ended by the victory of the legitimist idea and by the fall of the Arab "empire".

It is exceedingly difficult for us to judge the extent to which Mu'awiya was aware of the difficulty of the situation. If we were to confine ourselves to certain aspects of his policy, usually so clever and farseeing, we should be tempted to conclude that he did not fully appreciate the importance that the religious factor would assume in the political struggle. It is true that he sought a reconciliation with the sons of his unfortunate rival — he succeeded completely with one, al-Husain, but was less fortunate with al-Husain — and in general he was full of consideration for the whole family of Muhammad, 'Alids and 'Abbāsids as well as for the Ansār, proud of their title of "helpers" of the Prophet. But he did not go so far as not to insist on the auspicious elements taking an oath of loyalty (the "curse of Abū Turāb"), a hateful measure which seems to be a prelude to the *miḥna* of the 'Abbāsids and which brought more secret hatred upon the Umayyads than real benefit, and he made the mistake of giving a free hand in the 'Irāk to Ziyād b. Abīhi's merciless policy of suppression, so different from the policy which he himself practised and which he might also have applied in person in the 'Irāk with the insinuating mildness of which he had the secret. It is worth noting that during the twenty years of his reign Mu'awiya never himself went to the 'Irāk to try to form personal attachments. The 'Irāki population seems then to have been justified in thinking that the Umayyad caliphate really represented the hegemony of Syria over the rest of Islamic territory and the memory of 'Alī, which legend soon seized upon, was in a way bound up with the nationalism of the 'Irāk.

Mu'awiya was moreover detained in Syria by other problems, really formidable, which the organisation of the empire laid upon him. The first question was that of the relations of the sovereign with his own family and with the tribes. Mu'awiya did not fail (*more arabico*, or rather in obedience to a general human feeling) to see that his relations profited largely from the good fortune that had befallen him; but he was careful not to fall into 'Othmān's error and did not become the prisoner of his clan. It is worth noting that it was the most important provinces which were assigned to non-Umayyad governors; the relationship with Ziyād, all-powerful in the 'Irāk, was purely a fictitious one, while in Egypt where, after the death of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, Mu'awiya put his own brother 'Uthba, the latter was not succeeded by another Umayyad when he died after barely a year of office. But it was particularly in his relations with the turbulent chiefs of the tribes that Mu'awiya showed the complete measure of his talent; the latter, little disposed to be impressed either by the authority of the Qurāshī or by the religious prestige of the *amīr al-mu'minin*, made the caliph's position something like that of a European suzerain in the age of feudalism. The long and patient work by which Mu'awiya tried to gain for his cause the influence of the tribes, which he could not have destroyed, aimed on the one hand at strengthening his power and on the other at achieving the great aim of his life, the *da'wa* of the tribal chiefs for his son Yazīd, which he succeeded in extracting from them in his lifetime; by this he succeeded in making the caliphate hereditary. It is this that we must regard as the most tangible success of Mu'awiya's policy and it was owing to this act that the caliphate of the Umayyads lasted a century in spite of the

convulsion that followed the death of Yazīd. But how precarious the situation remained even after the dynastic principle was solemnly affirmed! The principle had only been won by Mu'awiya's personal prestige, as is shown by the fact that immediately after his death, al-Husain thought the moment had come to raise his standard as a legitimist claimant while 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zuhair came forward as a champion of neglected Arabia and the memory of the first Companions. The tragic end of al-Husain's effort at Kербала' left a memory of martyrdom which was later exploited against the Umayyads; but for the moment it crushed the 'Alid opposition. Perhaps, if Yazīd had lived longer or if he had left a son old enough to succeed him worthily, in place of Mu'awiya II who was still a child, the position of the Umayyads would have been strengthened. Yazīd, if he was not the monster of dissipation and impiety which pious tradition likes to represent, had certainly not the distinguished qualities of his father but he lacked neither energy nor brains to continue the latter's work.

The haphazard method in which the vast Arab empire had been formed in the days of the early conquests and the lack of any system in the administration of a dominion so vast and varied (if the story of the constitution of 'Umar is not quite legendary, the measures taken by him certainly only represent the embryo of the later financial and civil organisation of the empire) raised a series of problems which Mu'awiya could not help tackling in his usual realist spirit. Unfortunately it is just on his activity as an administrator that the biography of Mu'awiya, so rich in anecdotic details, is exceedingly weak and his work as a statesman is known to us only from scanty and insufficient notices. There was a slackening in the progress of the conquests, one of the causes of which was the serious resistance offered to the advance of the Arabs by the Byzantines, who were directly threatened in Asia Minor and in Europe; the series of expeditions into Asia Minor, which brought Muslim arms up to the gates of Constantinople and naval raids in the Aegean Sea and on the coast of Sicily recorded local successes which brought no definite result, while the attacks by the Byzantine fleets on the Syrian coast, supported by risings of the highlanders of the Lebanon (the *Darajima-Mardaites*), made it advisable for Mu'awiya to sign a truce on conditions little satisfactory to Arab amour-propre (57 A.H.). Successes were more brilliant in the east where the penetration of the plains of eastern Iran was actively continued, and in Africa where Egypt continued to form a base for expeditions to the west and south, but here also there was little definite acquisition of territory. These expeditions were as before left to the initiative of the provincial governors and carried out by the resources of the tribes who had settled there following the first conquests (the *muhājirūn*); the caliph's own army, formed by the *ghunām* of Syria, was reserved for campaigns against the Byzantines and the protection of the caliph against possible rebellions at home. It was to the existence of these forces, so loyal to the Umayyads, that the latter owed their victory in the civil war of 64 A.H.

In the internal administration of the empire, Mu'awiya, even more than his predecessors, made use of the experience of the Christians with whom he had been in close relations in Syria since the years

of his governorship under 'Omar and 'Othmān, when he had learned to appreciate their knowledge and practical ability. It was at this period that Christian culture of Aramaean-Byzantine type began to penetrate into the Arab milieu, a penetration which ultimately led to the formation of the characteristic civilisation of Islam. But if we can see the beginnings of this process under Mu'awiya, the process itself escapes us.

The premature death of Yazid enabled Ibn al-Zubair's rising to involve the whole of the 'Irāk by incorporating the Shi'a hostility, with which however it later broke. As always happens in periods of crisis, all the problems which had only been lulled under Mu'awiya's government presented themselves again in an aggravated fashion: the unruliness and particularist tendencies of the tribes; the relations of the subject peoples with their conquerors; the rivalry of interests and feelings between Syria, the 'Irāk and Arabia; all these combinations of conflicting forces which the genius of Mu'awiya had been able to restrain, retained all their strength and were even intensified under the stimulus of the war of religion. The support of the great Syrian tribe of the Kalb, which Mu'awiya had won through his marriage with the daughter of Bahdal b. Unāif, the mother of Yazid, continued to be assured to the collateral branch of the Umayyads, that of al-Hakam b. Abi 'Aṣ b. Umayya, which replaced the Sufyanids in the control of the clan (there was however a feeble attempt to keep the direct line of descent by making Yazid's young son Khalid caliph). Marwān b. al-Hakam was already an old man when he came to power: in his long career he had had experience of feuds among the tribes as well as of the rivalries and intrigues among the Companions covetous of the heritage of Muhammad. The victory at Mardj Rāhit (64 A.H.) over the forces of the Kais, whom Ibn al-Zubair had won over to his cause, secured him Syria, and Egypt, where the anti-Umayyad party had triumphed, soon came back to him; but his death very soon after this last success left his son 'Abd al-Malik the enormous task of subduing Arabia and the 'Irāk. Succeeding to the caliphate, almost unexpectedly, 'Abd al-Malik represented a new attempt to establish a dynastic sequence in the succession: it was Mu'awiya's scheme, in complete contrast to Arab custom which regarded the power as an appanage of the family group as a whole. 'Abd al-Malik himself and almost all his successors were to have as the principal aim of their dynastic policy the securing of the succession for their direct descendants and the exclusion of collaterals.

In the confusion of the struggles between caliph and anti-caliph, between the latter and the Shi'a and Kharijī rebels, struggles which extended to the remote regions of Fārs and Khurāsān and in which the particularist tendencies of the tribes were revealed in all their vigour, taking as their badge the standard of one or other of the contending parties (the diwāns of the poets of this period and the historical anecdotes that accompany them are the best documentation of this), 'Abd al-Malik had the good fortune to hit upon two men of the first ability who secured success for him: first al-Muhallab [q. v.], an old partisan of Ibn al-Zubair who joined the victor (as Ziyād had lately been); then, far superior in talent and devotion, al-Hadjdjad who was able to take up with unselfish and ruthless energy the task of restoring the authority of the state above

any particularism of tribe or party. Al-Hadjdjad whose mentality seems almost foreign to the Arab character, looks to us like the precursor (who was however far in advance of later incarnations) of the vizier of the 'Abbāsid period, knowing no other master than his sovereign (or, we might say in modern language, the interests of the state) and resolved to serve him in every possible way. The hatred with which tradition has surrounded his name is well justified: al-Hadjdjad's views and the methods he employed to make them successful must have appeared almost diabolical to the old tribal sentiment as well as to the new individualist and antistatal conception of religion which was in process of formation. In reality al-Hadjdjad was a faithful Muslim; one might even say that in a way he represented the continuation of the tradition of the theocratic state founded by Muhammad. This tradition is linked up with that of monarchy by divine right which western Asia and Egypt had known for millennia, from the time of the Pharaohs and Sumerian priest-kings down to the Roman and Sāsānian empires whose actual heirs were now the successors of the Prophet. The whole caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik under the driving power of al-Hadjdjad is simply an attempt to establish an absolute monarchy. What the times were not ripe for in the time of Mu'awiya (although Ziyād was in this respect a precursor of al-Hadjdjad) seemed possible to 'Abd al-Malik who directed a whole series of measures towards this same end. First of all the powers of the governors of the provinces and their connections with the tribes were cut down: this policy was exercised with most success in the eastern provinces, the farthest from the centre of the caliphate, where the wars against Turk and Iranian kept alive the bellicose spirit of the tribes: al-Hadjdjad by suppressing the attempts to gain autonomy by the Muhallabids and Ibn al-Ash'ath asserted the political unity of the state and endeavoured to transform the governors into mere officials (he who, although lord of half the empire, regarded himself as his sovereign's servant). The foundation of Wāsit, the establishment of the Zangī in the marshes of Bagra were all measures tending to reduce the importance of the tribal element. Egypt, a land which since the time of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ had retained a position of semi-independence towards the central government, could not have been reduced to such a position of dependence: on the other hand, its importance for the security of Syria was so fundamental that the caliph thought he could save the principle of the unity of the empire, while respecting Egyptian desire for autonomy, by allowing his brother 'Abd al-'Āṣ to rule there uncontrolled. The latter however regarded his vice-royalty as a stepping-stone to the caliphate. Other steps taken by 'Abd al-Malik had also as their object the unification of the state: the fiscal census aimed primarily at the *ahl al-dhimmā* which however ended by weighing on the Muslims themselves; the adoption of Arabic as the official language; the reform of the coinage; the buildings and sanitary work carried out, mainly in the 'Irāk but also in Egypt and Arabia. In a reign of twenty years 'Abd al-Malik was able to give the Arab empire an outward appearance which more and more resembled a monarchical state. This was following in the path laid down by the true tradition of Islam; and indeed 'Abd al-Malik's attitude to religion is marked by a renewal of

piety (at least externally) as well as by a more severe treatment of the non-Muslim population, the result no doubt in large measure of the fiscal needs of his policy, but also, we believe, of the desire to prevent the survival of a "state within a state". We should also regard the attempt made by 'Abd al-Malik to get his brother to renounce his claims to the succession in favour of the caliph's sons as evidence of monarchical tendencies. The death of 'Abd al-'Aziz got him out of his difficulty and assured al-Walid the throne; but the question came up again on each change of caliph and was never settled, not even under the 'Abbasids.

To sum up, one may say that the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik strengthened the "Arab empire" to the limit that circumstances permitted. Kharijism in which were combined the protests of the social and religious extremists against the established order and in which the malcontents and oppressed of all classes expressed their exasperation in the extremist forms of anarchy and brigandage, had been encouraged by the division of the parties aspiring to the caliphate in the time of Ibn al-Zuhair and al-Ash'ath; the unity of the state once re-established, the movement was, if not destroyed completely, at least reduced to temporary impotence by the fierce repressive measures of al-Hadidj. Shi'ism, completely defeated in the open field, took refuge in secret propaganda which was only to bear fruit much later, and in this period of subterranean existence it assimilated many heterogeneous elements which were destined to give a character quite its own to the later development of the policy and religion of Islam. But this was the secret of the future; for the time being, the order secured in the interior permitted a great renewal of activity in the policy of expanding the empire, which, resumed in east and west by 'Abd al-Malik, yielded its most brilliant results under his immediate successors. The great Berber counterthrust organised by Kusaila and later by the Kahlina was overcome and Arab rule securely established in North Africa, destroying the last remnants of Byzantine rule and paving the way for the conquest of Spain. In the east, although the vast conquests of Kutayba b. Muslim began only in 86, at the beginning of the reign of al-Walid, we find the advance towards Central Asia being already resumed under the rule of 'Abd al-Malik, which was to have a most wonderful result, the conversion to Islam of the Turks, the masters of the future. The struggle with the Byzantines remained unchanged in character; in spite of their successes in Armenia, where they subdued the native kingdoms, the Arabs did not succeed in establishing themselves in Asia Minor, and the raids of the Greek fleet on the Syrian coast continued to make the caliph feel that the hereditary enemy was still capable of threatening the very heart of Islam. But the expansion of Islam was always going on; it assimilated into the new civilization that was being formed peoples and races who were no longer peaceful Aramean or Coptic peasants, destined to be arabicised without resistance or to exist as spiritless religious minorities, but who, like the Berbers and Turks, dauntless fighters and jealously attached to their national feeling, were disposed to accept Islam as a religion but not Arabism as a nationality. It was to these two races, placed at the two extremes of the Arab empire, that Islam owed the greater part of its future successes but also a profound change in its civilization.

The caliphate of al-Walid saw the harvest of the seed planted by the long work of 'Abd al-Malik: the imposing personality of al-Hadidj continued to dominate it; Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik, the Umayyad who was to besiege Constantinople, Mu'awiyah b. Nu'ayr, the conqueror of Spain, and Kutayba b. Muslim secured great triumphs for Muslim arms. The mosque of Damascus and many other splendid buildings proclaimed the power of the Umayyads. But the problem of the succession reopened the crisis; this time, it was the "Arab" principle that triumphed, in excluding from the caliphate al-Walid's son in favour of his brother Salim, and the duel between the caliph who wished to keep the power in his line and his brothers seeking to supplant him, continued until the end of the Umayyads with the result that it affected the prestige of the dynasty. The results of the lavish expenditure of 'Abd al-Malik and al-Walid began to weigh heavily on their successors: the economic crisis and the problem of the converts made themselves felt. 'Umar II, the Benjamin of orthodox tradition, which makes an exception for him in its comprehensive malediction of the impious Umayyads, felt that a policy of "consolidation" was needed if a terrible catastrophe were not to overwhelm the destinies of Islam itself together with those of the Umayyad house. The deep mark which the work of 'Umar, although it only lasted two years, has left on history, shows that this caliph really possessed high qualities and that he was gifted with a vivid feeling for realities; at the same time, we are surprised to find at this time a system already fully developed of principles and religious regulations, a system which it had taken barely two generations to elaborate. The pietist and legalist mentality of Islam was already formed at the end of the first century and had the stamp it was to bear through all successive ages. It had been encouraged in the course of its development by the fact that it had been elaborated in the circles of the opposition, who were kept remote from the exercise of power and from a knowledge of practical politics; at the same time, by one of the most singular paradoxes in history, its authority has been recognised, owing to the prestige of those who championed it, in the very circles of government against which its reproaches were directed; one might almost think we have here the quite modern phenomenon of the influence which the opposition in a parliamentary government insensibly exercises on the direction of the policy of the party in power! This paradox is simply the consequence of that which was, as we have seen, at the very foundation of the Umayyad regime; for this regime represented the carrying out and definite triumph of the preaching of Muhammad, going back to historic precedents and working by methods and through individuals who were clearly opposed to the spirit of this preaching. 'Umar II, in anticipating the 'Abbasids with perhaps more good faith than they, tried to reconcile the political and financial demands of the state with respect for religious tradition. Although his attempt must be regarded as having failed as regards the destinies of the dynasty, his fiscal reforms paved the way for the equal treatment of Arabs and *mawali* and contributed more than anything else to the fusion of the descendants of conquerors and conquered. It was undoubtedly to the beneficial activities of 'Umar that was due the third period of splendour which the Umayyad

caliphate experienced under Hishām. During the twenty years of his reign, the conquests were resumed on the old grand scale, in the west (in spite of the great Berber rising of 123) as well as the east: the Arabs advanced into the heart of Gaul; the Mediterranean began its transformation into an "Arab lake"; the Turks who had begun to slip off the Arab yoke on the dismissal and death of Kutayba were subdued for a third time.

The Umayyad caliphate was at its zenith when Hishām died: one can hardly believe that a few months later this state which seemed to be solidly built on the authority of the caliph would be in complete disorder and fall a prey to anarchy. Tradition is undoubtedly to some extent right in attributing to the vicious conduct of al-Walid II, a dissolute drunkard, an important part in the collapse of the established order. But the faults of one individual are not sufficient to explain the unexpected appearance of all the signs of dissolution. The causes must be sought, as usual, in the very elements which gave the caliphate of Hishām the appearance of prosperity. The latter had exploited to the limit the fiscal reforms of 'Umar and exhausted his Muslim and *dhimmi* subjects alike (the risings caused by excessive taxation, the memory of which is preserved by the Christian historians in particular, are symptomatic in this respect). Misery, counsellor as ever of extreme measures, had brought about a revival of Kharijism, which was even introduced into Syria, an unprecedented phenomenon; and in Syria again, the *ghazas* on which was based the military strength of the Umayyads threw off their discipline, tired of the more and more marked tendency of the government to an absolute monarchy. The Shi'a movement began again to show itself openly in the 'Irāq as is evident from the attempt, which however failed miserably, of Zaid b. 'Alī b. al-Husain (123). The increasing extent of the conquests had finally removed the remotest provinces from the control of the central power: the tribal feuds, combining with religious differences, had been resumed with violence, while in distant Khurasān, in spite of the energetic measures taken by Naṣr b. Sa'yār the secret propagandists of the Shi'a met with rapid success. We can understand therefore how indignation at al-Walid's scandalous conduct found a soil prepared for it to burst forth upon, especially when the ambitions of the various descendants of 'Abd al-Malik were frustrated by the proclamation, as soon as al-Walid mounted the throne, of his two children as his successors designate. A rising in the *djumas* of Palestine and al-Urdunn brought Yazid III to power; al-Walid was slain. But neither Yazid nor his brother Ibrāhīm, who succeeded him after a few months, succeeded in checking the anarchy which was spreading throughout the empire. The Kharijids under al-Dahhāk b. Qays al-Shabāhī seized Kūfa. It looked for some years as if salvation would come from a distant member of the ruling branch, Marwān b. Muḥammad, grandson of the great Marwān, governor of Armenia, who had created an army devoted to himself during the long years he had been successfully fighting against the Byzantines. He arrived in Syria to support the claims of al-Walid's children: finding they had already been assassinated by the usurpers, he proclaimed himself caliph and in a few months had put down rebellion in Syria and destroyed the members of the Umayyad house who opposed

him; he next took Egypt and the 'Irāq. The work he did in the first three years of his caliphate is hardly comparable to that of his grandfather whose name he bore and of his uncle 'Abd al-Malik. But the circumstances were much more difficult for him than they had been for them: the family bonds of the Umayyads had been broken and the energy of the stock was exhausted; at the same time, the confidence of their adversaries in their success had increased: instead of having to fight with the improvised armies of Ibn al-Zubair or with desperate bands of Shi'a who had escaped the disaster of Kerbelā', Marwān had to meet troops hardened by the wars with the Turks and Persian forces of Khurāsān organised by Abū Muslim, while in the background the 'Abbāsids were preparing to enter the field. The soi-disant Shi'a threw down the gauntlet in 130: Khurāsān and Fārs were rapidly conquered and in the following year the invaders occupied the 'Irāq where the 'Abbāsids suddenly put forward their claims and proclaimed Abū 'Abbas 'Abd Allāh caliph at Kūfa. The latter having defeated Marwān on the Zab, sent his lieutenants in pursuit of him through al-Djazīra and Syria and again defeated him in Egypt where the last Umayyad caliph was slain on 27th Dhū 'l-Ka'da 132 (July 7, 750). The assassination of the members of the Umayyad family, the fruitless rising in favour of Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyān in Syria and the flight of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Mu'āwiya b. Hishām from Medina to Africa and Spain form the epilogue of the tragedy which marked the end of the fall of the dynasty of Mu'āwiya and Marwān.

It is undoubtedly an exaggeration to say that the end of Arabism coincides with the fall of the Umayyads and to attribute to the 'Abbāsids a kind of iranianisation of the Muslim world. In reality not only did the dynasty of the caliphs remain Arab, but the governors of provinces and generals in the army were recruited from Arabs for nearly a century. It is true on the other hand that the internationalisation of Islām, in the sense that the Arabs ceased to be the sole active element in the organisation of the state and in the development of civilization, had already begun, at least as a theoretical possibility, when the reforms of 'Umar II had made the *mawali* equal with the Arabs. Further, the adoption of Islām brought these heterogeneous elements to form part of a civilization, which we are justified in continuing to regard as Arab even if the analytic research of the last half century has shown that its constituent factors were for the greater part foreign. Not only did the Arabic language give a homogeneous colour to this civilization but all the varied elements which composed it were kneaded together under Arab influence. The merit of having given this composite civilization an Arab colouring is undoubtedly due to the Umayyads. We can unfortunately no longer recognise in detail the preliminary work which sowed the seeds, the fruits of which were seen only in the 'Abbāsid period; but the fact that in the second half of the second century, Islāmic civilization is in full bloom, as regards not only religion but also science and the arts, makes it clear that the Arabs did not await the coming of the 'Abbāsids to begin their transformation from Beduins to civilized people. What strikes one in the Arab civilization of the Umayyad period, is the coexistence of two worlds, the old and the new, existing side

by side, just we find happening elsewhere in periods of transition: Beduin customs and mentality, the poetry of al-Farazdaq, of Jharr and Akhial were still real and alive when the religion of the Kur'an was already being penetrated by Hellenistic and Christian theological speculation, when the interest of traditionists, historians and philologists was beginning to be attracted to the literary products of the spirit of the desert which they knew through the venerable memorials of an epoch now closed. Even the administrative system of the 'Abbasids in its main lines is practical what the Umayyads had built up on a basis of Byzantine and Sassanian tradition, and the original contribution by Yahya b. Barmak was very much less than what tradition credits him with. In conclusion, what the Umayyads lacked, namely the power to transform the colossal Arab empire into a homogeneous unity, was equally deficient in the 'Abbasids: what the latter accomplished, the intellectual and moral unification of the Muslim world had already been begun under the Umayyads.

On matters of detail, which it has not been possible to deal with in this general article, see the articles on the individuals and place-names connected with the history of the period.

Bibliography: Being unable to give the complete bibliography for so vast a subject, we shall confine ourselves to works of a general character. The sources for the history of the Umayyads have been collected by L. Caetani in his *Chronographia Islamica*, Paris (1912 299.) p. 461—1716, an invaluable repertory but unfortunately without an index; in it are given along with the Arabic sources, also those from Syrian, Greek, Latin, Armenian and Chinese. Very few really important texts are still unpublished; the chief of these is undoubtedly al-Baladhuri's great compilation *Ansh al-Ashraf*, of which only a fragment has been published by W. Ahlwardt (*Anonymi arab. Cronik etc.*, Greifswald 1883), the publication of which is being undertaken by the university of Jerusalem; we may hope to find in it some remnants of the Umayyad historical tradition which has almost entirely been swept away by writers with 'Abbasid bias. This same tradition is in part preserved, so far as we can judge from the little we know of it, in the history of the Spanish Arab al-Balyat (*al-Futuh bi'l-Hispania* fi *Sadr al-Ham*, cf. J. Horowitz, *M.S.O.S.*, 1907, p. 22—27), which would be worth publishing. One regrets not to find in Caetani's *Chronographia* the results of a methodical search of the *diwans* of the poets and their commentators (in first place the *Nasb* of Jharr and Farazdaq) which might supply some new information (a good deal of this work has however been done by Lammens). The papyri also constitute a source, of great importance though limited range, especially the series which bears the name of Kurra b. Sharik (q. v.). The general work which is of fundamental importance for the Umayyad period, is, as we have seen, J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, in which Tabari's great work was utilized for the first time; his *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam* (*Abh. G. W. Gött.*, v., 1901) and *Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Römern in der Zeit der Umayyaden* (*Nachrichten G. W. Gött.*, 1901) are also of an less importance for two essential

aspects of the history of this period; H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab Conquest in Central Asia*, London 1923 (James G. Fortson Fund, II.) carefully studies another point of great historical significance; it is a matter of regret that we have nothing similar for the conquests in Africa; the researches of H. Lammens (*Études sur le règne du calife omayyade Mawla Ier*, *M.F.O.E.*, I—III.; *Le califat de Yazid Ier*, *M.F.O.E.*, IV.; *Le califat de Yazid Ier*, *M.F.O.E.*, IV.—VI.; *Études sur le siècle des Omayyades*, Beirut 1930), without constituting a complete survey of the history of the Umayyad caliphate, are nevertheless indispensable for the immense quantity of material that is examined in them, for the wealth of detail and the keen penetration with which historical problems are investigated; C. H. Becker's essays (collected in *Islamstudien*, I., Leipzig 1924, also *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, II., Strassburg 1901) have contributed in remarkable fashion to illuminate the problem of the Umayyad caliphate's place in history. (G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

II. THE UMAIYAD OF SPAIN.

THE BANU UMAIYA or BANU MARWAN of the Arab historians, direct descendants of the Umayyads of Syria, reigned from the VIIIth to the XIth century over the Muslim empire which they founded in the Iberian peninsula with Cordova as their capital.

The restoration in the extreme west of the Muslim world of the sovereignty of the Umayyads, which had been destroyed in the east by the 'Abbasids, is one of the most striking events in the history of the Arabs in the Middle Ages. It was this dynasty which encouraged the separation of Muslim Spain from the rest of the Arab world and made it a real political unity; it was this dynasty which gave the social physiognomy of this country, already so characteristic, a decided stamp of Syrian tradition. Thanks to the vigour of its princes, it was able to resist the designs of the 'Abbasids and then of the Fatimids. It succumbed in the end, exhausted by civil wars, only through allowing a hereditary dictatorship to be established alongside of it and because it failed to restrain in time the excesses of its foreign mercenaries.

The history of the Umayyads of Spain may be divided into three principal periods: 1. the independent emirate of Cordova; 2. the caliphate; 3. the decline and fall of the dynasty. Here we shall only give a very brief résumé.

Chronological list of the Umayyads of Spain.

- I. 'Abd al-Rahmān I, *al-Dhahil*, 138—172 (756—788).
- II. Hishām I, 172—180 (788—796).
- III. al-Hakam I, 180—206 (796—822).
- IV. 'Abd al-Rahmān II, 206—238 (822—852).
- V. Muḥammad I, 238—273 (852—886).
- VI. al-Mundhir, 273—275 (886—888).
- VII. 'Abd Allāh, 275—300 (888—912).
- VIII. 'Abd al-Rahmān III, *al-Nāṣir li-Dīn 'Ilāh*, 300—350 (912—961).
- IX. al-Hakam II, *al-Mustanṣir bi 'Ilāh*, 350—366 (961—976).
- X. Hishām II, *al-Mu'ayyad bi 'Ilāh*, 366—399 (976—1009), and 400—403 (1010—1013).

- XI. Muḥammad II, *al-Mahdi*, 399—400 (1009—1010).
 XII. Sulaimān, *al-Murī'in bi 'l-lāh*, 399—407 (1009—1016).
 XIII. 'Abd al-Rahmān IV, *al-Murtadā*, 408—409 (1017—1019).
 XIV. 'Abd al-Rahmān V, *al-Mustafīr bi 'l-lāh*, 414 (1023).
 XV. Muḥammad III, *al-Mustakfi bi 'l-lāh*, 414—416 (1023—1025).
 XVI. Hishām III, *al-Mu'tadd bi 'l-lāh*, 418—422 (1027—1031).

1. The independent emirate of Cordova.

The Arab historians usually give the date 138 (756) for the foundation of the independent emirate of the Umayyads of Cordova by 'Abd al-Rahmān I, the son of Mu'āwīya b. Hishām, whom they call *al-Dūkhil*, "the immigrant". When his relatives were being persecuted by the 'Abbāsids, 'Abd al-Rahmān, still quite a young man, — he was born in 113 (731) — succeeded in escaping secretly to Palestine and from there, accompanied by his freedman Badr, went to Egypt and then to Ifrīkiya. He was soon obliged to fly from al-Kalawīn, where he was exposed to the persecutions of the governor 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Hahb and went to the Maghrib. He spent some time in Tahert [q.v.] at the court of a petty dynasty, the Rustamids, then enjoyed the hospitality of various Berber tribes, among them the Mikhāssa and the Nafsa. From the day of his arrival on African soil, 'Abd al-Rahmān, encouraged by Badr, had shown a desire for political activity. But his ambition did not find a suitable soil in the Maghrib, and his eyes naturally turned towards Spain.

'Abd al-Rahmān was able, very cleverly and with a keen political sense, to turn to his own interests the rivalries which for some years had made a profound cleavage between the Kaīs and the Yamanīs settled in the Peninsula. On the other hand, he had no difficulty in securing the support of clients of the Umayyads, who had come some years earlier into Spain with Balj b. Bishr [q.v.] and were scattered, some 500 in number, over the military districts (*ghumāt*) of Elvira and Jaén in the S. E. of Spain. The governor of the Peninsula at this time was Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Fihri, who derived most of his authority from the chief of the Kaīs of Spain, al-Ṣumail al-Kilābi [q.v.]. Judging the moment had come to land on Spanish soil in the guise of claimant to the throne, 'Abd al-Rahmān left the Maghrib and arrived at Almuñecar [q.v.] in Rabī' II, 138 (Sept. 755). The welcome he received surpassed his expectations; he took the field against Yūsuf al-Fihri and as a result of meetings, military engagements and negotiations, for the details of which the reader may be referred to the Arab historians, he was ultimately recognised as emir on the 10th Dhū 'l-Hijja 138 (May 15, 756) in the town of Cordova, the traditional residence of the Arab governors.

The founder of the Umayyad emirate of Cordova was destined to rule for over 33 years. The first of these he spent in consolidating his position in the capital itself. News of his success spread through the whole of the East and there was soon an influx into Spain of clients and partisans of

the Umayyads, who came to do their share in restoring in Spain the dynasty which had fallen in Syria. But the Cordovan emir had soon to deal with a number of political complications. He had first of all to put down Yūsuf al-Fihri, who was not taking kindly to his fall and, having gathered round him a number of followers, tried to retake Cordova; but he was defeated in 141 (758) and in the next year killed in the region of Toledo. But rebellion continued to smoulder in all parts of Spain, as in the period of the governors; trouble was continually stirred up not only by bodies of *muwalladūn* i.e. neo-Muslims, Spaniards recently converted to Islām, but also by the Berbers and Arabs always at daggers drawn with one another on account of their ancient clan-feuds. 'Abd al-Rahmān I therefore had to put down in succession risings by the Yamanīs and the Fihris, led by al-'Alā' b. Muḥith al-Ljodhāmī in 146 (763), by the Berber Shakyā who rose at Santabariya (Santaver) in 152 (769) and never dared allow any slight local disturbances to spread. In the latter half of the reign of 'Abd al-Rahmān I, a coalition was formed of a number of Arab chiefs of the east of the Peninsula, who sought the aid of Charlemagne. The latter himself crossed the Pyrenees at the head of an army and laid siege to Saragossa in 162 (778). But the emperor, suddenly recalled to the Rhine, had to raise the siege. On his way back to France he suffered in the pass of Roncevaux, where the Basques had prepared an ambush for him, the famous defeat associated with the memory of Roland. 'Abd al-Rahmān I took advantage of the departure of the Franks to besiege Saragossa in his turn, and occupied it in 164 (780) but for a short time only. An expedition against the Basques was crowned with success. On the death of the founder of the new Umayyad dynasty, which took place in 172 (788), the Cordovan kingdom had already become solidly established from the political and territorial point of view and was possessed of powerful military resources. The success of the exile from Syria and the remarkable way in which he was able to build up a kingdom for himself and to undertake the task of pacifying his new territory has aroused the admiration of all the Arab historians, who give him the flattering epithet of "Eagle of the Kuraish" (*ṣāḥib Kuraysh*).

The pacification of the new kingdom was to be the main task of all the successors of 'Abd al-Rahmān I. On his death the power passed to his son Hishām I, who reigned only a little over seven years for he died young in 180 (796). He had at first to fight against his brothers, who wanted to seize the power, and as a result he had to send out two summer expeditions (*ḡazā'if*) in 177 (793) and 179 (795), one against Narbonne and the other against Galicia. The chroniclers describe Hishām I as a noble prince full of virtues and regret that he reigned so short a period.

His son al-Hakam I succeeded him for 26 years. It is not certain whether it was he or his father who introduced the Mālikī rite into Muslim Spain: the *madhāhib* hitherto followed had been that of al-Awā'ī [q.v.]. In any case, it was only on his accession that the lawyers or *fuḥalā* assumed an excessive importance in Cordova and tried to dictate the decisions of the sovereign. Al-Hakam I, unlike his father, had very little sympathy for them; he at once took up a stand against them and showed them that he could resist their demands.

But the *fakhs* determined to resist, made common cause with another body of malcontents, the neo-Muslims or *muwalladun*, and thus to some extent made themselves in the name of Islam the champions of Spanish nationalism. The result, with a ruler so vigorous and decided as al-Hakam I, was a series of measures cruelly and vigorously enforced during the greater part of the reign. The first rising took place in Cordova itself in 189 (805): conspirators from the aristocracy urged on by the *fakhs* tried to drive al-Hakam from the throne; but the plot was discovered and the sovereign dealt most vigorously with the rebels. In the next year, he took Merida and stifled in blood another rising in Cordova. In 191 (807) there took place at Toledo the celebrated "day of the ditch" (*waḥat al-buḥra*). The inhabitants of this town from the beginning of Umayyad rule had been almost continually in rebellion; al-Hakam sent to govern them 'Amrū, a renegade who was absolutely devoted to him; he with his master's approval prepared an ambush for the Toledan notables from which none emerged alive. But it is the "affair of the suburb" which best reveals the implacable character of the grandson of 'Abd al-Rahmān I. Determined to destroy completely the seeds of rebellion in his capital, he surrounded himself with a guard of foreign mercenaries, the "silent ones" (*al-kharr*) who began a reign of terror in Cordova. The discontent continued to increase and in 202 (817) a rising on a large scale broke out in the southern suburb of the capital on the other bank of the Guadalquivir: the mob, stirred up by the *fakhs* led by Yahyā b. Yahyā, tried to take by assault the emir's palace but were soon surrounded and cut down by al-Hakam's troops. The emir then decided at once to banish from Spain all the Cordovans of the suburb who had survived the massacre. Over 20,000 families had to leave the country: about two-thirds went to Egypt and later to Crete. The remainder went to Fās and settled in the quarter still called the "bank of the Andalusians" (*idwat al-Andalus*). The suburb itself was razed to the ground and it was forbidden for any one to build there again. This drastic suppression of the rising made such a sensation in the Muslim world that the historians often call al-Hakam I *al-Rahātī* (the "suburban").

The whole of al-Hakam's reign was passed in this way in dealing with domestic troubles stirred up by neo-Muslim malcontents with the *fakhs* behind them. His energy enabled him to triumph over all but with his attention continually occupied in the interior of his country he could not always defend his frontier districts (*thughāt*) sufficiently. In the reign of al-Hakam I we find the kingdoms of Asturia and Galicia making a notable advance to the south. Barcelona was also taken from the Muslims in 185 (801) by the Duke of Aquitaine.

Al-Hakam's son and successor 'Abd al-Rahmān II was the very opposite of his father. He reigned from 206—238 (822—852) and was completely powerless to control events. It has been said with justice that he was guided throughout his reign by a *fakh*, a musician, a woman and a eunuch: Yahyā b. Yahyā who had managed to save his neck after the rising in the suburb; the singer Ziryāb, a pupil of Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, who had just arrived in Spain and brought there the refinements of the 'Abbasid capital; the favourite Tarīb and the eunuch Naḥr, who

dictated to the ruler most of his political acts. The reign of this weak ruler, after the reign of terror begun by al-Hakam I, corresponded with a recrudescence of the nationalist movement. It was in this period that the Spanish Mozarabs [q. v.] who had retained the Christian faith, felt themselves strong enough to rebel, led by Eulogio and Alvaro. As a result of the counter-measures of the Muslim government, we find a wave of voluntary martyrdom descending on Spain and particularly on Cordova between 236 and 238 (850—852): a council, summoned by the Umayyad emir, endeavoured to put a check on it. Besides the opposition of the Christian communities, the caliph had to deal with new rebellions by the *muwallads*: Merida and Toledo had again to be taken by force. It was in this reign also that the Normans, called by the Muslims *al-Maghīr* [q. v.], made their first appearance in Spain. In 230 (844) Norman raiders took Seville and a truce was concluded between their leader and the emir of Cordova who had sent them an ambassador, Yahyā b. al-Hakam al-Gharnī.

Muḥammad I, son of 'Abd al-Rahmān II, succeeded his father on the throne of Cordova when the latter died in 238 (852). His reign, which was to last till 273 (886), was also marked by a series of domestic troubles which in spite of the cruelty of the prince continued to increase. The Mozarab rebellion broke out again on his accession and vigorous persecutions of the Christian communities were at once begun. The Christians of Toledo having appealed for help to Leo Ordoño I, he sent them an army under Count Biezro, which the Muslim troops routed in 240 (854) at the battle of Wādī Salḥ (Gundacete). The Christian risings ceased only in 245 (859) after the martyrdoms of Eulogio and Leontilla. But the political instability of the Cordovan emirate had been emphasized and gradually separatist movements began to take shape in all the provinces which were in theory subject to Cordova, usually led by neo-Muslims who posed as independent chiefs and nationalist champions. This attitude of the *muwallad* aristocrats and soon the pretensions of the great Arab families were to keep the Cordovan emirs busy till the beginning of the ninth century.

It was in the reign of Muḥammad I that the long rebellion of the independent chief 'Umar b. Hafṣūn [q. v.] began in the S.W. of the Peninsula; he soon exercised absolute power over all the mountainous country between Ronda and Malaga and established his headquarters in an impregnable citadel, Bobastro [q. v.]. Except for a few brief periods of truce, he kept up the struggle against the central Muslim power and soon became recognised by all the malcontents of the country as their undisputed leader.

The successor of Muḥammad I, his son al-Mundhir, had only a short reign (273—275 = 886—888), entirely filled with the war with Ibn Hafṣūn, whose influence daily increased, and with the siege of Bobastro, which would have perhaps been successful but for the emir's untimely death, poisoned, it appears, by his brother 'Abd Allāh, who succeeded him.

The reign of the emir 'Abd Allāh (275—300 = 888—912), eclipsed in some degree by that of his glorious grandson and successor 'Abd al-Rahmān III al-Nāṣir, is rightly said to mark an important stage in the pacification of the kingdom

of Cordova. It is not quite right to see in him only a bloodthirsty tyrant. Like all the rulers of the period, he undoubtedly dealt most cruelly with those who tried to overthrow him, even his own brothers. But he had to face numerous dangers, to fight the movements with which his predecessors had had to deal and which had been increasing in strength in the meanwhile. The rebellion of Ibn Hafsūn alone was to occupy almost the whole of his reign. On the other hand, in spite of the relative proximity of Cordova, the country of Seville seemed to be about to cast off Umayyad rule; the Spanish party and the Arab party there were continually undermining the authority of the governor sent from Cordova and occasionally let loose on the town bodies of Berbers who were settled in the neighbouring mountains. The hostility of the great Arab families, the Banū Haddādī and the Banū Khaldūn, became more and more disquieting; the representatives of these families were great landowners who had large numbers of devoted serfs whom they could equip and arm when necessary. Kurāib b. Khaldūn, the head of the second family, soon after the accession of 'Abd Allāh raised the whole region of Aljarafe (Arab. *al-Sharafa*) and got the chief of the Banū Haddādī to join him. Then he concluded a treaty with the emir and by arrangement with him attacked the neo-Muslims of Seville which he reduced to ruins (278=891). But his submission was only temporary. In 286 (899) the chiefs of the two great Seville families quarrelled and Ibrāhīm b. Haddādī, after disposing of his rival Kurāib, concluded an alliance with the leader of the rising in the S.E., Ibn Hafsūn. 'Abd Allāh finally received his submission but had to give him such privileges that in practice he ruled in Seville as an independent chief. In this period also the growing influence of the nobles, vassals, more or less in theory, of the Cordovan sovereign, contributed largely to break up his authority. The chief of these nobles (*qāhils*) were the lords of Sargossa, Ucles, Huesca and, in the S.W., of Osasonha. As to Ibn Hafsūn, after having shown at the beginning of the reign of 'Abd Allāh some slight signs of submission, he was not long in resuming the struggle against Cordovan rule. Supported by the Christians of Cordova and their chief, Count Servando, he extended his influence northwards so that the capital itself was soon threatened. Prompt measures became necessary: in 278 (891) the emir 'Abd Allāh marched against the fortress of Poley (now Aguilar, in the south of Cordova) where Ibn Hafsūn had established himself and forced the rebel to take refuge in his citadel of Bobastro. This success strengthened the emir's authority and procured him, for a brief period only it is true, the submission of the districts (*lāwa*) of Ecija, Archidona, Elvira and Jaen. Down to the last years of the reign of 'Abd Allāh, the work of pacification continued with continually varying results, but the activity of the prince, never giving his turbulent adversaries rest, gradually achieved a consolidation of his authority and the break up of the anti-Umayyad league. When he died in Šafar 300 (Oct. 912) the situation was more settled; he had prepared the way for and been one of the most vigorous workers for the pacification of Spain, which his grandson was to complete in the first part of his long reign.

2. The Umayyad caliphate of Spain.

'Abd Allāh's successor, 'Abd al-Rahmān III b. Muḥammad, was only twenty-three on his accession; in spite of his youth he had been chosen to succeed to the throne by his grandfather on account of his good qualities, and the choice was fully justified. No reign in the annals of Muslim Spain was more brilliant or more glorious. Its great length (half a century: 300=350=912-961) assured the prince's policy the benefit of unusual continuity and enabled him to extinguish for several decades the various centres of rebellion which had been always active in Spain since the coming of the Muslims. The reign of 'Abd al-Rahmān III marks, with that of his successor al-Hakam II and to a certain point the period when the two first 'Amirid dictators, al-Manṣūr and al-Murraḥ, assumed power, the culminating point in the Muslim occupation of Spain. Spain was never afterwards able to attain in the eyes of the Christian and Muslim worlds the political influence and brilliant culture which she attained in the time of these great princes nor to play a part of the first importance in the west, in Europe as well as in Africa.

We are not going to give here a detailed account of the reign of 'Abd al-Rahmān III, but only to study it in its main outlines. It may be divided into two main periods: the first, the period of restoration of peace at home, the result of which was the realisation of the political unity of the Cordovan empire; the second is a longer period marked mainly by preoccupation with foreign affairs, relations with the Christian kingdoms of the north and with North Africa, then more or less under Fatimid suzerainty.

On his accession 'Abd al-Rahmān III set to work and traced out his programme: to put an end to the rebellions which had been drenching Spain with blood since the foundation of the dynasty, to neutralise the influence of the powerful Arab aristocracy and to maintain the Muslim frontiers on the north. He carried through his programme point by point. In the first year of his reign Ecija was taken and its fortifications dismantled; another campaign ended in the taking of the strong castle of Monteleon and in the pacification of the districts of Jaen and Elvira. The subjugation of the south of the Peninsula was continued down to 305 (917): Seville, then Cremona submitted; finally the aged leader of the rebellion, 'Umar b. Hafsūn, died. His sons Dja'far, Sulaimān and Hafsūn endeavoured to continue the struggle but without any great confidence in the success of their arms: the result was the taking of Bobastro by 'Abd al-Rahmān in person, who laid siege to it and captured it in 315 (beginning of 928). Five years later the last centre of resistance fell: Toledo [q.v.], to which the predecessors of 'Abd al-Rahmān III had been forced to grant a kind of political independence, was strictly blockaded and had finally to surrender in 320 (932).

At the same time the sovereign did not lose sight of the aspirations of the Christian kingdoms of the north, particularly the programme of territorial expansion by the kingdom of Leon, over which there then reigned an energetic and ambitious prince, Ordoño II. The latter had taken the stronghold of Alanje (*Kaldī al-Hanzh*) to the south of

Merida, and a little later with the help of King Sancho of Navarre had sent an expedition into the districts of Tudela and Valtierra. But the Leonese advance was checked by 'Abd al-Rahmān III, who in 308 (920) gained a series of successes, with the capture of the fortresses of Ossa, San Esteban de Gormaz, Clunia, Carcar, Calahorra and Maza and the victory of Valdejunquera. Four years later, as a result of a new offensive by Leon, the Umayyad ruler re-established the situation to his advantage in a victorious campaign, profiting by the troubles caused in the Christian country on the succession to Ordoño II.

Throughout all this first period of his reign, 'Abd al-Rahmān III was closely watching what was going on in Africa and by building fortifications on the coast and organising a powerful fleet, was preparing for the eventuality of an invasion by the Fātimids, against whom he now committed acts of open hostility. To show it still more he assumed in 316 (929) the lofty title of commander of the faithful (*amīr al-mu'minin*) while his predecessors and he himself had previously been content with the simple title of *amīr*. The little Cordovan kingdom became at the same time a great Muslim empire, and the restoration of the Umayyad caliphate of Damascus in Spain was completed. He assumed at the same time the honorific title (*ṣaḥāb*) of al-Nāṣir li-Dīni 'llāh (cf. E. Levi-Provençal, *Espagne musulmane du X^e siècle*, Paris 1932, p. 45 sq.).

A little later in 319 (931), the Caliph captured the stronghold of Ceuta [q. v.] on the African coast and installed a governor and a garrison there; this was the beginning of the Umayyad attack on the western Maghrib. A few years before, the petty rulers of the kingdom of Nāḥir had asked for and obtained Umayyad suzerainty. Al-Nāṣir did not stop there and was able to rally to his side the little local dynasties who were trying to hold their own against the Fātimid invaders. With the help of an alliance with the Maghrawa [q. v.] he was soon able to subdue the whole of the central Maghrib except the region of Tāhert.

The second part of the reign of 'Abd al-Rahmān III shows rather less personal activity by the caliph, and at the same time the formation, in the heart of the united and pacified Cordovan empire, of parties, no doubt of little weight at first, which were in the end to cause the greatest disorder in the internal affairs of the caliphate: the Slav party and the Berber party. The Slavs (cf. *SAKĀLIRA*), prisoners not only from the east of Europe but also from Italy and northern Spain, soon formed a large class in Cordovan society, and it is in the reign of al-Nāṣir that we find them for the first time occupying high offices in the state and even in the army. The sovereign seems to have used these Slavs, originally devoted to his cause, to reduce or even annihilate the influence of the old Arab aristocracy. In 327 (939) for example, we find him giving the Slav Nadjda the command of an important expedition; but he was to regret it; indeed on this occasion Muslim troops suffered the first reverse of his reign and were defeated by the Leonese under Ramiro II and their allies of Navarre at Simancas and Alhandega. Henceforth al-Nāṣir's policy with regard to the Christian kingdoms, while remaining watchful, was confined to taking advantage of any possible occasion. Civil war had broken out

in the north of Spain as a result of a feud between Ramiro II and the Count of Castile, Fernán González. On the death of the King of Leon in 951, his sons Ordoño III and Sancho fought for the crown and the former, to have his hands free against his brother who was supported by Castile, offered 'Abd al-Rahmān III an advantageous peace and promised to pay him tribute regularly. When Ordoño III died in 955, Sancho succeeded him; but, disliked by the nobles and defeated by the armies of the Cordovan caliph, he was forced to take refuge in Pamplona with the aged queen Toda of Navarre and then appealed to al-Nāṣir for help to regain his kingdom which had passed into the hands of Ordoño IV. Negotiations were begun and through the skill of al-Nāṣir's representative, the Jew Ḥaḍḍā b. Šapraḥ, Sancho and Toda came in person to Cordova to seek the caliph's help. This was an event without precedent in the annals of Muslim Spain. The king of Leon had to abandon ten fortresses in exchange for which the caliph gave him troops who assisted him to take Zamora in 959 and Oviedo in the following year.

The Fātimid threat to the Peninsula had not yet completely disappeared. In 343 (954) the Fātimid caliph al-Mu'izz sent his governor of Sicily to make a raid on the Spanish shore. He ravaged the district of Almería and brought back prisoners and considerable booty to Sicily. As a reprisal, al-Nāṣir gave Ghālib, one of his most devoted clients, command of a fleet of seventy ships, which went and burned Marsa 'l-Kharaz near Calle on the North African coast.

'Abd al-Rahmān III al-Nāṣir died on the 2nd Rabi' al-Thani 350 (Oct. 25, 961), aged 73. His political work was to be continued by his son and successor al-Ḥakam II al-Mustansir bi 'llāh who was nearly fifty when he came to the throne. He was a pious and scholarly prince and his name is especially associated with the Great Mosque of Cordova which he enlarged and embellished; on it he spent considerable sums and even brought from Mediterranean lands and Byzantium skilled craftsmen and valuable material. His father had been mainly interested in public and strategic buildings and had built for his own residence the town of *Madīnat al-Zahrā'* [q. v.], 3 miles N.W. of Cordova.

His love of study and his age, it is true, pre-disposed al-Ḥakam II to a quiet life; but he is too often represented as taking no interest in political affairs. He had to maintain the situation created by his father and for this he had only to watch the normal working of the wheels of government. But like his predecessor, whose programme he continued to carry out, he did not remain an inactive spectator of events in northern Spain and Africa. He received at Cordova with great pomp Sancho's brother, Ordoño the Wicked, and gradually became the suzerain of all the Christian princes of the north. His political right hand men were the *ḡālib* al-Muḥāfi and Slav dignitaries, and he may be reproached with having given them too much confidence. On the African coast, the Umayyad government continued to display considerable activity. The Fātimid peril seemed to have disappeared with the departure of al-Mu'izz for Egypt, but his representatives, the Šanhādja, resumed the fight with the vassals of the Umayyads in North Africa. On the other

hand, the petty Idrisid dynasts of the region of Tangier and Arzila had remained faithful to the Fātimids. The resistance of Ḥasan b. Ghannūn was long but in the end he was taken in his stronghold at Hajarat al-Naṣr and imprisoned in Cordova. The reign of al-Ḥakam II was also marked by a new attempt by the Normans to land in Spain in 355 (966) (cf. *AL-MADJLIS*).

al-Ḥakam II soon felt himself growing old and his principal care became the maintenance of the succession in direct line in the Umayyad dynasty. He had only one son, still a youth, Ḥishām, and he had him recognised as heir presumptive (*waḥī al-ahd*). He died soon afterwards on the 3rd Šafar 366 (Oct. 1, 976).

The reign of Ḥishām II al-Mu'ayyad bi 'l-lāh, the third Umayyad caliph of Spain, is the period of the establishment of the hereditary dictatorship of the 'Amirids and their effective seizure of civil and military power, the sovereign himself being relegated to his palace and deprived of all political initiative. The circumstances under which this new state of affairs was brought about after the death of al-Ḥakam II are very complicated but quite well known. A detailed account, which need not be repeated here, is given under *AL-MANŠŪR B. ABĪ 'AMIR*. We would only recall that, while in theory preserving for the young caliph the exercise of sovereign power, the famous ḥājjib, whose ambition knew no bounds, does not ever seem to have really thought of dethroning him in order to take his place. All official measures were taken in the name of Ḥishām II, who never seems to have shown any inclination to resist the 'Amirid control of his lands. It is really only with the disappearance of al-Manšūr that the weakening of the Umayyad caliphate begins.

Al-Manšūr in the name and on the purely nominal behalf of Ḥishām II continued the policy of the caliphs 'Abd al-Raḥmān III and al-Ḥakam II, not without, however, giving it the stamp of his powerful personality; but the era of peace and glory which al-Nāṣir had begun continued undiminished throughout the dictatorship of al-Manšūr. The influence of the Arab aristocracy and of the Slav party was soon completely destroyed. The army was reorganised with the help of mercenaries recruited outside the Muslim lands of Spain, in northern Africa and in the Christian kingdoms of the north of the Peninsula. In the western parts of Barbary, al-Manšūr established a kind of Umayyad protectorate so that African expenses became less heavy in the caliph's budget. The ḥājjib was a successful general, the worst enemy of the Christian kingdoms, against which he undertook an expedition almost every year to preserve his personal prestige. Among these expeditions we may mention that of 374 (985) against Catalonia: Count Borrel was defeated and Barcelona taken. Three years later, he turned against Leon and its ruler Bermudo II who had broken a treaty made with Cordova: Coimbra, Leon and Zamora were taken. Al-Manšūr also covered himself with glory in the famous campaign against Galicia in the course of which on 2nd Ša'abān 387 (Aug. 10, 997), he took Santiago da Compostella (Arab. *Šaunt Ya'qub*; q.v.). In 392 (1002) he led his troops against Castile, took Canales and San Millán de la Cogolla. On his return from this victorious campaign he died at Medinaceli (*Madinat Salm*; q.v.) in the same year.

3. The Decline and Fall of the Umayyad Caliphate.

On the death of al-Manšūr, his son 'Abd al-Malik, who had already distinguished himself in Africa a few years before, succeeded him as ḥājjib and was installed by the caliph Ḥishām II. During the six years in which he held the power, down to 399 (1008), Muslim Spain continued to prosper as regards peace at home. He reinforced the caliph's army with new contingents, recruited mainly in Africa, and undertook several expeditions against the kingdoms of the north. In 393 (1003) he conducted a series of raids against Catalonia, in 395 (1005) against Galicia, in 396 (1006) against Pampeluna, in 397 (1007) against the Castilians whom he defeated at Clunia. On the conclusion of this last successful campaign, he had himself given the honorific title of al-Muṣaffar bi 'l-lāh. In spite of the sullen opposition that was felt in Cordova against 'Amirid control and several plots, which were, however, quickly thwarted, 'Abd al-Malik al-Muṣaffar secured the Umayyad caliphate a few more years of existence, abnormal no doubt but free from serious danger at home or abroad. But the second 'Amirid ḥājjib died soon, poisoned, it is said, at the instigation of his brother 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who succeeded him, again with the approval of the weak caliph Ḥishām II.

This 'Abd al-Raḥmān was the son of al-Manšūr by his marriage with a Christian princess, daughter of King Sancho of Navarre. The new ḥājjib was therefore everywhere known as Sanchuelo, little Sancho. Not long after he had assumed control, he made himself singularly detested by the Cordovan population by breaking the restraint which his father and brother had always prudently observed. Strong in the support, which he thought he could always rely on, of the Berber soldiery, he was seized with unbounded ambition and meditated succeeding Ḥishām II with the title of caliph. The monarch was sufficiently cowed to receive the request favourably and by an edict of 399 (1008) the ḥājjib was proclaimed heir-presumptive to the Cordovan throne. This proclamation roused the country generally against the 'Amirids and the party of the disaffected, singularly increased by this unexpected news and led by the Umayyad princes cut off from the throne, took advantage of the departure of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abi 'Amir on an expedition against Galicia to let loose a rebellion in the capital, seize the palace of the caliph and force him to abdicate in favour of a great-grandson of al-Nāṣir, Muḥammad b. Ḥishām b. 'Abd al-Djabbār, who was proclaimed with the honorific title of al-Mahdi in 399 (1008). The new sovereign cleared out and razed to the ground the 'Amirid palace al-Madinat al-Zāhira [q.v.]; a few days later, Sanchuelo, hurrying back to Cordova, was arrested some distance from the capital at the same time as his faithful ally, the Count of Carrion, and executed.

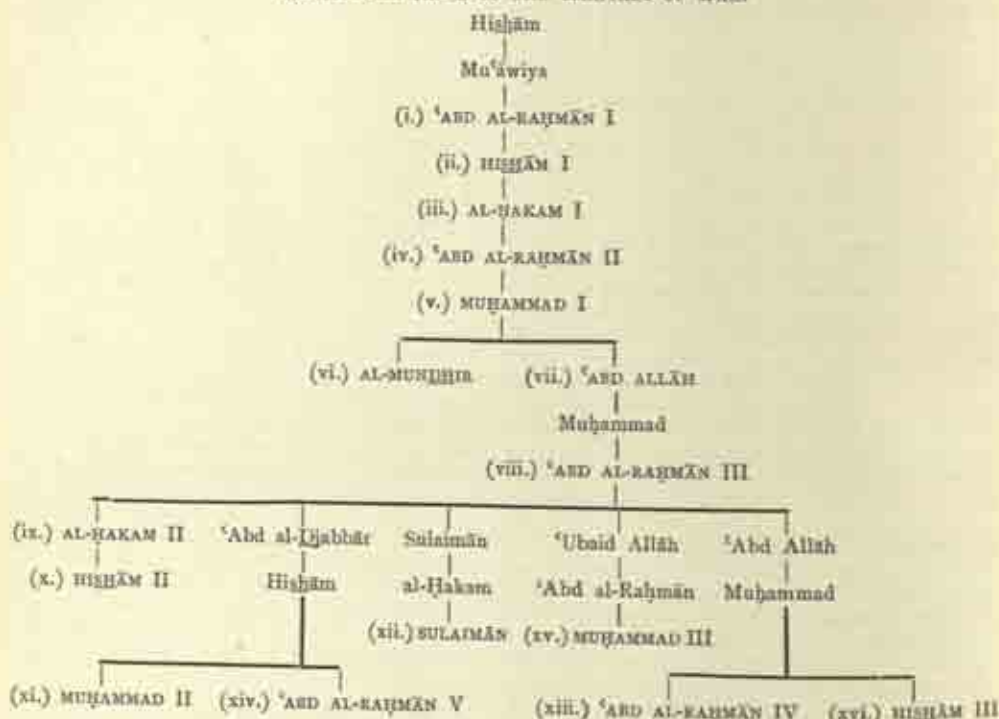
From this time and down to the fall of the caliphate, which was not far distant, civil war reigned in Cordova and the caliphate. The Berber element augmented by the Šanhādja contingents from Ifrīkiya, recruited by the 'Amirids, played a more and more disastrous part in the troubles that followed. Al-Mahdi, instead of conciliating the chiefs of these mercenaries, alienated them very soon by his brusqueness, the contempt which he

showed for them and particularly by dismissing a large number of Africans from the military *al-mawān*. The latter, who were joined by the regular malcontents of the Cordovan mob, gained the country and soon proclaimed another Umayyad prince, Sulaimān b. al-Ḥakam b. Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir who took the title of al-Musta'in bi 'Ilāh. With the new caliph the Berbers took Calatrava and Guadalajara; at Medina-celi they tried in vain to get the general Wāḍiḥ to join their movement; then appealing successfully to the Castilians, they returned, revictualled and reinforced by the latter, towards Cordova. Al-Mahdi was unable to oppose their advance and the capital having fallen into their hands, Sulaimān al-Musta'in

peace with the Berbers. The latter refused to come to terms and resumed their blockade of Cordova. This situation continued down to 1013, and the Arab historians have left us detailed accounts: cabals in Cordova, periods of hope, timid sorties against the besiegers. In the end, the Cordovans had to capitulate and the Berbers forced them to renew their oath of fealty to Sulaimān al-Musta'in.

The latter appointed Berbers to the offices of *hājibs* and *viziers*. The people of Cordova were subjected to a régime of vexations without precedent. The last freed "Slaves" of the 'Amirids went to join their relations in the east of the Peninsula. The Cordovans then agreed to entrust their destinies to an ambitious 'Alid, the governor of Ceuta

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE UMAIYYADS OF SPAIN



was installed in the caliph's palace by the *Sanhādja* chief Zāwī b. Ziri.

Al-Mahdi did not consider himself beaten. With the help of Wāḍiḥ and the Counts Raymond of Barcelona and Ermengaud of Urgel he attacked Sulaimān al-Musta'in and his Berber followers near Cordova, at 'Aḡabat al-Baḡar (near *Castillo del Vaca*), to the north of Cordova), routed them and returned victorious to the capital, which was plundered by the Catalans. But the Berbers re-assembled, seized the whole country between the Mediterranean and the Guadalquivir and harassed Cordova and the country round. In face of this, the Cordovans soon attributed to their sovereign al-Mahdi, whose incapacity became more and more evident, the blame and responsibility for the evils that had befallen them. A conspiracy was hatched, al-Mahdi slain and Hishām II replaced on the throne (Dhu 'l-Hijja 400 = July 1010).

Hishām's first care after his second accession was to appoint Wāḍiḥ first minister and make

'Alī b. Ḥammūd, who, taking advantage of a moment when al-Musta'in's Berbers were scattered, advanced on Cordova, seized it and had himself proclaimed there (406 = 1016). Al-Musta'in was slain but 'Alī b. Ḥammūd himself was assassinated not long afterwards.

The years that followed were no less troubled. Hammūd's pretenders: Kāsim b. Ḥammūd and his nephew Vahya b. 'Alī, Umayyad pretenders: 'Abd al-Raḥmān IV b. Muḥammad al-Murtada, 'Abd al-Raḥmān V al-Mustaḥir, Muḥammad III al-Mustakfi and Hishām III al-Mu'tadd shared a more and more precarious power down to 420 (1030). All Spain was, however, tired of these perpetual changes of government and the Cordovans decided on the final suppression of the caliphate. Hishām II disappeared. Perhaps he was slain in the course of a raid on the palace, or, as is sometimes said, he may have fled and left Spain to end his days in obscurity in the east. It is difficult to ascertain

what exactly was the end of his inglorious career. In any case, the beginning of the xth century saw the united political state of the Umayyads gradually breaking up and the moment was not far distant when all the provinces of Muslim Spain were to proclaim their independence under a Spanish, Slav or Berber chief and form the numerous little kingdoms of the *mulūk al-jawā'id*. As to Cordova, it was soon to become the centre of a kind of little republic, very soon transformed with the *Umayyads* [q. v.] into a principality. In any case, a few decades sufficed to destroy completely the solid edifice which the great Umayyad princes had built up, among whom the great figure of 'Abd al-Rahmān III al-Nāṣir, one of the greatest sovereigns of the middle ages and of the Muslim world, is the dominating figure.

Bibliography: A. Arabic sources. The history of the Umayyads of Spain has been the subject of numerous works in Spain itself, during the period of the dynasty and later also. Unfortunately not all these chronicles have survived; the most important were those of al-Rāzī and Ibn Ḥayyān. Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī, who lived in the first half of the fourth (tenth) century, wrote a history of the rulers of Muslim Spain (*Akhbār Mulūk al-Andalus*) which was to be the main source for later writers. Among contemporary histories, which still survive, we may mention the following in chronological order: the anonymous chronicle entitled *Akhbār madīnāt* (ed. and transl. into Spanish by E. Lafuente y Alcántara, Madrid 1867, under the title *Akhbār madīnāt, Crónica anónima del siglo XI*); it is a vivid and colourful chronicle and full of information which seems to be free from legendary matter of the history of Muslim Spain to the reign of 'Abd al-Rahmān III; the *Kitāb Iftitāḥ al-Andalus* of the Cordovan Ibn al-Kaṭīya, d. in 367 (977), which covers the history of the Muslims in Spain down to the reign of al-Nāṣir. It has on several occasions been edited and in parts translated, and more recently in full by J. Ribera, Madrid 1926. Of the monumental work of the great historian Ḥayyān b. Khalaf Ibn Ḥayyān, who died in 496 (1076), entitled *al-Muṭabā'āt fī Ta'rīkh al-Andalus* and *al-Maṭn*, there only survives the manuscript of one volume in the Bodleian dealing with the reign of the amir 'Abd Allāh (ed. Melchor M. Antuña, *Textes Arabes relatifs à l'histoire de l'Occident musulman*, iii., Paris 1932) and the copy of a manuscript from Constantinople (in the Library of the Academy of Madrid) covering a portion of the reign of al-Hakam II. Considerable extracts have fortunately been preserved by later writers, notably Ibn Bassām in his *Dhakhira*. We may also mention as indirect sources, written in Spain itself, the history of the *hujas* of Cordova by al-Khushani (ed. and transl. J. Ribera, *Historia de los Jueces de Córdoba*, Madrid 1914) and the works of the Spanish biographical writers which have been published by F. Codera and J. Ribera in the *Bibliotheca arabico-hispana*, 10 vol., Madrid and Saragossa 1883—1895.

But our fullest sources for the history of the Umayyads of Cordova are undoubtedly two compositions of comparatively late date, one of the xivth century by Ibn 'Idhārī al-Marrākushī, the other of the xvth by al-Maḥḥārī. The first

is called *al-Bayān al-maḥḥārī fī Akhbār Mulūk al-Andalus wa'l-Maḥḥārī*; of three volumes now known, two deal with Spain; the first covers the history of the Peninsula from the conquest to the death of the ḥajjib al-Manṣūr b. Abī 'Amir; as Dozy, its editor, has shown this volume reproduces almost in entirety the Spanish part of the work of a Cordovan annalist of the tenth century, 'Arib b. Sa'd, who continued down to his time the chronicle of Tabari (ed. Dozy, *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne intitulée al-Bayān 'l-maḥḥārī*, Leyden 1848—1851; transl. into French by E. Fagnan, Algiers 1901—1904; partly translated into Spanish by Fernández González, Granada 1862); the next volume which deals with the history of the fall of the Umayyad caliphate from the time of the 'Amirid 'Abd al-Malik and that of the *mulūk al-jawā'id* was discovered and published by E. Lévi-Provençal (*Textes arabes relatifs à l'histoire de l'Occident musulman*, ii., Paris 1930). The other work no less valuable for the history of the Umayyads is the *Nafḥ al-Th* of the Maghribi al-Maḥḥārī. The first half was published by Dozy, Dugat, Krehl and Wright under the title *Analectes sur l'histoire et la littérature des Arabes d'Espagne*, Leyden 1855—1861 (also at Bulak 1279 A.H. and Cairo). An English adaptation was made by P. de Gayangos, *The History of the Muhammadan Dynasties in Spain*, London 1840—1843. Ibn Khaldūn devotes a part of his *Kitāb al-Ibar* to the history of the Umayyads of Spain (Cairo ed., vol. iv., p. 116—155); as do the earlier historians Ibn al-Athīr in his *A'māl* (transl. by F. Fagnan, *Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*, Algiers 1901) and al-Nuwairī, author of the *Kitāb Nihāyat al-Arab* (*History of Spain*, ed. with Spanish translation by M. Gaspar Remiro, Granada 1917—1919).

This brief sketch of the Arabic sources for Umayyad history may be completed by consulting the valuable but now somewhat out of date work of F. Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico sobre los historiadores y geógrafos arábigos-españoles*, Madrid 1898, and the brilliant survey by L. Barrau-Diigo, *Recherches sur l'histoire politique du royaume asturien*, Tours 1921, p. 55—78.

B. European writers. In spite of its date, the *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne* by R. Dozy (Leyden 1861; new ed. by E. Lévi-Provençal, Leyden 1931; Span. transl. by M. Fuentes, Madrid 1920; Engl. transl. by F. Griffin Stokes, London 1913 etc.) is still the best and fullest modern work on the Umayyads in Spain. More recent but very short is that of A. González Palencia in his *Historia de la España musulmana* (Barcelona-Buenos-Aires 1925; 2nd ed., 1930). — On institutions and social life in the caliphate see also: E. Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane du XI^{ème} siècle*, Paris 1932. Among European works we may also mention: R. Altamira, *Historia de España y de la civilización española*, Barcelona 1911, vol. i.; A. Ballesteros, *Historia de España*, Barcelona 1928, vol. I; L. Barrau-Diigo, *Le royaume asturien* (cf. above); F. Codera's studies which for the most part appeared in the *Boletín* of the Academy of History of Madrid; R. Dozy, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue de l'année 961*, Leyden 1873; R. Dozy, *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le Moyen-âge*, Leyden 1881; A. González Palencia, *El Califato*

accidental, in *Revista de Archivos*, Madrid 1922; do., *The Western Caliphate*, in *The Cambridge Medieval History* Cambridge 1922, iii. 400-442; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Leyden-Paris 1931; G. Margolis, *Manuel d'Art musulman*, in *L'Architecture* (with valuable historical notes), I, Paris 1926; E. Saavedra, *Abderrahmān I, monografía histórica*, in *Revista de Archivos*, Madrid 1910; F. Simonet, *Historia de los Almorávides de España*, Madrid 1903.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

UMM AL-KITĀB, the original copy of the Book with Allāh in heaven, from which the revelations of the Qur'ān come and from which Allāh "abrogates and confirms what He pleases" (Sūra xiii. 39). This original copy, called *Aṣl al-Kitāb* in *Hadīth* (e.g. Tahaṣṣi, *Tafsīr*, xxv. 26), is according to Sūra lxxxv. 21 written in a "carefully preserved tablet" (*fi laḥḥi mahfūḏi*; cf. Enoch 93. 2; Book of Jubilees 5. 13; 16. 2; 32. 22). In the Medina period Umm al-Kitāb is used in another sense: according to Sūra iii. 3, the book revealed by Allāh to Muḥammad, i.e. the Qur'ān, consists of verses "clearly expressed" (*āyāt muḥkamāt*) and of "others ambiguous" (*mutashābihāt*); only the first however constitute the Umm al-Kitāb. In keeping with this expression post-Qur'anic linguistic usage calls the *Fatḥa*, as containing the essential content of the Book, *Umm al-Kitāb* or *Umm al-Qur'ān*.

Bibliography: Lane, *Lexicon*, v. v. *Umm*; Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin-Leipzig 1926, p. 65. (J. HOROWITZ)

UMM KULTHUM, daughter of Muḥammad. Tradition knows even less of her than of her sister Ruḳaiya and this little consists mainly of a repetition of what is told of the latter. Umm Kulthum is said to have married a son of Abū Lahab but to have been divorced by him by his father's orders before the marriage was consummated; what this means is discussed in the article ROḤAIYA. The view there expressed that Umm Kulthum was really married to a son of Abū Lahab is supported by the usual and literal interpretation of her *kunya* (her real name is nowhere recorded). That at a later date efforts should have made to suppress all record of such a grandson of the Prophet is only natural. Otherwise we are only told of her that her brother-in-law 'Othmān married her after Ruḳaiya's death during the Badr campaign. She died in *Shā'ban* of the year 9 without having borne a son to him.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, ed. Wustenfeld, p. 121; Ibn Sa'd, viii. p. 25 sq.; Tahaṣṣi, ed. de Goeje, iii. 2302; H. Lammens, *Fatima et les Filles de Mahomet*, 1912, p. 3 sq.

(FR. BUHL)

UMM AL-WALAD (أُمّ), a slave-girl who has borne her master a child.

1. The master's right to take his slave-girls as concubines was recognised by Muḥammad in continuation of a general practice of Arab paganism. In regard to the position of the children of such unions a change of view had been perceptible among the Arabs in the period just before the coming of Islām. In place of the previous unrestrictedness in marriage and concubinage a certain decree of regulation had grown up, and a higher value began to be attached to marriage with free women and to good birth on the mother's side also; corresponding to this however, the position of the

children of slaves became worse; they were as a rule called only after their mother and not after their father, and only received their freedom when expressly recognised by their father (this condition probably always held) and even then were not fully privileged: the slave-girl, it was argued, must not give birth to her future master as the son would reveal the qualities of a slave like his mother. The position of such a slave was not at all a privileged one. Even her designation *umm al-walad* ("mother of children") is in contrast to *umm al-banīn* ("mother of sons") as the name for a free woman. Although the personal position of a woman taken in war was hardly different from that of a slave, yet we frequently find a marriage in this case instead of concubinage, and her sons were considered free men, although they were as a rule only called after their mother and not regarded as having full privileges; but an endeavour was often made to remove even this stain due to the irregularity of the union by a new regular marriage.

2. This state of affairs was continued under Islām without any essential change at first. The Qur'ān permits concubinage with a man's own slaves in several passages dealing with the limits of lawful sexual intercourse as against *zinā* (iv. 3, 28 sq.; xxiii. 6; lxx. 30, all Medinese; cf. the references in Noldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. d. Qur'ān*, i); the passage specially addressed to the Prophet (xxiii. 49-51) expressly describes them as prisoners of war. In Islām therefore there was no distinction in theory between the slave-girl and the concubine taken in war, which is not surprising after the above remarks; in practice the old procedure towards a woman taken in war remained in operation (cf. e.g. Wellhausen, *Fakih*, p. 178; do., in *N.G.W. Gott.*, 1893, p. 436; although not always historical in the particular case, yet typical). In the Qur'ān the position of the *umm al-walad* is not defined and it is certain that the Prophet issued no decrees altering her position or that of her children. That he is said to have set free the slave-girl Māriya, when she had borne him his son Ibrāhīm (cf. Ibn Sa'd, viii. 155, sq.; cf. also 156, 4) should not in any case be taken as a general rule; this episode is not at all prominent in the material of tradition relating to the *umm al-walad*. The story that the Prophet recognised Māriya's son only after serious consideration (*ibid.*, p. 154, 4) might be possible as regards substance but is incredible in the form in which it is given.

3. That an *umm al-walad* should become free *ipso iure* on the death of her master, and no longer liable to be sold (or given) was first ordained by the caliph 'Umar (cf. below). The starting point for this ordinance must be found in a *hadīth* transmitted by Abū Dāwūd (*Aṣṭ*, bāb 8) and Ibn Hishām (vi. 360) the genuineness of which is thereby rendered certain (a later recasting: *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, iv. 512b). According to this, a woman, who had been sold in the heathen period by her uncle as a slave had borne her master a son and now on the death of her master was to be sold again to pay his debts, lamented her sad lot to the Prophet; the latter ordered the administrator of the estate to manumit the woman and gave him a slave in compensation. Ibn Hishām observes on this case with justice that the different possible interpretations of the Prophet's treatment of the case gave rise to later *ikhtilāf*; there is

no doubt that it was a decision for this one case only. A tradition given by al-Bukhārī (*Ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb 8; and several other passages) and al-Tabāwī (*Sharḥ Maʿāni l-ʿAḥḥāḥ*, ii. 66) deals with a dispute over the paternity of a child of a slave-woman; Saʿd b. al-Ḥakīm claimed it as the illegitimate child of his dead brother ʿUṭba, in accordance with the latter's last wish and ʿAbd, the son of Zaʿma, claimed it as the legitimate child of his deceased father by his concubine. In spite of the child's resemblance to ʿUṭba, the Prophet decided on the principle *al-walad li-l-firās* ("the child belongs to the legitimate bed"). In view of the difficulties of interpretation raised by this ḥadīth (cf. the commentaries, especially al-Aʿīnī, on al-Bukhārī) it might be in the main genuine (the secondary recast form which al-Tabāwī [ii. 67] also gives is certainly not genuine); in any case there is no mention of the manumission of the slave-woman here.

4. The above-mentioned ordinance of ʿUmar's is certain from numerous accounts, although the details vary and are embellished with legends (cf. especially *Kanz*, iv. 5118, 5122, 5124; al-Ṣanʿānī, *Subul al-Salām*, *Kitāb al-Buyʿ*, on N^o. 11). Setting aside the settlement of the question whether it was preceded by another divergent ruling (*Kanz*, iv. 5118), the story that ʿUmar ordered the *umm al-walad* to be free from the birth of her child (al-Kh̲w̲ārizmī, *Djāmiʾ Maʿānī al-Imām al-aʿam*, ii. 166; also *Kanz*, v. 5116?) must be regarded as a product of the later dispute over this question. For ʿUmar's decree in no way made a final settlement; it gave trouble under ʿUthmān (*Kanz*, iv. 5122). Ali again diverged from it (*ibid.*, p. 5129-5131). Ibn ʿAbbās is specially mentioned as another opponent of ʿUmar's view among the Companions of the Prophet. In the dispute that now arose between the different opinions, the attempt was made on the one side to ascribe ʿUmar's decision to the Prophet (*ibid.*, p. 5115, 5117) and to ascribe the same opinion even to ʿAlī and Ibn ʿAbbās (ʿAlī: *ibid.*, p. 5132; Ibn ʿAbbās: *ibid.*, p. 5039-5041; Ibn Ḥanbal, i. 303; Ibn ʿAbbās from the Prophet: al-Dārimī, p. 18, 38; Ibn Māǧja, *Ṣiḥḥ*, bāb 2; Ibn Saʿd, viii. 155, 20; Ibn Ḥanbal, i. 317), on the other hand, it was insisted, sometimes quite polemically, that the Prophet approved the sale of the *umm al-walad* (Ibn Māǧja, *ibid.*; Ibn Ḥanbal, iii. 321; al-Ṭayālīsī, N^o. 2200; *Kanz*, iv. 5125, 5127); against this, evidence was quoted to show that the Companions of the Prophet gave approval to ʿUmar's ordinance (Abū Dāwūd, *Ṣiḥḥ*, bāb 8; al-Aʿīnī giving al-Bukhārī as authority, *Ṣiḥḥ*, bāb 8). But these were not the only two theses put forward: another view ascribed to ʿUmar has already been mentioned (some traditions make the Prophet utter a corresponding opinion but one easily distorted to mean something else: Ibn Māǧja, *Ṣiḥḥ*, bāb 2; Ibn Saʿd, viii. 155, 17 both transmitted through Ibn ʿAbbās; also *Kanz*, iv. 5128?); ʿAlī is credited with having said: "If the master wishes, he can set free his *umm al-walad* and consider her manumission as her bridal gift" (*Kanz*, iv. 5133) and Ibn Maʿūd held the view that the *umm al-walad* should be manumitted at the expense of the share of the estate falling to her child (presumed free) (al-Aʿīnī, *ibid.*), both variants of the fundamental thesis. — From the point of view of the criticism of Muslim Tradition, none of these ḥadīths is unimpeachable with the exception of the one quoted

above in paragraph 3, which itself is not free from ambiguity, so that it is usually preferred simply to quote ʿUmar and his *raʾy* as authority for the view that later prevailed.

5. Al-Aʿīnī (on al-Bukhārī, *Ṣiḥḥ*, bāb 8 at the end) is therefore able to give a list of seven different expressions of opinion on the *umm al-walad* in addition to ʿUmar's from the period of the earliest jurists before the origin of the *madhāhib*: 1. The master may release her for money (i. e. as *muḥabbaba*); 2. she may be sold without restriction; 3. the master may sell her at any time during his life-time and when he dies she becomes free (she is thus regarded as *muḥabbaba*; al-Shāfiʿi is said to have held this view); 4. she may be sold to pay a debt due by the estate; 5. she may be sold, but if her child is alive at the death of his father and her master, she is manumitted at the expense of any share he may have in the estate and inherits with him; 6. she can only be sold on condition she is set free; 7. even if she is contumacious and runs away, she cannot be sold, but only if she is immoral or becomes an unbeliever (according to al-Murazī al-Shāfiʿi could not come to a decision on this point). But even by this time the thesis that the *umm al-walad* could not be sold but became free on the death of her master, had won most supporters, among whom al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, ʿAṣā, Muḥammad, al-Zuhri, Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī (cf. on him al-Kh̲w̲ārizmī, *op. cit.*, ii. 167; *Kitāb al-ʿAḥḥāḥ*, p. 71, 102) and others are specially mentioned. Particular questions which now arise for the first time, are referred back to older authorities, such as the decision N^o. 5 to Ibn Maʿūd, Ibn ʿAbbās and Ibn al-Zubair (*ibid.*), decision N^o. 6 to ʿUmar (*ibid.*; also *Kanz*, iv. 5123), other details also to ʿUmar (*Muwattaʿ*, vulgate, *Ṣiḥḥ*, bāb 8, *riwāya* of al-Shaibānī, *Kitāb al-Buyʿ*, *Bāb Baʿʿ Ummahāt al-Awḥād*, al-Kh̲w̲ārizmī, *ibid.*, etc.).

6. In the time of the formation of the *madhāhib* the view that the *umm al-walad* cannot be sold is held by Abū Ḥanīfa with Abū Yūsuf, Zufar, al-Shaibānī and their colleagues, al-Awzāʿī, al-Thawri, al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ, al-Laith b. Saʿd, Malik (*Muwattaʿ*, *loc. cit.*; *Mudawwana*, viii. 23) and his colleagues, Abū Thawr and Ibn Ḥanbal. This is also the final opinion of al-Shāfiʿi and therefore that of his colleagues and pupils, while he, according to a reliable tradition, had previously sanctioned the sale of the *umm al-walad* (al-Aʿīnī on the authority of al-Bukhārī, *Ṣiḥḥ*, bāb 8; al-Nawawī, *Madmūn*, ix. 243; cf. also above, section 5); the liberation of the *umm al-walad* was deduced therefrom in three ways (al-Nawawī, *ibid.*) so that in all we have four different opinions attributed to al-Shāfiʿi (al-Shawkānī, *Nail al-Awḥār*, *Kitāb al-Ṣiḥḥ*, *Bāb Umm al-Walad*, on N^o. 7). According to Dāwūd also, and the Zāhiri, the Shīʿi Imāms and the Twelver-Imāms (here however sometimes with the qualification that she becomes free if she was still in the possession of her master at his death and her child is alive) and the Muʿtazilis (al-Shawkānī, *op. cit.*), she can be sold. Although the four *madhāhib* in the end all declared that the *umm al-walad* could not be sold, the existence of *igʿmāʿ* on this point is nevertheless sometimes doubted (al-Ṣanʿānī, *op. cit.*, on N^o. 12; al-Shawkānī, *op. cit.*), sometimes however also definitely asserted (al-Nawawī, *op. cit.*). The verdict of a *kādī* who gave a decision opposed to this teaching is not absolutely without support (cf. e. g. Nawawī, *op. cit.*, etc.).

7. In order to prevent the birth of a child the practice of 'awl was frequent in intercourse with slave-girls, and it is therefore often discussed in connection with the *umm al-walad*. The most important of the references in tradition on this subject have been collected by Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, s.v. "Intercourse"; here it is sufficient to say that 'awl was considered to be permitted with a slave-girl. — To prevent a slave-girl becoming *umm al-walad* the master had also the possibility of not acknowledging the paternity of her child; this goes back to a similar usage in the pagan period (cf. above, sect. 1). While this was never so rigidly regulated as the case of disputing the paternity of a wife's child (cf. thereon Wensinck, *op. cit.*, s.v. *Child* and the article *ṭalāḥ*), nevertheless an effort was made to restrict the right of disputing the paternity in the case of the *umm al-walad* also. Hadiths are quoted from 'Umar and Ibn 'Umar to the effect that no one who has had intercourse with a slave-girl has the right to dispute the paternity of her child, even if he says he used 'awl or if there is another paternity possible. The Mālikis and Shāfi'is agree with this. The Hanafis on the other hand hold the view that the paternity of the child and the character of the slave as *umm al-walad* in this case depends entirely on an acknowledgment by the master. For this they cite traditions to the effect that Ibn 'Abbās and Zaid b. Thābit had disputed the paternity of children of their slave-women on the ground that they had used 'awl. This question is discussed by al-Tahāwī (*op. cit.*, p. 66, 68) and the traditions cited: — That the child borne by a slave to her master (on the assumption that his paternity is established) is free, has always been recognised in Islām without any difference of opinion and in the discussion of the position of the *umm al-walad* it is regarded as a presumption and argument for her not being sold. The deduction is natural that the father's recognition of children born in concubinage (cf. above, section 1) must as a rule have been regarded as a matter of course in the days just before Islām: the survival of considerable possibility of disputing paternity with regard to a concubine seems to have actually been caused primarily by the considerable improvement in the position of the *umm al-walad* under Islām at the expense of her master.

8. The details of the teaching of the *fiqh* about the *umm al-walad* are as follows. Every, even non-Muslim, slave-girl who has borne her master (even after his death) a child is considered *umm al-walad*; on the death of her master she becomes *ipso iure* free (so that she can neither be sold to pay off debts on the estate [cf. however below] nor can she be included in the third of the estate set aside for legacies); a legacy set aside by her master in her favour is therefore valid, as tradition even from 'Umar's time shows (al-Dārīmī, *Waṣāyā*, bāb 27); all legitimate and illegitimate children whom she has after becoming pregnant by her master are likewise free — in so far as they are not already free as children of her master. Even in the case of a stillborn child, the mother becomes *umm al-walad*; opinions differ regarding a miscarriage. There is also a difference of opinion in the case where a man marries a foreign slave, makes her pregnant, and then sells her, as well as in the case where a man makes his son's slave pregnant. From the *umm al-walad*'s expectancy of reversion to free-

dom, it follows that she cannot be sold or pledged; if she commits a crime the master cannot evade his responsibility for her by disposing of her. In other respects she remains a slave: she has no right to property; the *diya* or *arḥ* paid for injuries to her belong to her master etc. On the question whether the master may marry her without her consent, opinions differ. In any case, the master has the right to her body and to her labour, but the Mālikis allow him only to demand light work from her and prohibit him hiring her out. On the legal position of the *umm al-walad* of a *mukātib* and that of a non-Muslim, who adopts Islām, opinions vary. — Apart from the fact that the *umm al-walad* can be sold to pay debts which her master had incurred before she became pregnant, she loses her reversion to liberty only, in the opinion of the Hanafis and Mālikis, if she deliberately kills her master. According to the Hanafis, in this case she is liable to *ḥudūd*, but in the case of accidental killing nothing is done to her; according to the Mālikis, in the case of deliberate killing she becomes the slave of the heirs who can kill her or not; if they leave her alive she receives 100 lashes and is put in prison for a year. According to the Shāfi'is, she has to pay *diya* in both cases and among the Hanbalis, according to one *riwāya*, not more than her own value or the *diya*, according to another *riwāya*, her own value. — On the opinion of the Shī'ī imāms, which differs not inconsiderably, see Query, *Druid Musliman*, II, 147 sqq.

9. In Muslim law a most rigid distinction is made between marriage and concubinage, so much so that the master cannot enter into marriage with his slave at all. Divergences from this rule are extraordinarily rare. Shadhād b. Ḥakīm (d. 210), a companion of Zuhār, is said, when he bought a slave, to have married her on the ground that "perhaps she may be a free woman" ('Abd al-Kādir, *al-Diyār al-muḥalla*, I, No. 668; Ibn Kullūbghā, ed. Flügel, No. 81); and the *Fihrist* (p. 207, 15) records with reservation of al-Tahāwī (d. 322) that he wrote a work in which he justified marriage with slaves (but probably one's own). But the authenticity of such stories is not certain; the first is among a number of anecdotes and the second is based on hearsay only. A trace of the old Arab custom of a concubine merging into a marriage (cf. section 1) is not necessarily however to be seen in this; the first story would be explained by the overgreat scrupulousness often shown by religious people in secular affairs, and the second by the also not rare complaisance towards princes, which could be attributed to al-Tahāwī in polemic.

10. In spite of all the ameliorations which the development of Muslim law brought to the position of the *umm al-walad*, the old contemptuous feeling towards a union with a slave and the children born from it long remained. Among the hadiths which condemn the maintenance of concubines, one with a doubtless anti-'Abbasid bias survived down to al-Bukhārī (*Imān*, bāb 37; *Ṭḥ*, bāb 8) and Muslim (*Imān*, trad. 1, 5, 7), but had its meaning distorted. This was the last echo of the old pre-Islamic point of view. Under the completely changed social conditions, the absolute equality of the children born from a marriage with a free-woman and in concubinage has now been long completely established.

Bibliography: On section 1 and 10: Lammens, *Le Hérisme de l'islam*, p. 276—306; Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia*², p. 89—91; Wellhausen, in *N.G.W. Zeit.*, 1893, p. 435 ff.; Snouck Hargronje, *Mekka*, ii. 136. The most important traditions in Wernicke, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, s. v. Manumission, Slaves. On the regulations of the *ḥḥ* cf. in addition to the Arabic works, to which now may be added for the Hanbalite Ibn Qudāma's *al-Mughni*, xii. 488 *sqq.*, especially Juynboll, *Handleiding*², p. 236, 238 (*Handbuch*², p. 206, 236); Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht*, p. 127, 168 *sqq.*; Santilana, *Istituzioni*, i. 123 *sq.*

(JOSEPH SCHACHT)

UMMA, the Qur'anic word for people, community, is not to be derived from the Arabic root *um*, but to be explained as a loanword from the Hebrew (*umma*) or Aramaic (*umma* *ṭā*). It has therefore no direct connection with the homonyms also found in the Qur'an, which mean "a period" (Sūra xi. 11; xii. 45) and "descent" (Sūra xliii. 21 *sq.*). Perhaps the loanword found its way into Arabic at a comparatively early period (see Horowitz's citation of the Saffa inscription, iii. 407). In any case the word was taken up by Muhammad and henceforth becomes a specifically Islamic term.

The passages in the Qur'an, in which the word *umma* (plur. *umam*) occurs are so varied that its meaning cannot be rigidly defined. This much however seems to be certain, that it always refers to ethnical, linguistic or religious bodies of people who are the objects of the divine plan of salvation. Even in passages like Sūra vii. 164 and xxviii. 22, where *umma* is used in quite a colourless fashion, there is a hint of this significance. The term is in isolated cases applied to the Djinn (Sūra vii. 36; xii. 24; xvi. 17), indeed to all living creatures (Sūra vi. 38) but always with the implication that these creatures are to be included in the divine scheme of salvation and are liable to judgment. *Umma* is exceptionally applied in one passage (Sūra xvi. 121) to an individual, Abraham. Here the term either has the meaning of *imam* (so the Arab lexicographers), or Abraham is so called in his capacity as head of the community founded by him (Horowitz), by a use of the part for the whole. Otherwise *umma* always refers to whole groups or at least to groups within large communities.

God has sent to each *umma* a messenger (Sūra vi. 42; x. 48; xiii. 29; xvi. 38, 65; xxiii. 46; xlii. 17; xl. 5) or admonisher (Sūra xxxv. 22, 40) to guide them on the right path. But like Muhammad, these messengers of God have often been attacked and called liars (Sūra xxiii. 46; xxix. 17; xl. 5). They will therefore appear on the day of judgment as witnesses against them (Sūra iv. 45; xvi. 86, 91; xxviii. 75; cf. ii. 137). For each *umma* is brought to judgment (Sūra vi. 108; vii. 32; x. 50; xv. 5; xxiii. 45; xxvii. 85; xlv. 27). In contrast to those who could not be converted, a number within the individual *ummas* however heeded the appeal of God's messenger and thus came on to the right path (Sūra xvi. 38). This is particularly true of the *ahl al-kitāb*.

The companies of the righteous among the *ahl al-kitāb* are also called *ummas* (Sūra iii. 109 *sq.*; v. 70; vii. 150; cf. ii. 128, 135; vii. 167, 180;

xi. 30). They are relatively small groups within larger communities.

Muhammad frequently discusses the question why mankind consists of a plurality of *ummas* and has not remained a unit. He sees the ultimate reason for this in God's inscrutable decree. "Men were a single *umma*. Then they became disunited. If a word had not gone out from thy Lord, the matter would have been decided between them, about which they disagreed" (Sūra x. 20; cf. v. 53; xl. 120; xvi. 95; xlii. 6). Sometimes he traces this disruption to the malevolence of mankind (Sūra ii. 209; xli. 92 *sq.*; xliii. 54 *sq.*). In another passage it is traced to the division of the Israelites into 12 tribes (Sūra vii. 160; cf. 167). These rhetorical rather than logical utterances of Muhammad are most likely to be taken as replies to objections raised by his opponents (of the *ahl al-kitāb*). The Prophet would hardly have come to tackle this difficult problem of his own accord.

As regards Muhammad's *umma* in particular, we can trace a number of variations and changes in the meaning of the term. But the question is simpler here as we are dealing to some extent with a historical phenomenon.

In the first period of his prophetic activity Muhammad regarded the Arabs in general or his Meccan countrymen as a closed *umma*. Just as the earlier messengers and admonishers of God had been sent to the *ummas* of the past (see above), so he had now been given the task of transmitting the divine message to the Arab *umma* which had hitherto been neglected, in order to show it the way to salvation. Like the earlier messengers (see above), he also was fiercely attacked by his *umma* and accused of lying. After he had finally broken off relations with the pagan Meccans and migrated with his followers to Medina, he created a new community there. He went beyond the circle of Muslims proper and included those citizens of Medina who had not yet heeded his religious appeal in one political combination. "The constitution of the community of Medina", in which this unification was laid down in writing, expressly states that the citizens of the town, including the Jews, formed an *umma* (Ibn Hishām, p. 341, *sq.*, 342, *sqq.*). The predominantly political character of this new *umma* was however only a makeshift. As soon as Muhammad felt himself firmly established and had successfully attacked the pagan Meccans, he was able to exclude from his politico-religious community the Medinese (especially the Jews) who had not yet adopted his religion. As time went on, his *umma* came more and more to consist only of his proper followers, the Muslims. In contrast to the *ahl al-kitāb*, with whom he had previously been in alliance, he now described the Muslims as an *umma* and laid stress on their religious and ethical qualities (Sūra iii. 100, 106). His final breaking away from the *ahl al-kitāb* had as a result that he turned more and more to the Meccans and their centre of worship, the Ka'ba (cf. in this connection Sūra ii. 119 *sqq.*, esp. 122, and Sūra xxii. 35, 66). He only apparently resumed his original idea of an *umma* embracing all the Arabs. In reality the final result was fundamentally different from the starting-point. The Arab *umma*, which Muhammad had originally taken for granted, was only created by him after much hard work. If it at first represented a community of Arabs, this was more or less a secondary phenomenon. The essential

thing was the religious foundation on which it was based. The umma of the Arabs was transformed into an umma of the Muslims. It is no wonder then that it spread very soon after Muhammad's death far beyond the bounds of Arabia and in course of time brought together very different stocks and nations to form a higher unit.

Bibliography: E. W. Lane, *An Arabic English Lexicon*, i. 90; J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin-Leipzig 1926, p. 51-53; do., *Jewish Proper Names and Derivatives in the Koran* (*Hebrew Union College Annual*, vol. ii., Cincinnati 1925, p. 145-227), p. 190; K. Ahrens, in *Z. D. M. G.*, N. F., ix. 37; Buhl-Schaefer, *Das Leben Muhammads*, Leipzig 1930, p. 209-212 (see further literature, note 24), 277, 343-345; Snouck-Hurgronje, *Der Islam* (*Chantepie de la Saussaye, Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*), p. 658-660, 672 sq.; on umma in the literature of Tradition see the references under *Community* in A. J. Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, Leyden 1927. (R. PAKET)

UMMI, an epithet of Muhammad in the Kur'an, connected in some way with the word *umma* [q. v.]. It does not seem however to be a direct derivative, as it only appears after the Hijra and has a different meaning from *umma*, which is already common in the period before the Hijra. In Sura iii. 19, Muhammad invites the *ahl al-kitab* and the ummi to adopt Islam (*hu li'ladkina uta 'l-kitab wa 'l-ummiyin*...). *Ummiyun* here means "heathen", as it does in the same Sura, verse 69, where the word is put with this meaning into the mouths of the *ahl al-kitab*. The latter passage makes it probable that *ummi* or *ummiyin* is a word coined by the *ahl al-kitab* (probably the Jews especially) to describe the heathen. This explanation is all the more probable since Horowitz has shown that it has an equivalent in the Hebrew *ummi'at ha-'alam* (Greek = τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ).

In Sura lxii. 2 there is an allusion to God having sent an apostle to the *ummiyin*. As Muhammad here is unmistakably called an apostle from the heathen and for the heathen, it is natural to assume that he also refers to himself as the heathen prophet in the words *al-nabi al-ummi* (Sura vii. 156, 158) and presents himself "to the Jews as a *nabi al-ummi'at ha-'alam*" (Horowitz; cf. Sura vii. 156: "whose name they find written in their *Tawrat* and the *Injil*"). What further shades of meaning Muhammad himself gave to this epithet is however very difficult to ascertain. If we compare the words of Sura vii. 156 with the praise which Muhammad gives in Sura iii. 100, 106 to his *umma* we cannot help thinking that he might possibly also have been making a play on the etymology *ummi* < *umma*. In any case, he did not in the least consider the epithet *al-nabi al-ummi* as derogatory.

Frants Buhl has recently again put forward the thesis that *ummi* means not "heathen" (*ἄπιστος*) but "untaught" (*ἀνάστος*). In spite of the fact that this could very well fit the text of Sura ii. 73, there is on the whole more against than for it. *Ummiyun* in Sura ii. 73 can, if necessary, no doubt be translated "heathen", if one does not want to try something else (see Horowitz). On the other hand, the same word in Sura iii. 69 cannot from the context possibly be translated "untaught", even if we really understand the heathen by it. *Ummi* would also on etymological grounds be difficult to

explain as "layman" for neither the Arabic *umma* nor the Hebrew *ummi'at* nor the Aramaic *umma'at* means people in the sense of the laity. Finally Buhl's objection to the Prophet calling himself a "heathen prophet" loses weight when we remember that Muhammad was perhaps not quite clear about the full significance of the Jewish conception of "heathen" and that he, as above indicated, may have given it a new significance.

The application of the term *ummi* to Muhammad was often quoted as evidence that he could not read or write. In reality the expression has no bearing on the question. For the text of Sura ii. 73 which gives rise to this assumption does not charge the *ummiyin* with ignorance of reading and writing, but with a deficient knowledge of the holy scriptures.

Bibliography: A. J. Wensinck, *Acta Orientalia II* (Leiden 1924), p. 191 sq.; J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin-Leipzig 1926, p. 51-53; do., *Jewish Proper Names and Derivatives in the Koran* (*Hebrew Union College Annual*, ii., Cincinnati 1925, p. 145-227), p. 190 sq.; K. Ahrens, *Z. D. M. G.*, Neue Folge, ix. 37; Buhl-Schaefer, *Das Leben Muhammads*, Leipzig 1930, p. 56, 131. (R. PAKET)

UMRA, "the little pilgrimage". 1. The ceremonies of the (Muslim) *umra*. The *umra*, like the *hajj* [q. v.], can only be performed in a state of ritual purity (*ihrām* [q. v.]). On assuming the *ihrām*, the pilgrim (*mu'tamir*) must make up his mind whether he is going to perform the *umra* by itself or in combination with the *hajj* and express his intention in an appropriate *niya* [q. v.]. If he combines the *umra* with the *hajj* (see below) he can assume the *ihrām* for both pilgrimages at once; in the other case the *ihrām* must be specially assumed for the *umra* in the unconsecrated area (*hull*) outside of the *haram* of Mecca. This holds also for native Meccans who, when they are going to perform the *hajj*, can assume the *ihrām* within Mecca. Three places are preferred for the assumption of the *ihrām* for the *umra*: Dhir'ra, Hudaibiya and especially Tan'im. The latter place was therefore also known as al-Umra. With the utterance of the *labbaik* [q. v.] formula, the actual ceremony of the pilgrimage begins. The *mu'tamir* goes to Mecca in order first of all to go around the Ka'ba [cf. *TAWAF*]. He enters the mosque through the north door of the north-east side (*Bab al-Sallam*), goes under the portal of the Banu Shaiba to the Black Stone built into the wall of the Ka'ba and, turning right, begins the sevenfold circumambulation of the Ka'ba, saying prayers all the while. The first three circumambulations are performed at a rapid pace (*ramal*), the four last at an ordinary rate. After this is finished, in order to acquire a special blessing he presses himself against the part of the Ka'ba wall which lies between the Black Stone and the door of the Ka'ba. In conclusion he prays two *rak'as* behind the Maqam Ibrahim, drinks a draught of the holy Zamzam water and touches once again in farewell the Black Stone (these last ceremonies are however not considered absolutely necessary). The *mu'tamir* now leaves the mosque through the great al-Saff door in order to perform the second essential part of the *umra*, the running between al-Saff and al-Marwa [cf. the article *SA'Y*]. He goes to the hill al-Saff and utters a few prayers there. He then goes to the hill al-Marwa, over

four hundred yards farther north, past the north-east side of the mosque. A short low-lying stretch at the east corner of the mosque is covered at a more rapid pace (*hawal* or *ḥabab*). Reaching al-Marwa, the mu'tamir again utters a prayer. He then returns the same way in the reverse direction and so on until he has covered the distance seven times and ends at al-Marwa. He has thus completed the ceremony of the 'umra, and has only to have his hair cut or be shaved by one of the barbers waiting there. If he is making the 'umra in combination with the ḥajj, he only has his hair trimmed and has the proper cutting done on the 10th Dhū l-Hiǧǧa at the end of the ḥajj.

2. The History of the 'Umra and its relation to the Ḥajj. The ceremonies which make up the Muslim 'umra are undoubtedly for the most part taken over from the pre-Islamic period. They completely lack any close connection with the religion preached by Muḥammad, except for the Muḥammadan prayers used in them. The Prophet did not alter these practices but only assimilated them to his teaching. This he could all the more readily do as their original significance seems to have become but obscurely understood by his contemporaries. That he allowed them to persist at all is probably less to be attributed to his personal reverence for them than to his political instinct which made him respect the traditions of his conservative fellow-countrymen.

On the parts played by the separate ceremonies of the Muslim 'umra in the pre-Islamic period see the articles *ḤIKĀM*, *SA'Y* and *TAWĀF*. The Muslim 'umra as a group of ceremonies forming a single whole also goes back to a pre-Muḥammadan institution. This is shown by the very fact that Muḥammad refers to it by a name which in his time seems already to have been a special term and enables us to assume that the thing itself was well-known. This however does not mean that the separate parts of the pre-Islamic 'umra exactly corresponded to those of the Muslim 'umra. The two institutions, so far as we can see, did not exactly coincide. It is however very difficult to make out in what the difference lay, as we do not even know the earliest form of the Muslim 'umra, much less that of the Dǧāhiliya. We have therefore to make up for the lack of authentic sources by deductions from material which is not absolutely above reproach.

The pre-Muḥammadan 'umra probably consisted of ritual acts, which were performed in a state of *iḥrām* within Mecca and included the *tawāf* of the Ka'ba. On the other hand, the course between al-Safā and al-Marwa (*sa'y*) does not seem to have been included. This follows from the text of Sūra ii. 153, which clearly distinguishes between ḥajj and 'umra on the one hand and the course between al-Safā and al-Marwa on the other and describes the performance of the latter in connection with the ḥajj or 'umra as irreproachable, indeed even meritorious, but still as a work of supererogation. Muḥammad himself performed it in 632 following the *tawāf* and thus by his example gave a further stimulus to the incorporation of the *sa'y* into the Muslim 'umra. If the Muslim 'umra in this respect shows an accretion compared with that of the pre-Muḥammadan period, it seems also to have lost something. For the 'umra in the Dǧāhiliya can hardly have consisted of the *tawāf* only. Probably an additional essential element in it was

the sacrifice of animals bought for the special purpose, a custom which was later mainly confined to the ḥajj. Muḥammad himself brought sacrificial animals to the unfortunate 'umra of al-Ḥudāibiya and a year later to the so-called 'Umra al-Ḳadā'.¹

As to the relation of the 'umra to the ḥajj, the very similarity of these two institutions has contributed to confuse them and to blend their distinguishing features. Their reciprocal fusion had already begun in the last years of the Prophet. Muḥammad began the only ḥajj in which he took part as head of the Muslim community shortly before his death, by performing the *tawāf* and *sa'y* after his arrival in Mecca, ceremonies which did not originally form the beginning of the ḥajj but were elements of the Muslim 'umra. He thereupon put off the *iḥrām* and said that the ceremonies so far performed formed an 'umra. When moreover 'Umar and others of those with him did not approve of putting off the *iḥrām* and did not follow him, this clearly shows how closely the ceremonies of the 'umra were associated with those of the ḥajj for them and that in their view these holy acts should be performed in one and the same *iḥrām*. If we reflect that the revelation announced on this occasion (Sūra ii. 192) laid down a penance for using the ḥajj for the 'umra in this way and that Muḥammad to some extent acknowledged himself guilty, then it is natural to suppose that Muḥammad had only put off the *iḥrām* in order to be able to associate with his wives who were there and not with the object of keeping 'umra and ḥajj absolutely distinct (see Spöck Hargronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, p. 83—102). In any case, Muḥammad in the year 632 made the 'umra precede the performance of the ḥajj and thus put his approval on the combination of ḥajj and 'umra. This combination had a deeper cause: Muḥammad on the one hand proclaimed Mecca with the Ka'ba as the centre of the worship of Islām and on the other took over the ḥajj, which originally had very little, if anything at all, to do with Mecca, into Islām. He had indeed every reason to bring the Muslim ḥajj into connection with the sanctuary of Mecca. The more he succeeded, however, the more the 'umra lost its *raison d'être* as a special pilgrimage to Mecca. It was therefore quite a natural development when the Muslim 'umra became more associated with the Muslim ḥajj and original elements of the 'umra were absorbed by the corresponding elements of the ḥajj, as was presumably the case with the sacrifices (see above). The 'umra and the ḥajj did not however absolutely combine into one. This was prevented by, amongst other things, the fact that Muḥammad in the pilgrimage above mentioned drew a line of separation between the two by discarding the *iḥrām*.

In the consensus (*ijmā'*) of Muslim opinion, two ways of combining the 'umra with the ḥajj came to be recognised in course of time: *tamattu'* and *ḥirām*. The former term was applied, following Sūra ii. 192 (*man tamattu'a ḥi l-'umra illa l-ḥajj*), to the way which Muḥammad had actually followed, namely combining 'umra and ḥajj with a break in the *iḥrām*. 'Umar threatened during his caliphate to punish its observance with the punishment of stoning and even under the early Omayyads it does not seem to have been usual. *Ḳirām* is the name given to the combination

of 'umra and ḥajj without breaking the *ḥajr*. In this the *ḥajr* is assumed for the 'umra and the ḥajj at the same time. As in the Muslim ḥajj the ceremonies which constitute an 'umra are also performed, according to the prevailing view an 'umra is completely carried out when they have been performed, so that — if the *ḥajr* of *ḥajr* has been taken — the ḥajj is completed. Some authorities however demand that the ceremonies of the 'umra should be specially carried through. The *ḥajr* must not be broken in any circumstances.

The 'umra, in spite of its partial absorption in the ḥajj, has however retained its independence, although only to a limited degree. When the ḥajj is performed alone in the *ḥajr*, i.e. by itself (in contrast to *ṭawāṭ* and *ḥajr*), the 'umra also must be performed separately. Pilgrims who come from outside to Mecca seem as a rule in this case to perform the 'umra after the completion of the ḥajj ceremonies so that they naturally have to assume the *ḥajr* again. In the course of time this independent 'umra ceremony seems to have become gradually confined to such Muslims as were permanently or for a considerable time resident in Mecca or came there at a time other than that of the ḥajj. But it was just this local limitation of the independent 'umra that favoured the survival of traditions from the pre-Muhammadan period. If we therefore learn that the 'umra for centuries was celebrated as an independent ceremony, preferably in the month of Raddab, we can probably see in this a survival of pre-Islamic tradition: the 'umra in the time of *Uḥḥ* was presumably a ceremony observed annually in Raddab and therefore had nothing to do with the ḥajj, the pilgrimage in *Uḥḥ* 'Uḥḥ (cf. also the tradition according to which 'Uḥḥ had his hair cut in Raddab of the year 2 to make himself look like a pilgrim). As Muhammad could only prepare the way for the combination of the 'umra with the ḥajj but not complete it, the old tradition of performing it in Raddab survived for centuries later. It is only in comparatively modern times that Raddab seems to have lost its significance for the performance of the 'umra. The custom of the Meccans of journeying to the holy places of Medina in Raddab perhaps broke it down. When 'umras are now performed in dissociation from the ḥajj (i.e. in *ḥajr*), the nights of the months of the fast (Ramaddān) are specially favoured for this purpose and especially the last ten which are connected with the *ḥajr al-ḥajr*.

3. The significance of the pre-Islamic and the Islamic 'umra. If the pre-Islamic 'umra was annually performed in Raddab and also if the calculation is correct which places Raddab originally in the spring, its similarity with the Jewish passover strikes one at once. The animals which are sacrificed at it were perhaps, as in the Jewish ceremony, originally first born (cf. Wellhausen, *Reise*, p. 98 sq.; W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, p. 227 sq., 464). In Muhammad's time however, the original significance of the 'umra seems to have been practically forgotten and it no longer fell in the spring.

The Islamic 'umra is an expression of piety, mainly of a personal nature, especially if it is undertaken separately and not with the ḥajj, the ceremony observed annually by the Muslim

community together. Probably this individual character is the result of the fact that it lost its independence in time and so far as it was not associated with the ḥajj constituted a work of supererogation. Before Islam the 'umra had probably a more collective character.

The question, answered differently by the different *madhabs*, whether the Muslim is bound to the same degree to perform the 'umra as he is the ḥajj is of little significance, in as much as every Muslim who performs the ḥajj as a rule performs the 'umra at the same time. The case of a pilgrim who has begun a ḥajj and for any reason cannot complete it, is a special one. Under these circumstances he is bound to perform an 'umra in order to be able to put off the *ḥajr* for a time. The omission is however not made good by this. The ḥajj on the contrary must be made good in the following year.

Bibliographie: Th. W. Juynboll, *Handboek der Islamischen Geschiedenis*, Leipzig-Leipzig 1910, p. 138 sq.; [Wahāt al-Awḥāl, Kīm al-Masūdī] *al-Fih al-Madīnah al-ḥarama*, Kīm al-Madīnah, Cairo 1928, p. 664—669, 676—686, 692—698; Bakhar, ed. Krich, l. 443—449; Muslim-Nawawi, iii. 216—218; Najir-i Khosraw, *Sefer-nāme*, ed. Schefer, p. 66 sq.; Ibn Ljubar, *Rihla*, ed. Wright-de Goeje (*G. M. S.*, v.), p. 80 sq., 128—137; Ibrahim Rif'at Nāḥa, *Mir'at al-Haramain*, Cairo 1925, i. 99, 101, 337; Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina*, iii., Leipzig 1874, p. 122—128; E. Rutter, *The Holy Cities of Arabia*, London-New York 1928, i. 96—114; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii., Haag 1889, p. 55, 70, 75 sq., 83 sq.; do., *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, Leyden 1880 (= *Verzpreide Geschiedenis*, i. 1 sq.); Wellhausen, *Reise arabischen Heidentums*, p. 78 sq., 84, 98; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, Paris 1923, esp. p. 192 sq. and 304 sq.; H. Lammens, *Le culte des bœufs et les processions religieuses chez les Arabes préislamites* (*B. T. F. A. O.*, Cairo 1910, p. 39—101), esp. p. 64 and 78; do., *Les sanctuaires préislamites dans l'Arabie occidentale* (*M. F. O. B.*, xi. 2), Beirut 1926, esp. p. 119, 129—133; C. Clemens, *Der ursprüngliche Sinn des ḥajj* (*Isl.*, x. 161—177), p. 165—167.

(R. PAKET)

'UNAIZA, one of the most important towns in southern Najd, and of the district of Ḥamā. The vocalisation used here is confirmed by the Arab geographers (e.g. expressly by al-Bakr, *Ma'āḥim*, p. 670; Yāqūt, *Ma'āḥim*, iii. 737 and *pass.*) and lexicographers (e.g. *Lisān al-'Arab*, vii. 251) and also by the modern pronunciation [C. M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge 1888 (London 1924), ii. 551 gives for it as his authority the educated negro Shaikh b. 'A'idh at 'Unaiza]. The transcription varies with different writers [Aneizeh, Anizeh, 'Aneiza, Anizeh, Anizeh(h), Anizeh, Anizeh; English also Anizeh, 'Aneiza(h), Anizeh, Anizeh; French Aneizeh, 'Aneizeh] and sometimes agrees with that of the tribe 'Anaza, transcribed in different ways. As regards the etymology, M. v. Oppenheim (*Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, Berlin 1900, ii. 54) deduces too much from the assonance when he thinks that the name suggests the original home of the 'Anaza. If any etymological relation between the two names may be assumed, the most we can

may be that the foundation of the town may be ascribed to the tribe. The note in the *Taḥḍīb al-Arabī*, iv. 62 (cf. *Lisān*, op. cit.) is also based on a connection with a tribe-name. The explanation given to Doughty (op. cit., ii. 562, s. v. *Blackstone* [of Aneyza]) is untenable: "The name of Aneyza is from a berg upon which it is built".

In ancient times the site of Unaiza seems to have been occupied by *Ṭāḡa* (Ptol. vi. 7. 31), i. e. the *Djard al-Kasim* of the Arab geographers (e.g. *Yāḥūt*, ii. 56), the old capital of *Kasim*; none of the positions given by Ptolemy corresponds to the position of Unaiza so closely as that of *Gorda*, 76° 10', 24° 30' (still better the vulgate 24° 10'). *Djard(a)* was located by A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Berne 1875, p. 168, in the vicinity of the modern Buraida or *Uyūn* (north of Unaiza), by Doughty (op. cit., ii. 606) with more reason, in the ruined site of the modern el-Eheli on the Wadi 'I-Rumma, east of al-Rass (S. W. of Unaiza). Unaiza is mentioned in the older Arabic poetry, e.g. in the *Ḥamāza*, p. 211, 501 (ed. Freytag), in *Imru'u 'I-Kais* (ed. Ahlwardt, *The Divan*), No. 34, 3, in the *Nabḥ al-ḥiḍ* (ed. Devan), p. 334, 964, in a quotation from Aws b. Ḥaritha in al-Hamdāni, *Djazīra* (ed. D. H. Müller), p. 172; there is also the Unaiẓain in the *Mu'allaka* of Antara, verse 9, which however does not quite fit (the dual form also in the quotation from a poet in *Yāḥūt*, ii. 135 etc.), a place-name, which according to al-Bakrī, op. cit., and *Yāḥūt*, iii. 739 is identical with Unaiza; it perhaps was applied to two adjacent settlements (cf. al-Karyatāin) of the same tribe, and similarly with Unaiẓt in *Yāḥūt*, iii. 298. It should be remembered however that other places in southern Naǧd with dual endings can be cited, like *Sirraīn*, *Rāmataīn*, *Uḥayyāīn*; but one can hardly see in this simply a local fondness for dual names, as Sprenger, *Z.D.M.G.*, xlii (1888), p. 329 would like to. However little they may weigh singly, these references enable us to conclude that the place was already of some importance in ancient times, as one might expect from its natural situation. It was one of the later Muslim period that its importance began to increase. — Of the references in the Arab geographers the most comprehensive is that in *Yāḥūt*, iii. 737—739; according to him, Unaiza lies between Basra and Mecca (i. e. the halfway caravan station), in the *Baṭn al-Rumma*, the gathering-place of the waters of the wādī, near a hill, which served as a dam (cf. al-Bakrī, p. 207). The place belonged to the Banī 'Amir b. Kurayz. This emphasises the features which made Unaiza important at a later date also, its central position on one of the great roads of northern Arabia and the fact that it was at the place where numerous small streams combined to form the main wādī. In this main passage *Yāḥūt* only adds scraps of information relating to the plentiful water-supply of the district, which include the statement that (according to Ibn al-Fakih) Unaiza was one of the wādīs of al-Yamāma (inaccurate for Naǧd or *Kasim*) near (mount) *Suwādj*, and quotations from poets (including early ones) which are of as little importance as the references to other mentions in poetry as other passages such as i. 626, 762; ii. 259, 855; iii. 262, 298, 398; iv. 93 or the passages from poets in al-Bakrī, p. 207, 310, 670, 684, 801 842. *Yāḥūt* refers, iv. 77, s. v. *Karyatāin* (cf. the article *GIRATHA* in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyklo-*

pädie der klass. Altertumswissenschaft.) only briefly to the state of the water-supply in the vicinity of Unaiza. No further information is afforded by the passages quoted from the poets by al-Hamdāni, p. 172 (see above) and in the list of old watering-places (verses from Muḥallid also given with variations by *Yāḥūt*, iii. 739). In al-Hamdāni, p. 178, Unaiza (with *Wādī* and *Zaby*) is mentioned among the watering-places of the *Kalb* (and so described by B. Moritz, *Arabien*, Hannover 1923, p. 56). Hamdāni's editor (D. H. Müller, ii. 188) has already called attention to the fact that al-Hamdāni in this passage seems to have taken the female name Unaiza in the *Mu'allaka* of Imru'u 'I-Kais, verse 11 as a place-name (and so have others, cf. *Lisān*, vii. 251); *Wādī* also is derived from this *Mu'allaka*, verse 30, and *Zaby* from verse 36. The preceding place-names in Hamdāni, p. 177, are also taken from the poem; this passage is therefore rightly omitted from the *Index geographicus* in Müller, ii. 83b. — In the excerpt from *Yāḥūt* in the *Marāʾid al-Iḥṣāʾ* (ed. Juynboll, ii. 286), Saʿī al-Dīn gives Unaiza as a place between Basra and Mecca, then as a wādī near Mount *Suwādj* in al-Yamāma, and lastly as a well 2 miles from al-Karyatāin in the Wādī 'I-Rumma (the original is *Yāḥūt*, iii. 738; iv. 77). — Sprenger's statement (*Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, p. 171) that Ibn Khurdaǧhbih mentions along with other stations Unaiza after Bina, a station on the road leading from the S.E., does not agree with the text but the place-names in this passage cannot be read with certainty (see *B.G.A.*, vi. 191). Sprenger's remark: "The shortest route from Yamāma to Mecca, no itinerary of which is known to me, joins the Basra-Mecca road at Dar'ya and the road to Medina joins it at Unaiza or near it" as regards the second statement is by no means indisputable. The maps show why we cannot agree with the first. The pilgrim road from al-Yamāma joins the great caravan-road Unaiza-Mecca at the watering-place of *Sparra* (North of the *Djabal Khāl*). Sprenger's idea (*Z. D. M. G.*, xlii. 324, 326) that the Unaiza of the Arabic sources is different from the present Unaiza would not be without parallel but there is not sufficient foundation for it. The statements in the Arab authors are perfectly applicable to the modern town. There are ruins of an old settlement of the Banī Khālīd, *Djannah*, not far from Unaiza (Doughty, op. cit., ii. 354 sq.); if the name Unaiza really used to be attached to another town, it was scarcely farther away from the modern town than *Djannah*. The latter place is said to have been founded about 1300 A.D. by the *Kaisi Sabāʾ*, who also established other settlements in *Kasim* (Doughty, ii. 241, 355; on this tribe we now have more accurate information in H. Philby, *The Heart of Arabia*, London 1922, ii. 350, index).

Of modern geographers, the first to mention Unaiza is C. Niebuhr, from second-hand information however. In 1763 he ascertained that "Anāse" was 10 days' journey from Basra (*Reisebeschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 344; Ritter, *Erskunde*, xiii. 343, 873^a, separates this name and its mention from his Aneyzeh, p. 873^b). The first more accurate information about the interior of northern Arabia dates from the beginning of the 19th century, as a scientific result of the Turkish and Egyptian operations against the Wahhābīs. L. A. Corance's *Histoire des Wahhabis* (Paris

1810) already contains reliable geographical information, in the publication of which S. de Sacy co-operated. The latter in the *Tableau*, note 39, p. 214 on p. 218 of this *Histoire* (appendix) gave the first fairly accurate list of the divisions of the Wahhābī kingdom and gave the provinces of al-Nadjd including among them in the third place Kaṣīm, with the three towns 'Kaṣīm, Beryd (Buraida) and Eneyrā' and ten more (cf. the extract in Ritter, *op. cit.*, p. 467 *sq.*). When the Egyptian troops under Tusun, the second son of Muhammad 'Alī, Pasha and afterwards viceroy of Egypt, in the campaign against the Wahhābīs in 1815 had advanced into the interior of Nadjd as far as the borders of Kaṣīm and then began to retire, 'Abd Allāh, son and successor of the Wahhābī ruler Sa'ūd who died in 1814, was in 'Unaiza with a hostile force but did not allow himself to be involved in a battle for a decision. After the withdrawal of the viceroy, 'Abd Allāh deposed in 'Unaiza as a punishment the chiefs of Kaṣīm who had joined the enemy, and incited the Arab tribes against one another (cf. on the events of the campaign: F. Mengin, *Histoire de l'Égypte*, Paris 1823, II, 33 *sqq.*). On Ibrahim Pasha, the eldest son of Muhammad 'Alī, advancing on Nadjd in 1816, 'Abd Allāh again collected his forces in 'Unaiza. Ibrahim forced his way into 'Unaiza out of which 'Abd Allāh had retired to Buraida a few hours before. The citadel of 'Unaiza, about a quarter of an hour from the town, surrendered after several days' bombardment whereupon the town itself which had been abandoned by most of its inhabitants also surrendered (cf. Mengin, *op. cit.*, p. 105 *sq.*). After the fall of 'Unaiza the rest of Kaṣīm soon submitted to Ibrahim, who had nearly 6,000 palm-trees cut down in 'Unaiza to use them in the manufacture of war material. — Just before the defeat of the Wahhābīs, J. L. Burckhardt (1815 and 1816) had collected at Mecca information about 'Unaiza and Kaṣīm (cf. his *Travels in Arabia*, London 1829, app. vi, p. 457 *sqq.*). He gives Buraida as the capital of Kaṣīm because this was the residence of the Shaikh at this time; but 'Unaiza was much greater in size, which he compares with Siyūt in Upper Egypt (3,000 houses!). He mentions bazaars and prominent merchants in the town (extract in Ritter, *op. cit.*, p. 452 *sqq.*). — The next eye-witness was Captain G. F. Sadlier, who (1819) was the first European to cross Nadjd from east to west, from Kaṣīm to Medina. He mentions (*Account of a journey from Katif . . . to Yambu*, in *Transactions of the Lit. Soc. of Bombay*, London 1823, III, 474) 'Anizeh' as a place of importance, but it like other towns had been for the most part destroyed in the fighting; a few date-palm groves had survived. According to him, 'Unaiza was the capital of southern Kaṣīm and as a result of its central position in a well watered valley was the centre of a busy trade, indeed the emporium for a considerable part of North Arabia, a junction of caravan routes from Baṣra, Kaṣīm and al-Aḥsā to Medina and Yambu'. The town thus had a political as well as a commercial importance. Sadlier still found a number of merchants in the devastated town. His journey was frankly too hurried to enable him to gather scientific information of value. — Berghaus, *Arabia* (Gotha 1835), p. 88 *sq.* calculated the geographical position of 'Unaiza as 26° 26' N. Lat. and 41° 17' East Long. Paris (more exactly 26° 23' N. Lat., 41° 30' East Long.

Paris [44° 7' East Long. of Greenwich]; on Moritz's map the position is put too far to the south and east). Ritter published (*op. cit.*, III, 523) from W. Schimper's *Arabische Reise* (MS.) a table of population statistics which the botanist had drawn up in Tā'if from the unchecked statements of a Wahhābī in 1836, i.e. about 15 years after the war; 'Unaiza according to this had 25,000 inhabitants, which is probably too high a figure. The cruelty of Ibrahim's borders had only stimulated Wahhābism and about 1849 the last remnant of Turkish-Egyptian influence in Nadjd disappeared. — Later explorers of North and Central Arabia went through Hā'il to the north, passing 'Unaiza. W. G. Palgrave (*A narrative of a year's journey through Central and Eastern Arabia*, 1865) in 1862–1863 on his journey from Hā'il only came as far as Buraida. His statement that 'Unaiza has 32,000 inhabitants is untenable, like his other figures for Kaṣīm. His account has always been distrusted; cf. most recently Philby's doubts (*op. cit.*, II, 134 *sqq.*) on the reliability of Palgrave's account of his stay south of Hā'il and his polemic against D. G. Hogarth (*The Penetration of Arabia*, London 1905, p. 248 *sqq.*) and other champions of Palgrave; among the latter are F. Hommel, *Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients* [*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, sect. III., part I., book 1, 2nd half], Munich 1926, p. 527. From about 1855 Faṣāl, who lived in Riyāḍ and was presumably a grandson of 'Abd Allāh, was trying to take 'Unaiza; but the warlike inhabitants led by Zāmil repelled his attacks and peace was made. The treacherous Faṣāl however again began fighting in 1862; the town could not hold out against the superior numbers of the enemy and after its defenders had suffered a disastrous defeat, it was incorporated with the rest of Kaṣīm in the Wahhābī state of Nadjd (on the events after 1847 see Palgrave in A. Zehme, *Arabien und die Araber seit hundert Jahren*, Halle 1875, p. 379 *sqq.*). The fetters of dependence were soon cast off however for by Doughty's time 'Unaiza was again the model of a free independent community in Arabia. — In 1864 C. Guarnani (*Il Neged Settentrionale, itinerario da Gerusalemme a Anizeh nel Casim*, Jerusalem 1866; with a map [N^o 7] of his road from Buraida to 'Unaiza) tried to penetrate into Kaṣīm from Hā'il southwards but was taken for a Turkish spy and was brought a prisoner to 'Unaiza, the base of operations of 'Abd Allāh b. Faṣāl, who was at war with the Beduins; the emir Zāmil however released him and he went to the Djabal Shammar. The fact that he was a prisoner prevented him making any special observations in 'Unaiza. According to him, it is the most important town in Central Arabia, the capital of Kaṣīm and has 15,000 inhabitants in seven quarters. He confirms isolated statements by Palgrave. — Shaikh Ḥamid of al-Raṣa, J. G. Wetstein's authority (*Nordarabien und die syrische Wüste nach den Angaben der Eingeborenen*, in *Zeitschr. f. allgem. Erdkunde*, Berlin 1865, xviii, 408 *sqq.*), talks of an alliance between 'Unaiza and Buraida for protection against the people of the Shammar territory, the capital of which is Hā'il and gives a few geographical statements, e.g. on the stations on the road from 'Unaiza to Buraida. 'Unaiza, 'the mother of Nadjd', he calls the largest town of Nadjd; it is surrounded by gardens; the palms cut down by Ibrahim had been

replanted (cf. e.g. J. Euting, *Tagebuch einer Reise in Inner-Arabien*, ii., Leyden 1914, p. 14 on dates from 'Unaiza).

The information so far available only enabled a rough picture of the appearance of the town to be drawn. It was known for example, that outside the strong city wall lay palm-groves around which there ran an outer wall. The first and so far the only traveller to give a full and reliable account of 'Unaiza is Doughty (in *Arabia Deserta*; a not always well chosen abridgment is E. Garnett's *Wanderings in Arabia*, London 1912²). On his journey through northern Arabia, which occupied nearly two years (1876–1878) he also visited Ha'il and when he was driven from there and afterwards from Buraida also, was given a better reception, at first at least, in the rival of the latter town. Under Zamil's patronage, he was enabled to stay some months in 'Unaiza (April 29–July 16, 1878), unlike other European travellers before and after him, and had therefore sufficient leisure for thorough exploration and observation. He describes (*Arab. Des.*, ii. 337 sqq.; *Wanderings*, ii. 161 sqq.) the aspect and the walls of the town, the town itself, its streets, the houses outside and inside, the wells and water-supply, the date-groves around the town; he gives a vivid picture of the life of the citizens, their personal qualities and manners and customs, their food and clothing, the religious and secular life of rich and poor, the social conditions, and the distribution of labour. In a special chapter (*Life in Anayza*, ii. 365 sqq.) are collected observations on the characteristic features of tribal life, the defences and other aspects of the life and work of the town. Commerce is especially well developed; among the numerous merchants are some from abroad; merchants of 'Unaiza on the other hand have their depots in Djidda, Mesopotamia and elsewhere. Caravans (coming from Basra) go from there to Mecca and Medina. Various classes of artisans and tradesmen are to be found there (field-labourers, masons, gold- and silversmiths and other workers in fine crafts whose filigree work is much esteemed in Mecca; cf. also Moritz, *op. cit.*, p. 57). From his account it is clear that the city occupied an outstanding position in Central Arabia for its prosperity and culture. In the fifteen years before Doughty's visit, it had doubled in size and now had about 15,000 inhabitants; Guarnani gave about the same number. It is called the centre of Arabia from its position in the middle of the caravan route from Basra to Mecca; it could really be regarded as the metropolis of Najd. Learning is held in high esteem by the rich merchants. Half of the townspeople are Wahhābīs (on the movements of Wahhābism for 25 years before Doughty's arrival see ii. 428 sqq.). Wahhābī fanaticism brought about Doughty's expulsion from 'Unaiza; the "Nasrānī" set out towards Mecca with the "batter caravan" which had come from Basra. — Doughty's investigations established the main lines of the system of wādis of North Arabia and ascertained that the wādī, which runs south of Buraida, just above 'Unaiza (on this region see Leachman, *Geogr. Journal*, London 1914, p. 512, the first to visit it since Nolde), is the Wādī 'l-Rumma (according to Yāqūt, ii. 823, to be written with one *m*, not Rumma, as Ibn Duraid for example requires; pronounced 'r-Rumh in northern Arabia, see Moritz, *op. cit.*, p. 22), about the course of which erroneous ideas were previously

current (cf. Yāqūt, *op. cit.*). Southern Kašim may be called a gift from this wādī.

What we are told about 'Unaiza by writers since Doughty amounts only to a few notes on local history. Euting (*op. cit.*, i. 63) records in his diaries for 1883 (at Kāf) the struggle between the two Wahhābī families, that of Ibn Sa'īd and that of Ibn Rashīd, for supremacy in North Arabia; ii. 226 (in 1884 at el-Ōlā) a message of victory from Ibn Rashīd. — Ch. Huber, who came in 1884 from Ha'il via Buraida to 'Unaiza, where he only stopped a few hours, mentions in his *Journal d'un voyage en Arabie*, Paris 1891, p. 685, that 'Unaiza was completely independent and had over 5,000 rifles; Palgrave gives a similar estimate for the fighting men of 'Unaiza and the villages belonging to it (cf. Zehme, *op. cit.*, p. 380). Huber (p. 709) gives only a few cursory remarks on the immediate neighbourhood of the town; his map No. 13 gives a very useful sketch of the route for the stretch from Buraida to the Djabal al-Nir. — E. v. Nolde in 1893 on his journey to the camp of the emir of Ha'il, Muḥammad b. Rashīd (between Shakrā and Riyāḍ), also made a brief visit to 'Unaiza; in his *Reise nach Innerarabien, Kurdistan und Armenien 1892* (recte 1893!), Brunswick 1905, p. 78 sqq., he gives only details that were already known. His statement based on his enquiries, that 'Unaiza has about 35,000 inhabitants, is wrong. His information about the wars of Ibn Rashīd (p. 68 sq.) who became lord of Najd after taking 'Unaiza in 1891, is more valuable. — As Nolde (p. 69) had prophesied, the situation changed; soon after the death of Ibn Rashīd (1897), the political preponderance of the Shammar capital Ha'il disappeared and 'Unaiza again became independent. Buraida which is smaller, has recently come much to the front in the hegemony of Kašim. — Philby is the first to have acquired a knowledge of the land S.W. and S. of the political capital of Najd (Riyāḍ), especially of the district of al-Aḥlāḍj; in 1917–1918 he went from Riyāḍ around the whole Tuāḡ range to the south to the Wādī Dawāḡir. He tells us nothing special about 'Unaiza, although (*op. cit.*, ii. 120) he went not only to Midnab, but also via Buraida into Kašim, where Raunkjaer had been some seven years before him and Leachman in 1912, as far as Kuḡaliba (cf. also his references to 'Unaiza, i. 47, 54, 365). He gives in some details an account of the most recent developments of Wahhābism (see ii. 334, index).

Bibliography: The authors of the standard works (such as Yāqūt, al-Bakrī, al-Ḥamdānī; of modern writers: Burckhardt, Sadlier, Ritter, Guarnani, Palgrave, Zehme, Sprenger, Doughty, Huber, Nolde, Philby, Moritz) are given in the article with the necessary bibliographical details.

(J. TRATSCH)

UNŠUR (plur. 'ANŠUR) means, like *apē, rukn, isṭak* (στυλῶν) etc., principle, basis, element in the general sense. It is used in the special sense of *materia prima*. The hellenising philosophers, as a rule, use *arḥān* or *isṭakīyāt* for the four elements of the sublunar world, which are composed of matter and form and, according to the prevailing view, are mutable. The material of the heavenly spheres is called *rukn* by these philosophers, more frequently however a fifth nature (*tab*).

Bibliography: Sprenger, *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, p. 960 sqq. (TJ. DE BOER)

UNŞURI, ABU 'I-KĀSIM HASAN B. AHMAD AL-UNŞURI of Balḫ, a Persian poet. The year of his birth is unknown and that of his death is variously given, this most probable date being 441 (1049–1050). Very little is known of his life. The matter, mainly anecdotes, recorded by the Persian literary historians is of very little value. According to a very late source, Riḍā Kuli Khān's *Majma' al-Faḡāh* (Tehran 1295, i. 355), he was captured by robbers while on a trading journey in his youth and deprived of all his goods. He was later brought by Amīr Naṣr, brother of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, to the latter's court, where he was highly esteemed as a court poet. According to the Persian sources, he held the office of poet laureate (*shāh-i shu'arā'*) at the head of 400 other poets. How far this is accurate, it is impossible to say. That Unşuri was highly esteemed by his contemporaries as an artist is evident, at any rate from the reverence in which he is held by Miṣṭāḥīrī. The latter sang his praises in the celebrated *ḡazals* of the candles (N^o. xxxiii. in Kasimīrskī's edition). The stories however which tell how Unşuri was commissioned by King Maḥmūd to produce a poetic version of the Iranian epic and how he did not feel fit for the task and recommended Firdawsī to the king for the work (e.g. Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā'*, ed. Browne, p. 51), are part of the legend that has grown up around the great author of the *Shāhnāma*.

Works. Unşuri wrote three *mathnawīs* all of which are lost. Their titles were *Kāhīn But u-turkī But* (The White and the Red Idol), *Nāḥ-i 'Ain al-Hayāt* (this is the most probable reading but the forms in which this title is given vary) and *Wāmīk u-Adhrā*. His *Diwān* however has survived and exist in manuscripts and in a Tehran edition of 1298 (1881).

A. The *Mathnawīs*. While the two first mentioned romantic poems by Unşuri are more titles to us, we know at least the contents of his *Wāmīk u-Adhrā*. The subject was taken later by several Persian poets, but not much seems to have survived of this poem. There is a fragment of a Persian *Wāmīk u-Adhrā* poem by a certain Nāmī in a manuscript in the British Museum (Add. 7721, cf. Rieu, *Catalogue*, ii. 813). The version of this romantic theme by the Ottoman poet Lāmī'i (d. c. 940 = 1533) is well known [cf. J. v. Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst bis auf unsere Zeit*, ii. 45 sq., where a full synopsis is given. We may note that von Hammer's much abbreviated verse translation *Wāmīk und Asra* (Vienna 1833) does not give a proper idea of the contents of the original].

Lāmī'i mentions Unşuri as his precursor in the poetical treatment of this subject in the following lines:

*caḡlān bu ḥisr-i khorāsh manzar
nazm edib yamīk meḡr kim 'Unşuri;
Rūma dāḡmūsh āḡhīr al-kūr-āḡh
Turkī dīden ḡullān āḡlūsh palāz*
(from the Leyden MS. N^o. 566).

The subject of the romance is the love story of Wāmīk, son of the Khāḡān of Cīn, and the princess Adhrā. The young man falls in love with a picture of the princess and has to go through many adventures and suffer much before he is united with his beloved. He is for example taken prisoner in war, falls into the hands of the

black fire-worshippers, who wish to sacrifice him but he escapes, because the flames will not attack him and has adventures with *ferīs* (whose king is his friend) and *ghim*. Adhrā has not much better fortune. She also falls into dangers of all kinds, until the lovers meet at the court of King Miṣḡān of Tā, where not only is their marriage celebrated in brilliant fashion but several other happy couples, secondary characters in the romance, are also united. The Turkish poem of course only enables us to learn the subject of the lost Unşuri poem; its external form with its numerous lyrics and rather precious style is a creation of Lāmī'i. The nature of Unşuri's poem would have been quite unknown to us if a few verses had not been preserved in Asadī's Persian dictionary *Lughat al-Farī* (ed. P. Horn, p. 25 where these fragments are given). We thus learn that the romance was written in *mutabā'irī*; this metre survived in later times only for the heroic epic, while the romantic epic used other metres.

As to the subject of the poem we know — only on the very poor authority of Dawlatshāh however — that a romance of Wāmīk and Adhrā had already been written in Pahlavi for Khusrāw I and that a copy was brought to 'Abd Allāh b. Tāhir. The latter, however, is said to have ordered it to be destroyed because, as he said, he abominated the books of the fire-worshippers (Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkirat*, ed. Browne, p. 30; cf. E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia from Firdawsī to Sa'dī*, p. 275 sq.). This story probably caused von Hammer (G. O. D., ii. 45) to say: "The cause of the disappearance of this poem in Islām seems to have been mainly the fact that it originally contained the teaching of the fire-worshippers.... in its present form therefore it cannot be regarded as the original story but only as a feeble echo of it". E. J. W. Gibb's judgment (*Hist. of Ottoman Poetry*, iii. 26) is also based on this passage.

Von Hammer's assumption is however unnecessary even if we grant that there was a Pahlavi original. The subject of the poem is the final union of two lovers in spite of all obstacles. This very subject is the main theme of the Hellenistic romances of the early centuries A. D. We may perhaps assume that there were free versions of such romances in Pahlavi literature (which perhaps came through Syriac) and that the original story of Wāmīk was based on a work of this kind. The matter must of course have been adapted to the East and Muslim authors must have later contributed their share. That the supposed Pahlavi original had a religious bias, as von Hammer thinks, can never be proved and is, besides, very improbable. One circumstance which makes the assumption of a Pahlavi original less probable is the fact that the two chief characters in the poem have Arabic names, as P. Horn (*Gesch. d. Pers. Litt.*, p. 178) has already recognised.

B. The *Diwān*. Unşuri's *Diwān* contains, as one might expect, mainly *ḡazals* in praise of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, his brother Naṣr and his son Maṣ'ūd as well as of nobles like the vizier Maṣṡūdī. It of course also contains *ghazals*, *ḡifās* and *rubā'īs*; the author himself says that he is a writer of love-poems as well as a panegyrist:

*marā bahra du lā 'amad ā gīst
dū-ā pāk u-wāḡān-i madh-gustar
yakt bar mīhr-i ḡānān wāḡf kardam
yakt bar madh-i Shāḡanānān-i kishwar*
(*Majma' al-Faḡāh*, i. 357).

'Unšuri's primary importance is as a writer of *ḡazals*. The oriental literary historians are most enthusiastic about these panegyrics but the value of their judgment is lessened by the well-known fact that in most cases they are too lavish in their praise. To a European, the whole panegyric poetry of the Persians offers little attraction; one must however recognise that 'Unšuri shows himself by no means unfitted for his task. The subjects of the *ḡazals* are usually the great deeds of King Mahmūd: in these cases the poems contain an epic element. There are other subjects which we find in other panegyricists, e.g. Minūčihri, such as the descriptions of festivals (*ḡazal-i sada* etc.) or the king's war-horse. 'Unšuri also writes on Mahmūd's war-elephant and his sword. That the poet occasionally expresses the same ideas and images in different *ḡazals* can hardly be avoided in view of the uniformity of his subjects. 'Unšuri's *taḡhīb*s are often erotic but we also find the descriptions of nature which we know so well from Minūčihri and Azrakī for example. In such *taḡhīb*s we often find quite beautiful lines, for example in a description of the beginning of spring:

Afšar-i simin firū ḡraz zi sar kūh-i buland
(*Maḡjma' al-Fuḡḡā*, i. 356). His *guzāḡā*s (transitions from *taḡhīb* to *maḡh*) not infrequently contain original ideas, as when he says that in spring the days increase in length like the power of the king and the nights become shorter like the lives of Mahmūd's enemies.

In these poems we find all the rhetorical embellishments of the period just as in the panegyricists of the later Gharnawids and Saldjaks. We frequently find very pretty comparisons: e.g. in the description of one of the king's victories:

har āb dar ḡamaḡ ḡharḡā ḡḡand ān
[*Fir'awn*,
In har ḡuḡḡāḡḡ har ān āb ḡḡḡ Mūsāwār
(*Maḡjma' al-Fuḡḡā*, i. 358).

Very neat is an allusion like:

ān kih dar har ān dārād raḡm ḡamīn
[*nām-i ḡḡwād* (= Mahmūd)
wān kih dar har kām dārād ḡim ān
[*rām-i fuḡār* (= Mas'ūd)
(*Maḡjma' al-Fuḡḡā*, i. 360).

Less fine, even to European taste rather frigid, pictures are not lacking; thus he compares a garden bright with flowers to a copy of the book of Euclid with its many mathematical figures.

In one pleasing and ingenious form of poem he attained considerable success, e.g. in the poem on Naṣr, which consists of questions and answers (transl. by Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia from Firdaws to Sa'di*, p. 121 sq.), as in another *ḡazida* on the same prince (*Maḡjma' al-Fuḡḡā*, i. 362) which has three internal rhymes in each couplet:

ḡḡiradrā ḡāḡi n-firāya, udabrā ḡḡwār
[*n-māya*,
ba dīl ba fāḡḡ ḡamīya, ba ḡimmat ba
[*ḡadā ḡambar*.

The reading aloud of such a piece must have been very effective, but practically all the beauty of these pieces disappears in translation (cf. P. Horn's observations in his *Genh. d. Pers. Litt.*, p. 80).

Some of 'Unšuri's smaller poems are said by the literary historians to be improvisations composed on certain occasions. The best known is the quatrain which he is said to have uttered when Mahmūd had his favourite Ayāz's locks shorn and regretted it afterwards (cf. Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 38). Other short poems were improvised on the king's falling from his horse and on Mahmūd being blind.

Even in the middle ages 'Unšuri was reckoned a classic. Ibn Kaṡi, the celebrated writer on poetics, quotes him ten times (cf. Ibn Kaṡi, *Maḡjma' G. M. S.*, x, index). We may note the passages on p. 325, where the line which is given as an example of the figure of speech called *taḡhīb-i maḡh* may be a fragment of the *Wāmīḡ*; on p. 445, where in the discourse of borrowing in poetry (*naḡl*), a passage from 'Unšuri's poetry is quoted, the idea of which is borrowed from Rūdaki but is better expressed by 'Unšuri, and lastly on p. 269 where Ibn Kaṡi cites a passage in 'Unšuri for the archaic form *abar* instead of *bar*, of which idiom he however disapproves.

Bibliography: 'Awfī, *Luḡab al-Allāb* (ed. Browne), ii. 29 sqq.; Dawlatshāh, *Taḡhībāt al-Shu'arā'* (ed. Browne), p. 44 sqq.; Latīf 'Alī Beg, *Ataḡḡada*, Bombay 1299, p. 319 sqq.; Riḡā Kūli Khān, *Maḡjma' al-Fuḡḡā*, Teheran 1295, i. 355 sqq.; *Grundriss der Iran. Phil.*, ii. 224, 239 sq., 368; E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia from Firdaws to Sa'di* (index); Rieu, *Supplement* (index).

(V. F. BOCHNER)

'UNWĀN, MUHAMMAD RIḡĀ R. HĀḡIDJI ŠĀḡḡI TABRIZI, Persian poet who flourished in the middle of the sixteenth century. He lived in Meshhed; Tāḡir Naṣr-Ābādi met him there and quotes him in his *Taḡhīb* completed in 1089 (1678). His *diwān* is in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Ivanow, *Descriptive Catalogue*, coll. Curzon, Calcutta 1926, p. 198).

Bibliography: 'Alī-Kūli Walīh Dāḡhistāni, *Riyāḡ al-Shu'arā'* (apud Ivanow, *Descriptive Cat.*, coll. Curzon, Calcutta 1926, p. 41; wrongly transcribed 'inwān); Sprenger, *Cat. Oudh* (Calcutta 1854), i. 102. (CL. HUARY)

'UNWĀN (A.), the title of a book, usually decorated in fine manuscripts by a frame work of arabesques which the printers have sought to imitate by a happy arrangement of fleurons, tail-pieces and other printers' ornaments. In Persian manuscripts the first two pages, very much ornamented with floral patterns, are called *nar-fawḡ* "head-plate". (CL. HUARY)

'URBĀN. [See ARABIA, b.]

URDŪ, an Indian language. The Urdū language, which as the result of a series of causes has now come to occupy the position of a *lingua franca* for India, is of mixed origin. Neither Indo-Aryan nor Persian can claim a monopoly in its creation and formation; it has, lexically and grammatically, thrived upon the linguistic and cultural stocks borrowed from both. It is the ineffaceable monument of the mingling of two peoples and their cultures — the Hindū and the Muslim.

With the advent of the Muhammadan conquerors from the North-West the first foundations of this language were laid in India. During the reigns of sultān Mahmūd of Ghazni [q.v.] and his son Mas'ūd [q.v.], many Hindūs, such as Tilak, Nāth and others, held highly responsible posts at the court

of Ghazni. A Hindū army also was stationed there, of which, during Mahmūd's reign, Swendra Rāo, a Hindū, was the commander. The last rulers of the Ghaznavi dynasty left Ghazni and settled in the Panjāb, where they continued to live until their rule came to an end. Thus, both in Ghazni and at Lāhor, Hindūs and Muhammadans began to enter into close contact with each other. Many lords, nobles, and other protégés of Mas'ūd's court, whom the raids of the Saljūq Turks had made homeless wanderers, also sought his protection and made Lāhor their permanent home. This daily contact between the Hindūs and the Muhammadans had a far-reaching influence on the languages spoken by the two communities. Thus we find in *Prithvir Rāj Rāso*, the famous work of Cand Bardai, the court poet of Prithvir Rāj (died A.D. 1192), distinct traces of this influence, for, as he himself states, he "has made use of the Korānic language" (canto i. 23), and his book contains in fact many Arabic and Persian words.

Urdū is a Turkish word meaning "camp" or "army". As the Turks, Persians, and Indians all lived together in the Royal camp, their language, which was an admixture of these three languages, was called the language of the *Aāl-i Urdū*, "people of the camp", or more simply, the language of the *Urdū*, the camp, and after some time the language itself became known as Urdū. Whilst the Muhammadan rulers of India spoke Persian, which enjoyed the prestige of being their court language, the common language of the country continued to be Hindi, derived through Prākṛit from Sanskrit. On this dialect of the common people was grafted the Persian language, which brought a new language, Urdū, into existence. Sir George Grierson, in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, assigns no distinct place to Urdū, but treats it as an offshoot of Western Hindi. This view overlooks the preponderating influence of Persian, which has deeply affected Urdū in its formative process. It is not merely words that are borrowed; the whole poetry of Urdū — its prosody, themes, style, imagery, allusions, grammar, and peculiarities of construction — and even its prose are saturated with Persian. It cannot strictly be called either a branch of Hindi or an offshoot of Persian, but is a distinct language of a mixed character.

The first great Persian poet and writer of India who used Hindi words in his compositions was Amīr Khusrō (655-725 = 1255-1325) (see KHUSRŪ, AMIR 'L-HASAN AMIR). It is generally believed, and has been mentioned in some Taḥkīkāt, that Amīr Khusrō composed many works in Hindi; but these, unfortunately, are not extant, though one or two of his ghazals are still frequently quoted in which one *mirzā* (hemistich) is in Persian and the other in Hindi, and also many verified conundrums (*ḥisā*) etc. in the mixed language.

This practice of writing mixed poetry, with alternate hemistichs in Hindi and Persian, continued long after the time of Khusrō, and it was for this reason that such poetry was called *Rikhta*. Now the word *rikhta* has various meanings, one of which is to produce and rhyme something new. After Amīr Khusrō had succeeded in producing a new combination of Persian and Indian rhymes, the word *rikhta* came to be used as a term of music, denoting a composition of such mixed Hindi and Persian verses or hemistichs as were in harmony both in respect of the subject matter and of the

tune. Gradually, however, the term lost this strictly musical sense, and came to be loosely applied to such bilingual metrical compositions. Still later, every branch of Urdū poetry was called by this name, and finally the language itself came to be known as *Rikhta*. The word *Rikhta* is thus another proof of the mixed character of the Urdū language.

For a long time this new language was called Hindi or Hindwi; subsequently it became known as *Rikhta*, and after some time was called Urdū. This name was the one most popularly accepted, and it survives to this day. During the days of the East India Company, Urdū was called Hindustani (i.e. the Indian language), which is a recognition of the fact that of the numerous languages of India this alone deserves to be regarded as an Indian *lingua franca*.

Though the Urdū language originated in the Dakh (the land of the Two Rivers, the Ganges and the Djenna), or more strictly in Dihli and its vicinity, it was in the tableland of the Dakhan [q.v.] that it first assumed literary form. The earliest users and promoters of Urdū were mostly the learned Sufis, who may be regarded as the real patrons of this language. Just as the great Buddha had given up Sanskrit for Pālī in order to carry his divine message to the masses, so too these learned saints, realising that to reach the people the language of the people must be used, employed Urdū instead of Arabic and Persian, which were the two polished languages of the day; and when in the course of their wanderings they came to such parts of the Dakhan as Dawlatābād, Gulbarga, Ahmadābād, Bidjapur, Patan (Gujarat), etc., they preached to the natives of those parts in the language which they had brought with them from Dihli. Some of them, e.g. Saiyid Muhammad Banda Nawāz (who came to the Dakhan in 800 = 1398 and whose tomb is at Gulbarga), wrote brochures, verses and books in this language. Their example was followed by their disciples, who also wrote books in this language and contributed in no small measure to its popularity. The frequent use in it of Arabic and Persian words and phrases and the use of Persian script distinguished it from Hindi proper.

Besides Banda Nawāz, whose brochure *Mirzā al-Ashiq* has been edited by the present writer (Hyderabad, Dakhan, 1900), there are many other Sufis who used Urdū as the vehicle of their prose and poetic productions. Mirzādī, surnamed Shams al-'Ushshāq (died A.H. 902), a saint of Bidjapur and follower of a disciple of Banda Nawāz, together with his son and successor Shāh Burhān Dīnām (d. 990) and the latter's son Amin al-Dīn 'Alī (d. 1076), were prose and poetry writers of no mean order in Dakhani Urdū. Similarly in Gujarat the credit of popularising the Urdū language goes to Sūfī Shāh 'Alī Muḥammad Dīrī (d. 973) was a great Sufi poet, the collection of whose verses is known as *Ḥayāt al-Arār*. Another Sufi poet, Shaikh Khūb Muḥammad, was the author of the *maṣnawī* called *Ḥabīb Tarang* (written in 986 = 1578). Amīn, author of *Yusuf Zuleikha* (1109 = 1697), also belongs to Gujrat.

There were three great centres of Urdū in the Dakhan, viz. Golkunda, the capital of the Kujab Shāhī kings; Bidjapur, the capital of the 'Adil Shāhī kings; and Ahmadābād (Gujarat); and it is interesting to note that the language spoken

in each of these three centres shows slight local variations.

While almost all the rulers of the Kutub Shāhi dynasty were great patrons of art and learning, sultan Muhammad Kuli Kutub Shāh (reigned 899—1020 = 1580—1611), whose *Kulliyāt* is a voluminous work, was a poet of versatile genius, and his two successors, sultan Muhammad Kutub Shāh (1020—1035 = 1611—1626) and sultan 'Abd Allāh Kutub Shāh (1035—1083 = 1625—1672), and also Tānā Shāh (1083—1098 = 1672—1687), the last ruler of the dynasty, were themselves good poets and used to compose Urdu verses. Other famous poets of the Kutub Shāhi period are: 1. Wajidi, who related a love-story of Muhammad Kuli Kutub Shāh in his mathnawī *Kutub-e-Mughlānī*, written in 1018 A.H.; 2. Shihāb al-Dīn Kuraishi, author of *Bhag Bat*; 3. Shaikh Ahmad Sharif, author of a mathnawī on medicine; 4. Ghawwāsi, author of *Saif al-Muluk wa-Baṣṣat al-Diyāl* (1035) and *Tāpī Nūma* (1049); 5. Ibn Nishāṭi, author of *Phul Ban* (1076); 6. Rāzi or Kuṭubi, translator of *Tuḥfat al-Nāṣirī* or *Pandā āh Tuḥṭa*; 7. Tabī, author of *Bakrām-e-Gulandām*; 8. Walah, author of *Talīb-e-Mohul*; 9. Muḥallī, author of *Zafar Nūma-i-Ishk* (the four last-named belong to the period of 'Abd Allāh Kutub Shāh); 10. Fā'iz, author of *Riqā'at Shāh Rūh-Afsā*; 11. Shāhi and 12. Mirzā, both elegists; 13. Nūrī of Hyderabad and others flourished under Abu 'l-Hasan Tānā Shāh.

The 'Adil Shāhi kings were also great patrons of art and learning. Under Muhammad 'Adil Shāh (1035—1067 = 1626—1656) there flourished four great poets: 1. Hasan Shawkī, author of *Faṭḥ-nāma-i-Niṣām Saḍā* (describing the battle of Tālikotā), and of *Mishkāt-i-'Adil Shāh*; 2. Muḥṣinī (Morzā Muḥṣin Khān), author of *Faṭḥ-nāma-i-Yakheri* (an account of the victory of 'Adil Shāh) and a love-poem of Mahyār o Candar Khān; 3. Rustamī (Kamāl Khān), author of the voluminous mathnawī *Shāh-warnāma* (an account of the wars of the Khalifa 'Alī), written in 1059 A.H.; 4. Malik Khushnūd, author of *Diyānat Singār* (the story of Bahram), written in 1055. Whilst it was Ibrahim 'Adil Shāh II (988—1035 = 1580—1626), called the *Diyānt-Gurū* on account of his mastery of music, and author of the famous book *Nusrat* on Hindi music, who made Hindi (or, more correctly, Dakhani Urdu) his court language in place of Persian, 'Alī 'Adil Shāh II (1067—1083 = 1656—1673) was particularly interested in the Urdu language. Amongst the Dakhani Urdu writers who were active during his reign are: 1. Mullā Nusratī, the famous author of *Gulshān-i-Ishk* and *Alināma*; 2. Ayāghī (Muhammad Amin), author of *Nadīyat-nāma* (1076) and *Shamā'il-nāma*; 3. Saiyid Bulukī, author of *Mirāj-nāma* (1065). During the reign of Sikandar 'Adil Shāh we find the following poets: 1. Shāh Amin al-Dīn A'la (see above); 2. 'Abd al-Mu'min of Bidjāpur, author of *Ishk-nāma* (an account of Saiyid Muhammad of Dīwanpur, *Mahd-i-maw'id*); 3. Hāshimī, the author of *Yūsuf Zulāikha*, the best-known and greatest poet of this period. He was born blind. It was perhaps he who laid the foundation of *rekht*, i.e. poems written in the language and idioms of women, developed by Rangin (see below).

Behri (Kāzi Mahmūd) of Gogi author of *Man Lagan* (1112 = 1700), Wajidi author of *Panchhi Bacha*, the translator of *Aṭṭār's Manṭiq al-Tair* and

some other poets flourished in the 12th century when Awrangzeb conquered the Deccan. In prose, the first books to be written in Urdu were in the Dakhani idiom. Besides sayings of the saints (such as Shāh Rādī Saiyid Katul, Saiyid Muhammad Banda Nawās, and Shāh Amin al-Dīn A'la), some short treatises on mysticism composed by them are still extant, but these do not possess any great literary significance. Other more voluminous and important works on literature and theology were also written, such as the *Sharḥ-i-Sharḥ-i-Tamhid*. This was a translation into Dakhani Urdu by Saiyid Mirzā of Hyderabad (died 1074 = 1663) of the Persian work called *Tamhidāt* written by kaḍī 'Ain al-Kudāt Hamadānī (died 535 = 1137).

The above-mentioned poet Wajidi or Wajidi was the author of a prose work which has great literary significance, called *Sab-Ras or Husn o Dil* ('Beauty and the Heart'). It is a kind of allegory, describing the conflict between beauty on the one hand and the love sentiments of the heart on the other. The whole book is written in rhymed prose, and was composed in 1045 (1635). Another voluminous prose work, bearing the name of *Tarjama-i-Shamā'il al-Atfiya*, is a translation, made by Mirzā Ya'qūb about 1080 (1670), of the Persian book of Rukn 'Imād al-Dīn, who was a spiritual disciple of Khwāja Burhān al-Dīn (died 732 = 1332 at Dawlatābād). Many other prose works were also written soon after this time.

In this early language, just as Arabic and Persian words have been allowed to intermingle freely with Hindi words, so also the authors have drawn freely upon both Hindi and Muhammadan legends for the subject matter. While some of the themes versified are translations from Persian writers and poets, for others the authors are indebted to popular legends in the Sanskrit and Hindi languages, and also to Hindi folklore, e.g. Nal Damay, or Nusrat's famous mathnawī *Gulshān-i-Ishk*, which is a love story of Madhmālū and Manohar, or the story of Kām-rūp Kāmā. In the books written by the Sūfis, words of all three languages, Arabic, Persian and Hindi, have been freely used, and the poets too have drawn their similes and metaphors from all three.

It was, however, only when these works began to be written in Persian characters, and the system of Persian (or Arabic) prosody was adopted, that the real foundations of the Urdu language can be said to have been laid. The *Padmāvat* of Malik Muhammad of Dīwān (947 = 1540), although composed in the perfect Hindi of that period and containing but a sprinkling of Arabic and Persian words, was nevertheless written in Persian characters. The prose works as well as the verses composed in the early Dakhani Urdu were similarly written, and the majority of the poems have Persian metres. Malik Muhammad, by presenting the pure Hindi language of that period in Persian characters, represents the fusion of Indian and Islamic cultures. The writers who came after him went a step further, and by writing prose and poetry in a combination of Hindi, Persian and Arabic words still more closely cemented this alliance. Their adoption too of Persian (i.e. Arabic) prosody helped to make the foundations of the new language permanently strong. This may be ascribed to the influence of Persian culture, which was then predominant. Closely in the wake of foreign prosody

came foreign music, and these two helped to give an entirely new colouring to the nature and moral tone of Urdu poetry.

The beginnings of what may be called modern Urdu poetry were made in the time of Muhammad Shah (1151-1161 = 1719-1748). Even Wali Dakhani (1099-1159 = 1688-1744) of Awrangabad learned from the masters who were then at Delhi, and drew his inspiration from them. His verse shows a tendency to select and refine, and he sincerely endeavours to choose the most polished words and idioms. The proportion of Hindi and Persian elements in his verse, both as regards diction and subject-matter, is about equal. His contemporary Siraj is also a good poet, and uses a purer language than Wali.

The classical period of Urdu poetry begins with Mir Taqi (1137-1225 = 1713-1799). Mir's poetry truly reflects his own life. As he was the son of a pious darwish who had kept himself strictly aloof from everything worldly, the tender and impressionable years of his life were spent in the society of saintly darwishes. He lost his father at the age of eleven, and leaving Agra, his native place, came to Delhi to earn his living. At this time, the once famous and powerful Mughal empire was fast crumbling to pieces, and the frequent incursions of Ahmad Shah Durrani, coupled with the plundering activities of the Daks and the Marathas, had deprived it of even that meagre share of prestige which had been left to it after the devastating onslaughts of Nadir Shah. All this had a deep effect upon Mir (see his autobiography *Chir-i Afsar*), and accounts for the general pessimism and tender pathos of his poetry. His verses are lyrical and are couched in the sweetest, simplest and most melodious language, a combination but rarely met with in other poets. His ghazals and mathnawis are by far the best to be found in Urdu literature, and their merit has been acknowledged by almost all the great poets in Urdu. Mir was a man of very strong character, self-respecting even to a fault, and led a severely disciplined life. During the reign of Shah Alam (1759-1806), when there was no one left in Delhi to encourage poetry, a number of poets migrated to Lucknow, which was then the seat of a flourishing court. Mir too, on the invitation of Nawwab Asaf al-Dawla of Awadh, went to Lucknow and remained there until his death in A.D. 1799.

Sawda (1125-1195 = 1713-1781), a contemporary of Mir, was also a good poet, but he falls far short of the latter. He was impatient of criticism, had no control over his temper, and wrote long satires, but is nevertheless to be ranked among the masters. The chaste and graceful poetry of Khwaja Mir Dard (see the article DARD) (1133-1199 = 1721-1784) reflects the mystic religion of his age. The realist Mir Hasan (d. 1201 = 1786), a follower of Mir Dard, depicts in his poetry the social manners and customs of the age to which he belonged. His famous mathnawi *Shir al-Bayan*, in which he describes both human passions and natural scenes with remarkable fidelity, is the best and most popular mathnawi in Urdu.

We now come to the age of Rangin and Iqbal (d. 1233 = 1817), both of whom, like Sawda, Mir, and Mir Hasan, migrated to Lucknow. At that period Lucknow was the home of fashion and follies and the centre of a polished and pleasure-loving society, which fact could not but

be reflected in the poetry written there. Rangin is generally considered the real originator of *rekht* (see above under Haghini), a form of verse in which everything was written only about women and in the language and idioms used only by them. He is fond of using Hindi words but his standard is very low, and his verses are full of erotic suggestions and other obscenities. Iqbal, on the other hand, is not sensual but misanthropic. He was a true poet but born in a decadent age, when the place of honour was usurped by servility. He regards life as a sport, and in his poetry, though the colours are usually heightened, the sentiment is often falsified. But it should be remembered that he is a master of technique, and that, while his affectations harmed Urdu literature in a general way, they also contributed to it an element of refinement and freshness. Thus his influence on literature has been both good and bad. His book *Darya-i Lafazat* bears eloquent testimony to his mastery of the Urdu language.

Nazir (d. 1830) stands out as a solitary figure in the history of Urdu literature. Though one of the most neglected of Urdu poets, and by some biographers even refused the title of poet, he is an Indian poet in the real sense of the word. Even when swayed now and then by sensual pleasures, he does not cease to be a perfect artist. His best poems are those in which he merrily sings the songs of his native land, or on common topics which appeal alike to young and old, poor and rich. Like nature in India, his imagination too is rich and fertile. Several of his poems on birds and beasts (e.g. "The poor Swan", "The Bear-Cub", and "The young Squirrel") indirectly criticise the social manners and customs of his period. In some of his poems he has portrayed the happy scenes witnessed at Indian festivals, and his love of nature is shown in his vivid descriptions of the seasons. His style, however, is sometimes careless, his verse is faulty, and he has no feeling for the choice of words. He is really a poet of the people and allows nothing to stand between himself and his swiftly-flowing narrative.

Dhawan (d. 1272 = 1855) is a follower of a long line of Persian poets who reduced literary flattery to a fine art. His *ghazals*, most of which were written in praise of the last ruler of the Mughal dynasty, are famous in Urdu literature. Not so, however, are his ghazals, to which his genius was totally unsuited.

At this stage in the history of Urdu literature poetry seemed to have come to a standstill. The poetical productions of the period were mostly imitative, inartistic, and uninspiring, repeating with wearisome monotony the old ideas, themes and even the words which had been again and again employed by earlier poets. At this moment Ghalib suddenly appeared like a new planet in the literary firmament.

Ghalib (1212-1286 = 1787-1869) was descended from a family of warriors, and the warm blood of the Aibek Turks in his veins shows itself in his poetry. While yet a schoolboy he had begun to compose verses, but his real merit as a poet arose only after the great mutiny of 1857. This revolution, representing as it did the conflict of contradictory forces, was destructive of much that ought not to have perished. The complete destruction of many a useful institution of

the Mughal reign, and the extinction of the great Mughal dynasty itself, deeply moved Ghālib and imbued his poetry with that pathos which makes it so poignant. Like all truly great men, he was far ahead of his time, and for this very reason was not appreciated by his contemporaries. He was a pioneer of the modern movement in Urdu poetry. In the whole realm of Urdu literature there is none to surpass him in originality, strength of imagination, or flight of fancy. Ghālib was the first to introduce philosophical conceptions into Urdu poetry, with the result that his verses offer a captivating combination of philosophy, mysticism and pathos. His style is decorative, expressive, and pleasing to the ear. Its one defect is that its literary idiom is Persian, but in spite of this a considerable number of his verses were written in a clear and simple style.

The most famous of the Persian elegies on the martyrdom of Husain, the *Hoft Band* of Muhtasham Kāshī, served as model for the Indian elegiac poets. But Anis (1803-1874) and Dabir (1803-1875) have far excelled their Persian prototype, except that, as in it, the nature of their grief is far from manly. Religious devotion and the literary excellence of their poems have accorded to them a very high position in Urdu literature. Anis is so graphic in his description of battle scenes, and so realistic in his portrayal of the Martyrs of Karbalā', that the whole narrative seems to be alive and is surprisingly true in details. The verse is fluent and majestic, and in places so simple as to be suitable for every-day conversation. But a veil of gloom drapes all the poems. Instead of recounting the heroic deeds of the Imām in a vigorous epic strain, both Anis and Dabir mourn for him, for his sufferings and death, with true feminine grief. The Imām as depicted in these verses does not possess that forcefulness of character which marks all those who have gained martyrdom in the cause of truth. In spite of these defects of characterisation, however, Anis is a true master of language and of the art of poetry.

The period which marks the downfall of Lakhnāi is one of stagnation and reaction in the history of Urdu literature. The poets are innocent of originality, in matter as in style, and overlaid their verse with redundant figures of speech. Atish and Nāsikh are both great masters of technique, but they do not deserve to be ranked with the other great poets of the Urdu language, and the entire "poetical" talent of their followers and pupils consists in puns and plays upon words. The mathnawi of Dayā Shānkar Nāsim (1811-1843), written about this time, is a fine specimen of perfect versifying skill, and would have been good poetry had it not been figurative and ornamental to a fault. The various mathnawis by Shawk are nothing more than mere word-pictures of the corrupt and free manners which characterised the society of that period, and in writing them the poet has drawn his inspiration from the gay and gallant court of Wājid 'Alī Shāh, the last ruler of Awadh. But to do him justice, wanton mirth is not unmixed with grace of art. That is all that can be said in justification of his mathnawis. The poet has sacrificed his art on the altar of frivolity.

After Daḡh (1831-1905) and Amir (1828-1900), the foundations laid by Mir's classical

poetry may be truly said to have fallen asunder. The poetry of both of these shows marked degeneration; both are upholders of that effete tradition which devoted its entire efforts to purposeless but sometimes decorative word-play. Of the two, however, Daḡh is a master of expression, and he has certainly enriched the language by introducing into his poetry colloquial idioms and some exquisite expressions.

It was, however, at this stage in the decline of Urdu poetry, when literature had degenerated into a mere farce, that the influence of the West began to make itself felt in the intellectual life of the country. The West formed a new world of thought laid open for the benefit of the Indian mind. Old traditions were changed; modern sciences replaced subjective egoism by objective art; instead of the classical, ornamental, and rhymed language, a simpler and more natural style of expression was adopted, and the effeminate dilettantism of the age gave way to manliness and self-confidence. In short, there began the true renaissance of Urdu letters.

Muhammad Husain Āzād (d. 1910) was a remarkable embodiment of the characteristics of this period. He was the first poet to drink deep of the fountain of the Occident. He was a philologist and a master of the *muṣawwaf* metrical prose; but he was not a great poet. His contemporary Hālī, however, was altogether different. Hālī was born at Pānīpat in 1253 (1837) and died in 1332 (1914). His boyhood and youth were spent at Dilli at a time when the Mughal empire was fast declining, and as is natural at all such times, social and political upheavals were the order of the day. Hālī was an eye-witness of the setting sun of the Mughals, and all that he saw had a deep effect on his sensitive soul. Though in his literary pursuits he was the successor and pupil of Ghālib and Shāfi, yet intellectually he was a true descendant of the great Arab poets of pre-Islāmic days.

His early poetical productions were of the type then common, but gradually the modern tendencies of the age began to influence him and led him ultimately to Naturalism and to a minute study of the society around him. The genesis of his didactic poetry was the 'Aligarh movement. Through the efforts of Sir Saiyid Ahmad Khān the era of a new humanism dawned upon India, and a new spirit suffused the intellectual and cultural life of Indian Muslims. Hālī was destined to be the bard of this new movement. In his *Musaddas* he not only made the dead past of History a living present, but he also described with surprising detail the national life of the Indian Muslims. Although his poetry is founded on a deep pessimism, he was filled with a passionate longing for truth and burned with the desire to rebuild and reconstruct. Besides being a great poet, Hālī was also one of the interpreters of English literature to the Indian people. But he was a true realist, and never allowed the surging tide of Occidental ideas to carry him off his feet. Before his time, literature was but a medium for expressing the ideas of a class. It was he who opened it up to the masses, and expressed himself in the common language, which was essential for the success of his mission. This, as was to be expected, raised a storm of hostile criticism and satire, but time has vindicated him against his critics. Moreover

his diction is immaculate, and he uses Hindi words in his verse with great beauty and skill.

In face of the flood of new ideas that swept away old-time conventions, Akbar Hussain (1846—1921) raised his voice in support of what to him was Oriental culture, and indulged his humour at the expense of the admirers of Europe and of their follies. Even the modernism of 'Aligarh' could not escape his venomous satires. He regarded Islam and Islamic culture as in grave danger of submergence under the swelling tide of Western materialism, and made it the aim of his poetry to avert this catastrophe. Newfangled ideas came in for a good deal of criticism at his hands, and he has nothing but supreme contempt for those short-sighted Indians who blindly imitated Europeans. His style, at its best, is polished and humorous, even though his verse is marred by a too-studied effort to create effect by word-play and rhyme. It is doubtful if he will be popular with posterity once his present utility as a satirist is exhausted. Though he is not one of the great ones among the poets he is certainly the least imitable of them all.

In modern Urdu poetry three figures stand out preeminent; Ghālīb, Hāli and Iqbāl. Ghālīb's soaring imagination and philosophical ideas broke through the crust of old-time poetry, but his verse is filled with the deepest pessimism. Hāli is one who stands alone amid the fast crumbling ruins of ancient grandeur and weeps over it, but who yet burns with the desire to reconstruct and to revive that which is fast decaying. Iqbāl may not possess the soaring imagination of Ghālīb nor the deep pathos of Hāli, but he has a vigour, an enthusiasm and a creative force all his own. Though not favourably disposed to occidentalism, he has, more than any other of the poets, availed himself of western ideas, which have widened his poetical outlook. His early poetry was of the popular patriotic type, but of late he has developed a keen pan-Islamic feeling. He calls upon Muslims to make religion a basic and unifying principle and to develop the characteristics of the believers of old, and sees the vision of a day, not far distant, when Islam will prove to be the salvation, not only of Asia, but of the whole world. Of late he has devoted his talent to Persian rather than to Urdu verse, for he considers the Persian language to be more serviceable in propagating his ideas throughout Islamic countries than his mother-tongue Urdu.

The beginnings of Urdu prose have already been referred to above. The first prose books in the language were also written in the Dakhn, but most of them dealt with religion and other allied subjects, and none except the *Sab-Ras* (1045 = 1635), which is in metrical and rhymed prose, can claim any literary significance. In northern India, even so late as the post-Mutiny period, people wrote books and carried on correspondence in Persian. Shāh Rasūl al-Dīn of Dīhlī (1163—1233 = 1750—1818) and Shāh 'Abd al-Kādir (1157—1230 = 1754—1815) both translated the Qur'ān into Urdu, but their translations were too literal. The foundations of modern Urdu prose were laid in the Fort William College at Calcutta, founded by Lord Wellesley in 1800. Of the languages taught there, most attention was paid to Persian and to Hindustani or Urdu. Dr. John Gilchrist, who was in charge of the College and was himself a

keen student and author of Hindustani books, may well be regarded as a great patron of Urdu. Mir Amman, the compiler of the *Baḡh-e-Bahār* or *Āmūd-i Chāhr Daryā* (1801—1802), and Mir Shēr 'Alī Afṣar, the compiler of the *Arṣ-i-Mahfūz* (1805), deserve special mention. Both of these books are admirable in point of diction and description, especially the *Baḡh-e-Bahār* ("The Garden and the Spring") which will remain a perennial source of literary enjoyment. One notable influence of these compilations and translations produced under the auspices of the Fort William College was that Urdu writers began to develop a taste for simple language, and the old metrical rhymed style, laden with Arabic and Persian words and expressions, went out of fashion. But the majority of these books dealt with fiction in one form or another. It was left to the great Sir Saiyid Ahmad Khān (1817—1898) to teach his generation the art of writing on serious and scientific subjects in the simplest and most fluent language. His magazine *Tahdīb al-Akhbār* almost completely revolutionised Urdu literature. It was for this reason that the masters of modern Urdu prose were mostly those who had come either under the direct influence of Sir Saiyid, or else were in some way connected with the Dīhlī College, where Urdu was a medium of instruction, and where books were being translated and written in Urdu. In the meanwhile I cannot overlook the letters of Ghālīb (see above) published under the title of "Urdu-i Moalla" which are model of freshness, purity and wit.

Among the principal modern Urdu prose-writers are the following:

Muhammad Husain Azād of Dīhlī writes chaste prose, and his books, though not free from artificiality, are couched in simple language, and have a genuine charm. His *Āl-i Hayāt*, a biography of Urdu poets, should always remain a living thing in literature.

Khẓāja Aḡaḥ Hussain Hāli was a master both of prose and poetry. His style, besides being sober and vigorous, is fluent, and he possessed a fine literary taste. He may be regarded as the founder of literary criticism and of biography in Urdu. His *Hayāt-i Sa'adī*, *Yādgar-i Ghālīb* and *Muḥaddamāt Shēr-e-Sā'ir* are epoch-making books in Urdu literary criticism, and his *Hayāt-i Daryā* (life of Sir Saiyid Ahmad Khān) is the high-water mark of Urdu prose literature.

Nadhr Ahmad (1831—1912) was a forceful writer and speaker, with a wonderful command of language. In spite of his frequent use of Arabic words and phrases, his vigorous language penetrates to the hearts of his readers, and his works of fiction, such as *Mir'at al-'Arūs*, *Tawbāt al-Nayūb*, *Faṣāḥ-i Muḥilla*, will always be read with interest by lovers of Urdu. Some of his characters have become household words among Urdu-speaking people. His translation of the Qur'ān into Urdu is undoubtedly the best that has appeared.

Shihlī [see *SHIH LĪ* SO'MANĪ] (1857—1914), who was a professor at 'Aligarh, was mainly instrumental in developing a taste for history in the Urdu-reading public. In addition to a series of lives of Muslim heroes, he wrote many treatises on Islamic questions and was a distinguished literary critic.

Novel-writing in Urdu dates only from the time of Ratan Nāth Sarḡār (1847—1902), the author of *Faṣāḥ-i Aḡad*, which, in itself some-

what confused, is yet well-known for its delineation of some of the chief features of the Lakhnau society of its day. The novels of 'Abd al-Halim Sharar (1860—1926) are mostly historical, but are weak in characterisation. The fact is that with the exception of some of Naḡhīr Aḡmad's stories, no novel worth the name has yet been written in Urdū. Sharar's novels no doubt helped to create a literary taste, but they did no more.

With the advent of the British into India, a taste for the drama also began to be cultivated, and the Parsis were the first to popularise it. This naturally produced some dramatists who wrote a number of ordinary plays, but unfortunately there has not yet appeared even one drama in Urdū which is deserving of serious mention.

Although at first the influence of English education tended to alienate the sympathies of the younger generation from their own language, a phenomenon for which the style of education introduced into India was largely responsible, yet when their taste became more mature they turned to their mother-tongues with greater zest and began to enrich them with translations of European books on the arts and sciences. The Anḡjuman-i Tarāḡḡī-i Urdū of Aḡrangābād, Dakhān, and the Osmania University of Haidarābād, Dakhān, with its Translation Bureau, are the foremost institutions to-day for the advancement of the Urdū language. On the whole systematic progress is being made, and the people are beginning to love and feel proud of their language. During the last few years many magazines and journals have been started, some of which are rendering signal service to Urdū, and assisting in the development of a more refined taste.

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(ABDUL HAQ)

AL-URDUNN, the Jordan, Hebrew (*ha*) *Yardēn*, but in LXX, Josephus, Pliny and others *ē*

Iardān. The etymology of the word is obscure and it is even thought by some to be a loanword (cf. the river name *Iardān* in Crete). After the Crusades the name *al-Sharī'a* (*al-kabrā*), the "(great) watering-place" came into use and is still the most usual name among the Beduins.

1. The Jordan is formed by the combination of three streams: al-Ḥashbānī, Nahr Leddān and Nahr Bānyā. Shortly after their junction, the Jordan reaches the Hīlle district and here flows through the lake of Bahret al-Khet (Bahret al-Hīlle according to Dalman is only the papyrus swamp in the north). The valley of the Jordan sinks rapidly towards the south, so that the surface of the Lake of Galilee, Bahr Tabariya, through which the Jordan flows (cf. *ṬABARIYA*), is 682 feet below the level of the Mediterranean. The valley is known as al-Ghōr (cf. *GHAWK*) from the south end of the lake to an elevation 3 hours' journey south of the Dead Sea. Here it assumes a character different from that of its northern half: a plain of dazzling white marl, through which the river runs with numerous windings, looking to one who surveys it from a height like a twisted green ribbon, as the banks are covered with dense vegetation, which hides the river. Otherwise the plain is devoid of vegetation but at the foot of the hills on its western edge are several very fertile oases ("the gardens of Urdunn"; cf. *Ṭabari, Annals*, i. 1232; see the article *KHXX*). The Jordan terminates in the Dead Sea, Bahr Lāḡ (Lot's Sea), the surface of which is 1,292 feet below sea-level and the deepest point 2,600 feet. It has no exit to the south or west and never has had one. The 1,300 million gallons of water brought down to it every day by the Jordan, evaporate in the burning heat so that the level of the water, apart from slight seasonal variations, remains the same. The result is that nothing can live in the water as the salts and other mineral constituents remain while the water evaporates. The depression south of the Dead Sea is called al-'Araba; the ground rises considerably here and then sinks again to the level of the Gulf of 'Akaba.

The following tributaries of the Jordan may be mentioned. Soon after its exit from the Lake of Galilee it receives on the left bank the important stream of the Sharī'at al-Saḡhira (the little watering-place) or Sharī'at al-Munāḡīr, in the earlier period Yarmūk [q. v.], and farther south the Nahr al-Zetkā' (the ancient Jabbok) which flows in at al-Dāmiya. On the right bank comes the Djalūt, rising in Goliath's spring ('Ain Djalūt), which runs by Bēsan into the Jordan.

On account of its currents, its numerous windings and many shallows, the Jordan cannot be used for navigation. On the other hand, even in ancient times several of these shallows formed fords which connected the lands east with those west of the Jordan and thus linked up the Mediterranean coast and Egypt with Damascus. North of Lake Tiberias there are five and south of it 54; they are most frequent opposite Bēsan. In the Old Testament they are mentioned under the names *ma'har* or *ma'hera*. Whether the Israelites had ferries is uncertain and in any case not proved by the obscure passage 2 Sam., xix. 19. On the other hand, it is difficult to imagine that in their fighting with the Arameans in the lands east of the Jordan, they would take their troops, horses and chariots (1 Kings, xxii. 35) across the Jordan by

fords, but how they did it we are not told (with floats?). If necessary it was possible to swim the Jordan (1 Macc., ix, 48) but in view of the strong current it required skill and strength. There were certainly no bridges since these only began to be built in the Roman period. The ford a little south of the Hüle district is specially celebrated; from it a road led via *Ḥunayra* to Damascus. Whether there was a Roman road here is, according to P. Thomsen's map in *Z.D.P.V.*, xi, (cf. p. 33), uncertain but in the middle ages this ford, called *Vadum Jacobi* (wrongly from Gen. xxii, 22), is often mentioned and was of considerable strategic importance during the Crusades. Here Baldwin III was defeated in 1157 by Nur al-Din and in 1178 Baldwin IV built a fort below the crossing, but in the following year it was stormed by Saladin and destroyed. At a later date, a three-arched bridge was built of large blocks of basalt at the site of the ford (cf. pictures in *Z.D.P.V.*, xiii, 74). It is known to have been in existence in 1450 and was probably built not long before. The name "bridge of Jacob's daughters", *Djār Banūt Ya'qūb*, points to the old *Vadum Jacobi* but is remarkable as Jacob did not have a number of daughters (cf. above i., p. 1050).

One of the most important roads from Damascus to the lands west of the Jordan has probably always been the route via *Fik* (or *Afik*, perhaps *Afek* [Aphek] 1 Kings, xi, 26, 30; cf. xiii, 22) to the south end of the Lake of Galilee, where the Jordan was crossed by a ford where it leaves the Lake. A little south of the crossing are the ruins of two stone bridges: *Umm al-Kanātir* and *Djār al-Sidd*. Nothing is known of their history but one of them is probably the bridge at the south end of the lake which *Muḥaddas* mentions in his description of *Tabariya* and of which *Yāqūt* says that it had over 20 arches. As late as the sixteenth century we are told by W. de Baldensel that he crossed the Jordan by a bridge here (Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, iii). Close to the junction of the Yarmūk with the Jordan is a bridge *Djār al-Mudjāmi'* whence roads led to *Mkēs* and *Irbid* below the hills of *Karn Sartaha*. Further to the south we again find a bridge *Djār al-Damiya* but it is now on dry land as the river has dug out a new bed here. It was built in 1266 by the vigorous Mamlūk sultan Baibars, who also had bridges built at several other places (cf. Röhrich, *Archives de l'Orient latin*, t. vi, 382; Clermont-Ganneau, in *J.A.*, ser. viii, vol. x, [1887], p. 518). Among the most used is the bridge north of *Jericho* which leads to W. Nimrin.

In the brief descriptions of the Jordan in the Arab geographers there are a few details of some interest. *Muḥaddas* mentions that the river is unnavigable. *Yāqūt*, quoting an older authority, says that the Jordan above the Lake of Tiberias was called the "Great" and between the Lake and the Dead Sea the "Little Jordan", which statement however is probably based on a confusion with the Yarmūk (see above). He mentions the sugar plantations watered by the river in al-*Ḥawr* (cf. *al-Ḥawr*). *Dinashiri* mentions the hot springs near the Lake of Tiberias and of *Mudjāmi'* where the Yarmūk joins the Jordan. He also gives an account of the remarkable phenomena at the river's end. The Jordan flows night and day into the Dead Sea without any outflow, yet the Sea does not increase in winter or decrease in summer. The main road

from Damascus to Egypt goes, according to Ibn Khurdaḍḍih (*B.G.A.*, vi, 214) and the geographers who follow him, via *Fik* to the south end of the Lake of Tiberias and thence by a circuitous route via *Tiberias* to *Baiṣān*. In the sixteenth century on the other hand, the route lay through a part of *Adjila*, as one descended from *Baiṣān* into the Jordan valley to *Mudjāmi'* and thence over the bridge to follow the road to *Irbid*. In the sixteenth century, a more northerly route began to come into use by going eastwards from the new capital *Safat* (see below) crossing the Jordan on the above mentioned "bridge of Jacob's daughters" and thence via *Nu'ayn* and *Ḥunayra* to Damascus. This road remained the usual one and has recently been made more convenient by improving the road leading to and from the bridge.

2. The Jordan province of the Arabs, *Djund al-Urdun* (military district of the Jordan), corresponded to the *Palaestina Secunda* of the older division and included the two Galilees, the valley of the Jordan and the western part of the lands east of the Jordan. Most of the towns in it were taken by *Abū 'Ubayda* in 14 (635), the remainder by *Khālīd* and *Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ*; others name *Shuḥrāḥ* as the conqueror. They were all taken by force of arms except *Tabariya* which capitulated under shameful conditions and probably on that account was made the capital instead of *Skythopolis*. The size of the district may be judged from the list of towns given by the historians and geographers as belonging to it: according to *Belkdhuri*: *Tabariya*, *Baiṣān*, *Kadas*, *'Akka*, *Šūr*, *Šaffuriya* and in the land east of the Jordan *Sūsaiya*, *'Afik*, *Djarash*, *Bait Ras*, *al-Djawlān* and (?) *Sawād* — according to *Yā'qūt*: *Tabariya*, *Šūr*, *'Akka*, *Kadas*, *Baiṣān* and in the land east of the Jordan *Fahl*, *Djarash* and (?) *Sawād* — according to *Ibn al-Faḥr*: *Tabariya*, *al-Samira* (i.e. *Nābulus*), *Baiṣān*, *'Akka*, *Kadas*, *Šūr* and in the land east of the Jordan *Fahl* and *Djarash* — according to *Muḥaddas*: *Tabariya*, *Kadas*, *Šūr*, *Faradhiya*, *'Akka*, *al-Ladjdjān*, *Kabul*, *Baiṣān* and in the land east of the Jordan *Adhira'it* — according to *Iḍris*: *Tabariya*, *al-Ladjdjān*, *al-Samira* (*Nābulus*), *Baiṣān*, *Artha* (*Jericho*), *'Akka*, *Nasira*, *Šūr* and in the land east of the Jordan: *Zughār*, *Amata* (*Amathus*), *Habia* (*Yābis*), *Djarash*, *Ahil* (*Abila*), *Sūsaiya* — according to *Yā'qūt*: *Tabariya*, *Baiṣān*, *Šaffuriya*, *Šūr*, *'Akka* and in the land east of the Jordan *Bait Ras* and *Djarash* etc. These lists show that the boundaries have not always remained the same.

Regarding the yearly tribute of the province of *Urdun* the Arab authors give the following figures (cf. *SLASTIN*): towards the end of the eighth century 96,000 dinars, under *Ma'mūn* 97,000, according to *Ibn Khurdaḍḍih* and *Ibn al-Faḥr* 350,000, according to *Kudama* 109,000, according to *Yā'qūt* 100,000, according to *Muḥaddas* 170,000 (cf. *Z.D.P.V.*, vii, 225).

In the Crusading period, the previous divisions were abolished and the members of Saladin's family constituted various kingdoms (*wamlakāt*) instead. The province of *Urdun* is represented mainly by the kingdom of *Safat* which in addition to the town of that name included the following districts: *Mardī*, *'Aiyūn*, *Ladjdjān*, *Djinnin*, *'Akka*, *Šūr* and *Saida*, i.e. all towns in the lands west of the Jordan. In *Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maḥdī*, who wrote his *al-Mudhīr* in 1351 and was often copied, we find another division, in which al-*Ḥūr* and the lands east of

the Jordan are more prominent: al-Hawrān with the capital Ṭabariya and the districts of al-Ghawr, Yarmūk and Baisān.

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(F. Buhl)

URF (أ), defined by Djardān (*Ta'rifāt*, ed. Flügel, p. 154) as "[Action or belief] in which persons persist with the concurrence of the reasoning powers and which their natural dispositions agree to accept [as right]". It stands therefore to represent unwritten custom as opposed to established law, *ḥarḥ* (cf. Māwardi, ed. Enger, p. 5; *Bihar-nūma*, ed. Beveridge, f. 124^b, line 7; transl., p. 194) though attempts have not been lacking to regard it as one of the *uḥūl* (cf. Goldziher, *Zakiriden*, p. 204 sq.). It is sometimes held to be equivalent to case law or common law. This may be where civil laws (*ahkām*) are based on recognized local customs (*ʿārf*), and it is a well-known fact that in many tribal and other communities these are native codes of unwritten laws and traditions by which life is regulated locally. In Southern Palestine these existed as late as the middle of the nineteenth century a *fellāḥ* code called *ḥasat ḥalil*, i. e. "the law of Abraham", as distinct from the Muḥammadan code (*Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, Jan. 1879, p. 38). Amongst the Bedouin of Arabia also these have always existed, as distinct from the *ḥādis* of the *ḥarḥ*, special judges possessed of the customary lore of their tribe, to whom recourse is had in matters affecting tribal interests (cf. J. v. Barckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, London 1831, i, 120-122; A. Muall, *Arabia Petrea*, Vienna 1908, iii, 209, 357 sq., 346, 365). Frequently *urf* is simply the decision made in various cases by the sovereign or his agent — not the *kāfi* — according as the requirements of the state demand or as prejudices dictate. In Persia, since the Safawi period or even before, decisions based upon *urf* have been made by the *Shāh* or his governors or by the special court of *urf* presided over by the *Dimān-beg*. There was however never any rule to decide which cases were to go to the latter court and which to the courts of the *ḥarḥ*, though mainly it was offences against the state and against law and order — e.g. rebellion and disloyal conduct, debasing the coinage, rioting, theft, highway-robbery, and murder — which came before it.

The *mullās* have never recognized its competence, denouncing as illegal any judgment based on *urf*. In Turkey it stood for the conception of the Sultān's own arbitrary power as distinct from *ʿāda* (customary law, q. v.), *ḥāḥ* (civil law) and the *ḥarḥ*. Sometimes *urf* might run counter to the *ḥarḥ*, e.g. when the Sultān enslaved Christians, though they were *ghimmas* and thus "protected", in order to recruit the corps of the Janissaries.

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(R. Levy)

URFI, DJAMĀL AL-DIN, of Shirāz, a Persian poet. His personal name is variously given: al-Saiyidi (*Arafāt*), Khwāja Saiyidi Muḥammad (*Maʿāthir-i Rāḥim*), and Muḥammad Husain (*May-khāna*). He was known in his younger days as Ṣaidi (*Maykhāna*, cf. *Oud Cat.*, p. 126). His father's name was Zain al-Din Balawī (?) and his grandfather's Djamāl al-Din Saiyidi, but the latter was more commonly known as Khwāja-i Čādar Bāf. Urfi was born in Shirāz, where his father held a post in a Government Office. According to the author of the *Maʿāthir*, the post was that of the vizier of the *Dārughā* (Prefect) of the town. Urfi received his early education of the usual kind in Shirāz, and began to compose verses in early youth. His *takhalluṣ* had reference to the occupation of his father, who had to deal with matters relating to canon law (*ḥarḥ*) and customary law (*urf*). At the age of twenty he had a severe attack of small-pox, which disfigured him very much. The various *tashkīras* give us only a few glimpses of his poetical career in Persia. He entered into poetical contests with Mullā Ghairatī (for whom see *Haft Iqlīm* s.v. Shirāz, and Bādʿat, iii, 292) and other poets of Shirāz. Awhādī tells us that a few years before Urfi left for India, he wrote *ghazals* in the same metre and rhyme as those of Fighānī (d. 922 or 925) and other famous poets. His extreme self-conceit and arrogance brought him into serious conflict with his contemporaries, especially with Wahīdī of Yazd (d. 991 = 1583), and caused much unpleasantness. The mortification caused to him by his own disfigurement, his conflict with his contemporaries, and the lure of Indian patronage are given among the causes which induced him to leave his own country and emigrate to India.

Leaving the port of Djirūn, he came by the sea-route to Ahmadnagar in 994 (1585-1586) (*Takī Kāshī*, *Oud Cat.*, p. 37), perhaps more correctly in 993 (1585), and thence went to Fatḥpur-Sikrī, where he arrived about the new year's day (19th Rabi' I, 993 = March 10/11, 1585). There he attached himself to Faiḍī, who took him along to Attock, where Akbar encamped early in Muḥarram 994 (Nov. 1585), to control the operations against the Yūsufzāi Afghāns, in which expedition Faiḍī himself took part (*Akbar Nāma*, iii, 476). Later, Urfi attached himself to Masūḥ al-Din Ḥakīm Abu 'l-Faḥr, and, on his death in 997

(1589), to Mirzā 'Abd al-Rahmān Khān Khānān, to whom the Hākīm had recommended him, and from whom he was already receiving considerable grants of money every year. The Khān Khānān treated him with great kindness and consideration. Finally, the Emperor (Akbar) took 'Urfī in to his own service but he died soon after in Lahore, at the age of 35 or 36, on the 18th Amurdād (= Shawwāl) 999 (August 1591), of dysentery, or, as later writers say, of poison. He was buried in Lahore, but thirty (lunar) years after his burial his bones were sent by Mir Šābir of Isfahān, visier of 'Imād al-Dawla (father of Nūr Dīhān), to Nadjaf, where they were reburied.

'Urfī's contemporaries describe him as a conceited and arrogant person and the fact is borne out by many disparaging remarks which his *diwān* contains about great Persian poets. As a poet, however, he enjoyed great popularity in his time in India, and outside India, though his early death prevented his genius from developing fully. He was praised as the inventor of a new style of poetry, some of the outstanding features of which were a forceful diction, coining of new and original expressions, the continuity of topics, and freshness and novelty of metaphors and comparisons. In *ghazal* his chief merit lies in his giving a poetical expression to philosophic ideas and lofty ideals but his fame rests mainly on his *ḡajdas*. In the following centuries 'Urfī suffered somewhat in popularity, especially in his own country, where Aḡhar condemned his excessive use of similes (see *Atash-Kada*, Bombay 1277, p. 276), and more recently Rīfā'ullāh Khān indicated that his style was not to the taste of that writer's contemporaries (*Maḡma' al-Fayḡā* ii. 24).

'Urfī published his first *diwān* in 996 (1587—1588), which comprised 26 *ḡajdas*, 270 *ghazals*, and *ḡajras* and *rubā'is* containing 700 *bayts* ("320 of the former and 380 of the latter"; cf. *Oude Cat.*, p. 529). In 1026 (1617) Sirāḡja-i Isfahānī edited a *Kulliyat* of 'Urfī (14,000 *bayts*) from the MSS. which the poet had sent from his death-bed to the Khān Khānān. For Nāṣim Tabrizī's claim to have edited these after 1033 (1617) see Mayhūdhāna, *Ḥawāṣh*, p. 102. The *Kulliyat* included, beside the poems of the kind comprised in the first *diwān*, some *mathnawīs* (viz. *Maḡma' al-Aḡhar*, *Farḡad wa-Shīrin* and a *Seḡnāme*). Apparently Sirāḡja's edition had a preface from the pen of Mullā 'Abd al-Bāḡi Nahāwandī. 'Urfī also has a short prose treatise called *Nafīya*. Several commentaries on his *ḡajdas* exist in Persian and Turkish (see *Bānkīpūr Catalogue*, ii. 198 *seq.*). His *diwān* has been frequently lithographed in India. An English translation of his *ḡajdas* was published in Calcutta 1887.

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(MORAMMAD SHAFI)

URGENC. [See KHARIZM.]

URMIYA, a district and town in the Persian province of Ādharbāldjān.

The name. The Syrians write Urmiya, the Armenians Ormi, the Arabs Urmiya, the Persians Urmī, the Turks Urmīye or Rūmīye (through a fanciful derivation from Rūm "Byzantium, Turkey"). The name is of uncertain, non-Iranian origin. Assyrian sources mention a place called Urmeite in the land of Mann in the vicinity of the Lake of Urmiya (cf. Streck, in *Z.A.*, xiv. 120; Belek, *Das Reich der Mannier*, in *Verhandl. d. Berl. Gesell. f. Anthropol.*, 1894, and Minorsky, *Kelachin* etc., in *Zap.*, xxiv. [1917], 170). On the other hand, the name is unknown to the classical geographers and to the *Avesta* and Pahlavi sources (cf. Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 87). It is also unknown to Armenian geography of the fifth century (cf. Marquart, *Erānshahr*); this in spite of the fact that late Zoroastrian tradition early recorded by the Arabs (cf. Balādhuri, p. 331; Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 119) placed the birthplace of Zoroaster at Urmiya.

Geography. The district of Urmiya is bounded on the east by the Lake of Urmiya and in the west by the mountain range which runs north and south and separates Persia from Turkey. In the north it is bounded by the transversal range (Shāh-Bānd-Awghin-dagh) which separates it from Salmas [q.v.]. To the south Urmiya is bounded by the valley of the Gadir, the upper course of which belongs to Ushnā [q.v.] and the lower waters the Suidaz [q.v.] valleys. Urmiya is about 80 miles from N. to S. and 35 from E. to W.

The district of Urmiya consists of plain and mountains. The rivers that water it and which flow from W. to E. are:

1. the Barānduz which unites the waters of the district of Mārgāvār and then runs through the gorge of Nergi into the plain which it runs round on the south side. On the right (south) bank the Barānduz receives the Kāsimān which runs through the little Daḡhtabel. The mountains of Māh separate the eastern Daḡhtabel from the Dol. This last district lies in the shape of a horse-shoe on the S. W. shore of the lake (to the north of Saldur).

2. the Barde-Sūr (= Kurd. "Red Stone") runs out of the gorge of Bēdkār (belonging to Turkey), through the mountainous region of Daḡht, which belongs to Urmiya and then through the pass of Bānd into the plain and through the town of Urmiya, whence its other name, Sāthar-kai, "the river of the town".

3. the Rouza (Rawża)-čai drains the hilly district of Targavar and before reaching the lake has been used up by irrigation canals.

4. the Nēziu-čai is made up of a number of streams of which the southern rises in the Turkish district of Deiri (where the monastery of Mar-Bishō is) and below the village of Arzin runs through the northern part of Targavar (where on the right bank it is joined by the Mawāna); the middle one comes out of the gorge of Balirga (Turk.) and near the village of Sērō enters the Persian district of Brādest; the northern stream is that of the district of the Somai [q. v.] which belongs to Salmas. The waters of these three join at the foot of Mount Māndjil-sār (in Kurdish = "pot on the head") and from the fort of Isma'il Khān Shakhāk [q. v.] the river formed by their union flows through the northern part of the plain. On the north of its left bank on the slope of the Awghān-daghl is the district of Anzāl.

The lake of Urmīya lies at a height of 4,245 feet above sea-level, the town of Urmīya 4,390 feet; the heights of the outer spurs are: 4,780, 7,330, 8,395, and that of the frontier range is 11,220, 11,542, 11,830 feet.

The abundant water-supply renders the alluvial plain of Urmīya extremely fertile. The villages are buried in verdure. In the mountain districts the agriculture is dependent on the rains. The natural conditions there are very favourable for the breeding of sheep.

Archaeology. Several tells in the vicinity of the town (Gök-tāpā, Degala, Tarmānī, Ahmād, Saratān, Ditrā-tāpā) have already produced objects of great antiquity (cf. Virchow, *Fundstücke aus Grabbügeln bei Urmia*, in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie*, xxxii., 1900, p. 609—612; Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 90—98; Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, i. 276). In 1888 in a vaulted chamber discovered at Gök-tāpā at a depth of 25 feet was found a cylindrical seal representing the Babylonian gods. W. H. Ward, *Amer. Journ. of Archaeol.*, vi., 1890, p. 286—291 and Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien z. Alter. Gesch. Armeniens*, 1907, p. 8—12, date it c. 2000 B.C. If Urmīya is the ancient Urmeiate it must have been included in the land of the Mannaeans (Minni of Jeremiah, lii. 27), exposed to the invasions of the Assyrians as well as to the influence of the kingdom of Wan (Urartu); cf. the rock chambers at Nergi and Kal'a Isma'il-khān which have a Vannic character; cf. Minorsky, in *Zap.*, xxiv., p. 188—191. [There seems to be a third chamber on Mount Kotul at Brādest].

The assonance of the two names had suggested to d'Anville the identity of Urmīya with *Urmias*, where stood the great fire-temple and which was burned by Heraclius in 623. But it is strange to find Thebarmāis on the road which Khosraw Parwēz took to go to Dastagerd (cf. Ritter's remarks, *Erdkunde*, ix. 942). According to the text of Theophanes, restored by de Boor, i. 308, li. 190, 619, Thebarmāis was situated to the east of *Avareas*, evidently with reference to Garaka. Since Rawlinson, the latter place has been located at Takht-i Sulaimān (cf. *ibid.*). De Boor connects Thebarmāis with Bitharmāis, Berthemaïs, and Barmāis mentioned by several classical authors.

Muslim period. Urmīya was conquered by Šadaka b. 'Alī, a client of the 'Azd, who built several castles there (Balādhuri, p. 331—332); according to another story, the town was taken

by 'Utha b. Farḡad whom the caliph 'Umar had sent in 20 (640) to conquer the district of Mawṣil.

The geographers of the ninth century (Istakhrī, p. 181; Ibn Hawḡal, p. 239) give Urmīya the third place among the towns of Ādharbāidjān (next to Ardabil and Marāgha) and emphasise its wealth in water, pasture and fruits. Muḡaddasi, p. 51, puts Urmīya in Armenia and says it is governed from Dvin. At this period Urmīya was on the great road Ardabil-Marāgha-Urmīya-Barikī (to the N.E. of the lake of Wan)-Āmid (Muḡaddasi, p. 302). As Tabriz [q. v.] was not yet of any importance, the road made a detour to the south to serve the principal towns. It is possible that the presence of unsubdued elements in the north of Ādharbāidjān (cf. the name of the lake Buḡairat al-Shurāt and the history of Bībāk) also influenced this deviation of the road towards the south.

The district of Urmīya, being inhabited by Kurds and Christians has never played a great part in Muslim history. It was a remote fief in which the offshoots of the dynasties that reigned in Ādharbāidjān lived in isolation.

In the period of Dailamī domination in Ādharbāidjān we find in Urmīya a certain Džastān b. Šurmazan. This general had begun in 342 (953) as a devoted partisan of the Kurd Daisam [cf. KURDS]. Later won over by the Dailamīs, he became governor of Armenia under Marzubān. When Džastān succeeded his father Marzubān in 346, Džastān b. Šurmazan did not recognise his suzerainty. At first he left Urmīya to throw in his lot with Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān for whom he conquered Marāgha. He later left him to return to Urmīya which he surrounded with walls; he also built a strong fortress there. He then entered the service of the claimant to the caliphate Mustadīr bi 'Alī and had the support of the Kaḡhānī Kurds. But the sons of Marzubān (Džastān and Ibrāhīm) defeated him with the help of the Hadhbānī Kurds. In 349 at the instigation of Wahsūdān, brother of Marzubān, he inflicted a defeat on Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān, captured the remnants of his army and annexed Marāgha to Urmīya. In 355 through the mediation of the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla, he again recognised the authority of Ibrāhīm (Ibn Miskawaihi, *Taḡjārīk*, ed. Amedroz, ii. 150, 167, 177—178, 180, 219, 229 and Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 395).

When the Ghuzz invaded Ādharbāidjān in 420—432, the lord of Urmīya was a certain Abu 'l-Hidja b. Rabīb al-Dawla, chief of the Hadhbānī Kurds, whose mother was the sister of the prince of Tabriz, Wahsūdān al-Rawwādī [cf. TABRIZ and MARĀGHĀ]. This son of Rabīb al-Dawla boasted of having destroyed near a bridge 25,000 Ghuzz of the 30,000 who were trying to cross his territory (in 432?); cf. Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 271.

In Muharram of 455 (1063) Sultān Tughrīl passed through Urmīya (al-Bundārī, p. 25). When Sultān Mas'ūd returned from Baghdād to Ādharbāidjān (in 526?), the amir Hādīb Tatar had fortified himself in Urmīya but later he submitted to the Sultān (*ibid.*, p. 165). In 544 (1149) Urmīya belonged to Malik Muḡammad b. Maḡmūd b. Muḡammad, nephew and son-in-law of Sultān Mas'ūd b. Muḡammad b. Malik-shāh (*Rāḡar al-Sudūr*, G.M.S., p. 244). When the last Saljuḡ Tughrīl quarrelled with his uncle, the Ildegiḡid Kīlī Arslān, Tughrīl had the support of the amir Ḥasan b. Kīfījāk and with him laid siege to

Urmiya in 585. The town was taken by storm, sacked and destroyed (Bundārī, p. 302). From the same Saldjūq period must date the building of Se-Gunbadān, on which Khanykov read the name of Abū Manṣūr b. Mūsā and the date 580 (1184).

In 602, the Atābeg of Tabriz Abū Bakr gave Ushnū (sic for Ustawa) and Urmiya to the Atābeg of Marāgha [q. v.] 'Alī al-Dīn to recompense him for the loss of Marāgha (Ibn al-Athīr, vii. 157). Yāqūt who visited Urmiya in 617 speaks of its lack of security on account of the weakness of its ruler, the Ildegizid Ōzbek b. Fahlawān.

During the rule in Adharbāydjān of the Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn, Urmiya, Salmas and Khōi formed the personal appanage of the Saldjūq princess whom Djalāl al-Dīn had carried off from her first husband the Ildegizid Ōzbek. In 625 the Iwān Turkomans seized Urmiya and levied *sharāfi*. On the complaint of the princess his wife, Djalāl al-Dīn sent troops who defeated the Turkomans (Ibn al-Athīr, xii. 301). Later Urmiya was given to Boghdi, a former slave of the Ildegizid Ōzbek; cf. Nasawi, ed. Houdas, p. 118, 153, 165.

On the other hand, according to Djuwaini, ii. 160, 184, the Georgian generals Shalwa and Iwane, taken prisoners in the battle of Karhi (622 = 1225) and at first treated with honour by Djalāl al-Dīn, were given for a short time Marand, Salmas, Urmiya and Ushnū. In 628 (1230-1231) the Khwārizmshāh when hard pressed by the Mongols spent the winter in the region of Urmiya-Ushnū (cf. Abu 'l-Faraj, ed. Pococke, p. 470; Rashid al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, p. 32). His stay there may explain the story of the building by the Khwārizmshāh of the Se-Gunbadān (cf. above) and even of his burial at Urmiya; cf. Bittner, p. 75; Hörnle, p. 488.

According to Khanykov, the cathedral mosque of Urmiya bears the date 676 (1277) [reign of the Ilkhān Abagha].

Timūr. According to the local chronicle (Nikitine), Timūr had given Urmiya as a fief to Gurgin-beg of the Afshar tribe, who established himself in the fortress of Toprak-Kal'a, a quarter of a farsakh from the town of Urmiya. The *Zafarnāma*, however (l. 424), mentions as governor a certain Tizak (?) whose rights were confirmed by Timūr in 789 (1307).

The Brādōst. According to the *Ālam-ārā*, p. 559, in the time of Shāh Tahmāsp the great amirs were governors at Urmiya while the Kurd Kara Tadj of the Brādōst tribe who had been made *shāhīrūdān* was given the districts of Targavār and Mārgiyār. In 1012 (1603) Shāh 'Abbās to reward the loyalty of Amīr-Khān Brādōst, who had not submitted to the Ottomans, gave him Urmiya and Ushnū. But Amīr-Khān under the pretext that the fortress of Urmiya was dilapidated made his stronghold at Dīmdīm (to the south of Urmiya at the mouth of the river Kāsimlu in the Barūdus) and became suspected. Dīmdīm was taken in 1019 (1610) and the district (*sigā*) of Urmiya given to Kāban-Khān Bagdālī. The Brādōst, by a stratagem, recaptured Dīmdīm after which Budak-Khān Pōrnak (of Tabriz) was appointed in place of Kāban-Khān and later Aka-Khān Mukaddam (of Marāgha). In the list of the great dignitaries of the kingdom, however, the same source (p. 762) mentions as governor of Urmiya Kalb-'Alī Sultān, son of Kāsim-Khān of the Imānu class of the Afshar tribe.

Conversions to the Shī'a (cf. above) under the

Safawids seemed to have been of an isolated character among the natives of the region of Urmiya where to this day the Kurds and a few villages (Balaw) are still Sunnī. The influence of the Sunnī Nayshabandī shāikh is may be judged from the fact that in 1639 Sultān Murād executed in Diyār-bakr the shāikh Mahmūd of Urmiya who had 30-40,000 partisans. His ancestors were also shāikhs of Urmiya; cf. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii. 187; cf. *Diyār-nama*, p. 385.

Ewliya Çelebi. For the year 1065 (1655) we have the very detailed account of Ewliya Çelebi (iv. 271-318) who had gone from Wan to Urmiya to recover the flocks of sheep which the Khān of Urmiya (whose name is not mentioned) and 20 other Khāns had carried off from the Kurd tribe of Fīn-yānīsh. Unfortunately Ewliya's itinerary and story are very confused.

According to him, the founder of the fortress was Ghazan in 694 (1295); it was enlarged by Shāh Tahmāsp in 930 (1524). At the Turkish conquest in the reign of Sultān Sulaimān Urmiya was fortified by the Fīghīs Sulaimān and Dī'lar. The usual name of the fortress is Toprak-Kal'a but the Persian (?) historians call it Surtlay-Ghazan. The fortress the walls of which were covered with plaster looked "like a white swan". Its circumference was 10,000 paces, the walls were 70 *dhīr* high and 30 *dhīr* wide; the ditch was 80 *dhīr* wide and 15,000 paces round. During the night the walls were lit by torches. The garrison consisted of 4,000 men and 310 (?) guns. The Khān had at his disposal 15,000 soldiers and 20,000 *nāher*.

The town was a gunshot from the fortress. It had 60 quarters, 6,000 houses and 8 cathedral mosques, among which was that of Usūn Hasan, which was finished under his son Sultān Ya'kūb. In the plain of Urmiya (*sigā*) there were 150 villages with 300,000 peasants.

Ewliya Çelebi says the town was exceedingly prosperous and gives a list of its sanctuaries (Hazarret Koçgha Sultān), its medreses, schools, cafés, fixed prices (*nirāhi Shāikh Safti*).

The Afshars. In the xviiith century the fate of Urmiya was closely bound up with the fortunes of the Afshars settled in the plain (cf. above). Their chief bore the title *biglar-beg*. The best known among them are (Nikitine):

- Khādīdād Beg Kāsimlu 1119-1134 (1707-1722)
- Path 'Alī Khān Areshlu 1157-1172 (1744-1758)
- Kidā Kuli Khān 1182-1185 (1768-1771)
- Imām Kuli Khān 1186-1197 (1772-1783)
- Muhammad Kuli Khān 1198-1211 (1784-1796)
- Husain Kuli Khān Kāsimlu 1211-1236 (1796-1821)
- Nadīf Kuli Khān 1236-1282 (1820-1865) [cf. Fraser, I. 56].

These chiefs were continually fighting with their neighbours (in the north, the Dumbul of Khōi, in the south, the Zaza and Makri Kurds) and in troubled times, so frequent in the xviiith century, they even led expeditions to the east of the Lake of Urmiya.

During the campaign of 1724, the Ottomans employed the Hekkārī Kurds to ward off the Afshars who were threatening the provisioning of the army. When in 1725, the Turks organised the administration of the country, the Khānate of Urmiya was recognised as hereditary in the family of Kāsimlu (Afshar?). In 1729 Nādīt recaptured from the Turks Marāgha, Sa'adī-bulāh

and Dimdim (cf. *Histoire de Nadir*, transl. Jones, p. 104), but in 1731 the Hekim-oghlu Pāshā 'Alī and Rustam seized Urmīya after a desperate resistance which lasted a month. Urmīya was entrusted to the Hekim-oghlu Bīnālshīn (cf. v. Hammer, iv, 225, 228, 279). It was only by the treaty of 1736 that the Turks were put out of Ādharbāidjān.

Āzād-Khān. After the disappearance of the Nādirid Ibrāhīm-Shāh (in 1161 = 1748), one of his generals, Āzād-Khān, a descendant of an Afghan chief, retired first of all to Shahrzūr and then taking advantage of the troubles among the Afghans, seized Urmīya where he was favourably received by Fath 'Alī Khān. Urmīya became the capital of the ephemeral principality of Āzād. The mountain name Awghān-dagh to the north of Urmīya seems to preserve the memory of Afghan rule.

The Kādījars. In 1169, Muhammad Hasan Khān Kādjar having defeated Āzād in Gilān, seized Urmīya. Fath 'Alī Khān Afghar joined Muhammad Hasan. On the latter's death Fath 'Alī Khān reappeared on the scene and from Urmīya captured Marāgha and Tabriz. In the winter of 1173 (1759) he was besieged in the latter town by Karīm Khān Zand and in the following year, after the battle of Kāra-Chīnān (near Miyanā), Ādharbāidjān passed into the power of Karīm Khān. Urmīya was taken after a siege of seven months. Fath 'Alī went into *hāt* in the stables of Karīm Khān (cf. the *Tarikh-i Gilt-Gilt* of Sādik Nāmī for these years). After the end of the Zand dynasty, the Afghar of Urmīya with the Shākh [q.v.] of Sarīb and the Dumbull of Khōi formed a coalition against the Kādījars but had no success. Fath 'Alī Shāh had Muhammad Kūli Khān put to death but married the sister of Husain Kūli Khān Afghar (Fensler, i, 55), whose sons were the first governors of Urmīya to be appointed by the central government in Teherān.

In 1828 in the course of the Russo-Persian war, Urmīya was occupied for several months by Russian troops. In the absence of the governor (the prince Malik Kāsim Mirzā), the town was ruled by the *beglarbēgi* Nadjaf-Kūli Khān Afghar (cf. Gangelslov, *op. cit.*).

'Ubadullāh. In 1880 the Shāikh 'Ubadullāh of Shāmdīnān [q.v.] invaded Ādharbāidjān. Urmīya was besieged by the Kurds and was about to surrender when the arrival of the Khān of Mākū [q.v.] saved it.

Turkish occupation. In August 1906, after the reverses suffered by Russia in the Far East, Turkey, under the pretext that the Turco-Persian frontier had never been settled, occupied the district of Urmīya except the enclave of the town (cf. Nicolas, *op. cit.*). The Turkish troops were recalled at the beginning of the Balkan war. After the incidents at Tabriz [q.v.] in Dec. 1911, Urmīya was occupied by Russian troops. During the world war Urmīya changed hands several times. As early as Oct. 9—12, 1914, it suffered the first attack from Turks and Kurds. The town was vacated by the Russians on Jan. 2, 1915, occupied by the Turks from Jan. 4—May 20 and retaken by the Russians on May 24. As a result of the break up of the Russian army in 1917, the actual authority in the town passed into the hands of the council of "Assyrian" Christians (*mutwa*). After a series of tragic and bloody events (massacre of the Muslims of Urmīya by the Christians on Feb. 22, 1918, the assassination of the patriarch Mār Shimūn by followers of the Kurd chief Simko on Feb. 25,

the arrival of 20,000 Armenian refugees from Wan, fights between Assyrians and Turks), all the Assyrian population collected in the plain of Urmīya and to the number of 50—70,000 set out for the south to put themselves under British protection (end of July—beginning of August). This exodus with women, children and cattle took place via Sa'in-Kal'a and Hamadān in the midst of fighting with Turkish troops and the Kurds. The refugees were settled at Ba'qūba to the north of Baghdad (cf. Rockwell, Causole, Wigram, Sklowski, *op. cit.*). After the departure of the "Assyrians", the Catholic Bishop Mgr. Soutag and the Baptist missionary H. Pfäumer were killed at Urmīya on Aug. 1, 1918.

The peace found Urmīya in ruins and depopulated. Only gradually was the central government able to reassert its authority in the west of the Lake of Urmīya.

Population. We have given above the figure, probably exaggerated, given by Ewliya Čelebi (in 1655). At the beginning of the sixteenth century there were at Urmīya 6—7,000 households of which 100 were Christian, 300 Jewish and the remainder Shi'i Muslims (Persian memoir published by Bittner). According to Fraser (1821), there were 20,000 inhabitants at Urmīya. According to Hornle (1835), the population consisted of 7—8,000 families of whom the majority were Sunnis (?), 300 Jews and 100 Nestorians. In 1872 Arsanis reckoned 8,000 houses with 40,000 inhabitants. In 1900 (Maximović) the total population of the province was put at 300,000 among whom the Christians numbered 45 % of whom 40,000 were Nestorians, 30,000 Orthodox, 3,000 Catholics and 3,000 Protestants, and 50,000 (?) Armenians. The town had 3,500 houses. During the world war Dr. Causole reckoned 30,000 inhabitants at Urmīya, of whom a quarter were Assyrians, and 1,000 Jews occupied a special quarter. Nikitine (*Ethnographie*, 1926, p. 25) enumerates 37 villages in the plain of Urmīya, inhabited by the Christians only and 59 with a mixed population.

We do not know at what period the Aramaean Christians ("Syrians") who since the war have called themselves "Assyrians" appeared in Urmīya. The town is not given in the oldest lists of the eastern dioceses (Guidi, in *Z. D. M. G.*, 1889 and Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale*). Assemani, ii, 449 and 453, notes the presence of Nestorian bishops at Urmīya in 1111 and 1289. According to the same author, the Nestorian patriarch settled at Urmīya in 1582 (*ibid.*, iii, 621). In a document of 1653 the Chaldaean (Uniate) patriarch Simon (writing to Rome from Khosrowa in Salmas) gives a list of his congregations in Salmas, Arna (?), Saphan (?), Targawar, Urmīya, Anzāl (district N. E. of Urmīya), Saldur, Ashnakh (Ushnū); cf. *ibid.*, iii, 622 and Perkins, *Residence*, p. 9; Noldeke, *Grammatik d. neusyrischen Sprache am Urmia-See und in Kurdistan*, Leipzig 1868, p. xxiii. and Hoffmann, *Anzüge*, p. 204.

The first American missionaries of the "Mission of the Nestorians" (Perkins, A. Grant) settled at Urmīya in 1835. The Lazarists followed them in 1840 and a Catholic bishop was appointed to Urmīya. In 1859 the Americans organised an evangelical community in Urmīya. Towards the end of the century, Anglican missionaries were sent to Urmīya by the Archbishop of Canterbury. In 1900, an important Russian Orthodox mission began its

activity among the Christians; it was dissolved however by the Perso-Soviet treaty of Feb. 28, 1921.

Bibliography: given in the text; cf. also *Hudud al-'Alam*, ed. Barthold, 1930, fol. 32b, Armenia—Urmia, a large, prosperous and agreeable town; Kazwini, p. 194; Yāqūt, i. 219, 513; Hamdullāh Mustawfī, *G.M.S.*, p. 80, 85, 221; Ḥādīdī Khallīl, *Ḥikāh-nūmā*, p. 385 and the map of the country round the lake. On a manuscript list of the villages of Urmia, *Nurgha-yi Khānawār wa-Aḥmā-yi Wilāyat-i Urmī*, see Dorn, *Die Sammlung... welche die Kaiserl. Akademie im Jahre 1874 von Herrn v. Chanykov erworben hat*, St.-Petersburg 1865, p. 32, N^o 113; M. Bittner, *Der Kurdenzug Uchmūje und die Stadt Urmīje, in Sitzungsber. Akad. Wien, phil.-hist. Classe*, cxxxiii./3, 1896, p. 1—97 (text and translation of a Persian memoir completed at the beginning of the sixteenth century with historical and geographical commentary); Šau' al-Dawla, *Mu'at al-Buldān*, i., 1294, s. v. *Urmīya*; Nikitine (former Russian consul at Urmia), *Les Aflars d'Urmīyah*, in *J.A.*, January-March 1929, p. 67—123, résumé of a Persian memoir prepared in 1917 [perhaps from the *Tārīkh-i Urmīyah* of which a MS. was in the possession of the notable of Urmia Maḥmūd al-Saltān in 1910].

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The Lake of Urmīyah. The lake is about 90 miles long (N.—S.) and 35 broad (E.—W.). Its area is 2,230 sq. miles and the area drained by its tributaries is 20,265 sq. miles.

The most important rivers flowing into the Lake are: in the east, the Aḡḡ-zai "bitter river", which waters Sarīl and Talrīz; the Sof-zai and Mūrī-zai which flow from the S. W. face of Mount Sahand [cf. MARĀGHĀ]; in the south, Djaghātū, Tatawū and Sāwāj-Balāk [q. v.]; to the south-west, the Gādir [cf. BULDUZ and URMŪ]; in the west, the

river of Urmia (cf. above) and Salmas (q. v.). In the north, the mountain of Meghaw overshadows the narrow strip of the northern shore (cf. TARDI and TARDI).

In the southern half of the Lake are several inhabited islands. Much more important is the mountainous peninsula of Shāhi (Shāhā, Shāhū) which is now separated from the eastern shore by a channel crossed at a ford.

In the Assyrian records, the "upper eastern lake" seems to correspond to the Lake of Urmia. Streck, in *Z.A.* xv. 263, thinks he can identify the latter as the "sea" mentioned by the Assyrians near the Maramia country; but this "sea" may be Lake Zaribār. In the account of the eighth campaign of Sargon (714 B.C.; ed. Thureau-Dangin, Paris 1912), the name of the lake is not mentioned.

Strabo, xi., ch. xiii., calls the Lake *Σαῶρα* (emended by St. Martin to *Καῶρα* = Kapōt "blue") and xi., ch. xiv., *Μαῦρανός*; Ptolemy, vi., ch. ii., calls it *Μαῦρανός* ("Μαῦρανός"; cf. MARAGHA). As a rule, the name Mantiane is connected with that of the Matienoi people in whose country Herodotus (I. 189, 202; v. 52) makes the Araxes (?) rise and the Gyndes (Diyālā). Marquart (*Süd-aramien*, 1930, p. 431) thinks he can identify these Matienoi (or Mantianoi) with the Mannaeans (Mann, Mannai; cf. above). Perhaps Mantiana should be connected with the name Manda which from the earliest times was applied to Indo-Europeans; cf. Reinach, *Les Mantiens*, in *Revue des études grecques*, vii., 1894, p. 313—318; Forrer, *Die Inschriften d. Hatti-Richter*, in *Z.D.M.G.*, 1922, p. 174—269, and Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altertums*, I/I., 2nd edition, p. 35, note 3.

The *Avesta* knows the lake by the name of Čačasta "deep lake with salt waters". Bartholomae, *Altir. Wörter*, col. 575, interprets the name as "shining white" (*weißschimmernd*). On its banks Kavi Haosrawah slew the Turanian Frašrasyān (Yasht, ix. 18 etc.). According to the *Bundahish*, xvii. 7, transl. West, the same Kai Khosraw destroyed the temple of idols near the Lake Čačast (cf. the *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Vullers, ii. 441, where Khandjast خاندجست should be emended to Čačast چاچست). From the name Čačasta must come the Arabic name of the sanctuary Shāh (= Gāznā, Ganza) to the south of the lake, identified by Rawlinson with Takht-i Sulaimān. (As Hoffmann has already pointed out (*Auszüge*, p. 252) Lailān is perhaps a better identification of the site of Shāh).

Another old name which was applied to the Lake is Kapōtān "blue" (cf. above). The Armenian geography of the viiith century gives Kaputan; cf. Marquart, *Erzählung*, p. 137 and Ibn Hawkal, p. 237: Kabūdān.

Istakhri, p. 181, calls the Lake Buhairat al-Shurūt, "the Lake of the Khāridīs", but more often it bears the name of adjoining towns: Urmia, Shāhi, Tardī (q. v.).

The name Shāhi (Shāhā) although only found late, is connected with the old fortress which stood on the peninsula to the N.E. of the lake. The fortress of Shāhi is known to Tabari, iii. 1171 and 1379 (under 200 = 815). It is mentioned in the time of the Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn (Nasawi, p. 157). It was at Shāhi that the first Mongol

Ighāns Hūlagū and Abaka were buried (cf. Rashid al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, p. 416; Hafiz Abrū quoted in *Le Strange*, *op. cit.*, p. 161; d'Ohason, *Hist. des Mongols*, iv. 340). Abu 'l-Fidā' calls the Lake Buhairat Tālī. It is not clear if Tālī = Shāhi. The Persian translation of Istakhri (cf. de Goeje in *Ibn Hawkal*, p. 247, note 28) seems to distinguish between the two names, and the fortress of Tālī mentioned by Nasawi, p. 153—154 (cf. Yāqūt, iii. 541 who takes Tālī to be a Persian word) would seem rather to be connected with the west bank. In this case, it should be sought at Güwercin-Kāl'a on a cliff which rises above the lake on the Salmas shore; cf. Ker Porter, *Travels*, ii. 593; Khanykov, in *Freytag's, Verhänd. Geogr. Anst.*, 1852, vi. (Khanykov found at Güwercin-Kāl'a the inscription of a certain Abū Nāsir [al-Nasr?] Ḥusain Bahādur Khān [should this Ḥasan be Uzūn Ḥasan, whose title was exactly Abū 'l-Nasr?], and Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, i. 306—314).

On the other hand, it remains to be seen whether Güwercin-Kāl'a is not identical with the stronghold of Yakdur (or Bakdur) which Tabari mentions along with Shāhi and which in turn may correspond to the mountain of Bakyr (which may be read Bakdr; cf. *Bundahish*, xii. 2 and 20) where Afrāsiyāh (Frānāsīyan) took refuge. In the *Avesta*, Yasht v. 49; ix. 18, Khosraw slays him "behind Lake Čačasta", which seems to indicate the region west of the Lake. [The later tradition puts the place of Afrāsiyāh's death in Arrān; cf. *Shāh-nāma* and especially Nasawi, *Sirat Djalāl al-Dīn*, p. 225; transl. p. 375].

The Arab geographers know that the salt waters of the Lake will not support organic life. According to Tabari, iii. 1380, the Lake does not contain fish or anything of value. Istakhri (p. 189) and Gharnāṭi (in *Kawwini*, p. 194) alone affirm the contrary. The first talks of the "fish-animal" called "water-dog"; Gharnāṭi delights in wonderful stories, which are later repeated by Ewliyā Celābi.

Bibliography: More particularly on the lake and its geology: Quatremère in his edition of Rashid al-Dīn, p. 316—320; Abich, *Vergleichende chem. Untersuchung d. Wässer d. Casp. Meeres, Urmia- und Wan-See*, in *Mém. Acad. de St. Pétersbourg, Sciences mathém.*, 1856, series vi., vol. vii., p. 1—57; Khanykov, *Notices physiques et géographiques sur l'Azerbaïdjan*, in *Bull. de la classe phys.-mathém. de l'Acad. de Russie*, xvi., 1858, p. 337—352 (analysis of the water, map of the islands, soundings); Pöhlig, *Entstehungsgeschichte des Urmiases*, in *Verhandl. Nat. Vereins*, Bonn 1886, p. 14; Rodler, *Der Urmia-See und d. nordwestl. Persien*, in *Schriften d. Vereins z. Verbreit. naturwiss. Kenntnisse*, Vienna, xxvii., 1886—1887, p. 535—575; Borne, *Der Jura am Ostufer des Urmiases*, Halle 1891; Günther, *Contrib. to the geogr. of Lake Urmia*, in *Geogr. Journ.*, 1899, xiv. 504—521; Günther, *Contrib. to the natural history of Lake Urmia*, in *J. Linnean Soc., Zoology*, 1900, xxvii. 345—453 (with numerous contributions by specialists); Günther and Manley, *On the waters of the Salt of Lake of Urmia*, in *Proc. Royal Soc.*, vol. lxx., p. 312—318; Mequenen, *Le lac d'Ourmiah*, in *Ann. Geogr.*, 1908, xvii. 128—144; E. Zugmayer, *Eine Reise durch Vorderasien* (1904), Berlin 1905 (Marāgha—the islands of the Lake of Urmia-Khōi); Benck, *Der Urmiassee in Persien*, in *Pet. Mitt.*, 1916, lxii. 449 (note of no im-

portance); K. Kaebue, *Beitr. z. phys. Geographie des Urmia-Sees*, in *Zeit. d. Geogr. f. Erdkunde*, Berlin 1923, p. 104—131 (excellent study based on the Russian map, scale: 2 versts to the inch).

(V. MINORSKY)

URMU, a district in Ādharbāidjān.

According to Balādhuri, p. 328, Sa'īd b. al-'Ās, sent to conquer Ādharbāidjān, attacked the people of Mūkān and Gīlān. A number of inhabitants of Ādharbāidjān and Armenians who had gathered in the nāhiya of Urm and at *تلونكر* *Balwānkaradj

were defeated by one of Sa'īd's captains. The leader of the rebels was hanged on the walls of the fortress of Bādjarwān (*Nuḥas al-Kulūb*, G.M.S., p. 181; Bādjarwān was 20 farsakhs north of Ardabil).

Ibn Khurādādhbih, p. 119, mentions the citadel of Urm between al-Bādhā (a town of Bābak's on a river which flows into the Araxes above the river of Ardabil) and Balwānkaradj. Ibn al-Fakih, p. 216, speaks of several districts (*ruḥāt*) of Urm. Yāqūt, i. 216, mentions the region (*ruḥ*) of Urm but gives only an abridgment of Balādhuri.

The names mentioned by Balādhuri and by Ibn Khurādādhbih suggest a district in the N. E. of Ādharbāidjān, perhaps in the Karadja-dagh of the present day (the capital of which is Ahar and in the northern districts of which we find Armenians). [On the other hand, the element *Balwān could be connected with the name of the river *Balhārū (Bolguru) in Mūkān; q. v.].

(V. MINORSKY)

'URS, *'Urus* (A., Pl. *arūs* and *urūṣ*), originally the leading of the bride to her bridegroom, marriage, also the wedding feast simply; whence a denominative verb iv. *arāsa* "to celebrate a marriage". *Arūs* means both bridegroom and bride; in modern linguistic usage this term has however been supplanted by *aris* "bridegroom" and *arūsa* "bride" (as early as the 1000s *Nights*, cf. Dozy, *Supplément*). Two kinds of weddings have to be distinguished: *urs* is the wedding performed in the tribe or the house of the man, and *umra* is the wedding performed in the house or tribe of the woman (this distinction is already made by Ibn al-'Arabī [d. 231—845] in the *Lisān al-'Arab*, vi. 283; cf. Fīrābādī, *Kāmil*, s.v. *mar* and *ur*). The two forms agree for the most part in practice; they only differ in the choice of place for the main ceremonies and in the fact that in the *umra* the *saffa* of the bride is omitted.

a. "We learn little from the poems" says G. Jacob "of the wedding customs" of the pre-Muḥammadan Arabs. They seem to have been very simple in the Arabian Peninsula itself, as is still the case among the Beduins (cf. below). The pomp and display of later centuries, especially in the bridal procession, was probably unknown. The wedding lasted a week, whence it is also called *uḥū* (cf. *Agḥāmī*, xii. 145). The bride is adorned, perfumed and painted with *kuḥl*. There is an old proverb which says: "The scent behind a bride cannot be concealed" (Nöldeke, *Delectus*, p. 48, 4; Māldīnī, *Proverbia*, ed. Freytag, xxiii. 269). The bride is called "the conducted one" (cf. *Antara*, xxvii. 1); she was therefore conducted to the bridegroom, usually by a number of women without any pomp, but very quietly and simply. This at least is indicated by the story of 'Ukāl b. 'Ullāfa who betrothed his daughter to the caliph Yazīd I; he made it a condition that the caliph's people

should not come for his daughter but that he should bring her himself on a camel (*Agḥāmī*, xl. 90). Sometimes she was brought in a litter (*minafa*) (cf. Djawhūrī, *Ṣiḥāḥ*, s.v. *ṣ-f-f*), as is still the case in Mecca (Sinnock Hurgroze, *Arabia*, ii. 182). A special tent was always put up for the young couple. About the bridegroom there is an old proverb: "The bridegroom wants little to be an amir (or king)" (Djawhūrī, *Ṣiḥāḥ*, s.v. *ṣ-r-r*; Māldīnī, *Proverbia*, xii. 143).

In the lands adjoining Arabia on the other hand, weddings were celebrated with great splendour. Thus we are told (*Kiṭāb al-Aghāmī*, xx. 23) of a Persian wedding in the 'Irāk with a splendid bridal procession; similarly for Syria as early as I. Macc., ix. 37: "... ταύτην γάμος πύγος καὶ ὕψους τῶν ὀρέων ... μετὰ παρασκευῆς μεγάλης. As late as the beginning of the third (ninth) century, we find a simple Beduin much surprised at a splendid wedding in North Syria (*Agḥāmī*, xii. 35 sq.), which shows that Syrian usages were foreign to the Arabs (cf. on the above section: Freytag, *Einführung in das Studium der arabischen Sprache*, Bonn 1861, p. 203—204; Wellhausen, *Die Räte bei den Arabern*, in *N. G. W. Göttingen*, 1893, p. 441 sq.; Jacob, *Altharab. Belangen*, Berlin 1897, p. 57—58).

Δ The records in Tradition are on the whole in keeping with the simple usages of the Arab pagan period. 'Ā'isha wore at her wedding with the Prophet a robe of red striped material which came from Bahrain (*dir* *ḥifḥ*; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, s.v. *ḥ-f-r*) and "every woman in Medina, when dressing (for her *uḥū*), used to borrow it from her" (Bukhārī, *Ḥiṣā*, bāb 34). For Fāṭima's wedding with 'Alī, 'Ā'isha and Umm Salama made the preparations at home; they scattered soft dust from the Baḥā' over the ground and filled two cushions with fibre (*ḥif*) and teased it out. They laid out dates and figs to eat and sweet-tasting water to drink; they also put up at one side of the room a stand for the clothes and the water-skin (Ibn Mādjā, *Nihāya*, bāb 24). Fāṭima's trousseau consisted of a silken robe with fringes (*ḥamīl*), a water-skin (*ḥirḥa*) and a cushion filled with rushes (*ḥalḥīr*) (Nasā'ī, *Nihāya*, bāb 81). In another tradition the Prophet allows considerable expenditure on large carpets with fringes (*anḥāl*) (Nasā'ī, *Nihāya*, bāb 83). From numerous traditions (Bukhārī, *Nihāya*, bāb 58, 64; *Taḥṣīl*, Sūra xxiii. bāb 8; Ibn Mādjā, *Nihāya*, bāb 21, 24; Nasā'ī, *Nihāya*, bāb 18, 77; Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 196), it is evident that the bride was conducted by her mother and other female relatives to the house of the bridegroom. When the Prophet married 'Ā'isha who was then six years old, she was brought by her mother Umm Rūmān to the Prophet's house; there women were waiting her and greeted her with "For good, and bliss, and good fortune". The women then washed her hair and adorned her while the Prophet stood smiling by. She was then handed over by the women to the Prophet (Muslim, *Nihāya*, bāb 69; cf. Bukhārī, *Nihāya*, bāb 58). Tradition gives no further details of the toilet; but the men seem also to have been perfumed; a perfume was used which left yellow stains (*ḥalḥāḥ*, *zafar* or *sa'far*), such as the Prophet noticed on 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf still a few days after his wedding (according to Anas b. Mālik in Bukhārī, *Nihāya*, bāb 7, 55, 57; Muslim, *Nihāya*, tr. 79—81; Nasā'ī, *Nihāya*, bāb 67, 75, 84; Ibn Mādjā, *Nihāya*, bāb 24; Dārimī, *Nihāya*, bāb 22; Ahmad b. Ḥanbal,

iii. 163, 190, 204, 227, 271). According to a tradition transmitted by Abū Huraira the Prophet uttered the following blessings at weddings: *Baraka 'lāhūm* (var. *laka*) *wa-baraka 'lāhūm* (var. *'alāhū*) *wa-ḥamda 'lāhūm* (var. *'alā 'lāhū*) or instead of the third part: *wa-baraka laka fīkū* (Ibn Māḍja, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 23; Tirmidhi, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 7; Abū Dāwūd, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 35; Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii. 381; cf. i. 201; iii. 451; Nasā'i, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 73; Dārimi, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 6), while he forbade the wish from the period of the Djahiliyya *bi-l-riḥa*, *wa-l-hamla* "in harmony and with sons!" (Nasā'i, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 73; Ibn Māḍja, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 23; Dārimi, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 6; Ahmad b. Hanbal, i. 201; iii. 451). The bride was conducted to the bridegroom by young girls who sang *ghazals*; two opening lines of such a *ghazal* are preserved: *Atainākum atainākum fa-ḥayyūnā wa-ḥayyūnā* "we come to you, we come to you, may (God) give us long life and give you long life" (Ibn Māḍja, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 21; cf. also Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 64) or *atainākum atainākum fa-ḥayyūnā nuḥayyūnā* (so it should be read!) "We come to you, we come to you, then greet us, we greet you" (Ahmad b. Hanbal, iv. 78). The participation of women and children in the wedding ceremonies is according to Anas b. Malik expressly approved by the Prophet (Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 76; *Manārik al-Anjūr*, bāb 5). On these occasions young girls used to beat tambourines (*duff*) and sing of the death of the champions of Badr, which the Prophet is definitely said to have permitted (Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 49; *Maḡhīz*, bāb 12; Ibn Māḍja, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 20, 21; Tirmidhi, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 6; Nasā'i, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 72, 80; Ṭayālīsī, N^o. 1221; Ahmad b. Hanbal, iii. 418). Other instruments are mentioned, such as another variety of tambourine (*ḡhīrāḡ*; Ibn Māḍja, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 20) and the drum (*ṭabl*; Ibn Māḍja, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 21). The object of this music was to call public attention to the marriage (Ibn Māḍja, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 20; Tirmidhi, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 6; Ahmad b. Hanbal, iv. 5). According to one tradition, the Prophet is even said to have forbidden marriages to be performed in complete quiet (Ahmad b. Hanbal, iv. 78).

A wedding feast (*walima* or *ṣ'ūm*) for the men was part of the wedding (Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 69; Ahmad b. Hanbal, v. 359; Zaid, *Muḡmū*, N^o. 949; etc.). A feast is obligatory for the first day (*ḥayḡ*) and commendable for the second (*ma'raḡ*; Tirmidhi regards it also as *ḥayḡ*), and on the third day ostentation (*sum'a wa-riḡ*), i.e. done in order that people may hear and see it (Tirmidhi, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 10; Abū Dāwūd, *Aḡima*, bāb 5; Dārimi, *Aḡima*, bāb 28; Ibn Māḍja, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 25; Ahmad b. Hanbal, v. 28, 371). Sa'id b. al-Musaiyab (according to Dārimi; the Prophet) is said to have accepted the invitation for the first two days, but refused that for the third (Abū Dāwūd, *Aḡima*, bāb 5; Dārimi, *Aḡima*, bāb 28). Bukhārī, in the super-scription to *Nikāḥ*, bāb 72, speaks of a week's feasting and says that the Prophet did not limit it to one or two days. The feast at the Prophet's wedding with Ṣaffiya consisted of *ḡhīr*, a dish of dates, curds (*akḡif*) and fat, to which according to some traditions was added meal of roasted barley (*ḡmīḡ*) (according to Anas b. Malik in Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 13, 61, 69; *Buyū*, bāb 111; *Ḍiḡḡād*, bāb 73; *Aḡima*, bāb 8; Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, tr. 84, 87, 88; Nasā'i, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 79; Ahmad b. Hanbal, iii. 99, 102, 159, 195, 264); according to another tradition, the Prophet used on this occasion another

1 1/2 *mudd* of the best kind of dates (*ṣaḡḡwa*) (according to Ḍiḡḡār b. 'Abd Allāh in Ahmad b. Hanbal, iii. 333). At the Prophet's wedding with Zainab (according to Anas b. Malik in Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, tr. 87, 89, 91, 92; Ahmad b. Hanbal, iii. 98, 105, 172, 196, 200, 263) and at the wedding of Rabī'a al-A'alami (Ahmad b. Hanbal, iv. 58) bread and meat were given, which seems to have been usual along with *ḡhīr* as in some cases it is specially mentioned that there was no bread and meat (Ibn Māḍja, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 24; Malik, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 48; Ahmad b. Hanbal, iii. 99, 195, 264; Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 13, 61; Nasā'i, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 79). In other passages 2 *mudd* of barley is mentioned (Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 71; Ahmad b. Hanbal, vi. 113), a sheep and millet (Ahmad b. Hanbal, v. 359); but for the *walima* at least a sheep should be slaughtered (according to Anas b. Malik in Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 7, 55, 57, 69, 70; *Dāwūd*, bāb 54; *Adab*, bāb 67; *Buyū*, bāb 1; Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, tr. 79—81, 90; etc.). Anas b. Malik also records that his mother Umm Sulaim sent the Prophet a dish of dates (*ḡhīr*, see above) on the occasion of a marriage and that the Prophet offered it to his guests in groups of ten until they were satisfied (Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, tr. 94, 95; Nasā'i, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 84). Saḡl b. Sa'd records that at the wedding of Abū Asyad al-Sa'idi his bride offered the guests after the feast a beverage made by steeping dates (*naḡḡ*), which she herself had prepared (Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 72, 78, 79; *Aḡriḡa*, bāb 7, 9); Bukhārī concludes from this that on the one hand non-intoxicating beverages are allowed at weddings and on the other that women may wait on the men at a wedding. — As a rule the traditions give no information about the time of the *walima*. In the few passages which admit a definite time, the *walima* took place after the bride had been taken to the bridegroom's house but before the wedding night (Bukhārī, *Taḡfir*, Sūra xxxiii., bāb 8; Ahmad b. Hanbal, iii. 196 and the other traditions about Zainab's wedding); but the *walima* at Ṣaffiya's wedding seems to have taken place next day, probably as a result of the special conditions, as the Prophet married her on the return of the expedition to Khaibar (Bukhārī, *Buyū*, bāb 111; *Ḍiḡḡād*, bāb 73; Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, tr. 88; Ahmad b. Hanbal, iii. 195 and the other traditions about this wedding; cf. however one tradition about Zainab's wedding in Ahmad b. Hanbal, iii. 98, 105). — An invitation to a wedding feast ought always to be accepted (Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, tr. 100, 101; Abū Dāwūd, *Aḡima*, bāb 1; Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii. 22). 'Abd Allāh b. 'Omar used never to refuse an invitation even when he was fasting (Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 78; Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, tr. 103; Dārimi, *Aḡima*, bāb 40). People of all conditions, rich and poor, should be invited; in one tradition given by Abū Huraira, we read: "The wedding feast at which the rich eat and from which the poor are kept away is an evil feast" (Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii. 494). For further references see Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, Leyden 1927, s. v. *Walima* and the article *WALIMA*.

The following two traditions presumably refer to the procedure in the bridal chamber: "If any one of you marry a woman ... he shall take her by her forelock and pray (to God) for blessing (*baraka*) ... and pray to God for refuge from the accursed Satan" (Malik, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 52) and "If any one of you marry a woman ... he shall say:

O God, I pray Thee for her good and for her good inclinations which Thou hast created, and I seek refuge with Thee from her evil and from her evil inclinations which Thou hast created" (Abū Dāwūd, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 44). Umm Salama for her wedding night with the Prophet prepared a meal of barley and fat (*ʿayḍa*) (Ahmad b. Hanbal, vi. 307). According to many traditions (Anas b. Malik, among others), it is a *sunna* for the young husband to spend seven days and nights with his young wife if she is a virgin (*ḥayṣa*) and only three days and nights if she is not (*ḥayṣa*); only after this does the regular rotation with the other wives begin (Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 101, 102; Abū Dāwūd, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 33; Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 40; Muslim, *Raḍā*, tr. 45; Zaid, *Madīna*, No. 737; Ibn Mādjā, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 26; Malik, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 15; on the Prophet's marriage with Sāfiya [who was *ḥayṣa*]: Abū Dāwūd, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 33; Ahmad b. Hanbal, iii. 99; on the Prophet's marriage with Umm Salama [who was *ḥayṣa*]: Muslim, *Raḍā*, tr. 41-44; Ibn Mādjā, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 26; Abū Dāwūd, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 33; Malik, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 14; Ahmad b. Hanbal, vi. 292, 295, 307, 343, 320, 321 [this was done by her request; the Prophet had given her the choice between seven and three days]). According to another tradition, the young husband should only stay three days even with a virgin and only two with a bride who is not (Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii. 178; Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 40).

As to the season of the year, the month of Shawwāl is expressly mentioned in Tradition as the month in which the Prophet celebrated his wedding with ʿĀʾisha (Nasāʾī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 18, 77; Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, tr. 73; etc.).

2. In the Fīkh, the Mālikīs pay special attention to wedding customs, since most of them are primarily intended to call public attention to the conclusion of the marriage. According to Mālik b. Anas as well as Ibn Abī Lailā (cf. Sarakhsī, *Mabṣūṭ*, v. 30) in contrast to other schools, making the wedding public (*ʿiṣā*) is a necessary condition for the validity of a marriage. Witnesses are not essential for the conclusion of a contract of marriage, although with the Mālikīs it is usual to have them in practice; if the two witnesses were not present at the conclusion of the contract they must be present on the night of the wedding and for example push the bridegroom into the bridal chamber (Kairawānī, *Riḍā*, Cairo 1338, p. 66; Khali, ii. 1459; Kāsim, *Baḍʿ al-Sanāʿ*, Cairo 1327, ii. 252; Ibn Rashd [Averroes], *Bidʿat al-Mudṭalib*, Cairo 1349, ii. 16 where we already find witnesses mentioned among the essentials). On the same grounds of publicity, Khali (ii. 1) also recommends congratulations to the bridal pair. The doors of the house should therefore not be closed at the *walimat al-ʿurs* (Khali, ii. 117). This *walima* is considered praiseworthy (*mustaḥabb*) among the Mālikīs, Hanafīs and Hanbalīs while the Shāfiʿs hold a stricter view: according to one view, it is *sunna muʾakkada*, according to the others, it is even *wājib* (cf. Shīrāzī, p. 205; Qhazālī, ii. 22; Nawawī, p. 90; Ardabīlī, ii. 94). According to Khali, it should be held the day after the wedding, according to other Mālikīs, however, before, so that the wedding is only consummated after its public proclamation (Tidjānī, *Tuḥfa*, p. 35). A wealthy man should kill at least a sheep, a poorer man provide as much as he can afford (Shīrāzī, Ardabīlī). To accept an invitation to a *walima* is according to the Hanafīs

praiseworthy (*mustaḥabb*), among the Mālikīs, Hanbalīs and Shāfiʿs on the other hand a duty (*wājib*; Shāfiʿ, *Umm*, vi. 178 says: *ḥaḍḥ*). Among the Shāfiʿs it is praiseworthy to accept the invitation for the second day also; on the other hand, it is best to refuse it for the third day (Nawawī describes acceptance for the third day as *makrūh*). If the person invited is fasting, he should nevertheless accept the invitation; he need not however eat anything; it is best however if he breaks his fast unless he is pledged to observe it. If an intoxicated man is at the *walima* or wine or anything else forbidden, it is best to stay away; similarly if there are in the room representations of living creatures, even if one tramples on them (e.g. on carpets). According to Shīrāzī, one should also stay away from the *walima* where songs are sung, even if one does not listen to them and only pays attention to *ḥadīṭ* and eating. Music is on the other hand permitted to some extent — for example that of the tambourine (*duff*) already mentioned in tradition; Khali gives a list of permitted instruments: another kind of tambourine (*ghirgiz*), an older kind of lute (*misḥar* [cf. 'Up]; cf. H. G. Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, London 1929, p. 46-47), a kind of flute (*sumnāra*) and horns (*ḥaḍ*).

The question is much discussed whether one should scatter among the crowd at weddings nuts, almonds, sweets (Ardabīlī also mentions dates, dirhams and dinars). According to Dimishqī (ii. 76), Abū Hanifa and Ahmad b. Hanbal had no objections, while Mālik, Shāfiʿ and Ahmad b. Hanbal in a second opinion declare the practice *makrūh*. The views of the later Shāfiʿs are however divided. Muḥṣin recommends the omission of the practice, as the things would be hurriedly picked up as plunder by the people; it is not however forbidden except when the people fall upon one another and try to take the things from each other. Qhazālī allows the scattering of sweets, since it was done in the time of the Prophet [i. no reference in the canonical works; cf. above], and Nawawī and Ardabīlī, while regarding it as permitted, consider it better omitted. Shīrāzī on the other hand declares it *makrūh*.

Bibliography: cf. the articles *NIKĀḤ* and *WALIMA*; Shāfiʿ, K. *al-Umm*, Būlāḡ 1324, vi. 178; Muḥṣin, *Muḥṣin*, on the margin of the preceding, iv. 39-41; Shīrāzī, *Tanbih*, ed. Juynboll, Leyden 1879, p. 205 sq.; Qhazālī, *Wasṭ*, Cairo 1318, ii. 22; Nawawī, *Minhāj*, Cairo 1329, p. 90; Ardabīlī, *Kitāb al-Anwār li-Aḥmād al-Abrār*, Cairo 1328, ii. 94-96; Khali, *Muḥṣin*, transl. Santillana, Milan 1919, ii. 65 sqq.; Ibn Rashd, *Muḥṣin*, on the margin of the *Mudawwana al-kubra*, Cairo 1324, ii. 58; Shāfiʿ, *Umm*, Cairo 1925, ii. 124; Dimishqī, *Raḍā al-Umm*, on the margin of the preceding, ii. 76; Tornauw, *Das moslemische Recht*, Leipzig 1855, p. 70 sq.; Juynboll, *Handboek des islamischen Geestes*, Leyden 1910, p. 162 sqq.

d. Later usages down to the present day. For the older period we are dependent on occasional scattered notes; it is only with the literature of European travellers (from the xvth century), with the recording of texts in dialect and the systematic collection of folklore in recent decades (Westermarck for Morocco, Jaussen for Nablus etc.) that we have a wealth of material which it is almost impossible to deal with. These sources are however not all of equal value. On

the one hand, particularly with the earlier literature, we have first of all to investigate the trustworthiness of the traveller. To take a striking example: The Fleming van Ghistels who made a pilgrimage in 1481-1485, says (*Voyage*, Gent 1557, p. 15) that the bridal pair before the marriage contract is signed are put one in each of two adjoining rooms with an eyehole through which they can see one another naked. This is contradictory to Muslim ideas. (Cf. however the fact that some jurists like Da'ūd al-Zāhiri permit the man before marriage to see the whole of the woman's body except the pudenda; Ibn Rushd, *Bidāya*, ii. 3; Dimishki, *Fiṣḥa*, ii. 62.) On the other hand, there are gaps in the records of the travellers; they only record what is done in the street or more or less publicly. Full accounts of the customs observed, as in Leo Africanus and Lane, are by no means numerous and can be supplemented for the earlier period by scattered references in the *Alf Laila wa-Laila* and the popular romances.

Wedding customs are more or less distinct according to country. This is most clearly seen on the periphery of the Muslim world, for example in the Malay Archipelago, in Central Africa or among the Kirghiz and Turkomans. Here Islam has taken over old local customs and sometimes adapted them to its point of view. For the original lands of Islam however, the same observation can be made, except that the process was completed in the early centuries of Islam. In modern Syria and Egypt the customs among Muslims and Christians are almost identical except as regards purely ecclesiastical and religious matters (cf. the sketches in Littmann, *Neuarabische Volkspoesie*; Jaussen, *Contumes Palestiniennes*; Blackman, *The Fellāḥin of Upper Egypt*, p. 93). This fact shows that we have to deal in this case with old customs of the nearer East, at any rate not with specifically Muslim practices. In this connection we may call attention to the already mentioned pompous pre-Islamic practices in Syria and Mesopotamia. Pre-Islamic origin can in some points be definitely proved. In many districts the Muslim bride wears a crown of flowers or of pasteboard (cf. below); in this I see the adoption of a practice of the Christian east where the crowning of the bride was and still is a part of the wedding ceremony. (This crowning is mentioned as early as a liturgical poem by Ephraim the Syrian in Densinger, *Ritus Orientalium*, Würzburg 1864, ii. 443; in Barhebraeus, *ibid.*, ii. 385; among the Copts of the 12th century, *ibid.*, ii. 365; cf. also *ibid.*, ii. 391-399, 408-409, 433-434.) The carrying of lights in the bridal procession may also be of Christian origin (for the Copts of the 12th century, cf. Densinger, *op. cit.*, ii. 364; cf. the carrying of lights in the Mawlid festival and its Christian origin, *ibid.*, p. 420). The ceremonies on the seventh day have also their parallels in the Christian liturgy of the East; on the seventh day the bridal crown is solemnly removed among the Copts (Densinger, *op. cit.*, ii. 380).

From the point of view of method, it would be more correct to deal with wedding customs by regions. But this would take up too much space here. I shall therefore endeavour to give the most important customs in vogue in towns in the old lands of Islam and as far as possible to treat them historically. It should be noted in this connection that practices differ in different levels of society.

Therefore, three groups have at least to be distinguished: customs in the towns, among the fellāḥin and among the Beduins. The two last named are essentially simpler and agree more with the old Arab practices than do those of the town-dwellers.

Among the Ruwala Beduins (Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Ruwala-Beduins*, New York 1928, p. 228-229), a camel is killed on the morning of the wedding before the bridegroom's tent and its flesh distributed. In the course of the day the bride puts up her tent—the woman always brings it with her—and at night she is taken by a few female relations in all secrecy to this tent; soon afterwards the bridegroom enters the tent. There are no ceremonies, no singing or dancing, not even the usual *zaghārit* cries of the women. On the next morning the bridegroom goes to his relatives while the bride is visited by the women and congratulated; she then receives a gift from her father-in-law and remains for seven days in her tent while the bridegroom goes about his usual business. He must however spend seven nights with his young wife (cf. the traditions above quoted). Among other Beduin tribes in Arabia Petraea (Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, iii. 196-197) the youths and maidens sing bridal songs and dance. Here as on the Sinai Peninsula (Burckhardt, *Bemerkungen über die Beduinen*, Weimar 1831, p. 216-217) the bride runs away into the desert after the first night, sometimes for six days, sometimes even for longer and the husband must go to look for her.

Between these very simple practices of the Beduins and the highly developed rites of the town-dwellers numerous intermediate stages are to be found among the fellāḥin, among whom we can observe the gradual advance of usages from the towns.

Let us now come to the towns. Weddings were celebrated with great pomp at the 'Abbāsī court in Baghdad. In the sources, sums of 50 and 70 million dirhams are mentioned as having been expended by the caliphs Hārūn al-Rashīd and Ma'mūn for their weddings. But the common people also on such occasions liked to appear wealthier than they really were. Even in early times, the coiffure used to lend ornaments to the bride (cf. the tradition above quoted about 'Aṣṣha). The carpets, utensils etc. were also sometimes borrowed (Mez, *Revue de l'Islām*, p. 404, 453).

As was mentioned early in the article, two kinds of weddings have to be distinguished: the *'urs* and the *'umra*. The *'urs* seems to be the usual kind; at least it is almost exclusively the one that is described by travellers. We find the *'umra* for example in the case of the wedding of the caliph Ma'mūn with Būrān (210=825; Tabari, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, iii. 1081-1082); in Ibn al-Muḍāwir (d. 690=1291) in Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, ii/1. 859 for Mecca; *Alf Laila wa-Laila*, transl. Littmann, i. 263-264; in the Karagöz play 'The Wrong Bride' in Ritter, *Karagöz*, Hanover 1924, p. 109-110.

Here we may also note that these wedding customs are only observed when a woman marries for the first time. When she marries for the second time they are content with the legal *malṭa*. The parties often agree to have no festivities (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 155; Lane, *Manners and Customs*, London 1871, i. 219-220).

The celebrations extend over several days; they

usually begin on Monday and the actual wedding takes place on Thursday. In Arab popular poetry we therefore have frequent reference to seven days of celebration while the *duhla* takes place on the eighth (e.g. *Alf Laila wa-Laila*, ii. 461; iii. 437; *Sirat Saif*, iii. 22, 33; v. 28; xii. 59). When however we find references to 30 days of feasting and the 31st night as the *lailat al-duhla* (*Alf Laila wa-Laila*, iii. 642; *Sirat Saif*, xii. 45; xiii. 12) or when 40 days and nights are mentioned in Turkish romances and fairy tales (Spies, *Türkische Volksbücher*, Leipzig 1909, p. 25), this is only a stereotyped literary form to express that the wedding celebrations lasted a long time.

The principal usages are as follows:

1. Immediately after the formalities of the marriage contract, the *malima* takes place in the bride's house; only men are present at it. This is already found in *Hadith*. On this occasion sweets, money and other things are often thrown to the crowd. For example the vizier al-Hasan b. Sahl at the wedding of his daughter Būṭn with the caliph al-Ma'mūn (210 = 825) had tickets scattered among the nobles on which were inscribed the names of pieces of land, slave-girls and the distinguishing marks of horses. Any one who got one of the tickets received what was written on it. The vizier also had gold and silver coins, little bags of musk and pieces of amber thrown among the populace (Tabari, *Annals*, ed. de Goeje, iii. 1083 *infra*; Ma'sūdi, *Murūj al-Zahab*, Paris 1873, vii. 65 *sq.*). — At the *malima* on the occasion of the wedding of the Mamlūk Muḥammad b. al-Sulṭān (920 = 1514) wine (*sakar*) was served in vessels of Chinese porcelain (Ibn Iyās, iv. 406). In general however, the *malima* consisted simply in the offering of sweets and other dainties (cf. *Alf Laila wa-Laila*, ii. 23-24); sometimes however, roast meat and vegetables etc. were also served. Music and dancing are not usual on this day. In Nablus (Syria), according to Jausen, there is only a meal for the women, while in Fās a feast is held in the house of both bride and bridegroom (Leo Africanus [1526], Tharaud [1930]). The real wedding ceremonies do not usually begin until a week later.

2. The bride's bath. A few days before the wedding the bride goes to the bath with her friends; rich people perform this ceremony in their own house; usually however, a public bath is hired for a whole or half day. In Cairo in Lane's time, they went with great pomp to the bath (*saffat al-hammām*). In front walked two men carrying dishes on which lay the bath requisites covered; then came water-carriers and men with rose water and censers to sprinkle the passers-by and offer them beverages. Then came musicians with oboes and drums and the bride's friends two by two. The bride herself thickly veiled with a crown on her head walked between two female relatives under a canopy carried by four men; musicians brought up the rear of the procession. In the bath itself there were all kinds of diversions and feasting while women-singers sang songs. In the evening in the house there was a banquet for the women at which women-singers sang to pass the time. In modern Fās, the bride is taken to the bath and led home dressed like a doll with shouts of joy (Tharaud [1930]). In xvth century Morocco the bride's bath before the wedding was unknown (Leo Africanus) while in Algiers in the same

period, according to Haedo, the bridal bath was usual. It is also unknown in Mecca. In Syria and Asia Minor they go very quietly to the bath while Cotovius at the end of the xvth century in Syria saw a solemn procession with wax candles.

In the bath itself numerous ceremonies and diversions take place. In Nablus (Jausen [1927]) the bride is put on a throne in the bath while her friends sing and dance around her with lights in their hands. They then all bathe, the bride last. After the bath the bride is sprinkled with perfume and refreshments are taken. She is then taken home very quietly and thickly veiled. For Constantinople, White (c. 1840) also reports that the bride sits on a throne while dramatic presentations are given and refreshments offered. Then comes, just as in Persia (Polak [c. 1860]) and Tunis (Berthelin [c. 1900]), the henna ceremony which in other lands does not take place till next day. The finger-nails (in Persia also the hair) are dyed with henna. The guests thereupon distribute money to the bath attendants. This is called the 'henna gift'.

3. The adornment of the bride. This day is often called after the principal ceremony *lailat al-hanna* or *henna gahiri* (e.g. in Mecca, Egypt, Tunis and in Turkey). In the presence of her female relations and friends, the bride's eyelids are blackened with *duhl* and the hands and feet coloured with henna. In doing this the hands and feet must be coloured exactly the same and no pictorial representations put on them (cf. Abū Bakr Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Marwazi [d. 275 = 888], *Kitāb al-Warā'*, Cairo 1340, p. 104). In earlier times, yellow patches (*nafat al-urūq*) used to be put upon the cheeks (Dhu l-Rumma [d. 107 = 719] in *Agḥāni*, xvi. 115; Mā'idān, *Fraseria*, ed. Fraytag, ii. 762, N^o 24; Sharīf [d. 619 = 1222] in the commentary on *Hariri*, *Mafāmat*, p. 610). On the same day the bride's wedding ornaments are put on, including necklaces, bridal girdle (*hiṣṣa*; cf. *Sirat Saif*, xvii. 53), crown (*taḍ* or *skil*; oldest reference: *Sirat Saif* [xvth century], iv. 36; xvii. 53; cf. also the title of the celebrated dictionary *Taḍ al-'Arūs* [xviii century]). The bride on these occasions often puts on different dresses (e.g. in Sfax: Nabeshuber; cf. *Alf Laila wa-Laila*, i. 265 *sq.*: 6 different dresses). The great display in silver pendants and foot-rings, pearls, henna, aloe-wood (for perfuming the face), rose-water, sesame-oil and other aromata is already mentioned in the papyri (cf. *Papyrus Erziehung Rainer*, *Führer*, N^o 584, 1014). After being dressed the bride is put on a raised seat or throne, where she has to sit quite still with downcast eyes while the women guests sing, dance and make music. These ceremonies often last far into the night (for the older period cf. Leo Africanus for Morocco; d'Arvieux [1674], *Mémoires*, Paris 1735, v. 287, for Algiers and the other travellers). In Mecca and Sfax (Nabeshuber) the enthronement does not take place till the next day. In Cairo (Lane [1835]) on this day the bride takes a lump of henna in her hand and her friends stick coins into it. In Nablus (Jausen [1927]) there is a similar collection for the bride. In Constantinople also we find the henna ceremony; but before it, all the women guests with wax candles in their hands go into the garden with the bride and dance there in long rows (Garnett [c. 1890]). Pictures of the bride in her wedding

finery: Snoeck Hargronje, *Mekka*, Bilder-Atlas pl. 25; Goichon, *La vie féminine au Mésopotamie*, Paris 1927, pl. 5.

4. The bridal procession (*saffat al-arūs*), and the elevation to the throne. As Friday is frequently recommended by the theologians for the completion of marriage (cf. Ghazālī in H. Bauer, *Islamische Ethik*, Halle 1917, II. 90) it is the custom to take the bride to her new home on Thursday evening when she passes the night with her husband. The bride is usually fetched by her bridegroom and his relations and accompanied by her own relatives in an imposing and solemn procession. From the superscription alone in Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, lib. 62 (*al-bint bi-l-ḥaḥār bi-ḡhair markab wa-fa nīrān*) it is clear that the solemn procession was general as early as the beginning of the third (ninth) century; in those days the bride was taken at dusk in a litter borne on a beast of burden and accompanied by lighted torches (cf. Tiddjānī, *Tuhfa*, p. 40-41, who for this reason makes a distinction between a bridal procession by day and one by night; but the *bi-ḡhair markab* is against this). The other oldest references known to me for the bridal procession are the wedding of Umm al-'Ulūf in Kaḥrawān (425 = 1024); the bride was taken on Thursday by slaves and nobles of the kingdom to the tent put up for her (Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān al-Mughrib*, ed. Dozy, I. 284). In a story from al-Yamāma, the bride is accompanied by slave-girls who sing and play stringed instruments (*ma'āzif*) (Kaḥrawān [d. 682 = 1283], *Aḥḥār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, II. 88). A miniature by the painter Yahyā b. Maḥmūd of Wāsiṭ of 634 (1237) in the Paris MS. of Ḥariri, *Arabe* 5847 (Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei im islamischen Orient*, Berlin 1923, pl. 13) shows a bridal procession; in front go horn-blowers, drummers and men with peacocks sitting on camels; the bride herself is completely hidden in a splendid camel-litter and the bridegroom rides beside her on a finely caparisoned horse. Further references may be found e.g. in *Alf Laila wa-Laila*, II. 12; *Sirat Saif*, xiii. 12. The oldest western reference is in the travels of the Dominican monk Ricoldus de Monte Crucis [d. 1309], ch. 9, 46 (Laurent, *Peregrinatorum modii aevi*, Leipzig 1864, p. 116): "*Tartari* (= Mongols in eastern Asia Minor)... *quando tradunt tam [i. e. uxorem] ad nuptias, parentes et consanguinei viri, qui eam accipiunt, ducunt eam cum tympanis et cantu, sed parentes et consanguinei mulieris sequuntur eam cum planctu quasi mortuam*". Later European travellers all describe the bridal procession more or less fully. Almost everywhere the bride, who is always closely veiled, is fetched by the bridegroom in a procession carrying lights (candles, torches or lanterns) and accompanied to her new home by relations and friends of both sides. In modern Fās, as in the time of Leo Africanus [1526], she gets into a silk-hung octagonal box which is carried on the shoulders of eight men (Westermarck, p. 166) or she goes on foot, if she belongs to the lower classes (Westermarck, Tharaud) while in the rest of Morocco a "covered cage" on a mule is generally used (Mocquet [1605], Hoest [1760], Westermarck [1914]). In Algiers in the xvth century she was also carried (Hædo). In Egypt and Syria she walks or rides under a canopy (so as early as Cotovicus [1598]). In Turkey in olden times the bride used to ride on a horse

(Dernschwam [1553]) usually veiled in a red silk cloth, the ends of which were held up by many people accompanying her (Schweigger [1578], della Valle [1615], Tournetfort [1717]). In the Turkish album of miniatures of the xvth century published by Taeschner entitled *Altstambul Hof- und Volkleben* (Hanover 1925, pl. 32) she is on foot, led by two women. According to della Valle (1615), in place of the procession of lights in front of the bride, a kind of high candlestick is carried which was made with flowers, painted paper, beaten gold, and other foliage, sometimes decorated with gold, silver and ivory; Schweigger [1578; cf. the pictures there] describes them as "wedding candles of green wax, made transparent but not burning". In the same connection may be mentioned the tray of candles which is carried before the bridal procession in the Karagöz-play "The Wrong Bride" (pict. in Ritter, *op. cit.*, fig. 34). In the sixteenth century, the bride rode in a covered carriage as did the women accompanying her, while the men were on horseback (White, Garnett). In Persia she usually rides, robed in red (Olearius [1637], Chardin [1673], Polak [c. 1860], Willis [c. 1870]). At the present day, the motor car is of course also used in large cities like Cairo. — For pictures of the bridal procession see for Morocco: Dapper, *Reichreibung von Afrika*, Amsterdam 1760, p. 177; for Cairo: Niebuhr [1763], *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien*, Copenhagen 1774, pl. 28; Cassas, *Voyage pittoresque*, Paris 1806, pl. 63; Lane [1835], *Sitten und Gebräuche*, pl. 32-33; for Constantinople: Schweigger [1578], *Reisebeschreibung*, p. 207; Taeschner, *loc. cit.*

The trousseau is usually carried in the bridal procession, distributed over as many horses and mules as possible; often empty chests are carried to make the trousseau look as large as possible, while in many districts the delivery of the trousseau is a special solemn ceremony (cf. e.g. Ibn 'Idhārī, I. 284 for Kaḥrawān [415 = 1024]; Ibn Iyās, IV. 107 for Cairo [912 = 1506]).

On leaving her parents' house and entering her new home, a series of symbolic ceremonies are performed which refer to married life, averting evil spirits, fertility etc. I omit these here as they vary much in different towns and districts. In her new home she is welcomed by the bridegroom or her mother-in-law and taken to the bridal chamber. There she is placed by the woman on a high chair or throne and congratulated. Sometimes the bridegroom now gives her a present of money — if it is only a piastre — and she is unveiled so that the bridegroom sees her face for the first time. In a (not genuine) *ḥadīth* in Muḥaddas (*B. G. A.*, III. 126) it is said "God shall place Mu'awiya by his side and cover him and then unveil him to the people like a bride". The throne (*mināḡa*) on which the bride is raised and unveiled is mentioned as early as Zawṭānī (d. 486 = 1093) and Baṭalyūsi (d. 494 = 1100; in their commentaries on the *Mu'allaf* of Imru' al-Qais, ed. Hengstenberg, Bonn 1823, verse 32 or Cairo ed. 1282, p. 33). Cf. also *Alf Laila wa-Laila*, III. 455; *Sirat Saif*, v. 29, where a throne (*marṭ*) of juniper wood decorated with plates of gold and shining jewels is mentioned. In Mecca at the present day, the throne is called *riḥa* (= *arika*); cf. the picture in Snoeck Hargronje, *Bilder aus Mekka*, Leyden 1889, pl. 18.

The bridal procession is followed by a feast

which lasts far into the night with music, singing and dancing (the men and women of course separate); in Turkey of the xviiith and xviiith century *Karagöz* performances were also given (Thevenot, *Voyager*, Paris 1689, I. 172; cf. I. 109—110) while in Persia of the xviiith century wrestlers (*fahlan*) performed (Chardin). A Persian miniature of 1604 shows festivities on the occasion of a wedding in the reign of Alp Arslan (beginning of the xth—xith century) (Grohmann and Arnold, *The Islamic Book*, Munich 1929, pl. 67).

5. The bridegroom's bath and his *saffa* take place on the same day as the bridal procession, i.e. on the Thursday; a visit is usually made to a mosque in connection with it (cf. *Alf Laila wa-Laila*, II. 24). In the story of Nūr al-Dīn and Shams al-Dīn (*Alf Laila wa-Laila*, I. 263)—it is however a case of *uṣra*—the bridegroom goes to the bath and is carried on horseback in a torchlight procession to the bride's house; singers with tambourines accompany him and stop from time to time to get money from the bridegroom. Another *saffa*—but without a bath—is described in the *Sirat Saif*, xiii. 12. The bridegroom rides on a richly caparisoned steed through the town accompanied by dignitaries. Wax candles with camphor are carried, while slaves swing censers and sprinkle rose and jasmine water (cf. *Sirat Saif*, vii. 63; xv. 32). Ibn Yūsuf (iv. 107, 196) records for Cairo in the early xviiith century that the bridegroom goes through the streets accompanied by emirs with lighted candles in their hands. This was also still usual in Lane's time in Cairo. Shortly before sunset the bridegroom was taken by his friends to the bath, accompanied by musicians or singers and torches (*maḥḥal*); from there they went to the mosque to attend the evening prayer. On their way back from the mosque, the friends carried candles and flowers in their hands. For a later date (c. 1875) Kluninger describes the bridegroom's bath and *saffa* for Kuṣair on the Red Sea. In other lands, the bridegroom's bath appears to be less usual; at least it is only rarely mentioned in the sources (for Palestine: Rothstein [1907] with pictures of the *saffa*; Jaussen [1927]; for Tunis and Sfax: Bertholon and Naubehuber [ca. 1900]; for Tlemcen: Godefroy-Demonbynes, p. 40 [c. 1900]; for Tangiers: Westermarck, p. 118; for eastern Asia Minor: van Lennep, *Travels*, p. 267 [c. 1860]; for Persia: Polak [c. 1860]). The bath and *saffa* seem to be quite unknown in Constantinople. Similarly the bath (but not the *saffa*) for the bridegroom have been long unknown in Mecca (Ibn al-Muḍjāwī [d. 690 = 1291] in Landberg, *op. cit.*; Snouck Hurgronje; Rutter), while Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, I. 402, mentions both in 1763 for Yarm in South Arabia. Leo Africanus also does not know of the bath in Fās (nor does Westermarck [c. 1914] nor Tharaud [1930]); on the other hand, he describes an imposing procession of the bridegroom, which met the bridal train in the principal square of the town and went home along with it.—Pictures of the splendid *saffa* of the bride in India: Thevenot [1666], *Voyager*, Paris 1689, III. 66; H. Goets, *Bilderatlas zur Kulturgeschichte Indiens in der Graeco-moghul-Zeit*, Berlin 1930, pl. 15 (xviiith century miniature).

6. The wedding night (*laḥḥat al-dukkā*). During the festivities mentioned at the end of 4 the bridegroom goes to the bridal chamber or feigning reluctance is thrust in by his friends. In

addition to the *laḥḥat* (see p. 1039⁴) we have two descriptions from the early Islamic age of the proceedings in the bridal chamber. According to one (*Aghāni*, xv. 70), the caliph 'Uthmān stroked his bride Nā'ila on the head, asked the blessing of God (*baraka*) upon her and then unveiled her. According to the other (*Aghāni*, xvi. 37), Sharrāh took his bride Zaynab by the forelock while she knelt down, then prayed two *ra'ās* with her, just as now is the usual practice in the two enthronement ceremonies in Mecca (Snouck Hurgronje, II. 180 and 185). In the oldest parts of the *Alf Laila wa-Laila* (Baghdād stratum, c. xth century A.D.), we find the following usages. In the story of Nūr al-Dīn and Shams al-Dīn (I. 269—272) the bride is undressed by her maids and led by an old woman in a long robe into the bridal chamber where the bridegroom awaits her. While in this case the unveiling has already taken place, in other passages it is only done by the bridegroom himself in the bridal chamber (e.g. III. 524). In the story of Unṣ al-Wuḍūd and al-Werd b. 'Akmām (III. 437—439) the two drink together and entertain one another with poems and entertaining stories. In the story of Kamar al-Zandā (II. 478—479) after the consummation the bride summons her maids who give shouts of joy.—In Cairo in Lane's time, the bridegroom was carried by a friend a part of the way up the steps to the harem, during the festivities. He was only allowed to unveil his bride in the bridal chamber in return for a sum of money and see her for the first time. He then undressed her, laid her with her head in the direction of Mecca and performed two *ra'ās*. After the consummation he summoned the women waiting outside the door to give shouts of joy (*saghāra*) and then returned to the guests. Jaussen gives a similar description for modern Nablus. Polak records (c. 1860) a very old and widespread practice for Persia (Leo Africanus knows it for Fās [1526], Haedo for Algiers [xviiith century], Bertholon for Tunis [c. 1900]); after the unveiling the couple try to tramp on one another's feet; the idea is that whoever does it first will be master in the house. In Turkey, according to Schweigger [1578], the bride is pushed into the bridal chamber by her companions with jests and scoldings. In the xviiith and xixth centuries in Turkey after the unveiling and the usual prayers in the bridal chamber, coffee was served to the bridal pair and then a wedding feast held. Only then were they left alone (Olivier, White, Garnett).

In some districts of Morocco (e.g. Fās), it is considered seemly for the bridegroom only to entertain his bride in the first night and to consummate the marriage only in the second night (Tharaud [1930]; Westermarck, *av. Consummation*). In Egypt on the other hand, it is a frequent practice to deflower the bride by mechanical means (Schwally, in *Nöteborg-Festschrift*, p. 418 ff.). Both these customs are due to superstition, the fear of evil spirits, and perhaps in the first case to a certain feeling of shame.

During the wedding night, if the guests are still there, or on the next morning, the nurse shows the token of virginity to the women friends and relatives. If the bride is not a virgin, the bridegroom can send her back to her parents. The nurse or the mother therefore frequently make arrangements in case of need. In the *Alf Laila wa-Laila* (II. 478) a pigeon is killed. In some districts the

bloodstained cloth is carried through the streets to the house of the bride's parents with drumming and shouts of joy. This is reported by Mocquet [1605] and Hoest [1760] for Morocco, Tournefort [1717] for Turkey, while in Burckhardt's and Lane's time (beg. of 19th century) in Cairo, it was only the custom among the lower classes.

On the morning after the wedding night in obedience to the precepts of religion both go to a bath [see TAHARA].

7. The ceremonies after the wedding night, especially on the seventh day. Sometimes the prescribed *walima* is not performed till the day after the wedding night (cf. p. 1039 sq.). This is also the case in the story of Kamar al-Zamān (*Alf Laila wa-Laila*, II. 461, 478). In Turkey on this day, the wedding ceremonies conclude with a feast, the "festival of the sheep's trotters" as it is called from a traditional dish; then the bride has one or two days to receive congratulations (Garrett [c. 1890]). In Egypt and North Africa the bride remains for a week in the bridal chamber and is visited and entertained by her female relatives. On the seventh day the bride and bridegroom usually hold a reception or give a banquet. The first seven days of marriage called *sab' al-arūs* have always played a special part and go back to a usage sanctioned by the Prophet (cf. Dory, *Supplement*, I. 626—627; s. above p. 1040a). In the story of Uns al-Wuddūd women singers come on the seventh day and gifts are scattered among the populace (*Alf Laila wa-Laila*, II. 439—440). Leo Africanus [1526] mentions "a very old custom" in Morocco: on the seventh day the husband buys fish, which his mother or other women throw over the bride's feet. A similar practice is still found in Sfax (Narshesher, p. 16). Probably there is some old magical practice to secure fertility concealed in this.

In conclusion we may briefly mention the entirely different customs in Mecca and Medina as recorded by Snouck Hurgronje (1884) and Rutter (c. 1928) for Mecca and Burton (1853) for Medina. Here there is a peculiar combination of the two kinds of wedding, the 'urs and the 'umra. On the evening of the fourth day, the *ghumra* day (= 'umra), the bride in her wedding finery is put on a throne in her house, while the bridegroom goes to the Haram in a procession with lights, to go through the evening prayer there and then goes to the bride's house. He is there taken into the throne room and there unveils his bride. After a supper, everyone, including the bridegroom, goes home. Towards morning the bride is taken by a few women secretly in a litter borne by two mules to the house of the bridegroom, which is in keeping with the old Arab practice. After a meal with the bridegroom the throne scene is repeated in his house on the fifth evening in a simpler form, after which consummation takes place. From this duplication, a combination of two different ceremonies, it may be concluded that the modern Meccan wedding customs are not native to Mecca and Medina, but some features have penetrated in course of time from lands adjoining Arabia, been misunderstood and combined. This is confirmed by the simple practices in pre-Muslim and early Muslim Arabia (cf. p. 1038 sq.), and also by Ibn al-Mudjāwir (in Landberg, *op. cit.*, p. 859) who describes a pure 'umra for the 11th (12th) century in Mecca: the bridegroom

goes to the Haram, performs the sevenfold circumambulation, two *saḥas* at the Maḥām Ibrāhīm, kisses the Black Stone (i. e. makes the *ṭawāf*) and then goes with candles to the bride's house. — Weddings are usually celebrated in Muharram in Mecca, when the ḥajj is over and most of the pilgrims have gone (Ibn al-Mudjāwir, *op. cit.*; Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, I. 361).

Although the history and origin of Muslim wedding customs are very difficult to ascertain in view of the lack of early sources, it can be said that in Islām in general many old oriental customs of Syria, Mesopotamia and Egypt, partly taken over from Christianity, have been preserved and have been disseminated by Islām in other Muslim lands and there have become mingled with local customs.

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(HEFFENING)

URWA b. AL-WARH b. HĀRIS of the tribe of 'Abs, an old Arab poet. His father, whose fame was sung by 'Antara, played a part in the Dāhīs war. His mother belonged to the less esteemed Banū Nahd, a branch of the Qurā'a (cf. Wüstenfeld, *Tal.*, i. 17; allusions to them in poems ix., xix., xx.). He lived, as is expressly stated, in the Dāhiliya. But his allusions to individuals who survived into the time of Muḥammad, like 'Amir b. Tufail (schol. on i. 1) show that he must have flourished just before the coming of the Prophet. His poems and the anecdotes related of him give us a picture of a true Beduin, devoted to a chivalrous life of adventure, who for his protection of the poor later became known as 'Urwat al-Sā'ikī. Among his adventures may be mentioned his raid from Māwān in the region of Yathrib upon the Balkain in N.W. Arabia, and the story of his wife Umm 'Amar (also Umm Wahb or Salmā) of the tribe of Kināna whom he is said to have been tricked into giving away, while intoxicated, by the Jewish Banu 'I-Nadīr (or in their region).

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(H. H. BRÄU)

'URWA b. AL-ZUBAIR b. 'Awwām, AL-ASADĪ AL-MADANĪ, one of the earliest and foremost authorities on tradition in Madīna, born between 23 and 29 A.H., died between 91 and 99. His mother was the celebrated Asmā' bint Abī Bakr, his father al-Zubair b. al-'Awwām b. Khawallid was a nephew of Khadija. Some thirty years younger than his brother 'Abd Allāh, 'Urwa did not take part in politics or in the civil wars, but gave himself up entirely to study. When his brother, in 73, was vanquished by al-Hajjāj, 'Urwa abandoned him, like the rest of his family, and fled in haste to Damascus, to carry the news to 'Abd al-Malik and thus win his favour. Thereafter he lived in studious retirement on his property at Madīna, until his death, and there wrote, on 'Abd al-Malik's request, a series of communications on the earliest period of Islām, probably in the form of letters to the Caliph (see al-Tabarī, i. 1180—1182).

It is recorded of him that he used to read one fourth of the Qur'ān every night, and that he suffered his cancerous foot to be amputated without uttering one groan.

'Urwa had assiduously frequented his maternal aunt 'Ā'isha up to three years before her death, and collected a great many important traditions from her, from both his parents, from 'Alī b. Abī Tālib and Abū Haraira. Among those who received traditions from him are Muḥammad b. Maslam al-Zuhri, his own sons: Muḥammad, 'Uthmān, 'Abd Allāh, Yahyā and especially Hishām; Sulaimān b. Yasār and Ibn Abī Mula'ika.

As an authority on tradition 'Urwa ranks very high, and is one of the seven great *fuḥalā*; authors of treatises on *riḍāl* and *'ilm muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth* have no fault to find with him. He had collected an important library, bearing upon many subjects, both historical and juridical. He was the author of a *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, but his traditions are only to be found incorporated in the works of later historians: Ibn Sa'd, al-Tabarī and Ibn Ishāq. A feature of his traditions is the lack of a regular *isnād*, which was formed after his time.

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(V. VACCA)

USĀMA b. MURSHID b. 'ALĪ b. MUḤALLAD b. NAṢR b. MUNKIDH AL-SHAIRĪ AL-KINĀNĪ, an Arab knight (*fāris*), courtier and man of letters, born in 488 (1095) in Shaīzar (the Sirā of the Crusaders, north of Hamā in Syria) which was the seat of his princely family, the Munkidhiya, and died in 584 (1188) in Damascus. Four years after his birth, Jerusalem was taken by the Crusaders and a year before his death it was retaken by Saladin. Throughout his life he was in constant relations with the Franks, sometimes hostile, sometimes friendly. At the age of 15, he took part in the defence of Shaīzar against Tancred's army from Antioch. Following the example of his father, who was not only a warrior and a hunter but also a calligrapher, he devoted himself to war, sport and literature. He spent nine years (1129—1138) in the army of the Atabeg of Mōsul, Zangī; after the death of his father, he had to leave Shaīzar for ever as his uncle who now reigned was jealous for the sake of his own sons of Usāma's military reputation. He spent six years in Damascus (1138—1144) at the court of the Būrids. Peaceful relations and treaties with the kingdom of Jerusalem gave him the opportunity to become better acquainted with the Franks; he made quite a number of friends among the Templars. From Damascus he went to Egypt where the Fātimid dynasty was approaching its end. Here (between 1144—1154) he became involved in political intrigues, conducted a number of enterprises against the Crusaders in Palestine and had to leave Cairo after ten years. On the way he lost his entire library, which contained over 4,000 manuscripts. Settling for a second time in Damascus he undertook many campaigns against the Franks with the celebrated Nur al-Dīn, son of his first patron Zangī (1154—1164). A terrible earthquake in 552 (1157) completely destroyed his home; three years later (555 = 1160), he made the ḥajj to the holy cities. He spent ten

years (1164—1174 in Hīḡn Kaifā with the Ustūḡid Kara Arslān, mainly engaged in his literary work. The fame of Saladin, who was so successfully conducting the war on the Crusaders, attracted him for the third time to Damascus. He died here at a great age in Ramaḡān 584 (Nov. 1188). His tomb on Mount Kāsiyūn was visited a century later by the famous historian Ibn Khallikān.

Usāma, one of a family whose members are frequently mentioned in literature (see e. g. Yāqūt, *Muḡam al-Uḡabb*, ii. 173—197), attained renown as a poet and a man of letters. His *Ḍawān* (in two *ḡus*) still existed in the time of al-Yaḡḡī (d. 768 = 1367) who knew it (see *Mir'āt al-Uḡyān*, iii. 427); Derenbourg collected a number of his poems from the Gotha fragment and several anthologies (*Usāma b. Munḡidh*, i. *La vie d'Usāma*, Paris 1889—1893, p. 336—338, 543—562). Of his prose works we know the names of over a dozen (cf. Derenbourg, *op. cit.*, p. 330—339) but only five are so far known to have survived. The most remarkable and most interesting of his works, the importance of which stretches far beyond the scope of ordinary Arabic literature, is the *Kiṡb al-Fihṡr*, his memoirs, which gives a vivid and lively picture of his time in peace and war. The only MS. so far known was found by H. Derenbourg in the Escorial (see *Comment j'ai découvert en 1880 à l'Escorial le manuscrit arabe contenant l'autobiographie d'Usāma b. Munḡidh*, as introduction to the German translation by G. Schumann, see below) and edited by him. It has been four times completely translated: into French by Derenbourg (Paris 1895), into German by G. Schumann (Innsbruck 1905), into Russian by I. Kratschkovsky (Petrograd 1922) and into English by Hitti (New York 1929). Usāma's other works are still only accessible in manuscript. His treatise on poetics *al-Badr fī 'l-Badr* was described with extracts by Derenbourg from three manuscripts (Berlin, Leyden, Cairo) (*op. cit.*, p. 330—334, 691—722). We may now add the MS. of the Asiatic Museum in Leningrad (see Kratschkovsky, in *Zapiski*, i. 3—4). His anthology *Kiṡb al-'Apī* deals, with many quotations in prose and verse, with the "staffs" known in history and legend (Derenbourg, *op. cit.*, i. 334—336, 499—542); we may now add the MS. in Milan from the Yemen (see Grifflini, in *Z.D.M.G.*, lxi. (1915) 73). Recently a hitherto unknown work of Usāma, the *Kiṡb al-Manāṡil wa 'l-Diyār* (autograph of 568 = 1172, written in Hīḡn Kaifā), was found in the Asiatic Museum in Leningrad. This anthology which was suggested by an earthquake in August 1157, contains all kinds of poetical quotations about *manāṡil*, *diyār*, *waḡḡān*, *asfāl*, *raḡ*, *ḡimān*, *razm*, etc. (description of the MS. with many specimens of the text by Kratschkovsky, in *Zapiski*, i. 4—18). We do not yet have any details of the *Zuḡab al-Adab*, which is in Cairo in a MS. of 598 A.H. in the possession of Yaḡḡib Ṣarrāf (editor of the periodical *al-Muṡṡaf*).

Bibliography: The most important material for the biography and on the works of Usāma has been collected by Derenbourg in his comprehensive work (see above). He also wrote a number of separate articles on him (cf. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 320) which are reprinted in his *Opuscula d'un arabisant*, Paris 1905, p. 313—336. These works and later literature and the

more important reviews are listed by Ign. Kratschkovsky in the appendix to the Russian translation of the *Kiṡb al-Fihṡr* by M. Salier (Petrograd 1922, p. 206—207). We may add T. Kowalski, *Pamiętniki arabskie z pierwszego wieku krucjat*, in *Przeglad Warszawski*, 1923, Nr. 18, p. 380—400 and Ign. Kratschkovsky, *Neizvestnye ischineniya avtografy sirijshago imira Usamy*, in *Zapiski*, i. (1925), 1—18.

(IGN. KRATSCHEKOVSKY)

USĀMA b. ZAID b. ḤĀRITHA al-KALBĪ al-HĀSHIMĪ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD, son of the Abyssinian freedwoman Baraka Umm Aiman and reckoned among the Prophet's freedmen, was born in Mecca in the fourth year of the mission. Tradition records many instances of the Prophet's fondness for him as a child, and gives him the surname of *Hibb al-Hibb Rasūl Allāh*.

He joined the fighters on the way to Uhud, but was sent back before battle on account of his tender age. Questioned by Muḡammad in the case of slander against 'A'isha, he spoke in her favour. After Khaibar he received a pension, and in A.H. 8 rode behind the Prophet into Mecca and entered the Ka'ba with him. He fought gallantly at Hunain.

In A.H. 11 Muḡammad put Usāma in command of an expedition to avenge his father Zaid, fallen at Mu'ta. Notwithstanding criticism, due to Usāma's youth, the Prophet, already in his last illness, insisted on a prompt departure, but the expedition turned back at the news of his death, and Usāma was among those who prepared him for burial.

The newly-elected Caliph ordered the expedition to be resumed, in accordance with the Prophet's wishes, though the tribes were already in revolt. Usāma reached the region of al-Balkā', in Syria, where Zaid had fallen, and raided the village of Uḡna (the modern Khān al-Zait). His victory brought joy to Madīna, depressed by the *riḡla*, thus acquiring an importance out of proportion to its real significance, which caused it to be regarded later as the beginning of a campaign for the conquest of Syria.

In the same year Abū Bakr left Usāma in command at Madīna, while at the battle of Dhu 'l-Kaṡṡa.

In 20 'Umar bestowed on him a pension of 4,000 dirhams, equal to that of the men of Badr, on account of the Prophet's fondness for him and his father.

The election of 'Uthmān to the caliphate took place in the home of Fāṡima bint Ka'is al-Fihriya, Usāma's wife; he probably had a part in the event, and was in favour with the Caliph, receiving from him the grant of a piece of land, and being sent by him to Basra in 34 to report upon the political situation there.

After 'Uthmān's death Usāma refused homage to 'Alī, whose supporters attacked and ill-treated him in the Mosque at Madīna. Thereafter he lived in retirement, first in Wādī 'l-Kura, then in Madīna; he died in al-Djurf, about 54, and was buried in Madīna.

Usāma has a place among transmitters of *ḡadīḡ*. His political career, though not brilliant, appears blameless; we hear nothing of his riches.

In appearance Usāma resembled his mother, being black and flat-nosed. The emphasis laid by tradition on Muḡammad's love for him is partly due to the intention of setting him off against 'Alī's family; it may also have been meant to

show that the Prophet was a true democrat and free from colour prejudice.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, *iv*, 42—51; Balādhurī, p. 273, 451; al-Kharrāḍī, *Khalīfat al-Tadhkhīl*, 1st ed., Cairo 1322, p. 22; Ibn al-Athīr, *Und*, i. 64; al-Taharī, ed. de Goeje, i. 2943, 2952, 3072, 3124; iii. 2344, 2440; Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 560, 734, 776, 970, 984, 999, 1008, 1018; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, A. H. 11, § 3—5, 9—12, 73, 106—111; A. H. 23, § 156, N^o. 1; Miednikoff, *Palästina*, i. 363—384; Wellhausen, *Muhammad in Medina*, p. 433—434, 436; Lammens, *Fatima*, p. 20, 28, 31, 72, 103—106, 140. (V. VACCA)

USHĀK, a town in Asia Minor, capital of a *kāḍ* in the sanjak of Kütahya in the province of Khudāwendigār, on the edge of a cultivated plain at the foot of the mountains; it had 15,000 inhabitants of whom a third were Armenians and Greeks; the houses are built of brick, with gardens, and the streets are broad. It was rebuilt after a fire in the 16th century. It is celebrated for its manufacture of carpets known as Smyrna carpets because they are exported through this port (150,000 yards per annum). There is a fortress on the site of the ancient acropolis (Eucarpia). Towards the end of the 17th century, the *dar-şeyi* (governor) Hādījī Murād-oghlu declared himself independent but he was besieged by Kara 'Olmān-oghlu of Aidin, taken through treachery and executed. In the district there are asbestos mines and sulphur thermal springs.

Bibliography: Hādījī Khalifa, *Dihān-numā*, p. 633; 'Alī Djevān, *Djezārafiya Lughātī*, p. 548; Texier, *Asie Mineure*, p. 425.

(CL. HUARY)

AL-USHI 'ALĪ b. 'OTHMĀN SIRĀJĪ AL-DĪN AL-FARĠĀNĪ AL-HANAFĪ, of whose life nothing is recorded ('Abd al-Kādir b. Abi 'I-Wafā' al-Kurashī, *al-Djāwābir al-waḥḍā fī Taḥāḍāt al-Hanafiya*, Haidarābād 1332, i. 367 does not even give a date), wrote about the year 569 = 1173 (s. Z. D. *M. G.*, xvi. 685) a confession of faith in rhyme entitled *al-Kāḍi al-Lāmiya fī 'I-Tawhīd*, also called *Ras' al-Amālī* or from the opening words *Kāḍi yaḥyā 'I-'Abd* (*Carmen arabicum Amālī dictum*, ed. P. v. Bohlen, Regensburg 1825; also in *Mawḍi'at al-Muḥimmāt al-Mutak*, Cairo 1273, 1281, 1295, 1323; on the margin of Salim b. Sumair, *Safinat al-Naḍā'*, Singapore 1295, with Hindūstānī paraphrase by Mawlāwī Muhammad Naḍir Ahmad Khān, Dehli 1317). These printed editions show the popularity of the work down to the present time and commentaries have often been written on it. To the commentaries given in *G. A. L.*, i. 429 of which the oldest is by Muhammad b. Abi Bakr al-Rāzī, author of the *Tuhfat al-Mutak* (*G. A. L.*, i. 383, d. according to Hādījī Khalifa, N^o. 733, in 660 = 1261), some more may be added from the Sтамbul and other catalogues. The most celebrated among them is that of al-Kāḍī al-Harawī (d. 1014 = 1605), written in 1010 (1601) in Mecca entitled *Ḍaw' al-Amālī*, pr. Sтамbul 1293, Bombay 1295, Dehli 1884, with Turkish transl. by Husnī Efendi, Sтамbul 1304; anonymous glosses *Tuhfat al-A'ālī*, Cairo 1309 and n.d. There have also been printed two Persian commentaries *Naḡm al-Lā'ālī* by Muhammad Bakhs̄h Rafīqī (lith.), Lucknow 1869 and by Ahmad Darwīza Nangarhārī, Lahore 1891, 1900; a Turkish commentary *Marḥat al-Ma'ālī* by Ahmad 'Asim 'Aināhī, Sтамbul

1304; and a Turkish paraphrase with commentary by Muhammad Shukrī, Sтамbul 1305. Of his collection of traditions *Gharar al-Aḥbār wa-Durar al-Aḥbār*, only a selection, containing 1,000 short traditions in 100 chapters, entitled *Niḡāḥ al-Aḥbār wa-Tadhkhīrat al-Aḥbār* has survived in Berlin (Ahlwardt, *Katalog*, N^o. 1300/1), Munich (note N^o. 162), Cairo (*Fihrist*, i. 444) and a fragment in Mosul (s. Dāwūd, *al-Maḥḥḥafāt al-Mawḥiyya*, p. 24, N^o. 28). His collection of *fatāwā al-Fatāwā al-Sirāfiya*, which according to Hādījī Khalifa, N^o. 8767, he finished on 20th Muḥarram 569 (Aug. 14, 1173) in Ush, was printed in Calcutta 1243 and Lucknow 1223—1225.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

UŠNŪ (Ušnūh, Ušnūya), a district and town in Adharbāidjān. Ušnū lies to the south of Urmiya [q. v.] from which it has usually been administered. The district is watered by the upper course of the river Gādir (Gader) which, after traversing the district of Saldus [q. v.], flows into Lake Urmiya on the S. W. To the south of Ušnū is the district of Lāhidjān which is administered from Sawd-Bulak [q. v.]. The town of Ušnū (710 houses) is situated on the left bank of the Gādir (Com-i-Čilāsh, "river with 40 mills") which rises in the Gīllās valley through which the district communicates with Margāvar [cf. URMİYA].

The population of the district are Kurds. The town and its villages are occupied by the Zarzā tribe, the other twenty-five villages by the tribe of Mamash which also occupies a part of Lāhidjān and of Saldus.

It is possible that in the Khaldic (Vannic) inscriptions the name Ušini corresponds to Ušnū. Rawlinson had identified the village of Singān (three miles S. E. of Ušnū) with the *Zōxas* mentioned by Ptolemy, vi. 2 in Media. The town of Ušnū is mentioned in Arabic sources from the time of Istakhrī (p. 186). This author says that Ušnūh al-Aḥḥarīya formed part of the lands of the Banū Rudāini, which also included Dākharkān and Tabriz (Nizā?), but Ibn Hawkal, p. 240, already notes that this tribe had disappeared. On p. 239, he notes the richness of Ušnūh in grass and fruits. Its produce (honey, almonds, nuts and cattle) was exported to Mawḥil and to al-Djazīra. Its "steppe" (*bādīya* = Lāhidjān?) belonged to the Hadhbānī Kurds who spent the summer there (*yajl/ūna*). The principal fief of these Kurds was at Arbil (cf. above, ii., p. 1200).

We know nothing of the coming of the Zarzā Kurds to Ušnū (they may perhaps be a branch of the old Hadhbānī) but the Zarzā are already mentioned in the *Mawḥik al-Abjār* of Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Umārī, written in Egypt in 1335 (cf. *N. E.*, xlii., 1838, p. 300—329). The author explains its name as *walad al-ghīb* which Quatremère has emended to *walad al-dhahab* "children of gold" (in Kurdish *zār* + *zārū*).

In the *Sharaf-nāma* the section on the Zarzā, mentioned in the preface, is omitted in all the manuscripts. They must have occupied a very considerable area. In a mutilated passage, i. 280, Sharaf al-Dīn seems to say that Lāhidjān was taken from the Zarzā by Pīr Bedak, the first chief of the Bāhān tribe (17th century). He also mentions (i. 278) the defeat inflicted on them by Sulaimān Beg Sohrān (in the time of Murād III, 982—1003).

Ušnū lies on the road between Mawḥil and the

valley of Lake Urmiya (Mawail-Rawānduz-pass of Kela-Shin [c. 10,000 feet]—Ushnu-Urmiya or Marāgha). This road, blocked by snow in winter, is much less convenient than the route from Rawānduz via Rayāt by the pass of Garī-Shinka (south of the Kela-Shin) which does not exceed 7,800 feet. The pass of Kela-Shin (in Kurd "green stele") is celebrated for the stele with a bilingual inscription (Assyrian-Khalidic) erected in 800 B.C. in the time of the Khalidic King Ishpuini and his son Menua. The *Mašallā al-Adār* (transl. Quatremère, p. 315) has a detailed account of the mountain of Harjarsin, i.e. "the Two Stones" (i.e. the Kela-Shin) and the similar stone of Topuzawa, S.W. of Kela-Shin). In the legendary account by Tabari, i. 440, of the campaigns of the King of Yaman (Rā'ish b. Kaïs) in the region of Mawail, we are told that his general Shawr b. al-Attāf had his exploits engraved on "the two stones (*harjarsin*) still known in Adharbāydjān". These two texts have been published by G. Hoffmann, in *Auslässe*, p. 249—250.

The place-names of the district (in Aramaic Ashnukh, Ashna) reflect the former presence of a Christian element which has now disappeared (cf. the names of the villages of Sargis, Dinha and Bemzarta). In 958 already, a Christian of Ushnū founded the church of Sergius and Bacchus near Malatya. In 1271 the Nestorian Catholicos Denha transferred the see of the metropolis of Assyria to Ushnū to be better protected by the Mongol rulers (Assemani, ii. 350, 456). An old Christian church may be concealed by the ruins of Deir-i Shaikh Ibrahim (near Singān), which are venerated by both Muslims and Christians. Rawlinson (p. 17) saw there the tomb of the bishop of Ushnū, Ibrahim, who in 1281 was present at the consecration of the Nestorian Catholicos Yahballāsh III.

Bibliography: cf. URMIYA; Rawlinson, *Notes on a Journey from Tabriz*, in *J.R.G.S.*, x., 1840, p. 15—24; Fraser, *Travels in Kurdistan* (1834), London 1840, I, 89—98; Bittner, *Der Kurdistan Utschukje etc.*, in *Sitzungsber. Ak. Wien*, cxxxiii, Vienna 1895; Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, i. 240, 260; De Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse*, in *Recherches archéologiques*, 1896, i. 261—83 (Kela-Shin); cf. also *Etudes géographiques*, 1895, ii., index.

On the Kela-Shin see the bibliography in Lehmann-Haupt, *l.c.*, and in detail in Minorsky, *Kela-Shin*, in *Zap.*, 1917, xxiv., p. 146—93.

(V. MINORSKY)

'USHR, the tenth or tithe levied for public assistance, is frequently used in the sense of *zakāta* and *zakāt* (Abū Yūsuf, p. 31; Yahyā b. Adam, p. 79, 83, 121, 123) and indeed there is no very strict line drawn in the Shari'at books between *zakāt* and 'ushr dues (cf. Tormann, p. 318). The term 'ushr is not found in the Kur'an but Sūra vi. 142 is taken to refer to the tithe or half tithe (Abū Yūsuf, p. 32; Yahyā b. Adam, p. 88 *sq.*). Etymologically 'ushr is the same as the Assyrian *ish-ru-u* (E. Schröder, *Keilschriftl. Bibliothek*, iv. 192, 205) which means tribute paid in kind (corn, dates) or in gold, and with the Hebrew *ma'asér* (Gen. xiv. 20; xlix. 20—22), the tenth which the sanctuaries received but which was also levied by kings and which the Moosaic law wished to introduce as compulsory (Lev. xxvii. 30—33; Num. xviii. 21—26). While the prophet Samuel (1 Sam. viii. 15—17) wanted the tenth to go primarily

to the king, later the demand was raised for a general tithe on behalf of the sanctuary of Shinn, and under Persian rule a tenth of everything actually did go to the temple of Jahva (Mal. iii. 8—10). On the other hand, according to Dent. xiv. 28; xvi. 12, the Levites and the poor were to receive the tenth while, according to the code of the priests, the whole tenth was to belong exclusively to the Levites, who had in their turn to hand over a tenth to the priests (Num. xviii. 21 *sq.*). In the case of lapses by Jews to idolatry, they brought the tenth to the temples of the gods (Amos iv. 4; cf. H. Guther, *Kurass Bibelwörterbuch*, Leipzig 1903, p. 743; L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, iv. 40). It is also significant that the tenth in these cases was usually a tenth of natural products (grape-juice, corn, oil) but it was permitted to offer money instead.

An investigation of the significance of the tenth as a tax among neighbouring peoples is therefore important and necessary because light is thereby thrown on Arab conditions. Of great significance is the fact recorded by Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xii. 63 especially for South Arabia (*Arabia felix*) that the tenth part of the frankincense harvest was collected by the priests for the god Sin (MS. SABIN) out of which to meet public expenses and the maintenance of guests. In the inscriptions we find *'ushr* and *'ushr* along with *fr* as a tax and both are taken by N. Rhodokanakis, *Studien zur Lexikographie und Grammatik der Altsüdarabischen*, ii., S. B. Ak. Wien, cxxxv/3, 1917, p. 58 to be taxes on land, which however came under the temple taxes. According to Sūra iv. 137, the pagan Arabs, even the Quraysh, both Bedū and Fellāhū offered a gift from their fruits of the field and animals to Allāh or other gods, which in practice of course went to the guardians of the sanctuary. Muhammad, probably deliberately, deprived the tenth of any connection with worship and, perhaps on the analogy of South Arabian customs, made the tithe a kind of tax. Thus, in his letter to the Khath'am in Bishr (J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv., Berlin 1889, No. 68, p. 130), it is laid down that a tenth is to be paid on all lands irrigated by running streams and a half tenth on lands artificially irrigated. This also held for the oasis of Dīmat al-Djandal (*ibid.*, No. 119, p. 173) and the Himsar (Yahyā b. Adam, p. 83); in the letter to the latter the tithe is called *zakāta*. For the nomads around Ṣahār for example a tax of one in ten loads of dates is fixed for their palmgroves (J. Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, No. 69, p. 130).

Mecca, Medina, the Hijāz, the Yaman and the Arabian territory were thus regarded as 'ushr land (E. Fagnan, p. 89) from which alone the tenth was to be raised (*op. cit.*, p. 79) and this was contrasted with the *sharīfī* land on which the land tax was levied. (With the gradual expansion of the Islamic empire, the 'ushr land increased considerably in area.) For example at the conquest of al-Rakka (18 A.H.) the lands which the protected people (*ahl al-dhimma*) did not use were given to Muslims on payment of the tithe (*Annali dell' Islam*, iv. 40). The lands acquired by peace treaties, on which no land tax was levied became 'ushr land in so far as they belonged to new converts (Yahyā b. Adam, p. 15). Further all land on which no land tax was levied became 'ushr land on the conversion of its owner, if the cultivator dug a well or an irrigation channel (Fagnan, p. 99).

A considerable increase in 'ushr land also resulted from the transference of land by sale or gift. If for example a Muslim bought land from the Banū Taghlib he paid the tithe, according to others the double *ṣadaqa*; the same held of every member of this tribe or Christians generally who became converts to Islām, since the land thereby became 'ushr land (Yahyā b. Ādam, p. 12, 16, 46 *sq.*). Land in areas acquired by treaties of peace became 'ushr land in so far as it had been acquired by Muslims by purchase, even if the payment of land tax was expressly laid down in the treaty (*op. cit.*, p. 37). The tithe was also to be levied on naturally irrigated *kaṭāʿ* lands in Sawād (Fagnan, p. 79). C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, p. 230 *sq.*, has shown how 'ushr land developed in Egypt. Gifts of land to meritorious Muslims and purchase by Muslims from Copt landowners here made the land 'ushr land, which in Egypt certainly developed to a considerable extent out of the old domains. On the other hand, the practice of allowing new converts to pay only the tenth frequently created 'ushr land. Of the rules which were in force regarding the transference of 'ushr land it may be mentioned that allies (*mudāʿid*) who acquired 'ushr land by purchase had to pay *ḥarādī*, which remained a burden on the land if it was sold again to a Muslim. This at any rate is the Hanafī teaching (Yahyā b. Ādam, p. 16). If on the other hand a Christian buys 'ushr land from a Muslim he has to pay the double tithe (*ḥuṣm*), which is regarded as a double *ṣadaqa*. The land is further treated as 'ushr if the owner becomes converted to Islām (*op. cit.*). This had of course great disadvantages for the treasury, as had the sale of *ḥarādī* land to a Muslim and therefore Umar II laid it down that in the latter case the land tax fell upon the new owner, who had also to pay the tithe or half tithe on the produce and agricultural land, as the *ḥarādī* was due upon the soil and the tithe or half tithe was due as *ṣakāt* from the Muslims (Yahyā b. Ādam, p. 10). This regulation was however in contradiction to the principle that (by 'Ikrima) *ḥarādī* and 'ushr could not be levied at the same time, any more than 'ushr and *ṣakāt* or *ḡirya* (poll-tax), and Umar I had already prohibited the collection of the tithe from a Muslim or ally when he paid *ḥarādī* (*ibid.*, p. 10, 32, 46). How far this limitation was actually observed it is impossible to say. In Inv. Ar. Pap. 104 of the Rainer Coll. in Vienna, which deals with taxation but unfortunately is very fragmentary, and contains lists of land-tax, poll-tax, palm-tax, *ṣadaqāt*, *uṣṣūr*, the two last entries are missing so that conclusions cannot be drawn from it. (How greatly the practice varied is clear from Māwardī (p. 104) according to whom an ally who owns 'ushr land has to pay neither 'ushr nor *ḥarādī* according to the Shāfi'is, according to the Hanafis, *ḥarādī*, according to others, *ṣadaqa* while according to Yahyā b. Ādam, p. 15, the ally of the tribe of Taghlib who bought 'ushr land had to pay the double tithe but if he belonged to a tribe which had been adopted into the Islāmic state as an ally, he paid neither 'ushr nor *ḥarādī*. Further it was open to the Imām — in practice the financial administrator of the province and the machinery of collection — to turn *ḥarādī* land into 'ushr land (Fagnan, p. 89) so that in later times the rule as to what land paid *ḥarādī* and what paid 'ushr was treated quite arbitrarily and

at most we can observe a certain tendency to observe principles generally regarded as valid and sanctified by custom. In the letting of lands and *mudāʿa*'s agreements the rule was probably that the cultivator of 'ushr land should pay a tenth or twentieth of the yield, according to the kind of ground (Yahyā b. Ādam, p. 121). If a Muslim takes over the land of an ally to till it he pays a tenth of the yield, the *ḥuṣm* the land-tax, if he has lived untilled land out of the *ḥarādī* land, the landlord pays the *ḥarādī* but the cultivator no tithe (Yahyā b. Ādam, p. 120).

If the untilled land is 'ushr the cultivator has to pay $\frac{1}{10}$ or $\frac{1}{20}$ of the yield as *ṣakāt* (*op. cit.*, p. 116, 123). If a Muslim has leased 'ushr untilled land, he pays the tenth while the landlord pays nothing (*ibid.*, p. 124). The Muslim also pays on rented *ḥarādī* land $\frac{1}{10}$ or $\frac{1}{20}$ of the yield as *ṣakāt*, the landlord the *ḥarādī* (this is the Shāfi' practice) while the Hanafis make the landlord pay tithe (Māwardī, p. 105). The same thing holds if owner and occupier are the same individual (Yahyā b. Ādam, p. 118—120). According to Māwardī, p. 104, however, the Muslim occupier, as having contracted an agreement to cultivate a piece of *ḥarādī* land has to pay tithe and *ḥarādī* (Shāfi'), only the *ḥarādī* according to the Hanafis).

According to Abū Yūsuf (Fagnan, p. 79), the tithe was only to be paid on durable products of the land but not on vegetables, fodder or fuel, according to Yahyā b. Ādam (p. 84, 105) on palms, wheat, barley, grapes, raisins, while (*op. cit.*, p. 79, 101) it is laid down that the tithe is to be levied as *ṣakāt* on all that the earth produces, even if it be only a bundle of green stuff. The latter is according to Yahyā b. Ādam (p. 103) along with walnuts, almonds, and all fruit, only liable to tithe in the form of *ṣakāt* if it is over 200 dirhams in value. For dates the limit of exemption is 5 *waḳ* (Fagnan, p. 80). Umar levied no tax on vines, peaches and pomegranates, while wine and oil are regarded as liable to tithe (*ibid.*, p. 50, 111). According to some, 'ushr is levied on honey, according to others, only when it is produced on 'ushr land (*op. cit.*, p. 17); this also holds of saffron. As a kind of trade-tax, the 'ushr was levied on merchants coming into Islāmic territory and the ally paid a twentieth but a tenth on wine and pigs (*op. cit.*, p. 32—49 *sq.*). Muslims under age are according to some jurists exempt from the tithes, according to others not (*op. cit.*, p. 48).

The half, single, one and a half and double tenth are the rates for the 'ushr; we even have higher ones, for they are fixed quite at the discretion of the Imām (Fagnan, p. 90). It is however a principle and it is in keeping with the old practice that the tenth is levied on all land which is irrigated by running water, brooks and streams or by rain, the half tenth on land which is irrigated by carried water, by water-wheels or water drawn by camels (Yahyā b. Ādam, p. 78, 80—86).

The income from the tithes could be used for other than benevolent purposes. Thus for example, the administrator of the provincial revenues in Egypt, Ubaid Allāh b. Ḥabbāb, gave the Kais who were settled here funds to buy beasts of burden out of the tithes (Makrizī, *Abhandlung*, p. 488). (Echoes of the ancient pre-Islāmic practice have survived in South Arabia where the *ra'iyy* pay 'ushr to the sultan or emir; here it is also called *uṣṣūr* but it is worth noting that it is

mainly levied on the fruits of the field, corn, dates, coffee, indigo etc. Among the Barkān and the people of 'Aryah, the corn is piled up, measured and $\frac{1}{10}$ of the wheat set aside, of which the poor of the sanctuary receive the half and the other half goes to the *ma'ad'is*, a custom which has analogies with the conditions in the Bible and also with those recorded by Pliny).

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USHSHAKIZADE, a Turkish patronymic borrowed from the Persian, meaning strictly son or descendant of 'Ushshakī, the latter word being the ethnic from Ushak (arabised into *ushshak*, plur. of *ushshak*), a town in Asia Minor. 'Ushshakizade therefore means a descendant of a man from Ushak.

Two families in Turkey have borne or bear this name:

1. The descendants of 'Ushshakizade 'Abd al-Bāqī, Kādī of Mecca and son-in-law of the *naṣīb al-ahbāb* Seirekizade 'Abd al-Rahmān Efendi. He was the third son of the saint Shaikh Ḥasan Ḥusām al-Dīn said to have come from Bukhārā, who was a pupil of Shaikh Ahmad al-Samarqandī in Erzinjan and who settled in Ushak at first and later in Constantinople in the reign of Sulaimān the Magnificent. He died at Konya in 1003 (1594—1595) and was buried in Constantinople with the shaikhs who succeeded him in the mosque founded by him at the same time as a *tekke* at Kāsim Paṣha. Ḥusām al-Dīn founded the *ṭarīqa* or order of the 'Ushshakīya dervishes, the rules of which are influenced by the Kubrawīya and Nurbakhshīya *ṭarīqas* and which forms a branch of the Ahmadīya who in turn are connected with the Khalwatiya. According to v. Hammer (*Hist. de l'Emp. Ottoman*, vii, 287), the brotherhood of the 'Ushshakīya was founded in the reign of Murād III (1574—1596). The priory of the order did not long remain in the direct line of the founder, owing to failure of male descendants. On the other hand, another branch of the same family, the 'Ushshakizade properly so-called, flourished greatly. 'Ushshakizade 'Abd al-Bāqī, already mentioned, had a son 'Ushshakizade

Ḥasib Ḥashīm Efendi who founded a family and acquired a certain reputation for his historical works (cf. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 258—259; v. Hammer, *op. cit.*, II, 477). 'Abd Allāh Nesib Efendi, another son of 'Abd al-Bāqī, was *Naṣīb al-Aḥbāb* at Constantinople from 1123 to 1130 (*Sijill*, II, 373 sq.; Rif'at, *Dawlat al-Nuṣab*, p. 33 sq.).

2. A family of merchants (carpet, etc.) and notables which was settled in Smyrna at the end of the sixteenth century and to which belong the well-known prose-writer and novelist 'Ushshakizade Khalid Diya (Ḥalim Ziya) [cf. KHALID ZIYA] and his niece Ḥanīm, formerly the wife of Ghāzī Muṣṭafa Kemal Paṣha.

As Halim Ziya has himself pointed out in his memoirs (*Hatıraat arāṣide*, publ. in the *Vakıf* from Jan. 29, 1931, cf. No. 2 of these *Memoirs*), the family as late as 1869 was called Helwādjizade (Helwāzade). The branch which went to Smyrna was known as Ushshakīlar, "those of Ushak", a name which was later replaced by that of 'Ushshakizade, which was thought more elegant.

(Bibliography): (for the first of these two families only): Thureiya [Sareiya] Bey, *Sijill-i 'amālī*, iv, 298; II, 112, 180; Shams al-Dīn Sāmī Bey, *Kāmil al-Aṭām*, iv, 2156; Hammer, *Hist.*, II, 207 (Fr. ed.); Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 259 (sources).

On the sect of 'Ushshakīya cf. Ahmad Rif'at, *Lughat-i Tarīkhiyye wa-Lughat-iyye*, iv, 243 (s. v. *ṭarīqa*; cf. also this Encyclopaedia s. v. *ṭarīqa*, p. 705). Details of the different shaikhs will be found in Ḥafiz Ḥusein b. al-Ḥadīdj Ismā'il Atwānserāyī, *Ḥisbat al-Diyānāt*, Constantinople 1281, II, 23—25 (considerably abridged in the translation in Hammer, *Hist.*, p. 69, No. 634). (J. DENY)

OSKOB (Serb. Skoplje), capital of the former Turkish wilāyet of Kōsova (Serb. Kosovo), now the capital of the Vardar banat in the kingdom of Yugoslavia, is situated at a height of 960 feet above sea-level in the centre of a fertile valley surrounded by snow-covered mountains and built on both sides of the Vardar; in 1931 it had 64,807 inhabitants (only 32,249 in 1921) of whom over a third are Muslims. On the left bank of the river are the older quarters of the town (the fortress, the Turkish quarter etc.); on the right are the modern buildings and the railway station. Skoplje has 8,958 houses, 15 mosques, 6 Serbian Orthodox and 1 Roman Catholic churches. Of specifically Muslim buildings we may mention a *Medjlis-i 'Ulamā* (i.e. a college of legal authorities, usually called 'Ulema-medjlis'), a Waḳūf-Me'arīf Council ('Vakufsko-mearifsko vece') (cf. I, p. 760 sq.), a chief Shari'at court and a state high school for Muslims ('Velika medresa knjely Aleksandra I') in which, in addition to the usual subjects, religion, Arabic and a little Turkish are taught. Owing to its splendid geographical situation, Skoplje has become the economic and cultural centre of Southern Serbia.

The town has already played a similar role in the past. Originally an Illyrian colony called Scupi, it was later the capital of the Roman province of Dardania and lay about two miles farther up the river at the present village of Zlokučani (N. W. of the modern Skoplje) but was completely destroyed by an earthquake in the year 518.

According to Sir Arthur Evans, Scupi was rebuilt in the neighbourhood of the ancient town on the

site of the present Skoplye by the Emperor Justinian (527—565) and called Justiniana Prima, but this new name did not survive. On the other hand, W. Tomaschek thinks it more probable that Justiniana Prima was built very much farther north of Skoplye. Professor N. Vulić had also adopted this view (*On the Justiniana Prima*, in *Le Musée Belge*, xxxii. [1928], 65—71) but now he agrees with Evans.

At the end of the seventh century, the town was taken by the Slavs. In the following centuries, Skopla (this is the usual Byzantine name; hence it also appears as Iakubia on Idrisi's map of the world of 1154 [ed. K. Müller, Stuttgart 1928]) belonged mainly to Byzantium, with a few longer and shorter intervals when it was under Bulgar (Jireček, i. 211 and 222) and Serbian (*op. cit.*, i. 201) rule.

Towards 1282 Skoplye finally passed from the Byzantines to the Serbs (*op. cit.*, i. 245) and became the favourite residence of the mediaeval Serbian kings and emperors. It was here that the powerful king Dušan had himself ceremoniously crowned as the first Serbian emperor (1346). This time Serbian rule in Skoplye lasted 110 years (1282—1392) and this epoch may be described as the golden period in the town's history (especially down to 1371).

After the battle on the field of the blackbird (Serb. Kosovo polje) in 1389 Skoplye became of especial importance to the Ottomans and they occupied it in the early years of the reign of Bayazid I. In the older Ottoman chronicles (Urudj b. Adil, p. 26; *Ashikpashazade*, ed. Giese, p. 58 [Stambul edition, p. 64]; Neshri-Nöldeke, ii., in *Z.D.M.G.*, xv. 333; anon. ed. Giese, p. 73 [only in the critic. appar., hence not in the transl.]), Pasha Yigit (Yigit) Beg, "who is the tutor of Ishak Beg (*Ishak beg efendi*) and is like his father", is named as the conqueror of Uskub and its first governor. The exact date of the conquest is not given in any of these historians but preserved in a contemporary Serbian inscription: Jan. 6, 1392 (Lj. Stojanović, *Starigradski zapisi*, i. [Belgrade 1902], p. 56, No. 177). Ewliya Celebi (v. 553) asserts however that Ewrenos Beg took the town. Shams al-Din Sami (*Kamūs al-A'lam*, ii. [1889], 932—933) on the other hand gives Timūr Tash Pasha as the Turkish conqueror of Skoplye in 792 (began Dec. 20, 1389) but without giving his authority. 'Alī Djewād (*Tārīkh wa-Djaghrahīyāt Lughātī*, i. [1311=1895], 87) also gives Timūr Tash Pasha but his authority seems to be the *Kamūs al-A'lam*. Uskub was at once settled with Turkish colonists (Hammer, *G.O.R.*, i. 183) and was for a time the second residence of the Ottomans sultāns next to Adrianople (cf. e.g. Ewliya Celebi, v. 553). Uskub was the base of further Ottoman campaigns northward, and it was from here that their governors controlled their Christian tributaries (Jireček, i. 97). In the course of time a busy trade developed in which the Ragusians played a prominent part. Building activity was also considerable and was mainly devoted to mosques, madrasas, baths etc. The largest and finest mosques date from the xvth century (Sulhūn Murād mosque built in 840=1436—1437; Ishak Beg ["Aladla"] mosque built in 842=1438—1439; 'Isk Beg mosque built about 880=1475—1476; Kodja Mustafa mosque built in 890=1485; Karlozade mosque ["Burmali dšamiya"] built in 900=

1495 [destroyed 1923]) and from the beginning of the xvth century (Yahya Pasha mosque built in 908=1502—1503). Some of the Uskub medreses early acquired a great reputation.

That Uskub in the xvth and xvith century also played a large part in the poetry and scholarship of Turkey is shown by the following celebrated names: 1. Aḡā, poet, d. 930=1523—1524 (Gibb, *H.O.P.*, ii. 191, note 3); 2. Ishak Celebi (Uskubi), lyricist and scholar, d. 949=1542—1543 (Gibb, iii. 40—45); 3. 'Aḡā Ishak Celebi (Pir Muḥammad), biographer of poets and himself a poet, d. 979=1571—1572 (Gibb, iii. 7—8 and 162, note 4; cf. also Ewliya, v. 560); 4. Weṣī (Uwais b. Muḥammad), one of the most brilliant prose writers of his time, died as Kādī of Uskub in 1037=1627—1628 (Gibb, iii. 208—218 and Ewliya, v. 560); 5. (New'izade) 'Aḡā, the famous poet and continuer of the *Shakā'ik al-nu'māniya* of Tashkopszade, whose last judicial post was in Uskub, d. 1044=1634—1635 (Gibb, iii. 242—243; Brislall M. Tahir, *'Oḡmānī Mūellifleri*, iii. 95—96; Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 171—172).

Western travellers of the xvth and xvith centuries (e.g. T. Petančić [1502], the anonymous Italian [1559], M. Birzi [1604], Dr. Brown [1669]) describe Skoplye as a large and fine town. The two Turkish accounts of the xvth century agree with this. The one is by Hadjdī Khalifa (c. 1648) who not only describes Uskub, the capital of the sandjak of the same name, as a fine town but says that the tower clock, which dated from the time of the unbelievers, was the largest in all Christendom; the other description by the somewhat later Ewliya Celebi in spite of all its exaggerations is the best of all the accounts of the town. At the time of his visit (1661), Uskub had 70 mahallas, about 10,000 solidly built houses including several famous serays, 2,150 well built shops, 120 large and small mosques (45 Friday mosques), several churches and synagogues, 20 dervish monasteries, 110 fountains etc. Commerce, trade and industry were also all very flourishing. Conditions were so settled that a garrison of only 300 men sufficed.

But towards the end of the century, the Austrian general Piccolomini supported by rebel Serbs advanced across the Danube and the Save into the Vardar district, plundered Uskub and burned it to the ground on October 26 and 27, 1689 (cf. M. Kostić, in *Julska Serbija*, i. [1922], 121—128). In the xvith century, the plague raged in this region and at the end of this century the population had sunk to 6,000.

It was only at the beginning of the sixteenth century that Uskub began to revive again rapidly as a result of the immigration of inhabitants from adjoining regions. The reforms of 'Omar Pasha Latas restored peace and order in the whole region after 1840 and trade flourished once more. From 1873 onwards Muslim emigrants from Serbia and Bosnia considerably increased the population of the town. In 1873 the railway Salonika—Uskub—Mitrovica was opened to traffic and in 1875 the capital of the wilāyet was removed from Pristina to Uskub. The opening of the railway Belgrad—Nish—Skoplye (Salonika) in 1888 connected the town directly with Serbia and Central Europe. At the end of the sixteenth century, Uskub had already 4,474 houses with 32,000 inhabitants (17,000 Muslims, 14,200 Christians and 800 Jews).

The Balkan war (1912) put an end to the 500 years of Turkish rule in Skoplye. Since 1918 when the town definitely passed to Yugo-Slavia the number of inhabitants has doubled and the development of Skoplye has been considerable in all fields (philosophical faculty of the University, Scientific society of Skoplye with its organ *Glasnik skopjskog naučnog društva* [Bulletin de la société scientifique de Skopje], South Serbian Museum, National Theatre, Hygienic Institute etc.).

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(FERIK BAJRAKTAREVIĆ)

ÜSKÜDAR, the oldest and largest quarter of the Turkish Constantinople on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, lying at the foot of the hill of Bulghurlu, where the Asiatic coast advances farthest to the west, opposite the Tower of Leander (Kız Kalesi). In ancient times the small town of Chrysopolis (already mentioned in Xenophon's *Anabasis*, book vi., ch. vi. 38) existed on this site; it was then a suburb of the still older colony of Chalcedon (now Kâdî Köy). Towards the end of the Byzantine Empire the name Scutari had come into use (cf. Phrantzes, ed. Bonn 1838, p. 111; *Ἰστορία τῆς ἑσπερίας* [ἱστορία τῆς ἑσπερίας]). It is uncertain if this new name is to be derived from the corps of shield-bearers that was located there in the time of the emperor Valens (cf. Cuiet and G. Young, *Constantinople*, London 1926, p. 203). The direct reason may have been that there was, from the time of the Commeni, a palace there called Scutari (Cuiet). The Turkish Üsküdar contains at the same time a popular etymology, as the Persian word *uskudar* (also *arkudar* is given) has the meaning of a post station (Arabic *barid*); by its geographical position, Üsküdar became indeed the main base for all greater and smaller expeditions from the capital to the Asiatic parts of the empire (cf. F. Tarschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz*, Leipzig 1924 and 1926). Large armies generally

were encamped in the vast plain to the south of the suburb, where now stands the part of the town called Haidar Paşa. Still another explanation of Üsküdar (viz. Eski Dār) is given by Ewliya Celebi.

The historical sources do not mention in what particular way Üsküdar was conquered by the Ottoman Turks, but it certainly was taken under Orkhan's rule, either after the capture of Iznik (1331), together with the other localities of Kōdja Ili [q. v.] (cf. Nicephorus Gregoras, ed. Bonn 1840, iii. 458), or in any case after the death of the emperor Andronikos (1341; cf. Phrantzes, p. 41). The old Ottoman chronicles mention it for the first time during the reign of Muhammad I. The local traditions, as recorded by Ewliya Celebi, connect Üsküdar closely with the different expeditions undertaken against Constantinople by Süleyman Paşa.

In Turkish times Scutari became much more an integral part of the capital than it seems to have been in Byzantine times, though, according to Ewliya Celebi, it became fully populated only in the time of Sulaiman I. One of the reasons was certainly that it became the seat of several derwish congregations and their tekke's, and consequently an important centre of the mystical life of the capital. The best known are the Halvetiye Tekke of Sheikh Mahmud (lived beginning xviii century) and the Rifaiye Tekke. Scutari contains moreover a number of remarkable mosques, the largest of which were all founded by ladies of the imperial court. The most notable mosques are: Mihr u-Mah Djami'i or İskele Djami'i, erected in 954 (1547) opposite the chief landing-place; Eski Walide Djami'i, more to the south, finished in 991 (1583); Çini Djami'i, on the south-eastern point, finished in 1050 (1640); and Yeni Walide Djami'i, finished in 1120 (1708). The Selimiye mosque was founded by Selim III and belongs to the buildings erected by that sultan for his new troops called *nişancı* [q. v.]. Finally this suburb is famous for the large cemetery that extends on its eastern side.

In the judicial hierarchy the Üsküdar Mollas ranked with the mollas of Ghalata and of Eyyub among the lowest class of the highest order of judges (d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, ii. 271). Administratively Scutari has long been a part of the town of Constantinople (Cuiet). In the new administrative division of the Turkish republic it is a *hassa* in the *wilāyet* of Istanbul (*Devlet Salmāri* for 1926, p. 612; on p. 635 of this publication the number of inhabitants is given as 155,092).

Bibliography: Hādījī Khalifa, *Djāhān-nāma*, p. 663 199; Ewliya Celebi, *Siyāhat-nāme*, i. 479 199; Hadži Husein al-Aiwānseriyi, *Hadīyat al-Djānāme*, Constantinople 1281, ii. 182 199; J. von Hammer, *Constantinopolis und der Bosphorus*, Pesth 1822, ii. 311 199; V. Cuiet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iv., Paris 1894, p. 595 199.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

UŞUL (A.), roots, principles, pl. of *uṣl*. Among the various terminological uses of this word, three are prominent as terms for branches of Muslim learning: *uṣl al-dīn*, *uṣl al-faḥḥ* and *uṣl al-fikḥ*. *Uṣl al-dīn* is synonymous with *kalām* [q. v.]; by *uṣl al-faḥḥ* is meant the treatment of the terminology and methods of the science of Tradition (see HADITH); the *uṣl al-fikḥ* (frequently called simply (science of the) *Uṣūl*) are the doctrine of the "principles" of Muslim jurisprudence, *fiqh* [q. v.].

1. In the usual classification of Muslim sciences, the *uṣūl al-fihh* are generally defined as the methodology of Muslim jurisprudence, as the science of the proofs which lead to the establishment of legal standards. Its existence is justified by the consideration that man was not created without a purpose (Sūra xliii, 117) and is not sinlessly left to himself (Sūra lxxv, 36) but all his actions are regulated by legal standards; as there cannot be a special standard for every individual case, one has to depend for their derivation on proofs. These proofs, according to the view which finally prevailed, are of four kinds: *Ḥur'ān*, *sunna*, *'iḍmā'* and *ḥyūs* [q. v.]. In the *uṣūl al-fihh*, therefore, we are not so much concerned with the material sources of Islāmic law as with the formal basis of the individual prescriptions. Thus the four *uṣūl* include in addition to the two material sources, *Ḥur'ān* and *sunna*, which are regarded from the point of view, not of their substance but of their legal force, the general condition of *'iḍmā'* and method of *ḥyūs*, while other historically no less important sources of Muslim law are not recognised. The development of these and other *uṣūl* which did not attain full recognition is somewhat as follows.

2. The logically first and most highly esteemed source of law in Islām is of course the *Ḥur'ān*; there could be no doubt of its conclusive authority and infallibility — in spite of the possibility of attempts to falsify it by the devil (Sūra xxii, 51; cf. Noldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qur'ān*, i, 100), nor could there be any doubt that it has been handed down essentially intact (cf. *ibid.*, i, 261; ii, 93) — in spite of the Prophet's forgetting several verses (Sūra ii, 100; lxxvii, 6 sq.). The fact that the *Ḥur'ān* itself describes several of its sections as abrogated (*mansūkh*); the passage abrogating the older one is called *nāsikh* by later revelations is not in contradiction to this (Sūra ii, 100; xvi, 103 sq.; cf. Noldeke-Schwally, *op. cit.*, ii, 52 sqq.). It was the task of later interpretation to get rid of the numerous contradictions within the *Ḥur'ān*, which reflect the process of development of Muḥammad as a prophet, by harmonising them or in extreme cases to assume that the later revelation abrogated the earlier. It was in no way Muḥammad's intention to create a "system" even in its main outlines, which was to regulate the whole life of his followers; the old Arab customary law, which already included many elements of foreign (Roman provincial, Babylonian, South Arabian) origin, on the contrary remained in force in Islām as a matter of course with its variations adopted to local conditions [Badrin, Mecca (commercial town), Medina (an agricultural centre)]; Muḥammad's legislative activity was confined to correcting isolated points out of considerations of religion — for even the modifications affecting social life have a religious basis — from case to case usually under the stimulus of extraneous happenings. Including the verses dealing with questions of public worship and those of a military or political nature, the total number of verses forming what is known as the *ḥyūs al-ḥudūd* is only about 500–600; but essential parts of the legislation affecting worship, e.g. the ritual of the *ṣalāt*, were not regulated by the *Ḥur'ān*, but simply by the example and guidance of the Prophet, and a number of other prescriptions by Muḥammad are not in the *Ḥur'ān*, usually of minor importance and not of general application, although having prophetic authority (cf. Noldeke-Schwally, *op. cit.*,

i, 260). From the beginning, the prophetic authority of Muḥammad has never been doubted, even on matters not laid down in the *Ḥur'ān*; at the same time, however, his actions as a mere mortal were not considered infallible even in religious matters and on several occasions he was sharply criticised. The abolition of certain customs permitted or practised by Muḥammad very soon after his death points in the same direction. The Prophet himself made no claim to infallibility: the *Ḥur'ān* expressly states (e.g. Sūra xviii, 110; xli, 5) that, although he was the transmitter of revelation, in other respects he was a man "like others" and sometimes even condemns his attitude (e.g. Sūra lxi, 1).

3. With the death of the Prophet, legislative activity through *Ḥur'ānic* revelation and prophetic authority of course came to an end. It was natural that the early caliphs should endeavour to guide the Islāmic community on the lines of its founder, in consultation with the leading Companions of the Prophet. The guiding principles were to be found in the *Ḥur'ān* and in authoritative decisions of the Prophet not in the *Ḥur'ān*. The endeavour to extend these comparatively narrow foundations led very early to their interpretation being broadened beyond the original meaning and probably to the rise of new traditions. At the same time the caliphs, as heads of their state and representatives of the Prophet, were not to be prevented from legislative activity of their own and from sometimes even altering decisions of the Prophet (cf. above). It may be historical that according to tradition Abū Bakr is represented as modelling himself exactly on the Prophet in this connection and 'Umar rather as showing more tendency to interfere and change. The relationship to customary law continued unchanged, even after the latter had been more than ever exposed to foreign influence as a result of the great conquests in the 'Irāk, Syria and Egypt.

4. With the coming of the Umayyads and the transference of the seat of government to Damascus the circles of the devout in Medina, hitherto the centre, lost all actual influence on the business of government. They therefore began to devote themselves with all the more zeal to preparing an ideal picture of things as they ought to be, in contrast to the actual practice. While in reality the customary law continued to exist undisturbed in the various provinces of the caliphate, and developed in combination with the actual administration of justice — for the Umayyad caliphs down to 'Umar II had in general little inclination to interfere and establish standards based on religion — the principles of Muslim law arose first in Medina and later also in the 'Irāk and Syria. The object of these pious men who at first worked without any thought of theory or method, was to correct and adjust the material of the laws they found in existence according to Muslim religious principles and to systematise it. They took their religious points of view from the *Ḥur'ān* and the material of Tradition, which they recognised as binding; the (real and alleged) sayings and actions of the Companions of the Prophet, of whom as a body they were the successors, had also high authority with them. It was of special authority when a majority of the Companions acted in the same way and the same majority principle did a great deal to cause individual views gradually to approximate to one another. The results of these cogitations were for the most part formulated in traditions and put in

the mouth of the Prophet. This considerable increase in the material of Tradition, from other sources also, again introduced into Muslim law numerous new elements, particularly those of Jewish origin. This resulted in establishing already certain characteristic peculiarities of Muslim law: its character as the interpretation and unfolding of the prescriptions, given in essence at least, by Allāh through his Prophet, the denial of the possibility of development and of legislative activity after the death of the Prophet in contrast to the historical development, the recognition of the usage of the Prophet, the *sunna al-nabi*, as the second main standard standing next to the *Qur'an* only in position, not in power and authority. It was just because the teaching was based for a very large part on Muḥammad's (real or fictitious) *sunna* that this was regarded as an infallible norm for the Muslim community, a view which was with difficulty read into the *Qur'an* (e.g. iii. 29; iv. 62; xvi. 46; xxxiii. 21; liii. 3) but was distinctly laid down by tradition. The contradictions, which naturally appeared more frequently in Tradition than in the *Qur'an*, were to be disposed of by the same means as in the latter (cf. above), and also by criticism of the *isnād* [q. v.] behind which criticism of the subject matter had, it is interesting to note, usually to conceal itself. The more or less strongly islamised customary law was still recognised as having an independent basis, especially on points where it aroused no misgivings from the religious point of view. As its Muslim equivalent, the "*sunna* of pious men" is sometimes given particular authority.

5. The first reflections on theory were provoked towards the end of this period, in the beginning of the second (eighth) century, by the coming into existence of a special science of *ḥadīth* alongside of *fiqh*. The representatives of the former reproached the "jurists" with bringing by their use of the intelligence a human element into the law which ought rather to be based exclusively on the *Qur'an* and on *Ḥadīth* as representing the *sunna* of the Prophet. Their opponents replied to this by saying that one's own intelligence (*ra'y*) was absolutely necessary for the deduction of legal precepts and both parties cited traditions to support their views. From the first, the dispute was more concerned with form than matter and frequently was simply a quarrel over words; the result of it was the general recognition in principle of the justification of *ra'y* in the *fiqh*; on the other hand, the various schools laid varying emphasis on *Ḥadīth*; at any rate the results are everywhere the same. As early as the first half of the second (eighth) century three different shades of *fiqh* had developed in the three centres of the Hijāz, the 'Irāq and Syria, in the origin and spread of which geographical conditions had played an essential part, on the one hand through developing life and doctrine uniformly within closed areas and on the other through the original differences of the basic legal material in the different regions; these variants were the precursors of the later *madhāhib* of Mālik, Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Awāzī; the Hijāz school laid most emphasis on Tradition and the 'Irāq school on *ra'y*. In these circumstances the views held by the majority of learned men in Medina (or Mecca and Medina) or in Kūfa or in Bagda carried particular weight. To about the middle of the second (eighth) century belong the first writings of any

length by important representatives of these three schools, especially of the Hijāz and the 'Irāq, which enable us to see their mental attitudes; the following sketch is based on the results of the study of Mālik's *al-Muwatta'*, the only work that has been at all studied among them. Mālik devotes great care to establishing the *ijmā'* of the learned men of Medina; this conception, which originally had simply meant the majority (just as in the science of *Qur'anic* readings which borrowed the term from the *qāṭa*; cf. Noldeke-Bergsträsser, *Geschichte des Qur'an*, iii. 130 sq., 135), has here already become the qualified majority, approaching unanimity. At the same time Mālik recognises as authoritative the *sunna*, i.e. legal use and wont in Medina, which is not at all identical with the *sunna al-nabi* (cf. above). Both *ijmā'* and *sunna* of Medina are to him closely connected; his work represents the degree of islamisation of the customary law attained in his time in Medina and — as is evident from a comparison with the later period — the process was now complete. The great works of al-Shāfi'i were undoubtedly something similar for the 'Irāq.

6. In al-Shāfi'i (d. 204 = 820) we have the founder of Muslim jurisprudence. It is his great achievement that in him legal thought becomes conscious of itself and thus becomes a science, that he argues not only occasionally and ad hoc but throughout and on principle and gives a discussion on the starting points and methods of argumentation in jurisprudence. The important steps in advance which he made in the *uṣūl al-fiqh*, based on the results of previous development, are as follows. He finally defines *sunna* as a source of law as the usage of the Prophet, as the 'Irāq school had already done before him. He further defines the *ijmā'* as the view held by the majority of Muslims and uses it as a secondary source of elucidation on questions which cannot be decided from the *Qur'an* and the *sunna* of the Prophet; he justifies its authority by general considerations and traditions which order adhesion to the community of Muslims and he therefore does not yet know the *ḥadīth* later often quoted: "My community will never agree upon an error". While the islamisation of law had in general been already completed before Mālik, al-Shāfi'i did a great deal to advance its systematisation. To attain this object, he to some extent abandoned the usual path of legal thought, not the first appearance of this tendency, and if he did not invent the process of *qiyās* (analogy), he considerably developed the principle and applied it extensively. It is essentially the old method of *ra'y* which he adopts here under this less ominous name, but a certain limitation of the process is apparent (among the old representatives of the 'Irāq school *qiyās* seems to have been used to dispose of isolated abnormal traditions). Al-Shāfi'i further endeavoured to lay down definite rules for its use; he only succeeded to a very small extent however and even in later times, in spite of limitations in method, *qiyās* still had not overcome the vagueness which causes it to lack cogent power of conviction. In al-Shāfi'i it still appears as synonymous with *istiḥṣān* [q. v.] in the old sense in which the latter as a synonym of *ra'y* means the jurist's use of his intelligence. Among the representatives of the 'Irāq school and also among those of the Hijāz, *istiḥṣān* [q. v.] was used as a variety of *ra'y*. It consisted in

diverging from the result properly to be expected by analogy (*hiyās*) out of considerations of reasonableness or practical considerations etc. Al-Shāfi'i vigorously challenged this process as purely subjective and held that only *hiyās* was valid. Al-Shāfi'i in this way carried through a deliberate Islamisation of the *uṣūl*.

7. The development after al-Shāfi'i in the predominant school resulted in the *Kur'ān*, *sunna*, *ijmā'* and *hiyās* being classed together as the four *uṣūl al-fihh*, which is only intelligible from their history, and in further developments in detail. Among the latter are the settlement of the mutual relations of *Kur'ān* and *sunna*; while al-Shāfi'i taught that the precepts of the *Kur'ān* were given greater precision by the *sunna* but the *Kur'ān* can only be abrogated by the *Kur'ān* and the *sunna* by *sunna*, it was already recognised in part before and certainly generally after him, that it was possible to abrogate the *Kur'ān* by *sunna*, which was thus ranked not only equal to but above the *Kur'ān*; the practical legal results were however hardly affected by this theoretical differentiation. — As to the *ijmā'*, in later times they were not content with the majority of Muslims, but demanded the general agreement of all scholars living at the same time in a certain period, which was to be binding on all futurity, but unanimity in the literal sense was never demanded. The *ijmā'* in this sense did not remain merely supplementary to the *Kur'ān* and *sunna*, but was regarded as confirming them, on the ground of the general conviction of its infallibility, which had developed out of general considerations and found expression in the above quoted *ḥadīth* (*Kur'ānic* passages like iii. 98; iv. 85, 115 are also quoted in support); finally it was even allowed the power of cancelling prescriptions of the *Kur'ān* and *sunna*, as was actually done for example in the case of the worship of saints and the doctrine of the infallibility of the prophets (cf. above § 2). Important sections of Muslim law are based on this *ijmā'* alone, e.g. the caliphate, the recognition of the *sunna* of the Prophet as an obligatory standard, the authorisation of *hiyās* etc.; in the last resort, in this view the whole of Muslim law owes its authority to the infallible *ijmā'*, which guarantees its correctness and agreement with the true meaning of the divine sources. This conception of *ijmā'* is in its essentials already found in Tabari (d. 310 = 923). This is the common orthodox doctrine; only the Mālikis define *ijmā'* as the agreement, firstly of the Companions of the Prophet, then of the two generations following them (the so-called "successors" and "successors of the successors"), and therefore as the *sunna* of Medina, the home of the true *sunna* (cf. above § 5), but grant this *ijmā'* the same authority as the others do. Only some Hanbalis and the Wahhābis, as well as the Zāhiris, to be mentioned below, limit *ijmā'* to the agreement of the Companions of the Prophet, which has resulted in considerable differences in doctrine. The Khāridjīs (Ibādīs) recognised only *ijmā'* within their own community and here they demand unanimity. At the same time, there were various divergent views on *ijmā'* in the early period. — Even after al-Shāfi'i a vigorous opposition to *hiyās* was raised by Dāwūd al-Zāhiri (d. 270 = 883) and his school, who rejected all *hiyās* and *ra'y* and declared for the interpretation of the *Kur'ān* and *sunna*, in the outward

sense (*ṣāḥih*) only; but even they could not get along without making deductions, which they endeavoured to represent as being already inherent in the words of the text (*mafaḥm*). But this school, which survived down to the 10th (15th) century was not destined to have a lasting influence. We also still find other isolated opponents of *hiyās* and *ra'y*, even among the Shāfi'is, e.g. al-Bukhārī (d. 256 = 870) and al-Ghazālī (505 = 1111), who — at least in his mystic period — applies it in practice, but in theory does not recognise it as having equal force with the traditional sources (cf. Goldziher, *Zākiriten*, p. 182 sq.); in the end however, *hiyās* won undisputed recognition and the Hanbalis and Wahhābis as well as the Khāridjīs (Ibādīs) recognise it. The Shāfi'is and with certain limitations also the Hanafis use in *istiḥṣāb* [q. v.] a special variety, surer in method, of the usual *hiyās* which is regarded as an independent *uṣūl*. The Hanafis followed the other *madhāhib* in taking over the term *hiyās* for the old *ra'y* but in contrast to al-Shāfi'i they retained *istiḥṣān*. The Mālikis continue to recognise it, but in general they prefer the process or rather the name *istiḥṣāb* [q. v.], a variety of *hiyās* which decides in favour of what is generally considered best. This *istiḥṣāb* is also found among the Shāfi'is, who following their master vigorously reject *istiḥṣān*. As a matter of fact, the two processes are practically identical. On account of the arbitrariness with which the results of *hiyās* were often simply thrust aside, when it was considered necessary or simply desirable to diverge from the strict demands of theory, both methods are disputed by many and have never been generally included among the *uṣūl* of the *fiqh*.

The Twelver Shī'is (Imāmis) agree with the Sunnis in recognising the *Kur'ān* and *sunna* as *uṣūl* of the *fiqh*; with them however not only the *sunna* of the Prophet is authoritative but also that of the divinely guided twelve imāms, whose infallible authority guarantees the correctness of the law in a similar fashion to the *ijmā'* in the Sunni system. For the documentation of the *sunna* the Shī'is have several works of their own on tradition, which differ materially from those of the Sunnis; in particular all traditions and decisions are rejected which go back to the authority of the first three caliphs before 'Alī or in which 'Alī appears as their representative and successor. Under the guidance of an imām further *uṣūl* are unnecessary; during the concealment of the last imām, however, there are still two others which correspond to the two last Sunni *uṣūl*. But even in this period the school of the Akhbarī regards the *sunna* along with the *Kur'ān* as alone authoritative and seeks to trace back all decisions to traditions of the imāms, limiting as far as possible rational deductions, and even demands for the elucidation of each verse of the *Kur'ān* a tradition relating to it. The school of the Uṣūlī, on the other hand, which enjoys greater prestige as the more widely disseminated, recognises reason (*ʿaql*) as the third of the *uṣūl*, but disputes the right of *hiyās* (this variation from the Sunnis is however limited to terminology). Lastly the fourth among the *uṣūl* is the agreement of the majority of jurists since the beginning of the concealment of the last imām. While the *sunna* can abrogate another *sunna* and even the *Kur'ān*, this *ijmā'* can only dispose of traditions, the correctness of the transmission of which it disputes. At the same time, the Shī'is recognise as secondary *uṣūl*, *istiḥṣāb*, the similar methods of deduction

known as *ḥarā'a* and *iḥtishād* as well as, in the ultimate resort, the choice of the judge between several possible views.

8. Although the *ijmā'* is strongly rooted in customary law and has actually gained official recognition for important elements in practice even against the *Korān* and Tradition (cf. above), its fitness for the further development of Islamic law, the rejection of old prescriptions and the assimilation of new elements must not be overestimated, as it is as likely from its development to prevent, as much as to encourage, innovations; the numerous foreign elements which Muslim law contains had for the most part entered it before *ijmā'* had begun to prevail over *ḥā'a* as a whole. On the other hand, *iḥtishād* and *iḥtishād* afford the possibility of paying consideration to customary law, though to a gradually diminishing extent in course of time. In places the attempt was even made to place 'urf, the general usage, as a fifth *asī* of the *ḥā'a* alongside of the four generally recognised, even as late as the 15th (16th) century; in general it is regarded as meritorious not to let the laws derived from the *Korān* and *sunna* come into conflict with actual practice and to legitimate the latter as far as possible "to escape the danger of sinning" (cf. *Id.*, iv, 213); but a general direct recognition of 'urf, even in a subordinate position, by the *ḥā'a* never came about. The discussions which we find about 'urf 'āmm (general usage) and 'urf khass (local custom or custom observed for a time only), their relation to the *ijmā'* and their legal authority, are purely theoretical; in the cases in which the *ḥarā'a* itself refers to 'urf or 'āda (custom), the reference is hardly ever to legal usages; customary law is not recognised as binding even for the cases for which the *ḥā'a* gives no rule. The view prevailing in the Dutch East Indies for example, of the equality of *ḥarā'a* and 'āda (cf. the article *SHAR'Ī'A* at the end) takes us quite outside of the teaching of the *ḥā'a*, which can leave almost all practice to customary law, but not give it a place at all in its theoretical system. Even the later Mālikī jurists, especially in North Africa, who have made particular efforts to adapt themselves closely to actual practice, make no exception on this question of principle. However important and natural the influence of customary law and of foreign legal elements in general was in the early period of Islamic law, all the more difficult has been its further advance, especially since the theoretical recognition of the *uṣūl* in their final form.

9. As the *ḥā'a* had already developed in all essentials before the theory of the *uṣūl* was established, the elements which led to its origin cannot be given in their correct historical perspective. But even from the point of view of Muslim systematisation, they have for long had a purely theoretical position as regards *ḥā'a*. Only the *muḥtashab* is qualified to apply them, that is to say to derive independently legal regulations from the *uṣūl*, but according to the orthodox *ijmā'*, *iḥtishād* has long ceased and all jurists are obliged to use the lowest stage of *ḥā'a* [q. v.]. Many jurists are therefore content, without going deeper into the study of the *uṣūl*, with the occasional brief notes on them, which most of the *ḥā'a* books add to the discussion of different regulations. There are however numerous special works on the *uṣūl* and these form the subject of one of the traditional Muslim sciences.

The *Sunnat* works on *uṣūl* deal *inter alia*, according to the author's point of view, with *ḥarā'a*, *sunna* and *ijmā'* as regards genuineness and arrangement for the purposes of *ḥā'a*, the rules — usually given very fully — for their interpretation, according to form and legal substance, also the so-called legal categories (cf. the article *SHAR'Ī'A*), the reconciliation of contradictions among the sources by harmonising or assuming abrogation, the use of *ḥā'a*, dispensation etc. and lastly as a rule with *iḥtishād* and *ḥā'a*. The first work of this kind, which however does not yet fall into the scheme given, is al-Shāfi's *Riḥla*. Among especially important and much annotated works of a later period are the following: Imām al-Hammām al-Dhūwānī (d. 478 = 1085), *al-Warā'id fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh*; al-Pardawī (d. 482 = 1089), *Kamāl al-Wujūh ilā Ma'rifat al-Uṣūl*; Sa'id al-Shar'ī al-Thāmī (d. 747 = 1346), *al-Tanẓīh* and *al-Tawḥīd*; al-Suhbī (d. 771 = 1369), *Uṣūl al-Dhūwānī*; Mollā Khosraw (d. 885 = 1480), *Mir'āt al-Wujūh* and *Ma'rāt al-Uṣūl*. — The authority of the *imām* is the foundation of the *Shrī'at* and among the *Shrī'as* it plays a part similar to *ijmā'* among the *Sunnas*; *iḥtishād* also continues to exist here.

Bibliography: The fundamental works for the history of the *uṣūl* are: Goldsther, *Die Jāhīriten*; Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschiedenis*, vol. 2; Bergsträsser, *Id.*, xiv, 76 sqq. — Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology*, p. 65 sqq. gives an older historical view; concise accounts of the prevailing theory with historical notes are given by Jaynaboll, *Handleiding*, p. 32 sqq. (*Handboek*, p. 39 sqq.) and more fully by Santillana, *Institutionen*, p. 25 sqq.; further literature is also given there. — Lists of the best known Arabic works on *uṣūl* are given in Hājjī Khalifa, ed. Flügel, i, N^o 835 sqq. and in Tāshköprüzade, *Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda*, Hyderabad, 1910, li, 53 sqq.; do. in Turkish, *Ma'rāt al-Uṣūl*, transl. by Kamāl al-Dīn, Constantinople 1313, p. 654 sqq. (JOSEPH SCHMIDT).

'UTARID (A.), the planet Mercury, Pers. *Tir*. It was known from very early times to the ancient civilisations of the east as its conditions of visibility are much more favourable there than in more northern latitudes. Lists of planets of the Assyrian period mention Mercury (*Nabū*) under its Sumerian name Kakkab L. U. B. A. T. G. U. U. D. Among the Egyptians it was called the "star of Apollo", among the Greeks ἡ τῶν Ἑρμοῦ ἀστὴρ and also Στρίλων (cf. Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe*, Ch. 17). Aristotle also calls it ὁ τῶν Ἀρτέμιδος.

The name *al-Kutib* as a synonym for 'Utarid is, according to Nallino (al-Battānī, *Opus Astronomicum*, i, 291), only used among the Arabs in Spain and Northwest Africa and is not to be found in Arabic texts or dictionaries compiled east of the Nile. The name *al-Kutib* is quoted in a later Arabic glossary compiled in Southern Spain in the 11th century (*Glossarium Latino-Arabicum*, ed. C. F. Seybold, Berlin 1900); the two passages in al-Battānī in which Mercury is mentioned as *al-Kutib* (iii, 186 and 222) are undoubtedly apocryphal.

The Arab astronomers reckon the sphere (*faḥḥ*) of Mercury, in agreement with Pythagoras and Ptolemy, as the second innermost. Below it is bounded by the outer surface of the sphere of the moon and above by the inner surface of the sphere of Venus. In perigee (*farḥīḥ*) the distance from the earth's centre is according to al-Farghānī

(*Compositio*, Ch. 21), al-Battānī (Ch. 50) and Ibn Rusta (*Kitāb al-Aʿlāq*, ed. de Goeje, p. 18–20) $64\frac{1}{8}$ times the radius of the earth, according to Alharrāmī bar Hiyyā (*Sphaera mundi*, Ch. 9) 64 times the radius of the earth, in apogee (*afḍiyyān*) according to al-Farghānī 167, according to the three other authors 166 times the earth's radius; al-Battānī takes 115 times the earth's radius as the mean distance. The radius of the earth is here taken as 3,250 (al-Farghānī, al-Battānī and Bar Hiyyā) or 3,818 Arab miles (Ibn Rusta) (one Arab mile = 1,973 metres; cf. Nallino, *Il valore metrico del grado di meridiano*). Figures are also given for dimensions of the body (*ḡirf*) of the star. Al-Kāzwinī (*Kosmographie*, ed. Wästenfeld, l. 22) estimates the circumference (*ḡawra*) of Mercury at 286 *farsakh*s and its diameter (*ḡur*) at 273 miles (1 *farsakh* = 3 miles); according to al-Battānī the diameter of Mercury is to that of the earth as 1:26 $\frac{1}{4}$ (Ch. 50); it is therefore about 250 miles; al-Battānī gives the volume at

$\frac{1}{18,087} \left(\frac{1}{20\frac{1}{2}} \right)^3$. The corresponding Indian figures given by al-Bīrūnī (from the compilation by Ya'qūb b. Ṭarīk of 161 A.H.) differ considerably from the Arab: shortest distance 64,000 *farsakh*, corresponding to 60 $\frac{20}{21}$ times the radius of the earth (1 radius = 1,050 *farsakh*), mean distance 164,000 *farsakh* = 156 $\frac{4}{21}$ earth's radii, greatest distance 264,000 *farsakh* = 251 $\frac{2}{7}$ radii, diameter 5,000 *farsakh* = 4 $\frac{10}{21}$ radii.

A very full theory of the motion of Mercury is given by al-Battānī (Ch. 31 and 45–48, also tables II, p. 24–28 [fol. 168^b–170^b], p. 102–106 [f. 205^a–207^a], p. 132–137 [f. 220^a–223^b], p. 139, 141, 143 [f. 224^b, 225^b, 226^b]). The motion in anomaly (*ḡaḡḡa*) corresponding to the mean synodic motion is 3° 6' 24" in a day, so that Mercury completes its synodic revolution in 115 days 21 hours. These figures agree most accurately with the modern estimates. The values given in al-Battānī's tables for the difference between the mean and true anomaly (*ḡaḡḡa al-ḡaḡḡa wa-l-mawḡa*) of Mercury expressed in terms of the radius of the deferent (*al-falak al-ḡaḡḡa*) are: eccentricity of the equant (*al-falak al-mu'adḡil li-l-mawḡa*) = 0.05 and radius of the epicycle (*falak al-taḡwīr*) in mean distance = 0.375. In expressing the diameter it should be noted (cf. *Almagest*, xiii): The maximum indication of the deferential towards the ecliptic (first inequality, *maḡ al-falak al-ḡaḡḡa*) is 0° 45' south; the maximum inclination of the apsidal line of the epicycle towards the plane of the deferent (second inequality, *maḡ falak al-taḡwīr*) was estimated by observation at 6° 15'.

Uṭrid in astrology. Uṭrid is the ruler (*raḡb*) over the *ḡuḡḡa* al-Adhrā' (Virgo) and al-Djawwā' (Gemini), also might ruler over the 3 *muḡḡal-ḡaḡḡa* (triquetrum) consisting of al-Djawwā', al-Miḡān (Librae) and al-Dalw (Aquarius). It has its *ḡhoraf* (exaltation) in the 15th degree of al-Adhrā', its *ḡuḡḡa* (dejection) in the 15th degree of al-Hār (Pisces). According to Kāzwinī (l. 22), it was called *muḡḡal* "hypocritical" by the astrologers, because in conjunction with a lucky planet it brought good fortune and with an unlucky one ill-luck. It also assumes the quality of the ruler in the *ḡuḡḡa* of other planets; in its own it produces thunder and earthquakes. The Indians according to al-Bīrūnī regard Mercury as a lucky star when it stands alone, while in constellation with another planet

it intensifies its good or evil influences, just as with the Greeks and Arabs. — A detailed account of the part played by Mercury in Arabic astrology, its significance in the zodiacal circle, its conjunctions with the moon and other planets is given by Abū Ma'ḡḡar, to whose work the reader is referred.

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AL-UTBĪ, ABŪ NAḡḡ MUḡḡAMMAD b. MUḡḡAMMAD AL-DJABRĪ, the author of the *Kitāb al-Yamīnī*, was born at Raiy about the year 350 (961). He left his home in early youth and came to live in Khurāsān with his maternal uncle Abū Naḡr al-Uṭbī who held an important post under the Sāmānids. After the death of Abū Naḡr, al-Uṭbī served as secretary first to Abū 'Alī Simḡjārī, the commander of the army of Khurāsān from 378 to 383 (988–993), then for a short time to Shams al-Ma'ālī Ḳāḡḡa who was living as an exile in Khurāsān, and finally to Subuktigīn, ruler of Ghazna. He continued to hold this post under Isma'īl b. Subuktigīn whom he claims to have persuaded to surrender Ghazna to Maḡḡmūd.

In 389 (999) Sultān Maḡḡmūd of Ghazna sent al-Uṭbī as a special ambassador to Ghazhistan to persuade the ruler to acknowledge him as his suzerain, and he accomplished this mission successfully. About the year 412 (1021), al-Uṭbī finished his famous work the *Kitāb al-Yamīnī*, presented it to Shams al-Kuḡḡat Ahmad b. ḡasan al-Maimandī, the waḡīr of Sultān Maḡḡmūd, and as a reward was appointed to the important post of *ḡaḡḡi Barīd* (Postmaster) of Kandī Rustāḡ. But al-Uṭbī quarrelled with Abū ḡ-ḡasan al-Baḡḡawī, the governor, and made complaints against him to Ahmad al-Maimandī, the waḡīr. As a result of the enquiries which were instituted into the matter, he was dismissed in 413 (1022). After this he entered the service of Prince Ma'ḡḡd, son of Sultān Maḡḡmūd, and was heard of no more. He died in 427 (1036), or, according to another account, in 431 (1040).

Al-Uṭbī was the author of many works, only one of which, the *Kitāb al-Yamīnī*, has survived. It is a history of the reign of Amīr Subuktigīn, his son Sultān Maḡḡmūd and the contemporary rulers. The style of this work is very ornate and verbose and has always been appreciated in the East. ḡurḡḡi Zaidīn, in his *Ṭaḡḡā ḡadab al-Luḡḡat al-'Arabiya* (II. 322), regards its style as superior to that of al-Tha'ālībī's *Yamīnī* and compares it favourably with ḡilāl al-ḡilāl's *Ṭaḡḡā al-Waḡarī*.

Bibliography: *Kitāb al-Yamīnī* of al-

'Uthi and its commentary *Faṭḥ al-Wakīf*, commonly known as *al-Musalsal* (Cairo 1286); and *Yatimat al-Da'ir* of al-Tha'ālidi.

(M. NASSIR)

AL-UTRUSH AND MUHAMMAD AL-HASAN b. 'ALI b. AL-HASAN b. 'ALI b. 'OMAR AL-AHSAB b. 'ALI ZAIN AL-'ARIDIN (s. 'ALI b. AL-HUSAIN); born about 230 (844) at Medina of a Khurasan slave girl, died in Sha'ban 304 (beginning of 917) at Amal as ruler in Tabaristan, is recognised under the official name of AL-NASIR AL-KASIM as Imām by the Zaidīs, and also by those of Yemen.

Al-Utrush came to Tabaristan in the reign of the 'Alid al-Da'ir al-Kasim b. Hasan b. Zaid (see AL-HASAN b. Zaid b. MUHAMMAD); his brother and successor al-Kasim b. 'Ishāq Muhammad b. Zaid distrusting him, he endeavoured to found a kingdom of his own in the east, at first with the support of the governor of Naisabur Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Khudjīsi who took Utrush from al-Kasim. But tale-bearers cast suspicion on Utrush and al-Khudjīsi threw him into prison in Naisabur or Khudjīsi and had him scourged, which injured his hearing and to this he owes his epithet 'the deaf'. On his release he returned to al-Kasim Muhammad and in 287 or 288 or (according to Abu 'I-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Muṣṣal al-Talīṣīn*, Tehran 1307, p. 229, 24) not till 289 (900–901) he shared in the latter's defeat at Khudjīsi by Muhammad b. Hārūn, then a partisan of the Sāmānīd [q. v.] Imād 'I b. Ahmad. Al-Kasim died as a result of a wound; Utrush fled and went to Dāmaghān and Ray among other places. On the death of the caliph al-Ma'taqid in 289 (902) he came forward again, especially as Muhammad b. Hārūn, who had quarrelled with the Sāmānīds, supported him. Utrush received a welcome from Djamīn of Dailam (or his son Wahsūdān; cf. Vassier, in *Islamica*, iii, 165, 209). The friendship of the Djamīnīds, which dated from the time they and Utrush were with al-Kasim, was as fickle as their attitude to Islam which their ancestor Marzbān had adopted only a century earlier. Several joint undertakings thus came to nothing; Utrush recognised the necessity of first of all securing a following of his own and through them the followers of the Djamīnīds. He conducted Islamic missions and 'Alid propaganda from Hawsan among the not yet Muhammadan tribes on the coast of the Caspian Sea and in Gilān and also built mosques.

The Sāmānīd Ahmad b. Imād 'I in 298 (910) sent Muhammad b. Sa'īd to Tabaristan with orders to anticipate the foundation of the new state; but a Khurasan army superior in numbers and still more in equipment was completely defeated by the Dailamī under Utrush at Shāfūs in Djamīn I 301 (Dec. 913); many fugitives were driven into the sea; a detachment led by Abu 'I-Wafā' Khalifa b. Nuḥ escaped to the fortress of Shāfūs, surrendered to Utrush on a promise of pardon but was shortly afterwards massacred by his general and son-in-law al-Hasan b. al-Kasim b. al-Hasan b. 'Ali b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Kasim b. al-Hasan b. Zaid b. al-Hasan b. 'Ali b. Abi Talīb Utrush had in the meanwhile gone to Amal with the rest of the army, sent for by the terrified inhabitants, and had taken up his abode in the former palace of al-Kasim Muhammad. He was able to instal his officials from Shāfūs to Sāriya, unhindered by the Sāmānīds, because just then Ahmad b. Imād 'I was

murdered and his son Nays had first of all to make his position secure against his family and the notables. The Isma'īlī Sharwīn b. Rustam of the house of Bawand, which had been very dangerous to the earlier 'Alids, made peace with Utrush.

In accordance with the usual experience in the foundation of 'Alid states, more difficulty was found in getting the numerous relatives to work together. As Utrush was at least 70 when he entered Amal, and his sons seemed rather incapable, the tension that had formerly existed between al-Kasim Muhammad and Utrush was now repeated between the latter and the already mentioned general al-Hasan b. al-Kasim. The latter broke for a time with Utrush, even took him prisoner on one occasion but had to fly to Dailam in face of the general indignation. But equally general was the pressure brought by the notables upon the dying Utrush to designate this same al-Hasan his successor and they at once paid homage to him after the death of Utrush.

Utrush owed his rise not only to the skillful way in which he took advantage of the political discord on the Caspian Sea but also to his unusual intellectual ability. He was also a poet (cf. Brit. Mus. MS. Suppl. 1259, iv., and specimens in the *Iḥṣān*, see *ibid.*), but he particularly cultivated dogmatics, traditions and law (cf. also Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p. 183, 21, 22). His *ḥikma* has been preserved indirectly (see *ibid.*); he differs from the Yemen practice in the ritual of burial and minor points of the law of inheritance; he also recognised the revocation of a marriage pronounced thrice in succession as three actual divorces, by which he met the rivalry of the Twelver Shī'is which was considerable in the north; one of his sons, Abu 'I-Hasan 'Ali, actually joined the latter; and he himself used their form of washing the feet, of course with the general Shī'a refusal to recognise the rubbing of the covered foot as a substitute for washing; he also showed himself less strict against members of other faiths, which is intelligible in view of his political and missionary aims. A particular Zaidī sect, the Naṣiriya, was called after him, which was only merged in the Kāsimiyya, which had become predominant in the Yemen, by the Imām al-Mahdī Abu 'Abd Allāh Muhammad, son of the above mentioned al-Hasan b. al-Kasim.

The latter, known as al-Da'ir al-Saghir, succeeded Utrush and was able to conquer Naisabur in 305 (920) through Laila b. Nu'mān, an old general of his predecessor, and even to send an army against Fāz. But he was killed in 316 (928) when going from Ray to the relief of Amal, which was occupied by Asfar b. Shīrwāh al-Dailamī and Abu 'I-Raddādī Merdāwīd b. Ziyār. His power had always been limited by the sons of Utrush: Abu 'I-Kasim Dī'far b. al-Utrush had taken Amal in 306 (918) with the help of Muhammad b. Sa'īd, governor of Ray, and again in 312 (925), on each occasion holding it for a short time. In 311 (924) his brother Abu 'I-Hasan Ahmad had entered it; his son Abu 'Ali Husain and his brother and successor Abu Dī'far had also to fight an anti-Imām in Dī'far's son Imād 'I, who however was poisoned in 319 (931). In the meanwhile, another relative of Utrush, Abu Fāḍ Dī'far, had set himself up with the title al-Tha'ir b. 'Ishāq and soon after 320 (932) was able to occupy Amal for a time, aided by his policy of taking sides alternately in the

war between the Ziyārid Waḥmīr with the Bāyids who were now coming to the front, especially as the Firzānīd al-Ḥasan and a certain Ustundār of the Bādīs(e)panīds who had once been conquered by the Dā'ī al-Kabīr al-Ḥasan b. Zaid also intervened.

This little north 'Alid state was continually able to hold its own, although its importance and size constantly changed, among the petty native princes, the Firzānīds, notably Mākan b. Kāh, and Dīstānīds, Ziyārids, Isphahānīs of the house of Ḥawād, Būyids and Sāmānīds, even in spite of domestic troubles. It lasted down to about 520 (1126), the year of the death of Abū Ṭalīb al-Saghīr Yahyā b. al-Ḥusain al-Buḥārī b. al-Mu'ayyad who could not prevail in Daīlam against the Assassins; we can hardly reckon in this line the alleged 'Alid dynasty of Kiya-Ḥusain in Gilān from the end of the viith (xvth) to the end of the ixth century. Abū Ṭalīb was the great-grand-nephew of the Imam al-Nāṣī Abū Ṭalīb (see *Bibl.*) who, born in 340 (951), has given us the most important account of Utrush, based on the stories of eye-witnesses, such as his father,

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(R. STROTHMANN)

UWAIS I (Sulṭān Uwais), second king of the dynasty of Dīlā'ir [q. v.] or Ilākān (Ilkan < 'Ilg'ān?) who reigned 756—776 (1355—1374).

Uwais, born about 742 (1341), was the son of Ḥasan Buzurg [q. v.], son of Ḥusain Gurgān (*Kurkhān*, "son-in-law of the Khān"), son of Ak-bughā Noyon, son of Ilākān ('Ilkūn) Noyon (Rashīd al-Dīn *Ilkhā*, 'Ilghāy).

Ḥasan Buzurg's mother was a Mongol princess, daughter of Arghun-Khān. Ḥasan himself married the famous Dīlghād-Khātūn, daughter of Dīmīshk-Khāwāja, son of Copan [cf. *Sulṭ.*], who had previously married Abū Sa'īd Khān and on his death in 762 had married a certain amīr Sulaimān (*Ḥabīb al-Siyar*). Dīlghād-Khātūn was famous for her wit and beauty. The visitors used to consult her in affairs of state (*ibid.*).

Uwais, according to the majority of historians, succeeded his father who died in 756 (1355—1356) but according to Djannabī, the direct successor of

Ḥasan (d. 757) was Sulṭān Ḥusain (d. 760) (a man of charming character and a poet). One should probably allow with Markov that Ḥusain and Uwais had received separate fiefs which were united by Uwais on the death of his brother.

Baghdād was the centre of Uwais's activities.

At this period Tabriz [q. v.] was held by the Khān of Kīpčak Dīlān-beg who had come into Adhar-bīdījān to put an end to the tyranny of Ashraf, grandson of Coban [cf. *Sulṭ.*]. In the spring of 759 (1358) when the news of Dīlān-beg's departure reached him, Uwais marched against Akhūdūk, whom Dīlān-beg (or his son Berdī-beg) had left as his lieutenant at Tabriz. Meeting Uwais near Mount Sisay (?), Minay (?) [probably *Saland], Akhūdūk retreated, first to Tabriz and then to Nakhicawān. Uwais established his headquarters at Tabriz in the Imārat-i Raghdāi. In Ramaḍān (Aug. 1358) the execution of 47 of Ashraf's amīrs (*Ḥabīb al-Siyar*: *amūrā-yi shārḥ*, a palpable error!) alienated the sympathy of their friends who sought out Akhūdūk and went into the Karabāgh with him. Uwais sent against them 'Alī Pīlān who acted with weakness and suffered a reverse. Uwais had to retire to Baghdad. In the spring of 760, the Muzaffarīd Muḥammad of Shīrāz marched against Akhūdūk, drove him from Tabriz and stayed several months there (*Tārīkh-i Ghasidā*, in *G.M.S.*, p. 677—679, 715—717). But he retired without offering resistance when he learned that Uwais had left Baghdad for the north. Uwais reoccupied Tabriz and stayed in the house of Khāwāja Shaikh Kaḍāji (or Kaḍājān) while Akhūdūk sought refuge with his father Sadr al-Dīn Khāḥānī. On the surrender of Akhūdūk, Uwais executed him on the charge of treason.

In 765 (1363), Khāwāja Marjān, governor of Baghdad, rebelled but his resistance was short. He opened the gates of the city and Uwais pardoned him but appointed Shāh-Khānī (*Ḥabīb al-Siyar*) in his place. The Egyptian sources however (Maḥṣīn, *al-Sulūk*, *Bibl. Nat.*, MS. ar. 673, fol. 49, 52) mention in 767 an attempt by Marjān to secure the assistance of the Sulṭān of Egypt Ashraf Shābān by promising to read the *Khawāṣṣ* in his name. The envoy of Uwais, who afterwards came to Cairo to explain that Marjān was simply a rebel was received coldly. But in the meanwhile Uwais had disposed of him. The date 767 given by Maḥṣīn seems in any case to indicate that the rebellion of Marjān had lasted a considerable time. (According to the name source Marjān was blinded).

Uwais stayed eleven months in Baghdad and then marched west. He took Mawsīl from the brother of Bāīram-Khāwāja (Turkoman of the Kara-Koyunlu tribe), then at Mūsā he defeated Bāīram-Khāwāja and plundered his lands. In the meanwhile Mārdīn was taken, the amīr of which had in vain sought Egypt help (cf. Maḥṣīn, *al-Sulūk*, fol. 53).

Uwais returned via Kara-kīlīsiyā (between Erzerum and Bāyazīd) to Tabriz where he heard that the lord of Shīrān Kā'ūs b. Kaikūṣād had twice carried off to Shīrān (north of the Kur) the people of Karabāgh (Arrān) which Uwais had evidently incorporated in his dominion on the disappearance of Akhūdūk. Uwais's general Bāīram Bek besieged Kā'ūs in the fortress of Shīrān. Kā'ūs, brought in chains to Uwais, was exiled to Baghdad but after three months was re-established under the suzerainty

of Uwais (cf. *Djālā'irid* coins struck at Shirwān). In 772 (1370) Amr Wali, successor of Taghā Timūr of Astarābād (cf. *تغیة تیمور*), attacked Uwais but was defeated near Ray. In 773 Uwais himself took the field against Amr Wali but returned on reaching Ujdān. Amr Wali occupied Sāwa. In 776 Uwais was preparing to punish him but died at 'Inširāt-i Rushtī on 2 Djamādā 1776 (Oct. 10, 1374).

According to Dawlat-Shāh (p. 261—265), Uwais was so handsome that the people of Baghdad used to run out in crowds to see him pass. The historians unanimously praise his kindness, justice and courage; he was also a great patron of literature. His chief panegyrist was Salmān Sāwādī from whom we have a series of odes on the principal events of his reign. Uwais himself was a fine calligrapher, draughtsman and poet of merit. He built a great building, the Dawlat-Khāna at Tabriz (*Talbatgana* of Clavijs), probably identical with the Ark of our day (cf. *Tabriz*).

A scion of a completely Iranicised family and connected through his mother with the family of Cōhan whose romantic adventures are celebrated, Uwais seems to have been of an impressionable nature. We learn of his passion for his favourite Bāram Shāh and of the public mourning which he ordered on his death. The death of his brother Zāhid, who fell from a roof in a state of intoxication, sufficed to cancel the expedition of 773 against Amr Wali. Uwais died of phthisis (*shif*) aged about 30. He is said to have had a presentiment of his death and to have ordered his own shroud and coffin.

He had five sons: Hasan, Djālāl al-Dīn Husain, Shāhkh 'Alī, Ghayāth al-Dīn Ahmad, Bāyazīd and a daughter, Tandu. Uwais wished to give Baghdad to his eldest son Hasan and leave the throne to Husain. When the nobles expressed doubts as to whether Hasan would agree, Uwais is reported to have said: "You know (what to do)". Hasan was therefore put to death on the day that Uwais died.

According to the *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, the wazir of Uwais was Amīr 'Zakariyā and his *amir al-amara* 'Adil-agha (cf. *سوتختیا*).

Coins. Markov has given a description of 66 coins struck in name of Uwais at Baghdad, Wāsi, Tabriz, Ardabil, Khoi, Nakhchawān, Shāburīn, Bāku, Gushtāst, Bardān, Sāwa, Wastān (?), Jūstān (Ujdān?), Bārdān (?), Bānd (?) etc. The coin of 758 (Baghdād) bears the title: *al-sulṭān al-ʿālim al-ʿadil*; that of 762 (Baghdād): *al-sulṭān al-ʿālim shāikh Uwais Bahādur*; that of 766 (Baghdād) bears the name in Mongol. Lane-Poole's Catalogue contains descriptions of coins of Uwais struck at Tabriz, Sulṭāniya, Baghdad, Irbil, Shirāz and Isfahān; that by M. Muḥarrak contains the description of coins struck at Baghdad, Bagra, Hilla, Tabriz and Shirāz (the latter dated 766 gives Uwais the title of *al-wāṭiq bi'l-malik al-dāim*).

Bibliography: Mu'īn al-Dīn Naṭānī, *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, Bibl. Nat., Suppl. Pers. 1651, fol. 327v—328r, contains a notice of the dynasty of Hasan Bāzurg and a synoptic table giving information about the successive reigns; *Shahjirāt al-Atrak* [an abridgment of the *Uṭūs-i arbaʿa* of Ulugh Beg], transl. Miles, London 1838, p. 335—338; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabsh al-Siyar* (who quotes Hāfi Abū, q. v.), Tihān 1271, 111/1, p. 80—81; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣafī*, Bibl. Nat., Arab 2069, fol. 25 (s. v.: Uwais);

Dawlat-Shāh, *Tadhkirat al-Shuʿarāʾ*, ed. Mahammad Karwīnī, p. 261—265 etc.; Mūnedsjīm-bāghī, *Safat al-Akhbar*, iii. 10—11; D'Ossun, *Histoire des Mongols*, iv. 742—743; Dorn, *Versuch einer Geschichte d. Schirwanischen, St. Petersburg 1841*, p. 39 (relations between Uwais and Kāʿb); Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken d. Stadt Mekka*, iv. (1861), 258, 260, on the chandeliers of gold and silver sent by Uwais to Mecca, as a result of which gift the *ḥajj* of Mecca, 'Adjān b. Kumaitha, for a number of years included Uwais in the *ḥajj*; Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii. 654—659; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, Leipzig 1886, p. 129, 131 (on the relations of Uwais with the Venetians and the Genoese); Markov, *Katalog Djala'irikh monet*, St. Petersburg 1897 (based on the Arabic histories of al-'Aim (1360—1451), Djāmālī (d. 1590) etc.); this work is devoted to a description of the great find of 454 Djālā'irid coins near Ordubād in 1858; on another find of coins of Uwais etc. found at Bākū, cf. Pakhomov, *Monetnye klady Azerbaïdjana*, Bākū 1926, p. 59; cf. Lane-Poole, *Cat. of Oriental Coins*, 1881, vi. 207; Lane-Poole, *Additions to the Oriental Collection*, ii. 128, and Muḥammad Muḥarrak, *Catalogue des monnaies djingirides* etc., Constantinople 1901, p. 194; E. G. Browne, *A History of Persian Literature*, iii., index.

2. Uwais II, son of Sulṭān Walad, son of 'Alī, son of Uwais I, the seventh Djālā'irid king, reigned 818—824 over Khūzistān (Shīshīr) as well as over Bagra and Wāsi (cf. Mūnedsjīm-bāghī, iii. 12). He was killed by the Turkoman Shāh Muḥammad (Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, v. 142). The mother of Uwais II, the able Tandu, was the daughter of Husain b. Uwais I. The author of the *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh* mentions Uwais II as reigning in his time. He was then 11 years old and his "wazir" was his mother. In spite of Huart, *La fin de la dynastie ilkhānienne*, in *J. A.*, 1876, vii. 344—348, she cannot be identified with Tandu bint Uwais I, who married two Muḥarrakids in succession, Mahṣud and Zayn al-'Abidin (cf. *Uwais* 1).

(V. MINORSKY)

'UZAIR is mentioned once in the *Kurʾān*: "The Jews said: 'Uzair is the son of God; the Christians said: 'Christ is the son of God'" (*Sūra* ix. 30). 'Uzair is generally identified with Erra. But in such a belief among the Jews that Erra was the son of God can hardly be imagined, much less proved to exist. Casanova made the attractive suggestion that 'Uzair is Uzair-Azazel, one of the fallen angels (on him see Heller, in *R. E. J.*, 1910, lx. 201—212; Jung, in *J. Q. R.*, 1925, 1926, N.S., xvi. 202—205, 287 *seq.*), after a short time before Muḥammad Maḍḍī Bey had made the fantastic suggestion that 'Uzair was Osiris. Erra, on the other hand, Casanova recognises in Idris (*Sūra* xix. 57; xxi. 25). But Muslim Tradition unhesitatingly sees Erra in 'Uzair and quotes legends in support of the belief that he was the son of God.

'Uzair is one of the *ahl al-kitāb*, the possessors of the Torah. When they sin, God deprives them of the *tabūt* (sacred ark) and punishes them with a sickness which makes them forget the Torah. 'Uzair mourns. Then a flame from God enters 'Uzair's body so that he is filled with knowledge of the Torah. He teaches his people. God then sends down the sacred ark to Israel again; the Torah is compared with 'Uzair's teaching and they

are found to agree; the Jews therefore believe that 'Uzair must be the son of God.

Alongside of this legend we find a fuller one as early as Tahrī's commentary on the Qur'ān (and frequently later). Israel is oppressed by 'Amālek (the Philistines). The learned men bury the Torah. 'Uzair laments and prays in the mountains. One day he meets at a tomb a woman (in reality she is no earthly woman but Dunyā, the world) who seems to be lamenting him that fed and clothed her. 'Uzair asks her who cared for her before her husband. She replies "Allah!" But, says 'Uzair, Allah still lives. The woman then asks who had taught mankind before Israel. "Allah!", replies 'Uzair. But Allah still lives, says the supernatural woman. At her bidding 'Uzair then consecrates himself and swallows something an old man puts in his mouth namely a glass, like a large coal. 'Uzair now announces that he has the Torah within him. He is branded as a liar. He then ties a pen to each finger and writes the Torah. The 'Ulamā' dig up the Torah and find complete agreement; from this they conclude that 'Uzair must be the son of God.

In *R. E. J.*, 1904, xlix, 209, I have pointed out that an Arabic apocryphon has survived in these legends which corresponds to IV. Ezra where we are told that God had given Israel laws and instruction but when they sinned he took them away. Ezra is given a goblet full of flaming water. Then his breast swells with wisdom, teaching flows from his heart, and for 40 days on end he dictates to five men (in the Muslim legend they are his fingers) the sacred books (IV. Ezra, xiv, 18-49).

Sūra ii, 261 is sometimes explained as referring to Ezra (more often to Jeremiah): "He passed by a city which had been destroyed to its foundations. How shall God quicken this dead city to life? God caused him to die for a hundred years and then raised him to life and asked: how long hast thou stayed here? He answered: probably a day or less. But God replied: thou hast stayed here one hundred years. Look on thy food and drink, it is not corrupted; and look on thy ass; we make thee a wonder unto men; look also on the bones, we raise them and clothe them with flesh."

The following legend is associated with this passage: Nebuchadnezzar slew 40,000 men of learning including 'Uzair's father and grandfather. 'Uzair being a child was spared but already he was advanced in the Torah. When he asks whether the town will arise again, God plunges him into sleep for a hundred years. After a hundred years he awakens, his ass is still alive and his food uncorrupted. He appears as a man of twenty among his children and grandchildren who are now greybeards, proves his identity by making a blind girl see and particularly by restoring the Torah. The original Torah is dug up out of a vineyard and found to agree: 'Uzair must be the son of God.

Bibliography: Tahrī, ed. de Goeje, i, 669-671; the commentaries on Sūra ii, 261 and ix, 30, esp. Tahrī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1321, iii, 18-20; x, 68-69; al-Damiri, *Hayāt al-Hayawān*, s. v. *Ḥimār al-ahli*; al-Tha'labi, *Kitaḥ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1325, p. 217-219; Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?*, Leipzig 1902?, p. 191, 192; Heller, in *R. E. J.*, 1904, xlix, 207-213; Joseph Horowitz, in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, ii, 1925, p. 169, 182; Paul Casanova, *Israël et 'Uzair*, in *J. A.*, 1924, ccv, 356-360. (BERNHARD HELLER)

UZBEK (Ozbek) n. MUHAMMAD FAHLAWAN n. ILDEGIZ (Ildigiz?), fifth and last atabek of Adharbāidjān (607-622 = 1210-1225). According to Vākūfī, Uzbek's *laḥab* was Mujaḥḥar al-Dīn.

His mother and that of his elder brother Abū Bakr were slaves, while the two other sons of Fahlawān, Kaṭlugh-Inanč and Amirtrān, were born of the princess Inanč-Khātūn. Uzbek married Malika-Khātūn, wife of the last Saljuq Sulṭān Taghaff II, by whom he had a son (Taghaff).

Like all the reigns in periods of transition, Uzbek's was a very troubled one. Before his accession to the throne of Adharbāidjān, the centre of his activities was at Hamadhān where he was under fire from his ruling brother Abū Bakr (587-607), the Khwārizmshāh, the caliph and the various ambitious slaves. After his accession he was the object of attacks by the Georgians and the Mongols and finally he was dispossessed by the Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn. His neighbours in the west were the Atabek of Irbil (Arbil) and the Aiyūbids of Khilāf (Akhlat).

Before his accession. In 592 (1196) at the time when the Khwārizmshāh Takāsh [q. v.] had invaded Persia, the Atabek Uzbek who had fled from his brother Abū Bakr, Atabek of Adharbāidjān, came to Takāsh who gave him Hamadhān as a fief (*Djahān-guzāsh*, ii, 38). According to the *Rāḥat al-Sudūr*, p. 388, it was Abū Bakr who sent Uzbek to Hamadhān and had sent 'Izz al-Dīn Saimas with him; but soon the Pādishāh Malik Djamāl al-Dīn Ay-ābā (a considerable amir, lord of the fortress of Farrāzin; cf. SULTANABAD and the preface to the Persian translation of 'Uthi's history: *Rien, Catalogue*, i, 158) joined Uzbek and became his atabek, with his sons-in-law as his lieutenants. On 9th Djumādā II, 593 (April 29, 1197) an expedition sent from Baghdad seized Hamadhān. Ay-ābā fled and Uzbek was placed in direct dependence on the caliph (cf. the details in Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 82). Finally the slave Miyaḍjīk, a devoted servant of the Khwārizmshāh (and assassin of Kaṭlugh Inanč), became master of the situation. But in Raddjāb 593 (May-June 1197) Uzbek returned to Hamadhān and Abū Bakr, resuming supreme control, sent him new advisers. The *Rāḥat al-Sudūr* gives Uzbek the title of *malik*. The situation was a troubled one and in 594 Uzbek set out for Kāzwin in order to fight Miyaḍjīk but had to retreat to Zandjān, while his adversary, encouraged by the caliph, occupied Hamadhān and on 20th Raddjāb 594 (May 28, 1198) received investiture from the Khwārizmshāh also. Miyaḍjīk was even trying to obtain the title of sulṭān when Abū Bakr's forces led by Ay-ābā defeated him near Kibā (district of Ray). For a short time the Atabek Abū Bakr occupied Ray but evacuated it after a false alarm. Miyaḍjīk returned to Ray but by his tyranny provoked the dissatisfaction of his Khwārizmī patrons who finally executed him in Khwārizm. Uzbek with his lieutenant Kōkčā massacred the Khwārizmians in the 'Irāq. Abū Bakr was able to occupy Isfahān and divide the country: Malik Uzbek receiving Hamadhān and Kōkčā Ray. The supreme control of affairs was in the hands of Ay-ābā, who was much too tolerant of the misdeeds of his son-in-law Kōkčā. Abū Bakr deprived of all authority (on his weakness cf. Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 120) went to Uzbek but ultimately came back to Adharbāidjān while Persian 'Irāq was plunged into

anarchy (cf. the evidence of contemporaries: *Rūḥat al-Sudūr*, p. 398, and the Persian translation of 'Uṭbi [cf. preface, Teherān edition, 1274, p. 10]; cf. DeFrémery, *op. cit.*).

In 600 (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 128) Abū Bakr sent Ay-toghmiṣh to dispose of Kōkēš who had in the meanwhile taken Raiy, Hamadḥān and Dīālā (Medin). Kōkēš was killed and Uzbek became *malik*, with Ay-toghmiṣh as adviser and guardian. In 602 Ay-toghmiṣh came to the help of Abū Bakr and enabled him to take Marāgha [q. v.] but in the end only allowed him to have Adharbāidjān and Arrān (*ibid.*, p. 186, 194).

Uzbek-Atābek. Uzbek had probably retired to the north where in 607 (1210) he succeeded Abū Bakr (Ibn al-Athīr says nothing of this).

In 608 another slave Mangli took the place of Ay-toghmiṣh who was finally slain in 610 (*ibid.*, p. 194, 196, 197). Mangli took up an independent attitude to his master Uzbek. The caliph took the side of Uzbek and brought about the intervention of the Atābek of Irbil in his favour. The lands of Mangli were divided and Uzbek gave his share to his slave Aghlamish (in 612; *ibid.*, p. 201). It should however be noted that Aghlamish said the *ḥuṣṣa* in name of the Khwārizmshāh and the latter regarded him as his lieutenant (cf. Nasawi, p. 15).

In 614, the Ismaʿīlians assassinated Aghlamish and the Atābek of Fārs Sa'd occupied Raiy and Uzbek Isfahān. Hearing this the Khwārizmshāh 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad came to Dīālā (Medin) and scattered the allies. Uzbek withdrew to Adharbāidjān while his dignitaries, the prince of Ahar Nuṣrat al-Dīn Bishghān (of Georgian origin) and the vizier Rabūl al-Dīn, were captured. By an arrangement with Uzbek the Khwārizmshāh left him Adharbāidjān and Arrān, but forced him to read the *ḥuṣṣa* and strike coins in his name (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 207; Nasawi, p. 17).

The Mongols. When in 617 (1220) the Tatars appeared before the walls of Tabriz, Uzbek, who was spending his days and nights in drinking bouts, took the cowardly but prudent plan of paying a ransom for the city to them (*ibid.*, p. 244). The Georgians, beaten a first time by the Tatars, proposed an alliance with Uzbek and the lord of Khilāṭ, but the Tatars reinforced by troops whom a Turkish slave of Uzbek named Akūsh (Aghush) had collected for them, frustrated these plans by a new attack on Tiflis [q. v.] and came in 618 for a second time to Tabriz. Once again Uzbek ransomed the city (*ibid.*, p. 246). When they came to Tabriz for a third time (*ibid.*, p. 250), Uzbek left for Nakhchawān and sent his family to Khoi. "He held all Adharbāidjān and all Arrān and in spite of this was the most helpless creature to protect his country against the enemy" says Ibn al-Athīr (*ibid.*, p. 250).

In 619 the Kipčak, who had penetrated into Transcaucasia via Derbend, stirred up trouble in Arrān and later the Georgians, perhaps enraged at the failure of their new offer of an alliance, sacked Ballāḡān (*ibid.*, p. 266). Towards the end of the year (Oct. 1222), we find Uzbek again inactive at Tabriz but he must have had a certain amount of influence, for an amir of Mawāḥid had put himself under his protection (*ibid.*, p. 268).

In 620 during a quiet period that followed the withdrawal of the Mongols, trouble broke out in Persia between the son of Khwārizmshāh Ghiyāth al-Dīn and his uncle Ighān-tāsi; Uzbek, accom-

panied by his slave Albek al-Shāmī, marched against Ghiyāth al-Dīn but was defeated (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 270). According to Nasawi, p. 76, Ghiyāth al-Dīn, when he had established himself in the 'irāq, undertook operations against Adharbāidjān (Marāgha, Uḍjān) and Uzbek endeavoured to pacify him by giving him in marriage his sister, the princess of Nakhchawān; on the other hand, Ighān-tāsi twice came and pillaged Adharbāidjān (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 281).

In 621 new Tatar forces invaded Persia and defeated the Khwārizmians at Raiy. The survivors sought refuge with Uzbek but the Tatars appeared before Tabriz and demanded that they should be handed over. Uzbek killed a number and sent the others to the Tatars. According to Ibn al-Athīr, there were only 5,000 Tatars while the Khwārizmians defeated at Raiy numbered 6,000 and Uzbek's forces were more numerous than either (*ibid.*, p. 273).

In 622 (1225) the Georgians set out from Tiflis against Adharbāidjān. The expedition was destroyed in a defile. The Georgians were preparing to avenge this reverse when suddenly came the news of the arrival of Dīālā al-Dīn at Marāgha and again the Georgians sought an alliance with Uzbek.

Arrival of Dīālā al-Dīn. Before the approach of Dīālā al-Dīn, Uzbek withdrew to Gandja while a Khwārizm commander was admitted into Tabriz. On the 16th Rabi' al-Thani 622 (June 24, 1225), Dīālā al-Dīn occupied the town.

During the absence of Dīālā al-Dīn in Georgia, a plot was hatched at Tabriz to bring back Uzbek, in which so important a man as Shams al-Dīn Tughra'ī took part, but Dīālā al-Dīn arrived in time to check it. The Khwārizmshāh dealt Uzbek a blow, which he felt deeply, by marrying his wife, the daughter of Tughra'ī II. Legal authorities were found to bring grounds for a divorce between Uzbek and the princess, but the scandal was considerable. The princess was afterwards neglected by Dīālā al-Dīn and she finally appealed to the Aytubid Malik Ashraf and the latter in 624 sent an expedition to Adharbāidjān which brought the princess to Khilāṭ (Ibn al-Athīr, p. 307; Nasawi, p. 154).

Gandja also was lost to Uzbek and he spent his last days (622—1225) in the fortress of Alindjā (cf. Minorsky, *Transcaucasia*, in *J.A.*, 1930, July, p. 93) overwhelmed by his misfortune and humiliations (cf. Nasawi, p. 119; Diuwaini, ii, 157). With him ended the rule of the Atābeke descended from Ildegiz (Eldigiz).

Uzbek left one son whose name seems to have been Khālī Arslān (Nasawi, p. 168, contrary to the *Rūḥat al-Sudūr*, p. 393, where he is called Tughra'ī), but he was generally known as Khāmūsh ("the silent") for he was deaf and dumb (cf. Nasawi, p. 129—130; *Dīālān-guḥā*, ii, 248).

Uzbek is very severely judged by the historians. Ibn al-Athīr, departing from his usual judicial calm, returns several times to the charge (xii, 244, 250, 267, 281) and accuses him of being devoted to wine, good living and games of chance (*al-ḥumār il 'i-bāid*, "the game of eggs"). The Atābek led an indolent life and for months never left his home (cf. also Yāqūt, s. v. Urmiya, i, 219). This gloomy picture must have been a contrast to the hopes which at this time Muslims were placing on Dīālā al-Dīn who, however, was by no means free from vice in his private life (Nasawi, p. 186,

245—246). In his youth Uzbek had taken part in several expeditions, but his forces were insufficient to meet the attacks of serious (the Georgians were then at the height of their power; cf. TITSLI) or redoubtable enemies (the Mongols and the great warrior Djālid al-Dīn).

Ibn al-Athīr, *ii*, 281, mentions at Tabriz a kloak built at great expense by Uzbek. The court of the bon vivant Atabek attracted poets and artists. Uzbek's vizier Rāḥib al-Dīn was a great patron of letters (Nasawī, p. 162—163 and the conclusion of the *Marsūdan-nāma*).

Bibliography: Kāwandī, *Nāhat al-Sūdūr*, G.M.S., cf. the index; Ibn al-Athīr, *ii*, cf. the index; Nasawī, *Strat. Djālid al-Dīn*, ed. Houdou, cf. the index. — The history of the Saljuqs *Ashār al-Dawlat al-Saljuqiyya*: Rieu, *Suppl. to the Catalogue of the Arabic Mus.*, N° 550 (which contains some details of the Atābiaks) still awaits an editor; cf. Süsseim, *Prolegomena zu einer Ausgabe der "Chronik des Seldschukischen Reiches"*, Leipzig 1911; Mirkhond, *Histoire des Sultans du Khwarezm*, ed. with notes by Deffrémery, Paris 1842, p. 108 *sqq.*; Khondamir, *Ḥabib al-Sayr*, *ii*, iv, Tihān 1271, p. 201 (of no importance); Mānedjīm-baḥā, *Sakā'if al-Aḥbār*, *ii*, 581 (minor note); Deffrémery, *Recherches sur quatre princes d'Hamadan*, in *J. A.*, 1847, ix, p. 148—186 (excellent article on the government of the Mamlūks Kōkē, Ay-toḡmish, Māngli and Aghlamish). (V. MINORSKY).

UZUN HASAN, a ruler of the Turkoman dynasty of the Ak-Koyunlu (the founder of the dynasty was Bāyandur, prince of Diyār Bakr from 858, and then (872—882) sovereign of a powerful state comprising Armenia, Mesopotamia and Persia. The stature of Hasan Beg b. 'Alt Beg b. Kara 'Othmān (= Kara Ilak 2, reading uncertain), earned him the nickname of Uzun (= "the long").

The reign of Uzun Hasan is very important but not well known.

Rivalries of the Turkoman tribes. The original fief of the chiefs of the house of Bāyandur and of their Turkoman tribe "of the White Sheep" (Ak-Koyunlu) was in Diyār Bakr (from before the period of Timur). From there they spread to the west, north and east. At first the chief rivals of the Ak-Koyunlu were the Kara-Koyunlu Turkomen and this rivalry was accentuated by religious differences, for the Ak-Koyunlu were Sunnis and the Kara-Koyunlu Shi'is (and extremely heterodox).

Kara 'Othmān, an adventurous and energetic individual, died in 838 (1434—1435). His son 'Alt Beg spent his reign fighting with his brother Hamza against whom he sought the support of the Ottoman Sultan Murād II and Sultan Ḥakīm of Egypt. After the death of the two brothers, Djihāngīr, son of 'Alt, resumed the struggle against the Kara-Koyunlu but offended his brother Uzun Hasan, his uncle Kāsim Beg (whom v. Hammer, i, 506 calls Hasan) and the governor of Erzinjān, Kilid Arslān b. Pir 'Alt. In spite of his quarrel with Djihāngīr, Uzun Hasan defeated his two adversaries and then conquered the "greater number" of the begs of Kurdistan. Having learned that Djihāngīr had set out for the summer encampments on the Ala-dagh (this name probably refers to the ancient Masius, a mountain between Diyār Bakr and Mārdin), Hasan penetrated into the fortress of Diyār Bakr (Amid) in disguise while Djihāngīr

was forced to shut himself up in Mārdin (q. v.). This took place in 858 (1454) and soon Hasan occupied Rāhā and laid siege to Mārdin (cf. 'Ashīr-pāshā-zāde, p. 247—249; Mānedjīm-baḥā, *iii*, 157).

The intervention of Hasan's mother, a female diplomat who played a great part in later developments, forced Uzun Hasan to return to Diyār Bakr. He sought to recompense himself by a raid on Kara-Koyunlu territory (Erzerum, Awnik, Balburt) but having failed to take Erzinjān returned to Diyār Bakr.

On resuming the siege of Erzinjān, Uzun Hasan fell from his horse and was seriously injured. Djihāngīr seized the opportunity to sack the environs of Amid but on Hasan's return sought refuge with the Kara-Koyunlu Djihān-Shāh. His mother once more installed Hasan in Diyār Bakr and Djihāngīr in Mārdin. The struggle was very soon resumed on a larger scale. Hasan marched on Erzinjān and Turdīn, from which he drove 'Arab-Shāh, his brother's representative, and then attacked Khurāsān and Karadja-Dagh (S. W. of Diyār Bakr). The Kara-Koyunlu Djihān-Shāh sent his amirs to the help of Djihāngīr but Uzun Hasan defeated them in 861 (May 1457); cf. Ibn Taghribirdī, ed. Popper, *vii*, 485. Djihāngīr gave his son as a hostage, and another brother of Hasan (Uwais of Rūhā) also submitted to him. Uzun Hasan installed the amir Khurshid Beg (perhaps his cousin; cf. Mānedjīm-baḥā, *iii*, 376) in Erzinjān. This fortress was the key to the Armenian plateau. About the same time, Hasan gave shelter to the Kara-Koyunlu Hasan 'Alt who had rebelled against his father Djihān-Shāh, but had soon to expel him on account of his heretical opinions. These events occupied the years 858—861 after which began the rapid rise of Hasan and the extension of his influence over the neighbouring lands.

Operations in Kurdistan. On the Tigris he took Hūn Kaifā from the Kurd maliks descended from the Aiyubids (cf. *Sharaf-nāma*, *ii*, 149—155) and gave this fortress to his son Khalīl. Sirt and Hātham (in Bohtān) were later occupied (cf. also *Sharaf-nāma*, *ii*, 9).

Uzun Hasan between Karamān and Trebizond. In the west, the successes of Uzun Hasan brought him into conflict with the Ottomans who under the leadership of Muḥammad II had just completed the subjection of the feudal principalities of Asia Minor. The princes of Karamān (q. v.), gravely threatened by the Ottomans, endeavoured to enter into an alliance with their eastern neighbour Uzun Hasan. On the other hand, Uzun Hasan became involved in the affairs of the empire of Trebizond, which was then almost at its end. In 1458, the last emperor of Trebizond, David, gave Uzun Hasan the daughter of his brother and predecessor Kalo-loannes, named Catherine, in marriage (in Europe she is more often called by her title Despina; cf. the Venetian travellers). Trebizond was closely linked with Georgia, while Venice and Rome were closely watching events in these two Christian states. The Muslim sources entirely neglect this complex of international political interests (cf. W. Miller, *Trebizond, the Last Greek Empire*, London 1926; Uspensky, *Očerki po istorii Traps. imperii*, Leningrad 1929).

The embassies sent by Uzun Hasan to Constantinople in 1457 and 1460 revealed to the Sultan

his rival's ambitions (cf. v. Hammer, i. 464-466). Very soon passing to deeds, Uzun Hasan took by surprise the fortress of Koyunlu-Hişar (or Koylu-Hişar on the Kilkit-su above Nîkşar) and sacked the suburbs of Tohtat and Amasia (cf. Münedjîm-bağhi, iii. 376).

Having disposed of the Isfendiâr-oghla [q. v.] of Sinope, Muhammad II turned his attention to Trebizond and first of all to Koyunlu-Hişar. Uzun Hasan concentrated his forces near Kemâkh but the detachment sent into the mountains of Munzur (Sa'd al-Dîn, i. 476: *Küh-i Munda?*) was defeated by Ahmad Paşa. Uzun Hasan then sent his mother to negotiate and on her appeal the sultan turned towards Bulghar-dagh (east of Gerdjanis, between the Kilkit-su and the Euphrates). In spite of the renewed appeals of Sâra Khâtûn (the sultan called her "mother") who said that Trebizond belonged to her daughter-in-law, the town was taken in 865 (1461) and the Comnenoi dispossessed and exiled. A portion of the treasures taken in Trebizond was given to Sâra Khâtûn ('Ashk-pâshâ-zade p. 159-160; Sa'd al-Dîn and Münedjîm-bağhi, iii. 376).

The peace was of short duration, for according to Münedjîm-bağhi, iii. 160-161, Uzun Hasan retook Koyunlu-Hişar and advanced as far as the environs of Siwâs but the Ottomans defeated those of his troops who had entered Asia Minor. Uzun Hasan sent to Constantinople Khurshîd Beg to ransom the Turkoman prisoners and ask the Sultân to renounce his claims on Trebizond (?). In view of the circumstances (*ahvâl-i waqf*), the request is said to have been granted (?) and Uzun Hasan returned to Erzinjân and then to Diyar Bakr. (In this part of his story, Münedjîm-bağhi seems to give in somewhat different form the events of 1461).

Death of Djihân-Shâh and of the Timurid Abû Sa'id. Uzun Hasan very soon achieved brilliant successes. In 871 (1466-1467) his rival Djihân-Shâh of the Kara-Koyunlu, who at this time held all Persia, marched on Diyar Bakr (on his plans cf. his letter to Muhammad II, in Feridûn Bey, i. 273). Uzun Hasan collected troops and received reinforcements from Mardin. On 1st Rabi' II, 872, Djihân-Shâh had reached Mûsh and Çapakchûr. Here his advance-guards were defeated by Khalîl, son of Uzun Hasan. Djihân-Shâh, who, on account of the excessive cold, had sent most of his troops home, went back to Kizil, whence he wanted to reach Erzinjân and the valley of Bâk-râd (Kilkit?). On 13th Rabi' II, 872 (Nov. 11, 1467), Uzun Hasan attacked him unexpectedly and Djihân-Shâh lost his life while trying to escape. The field in the east now being open, Uzun Hasan began the conquest of the lands which had been left without a master. He went via Mûsul to Baghdâd, which he besieged for 40 days, but in Adharbâidjân, the son of Djihân-Shâh, Hasan 'Alî, had assembled a large army (*Hasbi al-Siyar*, iii. 234: 180,000 men) and invoked the help of the Timurid Abû Sa'id, who set out from Khurâsân in the month of Shabân 872 (March 1468) and appointed governors for the whole of Persian 'Irâq. As a result of treachery on the part of certain amirs of Hasan 'Alî, his army quartered at Marand broke up and Uzun Hasan seized the opportunity to advance as far as Kara-bâgh [q. v.]. In the meanwhile in spite of the protestations of friendship by Uzun Hasan, who recalled the loyalty of the Ak-Koyunlu to

the Timurids, Abû Sa'id had reached Miyâna but was caught there by the approach of winter. He thought of spending the winter in Kara-bâgh, out of which Uzun Hasan was to be dislodged, but his march to the Araxes was disastrous and at Mahmûd-âbad [cf. MUGAN] he was blockaded by Uzun Hasan. The negotiations conducted by Abû Sa'id's mother, however, came to nothing; he took to flight but was captured on 16th Rajab 873 (Feb. 11, 1469). Two days later Uzun Hasan seated on the throne (to emphasise his accession?) received the prisoner kindly but on Rajab 22 Abû Sa'id was handed over to his rival, the prince Yâdigâr Muhammad b. Sultân Muhammad i. Babanqûr, who put him to death. Abû Sa'id's amirs were put under the command of Yâdigâr who, supported by Uzun Hasan, began the struggle against Hassan Baikara. The latter was temporarily driven from Herât (6 Muharram 875) but the exactions of the sons of Uzun Hasan (Khalîl in Öläng Bâdkân and Zainûl in Kâhistân) provoked a rising against Yâdigâr, who was deposed and put to death by Sultân Hassan Baikara.

After the disappearance of Abû Sa'id, the Timurids of Khurâsân remained a purely local dynasty while Uzun Hasan's deputies occupied the remainder of Persia, including Kirmân, Fârs, Luristân, Khuzistân and Kurdistân (cf. the valuable details on the distribution of the fiefs in the letters of Uzun Hasan to Muhammad II: Feridûn Bey, i. 275 and 276; cf. *Hasbi al-Siyar*, iii. 330). The Kara-Koyunlu Hasan 'Alî had retired to Hamadhân but was surprised there and killed by Uzun Hasan's forces in 873 (1468) (cf. the *History of the Kuth-Shâh*, Bibl. Nat. MS. Pers. N^o 174, fol. 16^b). About the same time Baghdâd also was occupied by the great amir Khalîl-beg, governor of Mûsul (cf. Feridûn Bey, ii. 276).

After these great successes, it became evident that Uzun Hasan alone in Asia was strong enough to bar the Ottoman advance and the enemies of the latter, the rulers of Karamân and the Christians, particularly the Venetians, sought to exploit this new power.

Venetian policy. On Dec. 2, 1463, the Venetian Senate had adopted the plan of an alliance with Uzun Hasan and L. Quirini was sent to Persia with this object. On March 13, 1464, the first ambassador from Uzun Hasan (a certain Mamennasab?) arrived in Venice and spent six months there. In 1465 Kâsim Hasan (?) arrived with a letter from Uzun Hasan. The negotiations were interrupted for some time but the conquest of Euboea (which the Venetians had held for 264 years) by the Ottomans in 1469-1470 threw them into consternation. In Feb. 1471, Quirini returned from Persia with Uzun Hasan's ambassador Mirath (Murâd?) while another Persian representative arrived at the Vatican. It was then that the Venetian senate sent to Persia the noble Caterino Zeno, who through his mother was a nephew of Despina Caterina, wife of Uzun Hasan. On April 20, 1471, Zeno was in Tabriz. In the same year Hâdjî Muhammad (Azimame) came to Venice with a request for arms and munitions. Giosaf Barbaro was then sent to Persia to take to Uzun Hasan six large mortars (*bombards*), 600 arquebuses (*spingarde*), matchlocks (*schoppette*), and munitions; 200 fusiliers with their officers accompanied the consignment. In Barbaro's secret instructions (of Feb. 11, 1473), it was laid down that Venice would never conclude

peace with the Ottomans until they had been forced to renounce in favour of Persia all claims on Asia Minor as far as the Straits. Barbaro was delayed in Cyprus where he took part in the operations of the Venetian fleet (commanded by P. Mocenigo) which on the appeal of the princes of Karaman had occupied Sefidke and two other points on the coast.

In the meanwhile Zeno was active in Persia and according to the European sources (Jorga, II, 164), the nephew of the last Comnenos, who had sought asylum with Uzun Hasan, had invaded the region of Trebizond.

Invasion of Asia Minor. The Karamanians were working alongside of the Venetians to force Uzun Hasan's hand. On the appeal of Pir Ahmad, Ishak's successor, Uzun Hasan equipped an army which was placed under the command of the vizier 'Omar Beg b. Bektaş (the Anarbei Gaisultan Nishanzade of Zeno, p. 16) and Uzun Hasan's cousin, Yusufo-mirza, and which (according to Angiolello, p. 77) numbered 50,000 men (Zeno, p. 16: 100,000?). These troops advanced from Diyar Bakr on Tokat, which they sacked and then on Kaisariya, where, as Sa'd al-Din says, "they revealed their Turkoman character". Caterino Zeno, p. 18-19, was an eye-witness of a part of these operations. (The attempt to take Bira from Egypt is perhaps connected with the same expedition). After some time 'Omar Beg returned to Diyar Bakr while Yusufo-mirza overran Karaman and Hamid again.

Resumption of the war with the Ottomans. Sultan Muhammad II was gravely concerned with these events and with this diplomatic activity of which he was certainly aware (cf. Feridun Bey, p. 285 and Ibn Iyas, II, 145). Uzun Hasan's letters assumed a more and more aggressive tone (cf. Feridun Bey, I, 278 and the humiliating title of *imrat ma'ad* was given to the sultan in them; and p. 278: Muhammad II's reply in which he addresses familiarly the *sar-i-dar-i 'a'lam*). In autumn 877 (1472) the Sultan crossed from Constantinople over to the coast of Asia, but was held up there by the cold season. But by 14th Rabi' I (Aug. 19, 1472) the prince Mustafa and the beglerbegi of Anatolia Idris Pasha, who had a force of 60,000 men under him, destroyed the Turkomans in the district of Kır-eli (west of Konya).

The Sultan set out in the month of Shawwal 877 (March 1473). His army numbered 100,000 men in all (cf. Sa'd al-Din, I, 529 confirmed by Angiolello, p. 79-80, who writes as if he were in the Ottoman army). The famous *ahfi* [q. v.] 'Alr-Mikhal-oghlu [q. v.] sent with the advance-guard sacked Kemakh and took prisoners the Armenians of this region.

Uzun Hasan, who had arrived in the region of Erzingan at the end of July 1473, established himself on the hills on the left bank of the Euphrates and when Khay Murad Pasha rashly crossed the river, he surrounded him and defeated him. Khay Murad was drowned in the Euphrates and the total losses of the Ottomans rose to 12,000 men (Angiolello). Caterino Zeno who was in Uzun Hasan's suite, gives Aug. 1, 1473 as the date of this first encounter. The battlefield was in the district of Terdjān (above Erzingan); the low ground on the Euphrates which Khay Murad (Angiolello) wished to utilise begin at the level of Pakeridj. Sa'd al-Din, I, 535 is not explicit but according to Angiolello (and Zeno), the Ottomans

were ready to abandon the campaign. They left the valley of the Euphrates and leaving Baitur on the right (towards the N.E.), took the road northwards towards Trebizond, evidently with the intention of turning there to the west. But while the Ottoman army was in the canton of Ücaghil (probably to the north of the mountains which separate Erzingan from the valley of the Kilik-su), Uzun Hasan's troops appeared on the heights of Otluk-beli (a mountain which separates the Euphrates valley from the sources of the Çorokh) on the right flank of the Ottomans. The latter accepted battle and on 16th Rabi' I, 878 (Aug. 12, 1473) (according to Zeno 10th Aug. 1473) routed the Ak-Koyunlu. The Sardar of Uzun Hasan, Kafir Ishak (a Christian?; according to Zeno, there were Georgians in the Ak-Koyunlu army), fell on the battlefield as did Uzun Hasan's son Zeinal. Uzun Hasan himself took to flight, but it was not so precipitous as Sa'd al-Din would have it, for Zeno's account of Aug. 18 is dated from the camp of Uzun Hasan, four days from Erzingan. In any case the Ottomans, thanks to their firearms (Zeno), gained a brilliant victory. The artisans and experts captured were taken to Constantinople. The Kara-Koyunlu mobilised by Uzun received their liberty; the remainder of the Turkomans were put to death (*kut-i 'am*) by order of the Sultan. Dürâb Beg, commander of [Shahin-] Kara-Hisar on the Kilik-su above Koyunlu-Hisar, hearing of the defeat of his master, handed over the fortress to the Ottomans. On the advice of the grand vizier Mahmud Pasha, who explained the difficulties of keeping the territories still to be conquered, the Sultan refrained from pursuing Uzun Hasan, but later regretted this decision and the grand vizier lost his office (Sa'd al-Din, I, 521-544).

Uzun Hasan lost no appreciable territory by this defeat, but the moral effect must have been considerable. After the battle, Uzun Hasan wrote to Venice (Berchet, p. 137) that he was going to return to the attack ("cavalcheremo adesso a l'Othoman") and at the same time sent Caterino Zeno on a mission to plead his cause with the European governments. The Polish and Hungarian ambassadors were sent back with Zeno.

The Venetian Senate, which always attached great importance to the alliance, sent to Persia the secretary P. Ognibene. Barbaro, leaving at Rhodes the representatives of the pope and of King Ferdinand of Sicily, then set out and arrived in Tabriz on April 12, 1474. Lastly a new envoy, A. Contarini, left Venice on Feb. 13, 1474, arrived at Tabriz on Aug. 4, 1474 and at I-fahan on Nov. 4, 1474. We also know that at this time the friar Lodovico of Bologna was in Persia, who said he represented the Duke of Burgundy. But on this occasion the ambassadors could obtain nothing definite out of Uzun Hasan.

In the meanwhile Uzun Hasan had gone to Shiraz to put down the rebellion of his son Oghurlu Muhammad. On his return from Tabriz he took leave of Contarini (April 26, 1475) who saw a review of his troops (25,000?) but said that the expedition against the Ottomans was postponed to a later date. In 880 the plague wrought great havoc in Persia and Uzun Hasan's troops had to take the field against his brother Uwais who was defeated and slain at Ruhā (Ibn Iyas, II, 160). Very soon the Venetians recognised the futility of their hopes and less than a year after

the death of Uzun Hasan signed a peace with the Ottomans (Dec. 1478).

Relations with Georgia. According to Müneddjim-başı, Uzun Hasan thrice invaded Georgia, in 871 (1466), in 877 (summer of 1472?) and after his defeat by the Ottomans. According to the *Djihan-nâm* this last expedition took place in 881 (1476-1477). Barbaro (p. 90) who was an eye-witness, took part in the negotiations with the Georgians. The Georgian sources of the xvth century are very confused (Brasset, *Histoire de la Georgie*, ii, 1, p. 12, 249). The King of Kharthlin, Constantine III (1469-1505) seems to have utilised the support of the Ak-Koyunlu against his rivals Bagrat of Imerethia and the Atabeg of Akhal-tsikhe (Kwarkware < Korkora).

Relations with Egypt. The frontier between the original fief of Uzun Hasan (Diyar Bakr) and the lands of the sultans of Egypt lay roughly along the bend of the Euphrates. The Egyptian historians alone (used by Weil, *Gesch. d. Chal.*, v.) tell us of the extensive relations between the Ak-Koyunlu and the Burji Mamlûks. The rivalry with the Ottomans forced Uzun Hasan to deal very tactfully with the ruler of Cairo (we have references to them from 861 = 1456) but on the other hand, he had to seek an exit to the Mediterranean to be in contact with the Venetians. The lands on the right bank of the Euphrates, belonging to the rulers of Egypt and Syria thus formed an impediment to him and Uzun Hasan endeavoured to round off his lands at the expense of the Mamlûks.

In 868 the Kurds who had seized the stronghold of Gargar (on the right bank of the Euphrates S. E. of Malatya) sent its keys to Uzun Hasan who in 869 (1465) restored Gargar to the wall of Aleppo but at the same time recompensed himself by taking Kharpert (then occupied by Amîrân Dulghadir) and by ravaging Abulastain (cf. ALBISTÂN and DHU 'L-KADAK).

In 877 (1471) Kakhîz [q. v.] and Gargar were occupied by Uzun Hasan's troops but the amir Veishbek al-Dawâdîr sent by Kâ'it-bây [q. v.] drove the Ak-Koyunlu out of Bin (cf. Ibn Iyâs, ii, 140-144 and Rebnich, *sub anno* 1783 [1471]). The Ottoman ambassador sent to Cairo stirred up feeling against Uzun Hasan, the ally of the Christians, but Kâ'it-bây acted with prudence. The amir Rustam and the ladi Ahmad b. Wađîn who were leaders of the 'Irâk *hadîdî* in 877 (1473) succeeded in getting the *khutba* read in Medina in the name of *al-malik al-'adil Hasan al-Tawîl khâdim al-haramain*, but the Amir of Mecca, Muhammad b. Barakât (cf. iii, p. 514), arrested Rustam and his companion and sent them to Kâ'it-bây, who a few months later liberated them "to please Uzun Hasan" (Ibn Iyâs, ii, 145-146). In 880 Ogghurli Muhammad fleeing from his father was supported by the Aleppian troops but the latter suffered a severe reverse (*ibid.*, ii, 152). In 882 Kâ'it-bây visited the line of the Euphrates and re-established the situation.

Death of Uzun Hasan. Returning from Tiflis, Uzun Hasan fell ill and at the age of 54 died at Tabriz on the eve of the feast of Ramadân of 882 (night of Jan. 5-6, 1478, which agrees exactly with Barbaro's statement, p. 93: the Eve of Epiphany).

The historians (*Hadîth al-Siyar*, iii, 330; *Djihan-nâm*; Müneddjim-başı, iii, 165) praise his justice

and piety. He created many pious endowments (*khairât wa-hasanât*). On his mosque in Tabriz cf. the article *TABRIZ*. The *Akhlâk-i Djafârî* of Dawlat is dedicated to Uzun Hasan (cf. Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 443^a). The astronomer 'Alî Khâhî lived at the court of Uzun Hasan and was sent as ambassador to the court of Constantinople (Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 456^b; Müneddjim-başı, p. 164).

The family. The blood of the Ak-Koyunlu princes was considerably mixed. The mother of Kâim 'Oghmân, to begin with, was the princess Maria of Trebizond (cf. the *Chronicle* of Michael Panaretos, ed. by Fallmerayer).

Despina, whom Uzun Hasan married, when he was thirty-four, was certainly not his first wife and in 1471 when her nephew Caterino Zeno visited her, she was living at Kharpert far from the court. She had remained a Christian and was buried in a church of Diyar Bakr (Barbaro, p. 84). According to Angiolello, p. 73, Uzun Hasan had one son and three daughters by her; the son (Jacobs?) is said to have been strangled by his brothers after the father's death (?). Despina's daughter Martha (whom the *Silâhat al-masâbîh tafawwîya*, Berlin 1843, p. 68 calls Bâgî-Akâ; *Hadîth al-Siyar*; Halima Begî Akâ and Müneddjim-başı: 'Alam-shâh Begim) was given in marriage to Shaikh Haidar of Ardebil and became the mother of the Safawid Shâh Ismâ'îl I (the mother of Shaikh Haidar, Khadîdj-Begum, was the sister of Uzun Hasan).

The oldest son of Uzun Hasan, Muhammad, was the son of a Kurd *wam walad* (cf. Ibn Iyâs, ii, 160; Caterino Zeno, p. 36; Contarini, p. 175). In 879 (1474) after a rising in Shirâz, he took refuge for some time with Sultan Bâyezîd, but was finally killed in Persia by his father's orders (Ibn Iyâs, ii, 59).

Uzun Hasan's principal wife (*mahd 'ulyâ*) was Saldjuk-Shâh-Begum who played a very active part in the government (cf. *Târîkh-i Amînî*, fol. 198^b). Her sons were Sultan Khalîl, Ya'qûb, Yûsuf (and perhaps Masûb). We do not know the name of Zainal's mother.

Uzun Hasan's visitors were Shams al-Dîn Muhammad b. Saiyid Ahmad, Burhân al-Dîn 'Abd al-Hamid Kirmânî and Majîd al-Dîn Shirâzi (*Hadîth al-Siyar*, iii, 330).

Bibliography: According to the *Hadîth al-Siyar*, a contemporary of Uzun Hasan, Mawlânâ Abû Bakr Thirânî, had written his history. This rare work, inaccessible to Khondamîr, may have been used by Müneddjim-başı among whose sources (cf. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i, vii, 549) is a *Târîkh-i Bayanduriya*. The latter may be identical with a *Kitâb-i Divâr-hadrîya* in which, according to the *Târîkh-i Amînî* (fol. 1^b), the ancestors of Uzun Hasan were given in detail.

'Abd al-Razzâk, *Matla' al-Sâdîn*, is still in manuscript; Fadl Allah b. Rûsbihân, *Târîkh-i Amînî*, Bibl. Nat. Paris, MS. Pers. N^o. 101 (history of Ya'qûb b. Usun Hasan, with some notes [fol. 6^b-9^b] on Uzun Hasan to whom the author gives the title of *shâh-bîrânî*); Khondamîr, *Hadîth al-Siyar*, Teheran 1271, iii, 330 (very short paragraph) and p. 233-237, 251, 252 and 389 (the celebrities of the period); Ibn Iyâs, *Târîkh al-Mîr*, ii, Cairo 1311; Ahmad al-Ghaffârî, *Djihan-nâm*, Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 141 (I owe to Muhammad Khân Kâzîmî the use of a copy of this MS.), ff. 187^b-190^b, history of the Ak-Koyunlus with valuable details; the author's grandfather was

the *khāṭi mu‘aḥar* (sic) in the suite of Uzun Hasan in the campaign of 881 in Georgia; ‘*Aḥl-i-paḡā-āide, Tārīkh*, Stambul 1332; Sa‘d al-Dīn, *Tārīkh al-Furūḡ*, Constantinople 1279, l. 476—484 (capture of Trebizond), p. 521—544 (war with Uzun Hasan), a few meagre facts drowned in rhetoric; Djannāh, *Tārīkh*, still in MS. (cf. Bahinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 108), was used by v. Hammer; Mübeddīlīn-baḥā, *Saḥīf al-‘Aḥbār* (Turkish abridgment of the Arabic original), iii. 154—167 (numerous unedited details), cf. also iii. 377 and iii. 387; Ferīdūn Bey, *Munāḥāt al-Salāṭīn*, Stambul 1274, l. 274—288 (very valuable documents and of undoubted authenticity); Chalcocondyles, Bonn 1843, p. 166—168 (very confused data regarding the relations of the *Armenians* = *Ab-Koyunlu* with their neighbours), 461—497 *passim* (the correspondence between Despina and the Comnenoi taken to Constantinople was the pretext for their execution); Ducua, p. 339, details on the embassy of 1457; Behnisch, *Rerum scule XV*, in *Mesopotamia gestarum liber*, Breslau 1838 (curious details).

Fallmerayer, *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Troje*, Munich 1827, p. 258 *seq.*; Hammer, *G.O.W.*, i. 464—468, 499—512; E. Cornet, *Lettres au Sénat Venet de Giuseffo Barbaro, ambasciadore ad Uzunhan di Persia*, Vienna 1852; E. Cornet, *La guerre des Veneti nell’ Asia 1470—1474*, Vienna 1856; G. Berchet, *La Repubblica di Venezia e la Persia*, Turin 1865 (excellent study, the supplement to which under the same title appeared in *Raccolta Veneta*, series i, vol. i, Venice 1866, p. 5—62); Weil, *Geschichte d. Chalifen*, v. (1862), 275, 296—297, 307—308, 311—312, 337—339, 340—341 (on the relations with Egypt); vol. 49 (1873) of the *Works issued by the Hakluyt Society* contains an English version of the travels of Barbaro, Continual (with an appendix on the possessions of Uzun Hasan) and Zeno, as well as the memoirs of Agioloello [in this article the Venetian travellers are quoted from this edition]; Jorga, *Gest. d. Osm. Reiches*, Gotha 1909, li. 95—104, 160—168; Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, iii. 404—414; Avalov, *Is istorii vostokoge voprosa = XV stol.*, in *Shornik v Izt. Strane*, Prague 1925, p. 241—252.

(V. MINOKSKY)

AL-‘UZZĀ, an old Arabian goddess, whose name means “the Strong, the Powerful”. She was especially associated with the Ghassān (cf. Yāqūt, i. 206) but her principal sanctuary was in the valley of Nakhla on the road from Tāif to Mecca (cf. Yāqūt, iv. 765 *seq.*) to which Hassān b. Thābit (ed. Hirschfeld, xci. 3, where *nakhla* is to be read) refers. It consisted of three *samra* (acacia) trees in one of which the goddess revealed herself. It also included the sacred stone (Wāḥid), transl. Wellhausen, p. 351) and the so-called Ghahghab, a cave into which the blood of animals sacrificed was poured (Ibn Hishām, p. 55, 6). There are also references (e.g. Ibn Hishām, p. 839) to a “house” which Wellhausen takes to be a confusion with another sanctuary of al-‘Uzzā. From these centres her cult spread among a number of Beduin tribes, the Khazā’a, Ghannm, Kinnā, Balī, Thaqīf and especially the Kurashī, among whom she gradually acquired a predominant position. Here she formed with al-Lāt [q.v.] and Manāt [q.v.] a trinity in which she was the youngest but came in time to overshadow the others. The Meccans called the three

“Allah’s daughters”, which produced a vigorous polemic from Muhammad after he had retracted a compromise [see MUHAMMAD]. The way in which Qur’ān, iii. 19 *seq.*, mentions the three suggests that Manāt was subordinate to the other two, and in keeping with this is the fact that al-‘Uzzā and al-Lāt are several times mentioned alone (Tabarī, i. 185; Ibn Hishām, p. 145, 206, 287, 2, where Wadd is also mentioned). When in the year 3, Abū Sufyān set out to attack Muhammad he took the symbols of al-‘Uzzā and al-Lāt with him (Tabarī, i. 1395). That of the two al-‘Uzzā was the more important as the patron deity of Mecca is shown from Abū Sufyān’s war-cry: al-‘Uzzā is for us and not for you (Tabarī, i. 1418; cf. on the other hand: arise Hūbal!; Ibn Hishām, p. 582) and the same thing is seen in Ibn Hishām’s poem, p. 145, where Zaid b. ‘Amr talks of “‘Uzzā and her two daughters”, if by them are meant al-Lāt and Manāt.

Outside of Arabia proper, ‘Uzzā was worshipped especially by the Lakhmids of Hira. Mundhir IV swears by her (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, ii. 21, 2 from below) and according to *Ḥamāsa*, p. 116, a Lakhmid prince Nu‘mān sent men to her so that she might settle a dispute. Her worship here had a particularly cruel character. Mundhir IV sacrificed to her 400 captured nuns and on another occasion a son of the Djaḥlīd Ḥārith, whom he had taken prisoner.

The name ‘Uzzā is also, although rarely, found among the Syrians. As a rule, they use instead the name *Kawkabā* “the (female) star”, which they, like the Jews, apply especially to the morning star. It agrees very well with this that the Saracens who stormed the Sinai monastery according to Nilus wanted to sacrifice the young Theodoulos to the morning star. The nature of ‘Uzzā could be defined in this way but the question arises whether we would yet have the true Arab conception of her and whether some syncretism had not taken place in the frontier lands. The same question is raised by the identification of ‘Uzzā with the “Queen of the Heavens” (Jes. vii. 18; sliv. 17—19 in Isaac of Antioch, *Opera*, ed. Bickell, l. 210, 220, 244). This name occurs among the Syrians and the sacrifice of the women upon the roofs mentioned by Jeremiah is known among the Arabs according to Isaac, and the baking of cakes in honour of the goddess can also be proved to have existed among the Arabs (see also Wellhausen, *Reste*, p. 41). But this may all be due to foreign influence (just as the word *hawwāntum* used by Jeremiah goes back to the Assyrian *hawwānu* connected with the worship of Ishtar) so that the true Arab significance of al-‘Uzzā still remains uncertain.

After the taking of Mecca, Muhammad sent Khalīd b. al-Walīd to the sanctuary of al-‘Uzzā to destroy it. According to Wāḥidī, the last priest was Aḥlāḥ b. Naṣr al-Shaibānī, according to Ibn al-Kalbī, Dubaiya b. Ḥarma. Her cult disappeared after this as did the numerous proper names, combinations of al-‘Uzzā, while the masculine counterpart ‘Abd al-‘Azīz remained because ‘Azīz was one of the names of Allāh. But Doughty’s statement that the Arabs still seek the help of the three goddesses in cases of illness is therefore very interesting [see AL-LĀT].

Bibliography: Ibn al-Kalbī, transl. Wellhausen, in *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, p. 34—37; Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 55, 145, 206, 287.

839, 871, 6 (cl. vol. ii. 46); Wāḡidī, *transl.* Wellhausen, S. 350 sq.; Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, i. 5, 99; Tabari, ed. de Goeje, i. 1648 sq.; Yaḡūr, *Muḡjam*, ed. Wustenfeld, i. 296; iii. 644, 2; iv. 769 sq.; Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, iii.

24, 247; Procopius, *De bello Pers.*, ii. 28; Wellhausen, *Resti arab. Hellenismi*, p. 34-45; Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Laḡmīdīn in Ifrā*, p. 81 sq., 141 sq. (Fr. Ruhl.)

V.

VALENCIA, Arabic *Balansiya*, a town in Spain, the third in size as regards population, which is over 250,000, lying on the east of the Peninsula, 3 miles from the Mediterranean and from its port, el Grao. It is connected with Madrid by 340 miles of railway; the distance as the crow flies is however only 188 miles. Valencia is the capital of the province of the same name and the diocese of an archbishop. Its situation is a striking one, in the centre of the fertile Huerta de Valencia which is watered by the Turia or Guadalquivir (Ar. *Wādī 'labyaḡ*, the "White River"). Unlike Cordova or Toledo, the old capital of Valencia has seen its importance grow with the years and it remains the capital of eastern Spain, the *Sharḥ al-Andalus* of the Muslim period. It is still known officially as Valencia del Cid in memory of the part played in its history by the celebrated Castilian hero.

Valencia was founded by the Romans in 138 B.C. After the death of the rebel Viriathus, the consul D. Junius Brutus established a colony there of veterans who had remained faithful to Rome. The inhabitants later took the side of Sertorius and in 75 B.C. Pompey partially destroyed the town which began to return to prosperity under Augustus. It was taken by the Visigoths in 413 and became Muslim in 714, when Ṭīrīk [q. v.] established himself there and at Saguntum, Jativa and Denia.

In the political history of Umayyad Spain, Valencia seems only to have been a place of minor importance. The country of which it was the capital soon became arabised by the settlement of Ḳaṣī colonies; the capital of eastern Spain thus was one of the most active centres of Arab culture throughout the whole period of the Muslim occupation; on the other hand in the mountains along the Valencian littoral there were little islands of people of Berber origin. Valencia at this time was the capital of a province or *lāza*, as we know from the eastern writer al-Maḳḍī and the Spanish al-Rāzī (in Yaḡūr, *Muḡjam al-Bulḍān*, s. v.) and the residence of a governor (*waḡī*) appointed by the caliph of Cordova. It is only from the 11th century, with the break up of the caliphate, that, becoming the capital of an independent Muslim state and very soon one of the principal objectives of the Christian reconquista, Valencia began to occupy a more and more important place in the Spanish and Arabic chronicles of the mediæval history of Spain that have come down to us.

The Muslim kingdom of Valencia was founded in 401 (1010-1011) by two enfranchised 'Amirids, Muḥarrak and Muḡaffar, previously in charge of the irrigation system of the district who declared

themselves independent and shared the power. After a very short reign Muḥarrak died and Muḡaffar was driven from Valencia; the inhabitants of this town then chose another "Slav" (cf. *ṣaḡallīnax*) to rule them, called Labīb, who placed himself under the suzerainty of the Christian count of Barcelona. The principality of Valencia soon passed into the hands of a grandson of al-Manḡūr Ibn Abī 'Amīr [q. v.] 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-Rahmān who, like his grandfather, assumed the *laḡab* of al-Manḡūr; he had previously been a refugee at the court of the Tujībīd Manḡūr b. Yahyā at Saragossa. The reign of 'Abd al-'Azīz, which lasted till his death in 452 (1061) brought an era of peace and prosperity to Valencia. He recognised the authority of the caliph of Cordova, al-Ḳāim b. Hammūd, who gave him the right to bear the titles al-Mu'tamin and Dhū 'l-Sabīḡatāin, and kept on good terms with the Christian kingdoms of Spain. His son 'Abd al-Malik succeeded him and took the title al-Muḡaffar. He was still a youth at his accession and the vizier Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz acted as regent. Very soon afterwards, Ferdinand I of Castile and Leon attacked Valencia but failed to take the town, after inflicting a severe defeat on the Valencians who made a sortie to attempt to drive off the besiegers. 'Abd al-Malik sought the assistance of the king of Toledo al-Ma'mūn b. Dhū 'l-Nūn [q. v.] but the latter came to Valencia and soon dethroned the young king (457 = 1065). The principality of Valencia was then incorporated in the kingdom of Toledo and al-Ma'mūn left the vizier Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-'Azīz there to govern it. When al-Ma'mūn died in 467 (1075) he was succeeded by his son Yahyā al-Ḳādir, whose great incapacity soon became apparent. Valencia then gradually recovered its independence; al-Ḳādir sought the help of Alfonso VI, king of Castile, to bring the town under his authority again but he ended by having to surrender his own capital to him in 478 (1085). For the course of events and part played in them by the great Castilian hero Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, the Cid of history and legend, cf. the article *al-Sīḡ*.

On their arrival in Spain, the Almoravids tried to regain the kingdom of Valencia for Islam but their efforts against the Cid were fruitless. When he died in 492 (1099) his widow Chimena was still able to offer some resistance to the attacks of the Almoravids, led by Maṣlālī. But in the end she abandoned Valencia after first of all setting it on fire and the Muslims entered it on the 15th Rabi'ah 495 (May 5, 1102).

Governors appointed by the Almoravids succeeded

one another at Valencia until the middle of the 12th century when the town gradually began to resume its independence in the troubled period which preceded the coming of the Almohads into Spain, and it linked its fortunes with those of Murcia whose series of ephemeral rulers it recognised. In 542 (1147), Ibn Mardaniyah was proclaimed king of Valencia but four years later his subjects rebelled against him. Under the nominal suzerainty of the Almohads, Valencia continued in the hands of local princes until it finally fell into Christian hands; two years after Cordova, when James I of Aragon took it on Sept. 28, 1238.

Bibliography: All the Arab geographers who have dealt with Muslim Spain devote more or less attention to Valencia: cf. al-Ishrafi, *Sifat al-Andalus*, ed. Dory and de Goeje, text p. 191, transl. p. 132; Vāḡūt, *Muḥjam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 730—732; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Ṭaḡwīn al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, text p. 178, transl. p. 258; Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Himyari, *al-Rawḍ al-nūr*, x. v. — On the Muslim history of Valencia, cf. Ibn 'Idharī, *al-Bayān al-munghrib*, ii. 111; Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères* and *Iber*, iv.; Ibn Abi Zār', *Rawḍ al-Kifā'*; the biographers of the *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana*. Cf. also F. Codera, *Decadencia y desaparición de los Almorávides en España*, Saragossa 1899; R. Dasy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, index; González Palencia, *Historia de la España musulmana*, Barcelona 1925; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Leyden-Paris 1931, and *L'Espagne musulmane du X^e siècle*, Paris 1932; R. Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, Madrid 1929 (very important); A. Prieto Vives, *Los Reyes de taifas*, Madrid 1926; E. Tormo, *Levante* (Guías Calpe), Madrid 1925. (E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL)

VAN. [See WAN.]

VARNA, a Bulgarian town on the Black Sea, the chief harbour of export of the country, capital of the district of the same name, lies at the mouth of the Devna surrounded by gardens and vineyards. The town, which down to 1878 was strongly fortified, is the terminal station of railway from Sofia and Ruzhuk and according to the census of Dec. 31, 1926 has 60,563 inhabitants. The development of the modern harbour has considerably increased trade, commerce and industry. Before the war of 1878, Turks formed more than half the population, and Jireček (*Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien*, p. 331) could say as late as 1891: "Turkish is predominant in the streets and is also spoken by the Armenians and the Gagauz" but linguistic and ethnographical conditions are now completely changed.

In ancient times the site of the modern Varna was occupied by Odessos (later Odysseus, Odysopolis), a Milesian colony founded in 585 B.C. Excavations have shown that the town also flourished in the Roman period. It has borne its present name since the end of the seventh century (679) and was called after the river Devna which was previously called Varna or Varnas. Varna is occasionally mentioned in the middle ages. Idrisi in 548 (1153—1154) mentions "Barnas" as a large town (cf. *Die Weltkarte des Idrisi vom Jahre 1154 n. Chr.*, restored and edited by Konrad Miller, Stuttgart 1928). According to Jireček (*op. cit.*, p. 331), Varna was Bulgarian again from 1201 and much visited by Italian seafarers. "In the

second half of the fourteenth century a Bulgarian dynasty of Kuman origin was established on the coast here" (*ibid.*). In 1366 Varna was besieged by the Crusaders under Amadeus VI of Savoy.

The first Turkish attack on Varna which took place in the time of Murād II in 1388 under the leadership of Ḥandarlī 'Alī Paṣha (cf. on him Taeschner and Wittek, *Die Vorfamilie der Gendarisade*, in *Isl.*, xviii. 86 199), but was unsuccessful. It was only after the fall of Bdyn (Vidin) that the whole of Bulgaria from Varna to the Timok became a Turkish province (1393; cf. Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, p. 356). On Nov. 10, 1444, was fought the celebrated battle between Murād II and the Christians under Wladislaw III king of Poland and Hungary, in which the latter lost his life (hence his Polish epithet *Warneńczyk*) and his army suffered a fearful defeat. This victory of the Turks consolidated in great measure their position in Europe and formed a stepping stone to the conquest of Constantinople.

According to Ḥadīdī Khāḥfa, in the xvth century Varna was the capital of a district in the sandjak of Silistria. About this time and later it was repeatedly the scene of battles between Russians and Turks (1610, 1773 and 1810). Ewliyā Celebi in his *Travels* (i. 290) records a defeat of Cossacks at Varna in 1661 (1650—1651); he himself was wounded in another Cossack raid on Varna (v. 84—88). The same traveller mentions the town in several other passages (e.g. iii. 303, 304, 350, 373) and describes it fully in connection with his visit in 1656 (v. 88—92). According to him, the Muslims lived in seven *maḥallas* while the Greeks (*Rūm*), Jews and Armenians occupied five. Varna then contained 4,000 well built houses, 5 large mosques, the names of which Ewliyā gives, and 36 *maḥjida*. The trade of the harbour was very busy. In the neighbourhood there were 10,000 vineyards and many gardens. In this connection Ewliyā tells the amusing story of the Kādī of Varna of the time (called Paḥwāra-Kādī by the people) who in addition to a wicked tongue had so large a nose that he could not perform the prostrations (*sūjd*) with his forehead but only — contrary to the rules — with the right ear. Although the Paḥwāra-Kādī was very strict (*muqallī*), it was continually discussed in the town whether his *paḥl* could be regarded as valid at all.

In the Russo-Turkish war of 1828—1829 Varna had to surrender on Oct. 10, 1828 after a three months' siege and was only restored to the Turks at the peace of Adrianople. In the Crimean war, the French and English joined the Turkish army at Varna by the end of June 1854, built a large camp here and at the beginning of September began the Crimean campaign from here. In the last Russo-Turkish war, Varna was not near the field of action and was handed over without seeing any fighting to the Russians and Bulgarians on the conclusion of peace (1878). At the Congress of Berlin, Varna was definitely allotted to Bulgaria.

The cession of the Dobruđa to Rumania (1913) is said to have affected the commerce of Varna. In the Great War Varna was twice bombarded (27 Oct. 1915 and 16 Jan. 1916) by the Russian fleet.

Bibliography: The battle of Varna is very fully described by the early Ottoman historians, e.g. Urudī b. 'Adil, f. 55—58 (Oxford MS.) and f. 117—120 (Cambridge MS.); Aḥliḥ-paḡha-sāde, Stambul 1332, p. 132—133; Neḡmī,

in *M. O. G.*, i. 118—119; Anonymous, ed. Giese, p. 65—70 (transl. p. 92—94) but it is not neglected by modern Turkish historians (cf. Ahmed Refik, *Türkiye Tarihî*, i/i. [Istanbul 1923], p. 240—242, with a plan of the battlefield). — The Ukrainian orientalist A. Krymski gives in his *History of Turkey* (Little Russia, Kiev 1924; cf. the review in *M. O. G.*, ii. 335—337), p. 47—56 not only an account of the battle but also discusses the reports of eye-witnesses, the sources in the earliest European, Turkish and Byzantine historians as well as European works of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries including Slav and Rumanian, with occasional critical notes. Krymski came to the conclusion that the works on the subject by Slavs and Rumanians of the sixteenth century are of less value than German works of the sixteenth century. — Also: Hakkî Khalifa, *Rumeli ve Rumeli*, transl. J. v. Hammer, Vienna 1812; Ewliya Çelebi, *Seyahatnâme*, i, iii, and v, Constantinople 1314—1315; J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 345—356 and iv. 647; Const. Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, Prague 1876; do., *Das Fürstentum Bulgarien*, Prague-Vienna-Leipzig 1891, p. 530—532 (= main passage) and p. 537; *Encyklopediski Slovar' Brokgauz-Efren*, vol. v. (St. Petersburg 1892), s. v.; J. Nikolaos, 'H. Oğuzlar', Varna 1894 (inaccessible to me; quoted by Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford, 1102 and 267); Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. i, Gotha 1908, p. 441—443 (with literature of the battle of 1444); St. Lane-Poole, *Turkey* (= *The Story of the Nations*, vol. xiv.), London 1908, p. 91—95; H. A. Gibbons, *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire (1299—1403)*, Oxford 1916, p. 129 and 172; A. Hajek, *Bulgarien unter der Türkenherrschaft*, Berlin and Leipzig 1925, p. 10, 13, 107—108; O. Tafrali, *La cité pontique de Dionysopolis, exploration archéologique de la côte de la mer Noire entre les caps Kalk-Atra et Ecrin faite en 1920*, Paris 1927, s. Index (only deals with Varna indirectly); *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* 14, 1929, s. v.; *Annuaire statistique du Royaume de Bulgarie 1929—1930* (Bulgarian and French), Sofia 1930, p. 22; *Almanach kraljevine Jugoslavije* (Zagreb since 1930), i. 40 and 44. (FERIK BAJKANTAREVIC)

VIDJAYANAGAR, a city of Southern India, now in ruins, situated in 15° 20' N. and 76° 28' E., on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra. It was founded about 1336 A.D., either by Vira Ballala III of Dvāravattipura, or by three Hindû chiefs variously described as being wardens of the northern marches of his kingdom and as officers of the Kakatiya kingdom of Warangal or of Muhammad b. Tughluq [q. v.] of Delhi. Two of these chiefs, Harihara and Bukka, established themselves in Vidjayanagar while the Muslims, of

the Deccan were in rebellion against Muhammad b. Tughluq, and later, while 'Ala' al-Din Bahman Shâh was occupied in founding and consolidating the kingdom of the Deccan, they gradually extended their rule over the Peninsula and founded the great Hindû kingdom of Vidjayanagar, the history of which is largely a record of intermittent warfare with the Muslims on its northern frontier, first with the great kingdom of the Deccan, and later with the Muslim states which rose on its ruins. The wealthy Hindû kingdom was able to maintain an army greatly outnumbering that of the Bahmanids, but the balance of success lay with the more virile Muslims, though for two centuries and a quarter they were unable entirely to subdue the great Hindû state. The ostensible cause of difference was usually the possession of the Râyçûr Dûab, the debatable land lying between the rivers Krishna and Tungabhadra, but the Bahmanids seldom needed a pretext for attacking their Hindû neighbours. About the middle of the sixteenth century, after the dissolution of the Bahmanî kingdom, the Sultans of the independent Muslim kingdoms of Bidjapur, Ahmadnagar, Golkunda, and Bidar foolishly sought the aid of the Râjâs of Vidjayanagar in their internecine disputes, and the Râjâ, more powerful than any one of them, so disgusted all by his assumption of superiority and by the insults which he offered to their religion that they formed a confederacy against him. In December, 1564, the allied Sultans of Bidjapur, Ahmadnagar, Golkunda and Bidar met at Sholâpur, and, marching southward met the army of Vidjayanagar on January 3, 1565, on the south bank of the Krishna, about thirty miles from the small town of Talikota. Râma Râjâ, the regent of Vidjayanagar, was captured and put to death, and at the sight of his head, raised on a spear, the Hindû army broke and fled, and was pursued with great slaughter as far as Vidjayanagar, which the Muslims destroyed, after having occupied the city for six months, reduced some neighbouring strongholds, and laid waste the country. The great kingdom of Vidjayanagar ceased to exist. Some of its northern districts were annexed by the neighbouring Muslim states, and its southern districts passed under the rule of minor Hindû chiefs.

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VIZIER. [See WAZIR.]

W

WABĀR, a district and tribe of the earliest period, in the southern half of Arabia. Al-Bakrī, *Muḍam*, p. 835 and Yāqūt, *Muḍam*, iv. 896 give the vocalisation *Wabārī* and compare the form with Ḥaḍhāmī and Kaḥnī.

The Wabār are mentioned by the historians along with the 'Ad, Ṭhamūd and other extinct tribes as one of the original peoples of Arabia, all of whom are included (as *al-'Arab al-ḥadīḥ*) by some genealogists among the "true, original Arabs" (*al-'Arab al-ḥadīḥ* or *al-'Arabi*). Al-Suyūṭī, for example, with whose estimate of the 'Arabī Ibn Duraid in the *Djāmi'ah* and others agree (see E. Frenzel, *Letter IV... sur l'histoire des Arabes*, in *J. A.*, ser. iii, vol. v, 1838, p. 529 sq.; following him Ritter, *Erkenntnis*, Berlin 1846, xii. 57), gives as the true Arabs the 'Ad, Ṭhamūd, Tasm, Qadīs, etc. putting the Wabār in the last (ninth) place and distinguishing from this group the *muta'ar-rīḥ*, the naturalised, "ambitious" Arabs, who also include the descendants of Kaḥnī, who altogether make up the descendants of Iram, son of Shem, and along with them as a special (third) group of peoples, the *muta'ar-rīḥ*, which comprises the descendants of Ismā'il (the Ma'add), while other genealogists with Yemen bias oppose the *muta'ar-rīḥ* or *muta'ar-rīḥ* as one group (the Ismā'ilī) to those extinct tribes and along with them to the Kaḥnī as the 'Arabī. Al-Ḥamdānī (223 A. H.) describes Wabār as the land in which live *al-'Arab al-ḥadīḥ* and Ṭabari also (ed. de Goeje, i. 750) so describes the Banū Wabār (in some MSS. corrupt; in i. 221 we have the form *abār*; Ibn al-Aṭṭar also gives the right form in his *Chronicle*). Similarly al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih* (B. G. A., viii. 184) and *Murūf* (Paris 1861 sq., iii. 288 sq.) numbers the Wabār and others among the extinct Arab tribes, at the same time giving the names of their ancestors, as does Ṭabari, i. 221 (on the genealogy, cf. i. 750).

The statements of the Arab geographers and historians about the history of the Wabār are strongly saturated with legend. The stories current among the Arabs are given by Ibn al-Fakḥī (B. G. A., v. 37 sq.) whose statements are combined from several sources, al-Bakrī (*op. cit.*), much more fully Yāqūt (iv. 896 sq.; a brief synopsis in the *Lisām*, still more briefly in the *Kamūs* and a little more fully in the *Tawfīq*, i. v.). Yāqūt quotes various authorities, including Ḥishām b. al-Kalbī, Muḥammad b. Ishāq, Ibn al-Fakḥī, and other direct and indirect sources. His statements (iv. 897) agree almost word for word with those of Ibn al-Fakḥī. Al-Kazwī (*Ajā'ib*, ii. 42, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848) and later writers, except of course the *Marā'if al-ḥadīḥ*, are based on Yāqūt. The same characteristic features are common to the authors and compilers mentioned. These include the purely legendary elements, that the name of the land goes back to an ancestor Wabār, who flourished at the time of the confusion of tongues (so al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 184; Ṭabari, i. 221, 250), that after the fall of the 'Ad (cf. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, i. 20), the

previous inhabitants of Wabār, the Djinn took possession of the land (so also al-Ḥamdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 154, 223; Ṭabari, i. 221), and men lived there no longer but only half men (*nawāṣ*), beings who had only half a head, one eye, one hand, one leg (Yāqūt, ii. 263, tells the same story of Shihir), that no one dared enter this land and its mysterious inhabitants destroyed the crops of the adjoining lands between Shihir and Yaman. A feature which is developed in the legend, on older models, is the story that Wabār was a particularly fertile land, rich in water and fruit-trees and especially in palms (so also al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūf*, iii. 276, 288 sq.; al-Nābigha's mention of palms in the land of Wabār (in Ahiwari, *The Divans* etc., London 1870, p. 112 from Yāqūt) was taken as evidence that the land was fertile and inhabited (cf. al-Bakrī, *loc. cit.*, with Yāqūt, iv. 898). — The mentions of Wabār in the poetry are of course not independent evidence, but repeat as a rule only the conventional notions of the great antiquity and fall of the people and the isolation of their land (cf. also Yāqūt, iv. 897).

What arouses interest in these fables and may be of use are the geographical ideas at the bottom of them. According to some of these statements, the broad land of Wabār stretched from Shihir to San'a, in general to the eastern frontier of Yaman; according to others, it comprised the whole territory between Najrān and Ḥaḍramūt; lastly, according to others, it was the territory between the "sand of Yabrin" (*Riml Yabrin*) and Yaman (see also Djawhari). From these topographical hints, which in spite of their differences together give a rough general picture, it can be deduced that the portion of the South Arabian desert, of the Rub' al-Khālī or Dahnā, north of the Maḥra [q. v.] country, was called Wabār by the Arabs, but this geographical name was also understood in a wider sense and extended to the whole Dahnā. The part called Wabār adjoined in the east the desert area of al-Aḥḥāf (dunes) which lay north and west of Ḥaḍramūt. C. Landberg (*Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, Leyden 1901, i. 160) says on the authority of information received from natives that in the expression *ahf al-ahf* the place-name, according to South Arabian ideas, refers not only to the district of al-Aḥḥāf (North Ḥaḍramūt, p. 149) but also to caves in which the Arabian troglodytes live (cf. Yāqūt, i. 154, on the different topographical clues for this district).

It is impossible to accept Ritter's (*op. cit.*, xiii. 315) identification of the Wabār with the *Bawāḥ*, who are mentioned by Ptolemy in connection with the Ṭhamūdīs and are to be located in the northern half of the west coast of Arabia (the first component of the name is obviously connected with *Banū*; attempts at identification will be found in Sprenger, *Die Alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, p. 30 sq. and in E. Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, Berlin 1890, ii. 231 sq.). Ritter's comparison (xii. 271, 392) of Wabār in Idriā (ed. Jaubert, i. 156) is also

to be rejected. There never was any cogent reason to dismiss the Wabar into the realm of fable, with Sprenger (*op. cit.*, p. 296) and others, as a people that never existed and to deny any historical or geographical foundation to their mention along with other extinct tribes. Wüstenfeld (*Die Wohnsitze und Wanderungen der arabischen Stämme*, in *Abh. G. W. Gott.*, 1868, xiv, 13) in agreement with the Arab writers described the tribes of 'Ad, Thamūd etc. as the original inhabitants of Arabia, who had partly extinguished one another and partly become mingled with the peoples who succeeded them, so that they are to be regarded as having been extinct many centuries before Islam.

Although the records are clothed in the form of legend, it does not follow that the whole story is a pure invention, but only that we have here the memory of an ancient people, which has become a legend; similar things are to be found in the history of most nations. There is a series of fabulous stories associated with the whole of Southern Arabia between Yaman and 'Omān, a region little known to Arab men of letters. Moritz (*Arabien*, Hanover 1923, p. 28 sq.) also says that the names of those extinct peoples of the early days of Arabia including the "Wabar" (so also on p. 60, 122) are at least historical and that there may be a historical kernel in the stories of the fertility of cultivated areas which later became desert through natural causes, such as continued drought and sandstorms. He quotes similar phenomena in Egypt. The formation of the desert, moreover, must have made some progress since the time of Ptolemy, as his map of Arabia shows towns or villages in regions which have since become desert or only contain ruins; on references in Greek and Roman writers for the historicity of the Thamūd cf. the article *Thamūd* in Pauly-Wissowa's, *Realencykl. der class. Altertumswissenschaft*. — It is also worthy of note that south of Sa'ib, the chief town of the flourishing oasis of Al-ʿAdī, Philby (*The Heart of Arabia*, 1922, ii, 99 sqq.) in 1917 saw, along with other remains of an ancient culture, the ruin of a large building, the Kuṣairat 'Ad, so called, as his companions told him, after the king 'Ad b. Shaddād, who ruled in the remote past over these regions and whose capital was in "Wabar" (*ibid.*, ii, 353), a month's journey to the south in the desert near the frontier of Ḥaḍramūt. The story told by him of this king contains several details found in the well-known traditions of the Prophet Hūd. The ruined site of Kuṣairat 'Ad is marked in Philby's map under 22° 10' N. Lat. and 46° 20' East Long., a position which of course is only calculated approximately. Of Wabar he was also told (p. 221) that the Dinnān, a clan of the Al Murra, included it in their territory. If the geographical conception of Wabar still exists among the Arabs, there is no reason to suppose that the references in literature to this land and people are based on an invention of the genealogists. The old view put forward by Blau (in *Z.D.M.G.*, xlii, 659) and recently championed by Moritz (*op. cit.*, p. 29, 122) that the Wabar "offenbar die *Isaḥāḥ* des Ptolemäus sind (vi, 7, 24)" is certainly not probable (cf. the article *MARATTA* in Pauly-Wissowa; *ibid.* for Landberg's citation of the *Djawān*, which has lately been used again as a basis for further deductions, and also for Glaser's errors). Isolated state-

ments of Arabic authors regarding the countries round Wabar seem to make it possible to define its frontiers approximately. According to Tabari, i, 221, the land of Abār (see above) lay between Yamāna and Shihir; Yāqūt, iii, 591, gives the information that the "Sand of 'Alīdī" (*raml 'Alīdī*) adjoins Wabar; the former is a northern salient of the great South Arabian desert which stretches between Bahrain and Yamāna and is characterized by the fact that trees and plants grow there. As a matter of fact the north-eastern termination of the great desert is an oasis, that of Yabrin, in which the desert region, which some, especially later geographers, understood as the Dahna proper, i.e. a north-easterly continuation of the Rub' al-Khālī, has its southern limit. After this oasis, the most southern part of the district of Yamāna, the adjoining desert is also called "Sand of Yabrin". The frontiers between 'Alīdī and the Dahna fluctuate in the Arab geographers, and sometimes the two regions are even said to be identical. Al-Bakrī interprets the extent of the desert of Yabrin in a wider sense, for according to him it extends from Yamāna to Ḥaḍramūt. For our knowledge of Yabrin, the *Asṣag* of Ptolemy, vi, 7, 35, the statements in Abu 'l-Fidā' are important (see Rommel, *Abdulfedat Arabias descriptio*, Göttingen 1802, p. 84), in Yāqūt (see his several references from the index) and al-Ḥamdānī (p. 105, 157, 149). Burckhardt had already heard from Beduins that the only habitable area in the eastern Dahna was the Wādī Yabrin with date-plants and wells (which the latest reports confirm) but with an unhealthy climate. It is an oasis, rich in water, with settlements and was at one time, as Pelly, who visited the region in 1865 tells us, a fertile well-tilled district with an imposing town, but suffered heavily in the Ḥaramīan wars. Philby obtained some information about the oasis, which belongs to a section of the Al Murra (see *op. cit.*, ii, 216 sqq.). Cheesman's account contained the first more accurate information (in *G. J.*, lxx, 1925, p. 112 sqq.). Using the statements of the Arab authors, we may regard the oasis of Yabrin as the most northerly part of the ancient extensive land of Wabar; this agrees with the stories of Wabar's wealth of palm-trees and with the geographical background of the legends, in so far as they do not, like some geographers, locate Wabar definitely in the adjoining desert of 'Alīdī (cf. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, iii, 288). The southern continuation of it is then either the sandy region of Khurān about sixteen days' journey south of Yabrin, a settlement of the Al Murra with some wells and water-pools (Philby, *op. cit.*, ii, 219), or the district about half a degree west of it in the same latitude. The farther continuation to the south goes via al-Ḥakāf to the northern frontier of Ḥaḍramūt, N. W. of Mahra. The sandy region of Yabrin also runs southwards into the desert of al-Djuz' and then into that of al-Ḥakāf. In Stieler, *Handatlas*, 9th ed., map 60, Gotha 1905, Wabar is located about 46°—47° East long. and c. 22° 40' N. Lat. which is rather too high.

Bibliography: The works of the Arab authors and of the modern writers (Ritter, Sprenger, Moritz, Philby, etc.) have been given with references in the article. We need only add F. Wüstenfeld, *Bahrain und Jemāna*, in *Abh. G. W. Gott.*, xix, (1874), 173 sqq.

(J. TKATSCH)

WADAI. Wadai or Waddai, also called Bergu or Borgu and Dār-Sāliḥ, lies to the west of Dār-Fūr from which it is separated by the provinces of Tama, Mara, Masalit and Sila, which have in the past been politically dependent sometimes on Dār-Fūr and sometimes on Wadai according to the fortune of war. The boundaries of Wadai in other directions are not very precise; the kingdom at its greatest extent at the height of its power did not stretch beyond Kuti on the south, Fitri on the west, Ennedi and the mountains of Kappa or Gabga in the north (Gaoga of Leo Africanus and of the Arab geographers, not to be confused with Gāgāso or Gāo on the Niger).

Although lying at the southern limits of the desert regions and receiving a very slight rainfall, the country is comparatively fertile. It is watered by a certain number of seasonal water-courses and two fairly large rivers: the Baḥā which ends in the west in Lake Fitri and the Baḥr al-Salamāt which flows to the south into the Upper Shari.

The population is a very mixed one, consisting for the most part of tribes of negro stock and to a smaller extent of peoples some of which owe their origin to a mixture of black and white stocks, while others are of almost pure white origin. To the first category (tribes of negro stock) belong the Māba, politically and socially the most important, the Kodot, the Mimi, the Kashmere, the Kadjakse, the Kondogo, the Mara or Mararit, the Dadjo, etc., all Muslims, then, in the south, the Biḥa and Rīḥa, among whom Islam has made less progress, all belonging to the same great ethnic group and speaking languages related to one another; these languages are to be classed in the same linguistic group as the Nūba, Kanuri, Tāda etc. We also find in Wadai, especially in the southern provinces, an appreciable number of representatives of tribes who have still remained pagan in part or completely, like the Kōka, Gula, Ndaka etc., speaking dialects related to that of Baghirni. The peoples of mixed stock are first the Hīdeyāt or Anna, the Zaghāwa or Gabga, nomads of the north, all Muslims, speaking negro languages related to that of the Tāda of Tibesti and related also to the dialects of the Māba, Kodot etc., then the Tundjūr, who are said to be of Semitic, pre-Islamic origin, who speak an Arabic dialect that seems to be very archaic and are said only to have adopted Islam in the xviii century; their Islam is even now very superficial. Lastly, the Arab element, in the strict sense, is represented by a few Uḥūd Siltān, nomads who came in 1842 from Fezzān from which they had been driven by the Turks, and by much more numerous Shuwa, some nomads (breeders of camels, sheep and goats), some settled (cattle-raisers), the latter often showing an admixture of negro blood; these Shuwa have been coming in little groups from quite an early period, some from Upper Egypt, others from Cyrenaica and Tripolitania. The principal tribes of the Shuwa are the Salamāt, Khuzām, Dja'adne, Mahāmūd, Dakakire etc. The Uḥūd Siltān and the Shuwa are Muslims and speak Arabic.

The whole population of Wadai proper is estimated at 749,000, which represents a mean density of 26 people to one square mile.

The capital was Kadama, to the S.W. of Abeshe, down to the middle of the xviii century. Then

it was Wam to the N.N.W. of Abeshe, down to the middle of the xix century. It was then transferred to Abeshe (or Abesher), which is a town of about 30,000 inhabitants with houses of clay and huts thatched with straw; the royal quarter, surrounded by a high wall of earth, is distinguished by a castle, three storeys high, of baked brick, built in 1860 in the reign of king 'Alī by two Egyptian or Tripolitanian architects.

According to local tradition, Wadai was at first under the authority of a dynasty of foreign princes, belonging to the tribe of the Tundjūr, who had their capital at Kadama and who were more or less vassals of Dār-Fūr. These princes were not Muslims but several of them whose memory has survived have Arabic names, like the last of them, Dāwūd, called Almerenn. It was only in 1615 that Islam is said to have been introduced among the native peoples of Wadai as a result of the preaching of a legendary individual sometimes called Djāmi and sometimes Sāliḥ, whom some say was of Māba stock, but whom others connect with the Arab tribe of Dja'alta, which has its cradle near Berber on the Nile. In any case, the family which claims descent from Djāmi is undoubtedly of negro stock and regarded as of Māba origin.

About 1635 a son or nephew of Djāmi called 'Abd al-Karīm and also known as Maḥammad al-Sāliḥ gathered around him the Māba and the Kodot recently converted to Islam by his father or his uncle, as well as the Arabs of the district, preached the holy war against the infidel dynasty of the Tundjūr princes, defeated or killed the king Dāwūd, proclaimed himself *ḥakīm* (i.e. sovereign) of Wadai, made his capital at Wam and founded a new dynasty there which retained the throne till 1911.

The *ḥakīm* exercised power with the help of several councillors, including his mother, who had the title of *mama*, and four dignitaries called *ḥamākil*, assisted by lieutenants (*andeker*), squires (*warwag*) and a supervisor (*sinmiliā*). He had around him chamberlains, pages, eunuchs, messengers and tax-collectors as well as a military guard, one section free men and the other slaves. The territorial commands were in the hands of military governors each of whom, called an *agid*, had at his disposal an army raised from the tribes of his district. The most important of these commands were: that of an *agid* who had the title of *ḥijma* under whom were the Kodot, as well as the town of Wam and the western provinces; that of the *agid* Almahāmūd which included the Arabs of the north and the Zaghāwa; that of the *agid* al-Salamāt, who ruled the territories of the south. There were as many as 80 *agid*. Each province or *dār* was administered, under the authority of the *agid*, by a *tanḥak*, and each village had at its head a political chief and an agricultural official.

This organisation however lacked solidarity; the different *agid* were often fighting with one another or with the *ḥakīm* and they had frequently to use force to secure the obedience of those under them. The history of Wadai, so far as we know it, is simply the history of foreign or civil wars and of the cruelties perpetrated by the kings and dignitaries on members of their own families.

The first *ḥakīm*, 'Abd al-Karīm (1635—1655), paid tribute to Dār-Fūr, like the Tundjūr rulers who had preceded him. He succeeded however in giving Wadai a certain amount of independence

and settled its eastern boundaries by agreement with Sulaimān Solong, the king of Dār-Fūr. He contributed to completing the conversion of a considerable section of his subjects to Islam. This work was continued after him by his son Kharit al-Kabir (1655-1678). Kharit (1678-1681) and Ya'qūb 'Arūs (1681-1707) endeavoured to cast off the suzerainty of Dār-Fūr; the second succeeded in defeating the Dār-Fūr army which was commanded by 'Umar Lele and in taking him prisoner. Kharit al-Saghir (1707-1745) engaged in an unsuccessful war with the Baghirmi. Djoda (1745-1795) resumed the struggle against Dār-Fūr, defeated its king 'Abd al-Kāsim and secured the independence of Wadā'ī; he undertook a number of expeditions against the pagans of the south and even succeeded in taking a portion of Kānem from the rule of Bornu. Sālih Derret (1795-1803) was de throne by his son 'Abd al-Karim who assumed the name of Sābūn (1803-1813) and distinguished himself in a war against 'Abd al-Rahmān Gawrang, king of Baghirmi, whose capital Māsenya he took and plundered in 1806. 'Abd al-Rahmān was killed in the course of the campaign and his son and successor Burgumanda had to acknowledge the suzerainty of Wadā'ī. The *halak* Sābūn developed the trade of his lands and established relations with Egypt. He was however of a cruel and blood-thirsty disposition and made enemies in his entourage, who finally assassinated him. His son Yūsuf Kharifein (1814-1829), a debauchee and drunkard, was poisoned as a result of a conspiracy against him. Rāḳib (1829-1830) was placed on the throne at an early age under the regency of his mother but soon died of smallpox. 'Abd al-'Asī, great-grandson of Djoda, was chosen to succeed him after a bloody civil war but he also died of smallpox in 1834.

Famine now desolated the kingdom, and drove the Wadā'ians to plunder the western provinces of Dār-Fūr. Muḥammad Fāḳil, king of this country, sent a punitive expedition which reached Wara and put on the throne a Wadā'ian prisoner named Muḥammad Sharif who recognised the suzerainty of Dār-Fūr and reigned from 1835 to 1858, possessing a prestige and authority and a sense of justice which had been previously unknown. Having cause to complain of the conduct of the powerful Shaikh 'Omar, lord of Bornu, he attacked him and defeated him at Kusri and forced him to pay an indemnity of 8,000 dollars. It was Muḥammad Sharif who moved the capital from Wara to Abeshe. He became blind and had to defend himself against one of his own sons; ultimately he went out of his mind and died in 1858. It was in his reign that Wadā'ī for the first time was visited by a European, the German Vogel, who spent 13 days in Abeshe in 1856 and was murdered on leaving it.

His successor 'Alī (1858-1874) devoted himself to the restoration of order in the state and encouraged trade between Wadā'ī and Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. In 1870 he went to war with Abū Sakkin, lord of Baghirmi, who had attempted to cast off the bonds of vassalage; he besieged him in his palace, which he mined and took by storm, and brought back from Māsenya in 1874 over 20,000 captives, chosen mainly from among the artisans, as a result of which he gave a considerable stimulus to industry in Wadā'ī. It was he who built the royal palace of Abeshe and added to Wadā'ī the

provinces of Rūḥa and Kuti. In 1873 he was visited by the German explorer Nachtigal, whom he treated with great consideration.

Yūsuf (1874-1898) allowed Baghirmi to regain its independence. He entered into friendly relations with al-Mahdi, the head of the Sanḥāya brotherhood. It was in his reign that the adventurer Rabah, who came from Bahr al-Gharīb, invaded Kuti (1879), then Rūḥa, laid waste the southern provinces of Wadā'ī and installed a slave-dealer named Sanḥī as sultan of Kuti and Rūḥa (1890). In 1891 the latter was visited by the French explorer Crampel, who had come from Ubangi; he tried to prevent him from going on to Wadā'ī and being unable to make him abandon his plans, had him assassinated along with his companions. In 1894, Rabah being engaged in conquering Bornu, the *halak* Yūsuf sent an army against Sanḥī and forced him to recognise his suzerainty. A little later, in 1897, the same Sanḥī signed a treaty of friendship with the explorer Gentil, the French commissioner in Ubangi and Shari.

Ibrāhīm (1898-1901) had to put down several risings and died of wounds received in battle. Abū Ghazālī (1901-1902) had to fight against one of his *aghlis* named 'Asīl who raised a considerable section of the people against the *halak* with such success that the *halak* had to abandon his capital. In his place Dūdumra, son of Yūsuf, was proclaimed; he pursued Abū Ghazālī, captured him and put out his eyes, while 'Asīl, who had taken refuge in Fitri, put himself under the protection of the French troops who had established themselves in Yao. Dūdumra reigned from 1902 to 1911. Soon after his accession, 'Asīl left Fitri and made war on the pagans of southern Wadā'ī; arrested by order of Commandant Largeau in 1903, he was for a time interned at the French post of Fort-de-Passel. However, Dūdumra's advisers professed to hold the French responsible for 'Asīl's doings and the *aghl* al-Salamāt set fire to the French custom-house of Gulle to the west of Lake Iro and attacked Lieutenant Dujour at Tomba in April 1904. On June 7, the *gherna* 'Uthmān summoned the commandant of the French fort at Yao to evacuate the district of Fitri; the latter indignantly rejected the ultimatum and his post was attacked in January 1905 by a lieutenant of the *gherna*. The attack was driven off and the Wadā'ian army routed by Captain Rivière. Dūdumra blamed 'Uthmān and had him poisoned in 1906. Various Wadā'ian governors however continued to raid French territory, which gave rise to fighting in 1907 and decided the French to invade the western dependencies of Wadā'ī along with 'Asīl, who, restored to favour with the French, posed as a claimant to the throne. Dūdumra sent against the French an army of 2,800 rifles, led by the *aghl* Almahmūd, who was defeated on March 29, 1908 by the 280 men led by Captain Jérusalem and for a second time on June 16 of the same year by Commandant Julien.

On June 2, 1909, Abeshe was taken by Captain Fiegenschuh and Lieutenant Bourreau and on Aug. 30, 'Asīl had himself proclaimed *halak* in place of Dūdumra, who had fled. But in January 1910, Captain Fiegenschuh, going with a detachment of troops among the Massalit, was attacked and massacred by them at Bir-Jawū, and 'Alī Dīnī, king of Dār-Fūr, seized the opportunity to invade eastern Wadā'ī, while Dūdumra again resumed

the offensive from the north. The latter was driven back across the Gabga by Captain Chauvelat. Then on Nov. 8, 1910, Lt. Col. Moll took Djidjel, the chief town of the Masalit, which Dūdmurra was defending; the latter was wounded and put to flight, but Moll was himself killed at Dorothe along with two lieutenants and five non-commissioned officers. A little later, on Jan. 12, 1911, Captain Modat took at Ndele (Kut) the fortified palace of Sanūs who was killed in the fighting and in October of the same year, the *Asal* Dūdmurra came to make his submission to Colonel Largeau and abdicated. 'Asil became king of Wadā'i under a French protectorate but he reigned only a few months as he had to be deposed on June 5, 1912, on account of his duplicity. Since then Wadā'i has been directly administered by the commandant of the district of Abeshe, which forms a part of the French colony of Tchad.

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(MAURICE DELAFOSSE.)

WADĪ ḤALFA or simply *Halfa*, a modern town in the Anglo-Egyptian Sūdān, 21° 55' N. 31° 19' E., on the right bank of the Nile, c. 770 miles south of Cairo and 5 miles north of the Second Cataract, is the chief town of the province or *mudiriya* of that name. It includes the village of Tawfikiya, a new suburb with fine bazaars, and its inhabitants, inclusive of the Nubian villagers of Daharān, number almost 3,000. Besides the Muslim places of worship there are the churches of the Copts, Greeks and English. The Government offices and hospital, and the official residential district lie to the south. The head of King John of Abyssinia is said to be beneath a tree near the hospital. The name of the place is due to the *halfa* grass abounding in this region. In Pharaonic times the district was called Rehen. Opposite the town, on the west bank, are the remains of the old Egyptian fortress of that name established under the Middle Empire. Pa-nebes, the *Pnyx* of Ptolemy, was also in the neighbourhood (Budge, *The Egyptian Sudan*, ii. 83).

It was only towards the end of the nineteenth century that the town developed from a miserable Sūdānese trading village into the important centre it now is on the frontier of Egypt and the Sūdān. During the years 1884—5 it was made a military base of the British troops. Lord Wolseley's expeditionary force passed through it on its way to assist General Gordon at Khartūm. The place grew in importance as a result of the subsequent decision which made it the political frontier, and when a garrison of Egyptian troops was established on the spot it figured again in the campaigns of 1896—98 against the Mahdī. By the Sūdān Convention of 1899 conditions were changed. The modern political boundary is now fixed at 22° N. Lat., a distance of 27 miles north of Wadī Halfa. The government railway to Khartūm, which begins at the town, accounts largely for its present day importance. Nile steamers connect it on the north with Shalāl, a village on the outskirts of Assuān,

the terminus of the Egyptian State Railways.

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(J. WALKER)

WADĪ 'I-KURĀ, the valley between el-'Eis' and al-Medīna on the old trading route from South Arabia to Syria, usually called Wadī Deidibīān. It is the dry bed of two wādīs which join in the centre, the Wadī al-Djizel from the north and the Wadī el-Hamd from the south which comes down from near Medīna above the village of Henakiya and runs between the Djebel Hamit or Uhad (Ehad) and the city of the Prophet. Half-way between el-'Eis' and al-Medīna it is joined on the right by the Wadī el-Tubāḡ or Wadī el-Silsila, which connects it with Khaibar.

The most important place in the Wadī 'I-Kurā' is el-'Eis' with rich date-groves and cornfields which owe their existence to warm springs in the valley. At one time Kurā was the most important trading centre of the Wadī 'I-Kurā'. It presumably took the place of the ancient Dedān (Daidān) the ruins of which, now called al-Kharaiba, lie in the northeastern corner of the gardens of el-'Eis'. The oasis of Dedān, which was of importance as an important point on the old trading route from the south to Egypt and Syria, was at one time in the possession of Minaean rulers who had deputies here. Numerous Minaean inscriptions, which were found in el-'Eis', and the mention of the name Dedān (𐩃𐩣𐩪) in ancient South Arabian inscriptions and in the Bible (Gen. x. 7; xxv. 3) are further evidence of the close connections the old South Arabian states had with this place. Yāqūt still knows the old name of this place and records that Daidān was once a large town on the road from al-Belkā' to the Hūdja but was already in ruins in his time. Legend connects the decline of the people of 'Ad and the story of the prophet Hūd with this region. These stories were probably suggested by the rock tombs in the vicinity of Daidān (Kharaiba). At the beginning of Islām the Wadī 'I-Kurā' supported a considerable Jewish population who, like their co-religionists in al-Medīna, were hostile to Islām. When in the year 2 (623—624) the Kaibūk were driven out of al-Medīna and went through the Wadī 'I-Kurā' to Syria, they sheltered them for a month and gave them food and horses for the journey. In the year 5 (626—627) the Jews of the Wadī 'I-Kurā' joined the defensive alliance formed by the Jews of Taimā', Fadak and Khaibar against Muhammad. It was however not till 7 (628) that they came to blows with the Prophet's forces, when after the capture of Khaibar, he marched through the Wadī 'I-Kurā' to al-Medīna. The Jews of the valley, which was defended by towers, offered a vain defence. They were forced to surrender after heavy losses but were allowed to remain in the country; they had to till the soil for their hated enemy, and in this way contributed considerable wealth to the treasury in al-Medīna. Henceforth this important corridor, used

for the victorious campaign of the Muslims under Abū 'Ubayda against Syria, remained in the hands of the lands of al-Medina, although for administrative purposes it continued for a time to belong to Syria and formed the frontier against the Hufāz. The Jews were allowed to remain for some time in the Wādī 'l-Kurā. Whether they were expelled as early as the reign of the caliph 'Umar I is not certain. All we know is that in al-Balādhuri's time there were no longer any Jews in the Wādī and the land had long been divided among the Muslims and belonged to the district of al-Medina.

Bibliography: al-Muḥaddas, *B. G. A.*, iii, 53; Yāqūt, *Mo'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 639; iii, 86, 709; iv., 53, 678; A. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reise-routen des Orients (A.K.M.)*, iii, 3; Leipzig 1864), p. 119, 120, 159; C. M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, London 1923, i, 145, 151, 161; L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, i., Milan 1905, p. 523, § 97, p. 635 sq., § 55; ii., Milan 1907, p. 49 sq., § 48 and note 1, p. 1069, § 277; iv., Milan 1911, p. 352, § 220, p. 366, § 240; A. Musil, *The Northern Hegla (American Geographical Society Arabian Explorations and Studies*, No. 1, ed. J. K. Wright, New York 1926), p. 33, note 10; p. 217, note 52; p. 218, note 53; p. 250, note 54; p. 257, 279, 326.

WADI NÜN, older form WADI NUL. This is not the name of a river but of a great plain in S.W. Morocco between the western Anti-Atlas and its Saharan outliers twenty miles from the sea. The plain is formed by the silt from a number of water-courses, of which the chief are the Wādī Saiyāl and the Wādī Umm al-'Aṣhar, which unite to form the Wādī Asāka; the latter river joins the sea through a defile which has given it its name.

We find in the Wādī Nün a certain number of oases with large villages (Awgelmim or Gleimim, Kṣābi, Tiliwin, Fask, Dubiyan, Tighmart, Asrir, Wa'rūn, Abbūda etc.) which serve as trading centres for the Saharan nomads and contain 3,000—3,500 families. These are Arabo-Berbers belonging for the most part to the Ma'kil and the Lamta (q.v.); a few belong to the Gārfa and to the Sanhaja. They almost all belong to the Tekna, but some to the Ait Ba'amrin and the Akhṣās. There are also a number of shorfa, marabouts, ḥarāfiṣ and Jews.

There is hardly a historian or geographer who has dealt with the Maghrib al-Akṣā who has not mentioned this province. It owes its importance to several things: the Wādī Nün is in Morocco one of the rare groups of oases which throughout the centuries has communicated in the south with the Mauritania Adnir and the Senegal and in the northeast with the bend of the Niger; it is at the exit of the easiest route between the desert and the northern slope of the Atlas, a natural route which runs on as far as Mogaṣor; lastly its proximity to the Ocean has enabled its inhabitants to enter at various periods into commercial relations with Europe and to secure the exportation of the rich produce of the Sūdān.

Historical sketch. The Wādī Nün was, we are told, at one time a great pastoral region; native tradition says that it used to be called Wādī Nūḳ "the river of the she-camels". Its name is sometimes derived from the Hebrew and Nün is said to be a fish-god. Jewish legends make the whale

throw Jonah up on the coast of Sūs and the memory of Joshua son of Nün is said to survive in the name of the tribe of Ait 'Isā.

In the viii century of our era, Lamta Berbers were the owners of the oases and we may imagine that the expedition of 'Ukba b. Nāḥ and the ephemeral rule of 'Abd Allāh b. Idris in Sūs brought them for the first time into contact with Islām. They were probably great nomads; in the tenth century however, they had a town, Nūl Lamta, which seems to have occupied the site of the present village of Asrir. We do not know the date of its foundation but it was undoubtedly much earlier; it was a great market, where shields were made of antelope hide (*lamf*) and from it caravans set out to cross the Sahara for the Sūdān and Mauritania. It was no doubt this commercial activity that at an early date attracted a Jewish colony here.

In the xth century, Nūl Lamta was conquered by the Almoravids who made it one of their bases of operation and established a mint there. The Lamta served this dynasty faithfully; on the other hand, their risings against the Almohads in the following century resulted in bloody reprisals. A little later, in 1218, the invasion of the Ma'kil Arabs reached the Wādī Nün and one of their tribes, the Uhwī Hassān, soon incorporated the Lamta, who ceased henceforth to play an independent part.

Nūl henceforth lost its importance and was replaced as a port for the Sahara by Tagast (the modern Kṣābi); it was under this name that Europe for long knew the Wādī Nün. In the xvth century began the expeditions from the Canaries to the coasts of Africa, the object of which was to procure slaves for the exploitation of the country; these were the celebrated *entradas*, several of which reached the gates of Tagast and resulted in the foundation of a number of Spanish fortresses; one of them, San Miguel de Saza, which however only lasted for a very short time, was quite close to the Wādī Nün, at the mouth of the Asāka. These expeditions were perhaps preceded or accompanied by Christian missions. In 1525, Tagast venerated the relics of a Portuguese of the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine, who had lived in this region.

The foundation of the Sa'dian dynasty resulted in the expulsion of the Christians and the people of Nün supplied *gizā* contingents to the sovereigns who had liberated Muslim soil. But very soon, it seems, their oases began to lose their position as starting-points for caravans. The Shorfa came from Tūgmādiāt in the upper Dar' and it was by this route naturally that they brought to Marrakech the booty of their conquests on the Niger.

This fact no doubt explains why the people of the Wādī Nün very soon disowned this dynasty, as well as why they were always at more or less open enmity with the Filāls, who for similar reasons favoured the route by Taḥlālt. In the xviii and xviii centuries the Wādī Nün seems to have belonged to the marabout state of Tāzer-wālt, founded by Abū Ḥassān al-Samāli, whose ambition at one time was to conquer the Sūdān. He and his successors in every case maintained very regular commercial relations with the country south of the desert. In their reign European ships frequently came to the coast of Sūs to carry away merchandise brought down by the caravans. This

was a period of prosperity for the Wādī Nūn, which towards the beginning of the xixth century, formed a practically independent state under Shaikh Bairūk the capital of which, Awgelimū, soon supplanted Tagaost.

The sultans however became disturbed at this direct trade between Europe and the southern provinces of the empire; they were losing all the profit from it. In the second half of the xviiith century, Sidi Mahammad b. Abd Allāh closed the southern ports to trading-ships and forced them henceforth to come to Mogador, which he had just founded. Tizerwālt and Wādī Nūn had to send their caravans there and pay heavy taxes on the articles exported. All their efforts and especially those of Bairūk and his sons were in the direction of direct relations with the European governments, to make their country appear an independent state and to lead ships to disobey the sultan's orders by founding on the coast a port where the customs duties were lower than those at Mogador. The way was paved for this policy by the old relations of the Jews of the Wādī Nūn with the European merchants and by the numerous shipwrecks which took place in this district at the end of the xviiith century, which gave Bairūk an opportunity to discuss his plan with Christians. He tried first of all in 1835—1836 to interest England and then France in 1837 to 1853; finally after his death in 1859, his sons began negotiations with Spain which enabled this nation to get, by the treaty of Tetwān, the concession of a fishing station on the coast. So far these attempts had yielded no appreciable result, the authority of the Ulād Bairūk seemed rather precarious and besides the coast of the Wādī Nūn did not afford sufficient shelter for ships. It was only in 1876 that Mackenzie built a factory on Cape Juby, soon followed by Curtis, who settled near Awgelimū in the Wādī Arekksis. These marked the beginning of a series of explorations and experiments which disturbed sultan Mawlay al-Hasan so much that in 1886 he decided upon an expedition to the south. This ended in the submission of Tizerwālt and of the Wādī Nūn and in the departure of the English merchants. The marabout shaikh M^r al-Ainnai [q. v.] whose anti-foreign influence was increasing in the Sahara undertook to put a stop to any Christian enterprise on these coasts. It was not till four years after his death, in 1916, that Spain established herself on Cape Juby and a German submarine landed a mission to seek an alliance with his son Mawlay Ahmad al-Haiba, who was directing the opposition of the tribes in the Anti-Atlas against the French advance; this last effort led to nothing.

Wādī Nūn besides had no longer the same reasons for attracting Europeans: the power of the Bairūk no longer existed, the progress of the French in Southern Algeria and in the sub-tropical zone had gradually lessened the trans-Saharan traffic and Awgelimū had gradually lost all its commercial importance.

Political organisation. Each village of the Wādī Nūn has its own organisation: a chief and an assembly of notables. It is also attached to the organisation of the tribe on which it depends, an organisation which has almost always a tendency to monarchy. The majority are in the system of alliances which among the Tekna divides the tribes of the coast (Ait Djmal) from the tribes of the interior (Ait Athman or Ait Bella).

Economic life. In the Wādī Nūn a few cereals are grown, the vine and tobacco. The latter has a certain reputation in all the western Sūdān. There are also palm-trees, figs, pomegranates, a few arganiers, oranges and Barbary figs. Numerous hives produce an excellent honey. The main wealth of the country is in rearing camels, horses, cattle and particularly sheep and goats.

Industry is rudimentary; there are a few armourers and several Jewish goldsmiths. Fishing is practised by certain tribes of the Tekna.

The markets of Awgelimū and Tighmart are of only local significance. The most notable are the fairs (*māsim*, *awggār*) of Asir, Ksāl and Awgelimū which annually give an opportunity for the settled population and the nomads to exchange commodities. Trans-Saharan trade has practically disappeared completely.

Bibliography: On account of the relations of Wādī Nūn with Europe the bibliography of this province of Morocco is very important; and will be found in the bibliography of the western Sahara publ. by M. Funck Brentano in *Hesperis* (vol. xi., 1930, fasc. i.—ii.). — In addition to the classical historians and geographers of North Africa (al-Bakri, al-Idrisi, Abu 'l-Fida', Ibn Khaldūn, Leo Africanus, Marmol), we only mention the more important here: *Histoire du Naufrage et de la captivité de M. de Brisson*, Geneva 1789; R. Adams, *The Narrative of Robert Adams*, London 1816; J. Riley, *Loss of the American brig Commerce*, London 1817; F. D. B., *Naufrage du brick la Nossa Senhora-da-Conceição*, in Lafont, *Voyages autour du monde et naufrages célèbres*, Paris 1844—1847, vol. viii.; Cochelet, *Naufrage du brick français la Sophie*, Paris 1821; Davidson, *Notes taken during Travels in Africa*, London 1839; Panet, *Relation d'un voyage du Sénégal à Souira*, in *Rev. marit. et colon.*, 1850; Bou el Moghdal, *Voyage par terre entre le Sénégal et le Maroc*, in *Rev. marit. et colon.*, May 1861; El Uad Nun y Tekna segun Gatell, in *Rev. geograph. commercial*, 1865; Jannasch, *Die deutsche Handelsexpedition 1886*, Berlin 1887; Douls, *Voyage d'exploration à travers le Sahara occidental et le Sud marocain*, in *Bull. Soc. de Géogr.*, Paris 1888, ix.; A. Le Chatellier, *Tribus du Sud-ouest marocain*, Paris 1891; P. Marty, *Les tribus de la Haute Mauritanie*, Paris 1915; R. Montagne, *Les Berbères et le Maquis dans le Sud du Maroc*, Paris 1930.

(F. DE LA CHAPELLE)

WADIA (A.), deposit, custody, is a contract (*'ahd*) by which the depositor (*muḍī'*, *mustawḍi'*) hands over to the depositary (*muḍā'*, *mustawḍā'*) a thing to be kept and returned intact at a later date. Wadia means not only the thing to be kept but also the agreement regarding the transaction. The custody is therefore based on a special agreement and is therefore dealt with in legal works as a branch of the law of contract, while in the case of *amāna* 'entrusted goods' there is no agreement but only a general obligation to keep faith, without a binding agreement; under *amāna* therefore come such things as come into the keeping (*yad*) of any one by chance or without special intention, e.g. a garment blown into the house by the wind or an article found (*luḥṭa*) or a pledge (*rahn*).

1. Wadia is not found as a technical term in the Qur'ān but only *amāna* in the more general

meaning. Muhammad with all emphasis admonishes his followers to keep their contracts and to restore goods and pledges entrusted to their care (Sūra iv. 61; ii. 283) and promises Paradise to those who obey these commands (xxiii. 8 *ayy.*; lxx. 32). These verses show how little and how reluctantly the pagan Arabs fulfilled the obligations and agreements they had entered upon. The later *fuḥaḥ* also quoted Sūra v. 31: "Help one another to do good and to the fear of God" in order to find support for the contract of custody in the Qur'an and represent it as a commendable action (*mustaḥabb*).

2. Traditions also remind that goods entrusted should be restored: "To whom a thing is entrusted, he should return it" or "give the thing entrusted back to him who entrusted it to you". More numerous are the *ḥadīths* which relate to compensation when the thing deposited has been lost or has perished; in these cases there is no liability (Ibn Māḍja, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb 7; *Kam al-Ummūl*, viii., No. 5443, 5444, 5448, 5449, 5450) because the depositary is regarded as a person worthy of confidence (*Kam al-Ummūl*, No. 5444, 5447). In other *ḥadīths* it is asserted that there is a forfeit, because the depositary has not observed the necessary care or has acted illegally, although this is not definitely asserted in the traditions (*Kam al-Ummūl*, No. 5451, 5452).

3. In the Fikḥ books the doctrine and legal position of *wad'ia* are minutely expounded. According to the jurists we have the following rules:

1. Placing in custody is a contract (*uqd*) and an *uqd ḡḡā'ī*, i.e. a revocable contract which can be cancelled at any time simply at the wish of one of the parties. The following conditions (*arkān*) are necessary to secure the validity of the agreement:

a. The two contracting parties must be capable of doing business. Therefore a minor (*ṣagīr*), a lunatic (*maḡḡūn*) and a spendthrift (*rafḥ*, *muḥadḥar*) who has no guardian, can neither put nor take anything in trust, i.e. he can be neither a depositor nor a depositary. If a minor makes a deposit with a person competent to do business, there is no contract but it is binding on the ground of *amāna*.

b. Only such things as are *ḡayr* can be deposited. Therefore impure things (*najis*) for example cannot be deposited.

c. A form (*ṣiḡa*) is requisite and this is offer and acceptance (*alḡāb ma-ḡabūl*), i.e. the declaration by both that they are willing; one must have the will to give the thing into custody and the other to take it. This may be expressed in words or in other form of declaration or may be done silently, e.g. by the depositary at once taking over the thing silently after the depositor has offered it.

II. The depositary's obligation to preserve. He has to keep the thing as such things are kept, "as is the custom in ordinary usage". He has to use the care with which he preserves his own things. In the words of Roman law *diligentia quam in suis*. As to the place of preservation, he can keep the thing deposited where he pleases. But if the depositor has given instructions and directions about the method and place of custody the depositary must observe them strictly.

If he does not do so, he is liable to pay compensation if the goods suffer injury or perish.

III. The right to compensation (*ḡamāl*). The depositary is not liable if the thing deposited is damaged or perishes through no fault of his. Nor is he liable for the acts of a higher power or accident. On the other hand in cases of *tafrīt* and *ta'addī*, the depositary is always liable.

a. It is a case of *tafrīt*, when he does less than he ought to, i.e. omits the necessary care. This occurs:

1. When he does not prevent damage to the thing deposited, e.g. if he neglects to give food and water to a mule left with him or does not keep the moths from clothes deposited with him.

2. If he is neglectful in the usual way of preserving the thing deposited and does not observe the instructions of the depositor.

b. It is a case of *ta'addī*, if he "exceeds the bounds", i.e. proceeds contrary to the law. This occurs:

1. If he deposits the thing with a third person, for the deposit is based on the personal confidence which the depositor has placed in a definite individual known to him. Ibn Abi Laila alone allows the depositary to deposit again. Opinion differs regarding further deposit with members of the family. As members of the family are considered such persons as live with the depositary and belong to his household: wife, children, parents, servants, slaves, *umm walad*. The Shāfi'ī jurists follow *ḡayr* and forbid further depositing, while the Hanafī and Mālikī who follow *istiḡāla* allow it. According to all schools, however, the depositary may deposit again in face of pressure of a higher power in order to save the thing deposited. As cases of this kind the examples are given of shipwreck, fire, inundation, enemy raids.

2. If the depositary uses the thing or derives advantage from it, e.g. if he wears the deposited clothes or rides the mule: unless he is trying thereby to avert damage.

IV. The termination of the contract. The contract of preservation is extinguished by the return of the thing deposited. Both parties have the right to dissolve the agreement when they please. The restoration can therefore be made at any time and at the wish of one party, since this contract is an *uqd ḡḡā'ī*. If one of the two parties dies or becomes insane the agreement is dissolved. The thing remains until its return *amāna* in the hand of the depositary. Here again we have a clear distinction between depositing by agreement and *amāna* with no agreement.

If the depositary refuses the return of the article without reason, the degree of liability increases, if the thing deposited deteriorates. While the depositary is generally not responsible for any casual deterioration, he is now liable for casual deterioration also, since he is delaying restitution.

4. In literature, a thing entrusted to some one's custody sometimes plays an important part in a story. Entrusting with a depositary, especially a faithless or deceitful one, provides well-known motives (cf. *Handwörterbuch des Deutschen Märchens*, ed. L. Mackensen, s.v. *Unredliche Aufbewahrer*). The motif most frequently occurring in Oriental literature is that of the faithless depositary who is in turn outwitted. The *ḡāḡ* is frequently represented as a deceitful depositary. As it would lead us too far to analyse the legal

principles underlying this and the motives, we only mention the more important literature with its parallels: Ibn al-Jawzi, *Kiṣāb al-Adhbiyā*, Cairo 1277, p. 55; al-Wajūz, *Gharar al-Khawāṣṣ*, Bulāq 1284, p. 98; R. Hassel, in *Revue des traditions popu.*, vi. (1891), p. 66—67; Chauvin, ix. 13; Born Jada, ii. 237; *Hikāyat-i Laff*, Lucknow 1912, A. Heyne, No. 10, 23, 30; Lessinski, *Peri. Schuurren*, No. 40; Th. Menzel, *Der Zauberspiegel*, Hanover 1924, p. 89; R. Köhler, *Kl. Schriften*, ii. 491; Zachariae, *Kl. Schriften*, p. 167, 390; S. B. P. A. W., 1883, p. 586; G. Jacob, *Türk. Bibl.*, v. 25; *Zeitschr. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde*, xviii. 69.

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WAFĀ, *SHARAF AL-DIN 'ALI HUSAINI*, a Persian poet of the xviiith century, belonged to a family of sayids of Kumm, who had charge of the mausoleum of Fāṭima, daughter of the Imām Muṣā Kaṣim [cf. KUMM]. He went to India at the end of the reign of Nādir Shāh, stayed there nearly 30 years, returned home in 1180 (1766), made the pilgrimage to Mecca and died in Persia in 1194 (1780). The Asiatic Society of Bengal possesses a short *mathnawī* entitled *Lu'lu'-i manjūm* 'Pearls arranged in Order' by him; his *Diwan* is in the India Office Library.

Other poets have had the same *tahalluṣ*: 1. Wafā' of Ferehān (Mirzā Muḥammad-i Husain), a sayid and mystic, brother of Mirzā 'Isā, called the great Ka'im-maṣūm. He was for a time a minister of the Zand dynasty and on their disappearance rendered great service to the Qājārs. He died at Karwān and has left a *Diwan*; 2. Wafā' of Yazd (Aḥa Muḥammad), a poet of the sixth century; 3. Wafā' Ashrafi (Mirzā Mahdi Kālī), also of the sixth century, was a descendant of a Georgian family that had settled in Persia in the time of the Sāfawīs; he was secretary to Minūshir Khān Muṭamad al-Dawla; he wrote a beautiful hand; 4. Wafā' of Tafrish (Mirzā 'Abd Allāh Khān), a derwish, was for some time in the service of the princes of the imperial family, Zill al-Saltān and Shākh 'Alī Mirzā; he once visited Shirāz.

Bibliography: Ridā Kālī Khān, *Madjma'-i Fupahā*, ii. 527, 528, 566; Lutf 'Alī Beg, *Atiqā Kade* (not paged, towards the end, in the chapter on contemporary poets); A. Sprenger, *Catalogue of Oudā*, Calcutta 1854, i. 584; Ethé, *Cat. Pers. MSS. India Office*, i. No. 1718; W. Ivanow, *Descriptive Catalogue*, Calcutta 1924, p. 398. (CL. HUARY)

WĀFIR, the name of the fourth metre in Arab prosody. It consists in theory of three

muṣ'alatun to the hemistich, but in practice the third foot becomes *muṣ'al* (= *fa'ālun*). It has two 'arūḍ and three *ḍarb*. The first 'arūḍ has one *ḍarb* and the second has two:

1. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{muṣ'alatun, muṣ'alatun, fa'ālun;} \\ \text{muṣ'alatun, muṣ'alatun, fa'ālun} \end{array} \right.$
2. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{muṣ'alatun, muṣ'alatun; muṣ'alatun,} \\ \text{muṣ'alatun} \\ \text{muṣ'alatun, muṣ'alatun; muṣ'alatun,} \\ \text{muṣ'ālun.} \end{array} \right.$

The alterations that may be undergone by the feet are as follows: 1. the fairly frequent disappearance of the vowel of the *lām* in *muṣ'alatun* (*muṣ'altun* = *muṣ'ālun*); 2. the rather rare disappearance of the *lām* and its vowel (*muṣ'altun* = *muṣ'ālun*); 3. the excessively rare disappearance of the vowel of the *lām* and of the *nūn* (*muṣ'altu* = *muṣ'ālun*). It sometimes also happens that the first foot of the first line of a poem loses its *mīm* and taken with the above changes, we have *fa'alatun*, *fa'atun* and *fa'altu*.

(MOH. BEN CHENED)

WAFK, plur. *Aufāḥ*, magic square, i.e. a square divided up like a chessboard, each square of which is inscribed with numerals, letters or words; it is worn as a talisman against illness and for all sorts of other purposes, or can be used for all kinds of magic.

The simplest form of a magic square is the nine compartmented square with numbers as shown in fig. 1. Under the name *Ḍ-ḍā*, it is mentioned in Chinese literature: The legendary Emperor Yü (2200 B.C.) is said to have seen it on the back of a turtle which arose out of the Hoang-Ho. In Arabic

4	9	2	15
3	5	7	18
8	1	6	15
12	10	14	

Fig. 1.

literature, the square is first found similarly arranged in the *Kiṭāb al-Mawāḍin* of Djābir b. Haiyān, whose writings we must now date about 900 A.D. There it is ascribed to Bāṭnīs (Apollonius of Tyana) and is said to facilitate child-bearing if written on two unused pieces of linen and tied below the mother's feet. The same amulet with the same use is also described by al-Gharālī (1058—1111) in the *Munḍibā*: it is still in use to-day as 'Gharālī's seal'. The essential point in the arrangement of the numbers is that all lines, vertical, horizontal and diagonal, should yield the total of 15. This is only possible if 5 is put in the middle of the four even numbers in the corners and the remaining (odd) numbers in the middle compartments. Beside that shown in figure 1, seven other arrangements are possible, but they do not differ essentially from the first, as they are easily obtained by revolving or interchanging the lines. In manuscripts of the *Kawā'id* of the Iḥwān al-Safā, the method of filling up the square is described in terms of moves in chess. In the *Sifr ha-Shem* of Abraham ben 'Ezra (1092—1167) the square is connected with the name of God on account of the sum $15 = \overline{\text{p}}$. The corner figures form in the Arabic alphabetic numerals the word *indūḥ* (q.v.) which is considered a particularly powerful charm.

If we may believe the statements of the Arab bibliographers, Thābit b. Qurra (826—901 A. D.) wrote on magic squares. In this case, it is natural to suppose that this mathematician did not confine himself simply to the square with nine compartments, but also showed how to form squares with 16, 25 and 36 and more compartments. It is also not impossible that the connection of the squares with the planets goes back to Thābit, i. e. to the Sabaeans.

According to Suter, *Mathematiker und Astronomen*, p. 93, Ibn al-Haitham (965—1039) also dealt with the subject of magic squares; but it is mainly the mathematicians or students of secret sciences in the XIIIth century whose works on magic squares are recorded. Only the works of al-Būnī (d. 1225), the *Kitāb Shams al-Ma'arif* and the *Kitāb al-Durr al-Manqūm fī 'Ilm al-Awṣāf wa 'l-Nuṣūṣ*, are known in detail. In these we find the use of magic squares developed in all directions which presupposes a long history behind it. A collection of the ways of using them would fill many pages and cannot be given here. In al-Būnī it is a striking fact that squares with the base four predominate, no doubt because these already show a large number of independent forms, which the author makes available for his purposes. Still very frequent, apart from the base 3, is the base 5; squares with the base 6, which are difficult to prepare, do not seem to exist, and squares with still higher basic figures seem to follow simpler rules.

Among the innovations which appear in al-Būnī the first is the increase in the size of the numbers inscribed in the compartments. It is easy to see that the conditions for magic squares will also be fulfilled if each number is raised by the same

36	41	34
35	37	39
40	33	38

Fig. 2.

As the Arabs use two systems of numerals side by side, the two systems are easily mixed. The

40	13	37
27	30	33
23	47	20

Fig. 3.

by their numerical values (fig. 4). The sum of all the numbers in one line or vertical series must give 299 as this is the numerical value of the clue word. But we get this sum only in the vertical rows *e* and *e'*; all the other sums differ

amount or if the numbers form arithmetical series (fig. 2 and 3). That in the MSS. and editions of the *Kitāb Shams al-Ma'arif* many defective squares are found is partly due to the copyists. How the squares can be put right with as little correction as possible has been shown by W. Ahrens in his works.

	a	b	c	d	e	
I	50	1	40	8	200	299
II	38	11	198	38	4	299
III	196	51	2	21	9	299
IV	5	31	7	99	49	199
V	6	29	52	3	37	199
	295	123	299	109	299	

Fig. 4.

more or less. If we put the figures written in the squares in order of magnitude we get the groups

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 21.
29, 31, 37, 38, 38, 40, 49, 50, 51, 52.
99, 196, 198, 200.

The figures 21, 29, 31, 99 cannot be correct, because they do not fit into the five-lined rows; 38 also occurs twice. If we replace the 38 below 8 by 48, the 21 by 41, we get two new correct lines II and III, and if we write 199 for 99, the vertical row *d* also becomes correct. Now we only

	a	b	c	d	e	
I	50	1	40	8	200	299
II	38	11	198	48	4	299
III	196	51	2	41	9	299
IV	5	39	7	199	49	299
V	10	197	52	3	37	299
	299	299	299	299	299	

Fig. 5.

need to replace 31 by 39 in order to get line IV correct also. For the last wrong numbers 6 and 29 we have to put 10 and 197 in order to have 299 everywhere, including the diagonals (fig. 5). The rows of figures are therefore now

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41.
48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200.

had fulfil the condition that one of the numbers must be in every horizontal and perpendicular row.

Al-Būnī's elaborate arrangements of squares which are filled with letters and whole words cannot be explained here; the squares which are now usually called "Latin" are of no particular interest. Only the large amulets of 7×7 squares which are allotted to the days of the week and therefore to the planets may be mentioned here, because it shows that the idea of allotting the simpler magic squares to the planets and metals was not

yet in general use. What al-Būnī tells us on this subject in the *Shams al-Ma'ārif* is not complete; presumably the second work contains more about it. In any case, the two systems — the one ascending from Saturn to the moon, the other reversed — must have been well-known in the Muslim world by the xiiith or at latest the xivth century. In the west, the first system became widely disseminated through the *Occulta Philosophia* of Agrippa of Nettesheim (1533), the second is taught in the *Practica Arithmetica* of Cardanus. The period when the making of seals of the planets was especially popular was the xvth or xvith century. In the coin cabinets we find complete collections of seals of different metals as follows:

The seal of Saturn with the magic square 3×3 of lead.

The seal of Jupiter with the magic square 4×4 of tin.

The seal of Mars with the magic square 5×5 of iron.

The seal of the Sun with the magic square 6×6 of gold.

The seal of Venus with the magic square 7×7 of copper.

The seal of Mercury with the magic square 8×8 of silver plating.

The seal of the Moon with the magic square 9×9 of silver.

In the east a number of empirical rules seem to have been used for the preparation of magic squares. The "rule of the Indians" was first made known by La Loubère about 1691. Long before this, however, the Byzantine Moschopolus (c. 1400) dealt with the problem in a general form. From the middle of the xvth century onwards, i.e. after the seals of the planets became known in the west, the mathematical side of the problem has been continually studied down to the present day. For the literature of the subject S. Günther's work should be consulted specially.

Bibliography: In addition to the books mentioned in the text, I may mention: Michael Stifel, *Arithmetica integra*, 1544; Bachet de Méziriac, *Problèmes plaisans etc.*, 1624; Ath. Kircher, *Arithmologia*, 1665; De la Hire, *Neuvelles constructions et considérations sur les quarrés magiques*, 1705; Oranam, *Récréations mathématiques et physiques*, 1725; Mollweile, *De quadratis magicis commentatio*, 1816; F. Dieterich, *Propädeutik der Araber*, 1865; S. Günther, *Vermischte Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der mathematischen Wissenschaften*, Leipzig 1876, chap. iv., p. 188—270; H. Schubert, *Mathematische Mustertafeln*, Leipzig 1900, II. 17—48; W. Ahrens, *Die magischen Zahlenquadrate in der Geschichte des Aberglaubens*, in *Himmel und Erde*, xxvii. (1915); do., *Studien über die magischen Quadrate der Araber*, in *Id.*, vii. (1916), 186—250; do., *Mathematische Unterhaltungen und Spiele*, Leipzig 1918, II. 1—54; do., *Die magischen Quadrate al-Būnīs*, in *Id.*, xii. (1922), 157—177; G. Bergsträsser, *Zu den mathematischen Quadraten*, in *Id.*, xii. (1923), 227—235. Further references are given in the last mentioned publications. (J. RUKKA)

AL-WAFRĀNĪ or **AL-IFRĀNĪ**, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUHAMMAD b. AL-HĀDĪ MUHAMMAD b. 'ABD ALLĀH, called al-Ṣaḡhīr, a Moroccan biographer and historian, born in Marrākush in 1080 (1669—1670); he belonged to the Berber

tribe of the Ifrān or Ufrān (Wafrañ) which was settled in the south of Morocco in the valley of the Wādī Dar'a. We know very few details of his life. He studied in his native town, then at Fās and spent his life in one or other of the chief towns of Morocco or at the *awāsiya* of the Ṣaḡhāwa (q.v.) of Abū 'I-Ljād (Bujad). Towards the end of his life he was *imām* and preacher (*khatīb*) at the Masjid Yūsuf (or Madrasat Ibn Yūsuf) in Marrākush; he died in 1120 (1727) or 1151.

Al-Wafrañī is best known as the author of the great chronicle of the Sa'dians of Morocco entitled *Nuḥat al-ḥādī bi-Aḥbār Mulūk al-Karn al-ḥādī*, ed. and transl. by O. Houdas, *Nuḥat al-ḥādī, Histoire de la dynastie saadienne au Maroc (1511—1610)*, in *P. E. L. O. V.*, 3rd ser., vol. II., Paris 1888—1889 and lithographed at Fās in 1307 A.H. It is by far the most important source for the history of the first of the Sharifian dynasties of Morocco, for it makes use not only of contemporary chronicles but also to some extent of state documents which the author studied at first hand. It covers the period 917 (1511—1512) to the end of the xth (xviith) century and deals, very unequally however, with the reigns of various Sa'dian princes, the longest and most detailed section naturally being that dealing with the reign of Sulṭān Ahmad al-Manṣūr (q.v.). For a critical study of the matter of the *Nuḥat al-ḥādī*, see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chérifs*, Paris 1922, p. 120 sqq.

Besides his history of the Sa'dians, al-Wafrañī wrote other historical, biographical and literary works. These are, in chronological order: 1. *al-Maslak al-sahl fi Sharḥ Tamdhīb Ibn Sahl*, a commentary on a poem by the famous poet of Spain Ibrāhīm b. Sahl, lithographed at Fās in 1324; 2. a monograph on the 'Alawid sultan of Morocco Mawḥy Ismā'īl, *al-Zill al-warīf fi Maṣāḥib Mawḥy Ismā'īl Ibn al-Sharīf*; 3. an unfinished monograph on the "Seven Saints" of Marrākush, *Durar al-ḥidāyāt fi Ma'āthir ṣaḥāb al-Riḡāl*; 4. a historical summary, presumably in the form of an *urjū'at*, *al-Mu'rib fi Aḥbār al-Maḡarīb*; and lastly 5. a biographical collection on Moroccan saints of the xth cent. A.H., *Ṣafwat man intaḥar min Aḥbār Ṣulakh al-Karn al-ḥādī 'aḥbar*. The last work, which has been lithographed in Fās, is an indispensable work of reference for the history of the Sharifian and Marabout movement in Morocco from the end of the middle ages.

Bibliography: al-Kādiri, *Nuḥat al-Maḥāḥi*, Fās 1310, I. 3; al-'Abbās b. Ibrāhīm al-Marrākushī, *Iḥḥār al-Kamāl*, Fās 1334, I. 181—183; Ibn al-Muwakkkit, *al-Safāda al-abadiyya*, Fās 1336, I. 112—115; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, II. 457; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chérifs, Essai sur la littérature historique et biographique au Maroc du XV^e au XX^e siècle*, Paris 1922, p. 112—131, 306—9.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-WĀH (pl. **AL-WĀHĪT**), the name of a group of oases to the west of Egypt. There are three of them: the first is opposite the Faiyūm and reaches to the level of Aswān; it is the largest of the oases and contains several villages; its palms give the best dates in Egypt. The second is smaller and less populous. The third is the smallest and contains a village named Santaria. This is the information given by Yaḳūt. Maḡrībī makes four oases which he calls outer

and inner; in his time Santaria was a little town of about 600 inhabitants of Herber stock called Stwa who spoke a dialect resembling that of the Zenāta. The soil of the oases produced alum and vitriol; the exportation of 1,000 quintals of alum per annum was imposed on the boilers of the field (*maḥṣa*) by the Aiyūbids of Calro; later this contribution was neglected and finally ceased. There are springs of acid flavour, the water of which is used in place of vinegar, and others of astringent and salt taste; there are about twenty springs of fresh water. Certain illnesses are endemic and fevers common. There are groves of palm-trees, olive-trees, fig-trees and vines. There was said to be an extraordinary citron tree there which yielded 4,000 citrons each year; which may be compared with the examples given by botanists of the fertility of the Auranitaceae. In 339 (950) the oases were ravaged by a Nubian army, which carried off numerous prisoners.

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WAHAB B. MUNABBIH, ABU 'ABD ALLĀH, a South Arabian story-teller (*ḥaṣṣi al-ḥikāyat*; Ḥabābi, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xlv. 483) of Persian descent who was born in Ḥimār, two days' journey from San'a in 34 A. H. (no credence need be given to statements that he adopted Islām in 10 A. H.). Wahb is celebrated as an authority on the traditions of the *Ahl al-Kutub* and like his brothers Hammām, Ḥaṣṣān and Maḥṣin is classed among the *ṣāḥibān*. The earliest sources know nothing of the story that before his conversion to Islām he belonged to the *Ahl al-Kutub* (*Fihrist*, p. 22) or more precisely was a Jew (Ibn Khaldūn, ed. Quatremère, ii. 179); he was presumably born a Muslim. Thāḥiṣ (p. 191) records a story of his meeting Muḥwiya, and al-Maḥṣin says that al-Walid sent him an inscription discovered in Damascus to be deciphered. We also learn that he held the office of *ḥaṣṣi* in San'a, and it is related how in the emirate of 'Urwa b. Muḥammad he once beat with the emir's stick to the effusion of blood an official (*ḥaṣṣi*) against whom the people complained. When the saying is attributed to him that by accepting the office of judge, he lost the gift of foreseeing the future in dreams, this is only, as in numerous similar utterances, meant to be a warning against accepting this office (see Wensinck, in *Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Browne*, p. 496 sqq.). Many stories are told of his ascetic mode of life: for forty years no word of abuse of any living creature ever crossed his lips; for forty years he never slept on a carpet and for twenty years never performed a *waḥṣ* between the night and morning prayer (i.e. lived a life of continence). In keeping with this ascetic mode of life is the utterance he made after being thrown into prison: *ahdathā 'ilāhī lannā 'l-ḥabīb fa-ahdathnā lannā ziyādāt 'isādāt* (Ḥabābi, *op. cit.*, p. 492), an Islāmic counterpart to Job i. 21. Warnings against quarrelsomeness are also attributed to him and the advice not to avoid the society of men but rather to meet them with caution: to be deaf when listening, blind when seeing or dumb when speaking. Wahb is said originally to have professed *ḥudā*, but later rejected this teaching as in contradiction to all revealed scriptures. In what period of his life the already mentioned

imprisonment fell, is not recorded; probably not till his last years for he died as a result of a flogging to which he was sentenced by the governor of the Yaman, Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Thaḥāfi, in 110 or 114 A. H.

Wahb's intimacy with the traditions of the *Ahl al-Kutub* is attributed to the fact that he had read 70, 72, 73 or even 92 of their holy scriptures, statements which, as the lists of his writings show, are pure inventions; his knowledge apparently came from intercourse with learned Jews and Christians in his native district. His statements which are sometimes in complete agreement with Jewish and Christian sources and sometimes are variants adapted to Muslim tradition cover the field of *Aḥādith al-Anbiyā'* wa-*l-Uḥūd wa-^{al}-Aḥādith Bani Isrā'il* (Ibn Sa'd, vii. 97), and were handed down to posterity by his pupils among whom several members of his own family were prominent. 'Abd al-Mun'im b. Idris (d. 229 A. H.), the son of his daughter, in particular distinguished himself in preserving his grandfather's writings. Wahb's *Kutub al-Mubtada'*, which Thāḥiṣ used in the redaction of 'Abd al-Mun'im, is ascribed in the *Fihrist*, p. 94, to the latter and quoted by al-Maḥṣin as *Kutub al-Mubtada'* wa-*l-Siyar*; *al-Mubtada'* in this title is to be interpreted as *Mubtada'* *al-Khalq* (cf. Ibn Kṭāibā, *Maḥṣin*, p. 4) and *al-Siyar* perhaps means not only the *Ḥiṣṣat al-Anbiyā'* but also the *Ḥiṣṣat al-Aḥyār* (Ḥāḍiṣi Khālifa, N° 9436) where the *Aḥyār* correspond to the *Uḥūd* of Ibn Sa'd. Ḥāḍiṣi Khālifa (N° 9826) also ascribes to Wahb a *Kutub al-Isrā'iliyyāt*, which does not seem to have been known under this name at an earlier date. Yāqūt, *Uḍḍat*, vii. 232, says of Wahb that he was *ḥaṣṣi 'l-naḥṣ min al-kutub al-ḥadīth al-ma'rūfa bi-l-Isrā'iliyyāt*, i. e. he uses *al-Isrā'iliyyāt* for the writings of "Israelitish" origin, which Wahb used as sources. In later writers we frequently find quotations from Wahb's *Isrā'iliyyāt* but such passages are neither sufficiently reliable nor ample enough to reconstruct Wahb's supposed work, as Chanvin tried to do. It is certain that Wahb took account of Jewish as well as Christian tradition; this is proved by the numerous quotations which survive in Ibn Kṭāibā, Thāḥiṣ, Maḥṣin, etc. Statements attributed to him even in these older sources are frequently contradictory and have apparently undergone all kinds of alterations in the various compilations to which they are to be traced. At a later period, stories of doubtful origin were readily given the authority of his name; in particular, what is credited to him in works like al-Kaṣṣa's *Ḥiṣṣat* clearly bears the stamp of later invention. In a separate work, the *Kutub al-Muṣṣiḥ al-mutaḥawwaj min Ḥimyar wa-^{al}-Aḥbār al-ḥimyar wa-^{al}-Ḥiṣṣat al-ḥimyar wa-^{al}-Aḥbār al-ḥimyar*, Wahb dealt with the early legendary history of his native land. This work has not survived but it was presumably from it that Ibn Hishām borrowed the introduction to his *Kutub al-Tiḡān*; Ibn Hishām does not mention the name of the book but takes Wahb's statements from the transmission of his grandson. In the work used by Ibn Hishām, Wahb follows Biblical sources completely in his account of early history and gives in it — in contrast to the plan followed in the *Mubtada'* — the names and figures of the Biblical text exactly; he even regularly gives alongside of the Hebrew forms of names, those of the Syriac translation. — Ibn Isḥāq took over

Wahb's account of the beginnings of Christianity in South Arabia (Ibn Hishām, p. 20), and Tabari frequently quotes from Ibn Ishāq the stories he had taken from Wahb. For the biography of Muhammad, on the other hand, Ibn Ishāq never quotes Wahb as a source nor does Wāḳidī, Ibn Sa'd or Tabari. Hādījī Khalifa, No. 12,464 however, says of Wahb that he collected *maghāzī* and among the papyri of the Schott-Reinhardt collection, C. H. Becker discovered a fasciculus of a biography of the Prophet by Wahb which deals with events before the Hijra, and even includes the expedition against the Khath'am. Wahb therefore did deal with *maghāzī* proper. The same grandson of Wahb, 'Abd al-Man'im, as transmitted the *Mukadda*, also appears in the *imād* of the Heidelberg papyrus written in 228 A. H. The latter confirms what was already to be deduced from the quotations in Tabari and others that Wahb himself did not know of the use of the *imād*; it also shows that Wahb, like Ibn Ishāq, used to intersperse his stories with inserted poetry. Ibn Sa'd (vii/ii. 97) mentions that Wahb's grandson used to read his *ḥikma* as well as his books, and a *ḥikmat Wahb* in four parts is quoted by Abū Bakr Muhammad b. Khair (d. 575 A. H.) in his *Fihrist* (see *Bibl. Ar. Hist.*, ix. 29) with a complete *imād* going back to Wahb's nephew. This *ḥikma* may be supposed to have been a collection of wise sayings taken, some from Jewish and Christian tradition and some wrongly ascribed to it; according to Ibn Kūṭayba, Wahb read over 10,000 chapters in the *ḥikmat Luḥmān*. The *Mawāṣiṭ* must have been of similar content, which the same Abū Bakr in his *Fihrist* (op. cit., p. 294) ascribes to Wahb and traces back to Abū 'l-Yās, the pupil of Wahb also mentioned in the Heidelberg papyrus. Finally he also attributes to Wahb a translation of the Psalms (op. cit., p. 294): *Kitāb Zabūr Dāwūd Tarjūmat Wahb Ibn Munabbih*; it is perhaps identical with the *Kitāb al-Mawāṣiṭ Tarjūmat al-Zabūr* which still exists, which however is not attributed to a particular author but is said to be by the 'Ulamā' al-ṣif in general (cf. *zanūb*). For the sake of completeness we may also mention the *Kitāb al-Kadar*, which Wahb composed but he later regretted having done so (see *Vāḳat*, op. cit., p. 232) as well as the *Futūḥ*, which Hādījī Khalifa (No. 8932) quotes but which seem to be otherwise quite unknown.

Much has undoubtedly been attributed to Wahb for which he is not responsible. That he pursued serious studies can hardly be denied in view of the exact reproduction of Biblical matter preserved by Ibn Hishām in his *Kitāb al-Tarjūmān*; when on the other hand even Ibn Kūṭayba points out the contradictions between Wahb's statements and the text of Genesis, the only explanation must be that either the information collected by Wahb was very early remodelled by those who transmitted it, in the manner of the popular story-tellers (*ḥuffā*), or that Wahb himself adapted it to popular taste.

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dis quae dicuntur prophetica, p. 2 199, 44 199; Chauviu, *La révélation égyptienne des Mille et une nuits*, p. 31 199, 51 199; Steinschneider, *Arab. Lit. der Juden*, § 14; C. H. Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, i. 8 19; Goldziher, *Richtungen*, Index; Huart, in *J. A.*, ser. x., vol. iv., p. 331 199; Fück, *Muhammad Ibn Isḥāq*, p. 4. (J. HOKOVITZ)

WAHĪB, a Turkish poet, usually called Saiyid Wahb to distinguish him from Sünbülzāde Wahb [q. v.]. He was a contemporary of Nedim and like him a native of Stambul. His father Hādījī Ahmed, the *ḫāya* of Imāmzāde, Kaḍi of Yenışehir, claimed to be descended from the Prophet through a certain Husām al-Dīn. After the latter, his son Husām, our poet, was at first given the *nisba* Husām but then, on the suggestion of Ahmed Nālī, the man of letters, given instead the *nisba* Wahbī, since it was a gift of God (*wahb*) that he combined in himself descent from the Prophet (*saiyidullāh*) with the gift of poetry (*ḥafīzullāh*).

Wahbī chose a judicial career and became mollā in Aleppo. When a son was born to his *wā'il* there, the latter was also called Wahbī after him; this boy later became the poet Sünbülzāde Wahbī. Saiyid Wahbī was present at the reception of the Persian ambassador Murtaḍā Kūli Khān in Stambul in 1134 (1721). At the inspection of the Arsenal on this occasion he is said to have jokingly asked the ambassador to crawl into a huge cannon in order to be able to report this in Isfahān as proof of its size, which, to the amusement of those present, the ambassador took seriously. The poet also took part in the reception to the ambassador 'Abd al-'Azīz Khān in 1138 (1726). After Saiyid Wahbī had made the pilgrimage to Mecca and returned again to Stambul he died in 1149 (1736). He is buried in the cemetery of the monastery of the rope-dancers (*Dizdārīyā Tekkesi* or *Mirdīdī*) near the mosque of Dīrārā Pasha. His tombstone bears a *wā'iz* by Aliyābī Nedjīb Efendi. A son of Saiyid Wahbī was the müdarris Munif Efendi, who had also the reputation of being a poet and died as kaḍi of Munif in 1153.

Saiyid Wahbī is reckoned with Nedim, Beligh and Newres as one of the most important representatives of the romantic group in the reign of Ahmed III. He is, like them, mainly a court poet singing the praises of his Sultān. His works have not yet been printed. There is a manuscript in Vienna of the *Kulliyā* (Flügel, No. 725). A *ḥafida* of his is famous in which he celebrates the completion of a well in front of the Bāb-i Hamāyūn, and it is still to be read in letters of gold on the building. According to tradition, the Sultān himself had endeavoured to make a chronogram (*ta'wīḥ*) for it but could not work in the necessary values. The poet succeeded and then added a whole rhyming *ḥafida*. Of other works, Wahbī left a *ḥimn*, also a few isolated poems. He also completed a romantic *methnawī* begun by Kāfzāde Fa'iz (d. 1031 = 1621) entitled *Laila wa-Majnun*. Of importance for social history is his book of festivals (*Sürnām*, MS. in Vienna: Flügel, No. 1092) in which he describes the ceremonial at the court of Ahmed III in connection with the circumcision of four princes and the marriage of five princesses in 1132 (1720) in vivid and attractive fashion. There is also a *ḥafidat* by him on a ghazel of Nedim, which endeavours to imitate

the latter; in other works however, in spite of the fact that he is of the school of Nefim, he strikes an individual note.

Ottoman critics are not quite agreed in their estimate of Wahbi. Ziyā Paşa praises his fine language but finds his other work long-winded and faulty so that not twelve of his ghazels are worth picking out. Kemāl and Nāḍī esteem him highly and would put him at least among the best poets of the second rank and above (Nāḍī: below) Sümbülzade Wehbi.

Bibliography: *Tadhkirat*: Faṭm 443, Sālim 710—714; Rāshid, *Ta'rikh*, v. 404, 421, 425; Hāshim Husain, *Hadīqat al-Ḥawāim*, i. 79; Hādīdī Khālifa, vi. 586, No. 14759; p. 623, No. 14917; Ziyā Paşa, *Khawāṣṣ*, i. introd., p. 17; ii. 5, 64, 116, 135; Nāmīk Kemāl, *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, Istanbul 1303; Nāḍī, *Ednat*, p. 177 sq.; Sāim, *Kumūs al-Aṭām*, vi. 4707; Mehmed Tharīf, *Safīyat al-ḥamān*, iv. 617 sq.; Buruall M. Tāhir, *Ḥamānī Mu'allaḥ*, ii. 234 sq.; Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vii. 264, 291, 295, 331; do., *Geschichte der orientalischen Dichtkunst*, iv. 339 sq.; Gibb, *H.O.P.*, iv. 107—117. (W. BUCKMAN)

WAHHABIYA, Islamic community founded by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb (1115—1201 = 1703—1787). This name was given to the community by its opponents in the founder's lifetime, and is used by Europeans; it is not used by its members in Arabia, who call themselves *Muwaḥḥidūn* "unitarians" and their system (*ṭarīqa*) "Muḥammadan"; they regard themselves as Sunnīs, following the school of Ibn Hanbal, as interpreted by Ibn Taimiyya, who attacked the cult of saints in many of his writings, especially in a *Risāla* condemning the visitation of tombs (in his *Risāla*, Cairo 1323).

§ 1. Life of the Founder. He was of the Banū Sīnān, a branch of Tamīm and was born at 'Uyaina (written by travellers *Ayaynah*, *al-Ayaynah*, *al-Ajina*, *Ayana*), a place now in ruins, but which (according to L. P. Dames, in *M.W.*, xix. 356) "at one time must have had a population of nearly 25,000". He studied at Medina under Sulaimān al-Kurḍī and Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī, both of whom (according to Dahlān) detected in him signs of heresy (*iḥṣād*). Many years of his life seem to have been spent in travel; according to the *Lam'*, he lived four years in Bayra, where he was tutor in the house of a ḥādī Husain; five years in Baghdād, where he married a wealthy woman, who died leaving him "2,000 dinārs"; a year in Kurdistān, two years in Hamadhān, after which he went to Isfahān at the commencement of Nāḍir Shāh's reign (1148 = 1736); here he is said to have studied for four years peripatetic philosophy, the Ishrāḥīya and the Sūfī systems; for a year he attracted students as an exponent of Sūfism, then went to Kum, after which he became an advocate of Ibn Hanbal's school. Returning to 'Uyaina, where he had property, he spent eight months in retirement, and then publicly preached his doctrines, as set forth in his *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd*. He met with some success, but also with much opposition, and indeed from his own relations, such as his brother Sulaimān, who wrote a tract against him, and his cousin 'Abd Allāh b. Husain. It appears from his correspondence that his views attracted attention outside 'Uyaina before he left the place. Different reasons are assigned for his expulsion; according to the *Lam'*, his dispute with

his cousin led to bloodshed between the Tamīm clans of Yamāma, in consequence of which Sulaimān b. Shāmis, al-Anāzi, prince of Hasā, wrote to the governor of the place demanding that he be expelled. He departed with his family and property, said to be considerable, and was received at Dar'ya (at the time a village of 70 houses) where the chieftain Muḥammad b. Sa'ūd accepted his doctrine and undertook its defence and propagation. Possibly later events originated the statement that the two came to an arrangement whereby, should they succeed in enforcing their system on their neighbours, the sovereignty should rest with Ibn Sa'ūd, whereas the religious headship should belong to Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb; this in any case represents the relations between the two. The founder's subsequent history belongs to that of the fortunes of the community.

§ 2. Doctrines of Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb. His general aim was to do away with all innovations (*bid'at*) which were later than the third century of Islām; thus the community are able to acknowledge the authority of the four *sunnī* law-schools, and the six books of tradition. His written polemic and that of his followers is almost entirely aimed at the cult of saints, as exhibited in the building of mausoleums, their employment as mosques, and their visitation. The following list which is taken from the *Lam'* seems to agree with what is known of Wahhābī practice.

1. All objects of worship other than Allāh are false, and all who worship such are deserving of death.
2. The bulk of mankind are not monotheists, since they endeavour to win God's favour by visiting the tombs of saints; their practice therefore resembles what is recorded in the *Kur'ān* of the Meccan *muḥṣirīn*.
3. It is polytheism (*shirk*) to introduce the name of a prophet, saint, or angel, into a prayer.
4. It is *shirk* to seek intercession from any but Allāh.
5. It is *shirk* to make vows to any other being.
6. It involves unbelief (*kūfr*) to profess knowledge not based on the *Kur'ān*, the *Sunna*, or the necessary inferences of the reason.
7. It involves unbelief and heresy (*ilḥād*) to deny *ḥadā* in all acts.
8. It involves unbelief to interpret the *Kur'ān* by a *ta'wīl*.

His system is said to have departed from that of Ibn Hanbal in the following matters:

1. Attendance at public *ṣalāt* is obligatory.
2. Smoking of tobacco is forbidden and punished with stripes not exceeding forty; the shaving of the beard and the use of abusive language are to be punished at the ḥādī's discretion.
3. Alms (*ṣaddat*) are to be paid on secret profits, such as those of trading, whereas Ibn Hanbal exacted them only from manifest produce.
4. The mere utterance of the Islamic creed is not sufficient to make a man a believer, so that animals slaughtered by him are fit for food. Further inquiry must be made into his character.

The list given by S. Zwemer in *The Mohammedan World of to-day* (New York 1906, p. 106) does not differ materially from the above, but contains the following item which may be noticed:

They forbid the use of the rosary, and count the names of God and their prayers on the knuckles of the hand instead.

Wahhābī mosques are built with the greatest simplicity, and no minarets nor ornaments are allowed.

The *Naṣṣat al-Aḥkām* devotes a long section to a list of the practices savouring of paganism current in Arabia in Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb's time; besides the visitation of tombs, reverence was paid to sacred trees and gifts of food were placed on graves. It is clear that the two latter were not "innovations", but survivals of pre-Islamic usage. Charges brought against him of burning theological works on a great scale are treated both by himself and his followers as calumnies; the latter admit the burning of the work *Ramṣ al-Rayāṣ*, but not (apparently) that of the *Dalā'il al-Khawāṣṣ*. The charge of rejecting the Sunna altogether (repeated by Nolde) is certainly erroneous. On the other hand, the destruction of tombs on a great scale was practised both by Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb and his followers. The former destroyed that of Zaid b. al-Khaṭṭāb at Djebaila, and it has recently been carried on on a great scale at al-Rakf of Medina, as a comparison of the photographs in Rif'at Pasha's *Mir'at al-Haramain* (1925) with Eldon Rutter's *Holy Cities of Arabia* (1928) shows.

Various minor points of ritual, in which they claim to have abolished innovations are enumerated in *al-Hadiya al-Sunniya*, p. 47-49; such as: raising the voice in places of *ṣalāt* with matter other than the *ṣalāt*; reciting the Tradition of Abū Huraira before the Friday sermon; special gatherings to hear the *Sirat al-Nabi* recited, etc.

It would appear that under the Banū Rashid the founder's precepts were followed less rigorously than under the Banū Sa'ūd; yet Philby in confining the name Wahhābī to the followers of the latter differs from the other travellers, who regarded Ha'il as for a time the metropolis of the community. As has been seen, the community does not itself recognise the appellation.

§ 3. Early history of the movement. It is asserted that within a year of Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb's arrival at Dar'ya he had won the assent of all the inhabitants except four, who left the place; he proceeded to build a mosque with a floor of uncarpeted gravel; there he gave instruction in his *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd*, punishing those who failed to attend. But he also gave instruction in the use of fire-arms. The new sect soon became involved in war with the *ṣaḥāb* of Riṣḍ, Dahhām b. Dawwās, which, commencing in 1160 (1747), lasted 28 years. During this period Ibn Sa'ūd and his son 'Abd al-'Azīz, who proved a capable general, were steadily winning ground, with occasional reverses; it became the practice of Ibn Sa'ūd and his son, when they captured a place to build a fort at some distance from the original citadel, with a moat round it, if the soil were suitable. These forts were garrisoned with men called *ṭumūd*, who were well paid. In the larger places a *ḥādi* and a mufti were installed, in the smaller only a *ḥādi*. The series of raids whereby the power of Ibn Sa'ūd gradually grew is sketched by Philby, and need not be reproduced. In 1178 (1765) Ibn Sa'ūd died, and was succeeded by 'Abd al-'Azīz, who retained Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb as his religious guide. In the following year a deputation was sent to Mecca, which was honourably entertained by the Sharif, and satisfied the theologians appointed to discuss matters with it, that the Wahhābī doctrine accorded with the system of Imn Ḥanbal. In 1187

(1773) the most stubborn opponent of the sect, Dahhām, fled from Riyāḍ, which was occupied by 'Abd al-'Azīz, who was now master of "the whole of Najd from Qaṣim in the north to Kharij in the south" (Philby). The son of 'Abd al-'Azīz, Sa'ūd, also displayed some military capacity, and was employed by his father in various expeditions. Meanwhile relations had become strained with the new Sharif of Mecca, Surūr, who forbade the Wahhābīs access to the city as pilgrims: but owing to the difficulties which resulted to pilgrims from Iraq and Persia, this prohibition was withdrawn in 1199 (1785).

In 1792 Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb died, at the age of 89; in the years that followed (1792-1795) the Wahhābīs advanced eastwards, subduing the Banū Khālīd in Haṣā; but even before 1790 they had made casual raids into the grazing grounds of the Muntafik and other tribes on the borders of Iraq; and representations having been made to the Porte of the danger from the new power that was arising in Arabia, the Pasha of Baghdad received instructions to deal with it. In 1797, Thuwaim, chief of the Muntafik, who had for a time been exiled, but was now officially in control of Basra, collected a force with the view of crushing the Wahhābīs, but was assassinated by a negro slave at Shībān on July 1, 1797, in consequence of which the force dispersed. Meanwhile the new Sharif of Mecca, Ghālib, after some attempts at compromise, had been attacking the Wahhābī communities from the west, with very little success. In 1798 a fresh expedition was organized from Baghdad on a great scale, but this also proved abortive, and in the following year a treaty between the opponents was ratified in Baghdad. It had little effect, as the Wahhābī tribes continued to raid, and in 1801 invaded and sacked Kerbelā, and massacred the inhabitants. In 1803 Ghālib found it necessary to evacuate Mecca, which was entered by Sa'ūd, who proceeded to purge the city of all that in Wahhābī opinion savoured of idolatry, and to execute persons suspected of favouring such practices. His attempts on Djidda and Medina failed, and in the same year he left the Hijāz, where the garrison which he had established in Mecca was massacred by the inhabitants. On Nov. 4 of this year (1803), the Wahhābī Imām, 'Abd al-'Azīz I, was assassinated at Dar'ya by a Shi'ite from Kerbelā, who had come to the capital as a pretended convert to Wahhābism; Sa'ūd, who had previously been declared heir-apparent, succeeded him without opposition, and employed his son 'Abd Allāh as commander of the army. A fresh attack on the Wahhābīs was organized from Baghdad, but petered out, as the previous expeditions had done; Sa'ūd was thus left free to renew his invasion of the Hijāz, where Medina capitulated in 1804, Mecca in February 1806, and Djidda somewhat later. In the following years his raiders advanced beyond the bounds of Arabia, attacking Najaf, and Damascus, which successfully resisted. "The Wahhābī empire extended in 1811 from Aleppo in the north to the Indian Ocean (?) and from the Persian Gulf and the Iraq frontier in the east to the Red Sea" (Philby). The alarm felt by the Ottoman government was now so serious that Muhammad 'Alī Pasha, ruler of Egypt, was authorized to deal with it. This he proceeded to do with his usual energy, and although his army, commanded by his son Tāḥsin,

suffered an initial defeat, it was after reinforcement able to take Medina in 1812, and recover Mecca in the following year. Muḥammad 'Alī himself took the command in the latter half of 1813, and suffered a serious defeat, but the death of Sa'ūd on May 1, 1814, was a blow to the Wahhābi cause, since 'Abd Allāh, who succeeded him, was far less capable. Thānī, whom Muḥammad 'Alī left in command, found it necessary to make a treaty with 'Abd Allāh, who was to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Ottoman Sultān, while the Egyptians were to evacuate Najd; but this treaty was denounced by Muḥammad 'Alī, who in 1816 organised a fresh expedition under the command of the able Ibrāhīm Pasha. (Since Philby has repeated the story told by Palgrave about the carpet of vast proportions with an apple set in the midst, which Ibrāhīm succeeded in reaching without treading on the carpet, by rolling the latter up, it may be observed that this story comes from Ibn al-Athīr, who records it in connexion with an event of the year 442.) Ibrāhīm fought with varied fortunes, but on April 6, 1818 reached Darīya, and on Sep. 9 took the capital. 'Abd Allāh himself surrendered and was sent to Constantinople, where he was beheaded. This terminated the first Wahhābi empire.

§ 4. Restoration of the Wahhābi state after Ibrāhīm Pasha's departure. While the Hijāz after the conquest was securely garrisoned by Turkish troops, less importance was attached to the security of Najd, where a revolt was organised by Turki, a cousin of Sa'ūd, who chose Rīyāḍ for the capital of the reviving community, and established himself there in 1821. "By 1833 the whole coast of the Persian Gulf acknowledged Wahhābi rule and paid tribute" (Sir A. Wilson), and several of the inland provinces which had formerly been held by Sa'ūd were recovered. During the absence of Turki's son Faṣāl at the head of his army the former was assassinated in 1834 by a pretender of the royal family, who shortly afterwards met the same fate at the hands of Faṣāl, aided by a Shammar chieftain, 'Abd Allāh b. Rashīd, who was rewarded for his service by the governorship of Ḥa'il.

§ 5. The Rashīd dynasty of Ḥa'il. 'Abd Allāh b. Rashīd, a capable ruler, contrived to maintain amicable relations with both the Egyptian overlord and the Wahhābi ruler of Rīyāḍ till his death in 1847, when he was succeeded by his son Talāl, known to Europeans from Palgrave's travels, who calls him "a warrior even more energetic than his father, and infinitely his superior in the arts of statesmanship". His military skill was displayed in his conquest of the Djawf, of Khāibar, and of Taimā; the province of Ḥaṣm, which belonged to the sovereign of Rīyāḍ, voluntarily transferred its allegiance to Talāl; and steps were taken to pacify the Bedouin raiders on all sides. "Henceforth no Bedouin in Jebel Shammar, or throughout the whole kingdom, could dare to molest traveller or peasant" (Palgrave). Talāl further encouraged the presence of traders in Ḥa'il by offering liberal terms and security to members of different religious communities. In 1868 this ruler took his own life, through fear of losing his reason; he was followed by his brother Miṭ'ab, shortly afterwards murdered by Talāl's sons Badr and Bandar, of whom the latter assumed the sovereignty; he was shortly afterwards slain by another brother of Talāl, Ma-

hammad, who inaugurated his rule with a massacre, described by Doughty (ii. 16). Doughty's statistical computation of the populations under the rule of Ibn Rashīd at this time at 30,000 and of his revenue at £ 30,000 and expenditure at 13,000, is criticized by Philby as an understatement. About the same time Faṣāl died at Rīyāḍ (Dec. 25, 1869) and was succeeded by his son 'Abd Allāh, who had endeavoured to obtain poison from Palgrave for his brother Sa'ūd. The latter obtained allies who helped him to dethrone his brother in 1870; his reign was marked by the loss of Ḥa'il to the Turks, and other losses on the west; and on his death in 1877 'Abd Allāh returned to Rīyāḍ as ruler, it is said through the influence of Muḥammad b. Rashīd. Relations between the two soon became strained, and in 1883 a pitched battle took place between the forces of the two, wherein Ibn Rashīd won a complete victory; peace was made but a revolt of Sa'ūd's sons in 1884 gave Ibn Rashīd the opportunity to invade Rīyāḍ, despatch 'Abd Allāh to Ḥa'il, and place a governor of his own in Rīyāḍ. "Ultimately in the spring of 1891 events occurred which seemed to settle the fate of Najd for a long time" (E. Nolde, *Reise in Innerarabien*, 1895, p. 69); a great alliance was formed against the too powerful Emir of Ḥa'il, consisting of 1. Unalza under its warlike chieftain Zamil; 2. the whole royal family of Rīyāḍ; 3. the towns Buraida, Ra's and Shaḡra; 4. the united tribes 'Utāiba and Muta'ir. According to Nolde, who gives the most detailed account of this campaign, the forces on either side numbered about 30,000; in the struggle, which lasted a whole month, the initial results were in favour of the allies; but at the end of the month (March) Ibn Rashīd succeeded by a mass attack of 20,000 camels in spreading panic among the allies' infantry, and won a complete victory (battle of Mulaida). Rīyāḍ had been during this rising governed by 'Abd al-Rahmān, another son of Faṣāl; after the defeat of the allies he sought refuge in various places and finally received protection in Kuwait. Muḥammad b. Rashīd was ruler of desert Arabia till his death in 1897.

§ 6. Restoration of the Sa'ūd dynasty. Muḥammad was succeeded by his nephew 'Abd al-'Azīz son of Miṭ'ab, and ere long this ruler was involved in a struggle with the Shaikh of Kuwait, who was harbouring 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Sa'ūd and his family. In January of 1901 'Abd al-'Azīz, son of 'Abd al-Rahmān, at the head of a small force succeeded in entering Rīyāḍ, and reestablishing the old dynasty there, after an interval of eleven years spent in exile. The succeeding years were spent by him in recovering provinces which had belonged to the old Wahhābi empire, and by 1904 "he was master of all that his grandfather had ruled affectively in Najd" (Philby). The campaigns which he conducted in the following years against Ibn Rashīd, the Turks, disaffected tribes, pretenders of his own family, and finally the rulers of the Hijāz, are recorded in detail by Philby, but only a few events of importance need be mentioned here. On Nov. 2, 1921 Ibn Sa'ūd obtained possession of Ḥa'il, and put an end to the Rashīd dynasty. In October 1924 his forces occupied Mecca; on Dec. 5, 1925 they obtained possession of Medina, and on Dec. 23 of Djidda. Thus the whole of the Hijāz was added to Ibn Sa'ūd's realm.

§ 7. Institution of the Ikhwān. In 1912

Ibn Sa'ad commenced the foundation of agricultural colonies, whose residents were to be devotees, who took the title *ṣāḥib* "brethren", indicating that the religious tie had superseded that of the tribe. The first of these colonies was Attawīya (so called by Philby, but by Rihani Attawīya) in the Najm, and its inhabitants were mainly drawn from the Maṣfir tribe. The able-bodied were provided with arms to be used to the *ḡiḥād*, but they were also told to cultivate the land, which in each case was near a source of water, and the accumulation of wealth was encouraged. Mud huts were built to serve the Bedouin in lieu of their tents, and they were told to sell their camels. About seventy *ḥiḡḡas* (the name for these colonies) with a population of from 2,000 to 10,000 each sprung up after the Wahhābī revival in about ten years" writes Ameen Rihani, who adds that the population of a *ḥiḡḡa* consists of three classes: Bedu who have become farmers, missionaries called *muḡawwif*, and the merchant class; but for military purposes the division is into those who are at all times ready to respond to the call to the *ḡiḥād*; the reserves, who in time of peace are herdsmen and journeymen; while the third class are those who remain in the colonies to keep up trade and agriculture, though not exempt from military service if necessary. The first two classes can be called out by the sultan, but the *maṣfir*, or calling out of the civil population requires an announcement by the *ulama* that this is necessary. A list of the *ḥiḡḡas* with their population and the tribes represented is given by him (*Ibn Sa'ad of Arabia*, 1928, p. 198). Dame (l.c.) declared that the agriculture of these *ḥiḡḡas* was exceedingly primitive, and that the movement was on the wane.

§ 8. Wahhābism in India. Wahhābī doctrine was introduced into India by one Saiyid Aḡmad, a native of the British District of Rai Bareilly, born 1786; having already adopted puritan views, during his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1822—1823 he incurred the hostility of the authorities by the similarity of his doctrines to those of the Wahhābis, and having been expelled from the holy city, became an adherent of the Wahhābī system. He had already acquired a large following in India, and established a permanent centre in Patna, where he appointed four *ḥaḡḡifas*, and an *imām*; visits to Bombay and Calcutta swelled the numbers of his followers, and in 1824 he was at the head of an army at the Peshawar frontier, preaching a *ḡiḥād* against the Sikh cities of the Panjāb. Uḡmād II, 1242 (Dec. 21, 1826) was fixed as the date for the commencement of the war, which all Muslims were called upon to join, in a proclamation called *ṣaḡḡiḡ al-ḡiḥād*; and though the Sikhs put up a fierce resistance, Saiyid Aḡmad's army took Peshawar towards the end of 1830. He proceeded to take the title *Khālifa* and to strike coins in his own name. His reign was ephemeral, as he was killed by a Sikh army in the following year. His adherents however found a refuge at Sitana in the mountains beyond the Indus, whither those Muslims who were unwilling to live under non-Muslim rule flocked, and two of his *ḥaḡḡifas* from Patna circulated the doctrine that Saiyid Aḡmad was not dead, but was merely hiding with a view to reappearance at a suitable time. They extended the *ḡiḥād* to Hindus and British, and started an insurrection in Lower Bengal, under a disciple of Saiyid Aḡmad, Titu Miya, who after some successes was defeated and

killed by government forces (Nov. 17, 1831). In spite of these defeats the *ḥaḡḡifas* continued energetic propaganda among the Muslim population of India, and while maintaining the puritan doctrines of the Wahhābīs of Arabia concentrated attention on the duty of the *ḡiḥād*. The Wahhābī movement thus became a constant source of trouble to the government of India, since a system was devised whereby funds were collected and men selected and trained to be sent first to the headquarters of the community at Patna, and thence to the frontier camp of Sitana, and thereafter employed in fighting against the non-Muslim rulers of India. After a great deal of trouble, destruction of property, and bloodshed had been caused by their efforts, and a series of trials had revealed the ramifications of the conspiracy, the older Muslim communities of India, both Shī'a and Sunna, in 1870 and 1871 issued official declarations dissociating themselves from the Wahhābī doctrine of *ḡiḥād*. Since that time, the sect, though it still exists in India, has attracted little attention and indeed one portion of it is said to have abandoned the doctrine of *ḡiḥād*. As late, however, as 1890, according to E. A. Oliver (*Across the Border*, p. 29), it had not ceased to be formidable.

§ 9. Wahhābism in other countries. Schuyler in his *Turkistan* (London 1876, ii. 254) mentions the presence of Wahhābī preachers in Khokand; in 1871 an attack was made on the Russian station Karasu, on the high road between Tashkent and Hodjent, led by Ishaq Ish Muhammad Kul, disciple of a Khokandian Wahhābī preacher, Ṣāḡī Badal. Here then, as in India, the aim of the community was to throw off non-Muslim authority, but the forces collected were too exiguous to accomplish anything of consequence. The presence of the community in Afghanistan was connected with their aim in India.

§ 10. Wahhābī Literature. Prior to Ibn Sa'ad's recent conquest of the Ḥiḡḡā there appears to have been no printing office in Wahhābī territory; the works of Muḡammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb circulated in MS. Those contained in the British Museum (MS. Or. 4529) are *Muḡḡaḡḡar al-Sira*, *Kitaḡ al-Tawḡīd*, *Kitaḡ al-Kaḡḡir*; the autographs are said to be preserved in the Landberg collection at Leyden. The *Raḡḡfat al-Aḡḡar* contains a number of his *Raḡḡḡ* and *Fatāwā*. A collection of Wahhābī tracts of different dates was published in Cairo by order of the king of the Ḥiḡḡā and edited by Sulaimān b. Ṣaḡmān (2nd edition, 1344); they are by 'Abd al-'Azīz I, 'Abd Allāh son of Muḡammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, Aḡmad b. Naṡīr b. Mu'annar, 'Abd al-Laṡṡif of the family of the founder, and his son Muḡammad. The title of the collection is *al-Ḥaḡḡiya al-Sunniyya wa'l-Tuḡḡa al-Wahhābiyya al-Naḡḡdiyya*. The content of all these is doctrinal, as is that of an anonymous *Riḡāla* inserted by 'Abd al-Laṡṡif al-Faḡḡūrī in his *Tuḡḡat al-Anām* (Cairo 1347; reproduced in the *Manār*, xii. 390 and xxi. 336).

Numerous tracts have been written against the Wahhābīs; three preserved in the Berlin Library belong, according to Ahlwardt, to the commencement of the founder's activities (see his Catalogue, No. 2156, 2157, 2158). Dahlén mentions one by the founder's brother Sulaimān, one by Muḡammad b. 'Abd al-Raḡmān b. 'Atāḡīk (*Taḡḡakḡum al-Muḡallidīn Ḥamas liddā Taḡḡīd al-Dīn*), and one by 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Baḡḡādī (*al-Miḡḡḡat*

al-Muffa). Some belonging to the middle of the sixteenth century are preserved in Cambridge University Library (see Browne's Handlists). Two which have attracted especial attention are *al-Durar al-ranīya* by Ahmad b. Zaynī Dahhān (about 1800; printed in Bairūt about 1900), and a tract by Qasim al-Zahāwī of Baghdād (recent).

The biography of the founder which has been excerpted above (*Lam' al-Shihāb fī Sirat Muḥammad A. 'Alī al-Wahhābī*, Brit. Museum MS.) is somewhat, but not excessively hostile. Philby mentions as Wahhābī historians Ḥusayn b. Ghannam al-Nahdī "who died more than a century ago", and 'Uṭmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. Bishr al-Hanbalī of the fifth decade of the sixteenth century. A British Museum MS. (Add. 19, 799) without name of author, called *Rawḍat al-Aḥkār wa 'l-Aḥām li-Murtād Ḥaf al-Imām wa-Ta'dād Ghawwat al-Hawā' 'l-Isām* is in two volumes, of which the second is a chronicle of Wahhābī campaigns ending with the year 1212, whereas the first contains chapters dealing with various aspects of the founder's mission and activities.

Several members of the ruling families are credited with skill in versification; specimens of Wahhābī poetry are given in an appendix to *al-Hadiya al-Sunniya*.

The Wahhābīs of India appear to have employed the printing or lithographic press on a considerable scale. Hunter, p. 66, enumerates 13 works in Arabic, Persian, and Urdu by Wahhābī authors of this country, and adds that "even the briefest epitome of the Wahhābī treatises in prose and verse on the duty to wage war against the English would fill a volume". A work by Muḥammad Ismā'īl, nephew of Sayyid Ahmad, *al-Sirāt al-mustakīm*, is said to be "the Qur'ān of the Wahhābīs of India".

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(D. S. MARGOLIOU)

WAHHĪDĪ, the name of a dynasty in South Arabia, which rules over three sultanates, those of Bir 'Alī 'Amāqīn, Bāḥ Ḥaf 'Isān and Ḥabbān. H. v. Maltzan (p. 222) after investigation divided the whole territory belonging to this ruling house into two groups: Lower Wahhīd on the coast from 48° to 48° 30' East Long. (Greenwich) in the 14° N. Lat. reaching barely two hours journey into the interior, and Upper Wahhīd from 47° to 47° 40' East Long. (Greenwich) and from 14° 20' to 14° 58' N. Lat. C. v. Landberg (p. 180) gives Rās al-Kusām in the west and al-Ḥuḡa al-Ḥamrā in the east as the boundaries of the coast territory. The lands of the Wahhīd dynasty therefore lie between those of the 'Awālīk and Ku'ayl. The most important area in the lower Wahhīd territory

is the Wādī Maifa, which reaches the sea on the east of Rās al-Kusām and is the lower course of the Wādī Ḥaḡḡ; its most important place is 1201 al-Shihā. The coast territory is so divided between the sultans of Bir 'Alī 'Amāqīn and Bāḥ Ḥaf 'Isān that the former rules the land between Ḥuḡa al-Ḥamrā and the promontory of Rās al-Kaḡl while the latter rules from here to Rās al-Kusām. Wādī Maifa belongs to the sultan of Bāḥ Ḥaf, who lives in the summer at 'Isān, but the sultan of Bir 'Alī also has land there. The two most important harbours are Bir 'Alī which is used in summer and Maḡḡḡa which is used in winter.

To the Upper Wahhīd territory belong the Wādī 'Amāqīn with al-Ḥawḡa, which is independent, Wādī Tharr, al-Shu'āib, al-Ḥanaka, Salimūn, Ḥadā and Ḥabbān, with the most important place which bears the same name. The Beduin tribes of Nu'mān, Sa'd and Namara as well as the Ḥimyar tribe of Bā 'Awḡa, 'Alī 'Aḥmad, 'Alī Bā Serda, al-Kumūsh and al-Ḥibhān are distributed over the Wahhīd territory. The wādīs are particularly rich and fertile and produce cereals and dates, as well as tobacco, indigo and cotton. Textiles are manufactured, notably in al-Ḥanḡa, while carpentry flourishes in al-Ḥabbān. Ḥuḡa al-Ghurāb and Naḡab al-Ḥaḡḡ are important ruins of the Sabæan period.

In 1870 negotiations took place with Sultan Ḥadī regarding the cession of the two ports of Bir 'Alī and Maḡḡḡa to the Turks who wished to build quarantine stations here. This plan fell through however, owing to English opposition, as did a second attempt by Turkey, then very active in South Arabia, through 'Iszret Paḡha in 1882 to gain over the lords of Bir 'Alī and Bāḥ Ḥaf for Turkey, on which occasion the sultan of the latter port was given a Turkish flag. The Turkish sultan was mentioned in the *ḡuḡḡa* it is true, but dependence was not expressed in any form indicating submissions. To avert all eventualities, England on April 30, 1888 concluded treaties of protection with the sultans of Bāḥ Ḥaf and Bir 'Alī in which the latter in return for an annual payment bound themselves to enter into no relations with foreign powers without English approval. These treaties were renewed on March 15, 1895, and June 1, 1896 and at the present day the whole territory belongs to the British sphere of influence of the 'Aden hinterland.

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(A. GROHMANN)

WAHSHĪ BĀFKĪ, a Persian poet, born at Bāfk, in Kirmān, died in 991 (1583) or 992 (1584) and spent most of his life in Yazd. He wrote panegyrics in honour of Shāh Tahmāsp I and his court, began a poem (*Farḡad u-Shirīn*) which he did not complete; it was finished long afterwards by Wīṣāl in 1265 (1848-1849). He wrote two other poems, *Khuld-i Barīn* and *Nāḡī*

u-Mamūr, Ghazāl's and Ḥafṣ's. *Ḥikmah u-Sātrān* has been lithographed in Persia and several times in India.

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WAḤY (A.), revelation [cf. also ḠORĀN, MUḤAMMAD]. As to the etymology of the word, cf. Jewish-Aramaic **וַחַי** "to hasten", Ethiopic **ወሐሃ** "to go round, to recognise", and the non-religious meaning *ilāhām ḥi-sū'a*, given by the *Dictionary of Technical Terms*; on the use of the verb by the poets, cf. *Lisān*, s. v. As a religious technical term it is distinguished from inspiration (*ilāhām*, q. v.) of saints, artists and others, from *tanẓīl*, which chiefly denotes the object of revelation and from *inẓāl* which denotes the sending down of revelation from heaven and from its heavenly archetype [see UMM AL-KITĀB], in so far as it denotes revelation as transmitted to the prophets.

Use in the *Qur'ān*. a. In the early passage *sūra* xcix. 5 the earth is the object of divine revelation: On that day shall she (the earth) tell out her tidings, because thy Lord hath inspired her. In *sūra* xxviii. 6 the object of revelation is the mother of Moses; here al-Balḳāwī explains the term by inspiration or vision, in order to distinguish it from *waḥy* proper. Likewise in *sūra* xix. 12 the subject of *awḥā* is Zakariyā and its object his people; here it is explained by *awḥā*. In a peculiar way the term is used in *sūra* vi. 112: Even thus have We given an enemy to every prophet, Satans among men and among djinn: tinsel discourses do they suggest (*yafḥu*) the one to the other, in order to deceive.

The technical term for daemonic inspiration is *wiswās*. The means of communication between God and man is *waḥy*, either directly, or indirectly through the intermediary of the angels: It is not for man that God should speak with him but by revelation, or from behind a veil, or He sendeth a messenger to reveal by Him, or he sendeth a messenger to reveal by His permission, what He will (*sūra* xlii. 50 *sq.*). — Allah's communications to the angels are also called *waḥy*, *sūra* viii. 12: When the Lord revealed unto the angels: I will be with you etc.

b. In many passages *waḥy* and the verb *awḥā* refer to the prophets before Muhammad: Nūḥ (*sūra* xxiii. 27), Mūsā (*sūra* xx. 13 etc.; xli. 7; vii. 160), Yūsuf (*sūra* xii. 13) etc. — All those who were sent before Muhammad, were men to whom We granted revelations (*sūra* xxi. 7).

c. The chief object of revelation in the *Qur'ān* is Muhammad, *sūra* xlii. 29: Thus have We sent thee to a people whom other peoples have preceded, that thou mightest rehearse to them our revelations: It is of my Lord's revealing. Muhammad's contemporaries are astonished at his receiving revelations: A matter of astonishment to the men (of Mecca) that to a man among themselves We revealed etc. (*sūra* x. 2). But he says: I say not to you, "In my possession are the treasures of God"; nor "I know things secret"; neither do I say to you, "Verily, I am an angel": only what

is revealed to me do I follow (*sūra* vi. 50). — The words of Allah thus revealed to him may not be changed: And publish what hath been revealed to thee of the book of the Lord, none may change his words (*sūra* xviii. 26).

The divine character of Muhammad's revelations is emphasized in *sūra* liii. 4: Verily, it is no other than a revelation revealed; his honesty in *sūra* vi. 93: But is any more wicked than he who devieth a lie of God, or saith, "I have had a revelation", when nothing was revealed to him. — Muhammad therefore is ordered to follow nothing but what was revealed to him by his Lord (*sūra* xxx. 2; xliii. 42). He does not forbid any food, because he does not find such a prohibition among his revelations (*sūra* vi. 146).

d. The contents and the aim of revelation are described in various ways [see also MUḤAMMAD]. The story of the *Al 'Imrān* is interrupted by the verse (*sūra* lii. 39): This is one of the announcement of things by thee unseen: To thee do we reveal it. — The story of Yūsuf is introduced to him with the verse: In revealing to thee this *Qur'ān*, one of the most beautiful narratives will We relate to thee, of which thou hast verily aforetime been regardless (*sūra* xii. 3). — Muhammad's following "the religion of Ibrāhīm" is ascribed to divine inspiration (*sūra* vii. 124); likewise his knowledge about the djinn listening to the recitation of the *Qur'ān* (*sūra* lxxii. 1), as well as about the disputations of the angels at the creation of man is due to *waḥy* (*sūra* xxxviii. 69 *sq.*).

The aim of the revelation of the *Qur'ān* is mentioned in *sūra* vi. 19: And this *Qur'ān* hath been revealed to me, that I should warn you by it and all whom it shall reach.

Various terms are used in the *Qur'ān* in order to denote the contents of revelation. *Sūra* v. 52: And to thee We have sent down the book with truth (cf. *sūra* xxxix. 2, 42; xxxii. 2; xxxiii. 72; xvii. 106, etc.), confirmatory of previous scripture and its safe-guard (cf. vi. 92). — *Sūra* xxxi. 1 *sq.*: These are the signs of the wise book, a guidance and a mercy to the righteous. — *Sūra* xxvii. 2: These are the signs of the *Qur'ān* and of the lucid book; guidance and glad tidings to the believers. — *Sūra* vii. 50: And now We have brought them the book: with knowledge have we explained it: a guidance and mercy to them that believe. — *Sūra* xlii. 52: And thus we have sent the spirit to thee with a revelation by our command. Thou knewest not, ere this, what the book was, or what the faith. But we have ordained it for a light. — Further the contents of revelation are called knowledge (*ilm*: *sūra* lii. 54; li. 114, 140), wisdom (*sūra* xvii. 41), guidance (*sūra* xlv. 10; vii. 50 etc.), healing (*sūra* xli. 44), light (*sūra* iv. 174; xlii. 52).

Regarding the forms of revelation recorded in the biographies of Muhammad the following may be said. The beginning of revelation consisted in dreams anticipating real events (Ibn Hishām, p. 151; Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxx. 138; Ibn Sa'd, i/i. 129). Also afterwards such dream visions are said to have occurred. When 'Aḥṣā was under suspicion, she hoped that Allah would reveal her innocence to Muhammad in a dream vision (Ahmad b. Hanbal, vi. 197; Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, *sūra* 24, bāb 6).

The first revelation in which Jibrīl appeared to Muhammad took place on mount Hira, when

the angel said to him: I am Djibril. Thereupon Muhammad hastened to Khadija, crying: Wrap me up (*sūra lxxii. 1* or *lxxiv. 1*).

The first portion of the *Qur'an* revealed was *sūra xvi.*, when the angel, in the month of Ramaḍān, during his retreat, showed him a piece of cloth, on which this *sūra* was written, saying: recite! When Muhammad protested that he could not write, the angel pressed him so strongly that he was nearly suffocated. At the third repetition the angel pronounced the verses which Muhammad retained.

After this there came a pause (*fatra*) in revelation. During this time Muhammad was in such depression that the thought of suicide came upon him (Tabari, ed. de Goeje, i. 1150; Ibn Hišām, p. 156, 166; Ibn Sa'd, *vi.* 131). The pause ended with the revelation of *sūra lxxiv* or *xciii*.

The angel who transmitted revelation was visible to Muhammad and to others (Bukhārī, *Faḡḡ'il al-Kur'an*, lib 1; Ibn Hišām, p. 154, cf. 156; Abū Na'im, p. 69). To some extent the ascension (cf. *mr'āṭy*) and the night journey may also be reckoned as revelations. Visions are also mentioned in the *Qur'an*. *Sūra liii. 3* *sq.*: Verily, it is no other than a revelation revealed: one terrible in power taught it him, endued with understanding. With even balance stood he: And he was in the highest point of the horizon. Then came he nearer and approached closely, and was at the distance of two bows and even closer. And he revealed to his servant what he revealed, his heart falsified not what he saw. Will ye then dispute with him what he saw? And he saw him once again, near the *sidra*-tree, which marks the boundary... His gaze turned not aside, nor did it wander, for he saw the greatest of the signs of the Lord.

Sūra lxxxi. 19 *sq.*: Verily this is the word of an illustrious messenger, powerful with the Lord of the throne, of established rank... faithful also to his trust. And your compatriot is not one possessed by *ḡinn*; for he saw him in a clear horizon.

In other *sūras*, however, revelation is said to have taken place by audition. *Sūra lxxv. 18*: Move not thy tongue that thou mayest hurry over the revelation; we verily will see to the collecting and the recital of it; when therefore we recite, then follow thou the recital. Afterwards, verily it shall be Ours to make it clear. — Moreover the whole form of the *Qur'an* with its often repeated *had* "say" on the part of Allāh, supposes revelation by the way of audition.

Particulars regarding Muhammad's auditive revelations are to be found in the *sūra* and chiefly in *badth*.

a. How they were perceived by Muhammad. 1. "Sometimes it comes as the ringing of a bell; this kind is the most painful. When it ceases I retain what was said. Sometimes it is an angel who speaks to me as a man, and I retain what he says" (Bukhārī, *Bad' al-Wahy*, lib 2; *Bad' al-Kur'an*, b. 6; Muslim, *Faḡḡ'il*, trad. 87; Tirmidhī, *Manāḡid*, b. 7; Nasā'i, *Istisāḡ*, b. 37; Malik, *Muwatta'*, chap. *al-Wuḡū' li-man māsi al-Kur'an*, trad. 7; Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii. 222; vi. 158, 163, 256 *sq.*).

2. In a different form of this tradition Muhammad says: Sometimes it approaches me in the form of a young man (*al-Jaṭā*) who hands it down to me (Nasā'i, *Istisāḡ*, lib 37).

3. The Apostle of Allāh heard a sound like the humming of bees near his face; thereupon *sūra xlii. 1* *sq.* was revealed to him (Tirmidhī, *Tafsir*, *sūra 23*, trad. 11; Ahmad b. Hanbal, i. 34).

4. The Apostle of Allāh used to move his lips from pain, as soon as revelation began. After the revelation of *sūra lxxv. 16*, however, he listened till Djibril had withdrawn; thereupon he recited what he had heard (Bukhārī, *Tamḡid*, b. 43; al-Nasā'i, *Istisāḡ*, b. 37; Tirmidhī, No. 2628).

5. "... on the authority of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar: I asked the Prophet: Do you perceive the revelation? He answered: Yes, I hear sounds like metal being beaten (cf. above, under 1). Then I listen, and often I think to die (from pain) (Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii. 222).

A. How they were perceived by others. 1. Even on cold days sweat appeared on his forehead (Bukhārī, *Bad' al-Wahy*, b. 2; *Tafsir*, *sūra 24*, b. 6; Muslim, *Faḡḡ'il*, trad. 86; Ahmad b. Hanbal, vi. 58, 103, 197, 202, 256 *sq.*; cf. iii. 21; cf. further above under a. 1.).

2. Muhammad covers his head, his colour grows red, he snores as one asleep, or rattles like a young camel; after some time he recovers (*surriya anhu*) (Bukhārī, *Hadith*, b. 17; *Uṣra*, b. 10; *Faḡḡ'il al-Kur'an*, b. 2; Muslim, *Hadith*, trad. 6; Ahmad b. Hanbal, iv. 222, 224).

3. Muhammad's colour grows livid (*tarabbada lahu waḡḡuhū*: Muslim, *Hadith*, trad. 13, 14; *Faḡḡ'il*, trad. 88; Ahmad b. Hanbal, v. 317, 318, 320 *sq.*, 327; *mutarabbidun*: Tabari, *Tafsir*, xviii. 4; *tarabbada*: *ḡilāḡi*: Ahmad b. Hanbal, i. 238 *sq.*; *tarabbada li-ḡilāḡi*: *ḡawāḡi* *wa-waḡḡuhū*: Tirmidhī, No. 2667).

4. He falls into a lethargy or a trance (*inḡaf*: Ahmad b. Hanbal, vi. 103).

5. "Thereupon the Apostle of Allāh sat down, turning towards him ('Uthmān b. Ma'ṣūn). When they talked, the Apostle of Allāh let his gaze swerve towards heaven; after a while he looked down to his right side and turned away from his companion, following his gaze and began to shake his head as if he tried to understand what was said to him, while 'Uthmān sat looking on. When Muhammad had reached his aim, his gaze turned anew towards heaven, etc." (Ahmad b. Hanbal, i. 318).

6. "When Muhammad received a revelation... this caused him much pain, so that we perceived it. That time he separated himself from his companions and remained behind. Thereupon he began to cover his head with his shirt, suffering intensely, etc." (Ahmad b. Hanbal, i. 464).

"When the Apostle of Allāh received a revelation, he began to cover his face with his shirt. When he had swooned, we took it away, while etc." (Ahmad b. Hanbal, vi. 34; cf. above 5. 2.).

7. Zaid b. Ḥabīb said: "I was at Muhammad's side, when the *zakāna* (y. v.) came upon him. His thigh fell upon mine so heavily, that I feared it would break. When he recovered, he said to me: Write down, and I wrote down *sūra iv. 97*" (Ahmad b. Hanbal, v. 184, 190 *sq.*; Abū Dāwūd, *Liḡlād*, b. 19).

8. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr said: "The *sūra al-Mā'idā* was revealed to the Apostle of Allāh, while he was riding on his camel. The beast could not bear him any longer, so that he had to descend from it" (Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii. 176). A similar tradition on the authority of Asmā' bint Yazīd:

Ahmad b. Hanbal, vi. 455, 458; another tradition of the same type: Ibn Sa'd, i. 131.

c. The circumstances under which revelation came upon Muhammad. i. Muhammad is directly or indirectly asked for his opinion or decision, when the answer is revealed to him, e.g. concerning the use of perfumes during the 'umra (Bokhārī, *Ḥaḍīṭ*, b. 17; see above A. 2.); concerning excuses for staying at home during an expedition (Abū Dawūd, *Ḍiḥād*, b. 10; Ahmad b. Hanbal, v. 184); concerning the question whether evil may proceed from good (Ahmad b. Hanbal, iii. 21; Tayālīst, No. 2180); concerning the question whether his wives were allowed to relieve a want near town (Ahmad b. Hanbal, vi. 56); concerning 'Aḥṣā's being or not being guilty (Bokhārī, *Taḥṣīr*, sūra 24, b. 6; Ahmad b. Hanbal, vi. 103, 197); concerning divorce in case of adultery witnessed by one witness (Tayālīst, No. 2667); concerning *ṣāḥ* (Tabarī, *Taḥṣīr*, xviii. 2).

2. Revelation comes upon Muhammad while he is riding (above, A. 8.; Tabarī, *Taḥṣīr*, xvi. 39), while his head is being washed (Tabarī, *Taḥṣīr*, xviii. 2), while he is at table, holding a bone in his hand (Ahmad b. Hanbal, vi. 56), while he is on the pulpit (Ahmad b. Hanbal, iii. 21).

d. The contents of these revelations are not always communicated, and, if so, they are not always parts of the *Kur'ān* (cf. Noldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qur'ān*, i. 256—261), e.g. Muhammad's answer to the question whether evil may proceed from good (Ahmad b. Hanbal, iii. 21; Tayālīst, No. 2180); the permission granted to his wives to leave the town (Ahmad b. Hanbal, vi. 56), the punishment of fornication (Ahmad b. Hanbal, v. 317, 318, 320 sq., 327, not the *ḥudūd al-rāḍiyya*), the permission of *ḥudūd* (Tayālīst, No. 2667).

As far as I can see, the idea of revelation has not called forth discussions of importance. Al-Idrī and his commentator al-Djurdjānī combat the views of philosophers according to whom it is a charisma peculiar to the prophets that "they see the angels in their corporeal forms and hear their speech by revelation; it is not to be rejected that they being awake see what common people see when asleep, i.e. that they see persons who speak to them poetical words, which point to ideas corresponding to what really happens, since their soul is free from bodily occupations and can easily come into contact with the divine world (*ʿālam al-ʿulūd*). Often this peculiarity becomes in them a settled faculty which is easily set working". This theory of revelation is, according to al-Idrī, misleading, not being in harmony with the views of the philosophers themselves, according to whom the angels cannot be seen, being merely psychic beings, who do not produce audible speech, which belongs especially to corporeal beings. So the theory of philosophers explains revelation as the imagining of what has no basis in reality, as little as what comes from the lips of ailing and lunatic people. Yet if any of us should command and prohibit on his own authority what is salutary and sensible, he would not on account thereof be a prophet. How much the less then would be a prophetic utterance what is based upon imaginations which have no foundation and often are contrary to reason (*Manāẓīf*, p. 172 sq.).

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(A. J. WENSINCK)

WAISI, properly UWAIṢ b. MEHMET, known under his *mashhūr* of Waist, a famous Ottoman scholar and poet. Born in 969 (1561—62) in Mashehr, the son of a *kādī* named Mehmed Efendi, he also adopted a legal career. After completing his training in Constantinople with the *ulemā* Şāliḥ Efendi and Ahmed Efendi, he filled a series of important posts in all parts of the Ottoman empire (in Rosetta, Cairo, Ak Hissar, Tire, Alaghehir, Seres, Rodosto, Üsküb, Gümüldjina) and died in 1037 (1628) in Üsküb, where he filled the office of *kādī* seven times, after his dismissal at the age of 68. Waist who was on his mother's side a nephew of the poet Makālī was likewise a successful poet. He was also one of the finest prose writers of his time and wrote in a particularly fine persianising style. After the death of Baki, he was regarded as the greatest master of his time in prose and verse. His language is laden with a foreign vocabulary and not easy to understand; his diction nevertheless is clever, intellectual and attractive. 'Aḥṣā' says of him (*Shāhīdī-nu'māniye*, i. 715) that his poetry is better than his learning, his prose-style more distinguished than his poetry, his gift of entertaining finer than his prose and the beauty of his face and figure more striking than his gift of entertaining.

Waist left a considerable number of writings in all fields. Some of his works still have their admirers, particularly his two chief works: *Sirat al-Nabi* and *Kāsh-nāme*. The former, the *Sīyar-i Waist* or to give it its full title: *Durrat al-Tāḍī fī Sirat Şāhib al-Mir'āḍ*, is best known although he did not quite finish it. It only comes down to the battle of Badr. The holograph is in the Serai library. The book was continued by Nāhl and after his death by Naḡm-i-sade-i Baghdādī. Waist's text with Nāhl's continuation was printed in 1245 in Bulak and in 1286 in Stambul in his collected works. No less celebrated is his *Kāsh-nāme*, a vision. It is a conversation between Ahmad I and Alexander the Great in a dream written in simple, clear Turkish.

According to 'Abd al-Hakīm Hāmid, the modern school was founded by Shīnās under the influence of poems in the style of this vision. This *Kāsh-nāme*, which is also called *Waf'a-nāme* (Mehmed

Tāhīr wrongly thinks there are two different works) and which contains a criticism of his times, has often been reprinted (Būllak 1252, Istanbul 1263, 1293, and in the collected works in 1286).

His *Shahādāt-nāme* or *Dustūr al-'Aṣnā* (Istanbul 1283 and 1286) which is of a religious nature has often been printed as has his *Mumtazāt* (collection of letters; collected works 1286).

His other works, of which Mehmed Tāhīr gives the fullest list, are still unprinted, e. g. his complete *Divān* of which only a few copies exist; a *Tawhīd-nāme* which deals with a saying of Zāin al-Dīn Khāfī, Pir of the Zāniye order; the incomplete history of the conquest of Egypt: *Futūḥ al-Miṣr*; a reply to the attacks of the *Kāwūs* on the *Ṣaḥāb* of Qajwārī (holograph in the Rāghib Pasha library); lastly two essays: *Ghurrat al-Aṣr fī Taṣīr Sūrat al-Naṣr* and *Ḥadiyāt al-Muḥlisīn wa-Taḥkīr al-Muḥsinīn*.

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WAKĀ NUWĪS, WAKĀT NUWĪS.

Wakāf nuwīs is the officially appointed Ottoman historian while *wakā nuwīs* means keeper of records; the distinction between the two terms was already pointed out by von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vii. 465. The first official historian of the Ottomans is usually said to have been 'Abd al-Rahmān 'Abdī Pasha (cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 227 sq.). The list of official Ottoman historians is not yet complete and accurate. There are gaps and errors in the list given by J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, viii. 591 sq. (cf. thereon P. Wittek in *M. O. G.*, i. 152 and 243 sq. and also F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 227, note 3 and p. 285, note 1). It seems that a keeper of records (*wakā nuwīs*) is occasionally given as official historian (*wakāf nuwīs*), for example the poet Nerkesi (cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 173) while the case of Muṣṭafā Rahmī (cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 285) who is said to have been given the title of an official historian still wants elucidation. The office of Ottoman official historian is in any case a continuation of that of *Shāh-nāme* who was appointed and paid by the court. The last *wakāf nuwīs* of the Ottoman empire was Wāṣif Efendi [q. v.].

Bibliography: Cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 227, note 3 and p. 285, note 1 and the works there quoted. (FRANK BABINGER.)

WAKĀLA (also WIKĀLA), mandate, authorisation, is a contract (*ʿaḥd*) by which one contracting party, the *muwakkil*, commissions the other, the mandatary (*wakil*), to perform some service for him.

I. In the *Kurʿān* we find forms derived from *wakala* in the meaning of 'to rely upon, to trust in Allāh' (fifth form) or associated with the idea that Allāh, is the *wakil*, one of the 99 names of Allāh, which according to the commentators

has the meaning of *ḥafiz* (Sūra xii. 66; ix. 52; lxxiii. 9; xxviii. 28). The word is therefore not found as a technical term. Nevertheless at the basis of Sūra xxxii. 11 we have the idea which belongs rather to the field of law, that the angel of death is regarded as the authorised agent of Allāh. But this passage is not quoted as evidence that the conception of *wakāla* is found in the *Kurʿān*. The *Ṣaḥāb* quote as authority for *wakāla* Sūra xviii. 18: "Send one of your number with this your money to the city". This was an authorisation and therefore according to them *Kurʿān* authority for *wakāla*. Sūra iv. 39 is also quoted: — "then send an arbitrator (= negotiator) from your family and an arbitrator from his family".

II. *Ḥadīṭs* are numerous about mandates and the mandatary, some of which may be quoted here. The Prophet authorised Ḥakīm b. Ḥazīm to purchase a sacrificial lamb (al-Sarakhsī, xix. 2) and on another occasion he appointed 'Amr b. Umāyia al-Damṭī as his *wakil* at his marriage with Umm Ḥabība. According to Bukhārī, *Wakāla*, Bāb 3, a shepherd may kill an animal that is near to death and the mandatary may repair the thing that is deteriorating. There are also *ḥadīṭs* regarding the mandate in criminal cases. The Prophet for example gave authority for a woman to be stoned and a drunkard to be beaten (Bukhārī, *Wakāla*, Bāb 13). Other *ḥadīṭs* mention the agent who demands debts in names of a third person (Bukhārī, *Wakāla*, Bāb 4). From this it is evident that the debtor satisfied the creditor by paying his agent. Here the representation had further effects, for legal relations arose through the act of his agent between the principal and a third person.

III. *Iḍmāʿ* finally sanctioned the legality of representation (*maḥṣūʿiyat al-wakāla*). The Muhammadans have from the earliest times to the present day used *wakāla*, without the slightest disapproval being shown, in the settlement of their affairs with one another. For *wakāla* is an urgent necessity for man, since a man is sometimes not in a position to administer his own property when on a journey or on the pilgrimage, or to manage his estate on account of his lack of ability, or pressure of business or his great wealth. By *wakāla* he can appoint a deputy. The verse v. 3: "Help one another to good deeds and to the fear of God" particularly urges this mutual help. — More particularly people of high rank or office usually do not attend to their affairs personally but through authorised agents.

IV. According to the teaching of the jurists, the *wakāla* is a contract and a revocable one (*ʿaḥd ḥafīf*).

1. For the validity (*ṣiḥḥa*) of the mandate we have the following four requirements (*arḥān*): a. the *muwakkil*.

b. the *wakil*. Both persons must be able to dispose of their property (*iṣṭāḥ al-taḥarruf*). A minor (*ṣabī*), a lunatic (*maḥṣūn*), a slave (*ʿabd*) or any one who is *maḥḥūr* [q. v.] cannot be either principal or agent. For validity are also required the conditions demanded for other contracts. In particular we should add that in marriage and divorce only a person of irreproachable character in the eyes of the law (*ʿādil*) can be a *wakil*, while in all other cases this is not demanded. If then a woman chooses a man who is not of blameless character for her *wakil* at a marriage, the marriage is invalid. According to the Mālikīs, a Muslim and a *dhimmi* cannot be *wakil* for one

another; but the ḥadīth in Bukhārī, *Wakāla*, Bāb 2 is not so strict.

2. The object (*muwakkalat fiki*) must be the property of the principal, definite, legal and capable of representation. Representation under a condition to come into operation in the future is not permissible. The principal therefore cannot for example appoint a *wakīl* in order to divorce a wife whom he is only going to marry at a later date or to sell a slave whom he is going to buy in the future.

Views differ on the question whether representation by a deputy is possible in the case of acquiring *malakāt*, e.g. water, wood, or game.

In general one can appoint a mandatary for all actions which one can carry out oneself. Thus we have proxies in all contracts, marriage and divorce, law-suits, payment of blood-money etc. According to Abū Ḥanīfa's teaching however, a representative in a law-suit could only be appointed with the approval of the other side; his successors however did not think this necessary. According to the unanimous teaching of all the madhāhib, an oath cannot be transferred to a proxy. A list of the commonest cases is given by al-Sarakhsī, xix. 190.

As regards one's personal duties towards Allāh and actions belonging to the sphere of the *ʿibādāt*, one cannot of course appoint a deputy because they are obligations of a purely personal nature, with the exception of the *ḥajj* and the distribution of *zakāt* (*tafrīḥat* [or *adāʾ*] *al-zakāt*). A proxy cannot be appointed to commit crimes like murder or theft on account of the illegality of the action.

3. The form (*ṣiḡa*) is that of offer and acceptance (*al-ḥukm wa-l-ḥukm*). Both parties must be willing for this legal transaction to take place and give their approval to it. This is done by offer and acceptance. Acceptance may be given in silence or by an act which clearly shows the approval of the mandatary. Representation is purely a matter of mutual agreement.

2. The authorisation may be definite or general according as the proxy has to carry out a particular piece of business or all the business of his principal in the way he thinks fit. The first kind of proxy is called *wakīl muʿayyan*, the latter *wakīl muṣṭafā*. The Shāfiʿis reject the general authorisation as they demand that the mandate must define accurately the nature of the business.

3. The proxy does his work without a fee; but some recompense may be made by arrangement. The proxy has in any case the right to be compensated for all expenses or losses that he has incurred. This does not affect the mandate as such. There is a difference of opinion among the jurists on the question where and when an agreement of this kind passes into hired service (*ijāra*).

4. As to the liability (*ḍamān*) it has to be remembered that the *wakīl* is a person of trust. His statement on oath is therefore valid without proof but only as far as the loan, deterioration and return of the *res mandata* is concerned. His statement regarding the return of the thing to another person than his principal is only to be accepted with proof.

The proxy must adhere to the orders given him and is responsible for all mistakes in the transaction; he is thus responsible, a. in *tafrīḥ*, i.e. *culpa in omittendo*, if he does less than he ought strictly to do, and b. in *taʿaddī*, if he does more than he ought, i.e. exceeds his commission.

5. Termination. As the mandate is an *ʿadd ʿadā*, both parties can dissolve the contract when they please. The contract is dissolved like other contracts through death, insanity or the legal incompetence of one of the parties, since the mandatary like the depositary [cf. *waḍʿa*] is regarded as *amin*.

V. Here we cannot go into the later development. The *Code Civil Ottoman*, Art. 1449—1530 contains, broadly speaking, the doctrines of the Hanafis. In the *ʿAḥwāl al-Miṣriya*, *wakāla* is dealt with in §§ 512—531 and in the *Sharḥ al-ʿAḥwāl*, p. 292—300.

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WAKĀR, MIRẖ AHMAD SIFĀʿI with the *taḥalluṣ* Wakār (Browne vocalises it Wiḳār), a Persian poet, the eldest of the six sons of the poet Wiḳāl. His five brothers also attained fame as poets. Specimens of the poetry of the father Wiḳāl are given in the *Madfūnāt al-Fuṣṭāḥ* of Riḍā Kulī Khān, ii. 528 sqq. and in Browne, *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, p. 318; in the last named work on p. 301, 319 sqq. and 323 sqq. are also specimens of the work of Dāwār and Farhang, two brothers of Wakār. In the *Madfūnāt*, ii. 103 sqq. are two further poems of Wiḳāl's second son Maḥmūd Ḥakīm and in ii. 384, poems by Farhang. Six *ḥafidas* on Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh composed by Wakār and his five brothers are given in the British Museum manuscript, No. 370 of Rieu's *Supplement*. Riḍā Kulī Khān, *op. cit.*, ii. 82 sqq., gives a few poems by Tawhīd (Mirẖ Ismāʿīl Shirāzī), another of Wiḳāl's sons.

Wakār must have been born about 1232 (1817) (cf. Rieu, *Supplement*, p. 230; Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 300). A few years after his father's death (in 1262 = 1846), Wakār travelled to India along with his brother Maḥmūd. He stayed there from about 1266 (1849) to 1268 (1851) in Bombay until a letter from the *amir* Nusrat al-Dawla Firūz Mirẖ induced him to return to Shirāz. Riḍā Kulī Khān says that Wakār was very highly honoured in Bombay, but the poet seems to have suffered from home-sickness there. The verses in *Madfūnāt*, ii. 552 refer to his sojourn in India.

In 1274 (1857—58) Wakār was in Teherān where he was presented to the Shāh Nāṣir al-Dīn and honoured by him with a *khilʿa* and a pension. The date of the poet's death does not seem to be exactly recorded. He was not only a good Arabic scholar but also a fine calligrapher. Riḍā Kulī Khān mentions a copy of Rūmī's *Mathnawī*, which he had copied in India.

Works: *Bakrūm u-Bikrūn*, a *mathnawī*. On this work and its contents cf. Rieu, *Supplement*, p. 229

eg.: *Andjuman-i Diniyā*, a collection of anecdotes and short stories in the style of Sa'di's *Gulistan*. According to Rieu (*op. cit.*, p. 230), a lithographed edition appeared in 1289 in Teherān, and it was completed by the poet in 1281 (1864-1865).

More accessible are the extracts from Waḳār's lyric poetry, which are printed in the *Maḥṣūn al-Furqān*, li. 548-599. The poems are composed on the old traditional models of the pre-Mongol period, as is to be expected with a poet of the first half of the Ḳāḍīr epoch (cf. Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 299). In Waḳār we find *ḡazals*, *ḡifas* etc., also *muḥammās*, a kind of poem, which was revived in the Ḳāḍīr period after having dropped out of fashion even before the beginning of the Mongol period (Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 163).

In addition to panegyrics on Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, Waḳār also wrote them on Tahmāsp Mirzā Mu'ayyid al-Dawla and on Nūr al-Dawla Firūz among others. It is particularly in the panegyrics that we frequently find passages which quite recall the mediæval court poets (e.g. *Maḥṣūn*, li. 550).

An example of a very elaborate simile quite in the classical vein is to be found in one of his *ḡazals*: a snowcloud is compared to a camel with foam at its mouth and a broken headstall (*maḥḍar*). It is laden with pearls from 'Aden, but the packing has burst and the pearls are being scattered in all directions (*Maḥṣūn*, li. 552). Pictures familiar to Persian panegyrics but which strike the western as peculiar are also found e.g. in the *ḡazals* on Nūr al-Dawla Firūz (*Maḥṣūn*, li. 553).

The artifices of the classical period are of course also found; we may mention for example the *taḍnīs* between the words *ḡhalīb-i ḡalībward* and *ḡhalīb-i ḡalībward* (*Maḥṣūn*, li. 550). Waḳār sometimes uses internal rhyme, e.g. *Maḥṣūn*, li. 551, 555. The *ḡazals* are descriptive of nature in the old style or they have an erotic subject. Among the latter is a piece (*Maḥṣūn*, li. 549) which shows some similarity with the pretty *muḥammās* by Waḳār's brother Dāwlat printed in Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 319-320.

The matter of Waḳār's lyrics is for the rest of little interest. He moves mainly in the circle of ideas of the mediæval poetry. In addition to regular panegyrics we also have poems of religious and moral content (these are not his best), a letter in poetry to his father Wazīl, verses on an earthquake in Shīrāz; indeed he even wrote a poem on an attack of fever.

Bibliography: In addition to the works already quoted cf. also: *Grundriss der Iran. Philologie*, li. 314. (C. F. BÜCHNER)

WAḲF or **HABES** (A.) is properly an Arabic *muḥdar* meaning "to prevent, restrain". In Muslim legal terminology it means primarily "to protect a thing, to prevent it from becoming the property of a third person (*amlik*)" (Sarakhṣī, *Mabṣūṭ*, xii. 27). By it is meant 1. state land, which on being conquered passed to the Muslim community either by force or by treaty and remained in possession of the previous owners on payment of the *ḡharāḍī* and could neither be sold nor pledged by them (cf. e.g. Mawardi, *Aḥḍām*, ed. Enger, p. 237-240) and 2. commonly a pious endowment, which is defined in various ways in the Shari'a according to the school. Following up these definitions we may say that by *waḳf* (plur. *awḳāf*) is meant a thing which while retaining its sub-

stance yields a usufruct and of which the owner has surrendered his power of disposal with the stipulation that the yield is used for permitted good purposes. *Waḳf* really means however the legal process by which one creates such an endowment (synonymous with *ḡabḥ*, *ḡabḥ* or *ḡabḥ*) and in popular speech became transferred to the endowment itself, which is properly called *manḡf*, *manḡf*, *muḡabbar* or *ḡabḥ*. Among the Mālikīs and therefore in Morocco, Algiers and Tunis the name *ḡabḥ* (plur. of *ḡabḥ*) or the syncopated form *ḡabḥ* (pl. *ḡabḥ*) predominates (hence in French legal language: *habous*).

1. The main principles of Fiqh

1. The founder (*ḡabḥ*) must have full right of disposal over his property; he must therefore be in full possession of his physical and mental faculties, be of age and a free man (*ḡabḥ*, *ḡabḥ*, *ḡabḥ*). He must further have unrestricted ownership in the subject of the endowment. Endowments by non-Muslims are therefore only valid if they are intended for a purpose not incompatible with Islām (e.g. they must not be intended for Christian churches or monasteries).

2. The object of the endowment (*manḡf*) must be of a permanent nature and yield a usufruct (*manḡf*), so that it is primarily real estate. There is a difference of opinion about movables. One section of the Hanafīs regards the granting of movables in an endowment as inadmissible but the majority, like the Shāfi'īs and Mālikīs, grant the principle, when it is a case of things which can be the subject of an agreement legal in the Shari'a, e.g. animals for their milk and wool, trees for their fruits, slaves for their labour, books for study. There are however here also differences of opinion on points of detail (thus Shīrāzī does not permit a slave to be made a *waḳf*). Provisions, money (prohibition of usury!) etc. are in general not admitted as their substance is consumed; they can only be the object of a *ḡabḥ*. Among the Mālikīs a *manḡf* can also be made a *waḳf*, e.g. the yield of a piece of ground which is let for the period of the lease (*ḡabḥ*, li. 553).

3. The purpose of the endowment must be a work pleasing to God (*ḡarba*) although this is not always apparent on the surface. Two kinds are distinguished: *waḳf ḡharī*, endowments of a definitely religious or public nature (mosques, madrasas, hospitals, bridges, waterworks), and *waḳf ḡḥī* or *ḡharī*, family endowments, for example for children or grand-children or other relations, or for other persons; the ultimate purpose of such a foundation must however always be *ḡarba*, for the poor for example.

An endowment for oneself is however invalid (except in Abū Yūsuf). The Shāfi'īs give a subterfuge (*ḡila*) to evade this condition: the thing which is to be the subject of the endowment is to be presented or sold at a low price to a third person; the latter can then create an endowment in favour of the original owner. Ibn Ḥajar mentions a further subterfuge which is rejected by others: a *waḳf* is created in favour of the children of the benefactor's father and in the deed he himself is exactly described (Ardabīlī, *Amḡar*, i. 433). On two other subterfuges see Kaẓwīnī, *Kīlāb al-ḡiyāl*, ed. Schacht, iv. 45.

4. The form need not be a written one, it

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Othman'sche Konsonantentext einst durchaus nicht allgemein anerkannt war und wie sein Buchstabenbild viel freier und mannigfacher gedeutet wurde, als die offiziell anerkannten Lesarten erkennen lassen; sie beweisen, daß auch auf dem Gebiet der Überlieferung des Koran die geistige Entwicklung im Islam von Reichtum und Fülle auf dem Wege der ausschließlichen Anerkennung einiger bedeutender Schulen konvergierend zu relativer Einförmigkeit verlaufen ist. Die Sammlung solcher Lesarten von dem alten Grammatiker Ibn Khälawaih (gest. 370 d.H. = 980/81 n. Chr.), die ein Späterer aus einem seiner Werke ausgehoben hat, ist die einzige uns vollständig erhaltene; sie faßt nicht nur das verstreute Material zu einem sehr großen Teil zusammen, sondern bietet auch viel noch ganz Unbekanntes. Zusammen mit der Edition wichtiger Werke ad-Dānī's (Nr. 2 und 3 der Bibliotheca Islamica) leitet die Herangabe dieser Sammlung eine neue Epoche in der wissenschaftlichen Erforschung des heiligen Buches der Muslime ein.

the consonant text of Othmān was not generally accepted, and how its characters were much more freely and more variedly interpreted than the official readings let appear; also they prove that in the transmission of the Koran as well as in other spheres the mental development of Islam by exclusively following a few important schools gradually converged from fullness and diversity to relative monotony. The collection of such readings by the ancient grammarian Ibn Khälawaih (died 370/980), taken from one of his works by a later author, is the only complete one which has been handed down to us; it not only brings a large part of the otherwise scattered material together, but adds much that was unknown. Together with the appearance of ad-Dānī's important works (Vols. 2 and 3 of the Bibliotheca Islamica) the publication of this collection inaugurates a new epoch in the scholarly examination of the Holy Book of the Muslims.

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though this is usually the case. The founder must clearly express his wishes either by *wakafu*, *habafu*, *rabafu* or if he uses other formulas by an addition that "it must neither be sold nor given away nor bequeathed" (a phrase always occurring in wakf documents, cf. the tradition quoted below and the wakf document of Shāfi'i, *Umm*, iii. 281-83; otherwise it would only be a *zadda*). The founder must further describe the object accurately and state exactly for what purpose and in whose favour the endowment is made. The fifth works deal very fully with the interpretation of the separate expressions describing those for whom the foundation is intended.

5. The following conditions are further necessary for the completion of a valid wakf:

a. It must be made in perpetuity (*was'adad*), which in the case of foundations for definite individuals is managed by allotting the proceeds after their death to the poor. It is therefore also inalienable.

b. It must come into force at once and there must be no provision for postponing it (*mu'ajjalat*), except the death of the founder; but in this case as in the case of a will the founder can only make one third of his property wakf.

c. It is an irrevocable legal transaction (*qabul* *la'im*); but according to Abū Hanifa (not however his pupils and the later Hanafis), the foundation may be revoked except when it is connected with the death of the founder (Sarakhsi, *Mabāḥiṣ*, xii. 27). The Hanafi founder therefore always brings a formal suit against the administrator for the restoration of his property; the judge, who then has the choice between the teaching of Abū Hanifa and that of Abū Yūsuf, decides according to Abū Yūsuf, since the latter teaches irrevocability, and confirms the wakf by rejecting the petition.

d. Among the Hanafis (also in Ibn Abī Laila; Sarakhsi, xii. 35) and the Imāmits there is further required the conveyance (*taṣlim*) of the endowment to those for whom it is intended or rather to the administrator; on the other hand not in Abū Yūsuf, since according to him, as in the other schools, the endowment is already complete by the declaration of the founder's wishes (*hawf*). In the case of a foundation for the common good (mosque or cemetery) the conveyance is completed by its being used, even if only by one person.

Among the Mālikis on the other hand, the points mentioned here are not essential, e.g. it can be revoked not only by the founder but also by his heirs (Khalil, transl. Santillana, ii. 560-61).

6. As Muslim law does not know the conception of the legal person, opinions differed regarding the position of the wakf in the law of the property. According to one view (Shāfi'i, Abū Yūsuf and the later Hanafis; Shāfi'i and his school), the founder's right of ownership ceases; this is usually said that it passes to Allah; this however only denies the right of ownership of the founder and that of all other mortals. According to a second view (Abū Hanifa [cf. thereon also Shāfi'i, *Umm*, iii. 275 sq.] and the Mālikis) the founder and his heirs retain the right of ownership; he is however prevented from exercising it. According to the followers of this school, in the case of a mosque, the right of ownership of the founder ceases as soon as a single person has performed his *ṣalat* in it. According to a third view (some Shāfi'is, Ahmad b. Hanbal), the ownership passes to the beneficiaries (*muṣṭafī* *'alaik*)

(cf. e.g. Shāfi'i, *Tanbīh*, ed. Juynboll, p. 164, 2). The ownership in the yield (*manfa'a*) belongs however, according to all jurists, to the *muṣṭafī* *'alaik*.

7. The administration of the wakf is in the hands of a *nāṣir*, *ḥāzim* or *mutawallī* who receives a salary for his services. The first administrator is usually appointed by the founder; frequently he is the founder himself (among the Mālikis this invalidates the foundation). The *ḥāzim* has a right of supervision; he appoints the administrators and if necessary dismisses them (e.g. for neglect of duty). The form of the administration and the use to which the revenues are put depend on the conditions laid down by the founder. The revenues must however be used primarily for the maintenance of the buildings etc.; only the surplus goes to the beneficiaries. Agreements to lease the lands and buildings can only be made for three years as a maximum.

8. Extinction of the wakf. If the founder secedes from Islam, the foundation becomes invalid and passes to his heirs. Endowments which have lost their object fail, according to the view held of the position with regard to the law of property, to the legitimate heirs (among the Mālikis only if they are poor) or they must be used for the poor or for the common good; in no case may they be confiscated by the temporal authorities.

II. Origin, history and significance

According to the general opinion of the Muslims there were no wakfs in Arabia before Islam, neither in houses or lands (cf. Shāfi'i, *Umm*, iii. 275, 280). The *fuḥafā'* trace the institution to the Prophet although there is no evidence of this in the *Kur'ān*. In comparison with other things the support for this institution in tradition is very slight although it is always said by the legists that the companions of the Prophet and the first caliphs used to make wakfs. In a tradition of Anas b. Mālik it is said that the Prophet wished to purchase gardens from the Banu 'l-Nadījar in order to build a mosque; they refused to take the purchase money however and gave the land for the sake of God (Bukhārī, *Waṣāyā*, bāb 28, 31, 35). According to a tradition of Ibn 'Umar, on which the legists lay chief stress, 'Umar, later caliph, at the partition of Khaibar acquired lands (*arṣ*) which were very valuable to him and asked the Prophet whether he should give them away as *ṣadaqa*. The Prophet replied: "Retain the thing itself and devote its fruits to pious purposes" (*ḥabibi aṣlahā wa-rahibi ṭhamaratahā*). 'Umar did this with the provision that the land should neither be sold nor bequeathed; he gave it as *ṣadaqa* for the poor, (needy) relatives, slaves, wanderers, guests and for the propagation of the faith (*fi sabil Allāh*); it is not to be a sin for the administrator to eat of it in moderation or feed a friend if he does not enrich himself from it (Bukhārī, *Shurūṣ*, bāb 19; *Waṣāyā*, bāb 29, cf. 33; Muslim, *Waṣāyā*, tr. 15, 16; Ibn Mādjā, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb 4; Ibn Hanbal, ii. 12, 55; Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, iii/1, 260; cf. Naṣā'ī, *Iḥṣān*, bāb 2, 3). In another version the reference is to a palm-garden called Thamgh (Bukhārī, *Waṣāyā*, bāb 23; Naṣā'ī, *Iḥṣān*, bāb 3; Ibn Hanbal, ii. 114) which he acquired from the Jews of the Banu Hāritha (Ibn Hanbal, ii. 125). In both cases however, the reference is to one and the same piece of ground in Khaibar which was called Thamgh (cf. Nuwawī,

Shurh Maṣābiḥ; *Sarakhsat, Maṣābiḥ*, xii, 31; Mujarriz, *Muḥarrir*, s. v.; according to Ibn al-Athir, *Nakḥḥ*, s. v., however, Ṭaḥḥ was a quite well known estate of 'Umar's in Medina. A third tradition of Amas b. Malik concerns a family endowment. In keeping with the pronouncement in *Shura* iii, 86, Abū Ṭaḥḥ gave the Prophet his favourite piece of ground, the Bahrān garden (in Medina, where Mu'awīya afterwards built the Kayr Bahr Ḥudalla; cf. Yāqūt, i, 783) where the Prophet used to go to to enjoy the shade and drink the water. The Prophet however gave it back to him with the observation that he should make it an endowment for his relatives. Abū Ṭaḥḥ thereupon gave the garden as a *ṣadaka* for Ubayy and Basīn (Bukhārī, *Waṣāyā*, bāb 17; cf. Naṣīr, *Ḥikā*, bāb 2). In other traditions quoted by Bukhārī (*Waṣāyā*, bāb 12: about a sacrificial animal; *Waṣāyā*, bāb 32: a riding camel) and others regarding the making of *wakf* of movables it is only a case of simple *ṣadaka*. The case of the palm-garden (*ḥāṭṭ*) in Bukhārī, *Waṣāyā*, bāb 20 is similar.

The legists seek to trace the institution of *wakf* back to the Prophet through these traditions. It is remarkable however that the oldest legists are not agreed on essential points of the *wakf*. In this connection Shāfi'i's polemics against unnamed opponents, certainly including Abū Ḥanīfa, are interesting (*Umm*, iii, 275-277, 280). There the view of Shurāḥ (d. 82=701) is refuted, which challenges the admissibility of *wakf* at all by quoting a saying of the Prophet not found in the canonical collections: "No withholding from the quotas obtained by God" (*lā ḥadā 'an farḍi 'Allāh*). Shāfi'i attacks the view that the *wakf* remains the property of the founder and his heirs. The inalienability of the *wakf* was disputed by Shurāḥ as the Prophet was said to have said things which had been made *wakf* (*ḥadīṭ*) (*Kisāḥ, Ḥadīṭ al-San'ī*, vi, 219). An illustration of this is given in a note in the above-quoted third tradition in Bukhārī; according to this, Ḥanīfa said his share to Mu'awīya. Ḥanīfa however was attacked for this. Shāfi'i seems to have contributed to the success of the views on *wakf*, which later became predominant. Abū Yūsuf is said to have first declared for the irrevocability of the *wakf*, when on a pilgrimage he saw in Medina the numerous *wakfs* of the Muslims (*Sarakhsat, Maṣābiḥ*, xii, 28). All this suggests that the institution of the *wakf* arose only after the death of the Prophet in the course of the first century A.H. and only assumed rigid legal forms in the second century. Its origin is to be sought in the strongly marked impulse to charitable deeds which is characteristic of Islam; thus we find it associated in a tradition (see above) with an appropriate verse of the Kor'an, and Shāfi'i (*Umm*, iii, 275) calls it a *ṣadaka makarrama*. In addition there was the fact that the Arabs found in the conquered lands foundations for the public benefit for churches, monasteries, orphanages and poorhouses (*pieux censeaux*) and may have adopted this form for the practice of the charity recommended by their religion. These endowments of the Byzantine period were inalienable, and managed by administrators and were under the supervision of the bishops (cf. especially Justinian, *Novelle* 131; Sarrailh, *Les Pieux Censeaux dans le droit de l'Justinien*, in *Mélanges Girardin*, Paris 1907, v, 313-314). C. H. Becker (*ibid.*, ii, 404) had already come to the same conclusion when

he showed that in Egypt the custom of making sites in the towns (*ribā'*) *wakf* and not agricultural land (*arḥāl*) which existed down to the Tūlanid period, goes back to a Greek original. But already in this early period agricultural land must elsewhere have been made *wakf*; Shāfi'i already speaks of this and Bukhārī (*Waṣāyā*, bāb 27) has a chapter: "If anyone makes agricultural land (*arḥāl*) *wakf* and does not give the boundaries". This was not unknown to the Byzantines also; Justinian (*Novelle* 65) exceptionally allows the Mosaic church to sell lands and vineyards, which had been given as endowments for the ransom of prisoners and to be used for the poor and brought in no yield worth mentioning.

On the further history of the *wakf* in Egypt Makrīzī (*Khitaṭ*, ii, 295-296) gives interesting notes. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Maḥarrī (this is the right reading, d. 345=956) was the first to make agricultural land *wakf* for the holy cities and other purposes. The Fātimids however at once forbade the making of country estates and entrusted the Kādī 'I-Kudāt with the supervision, assisted by a *dimḥ* al-*shāḥ*. In 363 (974) al-Ma'īz ordered the property of the endowments and the *wakf* documents (*sharā'if*) to be handed over to the state treasury (*hauṣ al-māl*); the revenues from the *wakfs* were then farmed out for 1,500,000 dirhams annually; out of this sum the beneficiaries were paid while the rest went to the treasury. As a result of this system of farming them out, the *wakf* possessions had so much in value by the time of al-Ḥākim that the revenues in the case of many mosques no longer sufficed for their maintenance. In 405 (1014) he therefore created a large new foundation and had the condition of the mosques regularly examined.

In the Mamlūk period the foundations were divided into three groups: 1. *Ḥāḥ*. These were under the supervision of the *dimḥ al-sulṭān* and were administered by a *shāḥ* with a special *dimḥ*; they comprised extensive estates (in 740 [1339]: 130,000 *faddan*) in the provinces of Egypt and were used to keep up mosques and *zāwiyas*. Makrīzī (d. 845=1442) complains bitterly about the abuse and neglect of these endowments; they had come through corrupt practices into the hands of the emirs; the beneficiaries, who were called *ṣafā* or *ḥafā* but knew nothing of *ḥāḥ* or of preaching, were registered in the name of some ruined mosque. 2. *Amḥ al-hukmān*. These consisted of town lands in Miṣr and Kahira; their revenues were earmarked for the two holy cities as well as for charities of all kinds. They were under the control of the Kādī 'I-Kudāt and were administered by a *shāḥ* (sometimes by two, one for each part of the city); there was a special *dimḥ* for each part of the town. In this connection Makrīzī again makes a touching complaint about the conditions which were becoming worse and worse; from the time of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Farajī (801-845=1398-1412) the *wakf* estates had become poorer and poorer as a result of maladministration. The *ḥafā* in return for bribes allowed sales, without another piece of ground being purchased in place of that sold; it was only necessary to produce witnesses who alleged that this or that building was dangerous to the neighbours and the passers-by. 3. *Amḥ al-ḥāḥ*, family endowments, each of which had their own administrator. These were monasteries (*ḥāḥ al-ḥāḥ*).

madrasas, mosques, türbas, which owned extensive estates in Egypt and Syria, some of which were originally state lands, which had been acquired and made wakf. The emir Barkūk (784-801 = 1382-1398) had already tried to confiscate these estates but his scheme failed against the protest of the fuḥḥā. They were however confiscated under his successors.

Conditions in other lands must have been similar to those in Egypt. A hundred years before Maḥmūd we find the Ḥanṣī Šadr al-Šarīf al-Thānī (d. 747 = 1346) in Transoxania complaining that the kādī made the wakfs void by a *ḥilla* (Sannick Ilirgroeje, *Vergr. Geschriften*, II, 163).

The wakf inscriptions (usually only extracts from the wakf documents [*wakfiya*] which were placed on mosques, madrasas etc. the better to prevent the endowment falling into oblivion) afford many valuable details. According to numbers, business premises were most frequently made wakf, usually small shops (*ḥawār*) which often belonged in scores to a wakf, but also warehouses (*khān, funduk*) and stables (*rasmā*) in Fās of the year 756 [1355]: *J. A.*, ser. II, xii, 363; then there were tenements (*ḥār*) or even smaller dwellings. Alongside of these we have various industrial premises: baths, mills, bakeries, oil and sugar presses, soap works, paper works (*ṣarāḥ*: *C. I. A.*, Jerusalem, No. 70 of 695 = 1295), looms (*ṭirār* in Fās of the year 725 [1325]: *J. A.*, loc. cit., p. 195), post-houses (*yam*, in Bagdad of 760 [1359]: Sarro-Hersfeld, *Archäol. Reise*, II, 188). In the third place are agricultural establishments, most frequently gardens, but also farms and even whole villages (*ḥarya*, in Morocco *madīkar*; first found in 666 [1267] in Ḥam; of Salīḥa Bāḥar: Oppenheim, *Schriften aus Syrien*, No. 3 and 721 [1321] in Fās of the Marīnid Abū Sa'īd: *J. A.*, ser. II, x, 158).

The use to which the produce, sometimes in money and sometimes in kind, was to be put was minutely prescribed in the foundation document. In addition to benefiting the poor the revenues were primarily used to pay the staffs of mosques, madrasas, Kūrān schools, hospitals or to be used for the benefit of the inmates of a monastery etc. (cf. for details C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, I, 264 ff. from which the statements here without a reference are taken), for mosques and madrasas cf. vol. III, p. 368-369, for libraries etc. cf. *KIRKAKHNA*). The income was also used in some way for the two holy cities. Kāṭibay in 885 (1480) for example ordered that from the revenues corn should be bought to provide *ḥaḥīḥa* for the inhabitants of and visitors to Medina (*C. I. A.*, Egypt, No. 324), or the revenues, as in Tripolis in the case of the wakf *al-sharīf* which dates from the middle ages, were earmarked for the maintenance of the city walls (Califfana, p. 127; now used for other pious purposes). Very frequently we find the provision that only what is left over, after paying wages etc. is to be used for the maintenance of the etc. (cf. *C. I. A.*, Jerusalem, No. 39 of 595 [1298]; Egypt, No. 338 of 710 [1310]; Bel, *Inschr. arabes*, à *En*, in *J. A.*, ser. II, x, 119 of 810 = 1408).

The inscriptions are also eloquent about abuses, embezzlements, and exploitation of the wakfs. Thus we frequently find edicts which free the wakfs from unjust burdens and taxes (cf. e.g. Sobernheim, in *Baalbek, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen u. Untersuchungen*, III, [1922], No. 36 and 38). The

founders themselves endeavoured to prevent embezzlement etc. by dividing the lands among a number of endowments in small portions so that the several administrators could keep a check on one another, or the supervision is put by the founder in the hands of an administrative commission, to which the kādī, the khaṭīb and the prominent citizens of the town belong (e.g. in Mostaganem of the year 742 [1340] in *J. A.*, ser. II, xiii, 81). We have very early evidence of a central wakf administration like that of Egypt, e.g. under the Umayyads in Cordova there was a central treasury for the wakf (*ḥiṣn al-wakf*) in contrast to the state treasury: *ḥiṣn al-māl* under the supervision of the Kādī l-Kuṣṣāṭ (Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane*, Paris 1932, p. 71, 85) and in Fās in the time of the Marīnids there was an official who had to administer all the wakfs of the town (*J. A.*, ser. II, xii, 370). But all this could not permanently prevent embezzlement and frittering away of the wakf estates.

The wakf system in the east was very beneficial in ameliorating poverty and misery and in furthering learning, but it had its shady side morally as well as economically. On the one hand, considerable sections of the populace were taken from industry by the continual creation of new simulates and supported at the expense of the country; on the other hand, the capital for these great endowments had to be supplied by the wealthy and this was acquired not by productive labour but by extortion and unprecedented exploitation of the people (cf. C. H. Becker, *op. cit.*). The immense accumulation of landed property in the possession of the Dead Hand further was economically injurious, although from time to time confiscations by the state and illegal disposal by the administrators had a regulating effect. One consequence of this accumulation very frequently was that the soil was not used to the best advantage; these great *latifundia* are even often an impediment to the introduction of modern agricultural methods. They often deteriorated to such that the yields were not even sufficient for the necessary upkeep and improvements. To avert this evil and to arouse the personal interest of the tenants perpetual leases have been granted, apparently since the xvth century, which differ somewhat in the different countries but are the same in their main lines. Originally only used in case of lands that had gone out of cultivation, they gradually came into use for other wakf estates also.

The most widely distributed type of agreement of this kind (throughout the whole of the former Turkish empire including Egypt and Tripolis) is the *ijāra waḥida* (in contrast to this the short term lease is called *ijāra mawālida*) = called from the two sums in it: the tenant pays a lump sum down according to the value of the land on the conclusion of the agreement (*ijāra mu'adḍala*) and an annual fixed rent (*ijāra mu'adḍala*) so that the right of ownership in the endowment may not lapse. He is bound to keep the land in order and make it productive. He can bequeath it (originally only to his children, since 1867 however, to other heirs named by statute) and sell his rights in the land with the approval of the administrator of the endowment. If the tenant dies or the tenant following him without leaving heirs the land as *wakf* goes back to the endowment. New buildings are regarded as increment.

Another kind of agreement usual in Syria and Egypt is the *ikr* which corresponds to the *birār* in Tripolis and Tunis but has a rent which rises or falls with alterations in the value of the piece of ground. The tenant can only bequeath it, but has unrestricted rights in his new buildings and new plantations. The agreement only becomes void on non-payment of rent. In Turkey the *wakf* is similar and in Tunis the *enaf* (*enaf*) agreement, but with a fixed annual rent and in Algiers down to the French occupation the *ana* (*ana*) agreement and in Morocco the *guelas* (*guelas*) in the case of business houses and factories) and *gaa* (*gaa*) in case of agricultural lands) (cf. Michaux-Bellière, in *R.M.M.*, xlii. [1911], 197-248), as well as throughout the Maghrib the *shah* or *shah* *al-istifā*. In all these agreements it is a question of the usufruct (*shah* *al-manaf*). The thing itself (*raha*) remains the property of the endowment, which is recognised by the payment of rent; while the *manfa* becomes the property of the lessee. As a result the legists, who at first regarded these agreements in accordance with the customary law as an unpermitted innovation, in the end came to tolerate them since the inalienability of the *wakf* remained secure.

These varieties of agreement were not however created specially for the letting of *wakf* estates but were rather older forms of lease adapted to the *wakf*. They probably originated in cases in which a piece of land had been made *wakf* with similar formulae. Thus the *guelas* is already found in the Marinid period in a *wakf* document for the medrese al-Sahrī in Fez of the year 723 (1323) in which such *guelas* plots of ground are made *wakf* (7. A. ser. 11, x. 222); similarly in Egyptian *wakf* documents of the year 691 (1292) *ikr* lands are made *wakf* (Moberg, in *M.O.*, xii. [1918], 10, N. 8). According to Makrīf (*Khatib*, ii. 114), it is a question of "lands the development of which undertaken by a third person is prevented". They were originally state lands, which however on payment of ground rent (*ad*) could be built upon or used for planting gardens. Later however, they became completely *wakf* (Makrīf, *el. Wist.*, ii. 107). According to a *fatwa* of al-Farūqī (d. 1061 = 1670), the *ikr* agreement is a form of lease by which land is given in perpetuity when built upon or cultivated. Similarly the *birār*, a word which must be of Persian origin, is found as early as a *fatwa* of al-Bazzālī (d. 877 = 1424). In both cases we have the question whether such a piece of ground can be made *wakf* (in Ibn 'Abidin, *Radd al-Mukhtār*, Mir 1327, iii. 428). These agreements probably deal with forms of lease which were originally used in the state domains and are ultimately a survival of the ancient emphyteusis, which was already usual in the Byzantine period for churches and monasteries and their lands (Mitteis and Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrest. der Papyruskunde*, i/l., p. 313).

Family endowments are almost as old as those for the public good. The earliest example is the *wakf* document in which Shāfi' makes his house in Fustāt with everything belonging to it *wakf* for his descendants (*Umm*, iii. 281-283). Such foundations while being a charitable object in keeping with religion, primarily secure the descendants an income for all emergencies and in particular protect the property in times of inse-

curity from unscrupulous rulers, although in practice they did not always have the desired result (cf. above). In addition it was a legal means of evading the Kur'anic law of inheritance, whether in order to exclude particular heirs or to include those not entitled to inherit or in order to keep the estate intact, when it would be broken up by the application of the law of inheritance. The institution of the family endowment was also abused for other purposes: a man would make his property *wakf* for his descendants in order to put it out of reach of his creditors, which however is forbidden in a *fatwa* of Abū 'I-Sa'ūd (d. 928 = 1474; cf. *Brit. Mus. Add. MS.* N. 7.834, fol. 131^b). Family endowments in the east are very numerous and economically harmful from their great extent. In Egypt for example, the income from these endowments in 1928-1929 was higher than that from all the other *wakfs* together (over £ 1,000,000, cf. *R. E. Isl.*, iii. 295).

III. Modern Conditions

The estates of the Dead Hand in the former Turkish empire were estimated at three quarters of the whole arable land and in modern Turkey they have recently been calculated as £ 30,000,000 in value (*O. M.*, v. [1925], 8; in the Budget for 1928 the revenues are entered as £ 3,489,000). Towards the middle of the sixteenth century, they comprised in Algiers the half, in 1885 in Tunis $\frac{1}{2}$ and in 1927 in Egypt $\frac{1}{3}$ of the cultivated soil. The accumulation of such extensive possessions in the Dead Hand meant a serious injury to the economic life of the country; but apart from anything else a piece of ground that is *wakf* cannot be burdened by a mortgage. In addition there were everywhere abuses in the management of these estates and frequently there was an uncertainty in law regarding the question of ownership. The *wakf* system thus everywhere became a problem in the course of the last century. The European Powers (France) were the first to see in it an impediment to the economic development of their Muslim colonies but Muslims themselves (Turkey, Egypt) are now no longer blind to this point of view.

France was the first to try to tackle the problem in Algiers and in not very skilful fashion. As early as 1830 it was laid down that all public *habous* should pass into the possession of and be administered by the French government which aroused particular indignation among the Muslims on account of the endowments for the holy cities. The inalienability of the *habous* was then overcome indirectly: in 1844 the permanent rent was declared redeemable and in 1858 the *ana*-contract became a simple contract of sale, in which the rent was regarded as the interest on the purchase price. It was further ordained that the argument of inalienability should not be used as a ground of a charge against either French or natives. The sale of the *habous* was thus protected. Finally by the law of July 26, 1873, the legal position of land was brought completely under French law and all conditions contradictory to it were abolished. The sale of the *habous* was thus recognised in practice, but in order not to interfere further with the religious sentiments of the Muslims or with their family life, the institution was left in existence as a means to circumvent the Muslim law of inheritance, although in this mutilated form. Since 1873 the French courts have adopted this standpoint, which does not follow

with absolute certainty from the ordinance. The tenants of the wakf are now no longer guaranteed the peaceful enjoyment of the endowment, since one of the partners can sell the *habous* and the others in such a case have to make their claims against him. The Muslim population however avoided a sale as far as possible or again invested the proceeds in another piece of ground to take the place of the first.

France went to work more cautiously in Tunis and Morocco. Khair al-Din had already in 1874 created a central office for the administration (*jam'iyat*) of the public *habous* in Tunis and in 1885 the *mel*-agreement was legalised in the sense of the customs previously in vogue. In 1898 it was then arranged that the *habous* could either be exchanged in kind or for money (in the latter case another piece of ground must be purchased to replace it, in keeping with the Shari'a) and that it could be let out on a simple lease for a period of years (as long as ten with the possibility of extension). Here again however, they went a step further to break up the estates of the Dead Hand. By the decree of Jan. 22, 1905 the *mel*-rent was declared redeemable in 30 annuities. Later however another plan was adopted, less offensive to religious sentiment, to create small holdings on a state assisted basis. By the decree of April 12, 1913, natives could get their lands as *mel* without public competition, if they had for a long period passed from father to son. These endeavours were concluded for the present by the decree of July 17, 1926; by this in the case of landed estate the Tunisian Muslim who lives on the piece of ground in question and tills it himself, or his ancestors have for at least 35 years, becomes the permanent possessor on payment of a yearly rent; the plot of land can however only be inherited in the male line. This measure met with opposition from occupiers of family foundations (cf. the party's item in the programme for the elections in the native section of the Grand Council in 1928: "to protect private wakfs"; *O. M.*, viii [1928], 322). For the administration there has been since 1908 alongside of the *jam'iyat* also a *Conseil Supérieur des Habous*. The *habous* of the Zawiya, which are administered by Wakils (usually identical with the Shaikhs), are also under state control; in the case of the family endowments which are under the supervision of the *kāfī*, the government interferes only under certain conditions — e.g. if the ownership of the endowment is threatened.

In Morocco in 1912 a *Direction des Habous* was created which also has to supervise family endowments and by a *dahir* of July 21, 1913 the leasing of the *habous* was regulated anew; in the first place the long lease of untitled lands was restricted to ten years and an exchange for money made possible with the obligation to buy another piece of ground instead. It was further ordained by *dahir* of Feb. 27, 1914, that the rents, hitherto very small, should be raised in keeping with the value of the estates. A *dahir* of July 8, 1916 then gave permission for the redemption of *marfa'a* privileges (*gza*, *guelas* etc.) so that the wakf land privileges became the property of the occupier. In these cases, however, the sums received had to be invested in another piece of ground. France thus sought to avoid a conflict with the Shari'a and to use the legal possibilities of the Shari'a to improve the economic situation.

In Tripoli and Cyrenaica the central administration of the wakf which existed under the Turks was taken over by the Italians and reformed. The institution itself was not disturbed in the slightest. But under Italian jurisdiction disputes are settled, not by the Shari'a courts but by the ordinary courts of law as the wakf is regarded as coming under the land laws. Another regulation introduced in Cyrenaica by the decree of Aug. 23, 1923 was soon afterwards repealed. By the decree of July 3, 1921 (No. 1207) new land registers were introduced, including a special register for the wakf and for the wakf disposed of by *iffaratain* agreements. The first interference with private wakfs originated on political grounds and resulted in the confiscation of all the property of the Senûsî by the state; only the mosques and cemeteries retained their wakf character and passed under the administration of the public wakfs (decree of Dec. 22, 1930; cf. *O. M.*, xi 324).

For Palestine, Syria and the 'Irāk, it is provided in the mandate of 1921 that the wakfs should be administered by the mandatory power in keeping with the Shari'a and the conditions laid down by the founder. In Palestine, England was content with a theoretical right of control by decree of Dec. 20, 1921; she created a *Supreme Muslim Sharia Council* (altered regarding the method of election and several other points in 1926 and 1929), of 5 members indirectly elected, which controlled the affairs of the wakfs along with other matters (*O. M.*, i [1921], 594–596; ix [1929], 311–313). — France on the other hand in her mandated areas in Syria placed the wakfs under direct supervision of the mandatory power. By an edict of the High Commissioner of March 2, 1921, three bodies for the administration of the Muslim wakfs in the whole Syrian mandated territory were created: a *Conseil Supérieur des Wakfs*, a *Commission générale des Wakfs musulmans*, and a *Contrôleur général des Wakfs musulmans*, who is the official directing the two other offices and at the same time the general controller. The controller is appointed by the commissioner and is responsible to him (Rabbath, *L'Évolution politique de la Syrie sous mandat*, Paris 1928, p. 207 sq.). In 1926 *wakfa'a* and *hikr* agreements were forbidden by the High Commissioner and replaced by *muhdala*. — In the 'Irāk by the constitution of July 10, 1924, the wakfs were put under a Wakf Ministry, the duties and powers of which are to be regulated by a special law (not yet formulated); disputes on points of law are dealt with by the Shari'a tribunal, which decides according to the *madhhab* to which the foundation belongs (*O. M.*, z [1930], 540 sq.).

In Turkey as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, a central administration of the wakfs was created and made a Ministry in 1840. A distinction is made between regular *Ewkaif* (*wakfa-i nāzil*) in *mulk* lands and irregular *Ewkaif* (*wakfa-i ghairi nāzil*) in *mirtze* or state lands, or according to the method of administration, between *wakfa-i mawdu'a*, which are in the possession of and administered by the *Ewkaif* Ministry, *wakfa-i müstahak*, which are only under the supervision of the Ministry, and *wakfa-i müstathana*, which are completely independent (e.g. Christian foundations). While the complete abolition of the wakfs had already been considered in the Tanzimat period (1867), it was the Turkish Republic which took

(the final step, the first Muslim state to do so. By one of the secularising laws of March 3, 1924 (Nº. 429), the *Evkâf* Ministry was abolished and wakf affairs transferred to a general directorate (*mudiriyyet-i 'umûmiye*) subordinate to the Premier in order "to solve the problem in a manner really advantageous to the nation" (Art. 7). [The more rigorous formulation given by Pritsch, in *M. S. O. S. At.*, xxvi. 196, from the previously published scheme, did not become law]. The tendency then was towards nationalising the wakfs but the question is so far not quite settled. According to the law of Feb. 22, 1926 (Nº. 748), wakf estates (*wakf-i mabûf*) must be sold to the communes and other undertakings for the public good (e.g. factories). By the law of 1930 relating to communes, numerous buildings like mosques, cemeteries, waterworks have passed to the communes so that only one third of its work is left to the wakf administration. It is now intended to replace it by an *evkaf bankası* (O. M., x. [1930], 551). The endeavour is therefore being made to break up the estates of the Dead Hand and to put them to more useful purposes but no one has yet dared to abolish the wakf system altogether. It was permitted by the Budget of the *Evkâf* Directorate for 1926 (Nº. 850, 1276, Art. 6, which was prolonged from year to year) to exchange or sell certain pieces of wakf ground, but the money received could only be used for the purchase of land or the erection of buildings.

In Egypt, the attempts at reform go back to Muhammad 'Ali who confiscated all wakf agricultural land (*ruq'a*) and compensated the beneficiaries; he only left in existence wakfs which consisted of houses and gardens (Clot-Bey, *Aperçu général sur l'Égypte*, Paris 1840, II. 195; cf. also Lane, *Manners and Customs*, chap. iv., at the end). In 1851 a central administration was created which after various transformations was raised to a Ministry in 1913. The decree of July 13, 1895 regulated the administration of the wakfs anew and put under the central administration all wakfs for the common good, as well as those family endowments the administration of which for any reason became transferred to the central authority by legal decision or arrangement. Since 1924 the Wakf Ministry has been under the control of Parliament, with the result that the condition and revenues of the wakfs have been considerably improved. Stimulated by what had been done in Turkey the indefensible conditions of the family foundations provoked on the consideration of the budget of the ministry for 1926/1927 a discussion of the question whether family foundations should be retained at all. Two bills were laid before Parliament by deputies in this connection. The one only considered reform; the family endowments were to exist for at most 30 years after the death of the founder and then become the property of the beneficiaries; the existing foundations were not to be dissolved but treated in this spirit. The second proposal was for the immediate abolition of family endowments and their transfer to the private ownership of the beneficiaries. Both proposals were referred to a committee, but the decision was deferred by the dissolution of Parliament in July 1928. These proposals naturally aroused the opposition of the orthodox; the Egyptian modernists, it is interesting to note, are careful not to propose to abolish wakfs simply on economic and moral grounds but

endeavour to support their proposals, like their opponents, by traditional views and to show that the family endowment is not a religious institution.

Czarist Russia had already administered the wakfs in the Crimea through Russian officials for its own advantage and had confiscated numerous wakf lands in Turkestan and given them to Russian emigrants, and under Bolshevik rule in the war against all that is connected with religion the wakf buildings and mosques were also declared state property and let out. Cf. on this the statements by 'Iyâ'î Ishâkî at the Islamic Congress in Jerusalem in Dec. 1931 (O. M., xii. [1932], 133-134).

Various Islamic congresses have dealt with the problem of wakfs but always on traditional lines. Thus the second pilgrimage congress at Mecca (1924) protested against governments dealing with wakfs in any way not in keeping with the stipulations made by the founders and demanded that they should be administered by the standards of the *Shari'a* (O. M., iv. 602). The Islamic Congress at Mecca in 1926 as well as the National Congress of the Hijaz in 1931 demanded of the government that care should be taken to see that revenues from wakfs in favour of the holy cities outside of the Hijaz were collected (O. M., vi. 344; xi. 454). Similarly the Muslim Congress at Jerusalem in 1931 demanded the return of the Hijaz railway with all its rolling stock, because, before it was built, it had been declared a wakf by the Ottoman Sultan.

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WAKHĀN (in Arabic Wakhkhān), a district to the south of the Pāmīr (q.v.). Wakhān is a long and narrow valley which runs from east to west and is watered by the upper course of the Oxus (Pandja) and by the river Wakhān-daryā, which is the most southern source of the Oxus (cf. AMU-DARYĀ). The length of Wakhān along the Oxus is 67 miles and of the Wakhān-daryā (from Langar-kish to the Wakhājir pass) 113 miles. Afghan sources put the distance from Ishkashim to Sarhadd at 66 *barsā* = 22 *farsakh*.

To the south of Wakhān rises the wall of the Hindu-Kush through which several passes lead to the lands of the upper Indus. The main pass (12,460 feet) of Baroghil leads into Citral. The northern wall of Wakhān is the Wakhān (Nicolas II) range the peaks of which reach a height of 25,000 feet. In the west Wakhān stretches to the bend of the Oxus, where the river entering the boundaries of Shughnān (q.v.) turns northwards. In the east Wakhān (through the high valley of Wakhājir) is adjoined by Chinese possessions and lake Čakmak-thng.

Wakhān lies as a barrier between Russian lands in the north and British in the south so that nowhere are they in direct contact. By the Russo-Afghan agreement of March 4, 1895 defining the frontier, it runs a. in the lower part of Wakhān up the course of the Oxus as far as Langar-kish where the two sources of the Oxus meet: the river Wakhān from S.E. (from the Little Pāmīr) and the river Pāmīr from the N.E. (from the Great Pāmīr); b. from Langar-kish the frontier follows the course of the Pāmīr river to its source (lake Zor-kul or Victoria); c. more to the east again, the frontier runs by a zigzag line towards the south to China (near the Beylik pass). Afghan territory therefore comprises the left bank of the Oxus, all the valley of the Wakhān-daryā, the land on the left bank of the Pāmīr river and a small part of the upper course of the Ak-su (including lake Čakmak-kul).

The Afghan part of Wakhān contains seven districts, namely from west to east: Warg, Urgand, Khandud, Kāl'a-yi Pandis, Babā-Tangī, Nirs-wa-Shalak and Sarhadd (this last named village is at the foot of the Baroghil pass at a height of 11,350 feet), as well as the thinly populated territory of the Little Pāmīr (watered by the Wakhān-daryā).

On the Afghan side there are in Wakhān 64 villages with 3,500 inhabitants and on the Russian

27 with 2,000 inhabitants. The population (Wakhān) belongs to the race of Iranian mountaineers (*Qhānā*) very often with blue eyes, a feature which had struck the Chinese as early as the sixth century. The Wakhān language is an unusual variety of an Iranian dialect (*Qhāfā*). At the present day the Wakhān on the Russian side form part of the autonomous republic of Tadzhikistan.

In his monumental works Sir Aurel Stein supports the thesis according to which the Wakhān corridor ("the most direct thoroughfare") has been used from very early times for communication between the settled areas of northern Afghanistan (Balkh) and those of the modern Chinese Turkestan.

From the seventh century, Wakhān is continually mentioned in the early Chinese sources under the names of Hu-mi, Fo-ho etc. (cf. Marquart, *Erdenach*, p. 243, and Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-tou occidentaux*, Index). Hsien Tsang mentions the greenish eyes of the people of Ts-mo-si-t'ie-ti (a form not yet satisfactorily explained) and its capital Hun-t'o-to (= Khandud) with its great Buddhist stūpa. In 747 Wakhān had become the theatre of the operations of the famous Chinese general Kao-sien-č'e against the Tibetans (cf. Chavannes, p. 152—153). Among Arab authors, Isfakhri (< Balkh) several times mentions Wakhān as a land of infidels, as the place from which musk comes and where the Oxus rises (cf. Isfakhri, p. 279, 280, 296; Ibn Rusta, p. 91). Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj*, i. 213; *Tamhīd*, p. 64, applies the term "Türk" to all the inhabitants of the upper Oxus: the Awkhān (اوخان, read: وخوان), Tubbat (Tibetans) and Ayghān (?). As to the Iranian Wakhān the term "Türk" can only refer to their dynasty (cf. Marquart, *Wahrsat und Arang* [still unpublished], p. 101—102). More detailed information is supplied by the Persian geographical work *Huṣūd al-'Alam* (372 = 982, ed. Barthold, 1930, fol. 25b) which calls Wakhān the residence of the king and capital of the land (*shahr*) of Sīkashim (it ought probably to be emended to "Ishkashim, the capital of Wakhān"). At Kh-mādāh (= Khundūd) are the temples (*sur-khāna*) of the Wakhān and "to its left" was a fortress occupied by the Tibetans. Samarqandāq is regarded as the remotest frontier of the dependencies of Transoxiana; it had Hindu, Tibetan and Wakhān inhabitants (probably the Sarhadd of the present day).

Bibliography: Cf. the articles PĀMĪR and SHUGHNĀN. Carzon, *The Pamirs*, reprint of 1898, p. 32 and the map; Comte Bobrinskoy, *Gortil verkhovny Pandja*, Moscow 1908; Prince Masalsky, *Turkestan*, 1913, p. 99—102 (vol. xix. of the series *Russii* by P. P. Semenov); *Tadzhikistan*, Tashkent 1925, *passim* (collection of memoirs by Kortzenowsky, Barthold, Semenov, etc. on the Soviet Republic of Tadzhikistan); Barhan al-Din Khān Khushkaki, *Katagham wa-Badakhshan*, Russ. transl., Tashkent 1926, p. 149—170; Sir A. Stein, *Serindia*, 1921, vol. I, chap. iii., p. 60—71 (old Chinese references); do., *Innermost Asia*, 1928, ii. 863—871 (antiquities: Zangibar near Ilqat, Zamri Atash-parast near Yamān); do., *On ancient Trade past the Pamirs*, in *The Himalayan Journal*, iv., 1932 (special print, p. 1—26). — On the Wakhān language cf. Geiger in the *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, vii., p. 290 199, and Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, x. (1921), 457—65. (V. MINORSKY).

AL-WĀQĪ'A (A.), the name of Sūra 181. The title "the befalling, suddenly happening" which is the subject of the first verse is generally taken to refer to the *ḥijāma* (q. v. where the word is translated "the event") or *ḥā'a*, both periphrases for the Day of Judgment. The content of the Sūra is in keeping with this. Opinions differ as to the date of its origin. Noldeke and Schwally put it in the first Meccan period but add that Ḥasan al-Baṣrī regards it as Medinese. That some verses are Medinese seems to be generally acknowledged in tradition while Noldeke-Schwally think the Sūra was composed at one time. In contrast to the verses there quoted as traditional Medinese, the *Tafsīr al-Diyālūn* for example allots verses 80 and 13 (equal 38 in Flügel's notation) to the Medina period, while the official Egyptian *Qur'ān* (cf. Bergsträsser, in *Jal.*, 22, 2 299.) allots verses 81 and 82 (Flügel 80 and 81) to Medina. The same *Qur'ān* describes the Sūra as revealed after Sūra 22, which according to Noldeke and Schwally belongs to the second Meccan period.

(M. PLESSNER)

AL-WĀQIDĪ, ABU 'ABD ALLĀH MUHAMMAD B. 'UMAR, an Arab historian born in 130 in Medina; according to *Aghāni*, vii. 189, his mother was a great-grand-daughter of Sa'ib who introduced music into Medina. Al-Wāqidī was so called after his grandfather al-Wāqid, al-Aslamī as a mawlā of 'Abd Allāh b. Buraiza who belonged to the Medinese family of Aslam. On the occasion of Ḥārūn's pilgrimage in 170 (see *Tabari*, iii. 605) he was recommended to him as the best authority on the holy places of his native town and acted as guide to the caliph and his vizier Yahyā when they visited the sacred places. He used the connections he had then formed with the court in 180 (see Ibn Sa'd, vii/ii. 77) when he met with financial difficulties and went to Baghdad and thence to Raḡḡa where Ḥārūn was then holding his court (see *Tabari*, iii. 645). He was kindly received by Yahyā and presented to the caliph who recalled with pleasure his visit to Medina and gave him rich gifts. He himself left a full account of his journey to Ḥārūn's court and the reception he found there, which is given in Ibn Sa'd, v. 314 299. The older sources make no reference to his receiving from Ḥārūn the office of *kaḍī* of the eastern quarter of Baghdad; the story first appears in Yāqūt, *Udaba'*, vii. 56, without a source being given. On the other hand it is certain that Ma'mūn after entering Baghdad in the beginning of 204 (see *Tabari*, iii. 1037) appointed him *kaḍī* of 'Askar al-Mahdī in Ruḡḡa (Ibn Khallikān, Cairo, l. 641, wrongly ascribes to Ibn Kūtaiba the statement that Wāqidī was *kaḍī* of the western side of Baghdad; Ibn Kūtaiba only says in agreement with Ibn Sa'd that the *kaḍī* of the western side conducted Wāqidī's funeral service). Wāqidī was on intimate terms with al-Ma'mūn and appointed the caliph his executor, and al-Ma'mūn carried out the duties in person (see Ibn Sa'd, v. 321) when Wāqidī died at the end of 207 (see Ibn Sa'd, v. 321, vii/ii. 77; Ibn Kūtaiba, *Ma'ārif*, p. 258; Sam'ānī, fol. 577^b; Yāqūt, *Udaba'*, vii. 56). Wāqidī made no secret of his gratitude to Yahyā even after the fall of the Barmecides; the vizier had several times relieved him of the financial difficulties in which Wāqidī was constantly involving himself. Wāqidī himself (Ibn Sa'd, v. 319 299.) gives an

example which has become celebrated of the vizier's generosity, which occurs again in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* (Cairo), i. 237 299.; Yāqūt, *Udaba'*, vii. 57; Ibn Khallikān, l. 641 in a slightly different form. — A list of Wāqidī's writings is given in the *Fihrist*, p. 98 29. and Yāqūt has one that is almost exactly the same (*Udaba'*, vii. 56). The great majority of these works are of an historical nature, some relate to the *Qur'ān*, Fiqh and Hadīth. To the first group belong: 1. *al-Ta'riḡ wa 'l-Maḡāzī wa 'l-Ma'āthir*, 2. *Akhḡār Maḡāzī*, 3. *al-Tabaqāt*, 4. *Futūḡ al-Sha'm*, 5. *Futūḡ al-'Irāq*, 6. *al-Diyālūn*, 7. *Majma' al-Humayn*, 8. *al-Sira*, 9. *Asmā' al-Nabī*, 10. *al-Ridda wa 'l-Dār*, 11. *Harb al-Awam*, 12. *al-Kharā'ij*, 13. *Sifāt*, 14. *Wafāt al-Nabī*, 15. *Amr al-Habash wa 'l-Fil*, 16. *al-Sakifa wa-Ba'at Abi Bakr*, 17. *Sirat Abi Bakr wa-Wafāt*, 18. *Marā' al-Kharā'ij wa 'l-Anḡār*, 19. *al-Katā'if wa-Wafāt 'Umar al-Dawānir wa-Taḡrīf al-Katā'if wa-Marā' al-Humayn*, 20. *Mawlid al-Ḥarām wa 'l-Humayn*, 21. *Dar al-Dawānir wa 'l-Darā'ib*, 22. *Ta'riḡ al-Fuḡāḡ*, 23. *al-Ta'riḡ al-kawr*.

Wāqidī's historical interest covered the early history of Mecca and Medina as well as the Muslim period. Only the *Kitāb al-Maḡāzī* has survived as an independent work out of all his writings; the *Tabaqāt*, which comes down to events of the year 186, is the foundation of the *Tabaqāt* of Ibn Sa'd (q. v., v. 314, 17) who also made considerable use of the *Sira* (cf. also *Bibl. Arab. Hist.*, ix. 231), *Ma'āthir* and *Asmā' al-Nabī*; in all parts of his work that cover the same field, Wāqidī is his main authority and also in the *Majma' al-Humayn*. *Tabari* frequently quotes the *Ta'riḡ al-kawr*, which must have come down to the year 179 (see *Tabari*, iii. 639) and Ibn Huthayb (d. 584) has preserved numerous fragments of the *Kitāb al-Ridda wa 'l-Dār* [*al-Dār* (*Yasum al-Dār*) i.e. the assassination of 'Uthmān (see Caetani, *Annali*, ii. index, v. v. Wāqidī; cf. also *Bibl. Arab. Hist.*, ix. 237)]. The *Futūḡ al-Sha'm* and *al-'Irāq* are not preserved; the books which go under these names belong to a later date and have been credited to Wāqidī. Wāqidī prefixes a list of his most important authorities to his *Majma' al-Humayn*, a third of which was published by H. von Kremer (*History of Mohammed's Campaigns*, in *Bibl. Ind.*, Calcutta 1856) and of which Wellhausen has given a synopsis in German (*Mohammed in Medina*, Berlin 1882); the list is repeated in Ibn Sa'd, ii/1. 1, 3-10 and iii/1. 1 (cf. also vii/ii. 77) and has been fully discussed by Siebman in *M. S. O. S. A.*, vii. 11 299., 21 299. The list consists entirely of the names of learned men, either born or settled in Medina, who had given information to Wāqidī, and went back to authorities like al-Zuhri, 'Aḡim b. 'Umar, Yand b. Rūmān etc. Many of the authorities quoted by Wāqidī, like Abū Ma'āhar, Ma'mar b. Rāḡid, Mūsā b. 'Uḡba had themselves written books on the *Maghāzī*; on the other hand, Wāqidī never mentions by name his most celebrated predecessor in the field of the biography of the Prophet, Muḥammad b. Isḡāk. This is all the more remarkable as he not only (in *Tabari*, iii. 2512) passes a very favourable verdict on him but undoubtedly made very great use of his book and obviously follows him in the arrangement of the material (see Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 11 299.; J. Horowitz, *De Wāqidī libere*, p. 9 299.); he possibly wished to conceal his indebtedness by not mentioning the name of Ibn Isḡāk. In the *Kitāb al-Maḡāzī*

Wakīdī's strong interest in Hadīth and Fiqh which is shown by his own writings on them finds expression in the fact that a very considerable portion of the new material contributed by him deals not with history proper but with theology and law. In Wakīdī also the traditions either separately or digested into one record follow one another without being linked up just as in works on Hadīth, but quite contrary to the method of Ibn Ishāq who gives them greater cohesion by adding a connecting text. Wakīdī's merit lies mainly in his transmission of a very large amount of material and in fixing its chronology. Muslim scholars also recognise him as an authority in the field of history (and also of Fiqh, cf. Yāqūt, *Udabā'* vii. 55) while they reject him for Hadīth proper (see the verdicts in Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, ix. 363 199; Uḥḥābi, in Fischer, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xlv. 421 199; j. Fack, *Muhammad Ibn Ishāq*, p. 14). In the *Fihrist*, Wakīdī is described as a Shī'ī of the moderate school (*kāna yataḥḥizūn al-ḥanafiyya*) and it is added that he transmitted the statement that 'Alī was one of the miraculous signs of the Prophet, like the cod of Mūsā and the revival of the dead by 'Isā. When we are further told in the *Fihrist* that Wakīdī also studied *taḥḥiz* (*yulḥannu 'l-taḥḥiz*) this is in keeping with his point of view in the *Kisāb al-Maghāzī*; for there 'Alī's name is not mentioned in several accounts of events in which Ibn Ishāq expressly mentions his participation and Wakīdī did not suppress traditions hostile to 'Alī (see J. Horowitz, *loc. cit.*, p. 43 19; do., in Ibn Sa'd ii/i. 127, 22; Noldeke, in *Z. D. M. G.*, lii. 31; W. Sarasin, *Das Bild Alis*, p. 21 199). On the other hand, the very title of the monograph *Mawlid al-Ḥasan wa 'l-Ḥusain* (see above) reveals a Shī'ī attitude — a non-Shī'ī would hardly have dealt with this subject — and the zeal for 'Alī is also seen in the fact that Wakīdī collects a great deal of evidence of Muḥammad's having died in 'Alī's bosom (see Ibn Sa'd, ii/i. 50; cf. also p. 51, 21, 61, 19, 63, 22, 76, 19 199, 86, 19 199). The story in the *Fihrist* seems however to be isolated and the Shī'ī *riḍā* books do not quote Wakīdī. In view of his close connection with the 'Abbāsids, it is not surprising that he puts the part played by 'Abbās in the most favourable light possible. If he does not mention 'Abbās in the *Maghāzī* among the prisoners of Badr (see Horowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 44 19; Noldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 21 199; Caetani, *Annali*, ii. 89, note, where however the fact is overlooked that, as Tabari, p. 1341 shows, Ibn Ishāq records his capture), it is clear from Ibn Sa'd, iv/i. 6, 23 199, that Wakīdī admitted the fact of his capture but represented it as the act of an angel. In Ibn Sa'd, iv. 20, Wakīdī is also given as authority for the statement that 'Abbās adopted Ismā' before the Hīdīra and on p. 21, 8 199, for the story that 'Umar entered his claims in the first place in his *Diwān* (cf. also Caetani, *Annali*, under year 10, § 264, 266, 341).

Bibliography: given in the article; cf. also Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 135 19, and Supplements; Fischer, in *Z. D. M. G.*, liv. 421, note 4.

(J. HOROWITZ)

WAKIL (A.), mandatary, solicitor, agent, vicegerent, see **WAKĪLA**; also one of the names of Allāh, "the Guardian", see **ALLĀH**, ii.

WAKT. [See **ZAMĀN**.]

WAKWAK or **WAKWAK**, in Arabic orthography **واقواق** or **واق واق** or **واقواق**. The pagination which follows the names of Arab authors or titles of Oriental works refers, unless otherwise stated, to G. Ferrand's *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turks* (cf. the *Bibliography*).

I. WAKWAK OF THE SOUTH OR WAKWAK OF AFRICA

The islands of Wakwāk are situated in the Lārwi sea which washes the western coast of India and the lands inhabited by the Zandj (Yāqūt, p. 49). The Wakwāk of the south is different from that of China (Ibn al-Fakih, p. 55). The lands of Sofala and of Wakwāk are situated at the extremity of the sea of the Zandj (Mas'ūdī, p. 108). The land of Wakwāk is contiguous to that of Sofala; there are two towns in it, Darū and Nabhana, miserable and sparsely populated (Idrisi, p. 183). The town of Daghdagha, inhabited by hideous and deformed negroes, is next to the land and island of Wakwāk (Idrisi, p. 184). Wakwāk is situated in the land of the Zandj (Ibn al-Wardī, p. 425), to the east [= south] of Sofala, on the same southern [= western] shore of the Indian ocean which extends without interruption to the end of the tenth section of the first climate, at the place where the Indian ocean flows out of the Surrounding Sea (Ibn Khaldūn, p. 460). The islands of Wakwāk are near the last of the islands of Dībadjāt al-Dum [= Laccadives and Maldives] (*Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 586).

The Wakwāk of the land of the Zandj is vast, fertile and prosperous (Ibn al-Wardī, p. 425).

The gold of Wakwāk of the south is of inferior quality compared with that of the Wakwāk of China (Ibn al-Fakih, p. 55). There is much gold in the Wakwāk of the land of the Zandj (Mas'ūdī, p. 108; Ibn al-Wardī, p. 425).

The natives of the Wakwāk of the land of the Zandj have no ships, but the merchants of 'Omān come to trade with them and get slaves in exchange for dates (Ibn al-Wardī, p. 425; cf. also Idrisi, p. 183). They know neither cold nor rain (Ibn al-Wardī, p. 425).

II. WAKWAK OF THE EAST OR WAKWAK OF CHINA

Wakwāk lies to the east of China (Ibn Khur-dādhbih, p. 30), behind China (Ibn al-Fakih, p. 55), to the south of the 'Irāk (*Abrégé des merveilles*, p. 140). The Wakwāk of China differs from the Wakwāk of the south in the superior quality of its gold (Ibn al-Fakih, p. 55). Kankdis is the remotest town in the east; it is situated at the extremity of China and of Wakwāk (*Mafatīḥ al-'Ulūm*, ed. G. van Vloten, p. 217). The island of Wakwāk is situated to the north-east of the Greater Sea (al-Bīrūnī, *Ḥanūn al-Ma'ādī*, p. 598). The island of Wakwāk forms part of the group of islands of Khmer (al-Bīrūnī, p. 163). The islands of Wakwāk are situated in the southern part of the Sea of Darkness (Idrisi, p. 190); they adjoin the islands of Mūdja and those of the Clouds and of places consisting of islets and inaccessible mountains (Idrisi, p. 192—193). It is a land situated above [i.e. south] of China (Yāqūt, p. 231—232). The islands of Wakwāk situated in the Chinese

Sea, are close to the islands of Zābag [= Sumatra] (Kazwini, p. 300, 303, 311); they are situated in the extreme east (Ibn Sa'īd, p. 334); beyond the Utiqūn range, quite close to the coast; they are reached by the Chinese Sea (Dimashqī, p. 375), beyond the ocean of Darkness (*ibid.*, p. 391). They are the most famous islands of the China Sea and number over a hundred (*Nuḥat al-Kulūb*, transl. G. Le Strange, p. 222). The islands of Wāk-wāk are situated to the south of the island of Kōmr and to the west of the islands of Silt [= Corea] (Ibn Khaldūn, p. 461); in the China Sea and near the islands of Zābag, they are said to number 1,600 (Bākuwī, p. 463); to the south of the islands of Timor, Banda and the Moluccas (Sidi 'Alī, p. 513); opposite China, a year's journey from the east coast of Africa (*Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 588). Wāk-wāk is 4,500 parasangs from Suez (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 32).

The island of Nias on the west coast of Sumatra, which adjoins Zābag, forms part of the archipelago of Wāk-wāk (Ibn al-Wardī, p. 414-415). An island situated 50 *zām* [= 150 hours' sailing] from Sribusa [= Palembang, S. E. of Sumatra] on the way from Sribusa to China, and 15 *zām* [= 45 hours' sailing] from Campa [= modern Annam], forms part of Wāk-wāk (*Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 589).

The route to Wāk-wāk is from the Coromandel coast (Dimashqī, p. 391); one comes there by steering by the stars (Kazwini, p. 300 and 311; Ibn al-Wardī, p. 413; Bākuwī, p. 463).

It is a large island (Ibn al-Wardī, p. 415). The islands of Wāk-wāk number 1,700 (Kazwini, p. 300; Ibn al-Wardī, p. 415); 1,600 (Kazwini, p. 311; Bākuwī, p. 463). They are inhabited and cultivated (Ibn al-Wardī, p. 415); they contain large towns (*Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 587).

The ruler of the islands of Wāk-wāk is a woman. She sits nude on a throne, a crown of gold on her head, surrounded by four thousand young slaves also nude (Kazwini, p. 300; Ibn al-Wardī, p. 415). This queen is called Dambara, wears a robe woven of gold and shoes of gold (Ibn al-Wardī, p. 415; cf. Idrisi, p. 177).

Some inhabitants of Wāk-wāk are black (al-Bīrūnī, p. 164). They resemble the Turks; they are numerous, very industrious, active and intelligent, but treacherous, lying and cunning (*Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 587). They weave tunics with sleeves in a single piece; they build large ships and floating houses (Ibn al-Wardī, p. 415).

In 334 (945) of our era, a fleet of 1,000 ships from Wāk-wāk came to plunder some islands of East Africa and certain towns of Sofala of the Zandj. The Wāk-wāk used to come there to get the merchandise necessary for their country and China, like ivory, tortoise shell, panther-skins, amber and Zandj slaves. The voyage lasted a year (*Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 587-588). The men there are finer than the women (al-Bīrūnī, p. 164).

The Chinese sometimes land there (Idrisi, p. 193); merchants go with them to look for gold (*ibid.*, p. 194). One cannot land there (Ibn Sa'īd, p. 335).

Gold is abundant (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 31; Ibn al-Fakih, p. 55; Idrisi, p. 194; Kazwini, p. 300; Ibn Sa'īd, p. 334; Ibn al-Wardī, p. 415; Bākuwī, p. 463). The chains and collars of dogs, monkeys and other tame animals are of gold (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 31; Kazwini, p. 300; Dimashqī, p. 391; Ibn al-Wardī, p. 414; Bākuwī, p. 463). The chiefs have trunks made of gold with which they

build fortresses and houses (Ibn al-Wardī, p. 414; cf. Abū Zaid Hasan, p. 84). Tunics woven in gold are sold there (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 31 and 674; Kazwini, p. 300-301). The gold is exported in ingots and as dust (Idrisi, p. 194). The gold mines of the islands of Wāk-wāk is of such productivity that official ordinances are engraved on plates of gold (*Nuḥat al-Kulūb*, transl. G. Le Strange, p. 192).

There is no iron so that it is valued as gold is in other countries (Dimashqī, p. 391).

Flora: ebony of excellent quality (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 31; Idrisi, p. 194); ebony (al-Bīrūnī, p. 164; Kazwini, p. 301).

Fauna: elephants, many birds (Idrisi, p. 193); elephants of great size (Ibn al-Wardī, p. 416); many monkeys which are trained to sweep the houses, and to look for wood in the forests and to do other work (*Burhān ḡayy*, p. 563).

Fabulous Fauna: fish 200 cubits long, sometimes 20 cubits round (Kazwini, p. 303); flying scorpions (*Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 580); the *ramonid* bird which enters fire without injury; a kind of hare which changes its sex (*ibid.*, p. 587).

III. Wāk or Wāk

In Arabic orthography الواق, الوقي.

The island of Wāk lies to the south of the 'Irāq (*Abriḡ des merveilles*, p. 140), in the neighbourhood of the island of Kōmr, behind the mountain of Utiqūn, in the centre of the Southern Sea (Abahīhī, p. 470). One goes from the sea of Campa to the land of Wāk (*Abriḡ des merveilles*, p. 144). The sea of Campa, which comes before the China Sea, adjoins Wāk (*ibid.*, p. 145). The land of Wāk with its islands lies to the east of China (*ibid.*, p. 153). The land of Wāk lies south of the equator between China and Sofala of the Zandj, on the south coast of the Indian Sea (Nuḥairi, p. 394).

Wāk is 4,500 parasangs from Suez (*Miḥl et une nuit*, p. 506).

The mahārājā, king of the islands, lives in the land of Wāk (*Abriḡ des merveilles*, p. 153; Abahīhī, p. 144). Marvellous statues are made there (*ibid.*, p. 153).

Much gold is found there (*Abriḡ des merveilles*, p. 153; Abahīhī, p. 471). The bits for horses, chains and collars of dogs are of gold (*Abriḡ des merveilles*, p. 153; Abahīhī, p. 471). The people make shirts woven of gold (*Abriḡ des merveilles*, p. 153 and 678).

The queen sits on a throne with a crown of gold on her head, surrounded by 400 young virgins (Abahīhī, p. 470).

The exports are aloes, musk, ebony, cinnamon and all kinds of merchandise (*Abriḡ des merveilles*, p. 153).

IV. THE WONDERFUL TREE OF Wāk-wāk AND OF Wāk

The earliest mention of the story of the fruits in the shape of human beings is given us by a Chinese text: the 通典 *T'ong Tien* of Tou Yeou, a book which was written between 766 and 801 of our era. Tou Yeou frequently quotes his relative Tou Huanan, who in all probability was taken prisoner at the battle of Talas in 751, was in Arab lands from 751 to 762 and put what he

had learned in foreign lands into a book, the

經行紀 *King Hing Ki*, which is now lost.

It was therefore apparently Tou Houan, who, during his forced sojourn among the Arabs, picked up the legend which Tou Yeou relates as follows (*T'oung Tien*, ch. CXCVIII, p. 239):

"The king of the *Ta-shih* (Arabs) had despatched men who boarded a ship, taking with them clothes and food and went to sea. They sailed for eight years without coming to the far shore of the Ocean. In the middle of the sea, they saw a square rock; on this rock was a tree with red branches and green leaves. On the tree had grown a large number of little children; they were six or seven thumbs' length. When they saw the men, they did not speak, but they could all laugh and move. Their hands, feet and heads were fixed to the branches of the trees. When the men detached them and held them, as soon as they were in their hands, they dried up and became black. The messengers returned with a branch of this tree which is still in the palace of the king of the *Ta-shih* (Arabs)" (*T'oung-Pao*, Oct. 1904, transl. by E. Chavannes, p. 484-487).

This text was reproduced in the encyclopaedia of Ma Twan-lin (Ch. cccxxix) who wrote in 1319. Schlegel, who translated it for de Goeje and did not trouble to find out whence Ma Twan-lin had taken it, inserts before the penultimate phrase the words: "The name of this tree was *ie-nie*". "I do not know," says Chavannes, where he got this note which is not in the text of Tou Yeou nor in that of Ma Twan-lin". On Tou Yeou cf. also Paul Pelliot, *Des artisans chinois à la capitale abbasside en 751-762* in *T'oung-Pao*, 1928 (xxvi), p. 110-112.

Trees called *wāḥwāḥ* are also found in India, the fruit of which looks like human beings (Mu-tahhar, p. 117) or like women (Ibn Tufail, p. 200).

This island of *Wāḥwāḥ* is not so called after a tree the fruit of which is said to be in the shape of human heads crying: *wāḥ, wāḥ* (al-Bīrūnī, p. 163). The island or land of *Wāḥwāḥ* is on the contrary called after this wonderful tree (Kazwini, p. 300; Ibn Sa'id, p. 334; Dimashki, p. 375; Ibn al-Wardi, p. 416; Bakawi, p. 463; Ibn Iyās, p. 483; Sidi 'Ali, p. 513; *Burhān al-ʿUlūm*, p. 563; *Mille et une nuits*, p. 568-569; *Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 580; *Nuḥat al-Ḳulūb*, transl. G. Le Strange, p. 222).

There is in *Wāḥ* a tree like the nut-tree and cassia tree the fruit of which looks like a man. When the fruit is ripe, it utters distinctly the words: *wāḥ wāḥ*, then falls (Dimashki, p. 375; Abūhi, p. 470-471).

The *Kitāb al-Diyūgrafiya* of the anonymous geographer of Almeria (xith cent. A. D.) contains the following interesting description: "In the part of the land of China which is in the sea, there are many islands; among them, those which are famous and well known number eight. The largest and most important is the island of *Wāḥwāḥ*. It is so called because there are great, tall trees there, the numerous leaves of which are like those of the fig-tree, except that they are larger than the leaves of the fig-tree. This tree bears fruit in the month of *Adār*, i.e. the month of March, and they are fruits like the fruits of the palm-tree. These fruits end in the feet of young girls which project from them; on the second

day of the month the two legs protrude, and on the third day the two legs and thighs. This continues so that a little more protrudes each day until they have completely emerged on the last day of the month of *Nisān*, i.e. April. In the month of May their head comes out and the whole figure is complete. They are suspended by their hair. Their form and stature are most beautiful and admirable. At the beginning of the month of June, they begin to fall from these trees and by the middle of the month there is not one left on the trees. At the moment of falling to the ground, they utter two cries: *wāḥ, wāḥ*. It is also said that they utter three cries. When they have fallen to the ground, flesh without bones is found. They are more beautiful than words can describe but are without life or soul. They are buried in the earth. If they were not buried but left lying no one would be able to approach them on account of the stench. This is a wonder of the land of China. The island is at the end of the inhabited world in this sea. It is in the east of the section of the coast where it touches the Greater Sea" (MS. 770 of the Bibliothèque du Protectorat Français au Maroc, in Rabat, fol. 5^b, supplemented by a manuscript of the same work in the René Basset library).

V. THE ANIMAL-VEGETABLE WAKWAK

The *Wāḥwāḥ* are according to the *Kitāb al-Haiyawan* of al-Djāhiz (d. in 255 = 869) the product of plants and animals (in *Hayāt al-Haiyawan al-kubrā* of al-Damiri, Cairo 1330, ii. 177 and 38). The *Wāḥwāḥ* are beings closely resembling the human species. They are the fruit of great trees from which they hang by the hair. They have breasts and sexual organs like those of women. They are coloured and never cease crying *wāḥ, wāḥ*. When one of these creatures is captured, it becomes silent and falls dead (*Abrégé des merveilles*, p. 138 and 677-678). The *Wāḥwāḥ* are like palm and coconut trees, intermediate between the animal and vegetable kingdoms (Dimashki, p. 367).

VI. THE KING OF THE ISLANDS OF WAKWAK

The king of the islands of *Wāḥwāḥ* is known as *Kashmir* (var. *Qashmir*, *Nuḥat al-Ḳulūb*, Pers. text, p. 239; Engl. transl. by G. Le Strange, p. 222). Mr. Jadunath Sarkar has kindly examined the MSS. of the *Nuḥat al-Ḳulūb*, accessible to him. In that of the Oriental Public Library (Khuda Bakhsh Library) of Patna, the name of the king is blank. The Imperial Library of Calcutta (Bohar Collection) has two MSS. of the text: N^o. 99 has *کشمیر* and N^o. 98 *کشمیر*. These readings unfortunately do not recall any possible known name.

VII. PROPOSED IDENTIFICATIONS

In an appendix to the *Lièvre des merveilles de l'Inde* (p. 295-307) de Goeje published a French translation, reviewed and corrected, of his *Arabische berichten over Japan* under the title *Le Japon connu des Arabes*. He naturally knew and quoted most of the Arabic texts above mentioned. In the course of his researches, he found that the Chinese name for Japan in the Canton dialect is *Wo-ko-wok*, of which *Wāḥwāḥ* is a perfect Arabic transcription and the identification of *Wāḥwāḥ* therefore seemed certain to him.

The old Chinese name for Japan is 倭國 *Wa-koku*, once pronounced **Wa-kwaik*, "land or kingdom of Wa", in Japanese *Wa-ko-ko*, with a barely perceptible final *u*. *Wa-kwaik* would be rendered in Arabic by *واقواق* or *واقواق* which corresponds exactly to the forms given by the Arab and Persian geographers. This reasoning is then by no means worthless but it does not supply decisive proof. It remains to be seen if other evidence can be found to support this agreement.

De Goeje's thesis calls for several observations. In the first place, according to certain geographers, there are two *Wakwāk*: *Wakwāk* of China and *Wakwāk* of the south. Ibn al-Falāḥ expressly says so (cf. above, i.). Mas'ūdī, Idriṣī, Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn al-Wardī locate the African *Wakwāk* beside Sofala of the Zandj on the east coast of Africa; Ya'qūbī in the Lārwi sea, west of India. Now according to certain modern works of Africanists like G. MacTheal and R. N. Hall, *wakwāk* is a name given to the Bushmen by the Bantus of the country, who regard them as a kind of lubbock. This explains the statements made by Mas'ūdī and the Arab geographers who follow him.

On the other hand, *Wakwāk* is represented in Malgasy by *vakwā* + vowel which corresponds phonetically to an old **wakwāk* and means "the people, the subjects, a nation, tribe or clan as a whole". Madagascar might therefore be the island *Wakwāk* of Ya'qūbī. This identification is made certain by the following fact: in the great African island a *pandanus* called *vakwā* grows in great profusion; its fruit is a voluminous syncarp. It is known to the French as *vagouit*. Its shape and characteristics might well have given rise to the story of trees producing human beings (cf. above, iv.). Madagascar thus corresponds as exactly as possible with the description of *Wakwāk* of the south. The *vagouit* of which the *Liure des merveilles de l'Inde* speaks cannot in any case take the place of this wonderful tree, as de Goeje thought.

The other information supplied by the Oriental geographers is as a rule of little use on account of its fantastic nature or its inaccuracy. One note in the *Kitāb 'Adjīb al-Hind* may be mentioned: a famous sailor of the lands of gold, Ibn Lākta, reports that in 334 (945) the *Wakwāk* came with 1,000 ships to the east coast of Africa to procure merchandise and Zandj slaves. The voyage lasted a year. De Goeje, who identifies these *Wakwāk* with the Japanese, acknowledges that the history of Japan makes no mention of this remarkable fact and concludes that it must have been a private enterprise of Japanese merchants and daimyos. E. Chavannes says that such an expedition could not have taken place (*T'oung-Pao*, Oct. 1904, p. 485). M. Maurice Courant, whom I have consulted, is also of this opinion and Mr. Basil Hall Chamberlain, the eminent master of Japanese studies, has written to me to the same effect: It was impossible for the Japanese of the tenth century to undertake an expedition by sea to the islands and coast of East Africa. The *Wakwāk* of China or eastern *Wakwāk* are therefore not the Japanese.

The Arabic and Persian documents which seemed to de Goeje decisive in favour of his thesis, are far from being as conclusive as the illustrious Leyden orientalist believed. Indeed some are definitely against the Japanese theory of *Wakwāk*,

which is really untenable. The existence of two *Wakwāk* is indisputable. The identification of *Wakwāk* of the south with Madagascar and East Africa south of Sofala is equally certain. It only remains to locate *Wakwāk* of China. The most valuable hint for its identification is the statement that the Mahārāja, king of the islands, lives in it. Now we know from other sources that this is the title of the ruler of Zābag, i.e. Sumatra, the land of gold. The Sumatrans were acquainted with the islands and coasts of the western Indian ocean. They peopled Madagascar at an early period and Malgasy is a descendant of a Malay dialect. Idriṣī gives valuable information on this point: "The people of Kōmā (= Madagascar) and the merchants of the land of the Mahārāja (= Sumatra) visit them (the natives of the west coast of Africa) and are well received and trade with them" (MS. 2221 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, fol. 37^a, l. 7-8). A few pages earlier he says: "The people of the islands of Zābag come to the land of the Zandj (here: Madagascar) in large and small ships and they export merchandise from it since they understand one another's language" (*ibid.*, fol. 29^a, l. 15).

The name of the port of Baros on the west coast of Sumatra, the *Bālūs* of the Arab geographers, the *P'o-lou-ke* of the Chinese, is mentioned for the first time by Ptolemy ("Bapōra: vōra, the five Baros islands, inhabited, it is said, by the anthropophagi"), in L. Renou, *La Géographie de Ptolémée*, Hist. 1-4, p. 59; then, by the *Leang Sāu* or *History of the Liang* (502-556) in the form *P'o-lu* and at the end of the viii century by Yi-Tsing who has *P'o-lou-ke*. The Arabs call it sometimes *Bālūs* and sometimes Fanūr < Malay *Pauṇur*. One or other form is found in the oldest texts and recurs in the later ones. It is the famous port of Pakpakland or land of the Pakpak from which used to come the most esteemed camphor.

The tribal name *Pakpak* goes into Arabic as *Fakfak*, which is phonetically so close to *Wakwāk*, that one need not hesitate to identify the two. In Sumatra, as in Madagascar, the *pandanus* flourishes in a wild state and its Batak name *bakkuwā* = Malgasy *vakwā*. There are remarkable agreements in the tribal names and in the flora of the two islands: in Sumatra a Batak tribe called *Pakpak* > Arabic form *Fakfak* and the *pandanus*: *bakkuwā*, in Madagascar the *vakwā* < older **Wakwāk* and the *pandanus*: *vakwā*. It is an historical fact that the Sumatrans only have on several occasions come into the western Indian ocean. The Japanese theory of *Wakwāk* is therefore to be abandoned.

This article is only a synopsis of a memoir now being printed, which will appear in the *Journal Asiatique* under the title: *Le Wakwāk est-il le Japon?* In the limited space available here, the main arguments in favour of this new identification have been given.

Bibliography: Gabriel Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et traités géographiques arabes, persans et turcs relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient du VIII^e au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 2 vol., 1913-1914 (these two volumes with continuous pagination contain translations of the text of: Ibn Khur-dādhbih, 844-848; the Arab merchant Sulaimān, 851; Ya'qūbī, ca. 875 or 880; Ibn al-Falāḥ, 902; Ibn Rosteh, ca. 903; Abū Zaid Ḥasan, ca. 916; Mas'ūdī, *Les prairies d'or*, 943; *Le livre de l'avertissement et de la révision*, 955; Muḥad-

daat, middle of the tenth century; Muṭahhar b. Ṭahir al-Makḍī, 966; Ibrāhīm b. Wāṣif-Shāh, ca. 1000; *Kitāb Maṣāniḥ al-Uṭīm*, end of the tenth century; Būṭlū, 973—1048; *Chronologie des peuples anciens*, 1000; *Histoire de l'Inde*, ca. 1030; *Kāmil al-Ma'ādī*, 1030; Idriṣī, 1154; Ibn Ṭufayl, d. in 1185; Yāqūt, 1179—1229; Karwīnī, 1203—1283; Ibn Sa'īd, 1208 or 1214—1274 or 1286; Shīrāzī, d. in 1311; Dimashqī, ca. 1325; Nuwairī, d. in 1332; Abu 'l-Fida', 1273—1331; Ḥamd Allāh Muṣawwī, *The geographical part of the Nuḥāt al-quḥūb composed by Ḥamd-Allāh Muṣawwī of Qazwīn in 740 (1340)*, Persian text, London 1915; English transl., London 1919, by Guy Le Strange; Ibn al-Wardī, ca. 1340; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ca. 1355; Ibn Khaldūn, ca. 1375; Bākuwī, beginning of the xvth century; Maḥrizī, 1365—1442; Abaḥīhī, 1388—1446; Ibn Iyās, 1516; the Turkish admiral Sīdī 'Alī, 1516; the Persian dictionary *Burhān al-kāfi*; *Mille et une nuits*, *Œuvre des merveilles de l'Inde*, etc.; do., *Madagascar et les îles Uag-Uag*, in *J.A.*, 1904, p. 489—509; do., *Les îles Rōmny, Lāmiry, Wāḥūh, Komor des géographes arabes et Madagascar*, in *J.A.*, 1907, p. 450—506; M. T. de Goerje, *Le Japon connu des Arabes*, excursus F. in the *Œuvre des merveilles de l'Inde*, 1883—1886, p. 295—307. (GABRIEL FERRAND)

WALI (A.) 1. From the Arabic root *wala*, to be near, and *waliya*, to govern, to rule, to protect someone. In ordinary use this word means protector, benefactor, companion, friend and is applied also to near relatives, especially in Turkish [cf. the art. *ʿASABAN WULĀYA*].

When used in a religious connection wali corresponds very much to our title "saint"; but the idea behind it has given rise to a regular theory and in practice has attained sufficient importance for it to be necessary to explain the use of the term. In the Kur'an this theory does not yet exist; the term *wali* is found there with several meanings: that of near relative, whose murder demands vengeance (xvii. 59), that of friend of God (x. 63) or ally of God; it is also applied to God himself: ii. 258: "God is the friend of those who believe". The same title was given to the Prophet and it is one of the names of God in the Muslim rosary.

2. According to Djurdānī, *Ta'rifāt*, the term wali is equivalent to that of *ʿarif bi'llāh* "he who possesses mystic knowledge", "he who knows God". The Muslim saint who is important enough to merit this title is believed to possess several privileges. Not only is he delivered from the 'yoke of the passions' as Ḥudjwiri says, not only has he influence with God, he can 'bind and loosen'; but he also has the gift of miracles (*karāmāt*): he is a miracle-worker. He can transform himself, transport himself to a distance, speak diverse tongues, revive the dead; he can produce various phenomena, often mentioned to-day in psychic studies: thought-reading, telepathy, prophecy; he can raise himself from the ground (levitation) or summon objects from a distance. He can make a dry stick put forth leaves, check a flood, control rains and springs etc. Ḥudjwiri goes even farther and attributes to the saints 'the government of the universe'. It is by their blessing, he says (their *baraka*) that the rain falls and by their purity that plants come up again in the spring. Their spiritual influence makes battles won.

This conception resembles that of Indian poems telling of the great ascetics of Brahmanism who by power of penance succeeded in gaining complete power over nature; but in Islam, this power is rather the result of a gift from God than the result of the personal merit or ascetic practices of the saints. Popular belief has however not extended the power of the saints in this way: it has rather inclined to specialise it, each of them having in the eyes of the multitude the power of performing a special miracle, like curing a particular disease, bringing success in a particular kind of business, guiding travellers, discovering secrets etc. These miracles of saints (*karāmāt*) are distinguished from the miracles of the prophet, which are called *mu'jizat* and are besides few in number, and the theologians discuss in an interesting fashion their evidential value. It is not absolute, whereas the miracles of the prophet count as proofs of religion. — The Mu'tazilis denied that there were men like this having special gifts; they reject the privileges and miracles of the saints and teach that every faithful Muslim who obeys God is a 'friend of God, wali'.

3. The saints have been classed in a hierarchy according to a system which is found in much the same form in different authors. There are always saints on the earth; but their sanctity is not always apparent; they are not all not always visible. It is sufficient that their hierarchy goes on and that they are replaced on their death so that their number is always complete. 4,000 live hidden in the world and are themselves unconscious of their state. Others know one another and act together. These are in ascending order of merit: the *shaykh* to the number of 300; the *abdāl*, 40; the *abrār*, 7; the *awṣiā*, 4; the *nuḥabā*, 3 and the Pole who is unique, *ḥuṣṣ* or *ḡhawṣ*. A number of mystics have actually been given the title of Pole. Djunaid for example was the Pole of his time; Ibn Masrūk was one of the 'pillars' (*awṣiā*). Every night the *awṣiā* traverse the universe in thought and inform the Pole of any defects in order that he may remedy them.

Another variant of this theory is given by Doughty from Algeria. The hierarchy consists of 7 degrees. In the lowest there are the *nuḥabā* to the number of 300, each of whom is at the head of a group of saints without special titles. Next come the *nuḥabā*; then the *abdāl*, from 40 to 70 in number; the *shaykh*, the chosen, 7, who continually move about and spread the Muslim faith in the world; the *awṣiā*, pillars, 4, living at the four cardinal points of the compass with reference to Mecca; the *ḥuṣṣ*, the Pole, the greatest saint of his time, and quite at the top the *ḡhawṣ*, here distinct from the Pole, capable of taking upon his shoulders a portion of the sins of the believers.

D'Oshson gives the following theory for Turkey; here also there are 7 degrees. There are always 356 saints living on the earth. The first is the *ḡhawṣ* *ʿaṣam* or 'great refuge'; the second, his vizier, the Pole, *ḥuṣṣ*. Then come the 4 *awṣiā*, the pillars. The rest are known by their numbers: *uṭṭar*, the 3; *yadīlir*, the 7; *kirkler*, the 40 and *uṣyadīlir*, the 300.

These seven classes correspond to the 7 degrees of beatitude in Paradise. The saints of the first three classes are present invisibly in Mecca at the hours of prayer. When the *ḡhawṣ* dies, the *ḥuṣṣ* replaces him and there is a moving up all through

the series, the purest soul of each class rising to the next degree.

This classification of the walls was made according to Hudjwiri by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Tirmidhī, who lived shortly before him (10th = 11th century). This individual, also called Muḥammad al-Hakīm, wrote a work entitled *Kāshān al-Hudūd*, the "seal of sanctity", and founded a sect called the *Hakīm*. One of his disciples, Abū Bakr Warāq, was surnamed the "instructor of the saints", *mu'addib al-awliyā'*.

Some difficulty may be found in reconciling this system with the pure spirit of orthodox Islam; it was admitted by the theologians only with the express reservation that however great the saints, the walls, may be, they are always inferior in rank to Muḥammad and the prophets.

4. The worship of saints is not Kur'anic. Without being expressly prohibited by the Kur'an it is sufficiently contrary to its spirit, Muḥammad having forbidden the worship of standing stones, tombs and every kind of superstition. But Islam had to yield on this point to the pressure of popular sentiment, which by its traditions, its tendency to the marvellous and other psychological factors, is strongly inclined to this way of expressing its religious feelings. Numerous saints, differing in different areas, are held in honour in Muslim lands, Sūnī and Shī'ī. These saints are of different origins. Some are great mystics, often founders of orders or of religious brotherhoods; others are ancestors or chiefs of tribes, princes and founders of dynasties. Some are of humbler origin, *illuminati*, half-déranged persons, *majdūhūn*, whose peculiar or incoherent utterances are often regarded as inspired, or even the simple-minded, *bahūl*. Other saints are transformations or survivals of ancient cults, heroes of old days, gods of woods and springs; we find such among the Beduins. As in the Roman Catholic worship, saints are patrons of towns, villages, trades and corporations.

In the Turkey of the sultans, each province had its saint. The most venerated were: Shaikh 'Uḥayd Allāh in Samarḳand; Mawlānā Dīwānī, the great poet, in Bukhārā; Khwāja Ahmad Veswī in Turkestan; Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, the famous author of the *Methnawī* and founder of the Mawlawī order (dancing dervishes) in Konya; Shaikh Ṣadr al-Dīn Kōnawī in the same town; Pīr Nakshabandī, founder of an order, in Kāse; 'Arifān in Persia, also venerated in Egypt and Turkey; Shaikh Ahmad Rifā'ī, founder of the order of "howling" dervishes, in Asia Minor; Aḳ Shams al-Dīn, Aḳ Biyik Dede, Shaikh Abū 'I-Wafā', Saiyid Ahmad Bukhārī, Hādījī Bektāsh, founder of the Bektāshī, Hādījī Bāzīm Walī in Aḳ Serāi in Anatolia.

Baghdād has been called the "city of saints" on account of the great number of saints who have lived in the town or whose tombs are there. The most famous is Sidi 'Abd al-Qādir Dīlānī, whose prestige is very great throughout the whole Muslim world. Dīnāid is also an illustrious saint of Baghdad, as is Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī who has a magnificent mausoleum in the centre of the town. Near Damascus is the tomb of Ibn 'Arabī, the famous mystic and prolific writer, who is honoured in Syria and elsewhere. The greatest saint of Constantinople and its patron is Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, the standard-bearer of the Prophet, who fell as a "martyr" (*shāhid*) at the foot of the Golden Horn and was buried on the spot where the famous

mosque that bears his name stands. A son-in-law of Bāyezīd I, Emir Sultān, was regarded as a saint. Several Ottoman sultans are also venerated but the title of wali has actually only been given to Bāyezīd II, on account of his piety. Other princes of the Imperial house have been regarded as saints and miracles attributed to them. Among the Arabs the only caliph who is reputed a saint — excepting of course the first four who occupy a special position — is the Umayyad 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, a very pious ruler.

In Egypt the most popular saints are Ibrāhīm al-Dawūdī and Shaikh Ahmad al-Badawī whose tombs are at Tanja. To these we may add Sidi Shādhīlī who died at Humaitūra in the mountains of Upper Egypt; his tomb is much visited. The festival of Saiyid Masrūḳ al-Aḥmadī in Cairo is the cause of one of the most picturesque processions. A very popular saint in Egypt is Sidi Nafīz.

In Arabia various individuals are honoured in the holy cities and their tombs visited, in addition to the usual rites of the pilgrimage. At Medina in the cemetery of Bakī are the tombs of several imāms, that of the caliph 'Uthmān and that of the amīr Ḥunayn, uncle of the Prophet. The "tomb of Eve" recently destroyed by the Wahhābīs, as well as many others, was a few minutes from Djidda and much visited. The tomb had the peculiarity of being in several parts: the head, the navel and the feet were separated by a short distance from each other. In Mecca, in the cemetery of al-Mu'allā, the pilgrims used to visit the tombs of Āmina and Khadija, the mother and wife of the Prophet.

In North Africa the worship of saints and marabouts is highly developed. The road to Tripoli along the sea and the vicinity of the town are fringed with numerous tombs of marabouts, elegant in style, shaded by palm-trees, decorated with gaily coloured cloths and ex-votos placed there by the devout. In the desert at Djerbūb is the tomb of Shaikh Sanūsi, founder of a well known order.

The patron saint of Tunis is Sidi Makhlās and its other saints are Sidi Ben 'Arūs, Sidi Ben Kāsim, Sidi Bū Sa'īd. The Tunisians hold in reverence the caves to which these pious men retired. This region includes the sacred city of Kairuān which has many tombs and the famous mosque of Sidi 'Okba and that called "of the Barber" in which the barber of the Prophet is said to be buried. — In Algeria in the first rank we have Sidi Abū Madyān, a great miracle-worker whose mausoleum near Tlemcen is still much visited. No less important is Sidi 'Abd al-Qādir Dīlānī, the saint of Baghdad to whom are dedicated a vast number of mosques, chapels, and cemeteries in Algeria. Over 200 *ḥabūs* are dedicated to him in the province of Oran alone. Next come Sidi Ben Mughīsh, successor to Sidi Abū Madyān of the tribe of the Beni 'Arūs, assassinated in 625 A. H. whose tomb is in the Djebel 'Alem near Tetwān; Mawlay al-'Arūs al-Durkāsī of Fās, a modern saint who died not long after 1822, and was buried in his *ḥabūs* near Fās; Shaikh Tiddjint, founder of the order, died in 1230 (1815) and also buried in his *ḥabūs* near Fās. In Morocco the principal patron saints are Mawlay Idriis, the founder of the dynasty, venerated at Volubilis, and the shārif of Wazzān, even during their lifetime,

on account of the blessing they bring (their *baraka*) which is much esteemed by the people; even their women are believed to possess this virtue. Several women in Morocco like Lalla Marnia, and Umm 'Abd Allāh have been given, like Sitt Nafisa, the title of saint (*waliya*). Marrākush has seven patron saints called "the 7 men", *sab'at al-rigāl*; among them are Sidi bel 'Abbās and Sidi Slimān al-Djazzili, author of a wide-spread book on prayers. In Tangiers there is Sidi Bū al-Rakya, a miracle-worker of the xviiith century whose festival (*meussem*) is celebrated on the seventh day of the Prophet's *mawlid*; at Meknes, Muḥammad b. 'Isā, founder of the 'Isāwa. In this town a strange story is recorded of a living saint who kept standing leaning against a wall; pious people had a pent-house built above him, then a *qubba* without disturbing him. — In Timbuktu Sidi Yahyā, a miracle-worker of the xvth century, and Sidi Ben Sāst are held in honour.

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(B. CARA DE VAUX)

AL-WALID R. 'ABD AL-MALIK, Umayyad Caliph (88—98 = 705—715). On the death of his father, the caliph 'Abd al-Malik (Oct. 705), al-Walid, his successor, was over 30. A prince of all average culture, he brought to the throne an aristocratic outlook and a display of religious fervour unknown among his predecessors. In the history of the Umayyads he ranks as the great builder of the dynasty. One of his first cares was to give his capital Damascus a magnificent mosque. Walid cast his eyes on the basilica of St. John the Baptist, once a temple of Jupiter Damascenus. Of this edifice, tradition says that it was divided in two between its old owners and the Muslims after the Arab conquest. Against this we have the explicit testimony of the pilgrim Arculf who visited Damascus in the reign of Mu'awiya I. He says "in honorem sancti Johannis baptiste grandis fundata ecclesia est. Quoniam etiam Saraceni ecclesia incedulorum et ipsi in eadem civitate, quam ipsi frequentant, fabricata est". If this may be believed, then under Mu'awiya, the Arabs in

Damascus were content with a single mosque, a modest (*guardum*) erection built for them and not obtained at the expense of the basilica which was still in Christian ownership in the time of the Sufyānid caliphs. The upholders of the Muslim tradition say that Arculf made a mistake. He did not notice that mosque and church formed a single building.

The caliphs Mu'awiya and 'Abd al-Malik had vainly negotiated with the Christians for the cession of the whole basilica. The autocratic Walid decided to confiscate it without any more ado. He did not take down the building; he only abolished the eastern apse; he built the *Qubbat al-Narr*, the "Dome of the Eagle", above the transept and to the north of the mosque pavement the "Minaret of the Fiancée"; the two other minarets were built upon older towers. Walid's activity was fully displayed in remodelling the interior of the basilica in which he gave rein to all his taste for magnificence and to the suggestions of Syrian decorators. He mobilised a regular army of marble workers. The capitals were covered with gold and the walls with mosaics. An inscription "in letters of gold on a ground of lapis-lazuli" (Mas'ūdi) bore the name of Walid with the date (Nov. 706) marking the beginning of the work, a year after the accession of the Caliph. Along with this great undertaking, Walid directed the building of the great mosques of Medina and Mecca, which he also entrusted to Christian architects.

The arabicisation of the administration is another striking feature of his reign. The great government offices were taken from the Christians, the control of the finances from a Damascus family, the descendants of Ibn Sarrājūn. Finally we may mention the progress of foreign conquests. By a process of expansion which was almost automatic, the Arab empire in this reign attained its greatest extent from Transoxania to Spain, where the Arabs now succeeded in gaining a footing. Walid was a continually fortunate sovereign. Everything succeeded with him, even his autocratic manner, which found expression in a diminution in the tolerance shown to the *dhimmis*. In Syria he enjoyed undisputed popularity. People admired his great buildings, his charitable undertakings and public works and the great conquests of his reign. In keeping with the will of 'Abd al-Malik, his brother Sulaimān was to succeed him. Walid was thinking of substituting his son 'Abd al-'Azīz in his place when death overtook him at Dair Murrān, near Damascus on Feb. 23, 715 at the age of about 45.

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AL-WALID B. AL-MUGHIRA R. 'ABD ALLAH B. 'OMAR B. MAḤZUM, an opponent of Muḥammad. Little is known of his life but it is certain that he was one of the most powerful men in Mecca and one of the most ardent opponents of

he Prophet. As head of the numerous and prominent family of the Makhūm he naturally represented the aristocratic interests in the city of Muhammad's birth and that he was himself very prosperous is evident from the fact that, according to traditionists, he owned a garden in Ta'if which he planted for pleasure only and never pulled the fruit in it (Sprenger, I, 359). According to the commentators, there are references to him in several passages in the Qur'ān, e.g. Sūra vi. 10; alii. 30; lxxiv. 11 199; lxxx. 1 199, although his name is never expressly mentioned. One cannot of course place implicit confidence on such statements, which are sometimes based on later deductions. Muslim historians frequently mention al-Walid among those Quraysh who vigorously persecuted Muhammad and endeavoured to silence him. Thus he is said to have been a member of a deputation which went to Abū Tālib [q. v.] and protested to him but without success at the Prophet's conduct. It is also related that Muhammad's enemies had on one occasion, on the approach of the pilgrimage discussed the best means to set strange visitors against Muhammad and proposed in turn the epithets *ḥānīn* 'sooth-sayer', *maḥnūn* 'possessed' and *shā'ir* 'poet' but al-Walid rejected them all until those present finally agreed to his proposal to call Muhammad a *shā'ir* 'magician', who would separate a man from his father, brother, wife and whole family, and to warn the pilgrims seriously against the alleged magician. When 'Othmān b. Ma'ūn, a relative of al-Walid, who had adopted Islam and taken part in the emigration to Abyssinia, but was still under al-Walid's protection, wished to break off this relationship, the latter endeavoured to dissuade him, but in vain. After al-Walid had therefore released himself from all obligations to his relative 'Othmān was severely wounded in a squabble, whereupon al-Walid again offered him his protection but 'Othmān rejected this kindly meant offer. Al-Walid died in Mecca in the year 1 and three of his seven sons adopted Islam. In keeping with his aristocratic descent and social position, his actions were frequently characterised by a certain magnanimity and dignity, and Sprenger (ii. 111) describes him as follows, probably with justice: "He was one of the earliest and most decided enemies of Islam, but at the same time chivalrous and not without culture. He therefore laid more emphasis on dissuading his fellow citizens from the new religion than on snipping it in the bud by attacking the personal rights of the Muslims. Instead of using physical force, he gathered round him men of talent, knowledge and experience like Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt and Naḍr b. Ḥārith and endeavoured to expose Muhammad's contradictions and deceptions and to make him ludicrous and despicable in the eyes of intelligent people, while he silenced the common people by his prestige and material advantages".

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(K. V. ZETTERSTERN)

AL-WALID b. YA'ZID, Umayyad Caliph. He was about 35 (Feb. 743) when he succeeded his uncle, the Caliph Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik. "If only for his personal courage, liberality, love of letters and patronage and practice of poetry, Walid was bound to shine in the first rank among the Umayyads". Such is the judgment of the *Kutub al-Aghani* (vi. 101) the author of which could not be suspected of partiality for the Umayyads. An artistic and remarkably cultivated young man, which none of his predecessors had been, the son of the hysterical caliph Yazid II, he was certainly also the most libertine. After a brief appearance in Damascus for the enthronement (*hal'a*) the new caliph hastened to resume in the desert the free life, void of all constraint, that he had led as a prince without worrying about affairs of state or the interdictions of the Qur'ān. We need not however believe all the stories of his eccentricities given in the *Kutub al-Aghani*. He spent his time in merry company surrounded by poets, parasites, musicians of both sexes, he himself being justly esteemed as a musician.

His cruelty towards the faithful Khālīd al-Qasri [q. v.] whom he put to death soon raised against him the Yeménis in Syria. Fond of field sports, the caliph had in the lifetime of his uncle built in the middle of the desert a hunting lodge, Ḥasair 'Amra [cf. AMRA]. When he became caliph he proposed to build in the solitude a grand palace and transfer there all the refinements of civilization. Such was the origin of the fantastic castle of Mshatta [q. v.]. A virtuoso in music and poetry, this bizarre and biased character dreamed of eclipsing the architectural glories of 'Abd al-Malik [q. v.] and of Walid I [q. v.].

With its unusual proportions, its façade, carved with delicate tracery like lacework, the building of al-Mshatta "has fascinated the whole world and caused more ink to flow than any other in Syria" (van Berchem). Archaeologists have attributed it successively to the Romans, Byzantines, Ghassanids and Persians. They have neglected the Umayyads, who were great builders from 'Abd al-Malik onwards, and all fond of a *ṣūfiya* or a holiday in the desert. For the builder of Mshatta, we had hesitated at first between Yazid II and his son, both of whom lived in the region of Moab (Lamenns, *La Balaie et la Hira sous les Omayyades*, p. 110 19). A passage in Severus Ibn Ma'qarī (p. 163—164) settles the question in favour of our Walid.

Rebellion was stirring in the provinces and soon spread to Syria. For the first time since Mu'awiya, the harmony between this country and the Umayyads which had given them strength to face the most violent storms, was broken. The discontented Yeménis — they formed the great majority of the Arabs in Syria — were joined by the Qadaria, who also had been ill-treated by Walid II. The numbers of the Qadaria had grown and they were led by a Marwānīd, Yazid, son of Walid I. The majority of the Marwānīds whom he had alienated by his caprices joined the conspiracy. The rebels left Damascus to surprise the caliph who was hunting. In his flight northwards he was overtaken and killed in the little fort of Bakhrā south of Palmyra (April 17, 744).

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(H. LAMMENS)

WÄLİDE SULTÂN (A.) Turkish pronunciation *walide* or *walide sultân*; the two words are in apposition, according to Turkish syntax, "the sultân Walide" or "sultânna mother", a title borne in the old Ottoman empire by the mother of the reigning sultân and only for the duration of her son's reign.

The political history of the Wälide Sultân is fairly well known from the Turkish historians, at least as far as those are concerned who took part openly in the government of the country, for example Nûr Bânû, Şafiye, Mâh-Feiker Kösem and Türkhan Khadije.

We are by no means so well informed about the conditions of their life in the sultân's harem. The organisation of the harem only began to be unveiled at the period when the institution itself was beginning to disappear. Influenced no doubt by a feeling of discretion or of modesty, the Turkish historians do not touch on the subject. Western writers, in spite of a lively curiosity, never succeeded in piercing the mystery and frequently give rein to their imagination to complete their notes. The oldest travellers passed over the subject in silence. It is however in western sources that we find valuable information if it is used with care. It is only in modern times however that criticism has dealt with certain fables long believed, such as, for example, the story of the handkerchief thrown by the sultân to his favourites (cf. v. Hammer, xiv. 71—72).

As Na'imâ says (iv. 250, s. 19) the Ottoman sultâns "according to the sultânian *kânûn* did not live in a state of marriage but of concubinage (*isterrâ*)". The word *kânûn* is to be taken here in the sense of "traditional usage" and not of written law. The chief of the customs (*kumrûk nâşîr*) and later the official slave dealers (*yeterdji kâşâ*) and private individuals by gifts supplied the sultân's harem with slaves of the most varied origins: Europe, Asia and Africa.

The custom of concubinage — which we also find in Persia (Chardin, vi. 235) down to the reign of Muḥammad 'Alî Shâh (1907—1909) — must have become established in Turkey gradually. In the early period the Ottoman sultâns chose their wives from the daughters of the Turkish rulers of Anatolia or Byzantine princesses. It is difficult to say what was the social status of these wives or to know in what way they differed from the concubines of these princes. We see clearly from 'Ashk-pasha-zâde's history (ed. Giese, p. 109—110) that Murâd I regarded the Serbian princess whom he married simply as a *qizariye* or "slave" but the preparations for certain other unions were made with a solemnity which suggests that great importance was attributed to them.

After the taking of Constantinople, official marriages of the sultâns became quite the exception. We may mention Sulaimân the Magnificent and 'Othmân II and lastly Ibrâhîm who was the last to conclude a matrimonial alliance with one

of his harem Tellî-Khâssekt or Shâh-Sultân in 1647 (d'Ohsson, vii. 62; Na'imâ, *loc. cit.*). The sultân was however represented in this ceremony by the Grand Vizier.

The principles of Ottoman policy were themselves against these marriages. The relatives of a slave seemed less to be feared and indeed were officially put into seclusion. It is hardly necessary to add that this prohibition only partially palliated the evil it was intended to avoid. As is seen from the bloody story of the Jewess Kera, a contemporary of the Wälide Sultân Şafiye (Baffa), harem intrigues played a great part under some sultâns. In Turkey as in Persia (Chardin, vi. 228), the sultân's mother had to be reckoned with. It was therefore natural for a politician to endeavour to get into the serây as a gift to the sultân a woman devoted to his interests. The Circassians in particular were very skilful in deriving advantage from the secret influence of such connections. It may also be noted that some sultâns such for example as Muṣṭafâ III and 'Abd al-Hamid I married slaves formally or rather from conscientious scruples. "Religious law", says d'Ohsson, "not permitting a person born free and a Muslim to be reduced to slavery, the intercourse of a master with a female slave can only be legitimate when it is certain that she was not born a Muslim and free. If he has not proof of this, and wishes nevertheless to live with her, he ought for the peace of his conscience to free her and marry her. The sultân then marries his manumitted slave without the slightest display in the presence of the Moukhti".

From all this then it is clear that the Wälide Sultâns were always former slaves. Von Hammer (viii. 288) is therefore right when he says that the sultân was bound to be the "son of a slave". Ubcini (*La Turquie actuelle*, Paris 1855, p. 122) also adds that the people never mention him except by this name, but we do not know to what Turkish term he refers.

From her former position there survived to the Wälide Sultân a picturesque name which was popularly believed to be taken from the Persian and to which was sometimes added an ordinary Muslim name (cf. the list of Wälide Sultâns, below). The mere fact that she had given birth to a prince had early earned her the title of *hâdîr* or *hâdîrî* (*hâdîrî*) but nothing could equal the prestige which the accession of her son brought her and which, unlike dowager queens of other countries, she had not to share, officially at least, with a queen consort. Under the name of Wälide Sultân she became henceforth the first woman in Turkey, simply as a result of the respect due to her quality of mother. This respect is so deeply rooted among the Turks that the influence of İlmâm (cf. the *hadîth*: "Paradise is at the feet of the mothers") is not sufficient to explain it. The sultâns used to set an example of filial piety and the Wälide Sultân sometimes exercised a very considerable influence over her son whom she called in Turkish fashion *aslanım* 'my lion' or *kaplanım* 'my tiger' (we know that 'Alî's mother called her son Asad, 'lion', but this had been her own father's name).

The installation of the Wälide Sultân was a solemn ceremony, especially if she had been relegated to the old serây (*eski serây* or *serây-i atîk*), a building erected by Mehmed II, later the Seraskerat and now the University. This relegation

took place regularly when, after the death of the sultân, her husband, the throne passed to an heir who was not her son. A week or two after the accession of her son, the new sultân's mother was brought in procession (*wâlîde alayî*) to the new serây (*top-kapı* or *top-kapı sarayı*) wrongly called the "old serây" by western writers) where the sultân lived (cf. the examples of *wâlîde alayî* in Wâsîf, I. 28; Djewdet, IV. 1275, 243; Mustafa Nedîb, p. 112). The chief black eunuch (*dâr-ı-mâlet üşşîrîfe aşkârî*), the *wâlîde kehyaşî* (cf. below) and the officers of the imperial harem figured in this procession. The Wâlîde Sultân was borne on a litter (*takhtewân*), later in an open carriage, surrounded by *peşk* and *solâk* [q. v.]. According to Andréossy, the Wâlîde Sultân, as a remarkable privilege, showed herself to the people without a veil (*yazmaş*). The sultân went to meet his mother at the Bâb-ı Sa'âde gate of the serây. She was settled in her suite (*wâlîde sultân yeri*) which can still be seen to-day, although in comparatively modern form, for it was destroyed by fire on 10th Muharram 1076 (July 23, 1665) (*Silahatâr Tarihî*, I. 384; Hâilî Ethem [Khalîl Edhem], *Le Palais de Topkapı* [in French] Istanbul 1931, p. 58 and picture on p. 50; cf. also a description of this suite in Pouqueville, *Voyage en Morie, à Constantinople* etc., Paris 1805, II. 256-257). Her removal to her new abode was announced next day to the Sublime Porte in an official document called *şükûm-nâme* (Ahmed Râsim, *Osmanlı Tarihî*, p. 1082).

The new Wâlîde Sultân sent to the Grand Vizier a dagger (*khanter*) studded with jewels. The Grand Vizier and the Shaikh al-Islâm also each received a cloak of sable (*samir*).

The Wâlîde was supreme mistress of the female personnel of the imperial harem, the discipline of which she supervised. Every favour or permit to go out had to be submitted to her. The deference shown to her found expression in a special etiquette. She could not be approached unless a formal request for an audience had been made. It was forbidden to address her without being invited to speak or to sit down in her presence. One stood in front of her in the respectful attitude called *diwân durmaş* or *el peşî durmaş*. Ladies, even the greatest favourites, never appeared before her except in the *entari*, the name in the language of the palace for a kind of ceremonial robe. When the Wâlîde Sultân went out she was escorted by an imposing suite and all the guards saluted her (P. de Régla, *La Turquie officielle*, 1891, p. 264-265).

The Wâlîde Sultân was so used to these honours that the adopted mother of 'Abd al-Hamid II is said to have been offended when the German Empress did not kiss her hand (G. Rızas, *Les Mystères de Yildiz*, Constantinople 1909, p. 64-65). As to the incident of the salute paid to the Wâlîde Sultân by ships of the Marquis de Nointel, the French ambassador, it was exaggerated if we may rely on what the Marquis de Bonnac says; according to him, his predecessor made excuses (cf. Vandal, *Les Voyages du Marquis de Nointel*, p. 53; Le Marquis de Bonnac, *Mém. hist. sur l'Ambassade de France à Constantinople*, ed. Schefer, 1894, p. 25).

On the death of the Wâlîde Sultân, the sultân accompanied her remains as far as the gate at which he went to meet her on his accession. The cortege then went on to the place of burial led by the Grand Vizier and the Shaikh al-Islâm

(Wâsîf, I. 50). Forty days of mourning followed, during which the ministers visited the tomb and the *Qur'ân* was read (*Tarih-i Sultânî*, 1281, p. 173).

If on the other hand the sultân died before his mother, she returned to the old serây to rejoin the women retired or disgraced from the harem (Ahmed Râsik, *Yeni Medîmûsâ*, N° 10, p. 190).

We can only quote two cases of the Wâlîde Sultân retaining the title in the reigns of two sons: Mâh-Peiker Kosem Sultân, mother of Murâd IV and of Ibrahim, and Gül-Nûsh Emet-Üllah Sultân, mother of Mustafa II and of Ahmed III. In one case there were two Wâlîde Sultâns simultaneously: Mâh-Peiker Kosem Sultân already mentioned, grandmother (*büyük wâlîde*), and Tarkhan Khadija (*Turhan Hatice*) Sultân, mother of Mehmed IV. This was however terminated by the violent death of the former.

When a prince imperial became sultân after the death of his mother, the title of Wâlîde Sultân was given to his foster-mother or nurse (*çit wâlîde*, *naye padîş*; older formula: *dâyê khatun*), foster-relationships being held in high regard in Turkey. In default of either, the name of *wâlîde* was given by the sultân to the Kharnadâr-Usta or Grand Mistress of the Treasury.

In the reign of 'Abd al-Hamid II, who had lost his mother at an early age, the rank of Wâlîde Sultân was given to his adopted mother Peristo Hanım, formerly fourth *padîş* of 'Abd al-Medjid (Rızas, *op. cit.*, p. 109; Dorys, *Abd al-Hamid intime*, 1907, p. 6 *sup.*).

The position of the Wâlîde Sultân was very important during minorities. They acted practically as regents.

Titles of the Wâlîde Sultân. The word *wâlîde* "she who gives birth" is not in itself of any honorific significance. It is a synonym of the word *ana* "mother" but with the implication of greater respect. The Wâlîde Sultân very frequently has additional epithets like *mâşîde* "glorious" or *muhtereme* "honoured": *wâlîde-i mâşîde* (*muhtereme*), the (deceased) father of a reigning sultân was called *wâlîde-i mâşîd*. (The popular pronunciation is due to the loss of the narrow vowel in the second syllable, a phenomenon fairly common in Turkish which even affects foreign words, when the accent is displaced to the last syllable: *khatife* > *hâssa*; *khazîne* > *khazma*. Cf. also in Arabic Wâlîda Basha; see below).

The title of sultân "sultana" on the other hand was the peculiar prerogative of the mother of the reigning sovereign. It was not given by marriage and she was the only woman who could bear it "without birth" as Baron de Tott says. It is moreover used here as an honorific affix or more accurately in post-position (cf. the article SULTÂN) like other titles of this kind (*paşa*, *bey*, *efendi*, etc.), and it is a mistake to explain it, as is sometimes done, by the Arabic *wâlîde sultân* (!) which is said to mean "mother of the sultân". "Mother of the sultân" would be in Arabic in the construct state *wâlîdet as-sultân*. And we actually find this in the Arabic epitaph of Kh'wand-khatun or Mahperi, mother of a Saldjuk sultân, at Pazar Nahiyesi (4 hours from Tokat; cf. the text in İsmâ'il Hakki, *Kütübîler*, Istanbul 1345 [1927], p. 77-78). Nor is there any question of a haplogly in the Persian construction **wâlîde-i sultân*.

Besides the Wâlide Sultân, the only women entitled to the affixed title of Sultân — like *begum* in Persia (Chardin, vi. 223) — were princesses, daughters of a sovereign or a prince imperial, the daughter of a sultân having the right only to the title *khatun-sultân*.

Numerous authors, such as Cantimir and Guer who followed him, are therefore wrong in lavishing the title sultana on the wives of the sultâns. De Tott — who got his information from his wife who was born in Turkey and on terms of intimacy with Turkish princesses — long ago protested against this misuse of the term (i. 42). It seems however that we must not go to the other extreme. Thornton (*Present State of Turkey*, London 1812, ii. 411) seems to be right when he says that the title of sultân was given "by courtesy" to all *kâzîs*, and according to d'Ohsson (vii. 88), it is only since Mehmed IV (1648—1687) that it was given only to daughters of sovereigns. The dates would have to be brought down a little, if we remember that the same author (vii. 65) says that down to the reign of Ahmad III (1703—1730) the *şadın* who gave birth to a prince was given only the title of *kâzîs-sultân*. (If we believe the Marquis de St. Maurice, this title was given only to the mother of the male firstborn; cf. *La Cour ottomane ou l'Interprète de la Perse*, Paris 1673, p. 94 and, with the necessary modifications, p. 185). These customs were sufficiently well known in the west for Racine, who was nothing of an orientalist, to allude to them in these lines of his *Bajazet* (Act. I, Sc. i.): "Et même il (Sultân Amurat) a voulu que l'heureuse Roxane, Avant qu'elle eût un fils, prît le nom de Sultane".

It is clear from the above that from the beginning of the xviiith century at latest the title of sultana had ceased to be given to certain concubines of the sultân but we do not know at what period it was given to the latter's mother.

Among the Saldjûks, the predecessors of the Ottomans, the sultân's mother had the title *khatun* [q. v.] (arabised plural: *khawâtin*) "empress", "queen", as in the already quoted epitaph of Khwand-khatun.

The mothers of the early Ottoman princes bore the same title of *khatun* which under the form of *şadın* was to remain until the end of the imperial régime as the title of the sultân's principal favourites and in ordinary usage to lose its honorific significance to the extent of becoming inferior to *khanım* "lady" and meaning simply "woman". This is how we find the mother of the Sultân Çelebi Mehmed I called *şadât-khatun* in the epitaph of 816 preserved at Brusa (cf. *T. O. E. M.*, p. 509—510; corrected in *M. T. M.*, ii. 177, l. 4 199). The mosque founded at Tokat by Bayazîd II in honour of his mother is called *Khatuniye* (Ismâ'il Hakki, *op. cit.*, p. 29—30). It is probable that in the following reign the practice became established of calling the sultân's mother Wâlide Sultân.

We have not space here to enumerate the other titles, administrative, literary or poetic, given to the Wâlide Sultân. The most common was that of *meşâd-i âlâ* found as early as the Mongols of Persia (Mirghond).

Allowances and house of the Wâlide Sultân. The allowances to the Wâlide Sultân like those of the *kâzîs* and also sometimes those of the judges (Ewliya Çelebi, ii. 6) were in general called *başmağlık* or *paşmağlık*, pro-

perly 'for sandals' (v. Hammer, vi. 318; z. 75, 188). They were not fixed and consisted sometimes of money and sometimes of land. Sultân Ibrahim distributed whole provinces among his *kâzîs* as *başmağlık* (Na'imâ, iv. 243).

In normal times the Wâlide Sultân enjoyed a much larger income than the sultanas (relations or sisters of the sultân; cf. d'Ohsson, vii. 95). According to Cantimir, it amounted to over 1,000 purses. The Turks, says the same author, never take a town without setting aside a street in it for the *başmağlık* of the Wâlide Sultân (cf. also Bianchi's dictionary under the word *başmağlık*). The town of Smyrna formed part of her appanage and she maintained a *muhtesim* there (Tancoigne, *Voyage à Smyrne*, Paris 1817, l. 29—30. On the appanage of Çete, cf. Savary, *Lettres sur la Grèce*, 1788, p. 247). The mother of the Sultân was sometimes rich enough to build mosques or, like Ahmed III's mother, to raise troops.

In more modern language, the word *başmağlık* was replaced by *taahhüt* (-i *himâyün*) "civil list" (Khlörös). In 1850 the civil list of the sultân's mother and of the married sisters of the sultân amounted to 8,400,000 piastres, the piastre at this time being worth 23 gold centimes (*De la réforme en Turquie au point de vue financier et administratif*, Paris 1851, p. 12, a brochure of 84 pp. 8°, of which a résumé was given in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of Sept. 1st 1850 in 10 pp.; p. 938—948).

Like all the sultanas, the mother of the Ottoman sovereign had a *kâyâ* (*kethüdâ*) or "superintendent, comptroller of her finances" (cf. the expression *ulâstân kethüdâları* "comptrollers of the sultanas" in *Silahat Tarihi*, i. 646 below) but that of the Wâlide Sultân was by far the most important in view of the considerable financial interests which he controlled and the influence which he himself could exert with the Wâlide Sultân. He sometimes exerted enormous influence although it was frequently hidden. Foreign ambassadors were well aware of this and as a rule did not fail to win these officials' good graces by every means in their power (Beauvoisin, p. 12; *Tarih-i Dîvânî*, 1288, viii. 252—256).

It has been said that the wâlide *kâyâ* combined this office with that of Master of the Mint (*darhâkime-i 'amir nâsirî*) and this was indeed frequently the case (e.g. al-Hâdîdî Mehmed Efendi later Pasha and his successor, in 1127, Atınallî 'Osman Efendi; cf. *Siddill-i şîmâ*, iv. 219; iii. 425; Râşid, i. fol. 105, 105^b—106) but there were very many exceptions; cf. Agha-babâi Ibrâhîm Agha appointed wâlide *kâyâ* in 1605 (Wâsîf, p. 30 etc.; cf. also Abdûlbaki, *Meâmilâ*, 1931, p. 180, note 1).

The rank of *rûbâ-i âlâ şîmâ* *erweli* created on Monday 19th Rabi' II 1253 (July 24, 1837) was given to the wâlide *şîmâ* *kâyâ* and to the Master of the Mint (*Sâlnâme-i neşret-i kâzîs*, 1302, p. 199). When the rank of *âlâ* was instituted in 1262 (1845—1846), the wâlide *kâyâ* Husein Bey was one of the two officials who first received it (J. Deny, *Sommaire des archives turques du Caire*, p. 359, below).

The Wâlide Sultân, like all the important ladies of the seray, had at their command a first (*baş-âgha*) and second eunuch (Leila Hanoum, *Le Harem Impérial*, 1925, p. 113). Details of the organisation of their household, which resembled those of other sultanas, except that it was more

magnificent, are given in Osman-Bey, *Les Femmes en Turquie*, p. 268.

List of Sultana mothers. The list of mothers of the rulers of Turkey is here given from the *Sidill-i 'ahmânî* of Thüreyyâ (Süreyyâ) Bey with a few modifications.

The princesses figuring at the head of this list were not, as we have seen above, properly Walide Sultans since this title did not yet exist in their time. This title was nevertheless and like that of the sultans themselves often wrongly put back to the beginning of Ottoman history. The title was even given to the mother of Ertoghul Ghâzi, a legendary figure known as Khîyme Ana "mother tent" whose tomb was discovered in the reign of 'Abd al-Hamid II at the village of Çeharshembe (Çarşamba) in the nahiye of Dumanic, in the district of Ioe-Göl (*Sidill*, i. 86). We do not know if this discovery is due to the zeal of an inventor devoted to the old dynasty or to the persistence of a local tradition which cannot be substantiated. The very name Khîyme Ana is suspicious.

In Süreyyâ Bey's list, the title of "sultana" first appears in the case of Gülbehâr, mother of Bâyezîd II, which in itself is not impossible but we have already seen that she had the title of *khatun*.

The following is this list with a few changes and a list of the buildings erected by the Walide Sultans interested in building (Nos. 7, 8, 11, 13, 15, 16, 21 and 22). The references refer only to these buildings. Abbreviations: m. = mother; s. = sultân; *Had. Djaw.* = *Hâfi Hüseini b. al-Hadîdî Isma'il Aivanserayi, Hadikat al-Djawnâni*, Constantinople, Ramadan 1281, 2 vols. (transl. by Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol. xviii.); Cuinet = Vital Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, 1892, 4 vols. in-4°.

1. Malkhûn Râbi'a Khatun (or Malkhatun), daughter of Shaikh Edeball, m. of Orkân-Bey (and of the vizier 'Ala ed-Din); † 726 (1325—1326).

2. Nilüfer, daughter of *tehfâr* of Yâr-Ilûsâr, m. of Murâd I.

3. Dewlet Khatun (Süreyyâ: Sultân Khatun), daughter of Germyan Oghlu, m. of Mehmed I.

4. N., daughter of Isfendi-yâr, m. of Mehmed II (cf. however ISFENDIYAR where Halima, daughter of Muhâris al-Din Isfendi-yâr and wife of Murâd II, is given as mother of Hûsan, killed in 855).

5. Gülbehâr, m. of Bâyezîd II.

6. 'A'îshe s., m. of Sulaimân the Magnificent; † 4th Ramadan 940 (March 19, 1534).

7. Nûr Bânû s., m. of Murâd III; † 21st Dhu 'l-Ka'da 991 (December 6, 1583; according to *Silahtar Tarihi*: December 7).

Buildings: In Scutari in Aala (Top-taht quarter): mosque called *Walide (s) 'atîf djâmî (s)*, with *medrese*, primary school (*mekteb-i rûbyân*), *imâret*, hospital (*dâr-ı ihkâf*) with *medjid*, school of Tradition (*dâr-ı âl-hadîth*), school for reading the Kur'an (*dâr-ı al-kurra*), a hostel (*misâfir-khâne*; cf. *Had. Djaw.*, ii. 182—184 and 218—219; Hammer, xviii., 89, No. 749; p. 94, No. 781; p. 114, No. 54; Cuinet, iv. 639—640).

8. Safiye s., of Venetian origin (sultana Baffa), m. of Mehmed III; † 28th Djumâdâ II 1014 (Nov. 10, 1605).

Buildings: in Constantinople (?): *medress* built in 1006 (Süreyyâ, p. 48). Began in 1006 the *Yeni*

djâmî continued by Turkhan Khadije (No. 13). In Cairo: a mosque there bears her name: Malika Safiye (R. L. Devonshire, *L'Egypte musulmane et les fondateurs de ses monuments*, Paris 1926, p. 123 sq.).

9. Khendân s., m. of Ahmad I; † 15th Rajab 1014 (November 26, 1605).

10. Mâh-Firûs(e) s., m. of 'Othmân III.

11. Mâh-Pelker Kösüm s., m. of Murâd IV and of Ibrahim I (and also of Kâim); † Saturday 16th Ramadan 1061 (Sept. 2, 1651).

Buildings: in Scutari in Asia (*Yeni mahalle* quarter): mosque called *Enilî djâmî* and *medrese*; in Constantinople: *wâlîde khânî*, with a little mosque and *medrese*, in Amadulu Kawağ: mosque; in the Dardanelles: began the citadel continued by Turkhan Khadije (No. 13); numerous *wahf* (*Had. Djaw.*, i. 215 below, 218; ii. 184—186, p. 144, No. 1; Hammer, xviii. 91, No. 732; p. 144, No. 55; Cuinet, iv. 640—642 [Kouloum Mâh-pelker and other errors p. 641, lines 20 to 24]; Ahmed Refik, *Yeni mecmû'a*, No. 3, p. 49—50; cf. also the picture in Cornelius Gurlitt, *Konstantinopel*, Berlin n.d., p. 86—87; cf. *Journal d'Antoine Galland*, i. 176; v. Hammer, x. 286; d'Arvieux, 1735, iv. 484).

12. N., m. of Mustafa I.

13. Turkhan Khadije (*Turhan Hatice*) s., of Russian origin, m. of Mehmed IV; † Tuesday Sha'bân 10, 1094 (Aug. 4, 1683; according to the *Silahtar Tarihi*, ii. 116 sq., date confirmed by the *Relatione* of Donado; cf. the *Bibliography*; otherwise, Süreyyâ Bey, Ahmed Refik in *Turhan Valide*, p. 424: 10th Rajab).

Buildings: in Stambul (Emin Onu quarter, Baghçe-kapisi, dominating the well known bridge of Karaköy or Galata): the famous mosque *Yeni djâmî* or *Yeni wâlîde djâmî (s)*, begun by Safiye s. (No. 8) and finished in 1074 (inscription); on the Dardanelles: completed the building (inscription of 1070) of the citadel begun by Mâh-Pelker Kösüm, No. 11; cf. *Had. Djaw.*, ii. 144, No. 3; v. Hammer, xviii. 89, No. 748; Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant*, Lyon 1717, ii. 196; Charles Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques dans Constantinople et sur les rives du Bosphore*, Paris 1815, p. 185—189; Gabriel, *Les Mosques de Constantinople*, in Syria, 1926; Ahmed Refik, *Wâlîde Djâmî'leri, Yeni Djâmî*, in *Yeni Mecmû'a*, No. 10, p. 189—192 (according to the *Silahtar Tarihi*, i. 218 and 390, the building of the mosque was resumed in 1071 and finished on Friday 20th Rabî' II 1076 (October 30, 1665)); cf. also *Journal* of Antoine Galland, i. 79; Grelot, *Relation*, ... p. 281—282; Diehl, *Constantinople*, 1924, p. 115—117, 138—140; Arménag Bey Sakisian, *Syria*, 1931; Djelal Ebad, Paris 1909, p. 211—214.

14. Sâlihe Dîl-Ashûb s., m. of Süleimân II; † 22nd Muharram 1101 (according to the *Silahtar Tarihi*, ii. 484, Sunday 22nd Şafar 1101 [December 4, 1689]).

15. Gülnûş (or Gâlnûş) Emet-allâh s. (often wrongly called Ummet-allâh), of Cretan origin from Retimo (of the Versizi family, according to Donado), m. of Mustafa II and of Ahmed III; † 9th Dhu 'l-Ka'da 1127 (November 6, 1715; according to *Had. Djaw.*, ii. 188: Tuesday 8th Dhu 'l-Ka'da = November 5).

Buildings: in Mecca: Khâşşekiye 'Imâret, fountains and wells on the pilgrims' road; at Galata: *Yeni*

ḡāmī or *Wālide-i ḡādīd ḡāmī*), with 2 minarets, with fountain (*ḡāḡmī*), *ḡāḡl*, *ḡāḡret* and *ḡāḡḡ-i ḡāḡḡān*; *ḡāḡḡret*; at Scutari in Asia: mosque (*ḡādīd ḡāḡmī*), il. 187-188, p. 34; v. Hammer, xviii, p. 71, No. 637, p. 90, No. 750, p. 126, No. 242; Coignet, iv. 636-637).

16. *Sāḡḡḡe* s., m. of Maḡmūd I; † in 1150 (1737-1738). Buildings: fountain near 'Azab Kāḡḡal (*Sāḡḡḡ-i ḡāḡḡmī*, p. 27); aqueduct (v. Hammer, xiv. 279; Mambourg, p. 137 and 148).

17. *Sheḡḡḡwār* s., m. of 'Osmān III; † 27th Rāḡḡab 1169 (April 27, 1756).

18. *Miḡr-i Shāḡ* s., of Georgian origin, m. of Selīm III; † Wednesday 22th Rāḡḡab 1220 (October 16, 1805).

19. *'Aḡḡḡe* Sineperwer s., m. of Muḡḡāḡ IV; † 3rd *Djumaḡā* II 1244 (December 11, 1828).

20. *Nāḡḡḡ-i Dil* s., m. of Maḡmūd II; † in the middle of Shawwāl 1232 (about Aug. 22, 1817); according to *Sūreyyā*, p. 85 and *Djewdet Paḡḡā*, x. (1309), 214; according to the *Moniteur Universel* of Oct. 14, 1817, about September 8.

21. *Beḡm-i 'Aleḡ*, m. of 'Abd al-Medjīd; † 23rd Rāḡḡab 1269 (May 2, 1853).

Buildings: mosque at Doḡma-Baḡḡe; hospital at Yeḡi Baḡḡe; *dār al-meḡārif* near the *tūrḡe* of her husband; fountains (*Sāḡḡḡ-i ḡāḡḡmī*, p. 26).

22. *Petteḡ-Niyāl* s., m. of 'Abd al-'Azīz; † 27th Rāḡḡab I 1300 (Feb. 5, 1883).

Buildings: added two minarets to the *K'āḡḡḡ ḡāmī* mosque in Aḡsaray; library, fountain and school (*Sāḡḡḡ-i ḡāḡḡmī*, p. 27; Barth, *Constantinople*, 1906, p. 148).

The mothers of the other sultāns died before the accession of their sons. In *Sūreyyā Bey's* list after our No. 14, comes *Khādīḡe* Sultān, m. of Aḡmad II, but according to the *Silāḡḡḡ Tarīḡḡ*, ii. 273, the mother of this prince died on Thursday 5th *Dhu 'l-Kāḡḡā* 1098, i.e. before the accession of her son.

The nationality of the *Wālide Sultān* cannot be ascertained in most cases. At first they were Turkish and Greek princesses but from the time when they were always former slaves the latter must themselves have been often ignorant of their origin. All that we can say is that on the one hand the import of Turkish blood must have ceased at this time since in principle there were no slaves of Turkish origin and on the other the lands of the extreme west (including Germany but not Italy) counted for nothing or for very little in the genealogy of the sultāns. It is in vain that several attempts have been made to establish the contrary, in the case of France.

First of all a story was put into circulation which made Meḡmed II the son of a royal princess of France captured by the Turks (cf. e.g. *Ubićini*, *op. cit.*, p. 122 and with more detail, de La Jonquière, *Hist. de l'Empire Ottoman*, 1914, i. 175). This fiction which de La Jonquière called "absurd" was accepted by well known Turkish historians like *Peḡewī*, *Selāḡḡḡ* and 'Alī; it is also found in the *Tarīḡḡ-i Djewrī Cāḡḡī*, 1291, ii. 2. The sultāns themselves in their negotiations prided themselves on their "relationship" to the kings of France (cf. Louis de Bonneville de Marsagny, *Le Chevalier de Vergennes, son ambassade à Constantinople*, Paris 1894, ii. 86-87; in this version the reference is to the harem of Sultān Selīm). Western historians, following the more reasonable tradition of the Turkish historians,

make Meḡmed II's mother the daughter of Isfendiyār (cf. de Salaberry, *Hist. de l'Emp. Ottoman*, Paris, i. 148; cf. No. 4, above, in the list of the *Wālide Sultāns*). The very interesting but always credulous and often mendacious *Evliya Çelebi* admits in spite of everything (i. 106 *ayy.*) that Meḡmed II was the son of Isfendiyār's daughter "*Aḡḡḡe Khanum*" (it may be noted that this is the name given to the alleged French princess) but to arrange matters he makes the king of France's daughter the concubine of Meḡmed II and the mother of Bāyazīd II. He also says that his father had known a certain *Sukemerli Muḡḡāḡā*, *baḡḡ-ḡāḡḡ* of Janissaries, who was related to this princess and on this account used to receive presents from France. On the other hand, *Canḡḡir* (1743, ii. 410) records, without however believing it, another version of the story in which a granddaughter of a king of France enters the harem of Sulaimān the Magnificent. It was obviously the Turks themselves who invented these fables, to explain the favoured treatment accorded the "*pādīḡḡāḡ*" of France in Turkey.

More recently the French and Turkish governments have had to deal from time to time with people desirous of having their relationship with the old Ottoman dynasty recognised. Maḡmūd II was, it was said, the son of Aimée du Buc de Rivery, a Creole of Martinique and a relative of the Empress Josephine (see *Bibl.*). The impossibility of this has been proved from official documents: Sultān Maḡmūd II was born in 1785 (July 20) and M^{lle} de Rivery was still in Nantes in 1788, when she was a witness to and signed a marriage contract which is still in existence. The thesis was however not abandoned on this account; it was simply modified. Aimée du Buc de Rivery — whose admission to the harem of Selīm III one is obliged to postulate, since she arrived in Constantinople after the death of 'Abd al-ḡāḡḡ I — is said to have been chosen to act as adopted mother of the future Maḡmūd II, son of 'Abd al-ḡāḡḡ. This is a hypothesis which has little chance of ever being proved. We know actually that at the accession of Maḡmūd II his mother *Nāḡḡḡ-i Dil* was brought in solemn procession from the old seray to the new (*Djewdet Paḡḡā*, viii. [1288], 424; *Muḡḡāḡ Nedjib*, p. 122). It is unlikely that the honours of the *wālide alay* were ever accorded to what might be called honorary *wālide*s, like the nurses or adoptive mothers of the sultāns. Moreover, according to the *Moniteur Universel*, in 1817 she was about 50 years old; at that time A. de R. must have had an age of 41 years.

The *Wālide (wālide)* Pasha of Egypt. The customs of the harem of the Khedives were almost exactly copied from those of Constantinople. As in the Ottoman seraglio, the viceroy's concubines were numbered and called *birinḡḡi*, *ikḡḡḡi* (*ḡāḡḡn*) or according to the Arabic pronunciation *birinḡḡi*, *ikḡḡḡi* etc. "first, second", etc. The title of "mother of the Khedive", or as they say in the official French of Cairo the "*Khédīva Mère*" (in Turkish also *wālide-i khédīḡ*), was modelled on that of mother of the sultān with the substitution of *pāḡḡā* for *sultān*. It was also the only case in which the title *pāḡḡā* was borne by a woman, for it is a case of an honorific epithet and not of an expression meaning "mother of the pasha", which would be in Arabic *Wālideḡ el-Baḡḡā* and not *Wālide Baḡḡā*.

In the wealthy Khedivial family of Egypt, the Walida Pasha was no less rich and her *dâ'ira* 'offices for the administration of estates' was very important. Two streets in Cairo bear the name Walida or Walida Bagha. On one of them stood the palace of the last 'Khediva Mère', Eminé Khanim, mother of 'Abbās Hîmî II, daughter of Hîmî Pasha and grand-daughter of the viceroy 'Abbās I, she died in her country house at Bebek near Istanbul on 18th June 1931.

The present king has broken with the Turkish custom by acknowledging his one wife as the queen of Egypt. This is a consecration of the principle of monogamy and of association on the throne. The widow of the Sultan Husain enjoys an analogous position by right of survival.

Bibliography: (for the more famous Walide Sultans see the general histories of the Ottoman Empire. We have been content here to give a few isolated bibliographical references to supplement those in the text of the article): Michel Baudier, *Histoire Générale du Serrail, et de la cour du Grand Seigneur Empereur des Turcs*, Lyons 1659, p. 84 (book I., chap. xi.), p. 95 (chap. xii.), p. 101 (*ibid.*, in fine); Ricaut, *History of the present state of the Ottoman Empire*, chap. iv. (relating to Mah-Feiker Kösem s., No. 11 of our list); J. B. Tavernier, *écuyer Baron d'Aubonne, Nouvelle relation de l'intérieur du Serrail du Grand Seigneur*, Paris 1691, chap. xviii.: De l'entrée à Constantinople de la Sultane mère du Grand Seigneur, appelée par honneur la Valide le 2 juillet 1668 (Tarkhan or Turkish Khadija, No. 13 of our list); *Relazioni del nobil uomo Giambattista Donado quando Nicolò* (1684), in Barozzi = Berchet, *Relazioni degli ambasciatori e balli veneti a Constantinopoli*, Venice 1871, il. 303 sqq. (No. 13 and 15 of our list); Demetrius Cantimir, *Hist. de l'Emp. Ottoman*, Fr. transl. de Jouquières, Paris 1743, il. 228, p. 450 sqq.; Beauvoisine, *Notice sur la Cour du Grand-Seigneur*, Paris 1809, p. 11 sqq. (relating to Mîrî Shâh s., No. 18 of our list); Adam Neale, *Voyage en Allemagne, en Pologne et en Turquie*, transl. from the English, Paris 1818, il. 169 to 185 (the same sultana); Mouradgée d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Emp. Ottoman*, ril. (1824), p. 86 sqq., p. 62, 64, 69; M-me Kibrili-Mehemet-Pacha, *Trente ans dans les harems d'Orient, souvenirs de Melik-Hanum, femme de S. A. le Grand-Vizir, K-M-P.*, 1840—1870, Paris 1875, p. 130, 271 sqq. (relating to Bezm-i 'Aleam s., No. 21 of our list); Osman-Bey, alias Major Vladimir Andrejevitch (= Decour-demanche, son of M-me Kibrili-Mehemet-Pacha), *Les Femmes en Turquie*, Paris 1878, p. 267 to 275; Paul de Rêgle, *La Turquie officielle*, 1891, p. 264—265, 269, 282; Ahmed Refik (Ahmet Refik), *Kâğıtlar Sâhânı*, 4 vols. in-12: i. (years 699 to 1027), il. (1027 to 1049) — Istanbul 1332; il. (1049 to 1058), iv. (1058 to 1094) — *ibid.*, 1924; by the same, *Turhan valide* (in Latin characters), Istanbul 1931, 424 pages in-12; Mehmed Zihni (Zihni), *Mechâhîr ü-Nisâ*; Lucy M. J. Garnett, *The women of Turkey*, il. 393—397.

The quotations from Na'imâ's history are taken from the 4th ed. (cf. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 246); those from Râşid, from the edition by Ibrahim Mûsâfirîka, of 1153; those from Wâsil, from the new edition of Bîlîk, 1246 (cf. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 337); those from the *Silahtar Tarîhi*

from the edition of T. F. E., in 2 vols., 1928.

We shall not give here the abundant literature relating to the 'French sultana' (Aimée du Buc de Rivery). It will be sufficient to mention those who have written on the subject, Xavier Eyma, Jony, Sidney Daney, Dr. Cabanès, Benjamin Morton, author of *The Veiled Empress*, New York 1923, Marc Héliys. The majority of these writers reveal a remarkable credulity. We find more criticism displayed in the lengthy articles by M. René Puaux in *Le Temps* of Oct. 7 and Nov. 10, 1923. A résumé of the subject was given by M. Almeric Cahuet in *L'Illustration* of Nov. 21, 1931, p. 382—383. The theory by which Naksh-i Dil was the adopted mother of Sultan Mahmûd II is defended in the recent work of M. A.-M. Martin du Theil, *Silhouettes et documents du XVIII^e siècle* (Martinique, Périgord, Lyonnais, Ile-de-France), Périgueux 1932, 138 pp. in-4° with illustrations (p. 7 to 46: Aimée du Buc de Rivery—Sa mystérieuse destinée).

The Walide Sultana could also, it seems, be studied in the novel: V. Smirnow quotes in *Vostoknaya sametki*, p. 56, *Beglyt venghat na nastoyashchey i proshlyy erray*, note 1, a novel by Çistakov, in *Zurnal dlia detey*, 1864, No. 5 and 6; cf. also the novel by Nizameddin Nasif, *Azizinin defnesi*, publ. in the feuilleton to *Vakit*, beginning November 11, 1931. (J. DREV)

WALIHİ, the name of two Ottoman poets of the xth (xvth) century:

1. **WALIHİ KURBAN-ZÂDE** of Adrianople (an alleged Walihî from Giar Erkene or Ergene Köprü is the same man). On the conclusion of his studies he came as a kâdi to Cairo and was admitted into the Gülshân order by Saiyid Khayâlî, the son of Ibrahim Gülshân, the founder of the order. Returning to Adrianople, he worked there as a Sûfi preacher, celebrated for his eloquence and command of language. He was given to drinking. He died in 994 (1586) in Adrianople where he is buried in the *Shakh Shodja* on the bank of the Tandja. He left a complete *Divân* which is still unprinted.

2. **WALIHİ AHMAD** of Üsküb who was also for a time *müderris* in Adrianople. He died in 1008.

Bibliography: Thuriyâ, *Sijill-i 'ethnâm*, iv. 602; Brusaî M. Tâhir, *'Othmanîl Mâ'el-Hîrî*, il. 476; Sâmi, *Kâmus al-'Alâm*, vi. 4671; Saiyid Rîza, *Tuhtâr*, Istanbul 1316, p. 102. (TH. MENZEL)

WALİMA. [See 'Uks.]

WAMIK WA-ADHRA, a Persian romance alleged to come from a Pahlavi original. It is said to have been presented in Nîshâpûr to the emir 'Abd Allâh b. Tâhir (d. in 230 = 844) in the form of an old book dedicated to Khuraw I Anûsharwân (531—579 A.D.) and the governor is said to have ordered it to be destroyed, because it had been written by Zoroastrians. In any case, it was put into verse by 'Unqurt [q. v.] and again by Faghi of Djandân in 441 (1049). In addition to 'Unqurt's version, Ethé (*Grundriss d. iran. Philol.*, il. 240) mentions no less than six versions which are all lost. At the end of the xth (xviiith) century, Mirzâ Muhammad Şadiq wrote, under the pseudonym of Nâmi, a romance in verse with the same title (Luî 'Alt Beg, *Atesh Kade*, Bombay 1277, section on contemporaries, s. v. Nâmi; Ridâ Kuli Khân, *Muqimâ' al-Fayakâ*, il. 523; E. G. Browne, *Literary Hist. of Persia*, iv. 283).

The subject was also taken up in Ottoman Turkish by Bihāḡī (a contemporary of Bāyazīd II; mistake in Gibb) who put it in his *Ḥamam* and and probably prepared it from the versions of 'Unṣuri and Faṣṭhī, and by Lāmī (d. 937 = 1530 or 938 = 1531), also probably from 'Unṣuri. Gibb (*H.O.P.*, iii. 357 *seq.*) has given an analysis of the latter poem: Wāmiḡ, son of the emperor of China, falls in love with 'Adhrā, daughter of a king and sets out to find her again through all kinds of difficulties which he overcomes with the help of fairies. He finds his beloved princess then, is taken prisoner by the enemy, taken to India where the natives try to burn him; the flames do not touch Wāmiḡ, whom the Indians worship as a god. The hero escapes, finds 'Adhrā again and marries her.

Bibliography: Muḥammad 'Awfi, *Lubāb al-Aḥbāb*, ed. Browne, ii. 32, l. 19; Dawlat-Shāh, *Tadhkirat Shā'arā*, ed. Browne, p. 30, 69; E. G. Browne, *Literary Hist. of Persia*, i. 347; ii. 275; J. von Hammer, *Hist. de l'empire ottoman*, transl. Hellert, iv. 134, 417; do., *Wāmiḡ and Adra, d. i. der Glühende und die Blühende, das älteste persische romantische Gedicht*, Vienna 1833. (CL. HEART).

WĀN, a town in Turkey on the Armenian plateau on the eastern shore of Lake Wān.

The name Wān is not found in the Arabic sources which deal with the Muslim conquest. Lake Wān is usually named by the Arabs after the towns on the northern shore, Ardjīsh and Akhlāṭ.

Ibn Hawḡal alone (p. 250) mentions the Artsrunid Ibn Dairānī, lord of Zawāṣān, of Wān and Wostān. Yāqūt, iv. 895, mentions a fortress of Wān but makes it a dependency of Erzerum and locates it between Akhlāṭ and Tiflis (?).

For the Muslim conquest of Armenia see that article. The important fact is the campaign of Bugha al-Kabir who in 238 (852) overran the whole of Armenia including Albāḡ (at the source of the Great Zab) from which he carried off the Artsrunid prince Ashot Artsruni.

In 885 the Bagratid Ashot was recognised as king of Armenia by the caliph and later by the Byzantine emperor and the princes of Waspurakan became his vassals. Of these the principal were the Artsrunis whose hereditary fief was Hadamakert in Albāḡ.

In the ninth century colonies of Arabs had settled in Armenia, like the Amirs of Manāzkert (Malāzger) whom the Armenians call Kaisikkā (< Kās) and who ruled on the northern shore of lake Wān (Apahunik, in Arabic *ياحنيس* for *ياحنيس*), and the 'Othmānids (in Armenian: Utmanikkā) on the northeast shore of the lake, at Betgri and Amiuk. Towards the east, Waspurakan was exposed to the attacks of the Arab governors of Adharbāidjān. The Sājjid [q. v.] Afshin occupied Wān and Wostān and appointed eunuchs as governors there (cf. Thomas Artsruni, transl. Brosset, p. 221).

In 916 the Sājjid Yūsuf executed the Bagratid king Smbat in Dwin (cf. Stephen Asoljik, *History*, iii., chap. iv.—v., transl. Macler, p. 18—24). Before this catastrophe, the Artsrunid prince Gagik (through his mother a nephew of Smbat) had enrolled himself in Yūsuf's suite and by this manoeuvre was able to assert the independence of Waspurakan against Smbat's successors (kings of Ḳars and Ani). The Artsrunid kings were overlords of the

principalities of Mokk (now: Makus) and Andrevatsik (cf. Markwart, *Südarmanien*, p. 359—382).

The Artsrunid princes are several times mentioned in Ibn Miskawaih's *Chronicle*. In 326 (937), the troops of the Dailami chief Lashkari were defeated near 'Akabat al-Tinnin by Atom b. Djurdjin (= Gurgan), lord of Zawāṣān (Ibn Miskawaih, i. 402; Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 262). This Atom belonged to the elder line of the Artsrunids which was eclipsed by that of Hadamakert. In 330 (940; *ibid.*, ii. 33), Daisam, prince of Adharbāidjān, took refuge with Djadjik b. al-Dairānī (Gagik b. Deranik). In 342 (953; *ibid.*, ii. 151), Ibn Dairānī and (?) Ibn Djadjik (probably "Deranik b. Gagik") surrendered Daisam to the Muṣaffarid Marzubān.

In 1004, the Artsrunid Senekherim being pressed on all sides ceded Waspurakan to the emperor Basil II who gave him in exchange Siwās to which 40,000 Armenian families followed their king. Byzantine domination was of short duration: the battle of Melikgirt in 463 (1071) lost the Byzantines the last of their possessions in Armenia (cf. a brief account in Lynch, *Armenia*, i. 334—367).

The name of Wān is briefly mentioned among the towns of "the province of Akhlāṭ" which the Khwarizmshāh Djālāl al-Dīn besieged after the capture of Akhlāṭ in 626 (1229) (Bargri, Manāzgird, Birlis, Walashdjird, Wān, Wostān).

In the Mongol period (after Arghun Khān, 1284—1291), the region of Wān was close to the summer encampments of the Mongol Ilkhāns (on the mountain of Ala-Tagh, the ancient *Ναῖαρος*, Tendürek, to the N.E. of Lake Wān) but the local authority of Wān must have been in the hands of the Kurd chiefs of Hakkāri (cf. below).

The *Nushat al-Kulūb*, p. 102, says that "Wān is a fortress while Wostān (Ostan) has been a large town but now is a medium sized one". "Its climate and its fruits are good, its water comes from a mountain; its taxes amount to 53,400 dinārs (Urmiya 74,999 dinārs and Ardabil 85,000 dinārs)".

Towards the end of the viiith (xvth) century, the rule of the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu Turkomans whose hereditary centre was at Ardjīsh, was extended over Wān but the direct administration remained in the hands of a family of Kurdish begs. When in 789 (1387) Timūr had plundered the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu encampments of Ala-Tagh, he ordered the destruction of the fortress but "this building of the time of Shaddād" resisted his efforts. Timūr made 'Izz al-Dīn, lord of the fortress, governor of the 'wilāyat of Kurdistan' (*Zafar-nāma*, i. 421—424). The 'Izz al-Dīn, here referred to in the *Zafar-nāma*, was an important figure and took part in many of the events of his time (cf. *Maple's al-Sa'dain*, transl. Quatremère, in *N. E.*, xiv. 110, 153 180). The son of 'Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad was well received by Shāh Rūkh in 824. Under Uzun Hasan [q. v.] the Ak-Ḳoyunlu troops conquered Hakkāri and placed it under the Damboli tribe but the Nestorian Christians restored the power to a scion of the old family.

After the coming of the Safawids, prince Zāhid b. 'Izz al-Dīn II entertained friendly relations with Shāh Ismā'īl.

In view of the rival propaganda of the Safawids the Ottoman empire must have endeavoured to strengthen the very loose organisation given to Kurdistan by Idris, but the incorporation of the distant frontier district of Wān, filled with foreign elements, was full of incidents.

In 1534, during the offensive of the grand vizier İbrâhîm Paşa against Tabriz, delegates from Wan gave him the keys of the fortress. But as soon as the cold weather forced Sulaimân's army to withdraw, the Persians advanced to Wan and soon afterwards occupied this town and Ardjîsh (*Âlam-Şerâ*, p. 51 [according to Ewliya Çelebi, iv, 174 the Persians retook Wan in 953=1546]). The situation during the 14 years from 1534-1548 is not very clear but when, at the instigation of the Persian prince Alkâs Mirzâ, Sulaimân again marched on Tabriz, he laid siege to Wan in 955 (Aug. 1548). The town surrendered through the mediation of Alkâs Mirzâ and the *defterdar* Çerkes İskender Paşa was appointed governor (cf. v. Hammer, ii, 209; cf. Ewliya Çelebi, ii, 174). From this period date the baths of Rustam Paşa at Wan and a mosque of 975; cf. *Djibân-namâ*. [The dated inscriptions of the fine Ulu-Djami (cf. Lynch, ii, fig. 131-132, and Bachmann) have now disappeared].

With the appearance of the Ottoman *mir-i mirân* at Wan, the Kurd chiefs retired to their fiefs of Djûlamerk and Wostân. On the intervention of the *mir-i mirân* in their affairs, cf. *Şehar-nâma*, i, 99.

In 1013 (1604) Çiğhâla-Zâde, appointed commander-in-chief against Persia, established his headquarters at Wan (of which he had previously been wali in 1585; cf. v. Hammer, ii, 552). He was besieged there by the Persian troops under the command of Allâh Verdi Khân and escaped from the fortress by boat. Very soon he undertook a new campaign against Tabriz but it ended in a complete debacle in the autumn of 1605; cf. *Âlam-Şerâ*, p. 474-476, and the article TARKIZ; Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii, 678, 660; Gorvea, *Relation des grandes guerres*, French transl., Rouen 1649, book ii, ch. xvi-xviii, p. 268-286; Arakel de Tauris, *Livre d'histoire*, transl. Brasset, St-Petersburg 1874, ch. vi, p. 303-307.

About 1600 the administrative organisation of Wan was described by Kodja Nishandji (1528-1567) who in his *Tabaqât* quoted by Hâdjdî Khalîfa included in this *eyâlet* some places now belonging to Persia (e.g. Salmâs), and by 'Alî-l 'Alî (cf. Tischendorf, *Das Lehnenen in d. moslem. Staaten*, Leipzig 1872, p. 72) who numbers in Wan 13 *sandjaks* and 1 *hükümet*, including in all 1,115 large and small individual fiefs (*hâlî*).

Ewliya Çelebi, who in 1065 (1655) accompanied his uncle Ahmed Melek, who had been appointed Wali of Wan, has given us a very full description of the *eyâlet* of Wan (iv, 130-190). It is curious that the text is silent about the Christian population unless this information was suppressed by the censorship under 'Abd al-Hamid.

Ewliya Çelebi gives 37 feudal *sandjaks* in Wan of different dimensions and with different privileges. The most important were the *hükümet* of Hakkârî (with an army of 47,000, including 10,000 with guns), of Bidla, Mahmûdî and Pinyalish.

The description in the *Djibân-namâ*, loc. cit. p. 110 (Ermeniyé) is much shorter.

In the autumn of 1236 (1821) the heir to the Persian throne, 'Abbâs Mirzâ, took advantage of some complications with the Ottomans to invade the Turkish territory of Bâyzîd as far as Bidla. Diplomatic complications and more particularly the epidemic of cholera arrested the Persian operations

and the *status quo* was re-established (cf. Mirzâ Taht Sipîr, *Târîkh-i Şâhîr*, Tehertn, i, under the years 1286-1287; cf. Watson, *A History of Persia... to 1858*, London 1866, p. 197-221). After the Russo-Japanese war the Ottomans in their turn advanced claims to the "unredeemed" territories and in July 1907 Vîlver-Pâshâ occupied many districts of the region of Salmâs [q. v.]. The *status quo* was however re-established after the Balkan War (Ottoman note of Oct. 12, 1912) and given legal sanction after the delimitation of 1913-1914 (on the basis of the Final Protocol of Nov. 17, 1913).

As a result of the Armenian movement which had broken out at the end of 1895 in many areas inhabited by Armenians, trouble broke out on a large scale at Wan between June 3 and 11, 1896 which cost the lives of 500 Armenians and 250 Muslims (cf. *Blue Book*, 1896, No. 8).

During the Great War, Russian troops occupied Wan on May 20, 1915. On Aug. 4, the Turkish counter-attack forced them to evacuate the town, but at the end of the month they returned, to remain there till the armistice of Dec. 18, 1917.

Statistics. It was only at the beginning of the sixteenth century that the first European travellers penetrated into the region of Wan. Scholz, who visited Wan in 1820 estimated that it contained 10,000-12,000 houses. In 1889 Mayevsky counted 4,953 houses in the town of which 2,012 were Turkish and 2,887 Armenian.

Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, 1891, p. 629-760 for the wilâyet of Wan gives the following figures (from the Turkish *silbâname*):

Sandjak of Wan Sandjak of Hakkârî	
area	11,530 sq. km. 10,000 sq. km.
number of <i>şahîr</i>	8 11
number of villages	724 1,555

The number of inhabitants in the wilâyet was: Turks 30,000, Kurds 210,000, Armenians 79,000, Nestorians 92,000 etc.; total 430,000.

Mayevsky (about 1900) is probably more accurate: the wilâyet of Wan had an area of 62,820 sq. km. in two sandjaks: that of Wan (in the west near Lake Wan) and that of Hakkârî (in the east along the Turko-Persian frontier).

The vicissitudes of the Great War, the deportations of the Armenians, the expatriation of all the Nestorian population to Persia and later to Mesopotamia and the trials to which the Kurds were exposed from the Christian militia in the Russian army left the wilâyet of Wan in ruins, and we are still (1932) very ill informed regarding present conditions there. After the reorganisation of the wilâyets, the old sandjaks of Wan and Hakkârî were made into separate wilâyets.

The Turkish official annuals of the years 1921-1926, 1926-1927, 1927-1928 (*Türkiye Djûm-hûriyeti Devlet Salmâmesi* [Nisbâh]) reflect the changes in the administrative system. According to that of 1927-1928 (with numerous mistakes in the Roman transcription), the wilâyet of Wan has an area of 21,905 sq. km. and 75,437 inhabitants. Its *kâdîs* are: Wan, Ardjîsh (Erdjîsh), Bâsh-Kal'a, Shatak, Klawash, Mûradîye, Sarây (Mahmûd).

The wilâyet of Hekkârî has an area of 15,505 sq. km. and 25,216 inhabitants. Its *kâdîs* are: Hekkârî, with the chief town Djûlamerk (Çûlamerk), Beyti-Shebab (capital Elki), Shemdinân, Gawar (Gawer).

It should be noted that the two wilâyets do

not coincide with the old *sundjaks*. The old boundary between them followed the meridian while the new follows the parallel. The wilāyet of Wān (which includes Bash-Kal'a) is situated in the north and the wilāyet of Hek'ari (Hakk'ari) in the south on the frontier of that part of Kurdistan which belongs to the 'Irāk.

Bibliography: Cf. the art. ARMENIA and the very full bibliography in Lynch, *Armenia*, II, 1901. The early travellers are fully used in Ritter, *Erdbunde*, ix (1840), 972—1009: 639—687 (Hakk'ari); x. (1843), 285—356; Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, II, 1926 (very full study of the antiquities); on the excavations at Wān during the Great War: Marr and Orbeli, *Archéologičeskaja ekspeditsiya 1916 v Wān*, Petrograd 1922. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, and Markwart (Marquart), *Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen*, Vienna 1930, contain many topographical and genealogical details on the Kaisikkē, Uthmanikkē etc. The most detailed description of the wilāyet of Wān is by V. T. Mayevsky, *Voenno-statisticheskiye opisanije Wānskago i Bilitskago wilāyetov*, Tiflis 1904. (V. MINORSKY)

WĀNĀQULI, MUHAMMAD B. MUṢṬAFĀ AL-WĀNĪ, a famous Ottoman jurist in the time of Murād III (982—1003 = 1574—1595) who especially distinguished himself in the field of *fiqh*, lexicography and literature. Born in Wān, he acted in a number of towns (Constantinople, Rhodes, Manissa, Salonika, Amasia, Kutahia, Yenisehir) as müderris, kādī and mollā and died in 1000 (1591—1592) as mollā of Medina, to which he had come in 998 (1590) in succession to Sa'ūdī. In his long period of 30 years' service, he displayed great activity in writing and translating. His principal work is the translation of the *Şaḫāḫ* or *Şiḫāḫ* of Dīhawārī [q. v.] which is regarded as the most correct Arabic lexicon and is more esteemed by many than the *Kāmus* of Firuzbādī. This work, which is briefly called *Wān-ḫūlī*, brought him the most enduring fame. It was printed in 1141 by Ibrāhīm Mustafarrika, as one of the first books printed in Turkey. A new edition appeared in 1168. His translation of Ghazālī's *Kīmīya al-Sa'āda* (which according to M. Tāhir is also attributed by many to Nawālī) is celebrated. In addition to a few brochures like his *Tarāḫīḫ-i Baiyāt wa-Tarīḫ-i Şeyḫāt*, he wrote commentaries on the *Durr-i Ḥāṣer* entitled *Naḥḍ al-Durr* and on the *Furūḳ-i Saiyidī*; also one on the *Weṣṭe* entitled *Miftāḥ al-Naḫḫ*.

Bibliography: *Manāḫib-i Wān-ḫūlī*, in vol. I. of the edition of 1141; *Şaḫāḫ-i nū-māniya*, Dhail of 'Aḫḫ, p. 316—317; Thuriyā, *Şiḫāḫ-i ṣāḫmānī*, iv. 130; Brusālī M. Tāhir, *Öḫmānīl Mu'allaḫāt*, II. 48; Sāmī, *Kāmus al-Atām*, vi. 4678; v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, II. 575. — The Turkish translation of the *Şaḫāḫ* should be added in Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 128. (TH. MENZEL)

AL-WANSHARISĪ, *nisba* from the land of Wansharis, a mountainous area in western Algeria to the south of the Wādī Shalaf (Chélif) known to modern geographers in the corrupt transcription Ouansenis.

1. ABU 'L-ABRĀS AHMAD B. YAḤYĀ B. MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABD AL-WĀḤID B. 'ALĪ AL-TILIMSĀNĪ AL-WANSHARISĪ, a famous Maliki jurist of the Maghrib, born at Tlemcen, studied under celebrated teachers, like Ibn Marḫūḫ al-Kāfī and Abū 'L-Faḍl

Kāsim al-'Uḫbānī. In 874 (1469) after some trouble with the government of Tlemcen of which we do not know the details, he left his native town to settle in Fās where he devoted himself to teaching and gave lectures to numerous pupils. It was in the northern Moroccan capital where he spent most of his life that he died at the age of 80 in 914 (1508).

The most important work of Ahmad al-Wansharisī is a voluminous collection of legal opinions (*fatāwā*; q. v.) entitled *Kitāb al-Mīyār al-muḫḫir* wa-'L-Djāmī al-muḫḫir 'ammā taḫammamahu Fatāwā 'Ulamā Ifriḫiya wa-'L-Andalus wa-'L-Maghrib. This work which is a regular corpus of the *awāḍ* of the jurists of North Africa and Muslim Spain contains a mass of material of considerable value from the legal as well as sociological point of view. It has been lithographed at Fās in 12 vols. (1315 A. H.); a partial translation was published by E. Amar, *Consultations juridiques des fakihis du Maghrib*, in *A. M.*, vol. xii, Paris 1908. The biographers of Ahmad al-Wansharisī also mention among his works: 1. *Kitāb al-Fāḫ ḫi 'L-Waḥḫīḫ*; 2. *Iḫḫ al-Maḫḫil ilā Kawāḫid al-Imām Mālik*; 3. a supplement (*ta'ḫīḫ*) in three volumes to the *Muḫḫḫar* of Ibn al-Hāḫḫib [cf. the article]; 4. a commentary on the *Waḫḫīḫ* of al-Fiḫḫālī; 5. a biographical list of his teachers (*fahrawā*).

Bibliography: Ahmad Bābā, *Nail al-Iḫḫḫ*, Fās, p. 74; Ibn al-Kāḫī, *Djādḫwat al-Iḫḫḫ*, Fās, p. 80; Ibn 'Askar, *Dawḫat al-Nāḫḫir*, Fās, p. 37; Iḫḫ Maryam, *al-Buḫḫān*, Algiers, p. 53, transl. Provençal (Algiers 1910), p. 57; Muḫammad b. Dja'far al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-Anḫār*, Fās, II. 153; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, II. 248; M. Bencheb, *Etudes sur les personnalités mentionnées dans l'Idjāz du cheikh Abd al-Kader al-Fary*, § 71; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Manuscrits arabes de Rabat*, Paris 1921, p. 70, N. 217. II. ABU MUḤAMMAD 'ABD AL-WĀḤID B. AHMAD

B. YAḤYĀ B. 'ALĪ AL-WANSHARISĪ AL-ZANĀTĪ AL-FĀSĪ, son of the preceding, a learned legist of Fās, where he held the office of *ḫāḫī* along with that of *muḫḫī* and a teaching post. He had been a pupil of his father and of the principal teachers of the Moroccan capital. He was celebrated for his independence of character; for example, having to preside at the *salāt* in the open air on the occasion of one of the canonical feasts and the Marinid sultan being late, he was not afraid to begin the solemn service before the sovereign arrived. In the course of the troubled period which immediately preceded the occupation of the capital by the Sa'dians, when brigandage was practised in it with impunity, he was assassinated on the threshold of one of the doors of the mosque of the Kaḫrawānis (Qūmī al-Kārawīn) at the end of Dhū 'L-Hiḫḫa 953 (1540). He was about 70. He left a number of works of a legal nature.

Bibliography: Ahmad Bābā, *Nail al-Iḫḫḫ*, p. 168; Ibn 'Askar, *Dawḫat al-Nāḫḫir*, p. 41; al-Iḫḫānī, *Nuḫḫat al-Hāḫḫī*, ed. Houdas, p. 32 of the text, p. 61 of the transl.; Muḫammad b. Dja'far al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-Anḫār*, II. 146; Bencheb, *Idjāz*, § 292; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chérifs*, Paris 1922, p. 89. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

WARAKA B. NAWFAL B. ASAD AL-KURASHĪ, a cousin of Khadīdja, who encouraged and possibly influenced Muḫammad in the first years of his mission.

All we know concerning him has the colour of legend: he is classed with the (artificial?) group of Meccans known to tradition as the *ḥawāṣṣ*, who, abandoning paganism, resolved to seek for the true religion of Abraham. Warāka became a Christian; he was abstemious, knew Hebrew, studied the Bible, and had written down the Gospels in Hebrew (in the Hebrew alphabet?).

In his relations with Muhammad he is endowed with supernatural powers, like the hermit Bahira. The fictitious woman who offered herself to 'Abd Allāh in order to become the future prophet's mother, is described as a sister of Warāka, who had seen on 'Abd Allāh's forehead the sign of his son's mission. It was Warāka who found the infant Muhammad when he strayed from his nurse. Khadija consulted him on her marriage, of which Warāka warmly approved. One of the earliest confidants of the first revelation, he told Muhammad that Jesus had predicted his mission, that he had been visited by the *Nāṣūt* who came to Moses, and foretold his career and final triumph. It was also Warāka who consoled Hīlāl, tormented by his pagan master.

Tradition however admits that Warāka was never converted; this is rather feebly explained by making him die in the second or third year of the mission, before Muhammad had been ordered to preach and make converts. He was probably an independent religious thinker, unlikely to follow a younger and less learned enthusiast. In the last years of his life Warāka became blind. After his death Muhammad had a dream of him in white robes, meaning that he was in heaven.

Warāka died too early to transmit any traditions: Muslim authors on *ḥadīth* denounce as apocryphal the brief account of Gabriel's appearance which Ibn 'Abbās claimed to have heard from him.

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(V. VACCA)

WARĀMIN (or WARĀM, cf. Vāḡūr, *Muḥṣan*, iv. 918), a town about 40 miles (Yāḡūr, c. 30 *mil*) S.S.W. of Teherān, now the capital of the district of Khwār-wa-Warāmin. The plain of Warāmin watered by canals from the Dīshkārūd is regarded as the granary of Teherān. The town lies to the south of the great road from Ray to Khurāsān passing via Khwār (near Kishlak?) and Simnān (cf. Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 22; only in the Mongol period did the road from Sulṭāniya to Khurāsān run via Ray-Warāmin-Khwār: *Nuḥṣat al-Kulūb*, p. 173). On the other hand in the ninth and tenth centuries, Ray was connected with Isfahān and Karāj (cf. SULṬĀNKHĀD) by Warāmin (Vāḡūr, iv. 918, also puts Warāmin on the route taken by couriers from Ray to Isfahān). The route took this detour to the east apparently to avoid the low lying Hawāḍi Sulṭān which before becoming a brackish lake was probably a salt-impregnated desert. Isfahān, p. 209, mentions the little town of Warāmin as a dependency of Ray but does

not explicitly say that it is on the Isfahān road. The Ouseley MS. (*H.G.A.*, iv. 414) alone contains a later addition saying that Warāmin had a large market; from Ray to Warāmin it was one *marṣala* through cultivated country (except for a stretch of 2 *ṣaḥāḥs*) and from Warāmin to Dair al-Djīs (according to Tomashchek to the south of the Kūh-i gač), a *marṣala* through the desert which faces the Kargaskūh; (from there the road went to Kārdj and Kūm) [cf. also the statements regarding the journey of the celebrated Būyid vizier Ibn 'Abbād who on the way from Ray to Isfahān passed through Warāmin ('a village like a town') and then through a village called Numbāh; Vāḡūr, iv. 817]. Mukaddas, p. 401, places Warāmin 2 *marṣala* from Ray (via Kārdj) and 6 *marṣala* from Karāj (via Awa; cf. the article KĀWA). Cf. particularly Tomashchek, *Die Wege durch die persische Wüste*, in *Sitzungsber. Wien. Akad.*, phil. hist. Klasse 1885, cviii., p. 125—128.

Warāmin does not appear to be specially mentioned in ancient times but situated between the great city of Ray [q.v.] and Khwār (the ancient *Xapara*, *Χαπαρά*; cf. Markwart, *Südarmenien*, Vienna 1930, p. 410) it must have lain within the settled and civilized area.

Lt. G. Pézard to whom we owe a detailed map of the region found no traces of a large town having disappeared, but excavations made to a depth of 10—15 feet brought to light Sassanid ruins (at Tapa-Mil). "There is no doubt that there are in deeper strata... between Teherān and Warāmin much older remains". It seems that the site of Tapa-Mil shown on the map by Pézard to the north of Āsiyābād is the same as Motosov has recently described as "palace of Afrāsiyāb" to the south of Kā'a-yi nau and 15 miles from Teherān; cf. *Revue des arts asiatiques*, Paris 1931, p. 20—22.

Warāmin had a period of fame in the Seldjūk, Mongol and Timūrid periods. We have no exact information about the inhabited and administrative centres of the region of Ray but the many monuments of Warāmin show that even when Ray was at the height of its glory important buildings were being erected at Warāmin. The destruction of Ray by the Mongols must have contributed to improve the position of Warāmin which was less affected by events. It was a long time before Tihirān [q.v.] finally triumphed over Warāmin as the successor to Ray. In the *Nuḥṣat al-Kulūb* (740 = 1340) Warāmin is called "the capital of the *tuman* of Ray... Its climate is better than that of Ray and Warāmin produces cotton, wheat and fruit just like Ray... The inhabitants are Twelve Shi'ites very arrogant in their dealings". In 1403 Clavijo (transl. le Strange, p. 306) describes Warāmin ("Vatami") as a large town without walls and considerably depopulated. We may regard as an echo of the Shi'a tendencies of the people of Warāmin the fact that we have in its neighbourhood to this day Turkish tribes who follow 'Alī-Allāhi teaching (Ahl-i Haqq); cf. Minorshy, *Notes sur les Ahl-i Haqq*, in *R. M. M.*, xl, 1920, p. 48, 63.

The architectural features. Pézard mentions 18 ancient buildings in the neighbourhood of Warāmin. Among them is the great square citadel of Kā'a-yi Gabr, to which Pézard ascribes "great antiquity" (Sarre: to the xth century). Then there are the great sepulchral towers called after the

imām-āde 'Abd Allāh, Sa'īd 'Aṭm, Yahyā and 'Alī; Sarre connects the style of the *imām-āde* Yahyā with that of the tower of Nakhīdewān dated 557 (1162) although the decoration of the interior dates from 661 (1262). The most remarkable monument is the cathedral mosque which is worthy to rank with the mausoleum at Sultāniya [q. v.]. The mosque was built under the Ilkhān Abū Sa'īd in 722 (1322) by [Hassan b.] Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr 'al-Kāhādī. To judge by an inscription of 726 (1326) the work lasted at least four years. Some of the formulae of the inscriptions are Shi'i, which according to Madame Kratchkovskaya, "reflected the beliefs and desires of the people rather than of the sovereign" for Abū Sa'īd was a Sunni. Under Shāh Rukh in 821 (1418) the mosque was rebuilt and enlarged by the amir Ghiyāth al-Dīn Yūsuf Khwādja. Recently the building has been studied very minutely by the architect V. M. Morosov but only a very small section of his work has been published or exhibited (London 1930 and Paris 1932).

Bibliography: Ritter, *Erdenkunde*, viii, 118, 446, 471; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 216—217, 229; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, i, 793—794; Houmaire de Hell, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, Atlas 1859, pl. 93—94; Zeinoui, *Ka'ā-yi gabr*, in *Av. Kavk. Otd. Russ. Geogr. Obsh.*, 1886, ix, p. 92—93; J. Dieulafoy, *La Perse*, 1887, p. 140—155 (panorama, the great mosque, the citadel, *imām-āde* Yahyā, the broken tower); Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, text, 1910, p. 58—64, and plates, 1901, xviii, liv, lv.; Saladin, *Mamlūk d'art musulman, L'Architecture*, 1901, cf. index; Pézard and Bondoux, *Reconnaissance de Warāmin, in Mémoires de la délégation scientifique en Perse*, vol. xii., Paris 1912, p. 58—62 (3 drawings of the mosque, detailed map 1:50 000); Minorsky, *The mosque of Warāmin, illustrated by B. Morosov*, *Apollo*, London, March 1931, p. 155—158; B. Morosov, *La "Ruinedes d'Afrāsiyāh" près Ka'ā-yi New, Perse, in Revue des arts asiatiques*, Paris 1931, p. 20—22; Kratchkovskaya, *Notices sur les inscriptions de la Mosquée d'Jum'a à Warāmin, in R. E.*, 1931, p. 25—58 (from records by Morosov). (V. MINORSKY)

WARGLA (OUAKOLA), an oasis in the Algerian Sahara 100 miles S. of Taggurt in 31° 58' N. lat. and 5° 30' East Long. (Greenw.) at a height of 320 feet above sea-level. Wargla occupies a depression above a sheet of underground water fed by the subterranean course of the wadi Myia which can easily be reached by sinking wells 60 to 150 feet deep. This has enabled palmgroves to be planted there, numbering 500,000 trees all in full productivity and an almost equal number of trees which are dying but might be revived by irrigation works. The stagnation of the waters, which cannot run away, has however the inconvenience that it makes the country unhealthy and produces a dreaded fever (the *tehem*) in spring and summer. The town itself is built on a limestone terrace 10 to 15 feet above the level of the palmgroves, surrounded by walls, traversed by narrow alleys, intersected by vaulted passages, with houses built of coarse rubble or roughcast; it is divided into three quarters called after the sects that inhabit them: Beni Sissin, Beni Wagguin, Beni Ibrāhīm. Other villages have been built in the neighbourhood, Sidi Khallid in the N.E.,

Shott and Adjadja to the E., and Roussat, the most important is the S.E. The settled population once proprietors of the palmgroves now usually cultivate them as *ghummers* (paying a rent of a fifth) on behalf of merchants of the Māzāb and particularly the Shambas Arabs who lead a nomadic life in this part of the desert. Of Berber origin and still speaking a Zenāta dialect, the original purity of their stock has been much affected by intermarriage with negroes. The *Wargla* as they are called have retained certain ancient customs, particularly in connexion with marriage and a kind of carnival (*ghat al-'āghurā*) corresponding to the first fortnight of the month of Muharran. Alongside of these are negroes, Māzābs and a few Jews. The population of Wargla and of the *ghūr* amounts to 5,149.

History. We have no information about Wargla before the Arab conquest. At that time the land was occupied by Zenāta tribes. According to Ibn Khaldūn, the Beni Wargla (Berber Bent Urdjelan) came from the N.W. along with other Berber elements (ifren Maghrāwa) and founded several little towns in these regions which combined to form the town of Wargla. The people adopted Ibādī doctrines so thoroughly that after the destruction of the Rustamid kingdom of Tāret by the Fātimids at the beginning of the tenth century A.D. many Khāridjīs came to settle in Wargla and founded the town of Sedrata, the ruins of which still exist buried under the sands half a day's journey to the S.W. At the same time Abū Yūsuf, the "man with the ass", who had rebelled against the Fātimids recruited many followers in this region. The Ibādīs had nevertheless in the xiith century, as a result of conflicts with the orthodox and perhaps under the pressure of Arab elements, to abandon the region of Wargla and migrate to the Tadmayt, where they finally settled and created the oases of the Māzāb [q. v.]. Ibādism, however continued to survive at Wargla, where in the xviiith century it still had a few representatives.

During this period, Wargla, which according to the traveller al-Aṣṣāḥl was ruled by the Beni Tudjin dynasty, seems to have been a prosperous city enriched by trade with the Sūdān (Idmā, transl. de Goeje, p. 441). The Hilālī invasion marked the beginning of a troubled era. In the course of the wars between the Hammādi and the Athbādī, with whom the people of Wargla had contracted an alliance, the dynasty of the Beni Tudjin was overthrown and the town destroyed. Rebuilt a short distance from the original site it suffered later in the wars between the Almohads and the Beni Ghaniya. In the xvth century, although under the suzerainty of the Beni Mozi, representatives of the Hafsids in the Zab, Wargla was practically independent under the rule of sultāns belonging to the family of the Beni Abi Ghābul, of the fraction of the Beni Wagguin (Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, iii, 286). At the end of the xvth century, these sultāns were extremely wealthy but according to Leo Africanus (ed. Schafer, book vi., vol. iii., p. 146) they had to pay heavily for the protection of the nomad Arabs. Wargla at this time still preserved the commercial importance which it owed to its situation as a "port of the desert", to use Ibn Khaldūn's phrase (*loc. cit.*). It was a market where the produce and slaves of the Sūdān were exchanged for the merchandise bought from Tunis

and Constantine. Leo Africanus remarks on the beauty of the houses, the number of artisans and the wealth of the merchants. This opulence attracted the attention of the Turks to Wargla. In 1552 Ṣāḥib Re'is at the head of an army of Turks and Kabyls advanced as far as Wargla, the inhabitants of which offered no resistance and he returned after plundering the town and imposing on the sultan an annual tribute of 30 negroes.

The expedition of Ṣāḥib Re'is was followed by a new period of trouble which was ended, it seems, at the beginning of the xviiith century by the proclamation of a new sultan Allāham, to whom local tradition attributes a Sharrifian origin; his descendants held power down to the middle of the xixth century. But the real masters of the country were the nomad Sharrifas, Beni Tur, and Sāid Ōtha, whose continual interference in the quarrels of the two *jeffs* into which the settled population was divided kept up the disorder and made the authority of the sultans illusory. The latter had even to recognise the supremacy of the Beni Babia, hereditary chiefs of the oasis of Ngusa, which they did not cast off till 1841. But ten years later, a new cause of trouble arose. Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh (the sharif of Wargla) raised the tribes of the Sahara against the French who entrusted the task of reducing the rebels to the Shaikh of the Uld Sidi Shaikh, Si Hamza. The latter occupied the town in the name of France in 1853 and was given supreme command of the Sahara tribes. But the participation of the people of Wargla in the rising of the Uld Sidi Shaikh in 1854 forced French columns to intervene on several occasions in the region. Another rebel, Ben Shusha, nevertheless succeeded in establishing himself in Wargla in 1871. The suppression of this rebellion resulted in the final establishment of French authority in 1872.

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WĀRITH. [See MĀRĪTH.]

AL-WARKĀ', a ruined site in southern Iraq, in 45° 25' N. Lat. and 31° 19' East Long. (Greenw.). Yāqūt (*Muḍjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 922) knows al-Warkā' as a place which belonged to the district of Kaskar and the circle of Zawāit in the area of the two south Babylonian Euphrates canals called Zāh (cf. Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geograph.*, L. Leyden 1900, p. 32; G. Le

Strange, *The Limits of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 37, 73). According to a Muslim tradition, Ibrāhīm, the Abraham of the Bible, was born in al-Warkā' (see Yāqūt, iv. 922, 14 *sq.* and cf. also Loftus, *op. cit.*, p. 161 *sq.*). At the same time however, a whole series of other places are mentioned as Ibrāhīm's native place. As Sāli b. 'Umar records in his *Kutub al-Futūḥ* (see Yāqūt, iv. 922, 13 *sq.*) the first encounter between Arabs and Persians at the beginning of the Muslim campaigns against the Sāsānian empire took place at al-Warkā'.

Warkā' is the largest of all the groups of ruins in Southern Babylonia. It marks the site of the town of Uruk (Sumerian Urukki) of the cuneiform inscriptions, which, with Nippur, Ur, Eridu and Lagash, was one of the oldest towns in the country and played a prominent part in the religious life of the Babylonians from the most primitive times to the Parthian period. Alongside of Uruk we sometimes find the form Arkū for the name in inscriptions (cf. the ethnic Arkwāys in Ezra iv. 9). Besides this reference, Uruk occurs only once in the Bible in the form Erech where it is mentioned with three other towns as a part of the dominions of Nimrod (Gen. x. 10).

Of the epoch of Babylonian history before Hammurapi, we know five dynasties of Uruk, of which however the first, to which belongs Gilgamesh, the hero of the famous epic which bears his name, is mythical. The end of the fifth dynasty of Uruk is to be dated about 2300 B.C. Uruk remained an important town under the rule of the Persians, Seleucids and Arsakids; many cuneiform documents of this late period have been found here. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xvi. 123, 130 and Strabo, xvi. 739, knew Orchos, 'Ὀρχος (ethn. Orcheni, Ὀρχηνι) as a great centre of Chaldaean astrology (cf. also the reference in Ptolemy, v. 20, 2; vii. 20, 19).

Uruk was not a Hellenistic town like Babylon; but it is very possible that it had a considerable Greek community within its walls. Even in the later Parthian period only a small portion of the extensive site of the old town was still inhabited; under the Sāsānians the town must have become more and more ruined. By the time of the Muslim invasion, it was presumably completely deserted and abandoned.

The first exact examination and description of the ruins we owe to W. K. Loftus (see *Bibl.*). He was three times in Warkā' in 1850 and 1854; on his second and third stays there he conducted excavations for three weeks and three months respectively. Of further visitors we may especially mention: W. H. Ward (1885); see J. P. Peters, *Nippur or Explorations and Adventures on the Euphrates*, i. (New York 1898), p. 349–356 (Peters himself also visited Warkā'; see *op. cit.*, ii. 98–99); also E. Sachau (1895); F. Anastase Carme (1900), see *Bibl.* The examination of the ruins of Warkā' entered into a new phase with the scientific expeditions of the Deutsche Orientgesellschaft.

Loftus gave an excellent account of the topography of Warkā' (see his plan, *op. cit.*, p. 160; repeated e.g. by Hommel in his *Gesch. Babylonien und Assyrien*, p. 208 and in Zehnpfund, *op. cit.*, p. 70). Andrae prepared a later plan. The new plan made in the winter of 1912–1913 by the Deutsche Orientgesellschaft's expedition is still more accurate and shows even more details; see

it in Jordans, *Uruk-Warka*, 1928 (p. 7 sq.) and cf. also *Mittell. d. Deutsch. Orientges.*, No. 66 (1928), p. 4.

Uruk must have been a very populous town at its zenith when it extended for a period beyond the walls around it, which can still be recognised to-day, as is shown by the mounds of ruins and other traces of habitation outside them; cf. Loftus, *op. cit.*, p. 165; Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

In Babylonian antiquity, either the Euphrates itself flowed past Uruk or else an arm of it, which might be identified with the now entirely silted up river-bed of the *Shatt al-Kār* (in the N.W. of Warkā'), supplied the town with its water by a canal. Jordan thinks the latter can be identified with remains of the *Shatt al-Nil* which comes from the north and runs along the N.E. city wall. The modern Euphrates flows south of Warkā' at a distance of over 4 miles, reckoning from the nearest point on the bank. The easiest road to the ruins is now from al-Khīr on the north bank of the river, a station on the Baghdad-Basra railway. The ruins lie in a completely deserted region which is only occasionally visited by Beduina pasturing their flocks.

The expedition of the Deutsche Orientgesellschaft in the winter of 1912-1913 found a considerable number of lead bullae and seal impressions which throw an instructive light on the style of the mixed Babylonian and Hellenistic culture; they also obtained ceramics of the late period (especially clay figures, terracotta animals), and among other things a hoard of 196 coins of the Parthian king Gotarzes (40-51 A.D.); the number of cuneiform documents was particularly large but they came mainly from the Seleucid period (cf. Jordan, *Uruk-Warka*, p. 39; 57-70 and in the *Mittell. d. Deutsch. Orient-Gesell.*, No. 66, p. 12-17). In 1929-1931 were found numerous clay tablets with pictographs.

Besides these things found as the result of official excavations, we have a considerable number of objects (mainly inscriptions but also sculptures) which have been brought to light through the plundering by the Arabs, tempted by the gold of the dealers in antiquities. This systematic pillaging began before the excavations by the Deutsche Orientgesellschaft (1912) and was continued before the Society could resume their work in 1928; through the market these finds of Arab burrowings found their way into various European and American museums and private collections, in Paris, London, Brussels, Berlin, Newhaven (Vale Babylonian Collection), Baltimore (Goucher College), Pierpont-Morgan Library, Nies Collection etc. On a number of especially remarkable objects found cf. Unger, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

In the last two decades, numerous cuneiform texts from Warkā', among which documents of the late period (late Babylonian to Parthian) predominate, have been published in specialist periodicals and in separate works.

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Bairūt 1903, p. 454-458; H. Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands*, Philadelphia 1903, p. 35, 141-155; do., *Die Ausgrabungen in Assyrien und Babylonien*, I. (Leipzig 1904), p. 135-145; Zehn-pfund, *Babylonien in seinen wichtigsten Ruinenstätten*, in *A.O.*, xi, No. 3-4, Leipzig 1910, p. 48-52; M. Streck, *Ausgrabungen*, Leipzig 1916, iii, 815; Fr. Hommel, *Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients*, Munich 1904-26, p. 359-364, 1021 (s. also the index s. v. Ezech, Uruk, Warka); J. Jordan's accounts in the *Mitteil. der Deutsch. Orient-Gesell.*, No. 51, p. 47-76; No. 53, p. 9-17; No. 66, p. 1-18; Jordan, *Uruk-Warka nach den Ausgrabungen durch die Deutsche Orient-Gesell.*, in *Wissenschaftl. Veröffentl. der Deutsch. Orient-Ges.*, li, Leipzig 1928; E. Unger, *Art. Uruk*, in *Reallexik. der Vorgeschichte*, Berlin 1928, p. 35-6 (with bibliography). On the excavations of the Deutsch. Orient-Ges. in the years 1928-1931 cf. the reports in *Archiv für Orientalforschung*, Berlin 1929-1931, v. 252-253; vi. 316-319; vii. 132-135. (M. STRECK)

WARRĀK, ABŪ 'ISĀ MUHAMMAD B. HĀRŪN, an independent thinker, who finally was accused of *sandāḥa*, was like his friend and pupil, Ibn al-Rāwandī (cf. AL-RAWANDI), at one time a theologian of the Mu'tazila school. Victims of the same persecution, both died in exile in Ahwāz in 297 (909).

His theological vocabulary only makes mild concessions to Hellenistic philosophy, but his dialectic is powerful; and his documentation of an objectivity and exactness unknown in this period enabled him to write a manual of the history of religions, the *Kitāb al-Maḥṣūlāt*, the only source (unfortunately lost) of al-Bīrūnī and al-Shahrastānī for certain Iranian heresies and Jewish sects. His critical examination of the three branches of the Christianity of his time, a little book of great accuracy, has survived under the title *Kitāb fī 'l-Radd 'ala 'l-Firaq al-thalāth*, the methodical refutation of which was attempted by the Jacobite philosopher Yahyā b. 'Adī (Bibl. Nat. Paris, MS. Arabe, No. 167). His *Kitāb al-Maḥṣūlāt* is lost.

Bibliography: al-Khāyā, *Kitāb al-Intiḥār*, ed. Nyberg, Cairo 1925, p. 97, 149, 150, 152, 155, 205; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p. 338; al-Bīrūnī, *Āḥkār*, p. 270, 278-279; al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Farq bain 'l-Firaq*, p. 49, 51; Tusi's *List of Shi'a books*, p. 58, 72; Houtsma, in *W. Z. K. M.*, 1891, p. 231; Massignon, *Textes inédits conc. l'hist. de la mystique*, 1929, p. 182-185; H. Ritter, *Philologica*, iii, 35; vi, 10.

(LOUIS MASSIGNON)

WASHMĠR B. ZIYĀR, ABŪ TALIB (and according to his coins ZAHIR AL-DAWLA) or better WASHMŪK, if the name means 'catcher of quails' (cf. al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ix, 30, note), second ruler of the Ziyārid dynasty, reigned 935-965. He only left his native land Dīlān, after his brother Mardāwīd [q. v.] had come to power, and had lived until that time the primitive mountaineer life of his people (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 182). Under Mardāwīd he conquered Isfahān and drove from there 'Alī b. Būyī, who had taken that town when he was in Mardāwīd's service. After Mardāwīd had died in Isfahān (323 = 935), Washmġr went to Raiy, where his brother was buried with great solemnity; there he was proclaimed Mardāwīd's successor by the population

and by the Dailamite army that had been previously sent to Khurāsān in order to march on Baghdad. Until about 328 (940) Washmġr was able to keep together the territory conquered by his brother; he corresponded with the vizier Ibn Muġla about an advance to Baghdad in order to drive out Ibn Rā'ik, and tried to extend his influence to the west by supporting the Kurd Daisam b. Shādhillīyē in his endeavour to reconquer Ādharbāydjān. In the year mentioned, however, Washmġr came in conflict with the Sāmānids in consequence of his alliance with Mākn b. Kākī [q. v.], who at that time had made submission to the Sāmānids but had received in 936 from Washmġr the government of Djurdjān and also of the country round Sāriya (Sāri) on account of previous good relations. Mākn then renounced his allegiance to the Sāmānids and the Sāmānid ruler sent against them his general Abū 'Alī Ibn al-Muġtādī. The latter invaded Djurdjān and at the same time the Buyid brothers 'Alī and Hasan ('Imād al-Dawla and Rukn al-Dawla) took the opportunity to seize Isfahān and even Ray. Washmġr and Mākn mobilised in Sāriya an army composed exclusively of Dailamites and Djlīs to meet the Sāmānid army. In the battle of Isfahān near Dāmghān, however, Mākn was killed (Dec. 25, 940) and Washmġr retired to Āmul, leaving Ibn al-Muġtādī to take Ray in his turn.

In the following years Washmġr got into difficulties through Mākn's nephew Hasan b. Fāruzān, who at first had taken the Sāmānid side in order to recover his uncle's possessions, then made an attack on Ibn al-Muġtādī's already retiring troops, so that he was able to make himself master of Djurdjān, while Washmġr recovered Ray for the last time. But soon Hasan turned against him, while the Buyid Rukn al-Dawla seized Ray again. Washmġr had to fly for protection to the Sāmānid ruler Nūḥ b. Naṣr in Khurāsān and so lost his political independence. The protection sought for was readily given and until Washmġr's death Nūḥ was constantly helping him with reinforcements against Hasan b. Fāruzān and Rukn al-Dawla; in this way Tabaristān became a useful buffer state between Sāmānids and Buyids. Washmġr all the time remained a loyal ally of the former dynasty, Hasan being the candidate of the Buyids. About 950 he was attacked by Rukn al-Dawla in Tabaristān and had to retire; in 954 a last endeavour was made to recapture Ray, together with Ibn al-Muġtādī. After the failure of this expedition he was again driven back to Khurāsān, but soon reinstated by a Sāmānid army. In 962 the same thing happened again; Washmġr had to leave Sāriya and withdrew to Djurdjān. At last, in 967, great military preparations were made by the Sāmānid Mansūr b. Nūḥ to attack Rukn al-Dawla; the Sāmānid general Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm Sinūdjīr joined Washmġr in Djurdjān. Washmġr was to be chief commander of the expedition, but before it came to an end Washmġr was killed by a wild boar in Muharram 357 (according to Miskawah on 1st Muharram = December 7, 967). He was succeeded by his son Kābūs b. Washmġr [q. v.]. Washmġr had won the reputation of an able and good ruler and the Ziyārid dynasty is not seldom called after him the dynasty of Washmġr. As his biography shows, he did not excel in the arts of war, which accounts for the dwindling down of the large territory originally

conquered by Mardāwīz. At times, however, he was undisputed ruler of Tabaristān and Djurdjān, although, as Ibn Hawkal (p. 274) points out, there remained strongholds which he never had been able to subdue.

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AL-WASHSHĪH, ABU 'L-TAYYIB MUHAMMAD b. AHMAD b. ISḤĀQ b. YAHYĀ, Arabic philologist and bel esprit, pupil of Muḥarrar and of Thā'ib, who earned his living as a teacher in an elementary school, but in the most important of his works that has survived to us, the *Kitāb al-Munawwih* (ed. R. E. Brünnow, Leyden 1886, reprinted as *Kitāb al-Zarf wa 'l-Zurafā'*, Cairo 1324), prepared a handbook of rules of good society for the aristocrats of Baghdad. In addition there survives by him a letter-writer: *Tafriḍ al-Muḥādḍ wa-Sahab al-Waḥḍ ila 'l-Farādī* or *Surūr al-Muḥādḍ wa 'l-Allāb fī Ruḍ' al-Aḥbāb* in the Berlin MS., *Aktawrd Vers.*, No. 8638. He was probably also the author of the *Kitāb Waḥḍ al-Muḥādḍ fī 'l-Djāhiliyya*, the first part of which was printed in Baghdad in 1332, although Yahyā al-Washshīh is named in it.

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WĀSĪ [See WĀṢIYĀ.]

WĀSĪ 'ALĪSĪ or 'ALĪ, an Ottoman author, scholar and poet, stylist and calligrapher of Philippopolis. His full name is: 'Alī al-Dīn 'Alī Çelebi b. Sālih or Sālih-ade al-Rūmī, known as 'Abd al-Wāṣī 'Alīsī or Wāṣī 'Alīsī (from the *maderris* Mawlānā 'Abd al-Wāṣī whose assistant [*mūlāsīm*] he had been). He was *maderris* in various medreses in Brusa, Adrianople and Constantinople, then *ḫāṭṭ*. He died in Brusa in 950. His fame is mainly based on the elegant and pompous translation, surpassing even the Persian original, of the *Anwār-i Suhaili* of Husain Wāṣī Kāshifī [cf. XXXIII] which in turn is a translation from the Arabic version of the *Kaṭīla wa-Dimna* of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Muḥallā being based on the *Pantatantra*. On the complicated problem of the *Kaṭīla wa-Dimna* see that article. The manuscript of a version of the *Kaṭīla wa-Dimna* done directly from the Arabic is No. 1897 in the Laleli Library in Istanbul. The Turkish translation by Wāṣī 'Alīsī called *Humāyūn-nāme* with its pompous and elegant style and the interspersed verses was regarded as one of the most important prose-works of the old school, a masterpiece which could not be equalled and a model of tasteful

style and composition. While the grand vizier Lâ'ifi Paşa (945—947) accepted the dedication of the work to which Wäsi' had devoted his whole life with the reproachful remark that he would have done better to have devoted his time to legal treatises, Sültân Salaimân, whose attention was called to it by the historian Ramazân-âide at once recognised its importance and the very next day appointed the author to the important office of kâzî of Brussa. He died there only a year later. The *Humâyûn-nâme* was printed in Bulâk in 1251 (1835). One of the two synopses made by Othmân-âide Ahmed Tâ'ib (d. 1136 = 1723) appeared in 1256 under the title *Thamâr al-Aẓhar*. Another synopsis was made by Mufti Yahyâ Efendi.

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WÄSİF, AHMAH, official historian of the Ottoman empire, belonged to Baghdād, early entered the service of high Ottoman dignitaries, for example Kel Ahmad Paşa and Abâza Mehmed Paşa, for whom he acted as librarian. He was captured by the Russians and his fortune was made when he was sent with letters from Catherine the Great to the grand vizier. He finally acted as secretary (*wak'f munis*; q. v.) at the peace of Bucharest (1772). In Dhû 'l-Hijjâ 1197 (Oct. 1783) he was appointed imperial historian (*wak'f munis*; q. v.) in place of Enwerî [q. v.] Efendi. Five years later he was sent on an extraordinary mission to Madrid, which is fully described by him. As the Russo-Turkish war had broken out in the meanwhile Enwerî was again appointed official historian during his absence in Spain and Edib his deputy. Wäsi' on his return had therefore to be content with an office in the Porte until in 1205 (1791) he was able to take a very active part in the peace negotiations, for which he was granted the important post of *Anadolû müfettiş-i mülkî*. Later we find him leading a lonely and wretched life in Stambul, maintaining a constant fight with poverty. He was then banished to Mytilene but recalled on a change of government and again given the post of imperial historian (1213 = 1798). In Jumādâ 1220 (July 1805) he was even promoted to be *re'îs efendi*. Sickness and bad health crippled him however and he died on 7th Rabi' 1221 (May 24, 1806). He was not an attractive character because he was greedy, envious and malicious to a degree but rightly enjoyed a great reputation as an historian. As he had taken an active part himself in important events, his accounts are of peculiar historical value. His style is noble and sonorous and was regarded by his contemporaries as a model of impressive writing. From his pen we have four state chronicles known as *dünyûl*, appendices, because they follow on to 'Isâ's work [q. v.]. The history, printed under the title *Makâm al-Aẓhar wa-Hakâ'ik al-Aẓhar* (on the various editions cf. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 337), runs from 1166 (beg. Nov. 8, 1752) to 1st Rabi' 1188 (Sept. 7, 1774) but the greater part of the second volume (1183—1188) is from

the pen of Enwerî. As to the appendices themselves, the first which follows on to Enwerî's fourth part deals with the concluding events of the year 1197 (end of 1783) and ends with the month of Sha'bân 1201 (June 1787). The second appendix begins with Selim's III's accession (Rabi' 1203 = April 1789) and ends with the beginning of the year 1209 (beg. July 29, 1794). The third appendix covered the period for 1213 (beg. June 15, 1798) to 1217 (beg. May 4, 1802); it seems to have completely disappeared. The fourth and last appendix runs from Rabi' 1217 (July 1802) to the end of Shawwâl 1219 (Jan. 1805). In conclusion Wäsi' wrote a brief account of Napoleon's invasion of Egypt. It is one-sided and therefore of no value as history. Wäsi' also prepared translations from the Arabic, for example, he translated Zamakhsharî's [q. v.] *Nawâ'id al-Kalim* into Turkish.

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(FRANZ BABINGER)

WÄSİL R. 'ATĀ', AND HUDDAIFA AL-GHAZZĀL, the chief of the Mu'tasila [q. v.]. Biographical facts concerning this personality are meagre, especially from early sources, yet without considerable divergencies. Born in Madina in 80 (699—700), where he was a client of the Banu Dabba, or of the Banu Makham, he migrated to Basra, where he belonged to the circle of Hasan al-Basri (cf. AL-HASAN R. ABI 'L-HASAN AL-BASRI), and entered into friendly relations with notable personalities such as Qajm b. Safwân [q. v.] and Baghlah b. Burd [q. v.]. With none of these three men, however, these relations remained undisturbed. His wife was a sister of 'Amr b. 'Ubad Abû 'Uthmân [q. v.], next to himself the most celebrated of the earliest Mu'tasila. He had the guttural pronunciation of the *r*; on account of his mastery of the language he succeeded in avoiding this letter, in *ḥaṣṣa*'s and sayings, specimens of which are preserved. Further he was conspicuous for his giraffe-like neck, an object of satirical lines by his former friend Baghlah.

He received the *Laqab al-Ghazzāl* because of his frequenting the spinners' market in order to bestow alms upon the poor women who exercised that métier. He was praised for being very scrupulous in touching money.

Wäsi' s deviation from the views of Hasan is said to have become the starting point of the Mu'tasila. The origin of the name of the sect cannot, however, be based on that fact (see MU'TASILA).

Four theses are ascribed to Wäsi': Denial of Allah's eternal qualities (cf. the art. *ḤIFĀ*); the doctrine of free will, which he shared with the Qadarites; the doctrine that the Muslim who commits a mortal sin enters into a state intermediate between that of a Muslim and that of a *kāfir*; the doctrine that one of the parties who took part in the murder of 'Uthmân, in the battle of the Camel and that of Siffin was wrong, just as in the case of *Ḥān* [q. v.] one of the parties must be considered to swear a false oath.

The last doctrine is made by the author of the *Kitāb al-Intiqār* the starting point of Wäsi' s

system. He represents it in this form: The intention to kill a *ḡāḡ* [cf. *ḡāḡ*] does not render a Muslim *ḡāḡ* (p. 170). Yet he admits to having been rebuked for this representation, on the ground that Wāsil considered the intention to kill one of the *ḡāḡ* as *ḡāḡ* [cf. *ḡāḡ*].

In this connection it may be noted that the passage on Wāsil in *Djāhiz Bayān* suggests more important deviations from orthodox Islām than those mentioned in later sources.

Lack of contemporary information is the cause of our not being able to say more of this.

It is said that Wāsil propagated his ideas through missionaries whom he sent to different parts of the Muslim world. Al-Shahrastānī states that in his days a sect called *al-Wāsilīya* was living in the Maghrib. Yet the *Wāsilīya* are not mentioned in al-Aḡḡarī's *Maḡāḡ*, where the name of Wāsil occurs once only (ed. Ritter, i. 222). — He is said (see e.g. Ibn Khallikān) to have written several books or pamphlets on the theological and political questions of his day. He died in 131 (748–749).

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(A. J. WASSINK)

WÄSIT, once one of the most important cities of the Irāk in the centre of which it stood. The city was a creation of al-Ḥadḡḡḡ b. Yūsuf [q. v.]. As to the date of its foundation, the statements of the Arab writers vary between 83 (702) to 84 (703). Yāḡḡū is probably right in saying that the building of it occupied the years 83–86 (702–705). Al-Ḥadḡḡḡ was certainly living in his new city by the year 84. On the date of its foundation cf. Streck, *op. cit.* (see *Bibl.*), p. 324–325; Périer, *op. cit.*, p. 208; Mas'ūdi, *B. G. A.*, viii. 360.

On the immediate reasons which led to the building of a new town and the choice of its site see the story in Tabari, ii. 1125, 12 sq. (transl. in Streck, *op. cit.*, p. 323 sq.). Al-Ḥadḡḡḡ wished by creating a fixed camp for the Syrian troops,

his best soldiers, to strengthen their morals and by separating them from the Irākis to avert friction between them. The new garrison town was also intended to keep in check the two turbulent military colonies of Kūfa and Baḡra, for it was built equidistant between them (cf. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendlande*, Berlin 1885–1887, i. 394; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, p. 156; Périer, *op. cit.*, p. 205 sq.; Reitemeyer, *op. cit.*, p. 40 sq.). Being immediately above the Baḡḡa [q. v.] Wāsil was also intended to facilitate the effective control of these somewhat inaccessible regions.

According to the usual statement, al-Ḥadḡḡḡ himself chose the name Wāsil = "middle" for his new city, because it was roughly midway between the two principal cities of the Irāk, Kūfa and Baḡra, and was a similar distance from al-Aḡḡḡ, the capital of Khuzistān.

According to another story, however, there had previously been a village named Wāsil al-Kaḡab (= Wāsil of the Reed) on the site chosen by al-Ḥadḡḡḡ; cf. Streck, *op. cit.*, p. 322 sq. and Périer, *op. cit.*, p. 206 sq.

In the Muslim east, at least where Arabic nomenclature prevailed, there were over 20 places called Wāsil in the time of the 'Abbāḡid caliphate. The most important of all these was Wāsil al-Ḥadḡḡḡ, as the town is often called to distinguish it from others of the same name; it is also particularised as Wāsil al-'uḡḡā (="Great Wāsil") and Wāsil al-Irāk (cf. Streck, *op. cit.*, p. 323).

Even if we reject the somewhat doubtful existence of a place named Wāsil al-Kaḡab, the immediate vicinity of al-Ḥadḡḡḡ's town was already inhabited in the Sāsānid period; Wāsil was built on the west bank of the Tigris while opposite it on the east bank lay the town of Kaskar.

In the story of the foundation of Wāsil which has been embellished with legendary details a not inconsiderable part is played by the great magician 'Abd Allāḡ b. Hīlāl, whom al-Ḥadḡḡḡ brought specially from Kūfa (cf. Yāḡḡū, iv. 885, 4 sq. and *W. Z. K. M.*, vii. 255). Considerable sums were required to build the new city (cf. Streck, p. 325; Périer, p. 208 and Reitemeyer, p. 47–48). The palace built by al-Ḥadḡḡḡ was surmounted by a towering green dome which got the name of *al-Kūba al-ḡḡḡ*. Its plan (square in general form, the measurements of the sides, the dome) afterwards served as a model to the caliph al-Manḡūr in building his palace in Baḡdād; the latter was therefore also called *al-Kūba al-ḡḡḡ*. Beside his palace al-Ḥadḡḡḡ built the chief mosque; al-Manḡūr also copied the proportions of this in his chief mosque likewise built beside the palace in Baḡdād, as Hersfeld points out in *Sarre-Hersfeld, Arch. Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, ii. (Berlin 1919), p. 135.

Among the buildings erected by al-Ḥadḡḡḡ in Wāsil must be mentioned the large prison called *Dimās* (presumably Greek *deuteros* "prison") (see Streck, *op. cit.*, p. 326). Al-Ḥadḡḡḡ died in 95 A. H. (714) in Wāsil and was buried there.

At first al-Ḥadḡḡḡ would only allow Arab (preferably Syrian) to settle in his new capital; later he settled there Transoxanian Turks (mainly from Bukhāra originally) from Baḡra where a considerable number had settled, sometimes as prisoners and sometimes as voluntary emigrants (cf. Périer,

op. cit., p. 209). It was only after the death of al-Hadijādī that the old native Aramaic population and the Persians were admitted; in course of time the population became a very mixed one. Wasit and Kaskar gradually became merged in a single twin city united by a community of political and economic interests.

During the whole period of the Umayyads, Wasit remained the most important town in the 'Irāk, the seat of government of the country and the residence of its governors except for the last years of the dynasty. It was the 'Abbāsids who put an end to the dominating position of Wasit. But even after its loss of position as the centre of the region Wasit continued to be of great strategic importance. It has always played a very important part in the political and military history of the central and southern 'Irāk, especially that of the districts of the Baṭṭha and Maīnān [q. v.]. Cf. Ibn al-Mu'allim and Margoliouth in *Z. A.*, xxvi. 334 *sq.* In the xvth century Wasit played an important part under the dynasty of the Mushāshā Saliyids; cf. Caskel, *Islamicica*, iv. 48 *sq.*

The decline of the city seems to have gradually begun in the xvth century. This was mainly the result of a change in the distribution of the water to the two arms of the river at the old bifurcation of the Tigris at Kūt al-'Amīra. It may be mentioned that the Turkish geographer Hādīdī Khalīfa, who lived in the first half of the xvth century, in his *Dihān-namā* (Latin version by Norberg, Lund 1818, p. 70) records of Wasit that it lies in the middle of the desert and that the canal there is famous for the pens made out of its reeds.

The population of the town in the days of its prosperity was certainly very considerable. Yaḳūt who was several times in Wasit shows that in the early decades of the xiiith century it was still a large place. The *dihān*, the Persian landowners, were still in Yaḳūt's time (see *B.G.A.*, vii. 322), i.e. about 891, living in the old town of Kaskar. The Christian element must have been not inconsiderable in Wasit in the Muslim period; their quarters were probably in Kaskar, as in the Sāsānian period. Here there was in any case a Jewish colony before the Arab invasion. Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Babylonia about 1170, found a strong Jewish community in Wasit which he estimated at 10,000 people, the same as in Baṣra. The bulk of them presumably lived in a special quarter of the old eastern city.

The region in which Wasit was built is said to have been unfertile before the settlement by al-Hadijādī. The latter improved the soil of the surrounding country. The result was that conditions of life became much healthier and sanitation was improved so that the climate of Wasit was regarded as healthier than that of Baṣra. The Arab geographers agree in their panegyrics on the countless orchards, extensive groves of date-palms, the water flowing everywhere, the plenty of fish, and the very fruitful yield of the soil of the region of Wasit. Much corn was exported from the granary of Wasit and in times of famine Baghdad had to be supplied from here (cf. the accounts of Iṣṭakhri, Ibn Hawḳal, Muḳaddasī, Yaḳūt, Kaṣwīnī, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in Streck, *op. cit.*, p. 328—330).

Wasit was also an important centre of communications, partly from its location on the navigable Tigris and its position in the centre of the 'Irāk and from the fact that important roads ran

north, south and east from it, one along the Tigris to Baghdad, another through the Baṭṭha to Baṣra and the third to al-Ahwāz (Khūzistān). Wasit was therefore bound to become an important commercial centre; as Muḳaddasī mentions, it had fine bazaars; among other things, valuable textiles were manufactured here (for curtains) which were known as *Wasitī* fabrics (cf. *B.G.A.*, iv. 375 and Salmon, *L'Introduction topographique à l'histoire de Baghdad d'al-Kaṭṭāf al-Baḡdādī*, Paris 1904, p. 135). Shipbuilding also played a part in the activities of Wasit in view of the busy traffic on the river; *al-wāsiṭiyya* is still found in the 'Irāk as the name of a kind of boat, cf. *Lughat al-'Arab*, v. (Baghdād 1927), p. 463, 11.

Wasit also took the place of its predecessor Kaskar as capital of one of the twelve districts into which the Sāsānians had divided the 'Irāk for taxation purposes (cf. thereon Streck, *op. cit.*, p. 15, 18, 332).

Wasit was not only a strong garrison town but an important agricultural and commercial centre. It also distinguished itself in the cultivation of knowledge, particularly of Muslim theology. Among its inhabitants in the time of Muḳaddasī (c. 985) were notable legists and Qur'ān readers; the study of the sacred book was especially carried on here (*B.G.A.*, iii. 118, 119, note). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii. 2, 9 *sq.* and cf. Streck, *op. cit.*, p. 330—331) who was in Wasit in the first half of the xvth century, is full of praises of the pious citizens, most of whom knew the Qur'ān by heart and recited it correctly. The subject of *taḡwīd al-Kur'ān* [q. v.] was studied with special enthusiasm. A representative of the art of reading the Qur'ān who belonged to Wasit was Ismā'īl b. 'Alī (d. c. 1291; cf. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 411).

It may be mentioned that the mystic theologian al-Hallāj who was born in Fars, spent his youth in Wasit (cf. L. Massignon, *al-Hallāj* [Paris 1922], i. 20 *sq.*). In this connection it may be noted that the founder of the Karmāṭian sect of the Bakṭiyya, Abū Ḥatīm, made his first appearance in 295 (908) in the *sawād* of Wasit (cf. above, art. BAḲṬIYĀ).

In Wasit was also studied the history of the town and of that of the adjacent Baṭṭha. Aḥmad b. Saḥl Baḥṣal (d. 904) wrote a local history, consisting mainly of biographies (see Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, in *Abh. G.G.W.*, 1882, No. 83; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 138). The history of Ibn al-Maghāzī al-Djullābī (d. 1139; see Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 240) was probably a continuation of this. An appendix to the latter work was probably the local chronicle of 'Abd al-Rahmān Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Dihābī al-Dubāithī (d. 1239; see Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, No. 323; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 330; *Z. S.*, ii. 107).

Ibn Abī Ḥabīb al-Abbās Aḥmad b. Bakhtiyār (d. 1157), a native of Wasit, wrote a history of the Baṭṭha (*Ta'rikh al-Baṭṭā*; cf. 'Alī Sharḳī, in *Lughat al-'Arab*, vi. [Baghdād 1928], p. 279, 3 *sq.*).

As to the history of the mint of Wasit, we have coins of the town from its foundation (85 = 704) down to the period of the Mongols of Persia. Cf. e.g. St. Lane-Poole, *Catal. of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, vol. x., p. ccxvii.—viii. (years 85—326 = 704—937 or 701—770 = 1301—1368) and O. Codrington, *Manual of Muslim Numismatics* (London 1904), p. 194.

In conclusion we have still to discuss the site of Wasit. Its exact location is one of the most difficult and most important problems of the historical geography of mediaeval Babylonia. We know definitely that the twin city of Wasit-Kaskar stood on the Tigris on either side of it. All the Arab geographers of the ixth—xiiith centuries agree in this (cf. the passages in Streck, *op. cit.*, p. 319 *sq.* to which we may add Mas'ûdî, *B.G.A.*, viii, 53, 57 and also Suhrib [Ibn Serapion], who about the middle of the tenth century described the river and canal system of the 'Irâk fully; see his *Kitâb 'Aja'ib al-Akâlîm al-na'â'a* [ed. Mûlik, Leipzig 1930] p. 118, 2 = *J.R.A.S.*, 1895, p. 9, 2 from below). In order to identify the site of Wasit the first thing necessary is to establish the course of the mediaeval Tigris. It must be pointed out that the arm of the Tigris on which Wasit stood, the main stream of which since the xvth century has been gradually diminishing and sinking to be a secondary arm, as the bulk of the water was gradually diverted from below Kûl al-'Amâra into the eastern bed, is to be considered the real lower course of the Tigris.

The Shatt al-Haiy (better Shatt al-Gharraf) which branches off at Kûl al-'Amâra S.E. from the main stream, has been usually said to be the mediaeval Tigris (on this water course cf. especially the artt. DUGLA, 'IRAK and MAISAN). It forks again a little below the town of Kûl al-Haiy (also known briefly as Haiy) into two arms, one of which is now called Ash Dijnhairat and as a rule is now the only one to contain water, and the eastern Shatt al-'Amâ. Both unite again at the village of Shaikh Khadr (Khâdr) and enclose an island about 30 miles long called Djalirat al-Hairat on maps. Herzfeld, has rightly pointed out in *Sarce-Herzfeld*, *op. cit.*, i, 247, that the Shatt al-Haiy forms the greatest crux in the ancient geography of the 'Irâk. Is it really the mediaeval Tigris or is it only a secondary arm? Perhaps we have to see in it a canal which was dug in ancient times to give a convenient connection between the Euphrates and the Tigris. The little that we have so far learned from European travellers about the ruins of Wasit is against locating it on the banks of the Shatt al-Haiy and therefore against identifying the latter with the mediaeval Tigris.

Unfortunately the whole canal and river system of the Shatt al-Haiy, especially the wide territory between it in the west, the Tigris in the east and the Euphrates in the south, has been very insufficiently investigated from the geographical point of view and the maps to be consulted for the region of Wasit are very defective. Of these the following have been used here: F. R. Chesney, *The Expedition for the survey of the rivers Euphrates and Tigris* (London 1850), Atlas, plate ix. (pertinent text in vol. I, 36—37); Ed. Sachau, *Die Euphrat und Tigris* (Leipzig 1900), plate ii. and cf. p. 69 *sq.*; *Lower Mesopotamia between Bagdad and the Persian Gulf* (1:1,000,000), London, War Office, 1907 (also reprinted by the cartographical section of the German General Staff, Berlin 1915); *Karte von Nordbabylonien* (temporary edition; 1:200,000), sheet 9: Kûl al-'Amâra, Berlin (kartograph. Abteilung der preussisch. Landesaufnahme), 1918; *Karte von Mesopotamien* (temporary edition; 1:400,000), sheet 5^d, Bagdad, Berlin (ibid.), 1919.

A number of European travellers visited the

actual site of the mediaeval Wasit in the ixth and xth centuries; their accounts however are rather brief. The first to be mentioned are the English officers Ormsby and Elliott who stopped in Wasit in 1831. On their information are based the statements in Chesney, *op. cit.*, i, 37; J. R. Wellstedt, *Travels to the city of the Caliphs*, London 1840, i, 171 (an edition of Ormsby's diary) and J. B. Fraser, *Mesopotamia and Assyria*, Edinburgh 1842, p. 155. R. Koldeweg and B. Moritz are said to have visited Wasit during their archaeological expedition to Southern Babylonia in 1886—1887; but so far nothing has been published of their observations. Count Aymar de Liedekerke-Beaufort, who fell in 1916 in the War, also visited Wasit on an archaeological expedition in 1913—1914. His valuable account of the district in question was published by Viroilleaud, in *Babyloniaca*, vi., Paris 1922, p. 105—116 unfortunately without a map. We therefore really have only two brief descriptions of the ruins of Wasit, one of 1831 and the other of 1913—1914.

The former going back to Ormsby and Elliott gives (according to Chesney) the following data. The old dry bed of an arm of the river can be followed for a few miles below Kûl al-'Amâra; this flows S.S.E. through the ruins of Wasit and then goes on in the same direction under the name of Shatt Ithâhim, and rejoins the Euphrates midway between the Shatt al-Haiy and Kurna. That this river-course should be recognised as the Tigris proper, on the banks of which Wasit lay, is suggested by the breadth of the ancient bed and the ruins on both sides of it; some of Wellstedt's notes supplement this: mounds of ruins are to be seen everywhere; the ground is covered with fragments of buildings (pillars, architraves, friezes, glass and ceramics). Special mention may be made of a fairly well preserved little domed building in the style of the period of the caliphs, very probably a mosque; the channel which cuts through these ruins is of the breadth of the Euphrates. Fraser finally tells us that in the vicinity of the old town there has arisen a little village of 40—50 wretched houses built out of the material of the ruins and inhabited by fishermen.

As to A. de Liedekerke-Beaufort's description 80 years later (see *op. cit.*, p. 115—116) it may be noted that this traveller came to Wasit from the old Babylonian site of Zerghul (Surghul), 4 miles N.E. of Shatra; striking N.E. After 3 hours' march from Zerghul he crossed the old silted up bed of the Tigris of the 'Abbasid period which the natives call Shatt el-Khâdr. This he met again at the ruins of Wasit. Among the shapeless mounds of ruins there the only remarkable thing was a fine brick portico. According to A. de Liedekerke-Beaufort, Wasit lies 25 miles west of Haiy (Kûl al-Haiy). This remark must be due to an error or rather to a slip of the pen; for it must be "east of Haiy" (correct also the statement above, art. KARKAR). Our traveller thinks that the Tigris in ancient times used the Shatt al-Haiy as far as Djalatkeker (meaning Kal'at Sikkar on the Shatt al-'Amâ), then followed the lakes of the swamps (âira; cf. above, art. MAISAN) of Tellôh, al-Hiblis and Serghul, finally entering the sea at the side of the modern Hîr al-Hammîr (cf. above, art. MAISAN); in the Muslim period on the other hand, it crested for itself this eastern bed on which Wasit lay.

According to the already mentioned map of Mesopotamia, sheet 54, Bagdad, the geographical position of Wasit is $32^{\circ} 15'$ North Lat. That this town is probably to be placed north and not south of 32° N. Lat. was already proved by Wagner (in *N. d. G. G. W.*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1902, p. 272, 279) from the statements of the mediaeval Arab itineraries. On the above mentioned map the ruined site of Wasit is crossed by a channel running S. E.; three further channels enter it of which those still in use take their water from the Nahr Dūdījā. Quite close to Wasit is marked a place Beled, presumably the fishing-village mentioned by Ormsby and Elliott (in Fraser).

The Dūdījā (= little Tigris) leaves the Tigris about 6 miles below Kūt al-'Amāra. It might be identical with the ancient, now dried up arm of the river which Ormsby and Elliott were able to follow and which they took for the mediaeval Tigris of Wasit (see above). In Stieler's *Handatlas* sheet 59 (1918), this water course is marked as Shatt al-Wasit and Wasit itself is marked on it in $32^{\circ} 15'$ (according to the map of Mesopotamia, leaf 9, Wasit lies 4—5 miles south-west of the river Dūdījā). The distance between Wasit and Kūt al-Haiy is, according to the map of Mesopotamia sheet 54 and that of Babylonia, sheet 9 (see above), and sheet 59 in Stieler's *Handatlas*, about 15 miles as the crow flies; A. de Liedekerke's estimate (25 miles) is decidedly too high. The distance Wasit-Kūt al-'Amāra is about 45 miles as the crow flies.

The question of the site of the mediaeval Wasit would therefore seem to be solved with considerable certainty by the above considerations. The town was at one time sought on the bank of the Shatt al-Haiy or at least in its immediate neighbourhood; modern native geographers of the 'Irāk like Hāshim al-Sa'dī and 'Abd al-Razzāk al-Hasanī still hold this view. It is a fact that the place-name Wasit is still found in the district in question, especially around Kūt al-Haiy as well as to the south in the island formed by the two arms of the Shatt al-Haiy, quite near the eastern arm, the Shatt al-'Amā. Chesney (*op. cit.*, I, 36 and *Atlas*, plate ix.) knows the "mounds Neishaget Wasut" in the neighbourhood of Kūt al-Haiy to the east of it. On the same position Loftus puts Wasut in the map accompanying his *Travels and Researches in Chaldaea and Susiana* (London 1857); Streck therefore also at one time (1911, see above, I, p. 677*) considered locating Wasit near Kūt al-Haiy. Hāshim al-Sa'dī (*Diyār al-'Irāk al-'Aditha*, 2nd ed., Baghdad 1927, p. 145) has obviously the same region in mind when he places the ruined mounds (tells) of Wasit on the banks of the Shatt al-'Amā near the town of al-Haiy. 'Abd al-Razzāk al-Hasanī (*Rihla fi 'Irāk*, 2nd ed., Baghdad 1925, p. 29) holds a similar view; he lays stress on the existence of numerous tells and pieces of buildings, still visible at the present day. The same author says in his more recent work *Muḥḥit Ta'rikh al-Buldān al-'Irāqiya* (Baghdad 1930, p. 119) that al-Haiy is identical with the ancient Wasit.

Cuinot's authority (see his *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii, 313) says that half-way between Kalfat Sakar (the already mentioned Djelatseker in A. de Liedekerke = Kal'at Sikkar; a little below 32° N. Lat.) and Kūt al-Haiy one comes to an area covered with mounds, which may be presumed to

contain old ruins; the most important is 'Haf al-Qusset', the celebrated town of Wasit; there one can still see the door of a palace which the local Arabs call el-Menāre. With this statement in Cuinot, I would take a note in L. Massigou, (*La passion d'al-Hallaj*, Paris 1922, I, p. 23) which is based on a communication by a Baghdadī, a former inspector of the domains in the region of al-Haiy. According to the latter, the now abandoned ruins of Wasit, which lie on the bank of a dead water-course named Rasid, consist only of a few old tombs and a minaret in ruins (apparently that mentioned in Cuinot). The reference here is probably to the same ruins as are mentioned by Chesney and the two modern Arab geographers. In keeping with these views Wasit is placed by Kiepert, *Carte générale de l'Empire Ottoman* (Berlin 1892), on the eastern bank of the Shatt al-Haiy, in $31^{\circ} 55'$.

We also find marked on maps (e.g. in Chesney, plate ix, and in Stieler's *Handatlas*, loc. cit., in the latter in about $31^{\circ} 45'$ N. Lat.) on the already mentioned Shatt al-Haiy island a village of Wasit al-Haiy, which no doubt still exists. It is about 25 miles south of Kūt al-Haiy and at least 4 miles from the Shatt al-'Amā which probably at one time flowed directly past it. This is the Wasit of the map *Lower Mesopotamia*, several times already mentioned, which marks also in $31^{\circ} 45'$ on the east bank of the eastern Shatt al-Haiy arm a Kal'at Shaikh Djewald with the addition 'al-Wasit'.

It must be left for future thorough topographical study on the spot to establish what these villages or ruins near and on Shatt al-Haiy are. The existence of two places called Wasit, one in the vicinity of Kūt al-Haiy, one much further south (Wasit al-Haiy), seems to be proved; but it also seems safe to assert that all these places in the region of the Shatt al-Haiy have nothing to do with the mediaeval Wasit. The occurrence of the name Wasit in this region could, in my view, be explained most simply by saying they are settlements by emigrants from the old mother-city. When their existence became more and more threatened by changes in the course of the Tigris, many, if not the majority, of the inhabitants must have abandoned the city and settled on the banks of the Shatt al-Haiy which presumably gained in importance with the decline in the Tigris at Wasit in volume and importance. To distinguish it from the ancient Wasit, a colony of people of Wasit on the Shatt al-Haiy may have been called Wasit al-Haiy.

On the antiquity of the town of Kūt al-Haiy nothing is exactly known, but I do not consider it probable that it goes far back into the middle ages; while it may have existed then as an insignificant village, it only began to come to the front from the xvth century with the decline of Wasit. It may in a way be described as the successor of the ancient Wasit. Kūt al-Haiy is now developing rapidly; it is the largest place in the whole valley of the Shatt al-Haiy and at the last census had about 10,000 inhabitants (cf. 'Abd al-Razzāk al-Hasanī, *Muḥḥit* etc., 1930, p. 119).

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article see: B.G.A. (ed. de Goeje), *passim*; Yāqūt, *Muḥḥit* (ed. Wustenfeld), iv, 881—888; Balādihuri (ed. de Goeje), p. 289—292; Tabari (ed. de Goeje) and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), Indices, s. v.; M. Streck, *Babylonien nach den arabischen Geographen*, ii. (Leiden 1901),

p. 318—338 (where further references are given); G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge 1905), p. 39—40 and previously in *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 44—45; J. Périer, *Vie d'Abū-Hadīdjādī Ibn Yūsuf* (Paris 1904), p. 205—213 (and index, s. v.); E. Reitmeyer, *Die Städtegründungen der Araber im Islam* (Munich 1912), p. 44—48; J. Obermeyer, *Die Landschaft Babylonien im Zeitalter des Talmuds und des Gnomons* (Frankfurt a. M. 1929), p. 91—93, 199—201, 336—337; cf. also the articles AL-BATINA, EASKAR and MAISAN.

(M. STRECK)

WASIYA (A.), commission; as a technical term, last will, testament, legacy; *wasī*, the person empowered, particularly the executor of a will.

1. The *wasīya* of the pre-Islamic Arabs was less concerned with the distribution of the estate than with orders and instructions to the survivors; it is the spiritual testament of the dying man sanctified by religion which is to hand on obligations and secure the continuity of tradition. In this sense, according to the Shāfi'a, 'Alī is the *wasī* of the Prophet and every imām (the *wasī* of his predecessor, i.e. the continuer of his religious task and the steward of his doctrine. The literary form known as *wasīya* for transmitting instruction and advice, especially from devout men and scholars, goes back to this source.

2. In so far as the term *wasīya* was of significance in connection with the law of property in Muhammad's milieu, it must have consisted in the consideration of more remote heirs — something between legal will and an expression of wishes — alongside of the *ʿaṣaba* who are called upon first to inherit (cf. *MIRAT*). According to Sūra xxxvi. 50 (of the second Meccan period) to draw it up before death was the obvious duty of a Qurāsh merchant. Such a *wasīya* is expressly ordered the believers by sūra ii. 176 *sqq.* in favour of parents and "relatives" (sūra iv. 37, which, without using the term demands the same thing, adds also the so-called confederates); at the same time any alteration falsifying it is forbidden but any friendly interference in the interests of reasonableness is allowed; sūra ii. 241 going decidedly beyond the old Arab usage, makes provision for the widow by a *wasīya* a duty. These three passages date from about the same time, the year 2 A. H. Sūra v. 105 *sqq.*, apparently later, prescribes for the *wasīya*, which it presumes to be usual, two witnesses, the method of swearing them and the manner of challenging their evidence.

3. The later thorough regulation of the law of inheritance was doubtless intended to replace the earlier rules for the *wasīya* (cf. *MIRAT*); a tradition which expressly states this was very early interpreted to mean that a legacy in favour of an heir-at-law is inadmissible at all; the former verses were therefore considered abrogated by the latter. Along with this prohibition the restriction of the legacies to one third of the estate is prominent in the traditions. Neither of these rules is traced to Muhammad, it is true, but they obtained recognition so early and so generally that only the slightest traces of divergent views are to be found in tradition (e. g. al-Nāzimī, *Wasāyā*, Bāb 8, 14, 26; *Kanz al-Ummāl*, viii, N°. 5409). The question was more disputed, following sūra vi. 12—15, whether the legacies should be handed over before the payment of the debts or vice versa; the

second alternative predominated and quite early. Further traditions reveal two opposite views on the making of a *wasīya*: on the one hand it is urgently recommended and on the other one is advised against it; in any case, an unjust *wasīya* is regarded as a grievous sin and a just one on the contrary as a good deed. To insert pious advice in the *wasīya* (cf. section 1) is regarded as commendable. — Stress is laid upon the statement that the Prophet died without making a *wasīya* — against the Shāfi'a view (cf. Lammens, *Fatima*, p. 110 *sqq.*).

4. According to the teaching of the Fikh, every Muslim may make arrangements by will that: a. one or more individuals shall settle the business of the estate as *wasī*; this *wasī* represents the estate, actively and passively, may not however burden it with an *ʿiṣār* and enjoys the privileged position of the *amin*; that b. he or another *wasī* as *wasī al-māl* is to administer the property of his infant children (or grandchildren); for this office the mother usually comes first, although according to the Shāfi'a, she has no legal claim to it; the *wasī* as administrator of the estate is empowered to transact all business of his ward but may only pledge or dispose of his land or houses in a case of obvious advantage or absolute necessity, and when the latter reaches his majority he must render an account; in both cases a. and b. the persons named are urgently recommended to accept the appointment as *wasī* (the so-called *ḥāṭ*) and if possible to do the work of the office without payment; in case of necessity the *ḥāṭim*, the public authority, represented by the *ḥāṭ*, sees to the appointment of a *wasī*, who in this case is usually called *ḥāṭim*; the *ḥāṭ* is also empowered to supervise the *wasī* and if necessary to dismiss him; that c. legacies which in all must not amount to more than a third of the estate after payment of debts (cf. *MIRAT*, 64) are to be paid; if it turns out that they amount to more than a third of the estate they are cut down *pro rata* unless the heirs *ab intestato*, to whom the remaining two thirds go, confirm the provision of the deceased after his death. Under the same limitation come all gratuitous business transactions which he has undertaken in a condition of severe illness (*maraf al-mawt*) or, according to the Shāfi'a and Malikis, also under any other serious threat to his life, if his death results from it; a legacy in favour of a person who is also an heir of the testator to be valid needs the approval of the other heirs; it is further demanded that the person who draws up the will should be capable of doing business (with the exception of the spendthrift under age) and act under no pressure; that the legatee at the time of making the will is in a position to accept the bequest (except an unborn child, which is born within the next six months) and survives the testator and further that a transfer of property in the subject of the legacy is possible (but it need not yet be in existence at the death of the testator, for example the produce of a piece of land); the *wasīya* can be used not only for individuals and groups of individuals but also for public purposes or even assume the form of a foundation (*waḥf*) but in this case its purpose must be one allowed by law; a definite form is not prescribed for drawing up a will but the Muhammadan law of evidence requires two witnesses even in the case of a written *wasīya*; lastly for validity acceptance

by the legatee after the death of the testator is necessary; the testator on the other hand retains while alive the power to alter the wasiya.

3. The limitation of gratuitous disposal of property in case of mortal illness to a third of the estate is the answer of the fifth to attempts to obtain real liberty of bequest by evasions; other plans however, which are still in use at the present day, could not so easily be prohibited. Among these is the irrevocable acknowledgment (*ikrār*) which may refer to all kinds of obligations, admits no counterproof and in case of a mortal illness as well as, at least according to the Shāfi'is, in favour of an heir, may be completely rejected; only in case of obvious impossibility is it invalid. The next two evasions are only effective before being overtaken by mortal illness. They are the so-called *hiba bi 'l-iwaf*, i.e. a gift, in return for which another, even if insignificant, gift is stipulated or given, which cannot be regarded in law as the purchase price (this gift is complete and irrevocable even if the giver does not own it up to his death), and the endowment (*waqf*) the yield of which the founder can allot quite freely to any one legally qualified and (but this is only according to the Hanafis) earmark during his own lifetime for his own support or the payment of his debts. A simple gift (*hiba*) from one man to another may also be used to circumvent the restriction to a third and sometimes the wasiya is actually put in the form of a *hiba*, for which as far as possible the approval of the nearest blood relation is obtained (both usual in the Dutch East Indies). Further possibilities of evasion by fictitious transactions are given in the *fiqh*-literature. In many Muslim countries however, in contrast to these endeavours there is a decided objection to the wasiya, e.g. in Somaliland.

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(JOSEPH SCHACHT)

WASSĀF, a Persian historian, properly Wassāf al-Hadrat "panegyrist of the court", the name by which Sharaf al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh b. Faḍl Allāh of Shirāz is known. Employed as a tax-collector under the Mongols, he became the protégé of the minister and historian Rashīd al-Dīn, who presented him to Qūljānu (712 = 1312), when the Ilkhān was in Sultāniya. His history *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf* is the continuation of the *Tārīkh-i Djalāl-gushā* of 'Atā Malik Djuwainī; it is called *Tadḡīyat al-Amār wa-Tadḡīyat al-A'zār* "division of the towns and propulation of the centuries" and covers the period 1257—1328.

Although it contains an authentic account of contemporary events, its value is diminished by the lack of method and the artificial and bombastic style, imitated by his successors. J. von Hammer edited the first volume with a German translation (Vienna 1856). The whole text has been lithographed in Bombay in 1269 (1853).

Bibliography: *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, Bombay 1269, p. 544 sqq.; Rieu, *Cat. Pers. MSS. Brit. Mus.*, p. 162; Ridā Khān, *Mudḡma' al-Faḡhā*², i. 655; Hammer, *Geschichte d. schen. Reichthums Persiens*, Vienna 1818, p. 243; Edw. G. Browne, *Hist. of Persian Literature under Tatar Dominion*, Cambridge 1920, p. 67.

(CL. HUART)

WATAD or **WATID**, "a peg", means in prosody 1. a group of two vocalised consonants followed by a quiescent consonant (*watad maḡmū'*); 2. a group of two vocalised consonants, separated by a quiescent consonant (*watad maḡrūf*). Each foot ought of necessity to have a *watad* followed or preceded by one or two *sabaḥ* [q. v.].

Bibliography: See the article 'ARUD.

(MOH. BEN CIENEN)

AL-WATHIK BI 'LLAH ABU 'ĪSĀK HARUN b. AL-MU'TAṢIM, 'Abbāsīd Caliph. He was given the name HARUN after his grandfather HARUN al-Rashīd; his mother was a Greek slave. On the day that his father al-Mu'taṣim bi 'LLAH [q. v.] died (18th Rabi' 1 227 = Jan. 5, 842), al-Wathik was proclaimed as his successor. Before al-Mu'taṣim's death an alleged descendant of the Umayyāds, named ABU HARB, usually called al-Mubarak² "the veiled" from the veil which he always wore, had provoked a dangerous rising in Palestine, and Radjā b. Aiyūb al-Hadāri whom al-Mu'taṣim sent against him could at first make no progress. Soon after the accession of al-Wathik, Damascus also became the scene of a great rising; the rebels shot the governor up in the citadel and encamped on the plain of Mardī Rāhl not far east of the town, but they were very soon routed by Radjā who had been recalled to meet the danger from Palestine. He next turned his attention to al-Mubarak². After a section of the latter's followers had left him because the season for sowing the fields was approaching Radjā succeeded in defeating and capturing him. The Beduins around al-Medina also gave the Caliph trouble. When the Banū Sulaim plundered the market places of the Hīdžāz the governor of al-Medina sent a large army under Hammād b. Djarir al-Taharī against them; but he was defeated and slain so that al-Wathik had to turn to the tried general Bogha al-Kabir [q. v.]. In Sha'bān 230 (April—May 845) Bogha entered al-Medina and after defeating the Banū Sulaim and taking the prisoners to al-Medina he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, and then turned his attention to the Banū Hīlāl, who had also taken part in the rising. The most guilty were imprisoned in al-Medina and the others pardoned. Bogha then turned against the Banū Murra and the Banū Fakhra, who had seized the town of Fadak, but as soon as he appeared they abandoned the town and took to flight (231 = 845—846). In the meanwhile the prisoners escaped from al-Medina and killed their warders but were cut down by the citizens of the town with the help of the many negro slaves in al-Medina. In the following year, Bogha had also to fight against the Banū Numair in al-Yamāma and only subdued them after much

difficulty. There were also troubles among the Kharijites and the Kurds. Al-Wathik died on the 23rd Dhu 'l-Hijja 232 (Aug. 10, 847) at the age of 32, or according to others 34 or 36. He had not the gifts of a great ruler and his brief reign was not distinguished by remarkable events. The Caliph's character also was not such as to make him beloved. It is true that he was liberal to the poor in Mecca and al-Medina and he also treated the 'Alids with great benevolence and took a considerable interest in poetry and singing; for the rest he is described as covetous, intolerant and devoted to sensual pleasures. He extorted huge sums of money from the high officials and as an ardent Mu'tazili he persecuted the orthodox theologians. In the circumstances, it is not remarkable that the generally respected Ahmad b. Nadr b. Malik al-Khuzi prepared a plot to dethrone the Caliph and put a check to the arrogance of his Turkish officers. By an accident the signal was given too soon (Sha'ban 231 = April 846); the authorities were therefore able to discover the conspirators without difficulty and Ahmad b. Nadr was executed.

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(K. V. ZETTERSTERN)

WATTASIDS (BANU WATTAS), a Moroccan dynasty of the xvth and xvth centuries. The Banu Wattas were a collateral line of the great family of the Banu Marin, to which also belonged the Banu 'Abd al-Hakk, founders of the dynasty generally known as the Marinid dynasty [q.v.]. After leading a nomadic life on the edge of the Sahara and the high plateaus of the Central Maghrib the Banu Wattas settled in the xiiith century in eastern Morocco and soon established themselves in the Rif, of which they became practically independent rulers, when their relatives the Banu Marin had replaced the last Almoravid rulers in northern Morocco. Henceforth their history is at first linked with that of the Marinids and afterwards closely connected with the Christian attempts to conquer territory in Morocco and with the events which led to the accession of the Sa'dian princes to power in the middle of the xvth century.

During the whole of the Marinid dynasty, the Banu Wattas, on account of the bonds of relationship which connected them with the ruling family, had been overwhelmed by the latter with honours, dignities and offices which they held either at the court of Fes or in the principal towns of the country. In 823 (1420) Sultan Abu Sa'id 'Uthman was assassinated and Morocco was left in complete anarchy and exhausted by civil war. Spain had now been almost entirely reconquered by the Christians; the Portuguese had seized Ceuta; several pretenders supported by Tlemcen or Granada, were endeavouring to restore for their own advantage the unity of the kingdom of Fes. It was then that one of the outstanding members of the family of the Banu Wattas, Abu Zakariya 'Yahya b.

Zayda, who was governor of the town of Sale, took control of the destinies of the country. He proclaimed and succeeded in getting recognised a son, still a minor, of Sultan Abu Sa'id, Abu Muhammad 'Abd al-Hakk, and ruled the country in his name as vizier. This regency was continued far beyond the minority of 'Abd al-Hakk. When Abu Zakariya (called in his land Abu Zekri) died in 1448, he was at first replaced as mayor of the palace by his cousin 'Ali b. Yusef, then by his son Yahya.

Events at first favoured the Banu Wattas. The repeated landings of the Portuguese on the Moroccan coasts soon produced throughout the country a revival of religious sentiment which found expression in summons to a *ghihad* and in arousing the fanaticism of the masses by marabouts and descendants of the Prophet. The Wattasid regents at first turned to their own advantage this feeling among the people by taking the lead in the holy war and organising the struggle against the Portuguese. While Abu Zakariya succeeded in inflicting a severe defeat on the latter in 1437 and taking the Infanta Ferdinand prisoner, 'Ali b. Yusef was less successful and could not prevent the fall of al-Kasr al-Saghir. In Fes, the Idrisid shoria [q.v.] were working for themselves, reviving the cult of Idris II [q.v.], the founder of the town, and their chief 'Ali b. Muhammad al-Jilli saw his power growing daily. At the same time the regency of the Banu Wattas had come to an end; two months after he had assumed power in 1458, Yahya, the third Wattasid vizier, was assassinated along with most of his family. The Marinid Sultan 'Abd al-Hakk then tried to govern directly but he very soon alienated the people of the capital by his mistakes, such as appointing the Jew Harun as vizier. In 869 (1465), he was assassinated and with him the Marinid dynasty ended.

But two brothers of the vizier Yahya had been able to escape the massacre of their family in 1458. One of them, Muhammad al-Shaikh, had taken refuge in Arila (Aylla) and had been able to create an increasingly important party in the highlands of northern Morocco. On the death of 'Abd al-Hakk, he made up his mind to take Fes, now under Idrisids government, and after a six years' struggle, he entered the ancient capital of the Marinids and was proclaimed sultan there in 1472. He reigned until 1504 but had to face many difficulties. The capture of Granada by the Catholic kings in 1492, the foundation of Mazagan [q.v.] and of Safi [q.v.] by the Portuguese had only exasperated still further the religious movement in Morocco and encouraged on all sides the rising of pretenders who used the *ghihad* for their own private ambitions.

On his death, Muhammad al-Shaikh was succeeded by his son Muhammad, called al-Burtuqali (the Portuguese), who managed to hold the throne of Fes till 1524. But events were moving rapidly; the Sa'dian shoria, after consolidating their authority in the extreme south of Morocco, advanced rapidly northwards and in 1523 seized Marrakush. The struggle between Wattasids and Sa'dians was only to end in the final triumph of the latter. The successors of Muhammad al-Burtuqali, his son Abu 'l-Abbas Ahmad (1526 and 1547-1549) and his grandson Muhammad al-Kasri (1545-1547), vainly endeavoured to check the vigorous progress of the Sa'dian

prince Muhammad al-Shaikh al-Mahdi. When the latter in 1550 had finally occupied Fās, the issue was decided. A second Wattasid pretender, 'Alī Abū Ḥassan (Ḥa Ḥassan), brother of Muhammad al-Burtūqālī, made another effort to save and restore his dynasty: he went to seek help in the rest of Barbary and in Europe, visited Charles V in Germany, seemed to have interested the Portuguese for a time in his fortunes, and finally persuaded the Turks, who had just arrived in north Africa and extended their rule to Tlemcen, to make an expedition against Fās. This city fell to them in 1554 but Muhammad al-Mahdi regained it a few months later. The last Wattasids now left Morocco without hope of return. Some, it is interesting to note, were converted to Christianity and became monks.

The period of the Wattasids in Morocco was one of transition between the Berber and the Sharifian dynasties, between the mediaeval and the modern periods in the history of the country. In spite of the political turmoil, the country had occasional brief periods of prosperity. Fās continued to flourish under the Banū Wattas, as it had done in the greatest days of the Marinids, and it was at this time that it was visited by Leo Africanus, who has left us a valuable and accurate description of it.

A genealogical table of the Banū Wattas with full notes is given in H. de Castries, *Les Sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc*, first series, Spain, vol. I, Paris 1921, pl. iv. (p. 162 and 163).

Bibliography: The main facts regarding the dynasty of the Wattasids are scattered through the treatises on Moroccan hagiography and biography of the xviii and xviii centuries. The only consecutive sketch of their history is that given at the end of the sixth century by the historian Ahmad b. Khālid al-Nāsiri al-Salāwī (cf. *AL-SALAWI*), in his *Kitāb al-Isṭiṣṣā*, I, 159 sqq. — The European sources are Marmol and Diégo de Torres. Cf. also the official documents published or in course of publication in H. de Castries, *Les Sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc*. A monograph was written on the Wattasids by A. Cour, *La dynastie marocaine des Beni Wattas*, Constantine 1920 (cf. on this book and its subject *Revue Africaine*, 1921, p. 185—189; *Hesperis*, I, 1921, p. 492—497).

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

WATWĀT, RAḤĪD AL-DĪN, a Persian poet, a native of Balkh, whose proper name was Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Djallī al-'Umarī (descendant of the Caliph 'Umar); he was called Watwāt (the swallow or martin) from his diminutive stature and insignificant appearance. He flourished under the Saldjūq sultan Saodjar and the Khwārizmshāh Atsız (d. 551 = 1156—1157) and was secretary and court poet to Atsız. While Saodjar was besieging the latter in the fortress of Ḥazārāp in Khwārizm (khānate of Khlwa) in 542 (1147) he commissioned the poet Anwārī to write insulting verses which were shot into the town on an arrow, and Watwāt had to reply to them. Taken prisoner, he was condemned to be cut into seven pieces but was saved by the intervention of Muntakhab al-Dīn Badī' al-Kātib, ancestor of the author of the *Djāhāngushā*, who remarked that the swallow (*watwāt*) is too small a bird to be cut into seven pieces and that they should be content to cut him in two, which caused Saodjar to laugh and

pardon the poet. In 547 (1152—1153) he incurred the wrath of Atsız and was banished from the court of Khwārizm but was restored to favour on addressing a poem to him. He died in this town in 578 (1182—1183) aged 97 lunar years, it is said. In addition to poems, he left works in prose: the *Maṭlūb Kull Ṭalīb*, a translation and paraphrase in Persian of the 100 sayings of 'Alī, which has been edited and translated into German by H. L. Fleischer (Leipzig 1837), and the *Ḥadīṭ al-Sifr* "gardens of magic", a treatise on rhetoric based on the *Targhmānī* *Ḥalūghāt*, "the interpreter of eloquence" of Farrukhī, used by E. G. Browne in the introduction to vol. II of his *Literary History of Persia* (London 1906). His *Divān* contains 7,000 verses.

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WĀW, 27th or 28th (when it precedes *hā'*; this is the sequence in some dictionaries), letter of the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical value of 6. For its palaeographical pedigree, see *ABĀRIA*, plate I. — It belongs to the group of the labials (*al-ḥurūf al-lisāwiyya*) as well as to that of the soft letters (*ḥurūf al-layn*). It is pronounced like English *w*. In the north-Semitic languages and sometimes in Ethiopic, its place at the beginning of words is taken by *y*. In a few cases it corresponds with *m* (cf. *urdjwān* "purple" with Aramaic מרן and Hebrew מרן).

Bibliography: W. Wright, *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, p. 69—73; C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergl. Grammatik d. sem. Sprachen*, p. 138 sqq.; do., *Précis de linguistique*, transl. by W. Marçais and M. Cohen, Paris 1918, p. 75; A. Schnade, *Sibomaihi's Lautlehre*, Register.

WĀZIR, vizier, title of ministers of state and of the highest dignitaries, especially in the Ottoman empire. The word and the idea come from Irān. In the *Avista* *viziro* means "decider, judge", in Pehlvi *z(i)zr* "judge, decision". The Arabs undoubtedly took over the term in the Sāsānian period and it was only in later times that modern Persian took back *wāzīr* from the Arabic as if it were really Arabic. Under the Umayyads the usual name of the secretary of state was *kātib*; it was later replaced by *wāzīr* (cf. Et. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans Mamlouks de l'Égypte*, II, 2, Paris 1845, p. 317 sqq.; W. Björckman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1928, p. 6; on the origin of the name cf. also Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sāmāniden*, Leyden 1879, p. 53, note 1 and p. 444, note 3; where for the abstract significance we may compare *sulṭān*). The first *wāzīr* was Abū Salāma Ḥafṣ b. Salāma al-Khalīlī, appointed by al-Saffāh who was in office from Rabi' I 132 (Nov. 749) but was killed on 5th Rajab (Febr. 27, 750) (cf. E. v. Zambaur, *Mansur*, p. 6 and Ibn Khallikān, *Kitāb Wafāyāt al-A'yān*,

transl. by W. MacGuckin de Slane, i. 467). Under the caliphs the vizier managed the chancellery (*diwān al-raṣīd*), later, as business increased, jointly with the head of the *diwān*. It meant a considerable increase in the power of the vizier when the caliph al-Raḥīm gave Dīfār b. Yahyā al-Barmakī (d. 187 = 103) the right to decide petitions (*taḥqīq al-ḥaṣīṣ*; cf. W. Björkman, *op. cit.*, p. 6 sq.). A full list of the viziers under the caliphs is given by E. v. Zambaur in his *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*, Hannover 1927, p. 6-9. The last was 'Alī al-Dīn Djuwainī in 661 (1263). The successors of the viziers were the governors of Baghdad. The signet-ring was the visible badge of the vizier's office (cf. Ibn Badr, ed. R. Dozy, p. 244). A history of the vizierate under the caliphs with its varying importance and scope has not yet been written. A list of the more important sources is given in the *Bibl.* A history of the vizierate in Persia and under the Saldjūks, cannot be given here, although the importance of the vizierate was greater than elsewhere, as may be seen from the distinguishing names among the Persian and Saldjūk viziers.

Under the Ottomans the first vizier is said to have been 'Alī al-Dīn, brother of the second sultān Uṣṣūn. The historians give 726 (1326) or 728 (1328) as the date of the inauguration of this office, with what justice we do not know. Among the Saldjūks the office was called *perwāne*, lit. "command, advice", which is also used in old Ottoman. The power of the earliest Ottoman wazīrs was considerably restricted. In 788 (1386) Timurtaş Paṣha appears as the holder of the highest office in the kingdom. He bore three horse-tails as a distinguishing badge. He is regarded as the first grand vizier of the Ottomans (*ulu wazīr*) and henceforth every Paṣha of three tails bore the title vizier (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.W.*, i. 199). The number of the viziers was constantly changing. In the reign of Meḥmed II the number was not allowed to exceed seven but could be less. Down to the conquest of Constantinople there was only one vizier. The viziers with the grand vizier (*ulu wazīr* in xvth century documents and later in popular usage, *adr-i aṣam* in official language) were called *ḥukūmecciler* "viziers of the dome" because they sat with the grand vizier, whose name they shared but not his power, under the same dome in the Diwān (so J. v. Hammer, *Des Osmanischen Reichs Staatsverwaltung und Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 80 sq.). They were called in order of rank, second, third, fourth etc. vizier.

As a rule, vizier in later times was simply a title of the other high officials like the *niḥāḍgī*, the *defterdār*, the Kapudan Paṣha, sometimes even of the Agha of the Janissaries. The grand vizier was usually chosen from their number. When they appeared together before the sultān, only the grand vizier could speak about official business. The other viziers stood silent beside him with hands crossed.

In war time the viziers of the dome commanded armies and were then called *ordar* or *ser'asker* and had extensive powers, such as filling empty offices and fiefs. They had even the right to issue *firmāns* from their camps in the name of the sovereign and to place the sultān's *tuḡra* [q. v.] upon them. Their income did not exceed 200 aspers. In the reign of Ahmad III the institution of viziers of the dome was abolished on account of the great

confusion which they caused and only the Kapudan Paṣha [q. v.] retained the title of vizier (cf. on the preceding J. v. Hammer, *Staatsverwaltung*, etc., ii. 81). Afterwards it was given to the four chief paṣhas of the empire, the governors of Rumelia, Anatolia, Baghdad and Egypt, but then gradually extended to all the governors of the Ottoman empire as soon as they were promoted from the rank of a paṣha of two tails to that of paṣha of three tails. On extraordinary occasions such as the marriage of a sultān's daughter, according to J. v. Hammer, *op. cit.*, p. 82, viziers used to be appointed in name only without any official power. With the abolition of the viziers of the dome the power of the grand vizier increased immensely and only began to lose its prestige with the introduction of reforms in the reign of Selim III. The external symbol of omnipotence among the Ottomans also was the sovereign's seal, which the grand vizier kept and handed on to his successor on his dismissal. On the honours which used to be enjoyed by the grand vizier as well as the insignia of his rank, cf. J. v. Hammer, *op. cit.*, ii. 83 sq.; on the different names, *ibid.*, p. 84. — The history of the grand viziers of the Ottoman empire has been sketched by a number of authors. Cf. the list and biographies of the grand viziers in F. Bahinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 165, 254 sq., 259, 267, 292, 306, 314, 315, 364, 365, 366, 368. Luṭfi Paṣha (d. 1564) who had himself been a grand vizier, wrote a special work (*Asfāṭine*) on the duties of the office of grand vizier; on it cf. F. Bahinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 80 sq. With the dissolution of the Ottoman empire after the Great War, the office of grand vizier naturally disappeared.

Bibliography: On the history of the word: Geiger-Kahn, *Gr. I. Ph.*, i. 2, 48, 91, 181; on Arab ideas, cf. the Kur'ān commentaries on Sūra xx. 30 and xxv. 37; Ibn al-Ṭiḡāṭā, *al-Faḥrī*, ed. H. Derenbourg, *passim*, esp. p. 25; Māwardī, *Kitaḥ al-Aḥkām al-mulṭaniya*, ed. M. Enger; J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, p. 81; Ibn Abdu, *Kitaḥ al-Wuzarā'*, ed. H. v. Mīk; Šāhī, *Kitaḥ al-Wuzarā'*, ed. Amedroz; Māwardī, *Kitaḥ Adab al-Wazīr*, Cairo 1929; Ibn al-Sairafī, *al-Iḥṣā' ilā man aṣāla 'l-Wuzarā'* (Fātimid period); 'Abd al-'Azīz, *Aḥkām al-Šar' al-amāniya* (= biographies of Shi'ī viziers under the Saldjūks, Šafawids etc.); Khallī al-Zahiri, *Zuhdat Kāshf al-Manālik*, ed. Ravaisse, Paris 1884, p. 93; H. Bowen, *The good Vizier Ali Ḥan Iṣa*, Cambridge 1928; Makrīzī, *Khitāt*, ii. 58; S. de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, ii. 57, note 31 (important).

(FRANZ BAHINGER)

AL-WAZIR AL-MAGHRIBI. [See AL-MAGHRIBI.] **WEDJHI**, HUSAIN, an Ottoman poet and historian. Husain whose *mashāy* was Wedjhi, came from Baghche Seray in the Crimea at an early age to Stambul where he became seal-bearer (*mukhurdār*) to the later grand vizier, then Kapudan Paṣha, Kara Mustafa Paṣha. He died in 1071 (beg. Sept. 6, 1660) in Stambul and was buried before the Adrianople gate. Wedjhi left a history and a *Diwān* which has not yet been printed. The former begins in the year 1047 (beg. May 20, 1637) with the description of the conquest of Baghdad under Murād IV, then describes the reign of Ibrahim I fully, as well as the first twelve years of the reign of Muḥammad IV. It ends with the year 1070 (beg. Sept. 18, 1656). The concluding portion for the year 1070 is especially

THE
ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM

A DICTIONARY OF THE GEOGRAPHY,
ETHNOGRAPHY AND BIOGRAPHY OF THE
MUHAMMADAN PEOPLES

PREPARED BY A NUMBER OF LEADING ORIENTALISTS

EDITED BY

M. TH. HOUTSMA, A. J. WENSINCK

H. A. R. GIBB, W. HEFFENING and E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL

FASCICULUS S

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Wissenschaften in Ostasien

Ak. K. M. = Abhandlungen f. d. Kunde v. Mongoleien
Ak. Pr. Ak. W. = Abhandlungen d. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.
An. Fr. H. = Bulletin du Comité de l'Asiatique Française
An. Fr. HC = Bulletin du Com. de l'As. Franç., Paris, sous le patronage du Cabinet
AM = Annuaire arabico-oriental
AOC = Allgemeine Monatshefte
Ann. Wiss. = Anzeiger des philom.-hist., kl. u. Ak. der Wiss. Wien
Anth. = Anthropos
AO = Asia Orientalis
AQZ = Asiatic Quarterly Review
ARV = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft
As. Et. II = Bulletin du Comité de l'Asie Française
BHH = Bibliotheca Asiatica-Hagana
BLA = Bibliotheca geographica arabiorum et de Syriae
BIE = Bulletin de l'Institut Egyptien
BIFAO = Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale au Caire
BOAS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution
BTU = Buletin van de Ind. Land en Volkenkunde van Ned.-Indië
CE = Chronique Coloniale
CIA = Corpus inscriptionum arabicarum
EE = L'Egypte Contemporaine
GAL = Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur
GLS = Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen
GJ = Geographical Journal
GMS = Glas Memorial Society
GDIC = Geschichte des islamischen Reiches
HAW = Halbester. Die Geschichtschreiber des Orients und ihre Werke
Ist. Ph. = Institut der arabischen Philologie
IASI = Institute of the Soc. Asiatique Indienne
IJL = Islam, History of islamic poetry
IG = Islamic Guild
ISM = International Survey of Muslim
IS = Isis Islam
JA = Journal Asiatique
JAFS = Journal of the African Society
JAm. OS = Journal of the American Oriental Society
JAsiatic = Journal of the Asiatic Society
JASO = Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Soc. of Bengal
JE = Jewish Encyclopedia
JHS = Journal of the Punjab Historical Society
JSQ = Jewish Quarterly Review
KAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
RGS = Journal of the Royal Geographical Society
JFDS = Journal de la Société Française d'Études Égyptiennes
KKA = Kleine Kama Archaion
KB = Koloniale Rundschau
KS = Kasbi Saade (Koyun orientale)
Mach. = Almanach
MGV = Mitteilungen und Nachr. des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
MP = Mémoires de la Faculté Orientale de Beyrouth
MG = Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien
MMN = Mit. v. Geschichte des Meeres und Naturwissenschaften
MW = Monatsschrift f. A. Geschichte u. Wissenschaft des Judentums
MI = Mir Islam
MEgypt. = Mémoires de l'Institut Egyptien
MFAO = Mémoires publiées par les membres de l'Inst. Franç. d'Archéologie Orientale au Caire
Mit. DGO = Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orien-Gesellschaft
Mit. VAG = Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft
MMAF = Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire
MO = Le monde musulman

[illegible]

valuable because there is a gap here between the works of the imperial historians Naṭmā and Kashūl. There are manuscripts of the still unedited chronicle of Wedjhi in Leyden, Vienna and Stambul, and an Italian translation in the Library of St. Mark in Venice entitled: *Relazione dell' successi nell' imperio ottomano, principando dall' anno di Mahometto 1077 sino al 1072, e di Christo Nasser Signore 1058 sino al 1660, composta in lingua turca da Hassan (?) Vendi e tradotta nell' idioma italiano da Giacomo Tarbia, Dragomanno veneto, in Pera di Costantinopoli, li 20 ottobre 1673*. Extracts from this Italian translation were published by N. Jorga, in *Annales de l'Académie Roumaine*, xli, 55-149.

Hassan Wedjhi is sometimes wrongly called Hassan Wedjhi.

Bibliography: F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 208 and the references there given.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

WEGA (VEGA) (AL-NARR AL-WĀḠI). The Arabic name *al-Narr al-wāḡi* "the falling eagle" — in Latin always reproduced as *Vultur cadens*, in Greek *πτερόπτερος*, although *narr* is undoubtedly the eagle not the vulture — is the name first of the brightest star (first magnitude) α in the constellation of the Lyre and secondly of the whole constellation of the Lyre itself. The name Vega, a corruption of *wāḡi*, is found in this form as early as the Alfonsine Tables e.g. "Lucida super pupillam deferentem et est Alchore et dicitur Wega". The expression *pupilla deferens* which here occurs for the first time in the Latin translations from the Arabic is to be explained, as Ideler (*Sternnamen*, p. 71) has shown, by a confusion of the word *narr* with the similarly sounding *nāḡir* "eye, pupil"; *deferens* is, especially in mediaeval Latin, frequently used synonymously with *indere*. The *Alchore* of the Alfonsine Tables is the Arabic *al-Lāḡa* which again is identical with the classical Greek *λόγα*, which was applied to Vega and also to the whole constellation.

The Arabic name *al-Sulayf* or *al-Sulayf* [q.v.] also applied to both star and constellation, to which al-Kazwini gives first place, is presumably (cf. Hyde, *Com. in Ul. B.* 1665, p. 18 and Ideler, *op. cit.*) an Arabic corruption of the Greek *χελών* (or *χελών*) "tortoise", which we find for example in Aratus as a synonym of *λόγα*. (The equation of *λόγα* and *χελών* is based on the legend of Mercury according to which the god made the first lyre from the shell of a tortoise; cf. *Hymnus Hom. in Mercurium*). *Sulayfāt* (in al-Sūfi, Ulugh Beg etc.) is the Arabic name of the tortoise (from Pers. *sūlāḡ* > *sūlāḡ* = *pāy*, *pā*); it is therefore equivalent to *al-Sulayf*.

For the whole constellation, more rarely for Vega alone, we find in Arabic literature also the names *al-ḡannā* ("cane, goose"), *al-Aḡḡaḡa* ("cymbal") and *al-Samḡ* ("stringed instrument"); the latter word represents the arabicised form of the Persian name of the constellation *Camē-i rāmī* ("Greek harp") and appears in the Latin translation of 'Alī b. Rīḡwān as *Atzange* and also from a wrong reading (cf. Ideler, *op. cit.*) as *Atzige*.

In the Arab conception of the constellations *al-Narr al-wāḡi* is a companion piece to the "flying eagle" (*al-narr al-fāḡi*) as an eagle falling down from north to south with wings folded, the two wings being represented by the stars α_1 and

and ϵ Lyrae which together, according to al-Sūfi, are popularly called *al-Aḡḡaḡa* "the tripod".

Pictorial representations of a later date frequently show the figure of the falling eagle, sometimes that of an eagle hovering in the lyre. (Gundel points out [Pauly-Wissowa, Stuttgart 1927, vol. xiii, article *Lyra*] that possibly Abū Maḡhar had already thought of this combination when he [Arabic text, published by Gyroff in Boll, *Sphaera*, p. 527] mentions the lyre as paratellurion to the third decan of Sagittarius and gives the explanatory note: "i.e. the Tortoise, and it is also called the falling eagle".) This assumption however, is not certain for in the text the two pictures are mentioned successively and not as a combination.

The oldest Arab representation of the heavens of the Muslim period, the fresco in the dome of Kūfā's 'Amra (cf. Saxl-Beer, *The Zodiac of Qūfayr 'Amra*, Oxford 1932, and art. *MINḠAḠA*), shows the constellation as a Lyre; the fine manuscript of *King Alfonso X's Book of Stars* and the Arabic globe of the heavens of the 15th century in Florence shows it as a tortoise, as do several other Latin MSS. of astrological works (cf. Boll, *Sphaera*, p. 432).

Vega was quite well known to the ancients; among the Babylonians the star (*šūlū šūlū*) is identified as "mistress of life" with the goddess Gula (cf. Jeremias, *Geisteskultur*, p. 225); in Chinese it is often mentioned as *chū-wū* (the "woman weaving"). It is one of the brightest stars in the northern heavens and therefore forms an extremely favourable object of observation for the astronomer. Among the Arabs it plays an important part as an astrological star (cf. al-Sūfi: *al-Kawātib wa 'l-Samāwāt*); in astrology however, it is of minor importance in view of its great distance from the ecliptic and is only rarely taken into account in horoscopes.

Bibliography: Abū al-Rahmān al-Sūfi, *Description des étoiles fixes*, ed. H. C. F. C. Schjellerup, St. Petersburg 1874; al-Kāzwinī, *Aḡḡaḡa al-Bilād wa 'l-Aḡḡaḡa al-Jūd* ("Cosmographie"), ed. Wustenfeld, Göttingen 1849; do., transl. by H. Ehbé, Leipzig 1863; L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, Berlin 1809; Fr. Boll, *Sphaera*, Leipzig 1903. — On the etymology of *Sulayfāt*: A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch*, Göttingen 1919. (WILLY HARTNER)

WILĀYA (أ. ى), a *magīr* from *walāya* "to have power over something", according to others a substantive like *imāra*; a general term for any "conferring of power", authorisation. *Qardānī*, *Ta'rifāt*, p. 275, defines it as the "carrying through of a decision affecting a third person whether the latter wishes or not".

1 In constitutional law it means the sovereign power (= *mīḡān*; Ibn al-Sikkī [d. 243=857], in *Lisān*, a.v.) or the power delegated by the sovereign, the office of a governor, a *wāḡi*. The *wilāya* is derived from *Sūra* iv. 62: "O ye who believe, obey God and obey the Prophet and those in authority amongst you". It is regarded as granted by God and is a *farḡ* 'ala 'l-*ḡalīya*. A distinction is made between a general and a special *wilāya*. The *imān* [q. v.] or *ḡalīfa* [q. v.] possesses the general power. According to Mawardi, the *vizier* and governors of provinces have the general *wilāya*, the latter for their provinces. On the other hand,

military commanders, judges, imāms (i.e. the leaders of the *ṣūfī*), the leaders of the *ḥanbalī*, financial officials etc. have a special *wilāya*. The possessor of a *wilāya* must be male of full age (*baligh*), he is full possessor of their mental faculties, have no physical defects, must be 'adult' and be fitted by education and knowledge for the office in question; there are also still further conditions for particular offices (e.g. the *ḥafẓ* must be a free man).

Wilāya then comes to mean the appointment and certificate of appointment of an official. The different kinds are dealt with very fully by Kalkashandī, *Subḥ al-Ashā*, Maṣṣala 5. (cf. the statement of contents in Hückemier, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskunde*, Hainburg 1928, p. 144 sq.). In this connection we may note the designating of his successor by the reigning caliph, called *wilāyat al-ahd*, which was first done by the caliph Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik and became the rule in the Abbāsid period; every heir apparent is still therefore called *walī al-ahd*.

Wilāya has in time come to be applied to the area of a *walī's* authority: thus in the Mamlūk period in Egypt and Syria it meant the smallest administrative area, at the head of which was a *walī* of the rank of an *amīr al-jalāliyya* (Kalkashandī, *Subḥ*, iv, p. 199 sq.). In Persia it means the larger administrative areas into which provinces are divided; in Turkey, however, since the xviii century, the name has been given to the largest administrative units (also called *vilāyet*) under Beglerbegs, later *mīllets* (Turkish pronunciation *vilāyet*).

If, in personal law every freeman possesses *wilāya* (usually pronounced *walāya*; cf. Lisan, s.v.), the power of disposing of himself (cf. e.g. Sarakhsī, *Mabṣūṭ*, xxiv, 157, 158 sq.). In certain cases this power can and must be transferred to another. But even then the Islamic jurists speak simply of a *wilāya*. We have this *wilāya* in the case of the administrator of *wakf* properties, the executor of a will, a father with respect to his infant children and particularly in the case of *walāyat al-nikāḥ* [see *NIKĀḤ*] and *walāyat al-māl*, guardianship. We shall deal only with the latter here.

a. Muḥammad, himself an orphan, was always interested in the protection of orphans, e.g. in the later Meccan period in *Sūra* xvii, 36 = vi, 153: "Touch not the property of the orphan, except for his good, until he is grown up". In the Medina period we are told that one should deal fairly with orphans (iv, 126), be good to them (iv, 40; ii, 77, 211) and treat them as brothers (ii, 218-219) and support them for the love of God (ii, 172). Muḥammad set aside the fifth of the booty for orphans among other objects (viii, 42; cf. lix, 7). The principal passage however is *Sūra*, iv, 2 sq.: "And give to the orphans their property; substitute not worthless things for that which is good, and devour not their property after adding it to your own; for this is a great crime.... (4) And entrust not to the incapable (i.e. in money matters; *rafāḥ*) your substance which God has placed with you for a support; but maintain them therewith, and clothe them, and speak to them with kindly speech; (5) and make trial of orphans until they reach the age of marriage; and if ye perceive in them a sound judgment (*rafāḥ*) then hand over their substance to them; but consume ye it not wastefully or hastily (6) (out of fear that) they are growing up. And let the rich guardian abstain [from it] and let

him who is poor use it for his support (eat of it) with discretion. (7) And when ye make over their substance to them, then take witnesses against them.... (11) Behold, they who swallow the substance of the orphans wrongfully, shall swallow down only fire into their bellies, and shall burn in the flame".

The pertinent traditions only contain certain developments of the Qur'anic idea (cf. Wensink, *Handbook*, s.v. *Walt and Orphans*).

1. The main doctrines of the Fiqh.

1. The ward (*waḥḍ*, i.e. the "poor") is either an orphan male or a mentally deficient person (*maḥḥūn*) or a spendthrift (*saff* or *saḥḥ*). The *saff* was only added about the end of the first or beginning of the second century A.H. The Qur'an (cf. above) speaks, it is true, of the *saff* but not yet in the later technical sense; the oldest expositors of the Qur'an (Maḥḥūn [d. 100 = 718], al-Hakam [d. 115 = 733], Kāṭib [d. 117 = 736], al-Suddī [d. 127 = 744]) only understand thereby women and children or one of these two. Tabarī still criticises this interpretation at considerable length and defines the *saff* as "one who on account of the dissipation of his fortune, his immorality, his injury to and mismanagement of his fortune requires control (*ḥaḥ*)" (*Taḥḥ*, iv, 153). Abū Hanifa still refused to put the *saff* under a guardian.

2. The guardian to be appointed should by law be the paternal father or grandfather, who is also entitled to appoint a guardian by will, the so-called *walī* (who may also be the mother). In other cases the guardian (*ḥaḥ*) is appointed by the *ḥaḥ*. The guardian must be a Muslim, who has attained years of discretion and is in full possession of his mental faculties, of good repute (*ḥaḥ*) and able to undertake the office. Guardianship is a religious duty and can only be declined for important reasons approved by the *ḥaḥ*.

3. The obligations imposed on a guardian. He has to administer the estate of his ward and act here as *walī*. Among his powers are that of arranging marriage or divorce and making of a will etc. He has to champion the interests of his ward; he may invest his ward's estate in business enterprises but not in his own business. He can only dispose of lands or houses with the approval of the *ḥaḥ*. He cannot have any business dealing between himself and his ward and cannot give anything away of his ward's property.

4. The guardianship is ended by the death of the guardian or of the ward, by deposition of the guardian for faithless conduct or when the ward attains years of discretion (*baligh*, as a rule at 14) or becomes *rafāḥ*, i.e. capable of administering his estate himself (and according to the Shāfi' view also possesses the ability to recognise the true faith). The guardian has then to give his ward an account of his stewardship.

Bibliography: On I: Mawardi, *al-Aḥkām al-sultāniyya*, ed. Enger, Bonn 1853; transl. by E. Fagnan, as *Les statuts gouvernementaux*, Algiers 1915; transl. Ostrog, 2 vols. (unfinished), Paris 1901, esp. introd., p. 74 sq. — On II: In addition to the *Kitāb al-ḥaḥ* in the Fiqh works: Th. W. Juynboll, *Handboek der Islam. Geschied.*, Leyden 1910, § 44; 3rd (Dutch) ed., Leyden 1925, § 52; D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, Roma 1926, i, 252 sqq. (HERRING)

WIRĪ (A., pl. **AWRĪD**). The technical term *wir* (etymologically "to go down to a watering-place"; not to be vocalised *ward*) means the definite time (*waqt*) of day or night which the pious believer devotes daily to God in private prayer (in addition to the five prescribed prayers). It also means the formula of prayer recited on this occasion, called properly *hik* (plur. *ahik*; cf. Makki, *Ḥat al-Kutub*, i. 81-84 and i. 4-22). The simplest *wir* consists of 4 rak'as, with the recitation of a seventh of the *Kur'ān*; but, very early, in private devotional prayer (*du'ā'*; *Sunnat* as well as *Shi'a*, cf. Kulani, *Kāfi*, at the end — and Kharrāji, cf. Djalili, *Kawāfir al-Khawāṣṣ*, iii. 397-416) there were added litanies, either isolated phrases (*humsals*, *tahtil*, *tabtil*, *taḥṣib*, *ṭaḥṣib*, *ṭaḥṣib*, *ṭaḥṣib*, *ṭaḥṣib*) or isolated words (Arabic names of God: *Allāh*, *ḥumma*, and invented or cabalistic names) because they were found to be "efficacious".

When in the 12th century, Islamic congregations were formed which took up the *Shi'a* idea of the initiatory *ba'ā*, they decided to teach the novice on the day of his admittance (*taḥṣin* = *ahik* al-*wir*) a special *wir* (cf. for the first appearance of this term L. Massignon, *Revue*, 1929, p. 107, 6) which became the distinctive *ghik* of each congregation.

In practice the *wir* is divided into two: *wir 'am* (*ghik* *ghakr*), an exoteric formula often of some length (several hundred *istighfār*, etc. several times a day; after the *faḍr* and *maghrib* among the 'Alawiya), and *wir khāṣṣ* (*ghik* *shir*), "secret" name of God (e.g. *yā Laṭīf*, among the Sanūsiya), which the *Shaykh* only communicates to the initiate as a great mystery (cf. Hasan Kādiri, *Irshād al-Rūḥāni*, p. 27-28; publ. at the end of the *Kawāṣṣ* of Ibn 'Alīwa of Mostaganem, Tunis, Nāḥḍa, 1339). The term *hik* or *ghik* is used by preference for the assemblies of the brethren for common recitation (old term *ṣunū*; now *ṣunūṣ*).

Since the 15th century special collections have been put together, in the style of the *muhaddithūn*, containing the *wir* of the principal *Sunnat* *parṭhā*'s with the *ṣunū* of the transmission of the initiation. The oldest, the *Risāla* of the *ḥāṣṣ* *ḥabṣ* Ahmad b. Abi l-Fuṭūḥ Ṭāwūs of Atarḥūh, compiled shortly after 823 (1419) (cf. Kūshāshi, *Simṣ*, p. 75, 109 and Kattāni, *Fihri*, i. 337; ii. 274-275, 306-311), remodelled and brought up to date successively by the *ḥabṣ* *ḥabṣ* Ghawth Hindi (d. 970 = 1562; in *Djawāhir* and *Darajāt*), Abu l-Mawālūḥ Shinnāwī (d. at Medina in 1028 = 1619; in *Sharḥ 'ala l-Djawāhir*), Ahmad Kūshāshi (d. 1070 = 1661; cf. his *Simṣ* *maḥṣud*, lith. Haidarābād 1227) and Hasan 'Uḍḍaimi (*Risāla*; cf. 'Ayyāzī, *Riḥla*, lith. Pān n. d., ii. 214-222; and Kattāni, *loc. cit.*, i. 336-337; ii. 150, 193-195, 396), culminated in the famous manual, still unpublished, of Sanūsi, called *al-Salāḥ al-muḥim* (cf. the article *TAKṬA* and L. Massignon, *Revue*, 1921, p. 169-171) where everything is found down to the "*wir* of the Hindu Yogis". These collections of *wir*, brought from Mecca by pilgrims with *ṣunū*, have spread them throughout the Muslim world.

Bibliography: The essential work is 'Abd al-Hayy Kattāni, *Fihri al-Fakhrī*, Fās 1346, 2 vols. (Louis Massignon).

WITR. In the treatment of ceremonial law in *ḥadith* and *fiqh* this term is applied to the odd number of rak'as which are performed at night. For details see below.

I. *Witr* (*waṭr* is also admitted) does not occur in this sense in the *Kur'ān*, but frequently in *ḥadith*, which in this case also discloses to us a piece of the history of the institution, which is probably a continuation of the history of the fixation of the daily *ṣalāt*, as the traditions on *witr* presuppose the five daily *ṣalāt*s. Some traditions even go so far as to call *witr* an additional *ṣalāt* of an obligatory nature (see also below, II). When Mu'adh b. Djabal, at his arrival in Syria, perceived that the people of this country did not perform *witr*, he spoke to Mu'awiya on this subject. When the latter asked him: Is then this *ṣalāt* obligatory? Mu'adh answered: Yes, the Apostle of Allāh said: My Lord has added a *ṣalāt* to those prescribed to me, namely *witr*, its time is between *'iḥṣā'* (cf. *ṣiḥr*) and daybreak (Ahmad b. Hanbal, *Musnad*, v. 242). In accordance with this tradition it is reported that *witr*, when it had been forgotten or neglected, had to be recovered (Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii. 206; Ibn Māḍija, *Iḥṣā'*, b. 122). 'Uḥāda b. al-Sāmit [q. v.], on the other hand, denied the obligatory character of *witr*, on account of a different tradition (Ahmad b. Hanbal, v. 315-319).

A second stage in the position of *witr* is expressed in those traditions in which Muḥammad admonishes his people to perform *witr*, "for Allāh is *witr* (viz. One), and He loves *witr*" (e.g. Ahmad b. Hanbal, i. 110).

The third stage of *ḥadith*, which was to become the point of view of all *mudhhab*'s with one exception, is represented in those traditions which call this *ṣalāt* *ṣunna*. Many traditions of this kind expressly deny its obligatory character and are consequently of a polemical nature; they are frequently ascribed to 'Alī (e.g. Ahmad b. Hanbal, i. 86, 98, 100, 115, 120, 145, 148 etc.). It may be that this question, like other ceremonial points, belonged to the polemical repertory of the early *Shi'a*.

5. The time of *witr* is mentioned in *ḥadith* in connection with different parts of the night. "Witr consists of pairs of rak'as, whoever fears *ṣubḥ* has to add a rak'a in order to make the total number odd" (Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii. 3, 9, 10, 75). In other traditions three rak'as are mentioned in order to avoid the *ṣubḥ* (*ṣalāt* al-*ṣubḥ* *bi-rak'atain*, e.g. Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii. 71). The number of thirteen rak'as occurs also (Tirmidhi, *Witr*, b. 4), and in general *witr* is supposed not to be allowed after *ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ* (cf. Malik, *Muwatta'*, *Witr*, trad. 24-28, and Tayālis, N° 2192: "No *witr* for him who has not performed it before *ṣubḥ*").

Witr is also frequently mentioned in connection with the first part of the night (cf. below, II). Abū Huraira performed it before going to sleep; on Muḥammad's order (Tirmidhi, *Witr*, b. 3). Muḥammad himself is said to have performed this *ṣalāt* in any part of the night (e.g. Tirmidhi, *Witr*, b. 4). The time between *'iḥṣā'* and daybreak appears as the largest space accorded to *witr* in *ḥadith* (Ahmad b. Hanbal, v. 242). It is prohibited to perform more than one *witr-ṣalāt* in one night (Ahmad b. Hanbal, iv. 23 bis).

c. Tradition frequently mentions the rak'as, prayers, invocations and formulas by which *witr* used to be followed (e.g. Nassāḥ, *Riḥāṣ al-Laṭīf*, b. 51, 54; Ahmad b. Hanbal, i. 199, 350).

II. The chief regulations of *witr* as fixed by the different *mudhhab*'s show insignificant divergencies only (see *Shāṭṭi*, p. 198 *etc.*), with the single exception, that *witr* is declared obligatory

Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, general index, s. v. Shoes. — Cf. also JAHARA.

(JOSEPH SCHACHT)

WUḤŪF or **WAḤFA** (A.), "halt", means in particular the halting of the pilgrims at any spot they choose within the plain of 'Arafa; it begins on the afternoon of the 9th Dhū l-Hiǧǧa and lasts till sunset. This *wuḥūf* is considered the most essential part of the ḥaǧǧa. The imām of the ḥaǧǧa usually introduces it (before the beginning of the combined *ṣubr* and 'aṣr *ṣalāt*) with a *khutba*; his words can of course only be heard by those in his immediate neighbourhood. The pilgrims for their part recite portions of the *Kur'ān*, say prayers — mainly for forgiveness of sins — and cry *labbaika* [q. v.] and other religious formulae. The ceremony ends with the running (*ṣafā*) to Muzdalifa. A similar halt, spent in prayer and also called *wuḥūf*, is made in the early morning of the 10th Dhū l-Hiǧǧa in Muzdalifa before the running to Mina, also on each of the 11th, 12th and 13th Dhū l-Hiǧǧa after the throwing of stones on the "little" and "middle" heap. The stop, spent in prayer, on the elevations of al-Ṣafa and al-Marwa in the running (*ṣafā*) between these two sacred places is also occasionally called *wuḥūf*.

The significance of the *wuḥūf* in the Muslim ḥaǧǧa is clear: it is a kind of common worship, a "standing before God" (cf. *Ris'at*, I. 141). But the form of the ceremony goes back to pre-Islamic rites. For the monotheism preached by Muḥammad would in itself have had no reason to invent the sacred rite in 'Arafa and with it the most important part of the ḥaǧǧa. It might however be supposed that Muḥammad wished with the help of this act of worship to fill in gaps which may have arisen from the omission of some ceremonies of the pagan pilgrimage, and to this extent the *wuḥūf* may have in a way been a new creation of his. But this hypothesis loses its probability when we reflect that the *wuḥūf* (except in the last halt on al-Marwa, which follows the last *ṣafā*) seems always to precede a ritual running and to be connected with it (cf. *lit.*, xviii. 192: *wuḥūf* in contrast to *ṣafā*). Now, since the ceremony of ritual running certainly goes back to pre-Islamic rites, the same may be presumed for the *wuḥūf*. The original significance of this custom is however not thereby explained. This much nevertheless seems to be probable, that the *wuḥūf* took place

on holy ground or at least in the neighbourhood of such; the *wuḥūf* of 'Arafa was perhaps located at the foot of the hill later called *Djabal al-Rahma*, the special sanctity of which continued under Islam. The sojourn of the Israelites at the foot of Sinai described in Exodus xix. might in a way be compared with it. The Muslim theory, according to which the whole of 'Arafa (or Muzdalifa) is *ṣafā* (place of *wuḥūf*), perhaps points to the very fact that this was not the case before Islam. This statement, it is true, is easily explained as a concession to the multitude of Muslim pilgrims who could not all find a place on a restricted area. It may also from the first have served the purpose of destroying the influence of an old pagan sanctuary within 'Arafa (or Muzdalifa). The supposition that the *wuḥūf* in its original form presupposed the making of a sacrifice cannot be maintained, so far as the present evidence goes.

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(R. PARROT)

X

XATIVA, town in Spain. The present orthography is Játiva. Cf. SHĀTIBA.

Y

YĀ', 281st and last letter of the Arabic alphabet with the numerical value of 10. For palaeographical details, see *ASANA*, I. 382^b, 383^b, 384^a and plate I. II belongs to the soft letters (*haraf al-le*); its pronunciation is that of English *y*.

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YĀJUDJ WA-MĀJUDJ (the forms Yādjūd and Mādjūd occur also), Gog and Magog (cf. *Gen.* x. 2; *Ec.* xxxviii, xxxix), two peoples who belong to the outstanding figures of Biblical and Muslim eschatology. Magog in *Gen.* x. is reckoned among the offspring of Japheth; this notion is also found in Arabic sources (e. g. Baiḡawī on *sira* xviii, 93, where also different traditions are mentioned); this much only may be said here, that the Bible as well the Arabic sources connect these peoples with the North-East of the ancient world, the dwelling-place of peoples who are to burst forth from their isolation in the Last Days, devastating the world southwards, until they will be destroyed in the land of Israel (cf. H. Gressmann, *op. cit.*).

In Muslim eschatology this picture is repeated with many, partly fresh, details, and connected with the reappearance of 'Isā on the earth. Yādjūd and Mādjūd will be as numerous that they will drink all the water of the Euphrates and Tigris or of the Lake of Thierias. When they have killed the inhabitants of the earth they will shoot their arrows against heaven, whereupon God shall send worms into their nostrils, necks or ears, which will kill them by the last man in one night, so that the smell of their corpses will fill the earth (Muslim, *Fitan*, trad. 410; Ibn Mājjā, *Fitan*, bab 33, 59; Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, I. 375; II. 510 sq.; III. 77; IV. 182; Tabari, *Ta'isr*, xvii, 62 sq., 65). Or a host of birds will catch them and drown them in the sea (Tabari, *Ta'isr*, xvii, 64). They are cannibals (*Tabari*, p. 320) and dwell behind the mountains of Armlaiya and Adharhādīja (Tabari, *Ta'isr*, xvi, 12).

The traditions of the Arabic sources are largely connected with *sira* xxi 96: "...until Gog and Magog shall have a passage opened for them [in the Last Days] and they shall hasten from every high hill" etc. Here is an allusion to the connection of Gog and Magog with the dam which was built by Alexander the Great, as it is said in *sira* xviii, 92 sqq.: "And he [Alexander] prosecuted his journey from south to north, until he came between the two mountains, beneath which he found certain people, who could scarce understand what was said. And they said, O 'Isa b. 'Ismā'īl, verily Gog and Magog waste the land; shall we therefore pay thee tribute, on condition that thou build a rampart between us and them? He answered, The power wherewith Our Lord hath

strengthened us is better than your tribute; but assist me strenuously, and I will set a strong wall between you and them" etc. Then the text goes on to relate how Alexander built the dam or gate behind which Yādjūd and Mādjūd should therefore be shut up till the Last Days. Every night they will try to dig under the wall in order to escape, and every night the sound of their tools is heard. But God repairs before the morning the breach they have made (Tabari, *Ta'isr*, xvii, 64).

Yādjūd and Mādjūd are of three kinds: one as tall as cedars; the second are as broad as they are tall; the third can cover their bodies with their ears (Tabari, xvi, 16).

Tradition relates that one day Muhammad came in a hurry into the room of Zainab bint Jabbār, saying: So much has been opened of the dam of Yādjūd and Mādjūd, making a sign with his thumb and index finger. She said: Shall we perish, there being so many good people? He answered: Ay, if evil be widespread (Bukhārī, *Anbiyā'*, b. 7; Tirmidhī, *Fitan*, b. 23; Ibn Mājjā, *Fitan*, b. 9; Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, II. 341, 529 sq.; VI. 428, 429).

According to de Goeje (cf. *Bibliography*), the story of the dam (which is found in the Syrian Legend of Alexander; cf. *Bib.*) refers in reality to the wall which surrounded a part of the Chinese empire and which had a gate in the South, called the Jasper Gate. He mentions reports of travellers who visited the wall, especially in the times of the caliphate.

The term *Bahr Yādjūd wa-Mādjūd*, which occurs in the *Rasā'il al-Hawā' al-Safā'* (Cairo 1347, II. 50²) apparently refers to the Caspian Sea.

Bibliography: The commentaries on the *Qur'ān*, on *sira* xviii, 93 and xxi, 96; for the passages in *Hadith*, cf. Wessink, *Handbook of Early Mus. Tradition*, x. 7; Tabari, ed. de Goeje, I. 68 sq., 211 sq., 218, 223, 627; Mādjūd, *Murāj*, ed. Paris, I. 267, 337; II. 308; III. 66; Yādjūd, ed. Houtama, I. 13, 93; Ibn Khurādādhbih, *B.G.A.*, VI. 162-169; Ibn Rosteh, *B.G.A.*, VII. 83, 98, 148 sq.; Mādjūd, *B.G.A.*, VIII. 24, 26, 32; Idem, transl. Jaubert, II. 344, 349, 380, 431; Yādjūd, *Mādjūd*, ed. Wustenfeld, I. 515; II. 440; III. 53, 131; IV. 591; al-Thā'ibī, *Kifā' al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1290, p. 320 sqq.; I. Friedländer, *Die Chadschirgende und der Alexanderroman*, Leipzig-Berlin 1913, indices; de Goeje, *De muur van Gog en Magog*, in *Verh. Med. Ak. Amst.*, 3rd series, vol. 5, p. 87 sqq.; Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans*, in *Denkschriften d. Kais. Ak. d. Wissensch.*, Vienna, vol. xxxviii, No. 5; H. Gressmann, *Die Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie*, Göttingen 1905, p. 180 sqq.; C. Hunnius, *Das syrische Alexanderlied* (Dissertation), Göttingen 1904; *Id.*, *Das syrische Alexanderlied*, in *Z. D. M. G.*, lx. 160 sqq.; E. A. Wallis Budge, *The History of Alexander the Great*, Cambridge 1889; Fr. Lenormant, *Gog et Magog, in Récit des sarrasins et des latins*, Louvain 1882, p. 9 sqq. (A. J. WESSINK)

YĀFĀ or **YĀFA**, **JOPPA**, **JAFFA**, a town on the Mediterranean, the port of Jerusalem. It occurs in the form *Y-fa* as early as the xvth century A.C. in the list of towns in Palestine taken by Thutmose III (W. Max Müller, in *M. P. A. G.*, xii, 1907, l, p. 21, N^o. 62). In the Amarna tablets and among the Assyrians it was called *Yapū* or *Yappū*, in Phoenician inscriptions *Yp*, in the Bible *Yāfa* and by the Greeks *ἵερὸν ἢ ἱέρρα*. *Yāfa* is already the port of Jerusalem in the Bible, to which king Hiram sent in floats the wood destined for the building of the temple. Before the conquest by Sennacherib (701 A.C.) it was subject to the king of Ascalon. It was not till the time of the Maccabees that the ancient Canaanitish city came under Jewish rule. The legend of Jonah which is localised here and the story of Perseus and Andromeda are probably connected with some very early cult of a fish-god in *Yāfa*.

In the year 15 (636) 'Amr b. al-'Ās (according to others Ma'āwiya) took the town (al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 138). The importance of the old harbour of Jerusalem further increased when the Umayyad Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik founded the new capital of Dūmūdī Filastīn, al-Ramlā, some 14 miles S.E. of *Yāfa*. *Yāfa* with the rest of Filastīn passed in 264 (878) into the hands of Ahmad b. Tulūn (q.v.) and remained under the rule of the Tulūnids of Egypt until in 905 it passed to the 'Abbāsīd al-Muktāfi. After Dī'ār b. Falāḥ had conquered Syria for the Fatīmīd Mu'izz (q.v.) in 359 (969), the Karmatians penetrated in 360 (971) under Hasan al-A'sam as far as *Yāfa* in which the troops (11,000 men) sent to Syria by Dī'war b. 'Abd Allāh were blockaded. After the Karmatians had been driven out of Egypt in 362, *Yāfa* was relieved and the garrison brought back to Egypt. The Turkish emir Atīk b. Abak in 463 (1071) took al-Ramlā but *Yāfa* and 'Asqalan did not come into his power.

The possession of the town was hotly disputed during the Crusades. The Franks who made it a vassal duchy of the kingdom of Jerusalem were able to hold it until the Third Crusade (1099—1187). The vizier al-'Adīl sought in vain to take it from them in 1101, 1105, 1113 and 1115. After his murder, the caliph al-'Amr besieged the town in 1122 but was driven back, and again in 1123 as a result of the destruction of his fleet by the Venetians. After the battle of Hattin (583 = 1187) most of the coast towns surrendered to Saladin, and *Yāfa* to his brother al-Malik al-'Adīl. Richard Coeur-de-Lion recaptured it for the Crusaders in 587 (1191). Saladin besieged it in 1192 and regained it for the Saracens; he could not however take the citadel, and Richard, who hurried to the help of his garrison, drove Saladin's troops out of the town and re-fortified it. At the truce of al-Ramlā the Christians were confirmed in possession of *Yāfa*.

By 593 (1197) however, al-Malik al-'Adīl had again taken *Yāfa*, destroying the fortifications and, it is said, killing 20,000 Christians in the fighting. In the following year Saxon and Brabant troops temporarily occupied the town, but abandoned it in 595 again whereupon al-'Adīl regained it by a coup-de-main. After the Fourth Crusade (1204) the town was again in the hands of the Franks. The Emperor Frederick II restored the fortifications in 1228; as did Louis IX. in 1250 after his release.

In the Mamlūk period *Yāfa* belonged to the

district of al-Ramlā, one of the four districts of the coast, which were part of the *mamlaka* of Dimashk; for a time however (under Saladin's successors), it was under that of Ghazza (al-Dimashk), ed. Mehren, p. 230).

Rabbari attacked the town unexpectedly on 20th Dūmūdī II 666 (March 8, 1268) and took it and its citadel in one or two days (inscription on the White Mosque at Ramlā, ed. van Berchem, *Inscriptions Arabes de Syrie*, Cairo 1897, p. 57-64). He destroyed the town with all its houses, walls and the citadel. A certain emir Dī'ām al-Dīn... b. Ishāk, according to an inscription preserved in *Yāfa*, built there in 736 (1335) the sanctuary of Kubbat Shaikh Murād which is still in existence (Clermont-Ganneau, *Matériaux inédits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades*, Paris 1876; do., *Archaeological Researches in Palestine during the years 1873-1874*, ii., London 1896, p. 154). When the kings of England and France were planning a new crusade in 1236, al-Nāṣir had the harbour of *Yāfa* destroyed to make it impossible for the Franks to land there. For the same reason, the town as well as the harbour, was destroyed in 1345 (Tolkowsky, in *Journ. Pal. Orient. Soc.*, v., 1915, p. 82-84).

The Arab geographers describe *Yāfa* as a small, strongly fortified coast town which as the port of Jerusalem and al-Ramlā enjoyed thriving trade and busy markets in times of peace. In times of war it was greatly exposed to enemy raids, in the first centuries of Islām, for example, to attacks by the Byzantine fleet, the Mardaites and the Kibyrriotes. To protect the coast against these raids, watch-towers (*ribāḥ*) were built, like those of Byzantium from Laḥū'a to Constantinople, from which was signalled by smoke or fire to the capital, al-Ramlā, the approach of Byzantine ships, which also used to visit the ports from Ghazza to Arsūf to ransom prisoners (al-Makdīsi, ed. de Goeje, p. 177).

After the battle of Dūlūk in 922 (1516) the whole of Syria passed to the Ottomans. *Yāfa*, which was in ruins, only began to revive gradually in the second half of the xviiith century, especially after its quays were built. From 1770 for several years the Pasha of Dimashk fought with 'Alī Bey and his followers for the town, in which, the Mamlūks perpetrated a frightful massacre on May 19, 1776. The French behaved even worse after the capture of the town by Napoleon (March 6, 1799); 4,000 prisoners were shot on the shore. Immediately after the entry of the garrison the plague broke out in the French army which suffered heavily. Ibrahim Pasha, son of Mehemmed 'Alī, in 1831 occupied *Yāfa*, which passed to the Turks again in 1840. An earthquake in 1838 destroyed many houses and a portion of the defences.

On Nov. 16, 1917 *Yāfa* was occupied by the English (Anzac Corps). Since the war the town has grown very little (44,000 inhabitants); but its northern suburb, the Jewish colony of Tel-Aviv founded in 1909, has rapidly developed into a modern town, which is already the size of the old town. To the northeast of the town are the German Templar colonies of Wilhelms and Sarona founded in 1868 and to the south Jewish agricultural colonies. The plan of building a new harbour, accessible to modern ships, instead of the old and useless one which is surrounded by reefs,

has so far not materialised owing to the expense; it would enable the town to compete with Haifa, which is growing rapidly.

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(E. HONIGMANN)

AL-YĀFĀ'Ī, 'AND ALLĀH R. AḤAD B. ALI R. 'UTMĀN B. FAḤM AL-ŠHĀFI' AḤMĀD AL-DĪN ABU 'L-SĀ'ĪDA ABU 'L-BARAKĀT, a Ṣaḥī and author, was born one or two years before 700 (1300-1305) in the Yaman though the place of his birth does not appear to be known. He studied first under the tuition of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dihānī al-Baḡḡī and Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Harāzī, Kāfi of 'Adan. These studies comprised probably only the Qur'ān and theology, but his ascetic inclinations must have been developed early and have guided his whole life. As early as 712 (1313) he made his first pilgrimage to Mecca and there he associated himself with 'Alī al-Tawāḡhī who remained his chief Sheikh. In 718 he settled in Mecca and married. The following years he spent partly in Mecca and partly in al-Madīna, and in 734 (1335) he made a journey to Jerusalem and Damascus and came also to Egypt. After his return to the Hijāz he remained some time at al-Madīna and then came to Mecca where he married a second time. Later he made a short journey to the Yaman to pay a visit to his old teacher al-Tawāḡhī. Subḥī in 747 (1346) made his acquaintance on the occasion of the pilgrimage and it was in Mecca that he died on the 20th Dhuḥiḍa 11768 (Febr. 21, 1367). Subḥī gives as the date of his death Dhuḥiḍa 1767, probably an error.

He had received the *shāfi'a* of a Ṣaḥī from several masters. Biographers praise his devout mode of living and his kindness towards his pupils, and his reputation as a pious and learned man was widely spread during his life-time. While the older biography as yet knows nothing of his *ḥarāḡ* (q. v.), later works are fairly full on this point.

His leisure in Mecca permitted him to write a large number of works, especially upon Sūfism and the principles of faith. He made a point of defending the doctrines of al-Ash'arī and among

other works wrote a treatise against Ibn Taimiyya, which brought upon him the hostility of the adherents of the latter. He is said to have had a very high opinion of the Spanish Ṣaḥī Ibn al-'Arabī. The works of al-Yāfā'ī which are accessible prove him to be in the main a compiler from the works of others with very little originality on his part.

1. His principal work is probably the *Rawḍ al-Riyāḡ* fī *Hikāyat al-Ṣāliḡ* (also called *Nuḥbat al-'Uyūn al-nawāḡir wa-Thufat al-Kulūb al-hawāḡir*) in which he gives biographies of five hundred saints and ṣūfis. Pious narratives outnumber in it by far the historical data. The work has been printed several times (Būlāḡ 1286; Cairo 1301, 1307 etc.). Of this work a number of abbreviations are in existence and it has in addition served as a source for later works of similar tenor, the latest perhaps the *Karāmāt al-Awliyā'* by Yūsuf b. Ismā'īl al-Nabḥānī (printed in Cairo 1329 in two volumes).

2. His historical work *Mir'āt al-Djannāt wa-Thubāt al-Yaḡḡūn* (printed in Haidarābād 1334-1339 in four volumes) serves also principally biographical purposes. As Yāfā'ī, according to his own statement, was content with extracting the chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr and the works of Ibn Khallikān and Dhahabī, we find hardly anything new in it. The book has however a certain value as long as we have no edition of the large biographical works of Dhahabī. Only at the end of the work he gives a few biographies of his teachers in the Yaman, but in these notices one is hardly able to pick the few historical details out of a volume of empty words; dates are quite a secondary consideration. There are several abbreviations and excerpts of the work in existence, some with later additions, among them the *Ghāḡḡat al-Zamān* by Aḥd 'Abd Allāh Ḥusain b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Aḥdāl (died 885 = 1480), which deals principally with South Arabian saints; also an extract by a certain 'Alī al-Karāḡhī al-Shūstārī who lived about 1100, contained in a Berlin Ms.

3. *Nuḥat al-Maḡāḡin al-ḡāliya fī Faḡl al-Maḡāḡih al-ḡāliya*, mentioned at the end of the *Mir'āt al-Djannāt*. This work has been printed in the margin of the *Karāmāt al-Awliyā'* of Nabḥānī (see above) and contains like the *Rawḍ al-Riyāḡ* accounts of pious Sūfis and seems to be a first draft of his larger work. The purpose of this work, according to his own statement, was to furnish a proof that the Shari'a and Sūfism can be made to agree with one another. For this reason he gave to this book the second title of *Kifāyat al-Mu'taḡid fī Nikāyat al-Muntaḡid* (*Mir'āt*, iv, 335).

4. *Murḡam al-'Ilal al-mu'adḡila fī 'L-Radd 'alā 'Aḡmmat al-Mu'taḡila bi 'L-Barḡhīn al-ḡāli'a al-mu'faḡḡala*. This work he composed at the instigation of Naḡīm al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yūsuf al-Iṣḡāḡnī (died 750 A. H.). Collecting material from all manner of sources, he attempts the refutation of the doctrines of the Mu'taḡila, which hardly existed any longer in his time. The work has been printed to the extent of about two thirds in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1910-1911. The title is wrong in Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, and wrongly corrected on the title-page of the printed edition.

5. *al-Iṣḡāḡ wa 'L-Taḡrīḡ fī Faḡl Allāh wa-Tūḡwāt Kūḡḡḡihī 'L-ḡāḡ*. Composed before the *Mir'āt*, the title indicates the contents.

6. *Durr al-Naḡīm fī Faḡḡ'īl* (or *Khawāḡḡ*) *al-Kur'ān al-aḡīm wa 'L-ḡyāt wa-Dhikr al-Hakīm*.

A short treatise concerning the advantage of reading the Qur'ān and of prayer. Printed in Cairo 1282 (1313) and later.

In addition he composed a large number of poems of religious content and generally with long titles, partly preserved in manuscript or only known by name. Two are printed at the end of the *Mir'at*.

7. *Fāhiyat al-Muhayyā fī Madh Shuyūkh al-Yaman al-aṣṣiyā*.

8. *Muhajāt al-Anjāl fī Dhikr al-Aḥbāb Ahl al-Awṣān* etc.

9. *Asna 'l-Mafāḥir fī Manāḥiḥ al-Shaikh 'Abd al-Kādir* (i.e. 'Abd al-Kādir al-Djilānī).

10. *Shams al-Imān wa-Tamhīd al-Rahmān wa-'Aḥdāt al-Faḥḥ wa-'l-Itkān*, preserved in several manuscripts.

In addition several treatises the contents of which are unknown to me;

11. *Nūr al-Yaḥyā wa-Iḥwāt Ahl al-Tamkin*.

12. *al-Kisālat al-Mahkiya fī Tarih al-Sadu al-Sufiya*.

Bibliography: al-Durār al-kāmina, ii. 247; Subki, *Tahabūt*, vi. 103; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 176—177; Sarkis, *Dictionnaire*, col. 1952—1953 and later works on the saints of Yaman.

(F. KREMKOW)

YAFITH, the Japheth of the Bible, is not mentioned in the Qur'ān; but the exegesis of the Qur'ān and legend are familiar with the names of the sons of Nūḥ: Sām, Hām, Yafith (exceptionally Yāfīt: Tabart, i. 222). The Biblical story (Gen. ix. 20—27) of Hām's sin and punishment and the blessing given to Sām and Yafith is known in Muslim legend but it is silent about Noah's planting the vine and becoming intoxicated. Al-Kisāfī completely transforms it: in the Ark Nūḥ could not sleep from anxiety; when he came out he fell asleep on Sām's bosom; the wind revealed his nakedness, Sām and Yafith covered him up but Hām laughed so loudly that Nūḥ was awakened; he uttered the following blessings and curse: prophets shall be born descendants of Sām, kings and heroes of Yafith and black slaves of Hām. But Hām's descendants intermarry with Yafith's family; thus the Abyssinians, Hind and Sind were born to Kūsh b. Hām; the Copts are the descendants of the union of Kūsh b. Hām with a descendant of Yafith. Nūḥ divided the earth among his three sons: Yafith received the district of Falsun (Fisḥon). His descendants are variously given, either exactly as in the Bible (Tabart, i. 217 sq.) or partly (al-Kisāfī, i. 101) or quite differently. He is usually regarded as the ancestor of Yādūdī and Mādūdī, often of the Turks and Kharazm, more rarely of the Šakāliba [q.v.]. Persia and Rām are sometimes traced to Sām, sometimes to Yafith; to Yafith also e.g. Cyrus, who killed Belshazzar b. Evilmerodach b. Nebuchadnezzar, and Yezdigird. Briefly Sām is said to be the father of the Arabs, Yafith of Rām (or Yādūdī-Mādūdī), Hām the father of the Sūdān. Of the three, Semitic tradition naturally prefers Sām. But Yafith is rarely spoken of unfavourably as in Tabart, i. 223 where we are told that nothing good comes from Yafith and his descendants are deformed. On the other hand, the 72 languages are divided as follows: 18 to Sām, 18 to Hām and 36 to Yafith. He is the blessed son of Nūḥ.

Bibliography: Tabart, ed. de Goeje, i.

211—225; The labi, *Kitāb al-Anbiyā*, Cairo 1325, p. 38; al-Kisāfī, *Kitāb al-Anbiyā*, ed. Eisenberg, l. 98—102. — See also the art. NŪḤ, sām.

(BERNHARD HELLER)

YAFUR b. 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN (also AL-RAḤIM) b. KURĀB AL-HIWĀLĪ (on the disputed vocalisation of the poem in van Ardenonk [see *Bibl.*, p. 234, note 3], founder of the dynasty of Ya'furids or Hiwālids who claimed to be descended from the Tubba's, the ancient Himyarite kings. Their ancestral home Shibām, called Shibām Ayyān or Shibām Kawkabān to distinguish it from other places of the same name, is described by geographers as a well cultivated hilly country. In the caliphate of al-Mu'tasim, i.e. before 227 (842), Ya'fur began to show his independence of the 'Abbāsid governors who were succeeding one another rapidly; in 247 (861) Ya'fur had succeeded in driving the governor Himyar b. al-Hārith out of Ṣan'a' and extending his rule over the highlands southwards as far as Djanad. The accounts, full of obscurities even in one thing clearly: the lack of unity in the dynasty from the first. By 256 (870) Ya'fur's son Muḥammad appears as lord of Ṣan'a', as the acknowledged governor for the caliph Mu'tamid. He was however slain about 270 (883) by his own son Ibrāhīm presumably at the instigation of the aged Ya'fur himself who had been thrust aside by Muḥammad but he himself henceforth disappears from history. Ibrāhīm's son Asad was still lord of Ṣan'a'; but the two-fold 'Alid penetration by the Karmatians and Zaidites raised up new enemies, so that he had only two successors in office. Some younger princes established themselves for a time in the Tihāma and in the mountains round Ṣa'da.

Bibliography: al-Hamdānī, *Iḥlūl*, ed. D. H. Müller, Leyden 1891, i. 57, 106 sq.; D. H. Müller, *Die Burgen und Schlösser Südarabien nach dem Iḥlūl des Hamdānī*, in *S. B. Ab. Wien*, xciv. 1879, p. 352 sq.; Yāfūrī, *Muḥḥam*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, iii. 249; iv. 544; 'Aḥim al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Nalwan's* (G. M. S., xxiv, Leyden 1916), p. 30; H. C. Kay, *Yaman, its Early Medieval History*, London 1892, s. Index; C. van Ardenonk, *De Opkomst van het Zaiditische Imamāt in Yemen*, Leyden 1919, p. 103 sqq. (with careful consideration of unpublished Yaman sources); E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de Géologie et de Chronologie*, Hanover 1927, p. 116.

(R. STROTHMANN)

YAGHMĀ DJANDAQĪ, pseudonym of the Persian poet Abū 'l-Ḥasan Raḥim b. Ḥadīdī Ibrāhīm Khūlī. He was born about 1196 (1782) in the village of Khūr in the oasis of Djandak or Biyābānāk in the middle of the central desert of Persia. He began his life as a camel-herd but by the age of 7 his maternal gifts had been noticed by the owner of the oasis, Ismā'il Khān 'Arab-i 'Amīr whose secretary (*muntāzib*) he ultimately became. His first nom de plume was Madjānūn. In 1216 (1802) Ismā'il Khān after a rising against the government had to flee to Khūrasān, while Djandak was occupied by Dhu 'l-Fiḥr Khān, representative of the governor of Simnān and Dāmghān. Yaghma was forcibly conscripted as an ordinary soldier but at Simnān his gifts obtained him the post of secretary to the governor. In 1808 as a result of a false charge, the poet

received the bastinado and his property was handed over to be plundered (*yagmā*) by the soldiery. The poet's innocence was proved and he regained his freedom but the act of injustice had embittered him. He then assumed the pen-name of Vaghmā and composed a satire, *Sardārīya*, on Ibrāhīm Khān, full of coarseness beyond all bounds. Exiled, he wandered in Persia and via Baghdad and Yazd reached Teheran where fortune shone upon him again and he gained the good graces of Hādījī Mirzā Akāsī, the first Minister of Muhammad Shāh. Vaghmā was appointed *waṣī* to the governor of Kāshān but a new satire (*Khulāṣat al-ḥaṣā*) against a family of Kāshān nobles made him ostracized again and he was denounced as a *hāṭer* from the pulpit of the mosque. His wandering life was resumed. We know that he accompanied Muhammad Shāh to Herāt. He only returned to his native land as an octogenarian to die at Khūr on the 16th Rabi' II 1276 (Nov. 16, 1859) and was buried near the tomb of Sa'īd Dāwūd.

Vaghmā's works in prose and verse were collected in a *ḥamā* and published at Teheran (?) in 1283 (1886) with a preface by Hādījī Muhammad Ismā'īl (389 fol. pp.).

Vaghmā practised all varieties of verse and his poems (*ghazal*, elegies, *ḥiḍā*, *sardārī-band*) show a great mastery of language and form. The most original part perhaps of his work is in the field of funeral chants (*marḥūmī* *ḥamā*) which he invented. They were obviously intended for the public lamentations in Muharram [cf. TA'ZIYA]. They are in the form of a *musaddad* in which each line is prolonged by a refrain which the audience is intended to murmur as a spontaneous echo. These *marḥūmī* are composed in simple and unaffected language. E. G. Browne, *op. cit.*, iv, 340, mentions the popularity of this genre among the poems of the revolutionary period (1905-1911).

Vaghmā's most characteristic works however are his scabrous and obscene satires. Berthels sees in them a revolt against the political and social iniquities of old Persia but the poet never seems to rise above his own personal grievances. If his wit is exercised even at the expense of his benefactor Hādījī Mirzā Akāsī it is because the poet is simply carried away by his satirical humour and too silent tongue. Vaghmā has not yet anything of the revolutionary. His grievances induced fits of pessimism and of piety. The Golestan Museum at Teheran possesses a Kur'ān written on a single sheet of cloth (about 8 feet X 1½ feet) and arranged in complex geometrical figures. This is ascribed to Vaghmā (cf. the specimen of his hand in Browne, *op. cit.*, iv, 338).

Vaghmā made little use of Arabic and in several of his letters set himself the task of writing pure Persian. He considerably added by his annotations to the dictionary *Burhān al-Jamī*, the manuscript of which is in possession of his grandson.

In the *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, I, 2, p. 380, Geiger (following Querry) attributed to Vaghmā verses in the dialect of Simān. In reality these verses are by Na'īm Simān (cf. A. Christensen, *Le dialecte de Simān* (sic?), Copenhagen 1913, p. 291). Vaghmā wrote verses in the dialect of Khūr; cf. Vaghmā, *op. cit.*, p. 18. On the dialects of this region cf. Ivanow in *J. R. A. S.*, July 1926, p. 405-432.

Bibliography: Rūḍī Kāfi Khān, *Majma'*

al-Fayḍ, ii, 580; Ethé, in *Grundriss d. iran. Philologie*, ii, 314; Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, iv, 336-344; Berthels, *Chah ḥadīth farīd*, Herat, Leningrad 1928, p. 94-99; Ḥabīb Vaghmā (grandson of Vaghmā), *Sharḥi Ḥamā Vaghmā*, Teheran (c. 1927), first appeared in the periodical *Armughān*, v, No. 7-97, on p. 31 the author quotes a letter from Vaghmā repudiating the authorship of a large number of poems included by his future editor in the collection. This declaration, however, being made by the poet "in his old days" (*dar mādāy-e kūr*) to escape the denunciation of *zenāna* is not very convincing.

(V. MINORSKY)

YAHŪD, the Jews. The message which Muhammad as an "admonisher" brought to his people was inferred by him to come from the same source of revelation as the Torah and the Gospel. If the "Arabic version" of the new scriptures was only a confirmation of what preceding "scriptures" taught, the new Prophet was referred for instruction to the Jews and Christians. The idea of the "day of judgment" which continually recurs in the early Meccan period, makes him speak of the 19 generations of hell in order to convince those "to whom the scripture was given" of the truth of the Kur'ān (ixiv, 30-32), from which it may be deduced that Muhammad at the beginning of the first Meccan period was already engaged in trying to win over the Jews. Of them he already knew that they "studied" their scriptures (lxviii, 37: *ḥadith*). It is in keeping with this that he also speaks of the *ḥadīth* *Isrā'īl* *wa-Mūsā* (lxxvii, 19), i.e. he knows that Jews and Christians ascribed to Abraham the composition of sacred books (*Tāhīl*, xii, 27; *Alḥadīth*, 14; Fabricius, *Col. pseudepigr. VII. Text.*, Hamburg 1722, i, 400). Hebrew expressions are already increasing; e.g. *ḥ' salāmū* = *h' salāmū*, *al-nabī* *Isrā'īl* for *maḥabbū* (lxxv, 24), *ḥ' ḥadīth* for *ḥ' ḥadīth* (lxxviii, 18), *ḥ' ḥadīth* for *ḥ' ḥadīth*, *ḥ' ḥadīth* for *ḥ' ḥadīth* and *maḥabbū* (iv, 46), which perhaps corresponds to the Talmudic epithet of God, *ḥ' ḥadīth* (*Alḥadīth*, 46).

The desire to produce a book of revelation makes Muhammad at the beginning of the second period frequently speak of "books" in which all that has happened is written down (liv, 43, 52-53). The first reference is to the "children of Isrā'īl" whom Allāh saved from Fir'aun and whom he chose "in his knowledge" in preference to all the world (cf. Amos, iii, 2; Aphraates, *Hom.*, 16, ed. Wright, p. 331) is in Sūra xlv, 29-32. The story of Mūsā in Sūra xx, which contains Jewish legends (e.g. verses 51-54; cf. *Exod.* i, 5, 18) three mentions the "children of Isrā'īl" (verses 49, 82, 95) whom Fir'aun is to release, who received the revelation and of whose sin of the calf Mūsā complains to Allāh. Sūra xxvi, four times mentions the "children of Isrā'īl" (verses 16, 21, 59, 197) in connection with the story of Fir'aun and the revelation of the Kur'ān which "the wise men among the children of Isrā'īl" (*ḥ' ḥadīth* *Isrā'īl* *wa-Mūsā*) shall recognize. Sūra xix, 59 mentions "the descendants of Isrā'īl" and Isrā'īl whom Allāh guided in the right path and in this connection the *ḥ' ḥadīth* *Isrā'īl* is put alongside of the revelation as of equal worth. Just as Fir'aun and his people are an "example" in the bad sense for later generations (xlvi, 56), Isrā'īl who desired

to be nothing but a servant of Allāh is an "example" in a good sense for the "children of Isrā'il" (xlili. 57-59). The conception of God, formulated by Muhammad at this time (xxiii. 117), seems to be of purely Jewish origin and he at this time decisively rejects the idea of Christ being the son of God (xlili. 59; xxiii. 93; xxi. 26). The story of Ibrāhīm destroying the idols, which is now given in detail (xxi. 59 *iqq.*) and which is also occasionally found among Christians (*Apoc. Abrahami*, ed. Bonwetch, p. 10 *iqq.*; Philastrius, *De heresibus*, p. 97) is therefore rather of Jewish origin (*Gen. x. 38, 39*). Jewish expressions which now appear are *hūr* (xxv. 19), with which we may compare *Abot*, ii. 5; *Yoma*, 37^a. The "children of Isrā'il" according to the revelation granted them are to recognise none except Allāh (xvii. 2), according to the scripture revealed to them they shall twice cause ruin (verse 4) on the earth, and once live in the holy land (verse 106). Perhaps it was also Jews, who at this time wished to induce Muhammad to leave his country (verse 78). According to Muhammad's view however, only the Qur'ān could smooth over the disagreements among the "children of Isrā'il" (xxvii. 78). It is in keeping with this that the story of Mūsā in this Sūra (verse 7 *iqq.*) has a distinctly Jewish stamp as has the story of Sulaimān (verse 17 *iqq.*; cf. *Targum Sheni*).

As late as the beginning of the third Meccan period Muhammad was frequently reminding the "children of Isrā'il" of the revelation granted them through Mūsā (xii. 23; xiv. 15). Allāh gave them leaders and preferred them but the Israelites fell out among themselves when the "knowledge" came to them, and now Allāh has placed Muhammad over them as arbiter in religious matters (xiv. 15-17). Jewish expressions in the story of Yūsuf which (Sūra xii.) like the story of Nūh (xi. 27 *iqq.*) can be proved to be of Jewish origin are *ba'ir* for "cattle" (xii. 65, 72) and *Yūsuf ayyūhā 'l-iddāh* for *Yūsuf haqqaddāh* (xii. 46). The Hebrew word *midnā* was probably taken over by Muhammad at this time with the meaning of "story" (xxxix. 24). The Meccans however are still only to dispute "in the best fashion" with the "people of the scriptures" to whom they are so closely bound as regards religion (xxiv. 45). Allāh had indeed granted the "children of Isrā'il" a safe habitation, provided them with all good things (x. 93) and given them, the weak people, "the east and the west of the land" (vii. 133). Muhammad however now calls himself the *ummi*, the prophet of the *ummi* *hā-nām*, whose coming was foretold by Tora and Gospel. He now considers the food prohibitions of the Jews as a punishment for their secession (vi. 147).

The Medina period made Muhammad more acquainted with Jews and Jewish conditions and he gradually drew the barriers between the "peoples of the book" and the new community of Islām. Muhammad then turned to the "children of Isrā'il" with the demand that they should keep their bond with Allāh (ii. 38 *iqq.*), be conscious of their having been chosen, remember they were saved from the hand of Fir'aun (ii. 46). The Jews, if they only believe in Allāh and the last judgment, are still mentioned along with believing Christians and Sabaeans (ii. 59) but we already have it indicated that their scriptures are forgeries (ii. 70). They write it down with their own hands and say: "it is from Allāh" (ii. 73). But in reality

there are uneducated people among them who do not know their scriptures at all (*ibid.*). The punishment of hell which must overtake them is regarded by them as being only temporary (ii. 74). The "children of Isrā'il" have broken their bond with Allāh (ii. 77). They drive one another out of the country but on the other hand ransom their prisoners (ii. 79). Mockingly they say of themselves: "our hearts are uncircumcised" (ii. 82). They made ambiguous speeches when against their will they had to accept the Tora (ii. 87: *ramā'ā wa-'asā'ā* instead of *shimā'ā wa-'āimā*). They cling to life and many would like to live a thousand years. Instead of the mocking *rā'ā* with which they address the Prophet, they are to say clearly *unpārā* (ii. 98). At this time many Jewish ideas came to Muhammad, e.g. *rafāh 'alimū* for *shafā' dam* (ii. 28, 78) and *khāṭib* for *hīlū 'dām habbū* (ii. 96). The Jews believe, as do the Christians, that they alone will enter Paradise, without being able to prove it (ii. 105). From this time onwards Muhammad calls the Jews of his time *al-Nāḥūd*, a term by which they were already known before his time (Abū Mijdhān, ed. Landberg, p. 72; 'Urwa, xii. 1), or uses the root *hāḍa*, while by "children of Isrā'il" he means their Old Testament ancestors. Muhammad noticed how Jews and Christians reproached each other with the worthlessness of their religion (ii. 107) and he sees that neither creed will be satisfied with him until he follows their religion (ii. 114). But they are not to profess Judaism or Christianity but only the "religion of Ibrāhīm", who professed the true religion (ii. 129). But neither Ibrāhīm, Ismā'il, Ishāq, Ya'qūb nor the tribes were Jews or Christians (ii. 134). The Jews now refuse to follow "on the path of Allāh", that is, to fight in battle for him, and the "children of Isrā'il" acted similarly when they asked for a king after the death of Mūsā (ii. 247). Yet Allāh had always given the "children of Isrā'il" many clear signs (ii. 207). An expression taken over from the Jews at this time is *furqān* for "distinction" (ii. 181). Muhammad had heard the Jews boasting of their scriptures although in his opinion they often did not know them (ii. 73). But "the simile" for those who are laden with the Tora and will not carry it is that of an "ass carrying books" (li. 5: *hamar nūsi asfarim*). The Jews should desire death rather than assert they are the "friends of Allāh" (ixii. 6; cf. 1. Chr. xvi. 13 *iqq.*). Tora and Gospel are only confirmed by the Qur'ān which is to be regarded as *furqān* (iii. 2). Isā has already taught the children of Isrā'il Tora and Gospel "book" and "wisdom" (iii. 43) and Muhammad is the confirmer of the Tora (iii. 44). The dispute about the *willat Ibrāhīm* is therefore meaningless. Tora and Gospel were only revealed after it (iii. 58) and Ibrāhīm was neither Jew nor Christian but a Muslim (ii. 60). His real followers are Muhammad and his community (iii. 61). The reference is obviously to the Jews in Sūra iii. 69, where there is mention of those among the "people of the scripture" who will not readily give back property entrusted to them, saying "there is no obligation upon us towards the *ummiyūn* (*ummi* *hā-nām*)". It is they also who are represented by Muhammad as relying upon scriptures which do not belong to the "scripture" at all, the reference is probably to the so-called "oral Tora" (*Tora* *hāt pē*) (iii. 72). In reality the prophets have

already solemnly pledged themselves to recognise the "apostle" who will one day appear (iii. 75), and compared with the *millat Ibrahim* all previous revelations are alike (iii. 78). In the dispute with the "children of Israel" regarding what is forbidden or permitted Muhammad actually challenges them: "Bring the Tora and read it if you are speaking the truth" (iii. 87). The Jews, however, distort the sense of the words of the scriptures (iv. 48), and if the "people of the scripture" demand from Muhammad as a sign of his mission that he should bring a book down from heaven (iv. 152) their ancestors once asked Musa to do an even greater thing as proof of his mission (*ibid.*). The laws regarding food were only given to the Jews because they left Allah's way and practised *unlawful* although it was forbidden them (iv. 158—159). Muhammad however holds out prospect of a great reward to those among them who believe in Allah, the last judgment and in the new mission (iv. 160). In this period falls the fighting between Muhammad and the Jewish tribes in which, in spite of their strongholds, numbers of them were forced to emigrate (ii. 2 *sqq.*) or were taken prisoners (xxiii. 26). Their land became Muhammad's booty (xxiii. 27). After he had laid down the boundaries between the new Islam and the "peoples of the scripture", he mentions as enemies of the believers Jews, Christians, Sabaeans, Magians and polytheists (xxii. 17). Muhammad in this period attributes hateful things to the Jews. They worship 'Usair as 'Allah's son" (ii. 30 *sq.*, cf. Ez. xiv. 9, 14), worship their rabbis as the Christians do their monks along with Allah, who want to "extinguish Allah's light with their mouth" (ix. 32). Jews and Christians are wrong in saying "we are the children of Allah and his favourites" (v. 21), since Allah punishes them for their sins (*ibid.*). The Jews to Muhammad are "listeners to him and listeners to others" (v. 45), who falsify the words of their scriptures (*ibid.*), and quote their Tora against Muhammad's mission (v. 47). But all the apostles of God, who ever legislated truthfully according to the Tora, the prophets, rabbis and teachers, were Muslims (v. 48). Believers should therefore not accept the Jews and Christians as friends (v. 56). The Jews wrongly believe "that Allah's hand is tied" (v. 69). Muhammad finally turns to the "peoples of the scripture" and assures them that they have "nothing to stand upon" if they do not recognise the revelation thrice given in the Tora, Gospel and Qur'an (v. 72). But "the children of Israel" have always followed the apostles of falsehood (v. 74), even Ta' to them was only Allah's servant (v. 76), and the infidels among them were once cursed by Dawud (v. 82). Muhammad finally finds that the Jews and idolators are the greatest enemies of the believers, while the Christians are friendly to Muhammad and his community (v. 85). — The Hebrew expressions and terms used by Muhammad in the late Meccan period are: *badlān* from the Jewish liturgical *badlikh* (lix. 23); *bahima* from *bahimā* (xxii. 35); *ahbar* for *ahbarim* (ix. 34, 34); *minhūl* for *minhūg* (v. 25); *haffara* for *haffara* (v. 49, 96); *rabbānīn* for *rabbānīm* (v. 48, 68) and frequently *tanqūt* for *torā* (v. 47 *sqq.*). — See also the article *YAHYA*.

Bibliography: A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judentum aufgenommen?*, Bonn 1833. Hirschfeld, *Jüdische Elemente im Koran*, Berlin 1878; do., *Beiträge zur Erklärung*

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YAHUDI. (See YAHUD.)

YAHYĀ, John the Baptist. This prophet plays a fairly prominent part in the Qur'an, which mentions him with Jesus, Elijah and other prophets among the just persons who serve as arguments for the oneness of God (Sura vi. 85). The history in the Gospels of his miraculous birth is twice given (iii. 33—36 and xix. 1 *sq.*); God gives him to his parents Zacharias and Elisabeth in spite of their years. There is a kind of annunciation to Zacharias: "O Zacharias, we announce a son to thee; his name shall be Yahyā; no one has borne this name before him" (ix. 7). Yahyā speaks in his cradle and, like Jesus, has wisdom from his childhood. God gives him the title of lord (*malik*) which according to the commentators means merciful. His characteristic qualities are gentleness and chastity. A point discussed is the phrase in Sura xix. 15: "O Yahyā, take the book with steadfastness", which seems to mean that Muhammad thought that John had received a revealed book. The commentators, however, do not admit this meaning; they are of the opinion that the book mentioned here is the *Tora*, the Pentateuch, and that Yahyā did not receive a special revelation but had as his mission only to "confirm the word of God" (iii. 34). Zamakhshari simply says that God gave him understanding of the Tora. — The Qur'an does not mention his role of Baptist, and does not tell the story of his death.

The legend of John the Baptist among the Arabs presents different features according to different authors. Tabari says he was the first to believe in Jesus; he makes him survive Jesus and says that he was put to death at the request of Herodias, niece of Herod or daughter of his wife, for having said to the king that he could not marry her. A curious episode developed at length by Tabari, is that of the boiling of the blood of the decapitated Baptist. The blood boils not only in the dish on which the head is presented but on the tomb of the martyred prophet and can only be restored to its normal condition after great calamities. The blood and the decapitated head speak. — The legend is evidently in some way connected with the Neapolitan cult of the blood of St. Januarius.

Mar'uth relates of Elisabeth, John's mother, the story of the flight into Egypt which the Gospel tells of Mary. Elisabeth fled with her infant son to escape the wrath of a king. John sent a prophet to the Jews and was slain by them and put to death. Later his "blood" is avenged by a king named Khordāsh who massacres many

of the Jews. Mas'udi knows the episode of the baptism of Jesus by John, the scene of which he puts in the Lake of Tiberias, or in the Jordan. Al-Hirani mentions among the feasts of the Syrian calendar that of the "beheading" of John the Baptist on the 29th of the month Ab, and he records that, according to al-Harawi, there could be seen in front of the "Pillar Gate" at Jerusalem a pile of stones said to have been thrown by the passers-by to restore John's blood to a normal state, but the blood would not cease boiling and continued to do so until a Persian king had sent a general who put many men to death on the prophet's grave. Al-Hirani thinks, like Tabari, that this general was an Ashkanian.

At the present day there is still shown a tomb of John the Baptist in the great mosque of Damascus, where is also a tomb of Zacharias mentioned by the Baptists.

As to the "Christians of St. John" or Mandaeans, the Kur'ān and the Arab writers hardly know them; if they do refer to them, it is not by these names but as "Sabī'a" [q. v.]. They regard them as a sect intermediary between the Jews and the Christians and admit that they have a "book"; they do not however give them John the Baptist as their prophet but Noah.

Bibliography: Tabari, ed. de Goeje, indices, s. v.; the Chronicle of Tabari-Belami, transl. H. Zotenberg, Paris 1867, i. 535, 568; Mas'udi, *Murūj*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, s. index; al-Biruni, *Āthār*, ed. Sachau, p. 297, 301; Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, St. Petersburg 1856. (B. CAKRA DE VAUX)

YAHYĀ, a Turkish poet of Albanian origin of the time of Soliman. A scion of the noble north Albanian family of Dukagin, to which also belonged the Turkish poet Dokagin-zade Ahmad Bey, Yahyā was taken under the *dewāshirm* for the Janissaries and brought to Stambul. He himself speaks in his *Gemāline-i Rās* of his being conscripted in this way, a thing that was only to bring him good and when an old man he still recalls his Albanian origin. In Stambul he was put in the corps of 'Adjemi-Oghlan, in which officers for the Janissaries and Spahis were trained and he attained the rank of Vaya Bashi and Buluk Bashi of the Spahis. Shihāb al-Dīn, the *Kātib* of the Janissaries, soon recognised his poetic gifts and allowed him a great deal of freedom for his literary inclinations. Later he gained access to the intellectual coteries of Ibn Kemal, Dīn'ar Celebi, Kadri Efendi and to those of the two great Maecenas Ibnrahīm Pasha and Iskender Celebi. When the latter fell into disgrace the poet boldly interceded for him with the grand vizier İbrāhīm but could not save him.

Yahyā was a bitter enemy of the court poet Khayālī Bey whom he had first encountered in 943 (1536) and with whom he had a poetical feud as well as with Khaytī. He wrote a *ghazal* against Khayālī, which he gave to Soliman on a Persian campaign and it so delighted the grand vizier Rustem Pasha, the declared enemy of all poets, simply on account of the contempt poured on Khayālī in it, that he made Yahyā administrator of several foundations in Brussa and Stambul. But when Yahyā in his usual fearless fashion endeavoured to save the life of prince Magfā, who was popular with army and people alike and fell a victim to the intrigues of the grand vizier and

the sultāna Khurram, but without success, and then wrote an elegy on the prince after his execution which was soon on every one's lips, Rustem did all he could to get Yahyā executed but only succeeded in depriving him of his offices. When the grand vizier summoned him and prepared a trap with the question, how could he lament a man condemned by the Padishah, he is said to have replied with great presence of mind, that he condemned him with the Padishah but loved him like the people. When his enemy Rustem died, Yahyā would not lose the opportunity of writing a satirical lament upon him.

The poet later retired to a large field (*ist'ara*) of 27,000 aḥḍ annual income, which he had at Lomida in the sandjak of Zvornik in Bosnia. Here the octogenarian worked at the collection of his *diwān*, at which the historian 'Alī found him engaged in 982 (1572), a year before Yahyā's death (according to others he did not die till 986 or 990). After his death 'Alī was given the preface to the *diwān* to examine, in keeping with a wish of the deceased.

Besides a *diwān* of his *ghazals* which does not rise above the average, Yahyā left five considerable poems, which, following distinguished examples, he placed together in a *ḥamsa*. The five titles are *Ḥāshā u-Gedā* (on pure love; 4 MSS. in Vienna; Flügel, No. 688—691), *Yāfuz u-Zulmān* (written on the pilgrimage to Mecca), *Kisā-i Uḡl* (or *Uḡl-nāme*), *Gemāline-i Rās* (mystical; on this the poet Nūrī Akseki wrote a *ḥāshā* of 2,000 verses entitled *Sab'a Sa'yāra*), *Gulshān-i Anvār*. (There are also attributed to him a *Nās u-Niyāz* and an unfinished *Sulaimān-nāme* in 2,000 verses). The three last parts of the *ḥamsa* are not romances but consist of moral aphorisms on morality and rules of life, etc. The two first which were published at Stambul in 1284 have only the title in common with the works of Hilālī and Dīnār of the same name, and, besides, treat their subjects in quite an individual and independent fashion. Yahyā himself on one occasion says that he has no wish to eat *helwa* from the dead Persians. This independence along with his frankness and courage is the most notable trait of our Albanian and makes him an attractive figure to us. These qualities are also in keeping with his bravery as a soldier which was celebrated, and which he displayed for example in the fighting at Temesvár, and the Turkish literary historians mention him as representative of a type which admirably combined the sword with the pen. For him the frequently much abused *dewāshirm* was the cause of his rise to fame in these days when birth counted for nothing, and good luck and particularly tact meant everything.

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Kānūn al-ʿAdām, vi. 4793; Busaifi M. Tābir, *ʿOḡḡān al-Muʿallifīn*, ii. 297 sq.; Fikrī Reşid, *Tārīḫ-i Edebiyyāt-i ʿetḥemāwīye*, i. 336—346; Hammer, *Geschichte der armenischen Dichtkunst*, iii. 32—42; do., *G.O.A.*, iii. 318; do., *Constantinople und der Bosphorus*, i. 6; Gibb, *H.O.P.*, iii. 116—132. (W. BJÖRKMAN.)

YAHYĀ b. ĀDAM b. SULAIMĀN, a Muslim student of religion. His full name was **Abū Zakariyā**; as *muwālī* of a descendant of Uḡḡa b. Abī Muʿait he bore the *nisba* al-Karaghī and al-Umawī (al-Maḥḥūmī in al-Nawawī is a mistake); his other *nisba* al-Kāfi shows that he belonged to or lived in Kūfa. His father is mentioned among the traditionists of Kūfa (Ibn Saʿd, vi. 133; al-Nawawī). Nothing is known of his career except the statement that he never studied under his father. To judge from the dates of death of his oldest *ṣaḥḥa* he must have been born about 140 or soon afterwards. This agrees with the statement that he did not live to a very great age. He died about the middle of Rabīʿ I of the year 203 (middle of September 818) in Fum al-Sily near Wāsiṭ. Among his *ṣaḥḥa* may be mentioned: Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāḥ, al-Ḥasan b. Siliḥ, Sufyān al-Thawrī, Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, Sharīk b. ʿAbd Allāh and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubarak (fuller lists confirmed by the *Kitaḥ al-Kharājī* are in al-Uḡḡālī and al-Nawawī); among others who studied under him were Ibn Hanbal, Ibn Abī Shalba and Yahyā b. Maʿīn. He is usually said by the critics to be reliable.

Nothing has survived directly of Yahyā's work on the *Kurʾān*, which was apparently an important part of his activity. The *Fihrist* mentions him as transmitter of a small portion of al-Kāfi's reading of the *Kurʾān* (p. 30, l. 10) and mentions by him a *Kitaḥ al-Kirāʾat* (p. 33, l. 17) and a *Kitaḥ Muḥarrar al-Ḥam al-Kurʾān* (p. 38, l. 7). Ḥādīdī Khalīfa also mentions him among the authors of works on *Kirāʾat* (v. 136). Yahyā however was primarily a traditionist and legist of the orthodox school (as the *Fihrist* and Ibn Kūṭayba already say). The *Fihrist* mentions as further works of his a large *Kitaḥ al-Farāʾid*, the *Kitaḥ al-Kharājī* and a *Kitaḥ al-Zawāʾil* of unknown content. Of these only the *Kitaḥ al-Kharājī* has survived in a unique manuscript. It never seems to have been widely known and Ḥādīdī Khalīfa did not know it; but it was used by several writers, notably al-Balādhuri. Yahyā's *Kitaḥ al-Kharājī* is a polemic against the book of the same name by Abū Yūsuf in which great stress is laid on the traditions; even the opinions of his teachers are given second place to tradition. Yahyā's work is therefore important for the history of the land tax in Islām. It is not limited to the *khārāj* in the later sense but includes all kinds of taxes on land, including the *ʿuṣṣr* in so far as it is levied on immobilia. Yahyā's own position in *Fiqh* may be judged by his approving verdict on al-Ḥasan b. Ziyād, a companion of Abū Ḥanīfa, as well as by his high opinion of tradition (*Fihrist*, p. 204, l. 26).

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YAHYĀ b. 'ALĪ b. YAHYĀ b. Abī Manṣūr al-Muʿallimī, **Abū Ahmad**, was one of the best known theorists of music of the old Arabian (classical) school. He belonged to a learned family who were authors, several of whom wrote on, or were interested in music. His grandfather (d. c. 831) was the famous astronomer at the court of al-Maʿmūn [q. v.]. His father (d. 888) had "particular skill in music (*ghināʾ*)" says Ibn Ḥallikān, having been taught by the celebrated Ishāq al-Mawṣilī [q. v.], and wrote a book entitled *Kitaḥ al-Ḥikm al-Ḥikm b. Ḥikm al-Mawṣilī*. That 'Alī was also acquainted with the theory of music is evident from the fact that so eminent a theorist as Ḥabīb b. Kurra [q. v.] consulted him on the *ḥim al-muḥallī*. His uncle, Muḥammad, was also commended for his "knowledge of music (*ghināʾ*)". Yahyā b. 'Alī was born in the year 856 and, like his father, became a "boon companion" of the caliph, beginning this career in the service of al-Muwaffaq, the brother of the Caliph al-Muʿtamid [q. v.]. He is praised by most biographers on account of his knowledge of the literature and sciences of the Greeks (*awḡḡ*). This evidently gave him his pronounced taste for philosophy, in which sphere he shone as an exponent of the Muʿtazilī school. He was also a gifted poet and an accepted theorist of music. He died in the year 912.

According to the *Fihrist*, the best known book of Yahyā b. 'Alī was the *Kitaḥ al-Bakr* ("Book of the Illuminating"), which dealt with the poets who were half-castes. He left it unfinished, but his son completed it. Specimens of his poetry delivered before the caliph al-Muʿtamid [q. v.] and al-Muktafi [q. v.] have been preserved by al-Masʿūdī. Abū 'l-Faraj al-Iḥḥānī [q. v.] quotes a treatise on music by Yahyā entitled the *Kitaḥ al-Nagham* ("Book of Melodies [or Notes]") in an authoritative sort of way. This is probably the work that has come down to us in the solitary exemplar in the British Museum bearing the title *Riḥla fī 'l-Muḥallī* (Treatise concerning Music). This latter is, with the *Riḥla fī 'l-ḥikm al-Muḥallī* of al-Kindī in the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, the only work that throws any light on the music theory of the old Arabian (classical) school, the technical phraseology of which crowds the pages of the *Kitaḥ al-Aghāni* of Abū 'l-Faraj. This treatise, which is of the utmost importance, is being edited by the present writer, and will form a volume of his *Collection of Oriental Writers on Music*. In its pages will be found a complete explanation of the so-called "Finger Modes" (*quḥḥ*), with their "Courses" (*maḥḥārī*), and divisions (*ḥarḥīḥ*), in which the melodies (*al-ḥim*) of the various vocal pieces (*aqḥḥ*) were composed [see the article *Ḥim*].

His son, Abū 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad, a *faqīh* (lawyer) of the school of Abū Djaʿfar al-Ṭabarī [q. v.], was famed as a writer. A nephew, 'Alī b. Ḥarūn (d. 963), wrote a *Riḥla fī 'l-Farḥ bān Ḥarūn b. al-Mahdī wa-l-ḥikm al-Mawṣilī fī 'l-Ghināʾ* (Concerning the Difference between Ḥarūn b. al-Mahdī and Ishāq al-Mawṣilī concerning Music), whilst a son of the latter compiled a *Kitaḥ Muḥarrar fī 'l-Aghāni* (Book of Choice Songs).

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viii. 26—27; ix. 26; xv. 159; xviii. 175—176; *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 143—144; Ibn al-Kifī, ed. Lippert, p. 122, 364; Ibn Khallikān, *Biog. Diar.*, ii. 312; *Wafayāt*, ed. Bulāq (1882), i. 506; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, viii. 206, 222, 238; Collangettes, *Étude sur la musique arabe* (J. A., Nov.-Dec., 1904), p. 405; (July-Aug., 1906), p. 162—168; Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, see Index; do., *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence*, see Index.

(H. G. FARMER)

YAHYĀ b. KHĀLID, a Barmakid. In the 'Abbāsid caliphate we find Yahyā already prominent in the reign of al-Manṣūr, who in 158 (774—775) appointed him governor of Ḍharbāldjān or, according to another account, Armenia. Three years later, the caliph al-Mahdī appointed him tutor to his son, the young Hārūn, and in 163 (779—780) the latter was appointed governor of the western half of the empire, i.e. of all the provinces west of the Euphrates, with the addition of Armenia and Ḍharbāldjān, and Yahyā was put at the head of his chancellery. According to al-Mahdī's original arrangements, his older son Mūsā was to succeed him on the throne and Hārūn only to be considered in the second line of succession. Shortly before his death however, he decided to make a change in favour of Hārūn. Mūsā however was not satisfied; after the death of al-Mahdī in 169 (Aug. 785), Yahyā gave his protégé Hārūn the wise advice to retire voluntarily and pay homage to his brother whereupon Mūsā was acknowledged as caliph with the name al-Hādī. Nevertheless relations between the latter and Yahyā were very strained. The new caliph was thinking of cutting Hārūn completely out of the succession and having homage paid to his own son Dja'far as the successor designate. This plan however met with vigorous opposition from Yahyā which went so far that al-Hādī had him imprisoned. According to the usual story, he was kept in prison until the caliph died in Rabī' I, 170 (Sept. 786). When Hārūn had ascended the throne, he appointed Yahyā as vizier with unlimited power in all branches of the government. Yahyā's period of office lasted seventeen years, then the catastrophe — probably long planned — came like a flash of lightning from a clear sky. At the end of Muharram or in the first night of Šafar 187 (Jan. 23, 803) (or according to another statement, probably due to a copyist's error, 188), the caliph had his till then practically all-powerful favourite Dja'far b. Yahyā suddenly executed without legal proceedings. Soon afterwards Yahyā and his other sons were arrested and their property confiscated. Yahyā was kept in prison till his death on the 3rd Muharram 190 (Nov. 29, 805) in al-Rāfiqa at the age of 70 (or 74). Cf. the article **BARMAKIDS**.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüstenfeld), No. 816; transl. by de Slane, iv. 103; al-Tabarī (ed. de Goeje), iii., see index; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Torberg), vi., *passim*; Ya'qūbī (ed. Houtama), ii. 490, 506, 510—512; al-Mas'ūdī (ed. Paris), vi., *passim*; *Kifāh al-Aghāni*, see Guildi, *Tableaux alphabétiques*; Ibn al-Tiktākā, *al-Fihrist* (ed. Derenbourg), see index; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, ii. 65, 99 sq., 120 sq., 134 sqq., 144 sqq.; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, p. 465, 475 sqq., 483 sq.; Bouvat, *Les Barmekides d'après les historiens arabes et persans*. (K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

YAHYĀ b. PĪR 'ALĪ. [See NEW'Ī.]

YAHYĀ b. ZAID AL-HUSAINĪ, son of Zaid b. 'Alī [q. v.]. After his father had fallen in the rising (122 = 740) into which he had been dragged by the Shī'a of Kūfa, the young Yahyā was no longer safe in Kūfa. The reports differ as to whether he at once left the town (Tabarī, ii. 1710) or whether he was kept in concealment there for a time until the search for him was abandoned (*ibid.*, ii. 1713 sq.). He finally escaped to Khurāsān with a few followers.

According to the *Maḥāṣil al-Talibiyān*, Yahyā went from al-Madīna to Raiy and then to Sarakhs where he stayed six months with a certain Yazid b. 'Amr al-Taimi (*Umdat al-Talib*; b. 'Umar al-Tamimi). *Muḥabbibina* (Khāridjīs) are said to have sought to make common cause with him but on Yazid's advice he would not join them. He came from Sarakhs to Balkh where he found a welcome with al-Harith b. 'Amr b. Dāwūd (*Maḥāṣil*, p. 62; *al-Iḥḍāq*, fol. 12^b; al-Djarīsh b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Shaibānī).

Learning of Yahyā's activities, Yūsuf b. 'Umar ordered the governor of Khurāsān Naṣr b. Saiyār to take him prisoner. The governor of Balkh thereupon brought the 'Alid from his hiding-place and sent him to Naṣr who imprisoned him in Marw. The caliph al-Walīd II, to whom the matter of Yahyā was referred by Ibn 'Umar, wrote to Naṣr to grant immunity to Yahyā and his friends and to release them. With a warning against any attempts at rebellion and orders to go to the caliph, Naṣr dismissed him and gave him money and animals for his journey. In keeping with Naṣr's orders, the governors of Sarakhs, Tūs and Ahrashahr (i. e. Naisābūr) would not allow the 'Alid to stop there. Yahyā thus came to the frontier town of Baiḥāq. Probably from fear of Ibn 'Umar, he preferred not to go further west. According to *al-Iḥḍāq* (fol. 13^a below), from here he published an appeal (*da'wa*) to follow him. 70 men are said to have acknowledged him. With his little force, he turned against the commander of Ahrashahr, 'Amr b. Zurāra, after demanding their mounts from a caravan on the way. In spite of the superior force of the enemy, he was able to fight successfully. Ibn Zurāra fell, according to Ya'qūbī (ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 630), in the village of Buhtanikūn near Naisābūr and in his camp Yahyā seized many riding-animals. He then succeeded in fighting his way through the district of Herāt into al-Djūzadjān, where he gained some adherents. But soon after this a strong body of cavalry under Salim b. Aḥwaz sent by Naṣr overtook him. After three days desperate fighting in the village of Arghuwa (?) he was killed with his followers (probably in Ramaḍān 125 = June 743).

According to the *Umdat al-Talib*, Yahyā was 18 years of age at his death; other sources say 28. His head was sent to Damascus and put up there and his body placed over the gate of the capital of al-Djūzadjān, Auhār (Auhār; cf. Ya'qūbī, i. 370, 367) until followers of Abū Muslim [q. v.] took it down and buried it. His tomb became a place of pilgrimage.

Yahyā's death and the shameful treatment of his body deeply affected the Shī'a of Khurāsān. Vengeance for Yahyā became the watchword of the followers of Abū Muslim, who executed those concerned in his death.

The Zaidīs regard Yahyā as one of their imāms,

Bibliography: al-Tabari, ed. de Goeje, see Indices; al-Yakubi, ed. Houtsma, n. 392, 397 ff.; do., *Kisab al-Bukhari*, in *B. G. A.*, xl, 302; Ibn Kutilba, *Kutub al-Muqarraf*, ed. Wasmuth, p. 111; al-Mas'udi, ed. Paris, vl. 2-3, 79; Abu 'l-Faraj al-Isfahani, *Majma' al-Tawarikh* (Ith. Tehran 1307), p. 61-64 (on margin of Fakhr al-Din Ahmad al-Nadawi, *al-Muntahab fi 'l-Mawarid wa 'l-Khawarid*, Ith. Bombay 1311, p. 182-191); Ibn Mubarriz al-Hamiri, *'Umdat al-Falāh fi Amd al-'Abd al-Falāh* (Ith. Bombay 1318), p. 230 ff.; Hamid Allah Ma'sawi, *Tarikh al-Ghazal*, in *G. M. S.*, xvi/ii, London 1910, p. 283 ff.; Abu 'l-Abbas Ahmad b. Ibrahim al-Hamiri, *Kutub al-Muqarraf*, Cod. Ambr., N. S., A 55, fol. 312-320; Abu 'l-Falāh al-Bakhami, *al-Falāh fi Tarikh al-'Amm al-Sada*, MS. Leyden, Oct. 1974, fol. 125-126; Hamid b. Ahmad al-Mahallī, *al-Falāh al-Mawarid fi Manāhil 'Amm al-Zatīya*, MS. Munich, Ar. 86, fol. 82 ff.; G. van Vloten, *De Opkomst der Abbassiden in Chorasān*, Diss. Leyden 1890, p. 60-62; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionspartien im alten Islam* (Abh. G. W. Göt., N. S., 3, Berlin 1901), p. 97 ff.; do., *Das Arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, p. 211, 311; R. Strothmann, *Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen*, Strassburg 1912, p. 74, 107; C. van Ardenonck, *De Opkomst van het Zaiditische Imamaat in Yemen*, Leyden 1919, p. 30 ff., 32, 37. (C. VAN ARDENONCK)

YAILA (East. Turk. *yailak*, from *yai* "summer" and the suffix *lak*) "summer encampment", usually situated in the mountains, to which people resort in order to avoid the heat of summer; opp. *highla* (*highlak*, from *high* "winter" and the suffix *lak*), "dwelling-place in winter" (whence in Ormanli Turkish the meaning "barracks"). When the hot summer days approach, the inhabitants of the villages take their cattle with them to the highlands (cf. the Swiss *maison*). When the *highlak* of Adjwan near Tabriz was left by its inhabitants who went to the *yailak* of the Kara-Bagh, fire was put to all the huts (*'Aini*, *Manāzil al-Akbar*, as cited by Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols*, I, 21, No. 27).

Bibliography: Fr. Sarré, *Reise in Kleinasien*, Berlin, 1890, p. 75, 90, 136; Polak, *Persien*, Leipzig 1865, I, 101. (C. HOAR)

YAKUB, the patriarch, the son of Isaac in the Bible, is in the early Meccan *Sūras* (vi. 84; xix. 50; xxi. 72; xxi. 26) the brother of Ishak, son of Ibrahim; the genealogy: Ibrahim, Isma'il, Ishak, Yakub, the (12) tribes (ii. 130, 134), is more true to the Bible. Yakub is numbered among the Prophets (xix. 50). He is once or twice mentioned in the *Yusuf Sūra*: Yakub orders his sons not to go through a door (xii. 93); he becomes blind through sorrow and regains his sight when Joseph's coat touches his eye (xii. 93, 94).

Post-Kur'anic legend relates that Yakub and Esau fought already in their mother's womb, that Yakub was to be born first but to spare his mother took second place. Yakub was really entitled to the rights of the first-born (Tabari, I, 350). Yakub's journey to Haran and his stay with Lohan are told as in the Bible but in several versions Yakub only marries Rahil after Leah's death. The *Yusuf Sūra* receives many embellishments. On hearing that a wolf has torn Yusuf to pieces, Yakub wishes to see the wolf; the brothers bring

the first wolf they can find but this beast miraculously begins to speak and exposes their deceit. Many versions are given as to why Yakub has to suffer. Yakub writes a letter to the king of Egypt. After eighty years of separation, Yakub recognises at a distance of 80 passages the heavenly sun at Vilust. The baggage is known according to which Esau and Yakub dispute about the burial-place in Machpelah: "thou hast made me lose the blessing, thou shalt not make me lose the tomb" (Tabari, I, 359, very similarly *Sūra* 135; late parallels in Gierberg, *Legende of the Jews*, v, 371, 422).

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YAKUB b. AL-LATH [See SAFFARIUS.]

YAKUB BEY. [See GERMANY OSMAN.]

AL-YAKUBI AHMAD b. ABI YAKUB b. ISMA'IL b. WAHAB b. WAḤID b. KATIB b. AHMAD, an Arab historian and geographer, a descendant of the *Wahib*, a freedman of Salih and later of his father, the Caliph al-Manṣūr, after whom the family takes the name al-'Abbās. Like his ancestor, who as governor of Egypt paid with his life for the protection which he gave to Idris b. 'Abd Allah on his flight after his defeat at al-Fakhkh in 169 (285), our author was also a *Shi'* of the moderate *Muawiyā* who belong to the *Imānīs*. He spent his youth in Armenia and in the service of the *Tahiri* in Khurāsān, whose doings he celebrated in a special work (*Hist.*, II, 537, 6). He seems to have written his history of the world which he brought down to the year 259 (872) while still in the east. It begins with the history of the patriarchs of Israel, then gives the story of the patriarchs of Israel, then gives the story of the Messiah and the Apostles, of the rulers of Syria, Assyria and Babylon, the Indians, Greeks and Romans, Persians, northern peoples including the Turks, Chinese, Egyptians, Berbers, Abyssinians, Bedja and negroes and lastly the pre-Islamic Arabs. The second part, almost twice as long, begins with the birth of the Prophet and brings the history of Islam down to 259 (872). Besides the *Shi'a* tendency, which however never influences him sufficiently to present a false view, his fondness for astrology is apparent, for he gives at the beginning of each reign the exact constellation. His work is of importance as a check on the tradition which is otherwise almost entirely dependent on Tabari, although his interest in speeches and letters often leads him to digressions. He also hardly ever mentions his sources and his account of contemporary events is confined to few brief references. In addition to the Cambridge MS. from which M. Th. Houtsma edited the work (*Abu Wāḥid qui dicitur al-Ja'fari historiarum*, 2 vols., Leyden 1885), another is now known in Topkapı (R.S.O., iv, 708); cf. M. J. de Goeje, *Über das Geschichte der Abbassiden von al-Ja'fari*, in *Travaux de la session de congrès international des or.*, St. Petersburg and Leyden 1879, II, 153-166; M. Klamroth, *Der Auszug aus dem Evangelium bei dem arab. Historiker Jaqubi*, in *Festschrift zur Einweihung des Wilhelms-Gymnasiums in Hamburg*, 1885; do., *Über die Aussagen aus griechischen Schriftstellern*

bet al-Ja'fari, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xl. 189—233, 612—838; xli. 415—442.

After the fall of the Tahirids, Ya'qubi went to Egypt where he died in 284 (897). In 278 (891) he wrote there his geographical work *Kitab al-Buldan*, for which he had been collecting material by research in literature and making enquiries of travellers. His interests are predominantly statistical and topographical; he gives the distances only roughly in days' journeys and lays special weight on giving the yields of taxation. He begins with a detailed description of Baghdad and Samarra, then goes on to Iran and Turan with northern Afghanistan. Kufa with west and south Arabia follow, then Basra with Central Arabia, but this part with the description of India, China and the Byzantine Empire is now lost. The description of Syria with its military colonies was followed by that of Egypt, Nubia and the Maghrib. The concluding part is a section on the governors of Sidjistan down to the death of al-Mansur, with which this province lost its independence and became amalgamated with Khurasan, and of Khurasan to the end of the Tahirids. His style is simple and his text free from the fables so beloved by the geographers of the time. See M. J. de Goeje, *Specimen s. literis orientalis exhibent descriptionem al-Maghribi sumam s. libro regionum al-Ja'fari*, Leyden 1860; *Kitab al-Buldan auctore Ahmad ibn abi Ja'fari ibn Wadhih al-Kutib al-Ja'fari*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B. G. A.*, vii., *ibid.* 1892. His works quoted on the Geography of the Byzantine Empire and on the history of the conquest of Africa are lost.

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YAKUT AL-RUMI, or, according to a genealogy which he assumed later, **SHU'AB AL-DIN ABU 'ABD ALLAH YA'QUB b. 'ABD ALLAH AL-HAMAWI**, the famous Arab encyclopaedist. Born in 575 (1179) in Byzantine territory of non-Arab parents (hence his ethnic al-Rumi), he was captured when a boy, sold as a slave in Baghdad and purchased by a certain 'Askar b. Ibrahim al-Hamawi, a merchant in the capital of the caliphs. 'Askar gave Yakut, who added to his name his master's ethnic, a good education and a few years later sent him to trade in the Persian Gulf in the island of Kishm [q. v.], Uman and Syria. Mammuted in 596 (1199) and estranged for a time from 'Askar, Yakut took to copying for a living, attended the lectures of the grammarian al-Ukbari (d. 616 = 1219), became reconciled with his old master and resumed his trading journeys for him, settled in Baghdad on his death and became a bookseller. In 610 (1213) however, he again resumed his life of travel. We now find him in Tabriz, next year in Syria or Egypt, and in 612 (1215) at Damascus again where he was nearly lynched for his anti-Alid views but he escaped to Aleppo, Mōsul, Khurasan and Marw. He spent nearly 2 years in this town, ransacking the libraries. He now began to put together the material for his principal books. At the end of 615 (1218) he left his studious retirement and visited Khwarizm (the modern Khiva). Hearing however of the coming of the Mongol hordes led by Čingis-Khān in 616 (1219) he fled hurriedly, abandoning all his property, to Mōsul where he arrived completely destitute in Rabi'ab 617 (Sept. 1220). He wrote a

letter seeking assistance from the vizier Ibn al-Kifti [q. v.] then in Aleppo. The latter supplied him with means of rejoining him in 619 (1222). But two years later, Yakut returned to Mōsul and settled down to finish his geographical dictionary, which he completed on 20th Safar 621 (March 13, 1224). However he did not stay long here, but went to Egypt at the end of this year, returned to Aleppo at the beginning of 625 (1228), and had put the finishing touches to his geographical compilations when he died on 20th Ramaḍān 626 (Aug. 20, 1229).

A certain number of Yakut's works seem now to be lost. This is the case with the *Kitab al-Mabā' wa'l-Ma'āl* and *Kitab al-Dawā'ir*, on history, the *Kitab al-Akhbār al-Mutanabbi* and the *Kitab al-Akhbār al-Sawā'ir*, the *Ma'djam al-Udabā'* and the *Ma'djam al-Shu'arā'*, on biography, the *Kitab 'Unwān al-Aghni'*, perhaps extracted from the *Si'ar al-Ashhāb* of Abu 'l-Faraj al-Isfahāni. Of Yakut's work we have only the following: 1. *Si'ar al-Mukhtadab* f. 'l-Awā'id, on the Arab genealogies (Mss. in Cairo). 2. *Kitāb Irshād al-Arab ilā Ma'rifa al-Adīb* (in Ibn Khallikān: *Irshād al-Adīb ilā Ma'rifa al-Adīb*), better known as *Ma'djam al-Udabā'* or *Tabaqāt al-Udabā'* (ed. by Margoliouth, in *G. M. S.*, Leyden 1907—1931, 6 vols.). This considerable work contains, in alphabetical order, biographies of grammarians, philologists, calligraphers, men of letters, poets and in a general way all those who have dealt with *adab*. It has not come down to us in its entirety. 3. The *Ma'djam al-Buldan*, on which Yakut worked from 1212 till his death (see Wüstenfeld, *Yakut's geographischen Wörterbuch*, Leipzig 1866—1873, 6 vols., 2nd ed., 1924; Cairo 1906—1907, with a modern supplement for Europe, America, etc. 10 vols.). This dictionary contains not only geographical information but also under each place-name astrological and historical data, quotations from poems and a list of eminent natives of the place. This mixture of history and geography, which is by no means peculiar to Yakut, led another compiler, 'Abd al-Mu'min b. 'Abd al-Hakīm (d. 735 = 1339), to prepare an abridgement entitled *Merā'id al-Istī'ā' al-Asmā' al-Ashkaniya wa'l-Bilād* (ed. by Jayeboll, Leyden 1851—1864, 4 vols.) containing only the geographical matter of the *Ma'djam al-Buldan*. 4. *Kitāb al-Muhtarib wa'd-dawā'ir wa'l-Mukhtalif* *ya'qub*, composed in 623 (1226), remodelled in 626 (1229) (ed. by Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1846, 1 vol.). It is a dictionary of place-names of the same spelling which are applied to several different places.

Yakut is closely connected with the school of compilers who, like Ibn al-Kifti, al-Kazwini, Ibn Khallikān, without producing any original work, extracted with remarkable skill the essentials from the work of their predecessors, completed and corrected in detail the information found in books and presented the whole in accessible and handy fashion. Yakut in a general way confines himself to quoting the actual words of the authors from whom he borrows, not omitting to give the source. In this way there have been preserved for us numerous fragments of works now lost.

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Orientalis, preface to the *Géographie d'Abou-Isa* (Paris 1848), I, cxxx. 199; do., in *J.A.*, 1860; Herr, *Die histor. und geogr. Quellen in Jaqut's geogr. Wörterbuch* (Strassburg 1898); Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 479—481; Huart, *Litt. arabe*, p. 301—303. (R. BLACHÈRE)

YAKUT AL-MUSTA'SIMI, **IMAM AL-IBN ABU 'I-MARJ** b. 'ABD ALLAH, a famous calligrapher, was a slave of the last 'Abbasid caliph of Baghdad, al-Musta'zim, who had him brought up and educated, whence his surname. His origin is unknown; some say he was a Greek from Amasia; he was probably carried off on a razzia while still very young. He was a eunuch. He died at Baghdad in 698 (1298) at the age of 80 (lunar years) which would make him born in 618 (1221). The continuer of Ibn al-Bawwab, he was called *Khat al-Kutub*, "model of calligraphers", and was head of a school; he also wrote in prose and verse; we have by him a *Kutub al-Akhbar*, an anthology written in 662 (1264) and the *Asthar al-fuhamā*, a collection of aphorisms (printed at Constantinople in 1300). Kurāna, said to be copied by him, are in the following libraries: St. Sofia, 654 (1256); Hamidiya türbe at Haghié-Kapu (Constantinople), 662 (1264); Cairo (Morina, N° 89); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds arabe, N° 6082; Peysel Collection, 681 (1282); etc.

Bibliography: Habīb Efendi, *Katṭāf al-Khatā'ir*, Constantinople 1305, p. 31; Mirza Sengillākh, *Intihān al-Fuṭalā*, Teheran 1291, p. 3 199. (not paginated); Cl. Huart, *Calligraphes et Miniaturistes*, Paris 1908, p. 84 199; Quatremère, *Hist. des Mameluks*, t. III, 140, note 11; Weijers, *Orientalia*, ii. 291; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 353; Edw. G. Brown, *A Literary History of Persia*, ii. 487. (CL. HUART)

YAM. 1. Name of a tribe belonging to Hamdān in South Arabia, described by Ibn al-Mudjāwir as the Banū Yam b. Asba' living in al-Qadīm and in the wādi of al-Hanīk and al-Hukla. Al-Hamdānī numbers the Banū Yam among the tribes who speak a pure Arabic but E. Glaser established the fact that their dialect is different from the Arabic which is spoken in the Yaman highlands. The Banū Yam are, according to Passama, of fine physique, proud and warlike. They live in Najrān and belong to the sect of the Ismā'īliya which is found not only in Najrān and Hamdān but also in Taiba, Harāz, Sa'fān and several places in Yerm and is under the leadership of the Dā'ī Kabā'il Yam, who lives at Bedr. Since about 1760 this dignity has been hereditary in the al-Makramī family, the founder of which extended the power of the tribe in 1763 beyond Najrān to Sa'fān, Harāz, Menākha and Taiba and thrust their plundering raids into towns on the coast. They were able to retain their power and prestige afterwards. The tribe of Yam was represented in the embassy to the Prophet, which adopted Islām in the year 10 under the leadership of Mālik b. Nama'. When Salṭān Selīm conquered the Yemen, the Yam assisted the Turks and were rewarded with the right to levy tribute on the tribes subdued by the Turks. This of course did not prevent them supporting the Imām Ka'im about 1640 in driving the Turks out of the Yaman. The Dā'ī of Yam was however able to re-establish good relations with Constantinople in 1834 and his successors also were friendly

with the Turks so long as the latter held firm control of the Yaman.

2. Name of a Mikhizf in the Yaman, which included the sphere of influence of the tribe of Yam.

3. Name of a mountain in the Yaman Ḥawf between the wādis of Khārid and al-Ferṣa.

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YAMAK. [See JANISSARIES.]

AL-YAMAMA, a district in Central Arabia, which was originally called Ḥawf ("the bottom of a valley"). The name of Yamama is said to go back to the seeress Zarḳa' al-Yamama, who plays a prominent part in the story of the decline of the tribes of Tasm and Ḥimyar. The district was first of all called after her Ḥawf al-Yamama, then simply al-Yamama. The statement that al-Yamama lies on the long ridge of the 'Arid, to which belongs its chief wādī 'Irq, which runs through the district, shows, like the long list of place-names and not least the very considerable yield in taxation, 510,000 dinārs according to Kudāma b. Iḥṣāf, that it must have been an extensive area, which included a considerable portion of the range now called Djabel Tuwaik. The boundaries given by Jomard, who understands the statements of Idriṣī and Abū 'I-Fida' to mean that al-Yamama included the provinces of al-'Arid and al-Kharḳ, are probably too extensive. It is not however possible to define exactly the limits of this region which was very important in ancient Arabia; the Dahna however was the frontier on the east.

The name al-Yamama is now given to an oasis in the Wādī 'Adajim on the southeastern slope of the Djabel Tuwaik, which consists of a palm-grove, a mile square with four villages, in front of which lies an extensive area covered with the ruins of palaces and dwelling-houses. Philby therefore seeks to locate the ancient Yamama in the angle formed by the Wādīs Hanifa and Nisāh. Its first capital was al-Khidrīma in the Wādī 'I-'Irq (or Wādī Hanī Hanifa), later in the second half of the fourth century A. H. the market town of Hadir al-Yamama or al-Hadir, which was however already in ruins in the time of Idriṣī. The following places in it are also mentioned:

Manfūha, Wabra, al-ʿAwka, Ghabrā, Muḥashshama, al-ʿAmināriya, Faighān, al-Haddār, Dāhik, Tūdh, al-Mikrāt, al-Sāl, Salamīya, al-Kurāiya, al-Madīza, Maʿwān and al-Nakh. Al-Khidrīma is described as an important town, smaller than al-Madīna, but rich in palms and fruit-trees. Among the crops the most important was wheat, which was even sent to the caliph's table (it was known as *Balqāʾ al-Yamāma*), there was also excellent fruit and dates. The beef was well favoured as there were fine pastures and the drinking-water excellent. A speciality of al-Yamāma was the slave girls who fetched high prices for their complexion — up to as much as 100,000 dirhams.

In the pre-Islamic period al-Yamāma was inhabited by the Djadis, who had their strongholds in the ʿIrāq valley and along with the Ṭam whose army they destroyed here, were under Himyarite rule. After their decline, which South Arabian legend narrates fully, we find the Banū Ḥanifa b. Luḡjaim who, after being almost annihilated in the battle against the rival prophet Muṣallima b. Ṭhumāma (12 A.H.) submitted to Ismāʿ. At a later period al-Yamāma was settled by the Numair b. ʿAmr and Bahila b. Yaʿsur as well as by the Tamim and their clients of other tribes. At the present day the district belongs to the Wahhābi kingdom, has about 2,000 inhabitants and has sunk to a low level. Philby no doubt rightly ascribes the destruction of the old cultivated land to a disastrous flood in the valley of the Hanifa.

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AL-YAMAN, formerly a province, now an imāmate in the southwest of the Arabian peninsula. The name is variously explained; some say it was given because the Yaman lies to the right of the Kaʿba or to the right of the sun (al-Bakrī, ii. 856), others because Yūṭan b. ʿAbir and his companions turned right on separating from the other Arabs (*B.G.A.*, v. 33; Yāqūt, iv. 1034), while others again derive the name from the eponymous hero Yaman b. Kaḥṭān (cf. al-Wāsiʿi, p. 281). Sprenger thinks the Greeks and Romans translated Teman and Yaman by "eu-daemon" and "felix" and included under Arabia Felix all the land south of Shām. This coincides roughly with the delimitation of the Yaman attributed to Muḥammad, who is said to have climbed a mound at Tabūk and pointing to the north said "All this is al-Shām" and turning to the south "All this is al-Yaman" (Sprenger, p. 9). The greatest extension of the Yaman to the north

actually corresponds very well with the boundary of Arabia Felix which, according to Ptolemy, vi. 7. 2, 27, begins about 6 miles south of al-ʿAkaba and the northern frontier of which runs from there northwards to the foot of the Sharaʾ range and then turning east, crossing the northern edge of the desert of al-Nufūd, ends at al-Nedjef. Al-Wāsiʿi (p. 282) also represents al-Yaman as bounded in the east by the Persian Gulf, in the south by the Arabian Sea, in the west by the Red Sea and in the north by the Gulf of Kāzum, the Syrian desert and the ʿIrāq. The frontiers given by the Arab geographers are considerably narrower. According to Ibn Khurdādhbeh (p. 135, 137, 189) and Idrīsī (p. 143 sq.), the northern frontier of the Yaman ends at the tree called Ṭahat al-Malik between al-Muḥallira and Sarīm Rih south of Mecca. According to others, it begins below Ṭahḥith, while al-Aṣmaʿī (Yāqūt, iv. 1035) makes the northern boundary run from ʿOmān through Naḍirān; Hamdānī (p. 51; Yāqūt, iv. 1035) more accurately lays it through Yaḥrīn, south of al-Yamāma, via al-Hudayra, Ṭahḥith, Dīrān and Karna to the coast towards Kudammal near Hamīla (17° 52'). Ibn Hawḳal (p. 18) who includes two thirds of the Diyār al-ʿArab in the Yaman, puts the northern limit at al-Sirraīn, Yalamlam, al-Ṭāʾif and makes it run through the highlands to the Persian Gulf; this makes it intelligible why some geographers even include Mecca in the Yaman Ṭihāma. Towards the east the Yaman extends over Hadramūt, al-Shūʾr (Maḥra), Zafār (Dofār); even ʿOmān is sometimes included in the Yaman when it is not (as e.g. in Maḳḍisī, p. 68) made a separate province. The whole of this extensive territory, which al-Dimashqī (p. 216) divides into 24 administrative districts (*mukhāṣṣat*), was in the early days of Islām divided into three: Ṣanʿā, al-Djanad and Hadramūt (or Zafār) under separate governors. The taxes under the ʿAbbāsids yielded 600,000 dinārs (*B.G.A.*, vi. 144, 249, 251). After the Yaman broke off from the ʿAbbāsīd empire its area diminished considerably and its administrative divisions varied substantially; sometimes the Ṣanʿā Ṭihāma with its capital Zabīd was actually independent of the Zaidī highlands with Ṣanʿā as capital. When C. Njebuhr travelled in the Yaman he ascertained that the following districts were independent:

1. Yaman in the narrower sense with Ṣanʿā;
2. ʿAden with its hinterland;
3. Kawkabān;
4. Ḥaḥid and Bakīl;
5. Abū ʿArīsh;
6. the lands lying between this and the Ḥijāz;
7. Khawlān;
8. Saḥān with Saʿda;
9. Naḍirān;
10. Kaḥṭān;
11. al-Djāwī with Mārib;
12. Nihm;
13. Khawlān, S. E. of Ṣanʿā;
14. Yafīʿ.

The geographical definition of the Yaman becomes still narrower under Turkish rule. The wilāyet according to the provincial law of 19th Rabīʿ II, 1331 comprised the sandjak of Ṣanʿā with the qaḍās of Ḥarīz, Kawkabān, Anīs, Ḥadje, Dhamār, Yarm, Reda and ʿAmrān, the sandjak of al-Hudayda with the qaḍās of Zabīd, Lahayya, Zaidiya, Dījal Rēma, Ḥadḥūr, Bēt al-Faḳīh and Baḍīl, and the sandjak of Taʿizz with the qaḍās of Ibb, ʿUdain, Kaʿaba, Ḥudayriya, Muḥā and Kamaʿra. In the north it was adjoined towards 18° N. Lat. by the independent districts of Abū ʿArīsh, Kaḥṭān, Wādaʿa, Bilād Yām (Naḍirān), in the east by the Balād Kīf, Baraʿ, the oasis of Khabb, al-Djāwī with Arḥab and Nihm and also Mārib, Khawlān, Ḥarīb, Bahān and Yafīʿ as well as the Faḍlī region, and

in the south by the hinterland of 'Aden, which is under the protectorate of England and since the Anglo-Turkish frontier adjustment of 1904-1905 has endeavoured to push its boundary northwards, which tendency has been repeatedly opposed by the Sultan Yahya b. Hamid al-Din in recent years; his kingdom is bounded in the north by the Hadda and Najd, and in the east is about 40° Long. by Hadramut which the Imam regards as within his sphere of influence. The official Turkish estimate of the area of the wilayat of Yaman is 191,100 sq. km. but both higher and lower estimates are given. If we include the hinterland of Aden as well as the islands of Kamaru, Farin, Sokatra and Kithirra-Murzin, which belong to India (Bombay), we get roughly 205,000 sq. km. The estimates of the population vary quite as much. The English figure is 1,000,000 for the Yaman, and 100,000 for the protectorate of 'Aden. E. Glaser (*Fagelst.*, viii, 1886, p. 45) gives the Turkish Yaman 1,000,000 inhabitants, al-Was' 5,000,000. The population of the Yaman is, apart from about 60,000 Jews and a few Christians and Parsers, entirely Muslim, but of different schools. The highlands between Sa'da, Yarm and 'Athbar and the whole of the coast including al-Bahar are Zaidi, the Tihama, Ta'izz and Hadramut, Shafi'i. The Isma'iliya includes among its followers the districts of Najran, Hamdan, Taiba, Harat, Sa'in and the neighbourhood of Varin. The Ya'fisi sect has followers in the vicinity of Mendahe.

The anthropological classification of the population is not yet settled. There is undoubtedly a strong Hamitic element of the same type as in North Africa, alongside of which the dolichocephalous Semitic race of northern Arabia and the short and high headed, large-nosed race of higher Asia, not to mention a negro element, form a strong component in the racial mixture of South Arabia, at the base of which there is probably an ancient pigmy people.

The sharp distinction between the low lying coast-lands and the highlands of the Yaman had already been noticed by the Arab geographers. The former, 25-45 miles in breadth, passes into an undulating area of sandy, hilly country with occasional ridges and cones standing out like islands, which is succeeded by the bordering chain of foot hills, then an outer trench-zone, on which abut the curved and broken edge of the Arabian plateau. An inner trench-zone follows, and forms the transition to the eastern highlands. The Yaman highlands, the scene of a great upheaval, in the angle of two great depressions, has thus become a great mountain area which contains the highest peaks in Arabia (about 10,000 feet) and has towns (Marib, San'a) at a level of 3,500 to 7,000 feet. The extensive desert known as Rub' al-Khali which bounds the Yaman on the east and stretches in the form of a wide valley between Najd and Hadramut, has only been made better known recently through the explorations of B. Thomas and Philby. Al-Yaman has not unjustly been called the "Green" (al-Khafiya). A fairly intensive system of agriculture is possible not only in the plains of the coast (especially producing millet and maize) but also in the bordering foothills, which are very favoured climatically and have a luxuriant vegetation. An arduous but intensive system of cultivation is carried on artificial terraces. The most valuable article of

cultivation is the coffee plant; the eastern slopes of the coast hills are permanently cultivated since perennial streams and springs secure irrigation and wells make possible an intensive semi-cultivation. The healthy climate of these coast valleys has in places led to a denser population than in the same hills. On the edge of the eastern highlands at the mouths of the valleys there are extensive oases which grow dates (Hawl, Marib). The centres of culture is ancient Asila (Saba, Ma'in) grew up here is due to the great skill in irrigation works, of which the dam at Marib is an example. Among the articles grown may be mentioned wheat from very early times; it does well at a medium height of 4,000 feet millet, sorghum, maize and yam are also grown. The chief centres for cereals were Uthmaniyah, Khawlan, Dhamir, Ra'in and al-Sahal. The Tihama still produces 50-400 bush crops and wide stretches e. g. in the plain of Marib could be cultivated if they had a better system of irrigation. Numerous fruits (apples, quinces, bananas, lemons, apricots, peaches, plums and mangos etc.) grow in the Yaman, especially in the Wadi Dala at San'a; the date and vine have also been cultivated since ancient times. Vineyards are often mentioned in the early south Arabian inscriptions and the geographers mention them in Sadun, Rih, Khawlan, Athar and in the Wadi Qahr. Among dye-yielding plants are indigo (most particularly at Zaid), woad in Bilad Habbab, Udain, Lihle, Iho etc., cassia, saffron and frank. A widely distributed plant the leaves of which are used for chewing is *qat* (*Catha edulis Pers.*). The trees and shrubs which produced drugs and gums were of special importance in antiquity, especially frankincense and myrrh. The export of their resins laid the foundation for the prosperity of South Arabia; there was also the aloes, an especially fine quality of which was found in Sokatra. Mineral wealth is also to be found in the Yaman. Gold is obtained in considerable quantities from the sands of the rivers and from mines, among jewels varieties of opals and corallines were esteemed. The high degree of culture also raised the level of local industries. The weaving was particularly good, high prices were paid for striped cloaks from Sakil and Hithra. Cotton was made as early as the sixth century A. D. Tanning and the manufacture of leather was general and increased considerably in the period of Persian rule. Yaman leather and book-bindings were greatly appreciated. The chief manufacturing towns were Sa'da, Zabid, Dyrach and Najran. The manufacture of weapons was also a flourishing one; swords and cuirasses from the Yaman were highly prized as were the safety-locks still manufactured there. Other products of the Yaman which were exported were drinking vessels from Hail, palm leaf baskets from 'Athbar, caps from Muhiyia (*B. G. A.*, li, 98). The favoured position of the Yaman as a centre of trade for Indian products and valuable perfumes, which it held down to the middle ages, is now lost, probably for ever. Coffee, hides, drugs and resins and salt still have some importance in its export trade. The most important harbours are 'Aden, al-Hudaida, Mukha, Lahaya, Mukalla and al-Shih. The internal trade is still mainly conducted by caravans. The building of the first railway in the Yaman from al-Hudaida to San'a (begun in 1912) was stopped by the Great War in 1915; the railway from 'Aden via Lahad has only reached

Habib al-Hamra'. The difficulties in the internal transport of goods occasionally lead to disastrous famines but the economic development of the country is probably only a matter of time.

It is not possible here to trace the varied history of the Yaman through all the stages of its development from the conversion of the land to Islam which began as early as 9 A.D. (cf. the articles *YAN'Z* and *ZABU*) and the short sketch of 'Jemen im Islam' in M. Hartmann, *Die arabische Frage*, p. 530-547). On the other hand, since conditions in the Yaman are much involved in general questions of eastern politics, it seems advisable to give an outline of events since the reconquest of the Yaman by the Turks. The incentive to more energetic action against the Yaman, which had been again administered as a wilayat by the Turks since 1849, was given by the opening of the Suez Canal and the desire to command the E. coast of the Red Sea. In 1870 the Wali Haidar Ali Pasha defeated the Emir of 'Asir Muhammad b. 'A'id, who was threatening al-Hudaida. At this time the Turks held only al-Hudaida, Luhaiya, Zabid, Bei el-Fakh, Baidjil, Mukhla, Djaran, and half of Djabal Ruma. The Turkish force set out from Kunfuda against Su'as and Reida in 'Asir where 'A'id had established himself but he had to surrender after a six days' siege. The Turkish commander Redif Pasha had him put to death immediately after his surrender. 'Asir was now occupied by the Turks. Ahmad Mukhtar Pasha who had taken command after Redif Pasha's illness advanced via Baidjil, 'Athbara to Sa'z' (1871). 'Amran, Kawkabon and Shibam were taken; the Turkish advance was only checked before Saraka. In the south the Djabal Ruma and the Taixiyas were occupied, a road made from al-Hudaida to Sa'z' and the post to 'Aden instituted. Ahmad Aliyub Pasha became governor of the wilayat in place of Ahmad Mukhtar Pasha who had been summoned to Constantinople to a seat in the cabinet in May 1873. Arhab, Hahid and the Bilal Sanhan were taken and his successor Mustafa 'Asim Pasha advanced as far as Sida and Shabara. In spite of these successes, the risings of the Yamanis against the Turks continued to flare up. Hafi Isma'il Hakki Pasha, the successor of Mustafa 'Asim, had to fight in Hamdan, Hahid and al-Luhaiya, not always with success, also in Hadra, Dhamar and al-Hodjeriya. In March 1882, he was succeeded by Muhammad 'Izzet Pasha whose diplomacy won over the Da'i of Yaman to drive back the Imam Sharaf al-Din who had advanced on 'Amran and to obtain the recognition of Turkish suzerainty in Habba, Shabara and Sa'da and extend Turkish rule in the south as far as Bab al-Mandab. Risings, which occasionally took place when the garrisons were weakened, were mainly suppressed. There was however a more dangerous one in 1892: Sa'z' was besieged by the Arabs, Menakha, Djible, Yarim and Ta'iz passed to the Imam. Faidi Pasha put down the rebellion but in 1895-1896 war broke out again in the north, and the two following years there was considerable unrest in the land; piracy in the Red Sea even led to a demonstration by Italian cruisers before al-Hudaida (1902). The chain of isolated actions only produced a serious movement when the present Imam Mahammad Yahya b. Hamid al-Din, a farseeing and vigorous man, undertook the leadership in 1904 and proclaimed the *qiyada*

against the Turks. Sa'z' was invested by the forces of the Imam; the fighting outside the town went against the Turks and in April 1905 an agreement was reached by which Sa'z' and the vicinity passed into the hands of the Imam and the Turks agreed to withdraw. Menakha, Ta'iz, Ibb, Mukhatir, Ka'taba and Reda' alone remained in Turkish hands; the Porte however did not approve of the conditions of the peace but decided to send Ahmad Faidi Pasha to reconquer the lost territory; he retook Sa'z' after a march right across Arabia but lost it again after fierce fighting. The losses in men in this, the most serious rising, were so considerable that they were forced to negotiate with the Imam, missions being sent from Constantinople to the Yaman and vice-versa. In the meanwhile the governor Ahmad Faidi Pasha was replaced by the politic Hasan Tahsin Pasha who endeavoured to come to a satisfactory agreement with the Imam. At the Sultan's request a deputation of Yaman notables came to Constantinople; the very excited negotiations however came to nothing in spite of the willingness to consider the Imam's claims to independence. After the victory of the Young Turks (1909) they appeared to be ready in Constantinople to carry through a complete reorganisation of the Yaman.

The province was to be divided into two separate wilayats: the one comprising the highlands with 'Amran, Hadra, Ta'iz, Dhamar and Yarim, was to be directly administered by the Imam, the other part including the coast to be put under a new wali. The two governors were to be independent and rule with the assistance of kadis and native gendarmerie according to the Shari'a; the net yield from taxation was to be taken to Constantinople and separate accounts kept. Menakha was to be the main Turkish garrison town. The scheme of reform was upset by new risings in Sa'da, which although put down by the son of the Imam Sharaf al-Din, Muhammad Abi Naiba, gave a pretext to the Turks to resort to force once more. The policy of violence pursued by Mahammad Ali Pasha had a disastrous effect for it produced a general rising, which became all the more dangerous when Saliyid Idris of 'Asir also attacked the Turks (1910). The struggle was finally concluded by the agreement of Da'an in 1911, which was concluded between 'Izzet Pasha and Imam Yahya and contained 20 articles (Wahid, p. 236-239; Stuhlmann, p. 96 ff.). In this, the territorial status quo under Ahmad Mukhtar Pasha was recognised, the appointment of Zaidi judges by the Imam and the establishment of a court of appeal recognised; the Imam handed over a tenth to the government according to the Shari'a, while his territory was recognised as autonomous. The war between the Porte and Italy led to the blockade of the Yaman coast and the bombardment of al-Hudaida, but the military assistance given by the Imam strengthened his relations with the Turks. Saliyid Muhammad al-Idrisi, the ally of Italy, was defeated by the Imam's troops. This alliance was further strengthened by the World War. In 1915 (or even 1914?) Turkish troops and Yaman volunteers led by Saliyid Pasha attacked Lahad and drove the English back to 'Aden. In 1915 'Aden was cut off for a considerable time by land. The unfortunate result of the war in Palestine however affected the situation in the Yaman and in 1918 the Turks left the country by order of the Sultan. The Imam moved

his capital first to al-Rawḍa (Aug. 1918) and then to San'a'. The English bombarded al-Hudayda which they gave to their friend Saliḥ Idriis. The Imām then attacked 'Aden and took several places in the hinterland, but an arrangement was soon come to. In 1924 there was fighting in Ḥaḥl with 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Sa'ūd, but Yahyā succeeded in taking al-Hudayda and al-Tihama, and in the following year a treaty was concluded by Sir Gilbert Clayton between England and the Imām. More recently Italy's active policy has involved the Imām in her sphere of interest and this has been emphasised by a visit of Yamani notables to Italy.

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YAMBO, [See **YAMÂN**.]

YAMÂN, the most usual Muslim term for oath, from the meaning "the right hand", according to al-Djauharī, *Sihb*, v.v., because those swearing take one another's right hands but rather because participants in an oath in general use the right hand in the ceremony; cf. *Lisan al-'Arab*, viii. 356, v. On the oath a. *YAMÂN* and *YAMÂN*. On particular expressions like *Yamân al-Hinḥ*, *Yamân al-Sabr*, *Yamân al-Kaḍā* etc. cf. *Corpus Juris al-Zaid bin 'Alī*, ed. Giffini, Indices; *Il Muḥṭazar a Summary del Diritto Malchita di Ḥaḥl ben Isḥāq*, transl. Guidi and Santillana, i. p. 21. (JOHN PEHRSEN)

YANBU' (**YAMBO'**), a little port and also a town some distance inland on the west coast of Arabia; the former is also called Yanbu' al-Bahr or Sharr Yanbu' and the latter, 6—7 hours journey N.E. of it, is called Yanbu' al-Nahhī. The port, which has now replaced the old harbour of al-Djār as the port of al-Madina, lies on a shallow but wide bay with good anchorage, protected from the winds by an island lying outside it. The town is divided by an arm of the sea into two parts and defended on the land side by a wall with towers, which has two gates, the Bab al-Madina on the east and the Bab Maṣr on the north, as well as several others on the sea side. The houses are badly built and the mosques insignificant. The harbour lies mainly by the trade of al-Madina which goes through it and does a busy traffic with Suwayḥ, Kaṣīr and Ḥana in Upper Egypt by native sailing ships. The inland town of Yanbu', written al-Yanbu' in Ibn Djuhair, is an old settlement and probably identical with the *Yanbu* of Ptolemy. The town, which was celebrated for its *ḥammā*, is described by the geographers al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibn Hawqal and al-Muḥaddad as large, well populated and rich in palms and had a strong castle. It was inhabited by Ansār, members of the Banū 'Udhayna and Laith; the Prophet is said to have conducted the *ḥajj* in its mosque. The oasis lies at the foot of a row of hills and owes its prosperity to a stream coming from them. Vegetables, *dhura* and tobacco are grown; the greatest care is devoted to the date-palm groves which have been celebrated since these ancient times; the houses lie scattered among them. The tradition that the harbour of Yanbu' is a later foundation from Yanbu' al-Nahhī, where leading Yanbawis have date-groves and country houses, still survives among the people. The name Yanbu' or Yanbu' (spring) is attributed to the wealth of the place in springs.

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(ADOLF GROHMANN)

YARBŪ', an important group of the tribe of Tamim [q. v.] Genealogy: Yarbū' b. Hanẓala b. Mālik b. Zaid Ma'nā b. Tamim (Wüstenfeld, *Gen. Tab.*, K 13). The same name is borne by other ethnic groups not only Tamim (e.g. Yarbū' b. Mālik b. Hanẓala [K 14 and cf. *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, p. 122, 13 and parallel passages] and also Yarbū' b. Tamim in Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djāmhara al-Arab*), but also of other tribes, of the south (Kaib, Sa'ūd Hughāin, Djubaina) and of the north (Ghatafan, Thakaf, Ghani, Sulaim, Hanafa, 'Amir b. Sa'a'a; we also find among the Kuraish a Yarbū' b. 'Ankathā b. 'Amir b. Makh-rūm). *Yarbū'* being the name of a rodent widely distributed in Arabia, its application to the tribe has been taken as an example of totemism (W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia*², p. 235), a theory which however is now abandoned. Mythological legend which has survived to a greater extent in this connection than elsewhere among the traditions of the Tamim, dwells on the mother of Yarbū', Djāndala bint Fibr, of the Kināna, who is said to have been violated one stormy night, and later married, by Mālik b. 'Amr b. Tamim (*Djāmhara*, Brit. Mus. MS. fol. 62r; *Nakā'id*, ed. Bevan, p. 225, note 1; this is perhaps an etiological myth, formed to explain certain connections between neighbouring clans). Compared with the other groups descended from Hanẓala, reunited under the name of al-Barāḍjīn, the Yarbū' appear isolated, probably because they were powerful enough to do without a federative alliance. Indeed we find that even some of the sub-groups of the Yarbū' enjoy a certain autonomy, like the Riyāh, the Kulāib, the Sallī, the Thā'labā, and the Ghudāna. They are divided into two sections, the exact nature of which we do not know: al-Aḥmāl (Thā'labā, 'Amr, Subaina and al-Hārith) and al-Uḡad (Kulāib, Ghudāna and al-Anhar). Their territory was very extensive, for we find them practically throughout the whole extent of the territory of the Tamim, from Yamāma to below the Euphrates; but their centre was the valley of al-Haḥn of remarkable fertility, (cf. Yāqūt, *Muḍjam*, II. 261 and III. 870; the name of one of their oases was Firdaws al-Iyād). Although tradition mentions "towns" belonging to them (Wüstenfeld, *Register*, p. 254) they led a nomadic life, like most of the Tamim.

The history of the Yarbū' during the Djāhiliyya is closely connected with that of the rest of the Tamim, and on several occasions they took command in the wars of the latter. Sometimes however we find them engaged by themselves in war with one or other of the neighbouring tribes; for example they fought several battles alone with the Banū Shalbān, the best known being those of Dhū Tūlūk (*Nakā'id*, p. 45—59, 73) and of al-Iyād (*ibid.*, p. 580—587, also known by other names), in which they took prisoner the famous Shalbān leader Bisṭam b. Kaīs (cf. E. Bräunlich, *Bistam ibn Qais, ein vorislamischer Beduinenfürst und Held*, Leipzig 1923, passim) in spite of the support given to the latter by the Persian governor of 'Ain Tamr.

At the beginning of Islām, the attitude of the Yarbū' was that of hostile reserve. They did not dare declare openly against the powerful prophet of Madīna but on his death they were the first to rebel. The prophetess Saḍāh [q. v.] was one of them (the tradition which makes her belong to the Taghlib seems to have little authority). To the Yarbū' also belonged the two brothers Mālik and Mutammim b. Nawzira whose relations with Khālīd b. al-Walīd made such a stir. After the suppression of the *riḍāla*, however, the Yarbū' like the rest of the Tamim proved faithful to Islām and took an active part in the conquests; but their turbulent and rebellious nature was revealed in the considerable support they gave to the Khārījīs; in the *Kiṣb al-Aghani*, VI. 4, it is noted that at the battle of Dawlāb, in 65, where the forces of the Aḥmāl were crushed, the leaders of the two parties, 'Uḡaid Allāh b. Baḡhir al-Sallī and al-Rabī' b. 'Amr al-Ghudāni were both of Yarbū'.

The many details that we possess of the deeds of the Yarbū' during the wars of the Djāhiliyya and even of those of the tribal wars of the Islāmic period, have survived mainly because these wars are mentioned in the verses of Dja'ir (who belonged to the clan of the Kulāib b. Yarbū') and because his commentators discuss them fully. — The Yarbū' moreover gave to the poetry of the pre-Muḥammadan period and of the first century A.H. quite a number of remarkable poems; in addition to those given at the end of the article TAMIM we may mention Sulaim b. Waḥīb al-Riyāh (cf. especially *Almoḥṣṣa*, ed. Ahlwardt, No. 76), Hārith b. Badr al-Ghudān, al-Shamardal b. Sharīk, of the Banū Thā'labā b. Yarbū'.

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(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

AL-YARMŪK, a river in Syria, now called Shur'at al-Manādīra (from the Beduin tribe 'Arab al-Manādīra). It rises in the Hawrān, flows west through a deeply cut valley of erosion, the Wādī al-Ramād, which describes a flat curve open to the south, to the Ghawr, where it flows into the Nahr al-Urdunn (the Jordan) below Lake Gennesareth at Dja'ir al-Mudjāmi'. Pliny calls it (*Hist. Nat.*, v. 74) Hieromix or Hieromices (*Godara Hieromice profuerunt*, var. *Hieromices*; the now so popular form *'Hieromax'* is not recorded).

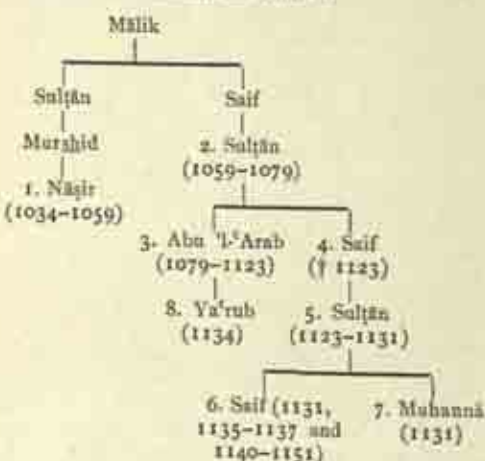
On the 12th Raddj 13 (Aug. 20, 636 A.D.) in the celebrated battle on the Yarmūk an army of some 50,000 Byzantines was decisively defeated by an Arab force, probably half as strong, under Khālīd b. al-Walīd. The battlefield lay near the junction of the Nahr al-Rukhād and the Yarmūk not far from al-Wāḥḥa (the modern al-Yūkḥḥa). According to Theophanes (*Chron.*, ed. de Boor, p. 332), the disaster to the Byzantine army took place *παρά τῃ ῥαβδῷ* (al-Dubayn, now Dabīye [q. v.]) *καὶ ἑρπύρεσσιν*. This battle was sometimes confused with that of Adjdādān [q. v.] of 28th Djumādā 1, 13 (July 30, 634), perhaps because the battlefield lay not far from Khirbet Yarmūk, this Biblical Yarmuth (*Leptote*, north of Wādī l-Sumī; cf. de Goeje, *Mémoires sur la conquête de la Syrie*, Leyden 1900, p. 59 sq.). Caetani explains the confusion in the accounts of the battles as a result of the erroneous assumption that Abū 'Uḡaidā was present as early as the first siege of Damascus and proposes, following Médnikov, to amend the otherwise unknown Adjdādān to Djanadbatān. The accounts of the two battles are fully treated

and analysed in his *Annali dell' Islam*, iii/1, p. 24—81, § 17—67 (Adjūdain); iii/ii, p. 499—613, § 11—124 (al-Yarmūk). — Near the battle-field lay Dair al-Khili, where the Arabs encamped on the day of the battle (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, ii, 658; Saif al-Dīn, *Marāḥid*, i, 428).

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YA'RUB, 1. Ya'rūb b. Kaḥṣān b. Hūd, the grandson of the prophet Hūd, who is also regarded as the ancestor of the Himyar kings, is one of the mythical rulers of the Yaman. He is said to have conquered the 'Adites who occupied Ma'rib and thus to have become the founder of the Sabaean kingdom. His name is derived by the genealogists from *a'ruba* 'to speak correct Arabic (i.e. with the *frāḍ*)' as he is also said to have been the first to speak Arabic, for his father Kaḥṣān still spoke the original language of Sām b. Nūḥ.

2. Ya'rūb b. Mālik, the ancestor of the Ya'rūbid dynasty of 'Umān whose capitals were al-Rustāḳ, Yaḥrib and al-Ḥaam; they ruled from 1034—1154 (1024—1741). They succeeded one another as follows:



The last member of the dynasty, Sulṭān b. Murshid, was set up as a pretender against Saif b. Sulṭān with the help of Ahmad b. Sa'īd and chosen imām. The greater part of 'Umān fell to him and Saif b. Sulṭān could only hold out in Maṣṣāṭ which lost much of its importance to the rival port of Maṭrah favoured by Sulṭān b. Murshid. In fighting with the Persians who came to his help, his opponent Sulṭān b. Murshid was slain and after Saif's death which took place soon after, the governor of Ṣūḥār, Ahmad b. Sa'īd, who had

married a daughter of Saif b. Sulṭān, became imām of 'Umān (1154 = 1741).

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2. C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 298—301; J. R. Wellsted's *Reisen in Arabien*, ed. Rodiger, i, Halle 1842, p. 9, 274—277; E. v. Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*, i, (Hannover 1927), p. 128.

(A. GROHMANN)

YATHRIB. [See AL-MADINA.]

YATIM (أ), the orphan, i.e. fatherless minor child. The improvement of the social position of orphans, who were particularly numerous in ancient Arabia, played a large part in Muhammad's scheme of social reforms. The vigour with which the Prophet had to intervene on their behalf is significant of the conditions which he found. When relations did not take charge of them, the care of orphans fell upon the *saifid* of the tribe (Lammens, *Le Berceau de l'Islam*, p. 246); this obligation was also put upon the Prophet as leader of the community (Lammens, *La Mequie à la veille de l'Hégire*, p. 153). In *Sūra* xliii, 6, 9 (of the first Meccan period) the Prophet is reminded that he himself as an orphan was protected by Allāh and admonished on his part not to oppress the orphan. The *Kur'anic* passages which make good treatment of orphans a duty and forbid their oppression cover a long period: *Sūra* cvii, 2; xc, 15; lxxix, 18 (also of the first Meccan period); xvii, 36; lxxvi, 8; xviii, 81 (of the second Meccan period); vi, 153 (of the third Meccan period); ii, 77, 172, 211, 218 sq. (of the year 2); iv, 9—11, 40 (of the years 3—5). In *Sūra* viii, 42, and lix, 7 (of the years 2 and 4 respectively) the orphans are allotted a share in the fifth part of the *ghānima* [q. v.] or in the *far'* [q. v.]. Illegal appropriation of the property of an orphan — apparently by his guardian — is especially condemned and in *Sūra* iv, 11 even threatened with the punishment of hell. *Sūra* iv, 2—7, 126 (also of the years 3—5) is particularly directed against such crimes; here we have the fullest reference to orphans: *2. And give to orphans their property; substitute not worthless things in place of their valuable ones, and devour not their property after adding it to your own; for this is a great crime. 3. And if ye are apprehensive that ye shall not deal fairly with orphans, then, of women who seem good in your eyes, marry by twos, or threes, or fours; and if ye still fear that ye shall not act equitably, then one only; or the slaves whom ye have acquired: this will make justice on your part easier... 5. And make trial of orphans until they reach the age of marriage; and if ye perceive in them a sound judgment, then hand over their substance to them; but consume ye it not wastefully, 6. or in order to anticipate them before they grow up. And let the rich guardian not even touch it; and let him who is poor eat of it with discretion. 7. And when ye make over their substance to them, then take witnesses in their presence; Allāh also maketh a sufficient account". Verse 126 apparently refers to verse 3: "Moreover, they will consult thee in regard to women; say:

Allah shall instruct you about them; and His will is rehearsed to you in the Book, concerning female orphans to whom ye give not their legal due, and whom ye refuse to marry; also with regard to weak children; and that ye deal with fairness towards orphans. Whatsoever ye do of good, verily God knoweth it". It is probable from this that verse 3 also deals with orphan girls, where marriage with their guardian is in prospect; the exact interpretation is uncertain. The two verses are interpreted in this sense in a tradition ascribed to 'A'isha; but the details are not reliable. Another tradition not dependent in wording on the Kur'ân (in Ahmad b. Hanbal) forbids the guardian to force an orphan girl who is his ward to marry him. Other traditions simply repeat the substance of the Qur'anic prescriptions; for example paradise is promised as a reward for conscientious performance of one's duties as a guardian, or dishonest administration of the property of an orphan is numbered among the "grave sins". The idea of protecting the orphan is also at the basis of a *hadith*, which makes the Prophet dissuade Abū Dharr as the type of the pious and experienced man from undertaking a guardianship. In two points the tradition shows a development of the doctrine. In the first place the question is raised when the position of being an orphan may be considered to end (it is out of this that the conception of attaining years of discretion developed; cf. *MULUGH*); various answers, some emphasizing age, others discretion, are put in the mouth of Ibn 'Abbās and 'Alī; of the later law schools the Mālikis and Shāfi'is make the power of disposing of his own affairs in one who has attained his majority dependent on his *rashd*, while the Hanafis drop this condition after his 25th year. There were also differences of opinion as to whether the money of orphans (and especially of minors) was liable to *sakkat* or not; the latter view is still held by the Hanafis and the former by the other schools; it is justified not only by the direct statement that 'A'isha in such a case paid *sakkat* but also by the demand attributed to the Prophet or to 'Omar that the guardian should trade with his ward's money so that the *sakkat* should not gradually consume it. On the doctrines of the *fiqh* on orphans cf. the article *WASL*. It is worth noting that the right of the poor guardian to use the orphan's estate is limited to receiving compensation for his trouble. The Qur'anic command to produce witnesses of character has lost its *raison d'être* through the fact that the guardian must be a trustworthy person (*amin*).

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YAZD, a town in Persia, in the province of Irāk 'Adjamī, formerly called Kātha. It has taken the name of the area of which it was the capital. This area was formerly in the district of Isfakhr in the province of Fārs (Ibn Hawkal, *Yākut*). Kātha had a citadel and a suburb on the edge of the desert. It had two iron gates, the Gate of Isid (Izad) and the "gate of the mosque", so-called because it was near the cathedral mosque which was in the suburb. It is surrounded by subterranean channels bringing water into cisterns and reservoirs of remarkable workmanship. It has a temperate climate; the town is very clean, because

the refuse is removed daily and taken to the fields as manure. The inhabitants, formerly Shāfi'is, were almost all weavers. Cotton garments used to be exported. At the present day it still produces highly esteemed brocades (Polak, *Persien*, i. 103). Saiyid Ghiyāth al-Dīn 'Alī, minister of Shāh Abū Ishāk Indū (d. in 752 = 1351), and Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī, author of the *Zafar-nāme*, were natives of Yazd.

Bibliography: Yākut, *Ma'djam*, iv. 1017; Barbier de Meynard, *Diet. de la Perse*, p. 475, 611; *B. G. A.*, i. 116, 125; ii. 182, 187, 196; iii. 437; Hamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Kutub*, ed. Le Strange, p. 74, 188 = transl., p. 77, 178; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Voyages*, ed. Dehlemery and Sanguinetti, ii. 68. (CL. HUANT)

YAZDÂN (v.), God. This word comes from the sphere of Zoroastrian ideas (cf. Avestan *yasata*, Sanskrit *yajata* = "worthy of reverence", a Vedic epithet of gods, e.g. Agni, Indra, Savitar, and also of objects). Old Persian used for "god" the word *haga* (cf. Avestan *bagha*, Sanskrit *bhaga*, Pahlavi *bagh*). The Avestan *yasata* as an adjective means "worthy of reverence" and as a substantive "god"; it is used of Ahuramazda himself (he is called the "Greatest of the *yasatas*") as well as of the divine beings subordinate to him, like Mithra, Saosha etc. (cf. Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wörterbuch*, col. 1279 sq.). In Pahlavi *yazdān* (the plural; this form corresponding to the modern Persian is also to be found in the later Sāsānian period) means: "the gods, the good powers, who are under Ohrmazd": i.e. the same significance as in Avestan. Cf., e.g., from the beginning of the *Pandnāmak-i Zartusht* the sentences: *Ohrmazd khwēsh hom ayw Ahraman? Yazdān khwēsh hom ayw dīwān* = "Am I Ohrmazd's or Ahraman's?; am I the gods' or the demons'?" The singular of the word also is found in Pahlavi and survives in the modern Persian *izad* and in proper names like *Yasufizird*. The Pahlavi pronunciation of this singular form at the end of the Sāsānian period was probably also *izad*; the *yazd* in some proper names must represent an older form.

The meaning of *yazdān*, in the modern Persian literary language, "God" in the sense of the one God, must have developed already in Pahlavi. The transition in meaning probably took place through the aspects of the powers of the divine beings becoming comprised under *yazdān*; at least it is very improbable that in the final syllable of the modern Persian word we have a suffix other than the usual Pahlavi and modern Persian plural. The word *yazdān* in the meaning "God" is already connected with the *Magiis* [q. v.] of the middle ages in Shahrastāni (*Kitāb al-Milal*, ed. Cureton, p. 181 sq.); according to this author, Yazdān is the name of the principle of light in contrast to that of darkness, the Ahramanic. The term is therefore synonymous with Ohrmazd. The Kayūmarthiya sect of the Magians assumed that the principle of good, Yazdān, was uncreated (*ibid.*, p. 182) while the Zoroastrian sect taught that both Yazdān (= Ohrmazd) and Ahraman were created, so that darkness (Ahraman) had to be understood not as a principle but as a necessary consequence of the existence of light (*ibid.*, p. 186).

In the *Lexicon Shāhnamianum* of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī (ed. Salemann, p. 244 sq.) the opposites Yazdān and Ahraman are also attributed to the Manichaean system. The passage from a lexicographer in Vullers, *Lexicon*, ii. 1515^a, perhaps

goes back to the same source. The Iranian Manichaeans actually used the word *yazd*, plural *yazdān* for the "gods" of their system. We also find *bag*, plur. *bagān*. In proper names borne by Manichaeans we find the singular *yazd* (e.g. in Yazdāmad, name of a Manichaean priest; cf. W. K. Müller, *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch*, p. 16 and 17) as well as the plural (e.g. Yazdānbakht, the name of a Manichaean teacher; cf. *Fikriat*, ed. Flügel, I, 334, 337, 338).

In the modern Persian literary language, *yazdān* means, as already mentioned, God and is synonymous with *khudā*. 'Abd al-Qādir (*op. cit.*) glosses the word *khudā* as *ya-zadādūh* and *zad-i mālūh* *al-wahūd* and Allāh. In the language of the epic (Firdaws) and his imitators, *yazdān* is the most usual term for God, often with the epithet *pad*. In poetry other than epic the word is used along with other names signifying the deity.

Bibliography: References in the article.
(V. F. BÜCHNER)

YAZĪD b. 'ABD AL-MALIK, Omayyad Caliph, who came to the throne in Feb. 720. The reign of this prince so devoid of energy is a striking contrast to that of his immediate predecessor, the conscientious 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (q.v.). Son of 'Abd al-Malik, grandson of Yazīd I through his mother 'Ātika, he had inherited none of the qualities of his Sufyānid ancestors which had made them popular in Syria. His brother, the caliph Sulaimān, had favoured the Yamāniya. Yazīd was imprudent enough to declare for the Kaṣala and by this tactless step attracted the hostility of the Yamāniya, i.e. the great majority of the Syrians. The rising of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab (q.v.) forced Maslama, brother of the caliph, and the Syrian troops to leave for the 'Irāk. While they were putting down the rebellion, the impressionable caliph fell under the influence of two women musicians of Medina, Sallāma and Habbāba. To escape remonstrances, Yazīd withdrew to the district of Baḥā' east of Jordan. The death of his favourite Habbāba broke his heart. Yazīd followed her to the grave a week later, at Baṭī Rāa (q.v.) after a reign of four years. He died on Jan. 26, 724 and was still under 40.

Bibliography: Tabari, ed. de Goeje, II, 137a—1463; Mas'ūdi, *Murūj* (Paris), V, 445—464; *Kutub al-Aghani*, XIII, 157—166; Wellhausen, *Das arabishe Reich und sein Sturz*, p. 194—203; H. Lammens, *La Bādiya et la Hira tout les Omayyades*, p. 108—111 (in *M. F. O. B.*, IV).
(H. LAMMENS)

YAZĪD b. MU'ĀWIYA, second Omayyad Caliph and successor of Mu'āwiya, born about 642. As a prince he had commanded the Arab army at the siege of Constantinople. Immediately after his accession (April 680) there broke out in the Hīdžāz the rising which the genius of Mu'āwiya had so long prevented. At Medina, Hussain b. 'Alī and 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair refused to recognise the new caliph and took refuge in the inviolable territory of Mecca. Very soon letters from old partisans of 'Alī and from the chiefs of the 'Irāk, jealous of the hegemony of Syria, decided his son Hussain to leave his asylum in Mecca and set out for Kūfa with about a hundred relatives and friends. Yazīd had ordered the governor of this town, 'Ubad Allāh b. Ziyād, to take steps to disarm them and prevent their entering the 'Irāk and stirring up trouble there. No one stirred

among the 'Alid partisans in Kūfa. Hussain and his handful of devoted followers foolishly attacked the very superior forces sent to disarm them; the latter then manoeuvred to surround them and force them to lay down their arms. The son of 'Alī and the more stubborn of his companions only succeeded in meeting their deaths (Oct. 10, 680). This is the tragedy of Karbala' (q.v.) annually commemorated by the Shī'is.

Medina no less than Kūfa disliked Syria; it accused the latter of depriving her of her title as capital. In a great assembly in the chief mosque the Medinese proclaimed Yazīd deposed. After having vainly tried negotiations, the caliph had to have recourse to arms. The command of the expedition was entrusted to Muslim b. 'Uṭba (q.v.). This general encamped before Medina in the Harra, a plain covered with volcanic debris; hence the battle was known as that of al-Harra (q.v.). The Medinese were having the best of it at first when a detachment of Syrian cavalry going round the town attacked them in the rear. This was the signal for the collapse of the defence (Aug. 26, 683). The Syrians entered Medina. The three days of loot promised by Yazīd and the horrible scenes invented by hostile tradition belong to the domain of legend. Next day, Muslim assembled the citizens to make them renew the oath of loyalty. He then went on to Mecca to suppress Ibn al-Zubair. On the way the illness which had been troubling him since he left Syria, took a turn for the worse and he died at Mughallā, where his tomb long continued to be stoned. His successor, Hussain b. al-Nu'mair, led the army against Mecca and began the attack on it.

The inhabitants soon found themselves shut up in the town. Siege-artillery was placed on the surrounding hills and hurled a continuous shower of stones on the town. Ibn al-Zubair had made his headquarters in the courtyard of the great mosque. A wooden structure covered with mattresses protected the Ka'ba. The carelessness of a Meccan soldier set this on fire. The burning of the Ka'ba did not interrupt the siege. It had lasted for two months when Yazīd died at Hawwārin in Nov. 11, 683. Ibn al-Nu'mair led his men back to Syria.

Yazīd was not the frivolous prince, the thoughtless ruler depicted by the historians who are inspired with the rancour of the Shī'a, or the political feuds of the 'Irāk and the Hīdžāz, or who are too much impressed by the catastrophes of his very short reign. He tried to continue the policy of Mu'āwiya and retained his surviving collaborators. A poet himself, and fond of music, he was a Maecenas of poets and artists. He completed the administrative organisation and the military defences of Syria by creating the *Qund* of Kinnasrin (q.v.) in the north of the country. He reorganised the finances, lightened the taxation on the Christians of Nadjrān (q.v.) who had been arbitrarily expelled from Arabia by the caliph 'Omar. On the other hand, he abolished the exemption from taxes granted to the Samaritans as a reward for the services they had rendered at the time of the Arab conquest. He was interested in agriculture and completed the system of irrigation of the *Chūfā* (q.v.), the oasis of Damascus, where he dug the upper canal which waters the suburb of Sallibiya, and is called Nahr Yazīd after him. Alone among the caliphs he earned the title of *muhandis* "water engineer". The author of the *Continuatio byzantino-arabica*

gives a far from commonplace picture of him: *Yazid... juncundissimus et cunctis nationibus regni ejus subditis vir gratissime habitus, qui nullam unquam abbi regali fastigii causam gloriam appetiit sed communis cum omnibus civiliter vixit*. Extremely affable, quite devoid of conceit, loved by all those under his authority, hating the pomp of royalty, living like a private citizen, *civiliter*...! "No caliph", says Wellhausen, "received such a panegyric; it comes from the heart".

Bibliography: Tabari, ed. de Goeje, ii. 196—427; Mas'udi (Paris), v. 126—165; *Kitāb al-Aghāni*, xiv. 122; xvi. 70; Wellhausen, *Das arabishe Reich und sein Sturz*, p. 88—105; Lammens, *La chaire des Omayyades; notes biographiques et littéraires sur le poète arabe chrétien Aḥṭal* (in *J. A.*, 1895, p. 38—47). The remainder of the bibliographical material is detailed and utilised in Lammens, *Études sur le règne du calife omayyade Mo'awia Ier* (dealing with the youth of Yazid), p. 266—448 (extract from *M. F. O. B.*, i.—iii.); do., *Le califat de Yazid Ier*, p. 1—528 (extract from *M. F. O. B.*, iv.—vii.). (H. LAMMENS)

YAZID B. AL-MUHALLAB B. AḤI SUFRA AL-AZDI, governor of Khurāsān. Yazid was born in 53 (672—673) and after the death of his father al-Muhallab [q. v.] at the end of 82 (702) was appointed governor of Khurāsān. With his brother-in-law, the powerful al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf [q. v.], his relations were strained and in 85 (704) the caliph 'Abd al-Malik, after some hesitation, was persuaded by the latter to remove Yazid from his office which was given first to his brother al-Mufaḍḍal b. al-Muhallab and a few months later to the able Kutaiba b. Muslim [q. v.]. In the following year the caliph died and was succeeded by his son al-Walid. In the same year al-Hajjāj had Yazid thrown into prison where he was exposed to all kinds of humiliation and when his sister Hind, wife of al-Hajjāj, showed sympathy for him she was divorced by her husband. It was not till 90 (708—709) that Yazid succeeded in escaping and went to al-Ramla where Sulaimān, the caliph's brother, lived. The latter afforded him protection and interceded for him with al-Walid so that al-Hajjāj had to leave him in peace. After the accession of Sulaimān in 96 (715) Yazid was appointed governor of the 'Irāk and settled in Wāsiṭ. The supporters of Hajjāj, who had died in the meanwhile, had now to pay for the cruelty with which he had treated Yazid. But when Yazid asked the caliph to relieve him of the administration of the taxation, Sulaimān placed an official of the chancellery named Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Rahmān at the head of the finance department and the latter refused to satisfy Yazid's extravagant demands on the treasury, so that Yazid began to turn his eyes towards the adjoining province of Khurāsān. He succeeded in being appointed governor of Khurāsān while retaining the supreme command in the 'Irāk (97—715—716). Shortly after his arrival in this province, he permitted all kinds of cruelty to be practised on the relations of Kutaiba and the officials appointed by him. In the following year he undertook a campaign against Djurdjān and Tabaristān; the people of Djurdjān escaped on paying a sum of money. But when Yazid later suffered heavy losses, they rebelled and fell upon the Muslim garrisons which he had left. He had as a result to conclude peace with the lord of

Tabaristān and turning against Djurdjān wreaked a bloody vengeance on its people. He made himself generally hated by his extortions in his province and Sulaimān is said, just before he died, to have been thinking of sending some one to Khurāsān to have a reckoning with him. After 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz ascended the throne in Safar 99 (Sept.—Oct. 717) he had Yazid arrested because the latter could not produce the fifth of the booty from Djurdjān and Tabaristān the amount of which he had much exaggerated out of vanity; shortly before or after the death of the caliph, he escaped from prison and went with a small body of followers to al-Baḡra. When the negotiations which he began with the governor 'Adi b. Arṭā al-Fasārī came to nothing, the decision had to be left to force of arms. In the first encounter 'Adi fled and took refuge in the citadel. This was stormed and 'Adi taken prisoner (Ramaḍān 101 = March—April 720). Yazid then began to preach open war on the Omayyads; the rebellion spread and in a short time Yazid seized Wāsiṭ but was defeated on 14th (or 12th) Safar 102 (Aug. 24, or 22, 720) at al-'Akr near Wāsiṭ by Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik, who had come with a large army from Syria. Yazid himself fell and his relations were everywhere persecuted with the greatest vigour.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüstenfeld), No. 826 (transl. de Slane, iv. 164); al-Tabari (ed. de Goeje), ii., see Index; Ibn al-Athir (ed. Tornberg), iv., v., *passim*; al-Ya'qūbī (ed. Houtsma), ii. 330, 341, 344 *sq.*, 353—355, 362, 370, 372; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdī al-Dhahab* (ed. Paris), v. 411, 453 *sq.*, 506; al-Balādhuri, (ed. de Goeje), p. 168, 231, 335—338, 365, 367, 369, 417, 425 *sq.*; *Kitāb al-Aghāni*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques*; Weil, *Geschichte der Califten*, i., see Index; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, p. 338, 342, 374 *sq.*, 364, *sq.*, 372, *sq.*, 375 *sq.*, 392, 419; Wellhausen, *Das arabishe Reich*, p. 150, 156, 157, 161—164, 168, 195—199. (K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

YAZIDĪ, YAZIDĪYA, the name of a Kurd tribal group and of their peculiar religion which shows ancient characteristics.

Area of Distribution. The Yazidis are found scattered over a wide area usually leading a settled life but also split up into nomadic clans: 1. in the district of Mōsul in the northern 'Irāk, in Assyria proper, in the district of Shaikhān. Special mention may be made of: Bā'adhri (Bā'idhri, Bā'idhri) about 40 miles N. of Mōsul, the residence of the chief emir, their political head; three hours to the north at Lālesh in the valley Shaikh 'Adi is the tomb of their chief saint Shaikh 'Adi, their national sanctuary and the centre of their national and religious life; Bahazantye, north of Alqosh at the foot of the hill on which is the Chaldaean monastery of Rabbān Hormud; and also Bā'ghikā (Bā'ghikā, Ba Heshikā) N. E. of Mōsul, the centre of the tombs of the shaikhs; 2. on the Djebel Sindjār, 100 miles west of Mōsul, a range of hills in the middle of the desert, which is the great bulwark of their efforts for freedom and independence. The chief Sindjār-Shaikh lives in the Beled Sindjār (picture of the citadel in P. Schütz, *Zwischen Nil und Kaukasus*, p. 135); formerly his residence was in Milik (Mirik); 3. in the district of Diyarbakr, N. and N. E. of the Tigris; 4. in the district of Aleppo, W. of the Euphrates, at Kilis and 'Aintāb; 5. in

Russian Armenia (Kars, Erivan) and in the Caucasus (at Tiflis) — There are also Yazidis in Persia.

Numbers. The total number can only be approximately estimated; there can hardly be more than 60,000—70,000 altogether, while only half a century ago they numbered 120,000—150,000. According to the 'Irāk census of 1922—1924 (apparently exclusive of Sindjār which was only joined to the 'Irāk at the end of 1932) they numbered 26,257 in the 'Irāk, while the Turkish census of 1923, which deliberately emphasised the Muhammadan element, only gave 18,000 Yazidis, compared with 264,000, or 450,000 Kurds, which corresponds to the English figures. In 1912 the Turkish statistics for the 6 wilāyets in question gave 37,000 Yazidis. Nūrī in 1905 estimated 35,000 Yazidis for Shāhān and Sindjār (Menzel, *op. cit.*, p. 169). According to figures which are undoubtedly exaggerated, Sindjār which is now joined to the 'Irāk contains 36,000 Yazidis (*O. M.*, xii, 502). There are only a few hundreds in Persia.

The Russian census of Dec. 17, 1926 gave for the Caucasus (Tiflis, Erivan and Kars) 14,522 Yazidis compared with 54,600 Kurds. In spite of the accessions during the war their number has fallen compared with that of the Russian census of Feb. 9, 1897: 14,726 Yazidis and 85,175 Kurds while in 1901 in Russian territory there were 25,000 Yazidis compared with 125,000 Kurds.

As to their numbers at an earlier date, Karcew in 1884 gave exact figures based on quite reliable statements of the *šaykh*s (Menzel, *op. cit.*, p. 116).

Name. The name Yazidi, which the Yazidis themselves feel to be modern, seems to have nothing to do with Yazid b. Mu'āwiyā or with Yazid b. Umayr, with whom it is connected, and as little with the name of the Persian city of Yazd. It probably comes from the modern Persian *īzād* (angel, deity), Avestan *yazata* (being worthy of worship), Pahlavi *yazd*, Sanskr. *yajñat*, cf. modern Persian *yazdān* [q.v.] God, Avestan *yazatānām*, Pahlavi *yazdān*, *yazdān* of which *īzād* is the natural phonetic development while *yazdān* represents an Avestan word brought through ritual into modern Persian.

The Azidi, Izidi, Izidi or Izdi would therefore be as they themselves say "worshippers of God", an etymology known to the Yazidis, and quoted as early as Campanile, *Storia della regione del Kurdistan*, Naples 1818, p. 148, as *Sigues de Yazid (Idolo)*. The Yazidi popular etymology of the name from *az da* (for *dām*) *īzādā* ("God created me") is useless, as *az* or *ar* is not used in Yazidi, only *aw* ("I").

Evolved from the name Yazid we find in legend an angel *andā* and a *yazdān* among the ancestors of the Yazidis as well as the term *yazdān* for the first Yazidis.

With this we may perhaps connect *Isai*, the name of a *sanjak* in the form of a man made from grapes (Menzel, *op. cit.*, p. 184).

According to Marr (*Zapiski Vost. Otd. Arkh. Obshch.*, xx, 99), Čelebi was the former name of the Yazidis (cf. Barthold, above i., p. 833). In Niebahr also Čelebi is given as "devil".

The Yazidis call themselves Dāsin, Dōsin, Dōsent, plur. Dawšān, Dušān, Dawšān, probably from the name of an old Nestorian diocese. In 941 (1534) Suljān Sulaimān gave the Yazidi chief

Husain Beg Dōsint, who was later executed, the *sanjak* of Arbil and the wilāyet of Solhān. Among the Syrians, the Yazidis are called *Dasānāye* (not to be confused with *Dayānāye*, the followers of Bardane of Edessa; cf. Vahart, in *R.S.O.*, xlii, 67), among the Armenians, Thoudracians and Polichianans. Before the days of Christianity they were called *pūpūret* (idol-worshippers) according to the *Majma' waḥid*.

The defamatory name given them quite unjustly is *shidān-perest* or *shidā-i šidā* ("devil-worshipper") although they should rather be called "angel-worshippers", and *bragh condiren* ("light-eating-aishars"). Another term of abuse for them is the Turkish *kulda* ("dog-collar").

Tribes. Although the Yazidis hold no communion with the neighbouring tribes and in particular do not intermarry with them, they look exactly like Kurds, even those who live in Syria in the centre of an Arabic speaking area, although two types are to be distinguished among them: one, their own traditional type, Assyrian-Semitic with particularly thick hair and beard and the other more an Indo-Germanic type. In any case traces of the early inhabitants of the country still survive in them. They have some physiological similarities with the earlier Wān Armenians: an Armenian intermixture is not to be denied.

Their thick hair earned them from the Turks the nickname *şallı Kurd* ("hairy Kurds") and *şallı öykü* ("rightfold bearded") because hair grows on the lips, eye brows, nostrils and ears.

The Yazidis are a handsome, long-haired, proud type, with the feeling of independence characteristic of the mountain-dweller, and usually of powerful physique. The unveiled women have remarkably regular features. The Yazidis were formerly dreaded rebels and brigands who resisted fearlessly all attacks and onslaughts by their neighbours. Their faithfulness to their word and their loyalty was recognised even by their enemies. They are industrious tillers of the soil and cattle-rearers, who are superior to their neighbours in skill and activity. Special mention may be made of the meticulous cleanliness of their persons and houses, which is in great contrast to the filth of the other Kurds.

They are organised like the Kurdish tribes, with an emir or chief of the tribe (*agha-i ile*) at the head. According to Karcew, the tribe is divided into bodies of elders (*ruşif*). Every family or sept forms a unit by itself. On the tribal organisation, the taxes and labour given to the chiefs, on the law of inheritance (primogeniture, but restricted by the condition of worthiness), on the patriarchal life of the tribes, settled and nomadic, see Jegiazarov, *Kavkazskoe tatarskoye drev. Kur. Jov.*, in *Zapiski*, xlii, Tiflis 1891, who gives very full data (Menzel, *op. cit.*, p. 108); also Minorovsky, above a. v. Kurus, Ilya Joseph and Empson.

Language. The language of the Yazidis is almost without exception Kurdish, an idiom related to Persian, with a number of dialects which are particularly closely related to Kurmandji Kurdish. But the differences are often so great that another language has to be called in to make the parties intelligible to one another, for example Turkish in the case of Goktāi Yazidis in intercourse with the Ararat and Hāyazid Kurds (Wagner). In consequence of their distinct religion they form a people sharply distinguished from the Kurds. The Yazidis of the Sindjār also speak Arabic. The supposition that

at least a portion of the Yazidis formerly spoke Arabic and migrated from Syria and Babylonia, as tradition has it, is not to be rejected offhand.

Religion. The origin and evolution of their peculiar synthetic religion have not yet been fully explained but it seems to include old pagan elements (but no worship of the sun and moon), Iranian-Zoroastrian elements (echoes of Persian dualism), Manichaean (the Persian gnosis), Jewish elements (prohibition of certain foods), features from Christian sects, especially the Nestorians (baptism, a kind of eucharist, breaking of bread, visiting of Christian churches at weddings, permission to drink wine), also Muslim elements (circumcision, fasting, sacrifice, pilgrimage, Muslim inscriptions on tombs), Sufi-Rāfīdī features (secrecy of doctrine, ecstasy, reverence for a large number of Sufi-Shaikhīs), Sabaeen (transmigration of souls) and Shamanistic features (burial, interpretation of dreams, dances).

Sacred Books. The spoken language is used throughout in worship. It is therefore all the more remarkable that the text of the two sacred books, said to have been in existence before the Creation and to have been learned from the original copies, was in Arabic, although only the priests and the *ḡawwāl*s learned some Arabic. These are the *Kiṭāb al-Djilwa* [q. v.] (*Kiṭāb al-Djilwa*) "the Book of Revelation" and the *Maṣṣaf ḡāḡ* [q. v.] "the Black Book". "Black" seems to imply worthy of veneration.

One cannot conceal a certain disappointment on becoming acquainted with the sacred books. A hymn in praise of Shaikh 'Adī [see 'adī] in 80 verses of considerable theological merit, written in Arabic, is also regarded as a kind of sacred book.

Religion. Whether, though it is very improbable, there has survived to the present day in Yazidism a remnant of the old Iranian Zoroastrianism, whose views have been in course of time fundamentally altered by the adoption of foreign elements, or whether the Yazidis are former Manichaeans or Nestorians and Jacobites or survivors of the old Syrian community, which settled on the Sindjār and in their isolation became contaminated by Muslim and other ideas, is uncertain.

According to Spiro, Yazidism is descended from Manichaeism, which has been affected by Assyrian, Persian, Christian and Muslim elements. In any case, the Iranian element plays a considerable part for it appears to be the main basis for the development of Yazidi doctrine, which in many points approximates to Christianity and still more to Islam.

In the actual doctrinal system, the six minor deities seem to disappear completely and to be replaced by the dualism between God and Malak Tā'ūs, the peacock angel. God is only the Creator, not the preserver of the world. He is passive and does not trouble about the world. The active, executive organ of the divine will is Malak Tā'ūs, with whom Shaikh 'Adī who has risen to divinity through transmigration, seems to form one. Malak Tā'ūs is God's *alter ego* and is the active aspect of God's being. He is one with God and inseparably bound up with him. To this extent Yazidism is monotheistic but there are also semi-divine and divine beings, intermediate between God and man.

According to Horten, the religion of the Yazidis is a pure worship of light and represents a victory over the old Persian dualism. Malak Tā'ūs is not the principle of evil but on the contrary the denial of evil at all, which forms an indis-

pensable portion of the divine plan of the world and in a proper conception of the relativity and subjectivity of evil is recognised as necessary.

Malak Tā'ūs is a good deity. Yazidism does not countenance the worship of Satan. Shaifān = Malak Tā'ūs is regarded as an angel who has fallen into disgrace and, according to the legend, for his repentance has been restored or will be restored to God's favour. The Yazidis do not appear to believe in a hell, in a devil in our sense or in the punishment of hell, which would be an incorporation of the principle of evil. Evil is denied. According to legend, Malak Tā'ūs with his team of repentance in hell filled 7 jars in 7,000 years and with them the fires of hell were extinguished. The triumph over hell by this theory of redemption is found in several variants in Yazidi legend. Corresponding to the non-existence of an eternal hell is the belief in transmigration, which makes possible a gradual purification through continual rebirths. It is strictly forbidden to pronounce the name of Malak Tā'ūs: *Shaifān* even as the name of the deity (art. 5 of the creed). The white pearl is of the same nature and identical with the peacock. The peacock also plays a part in early Christian and other religions as a symbol of the sun and of immortality, as its flesh is said not to decay.

The view held by Chwolson and Lidbarski that Tā'ūs corresponds to the Babylonian-Assyrian divine name *Tamūz*, Aram. *Tamūz*: *تموز* = *تلوز* = *تلوز* is untenable. Yazidism has nothing to do with the god *Tamūz*. Similarly Tā'ūs = *تاوز* is to be rejected while Tā'ūs seems to be the same as *تاوس*.

The problem of the origin and nature of the worship of the divine angel Malak Tā'ūs, who is represented in the form of a bird, as a cock or peacock, is not yet solved.

Sandjāk. The most concrete expressions of Yazidism are the figures of peacocks made of bronze or iron, the so-called *sandjāk* (Yaz. *sandjāk*) pl. *sandjāk*, sometimes quite crude figures, sometimes very fine products of Persian art. Pictures of them may be found in Layard, Menant, Guérin, Ilya Joseph, *Anthropos* VI, Enpörm, Hural etc.

There are seven *sandjāk*, corresponding to the number of the angels who took part in the creation of the world; they have particular names, being called after individuals who have attained divinity through transmigration: Dāwūd, Shaikh Shams al-Din, Yazid (b. Mi'āwiya), Shaikh 'Adī, Shaikh Ḥasan al-Baḡrī, Manṣūr (al-Hallādī). The last named is the oldest *sandjāk*, weighs 679 lbs. and is called "caliph of the *sandjāk*". It remains always at the tomb of Shaikh 'Adī. The seventh *sandjāk* is lacking in all the illustrations. The *sandjāk* *ḡāḡ* has been mentioned above.

Six *sandjāk*s make the round of the various Yazidi lands yearly: 1. in Mōsul and Shaikhān thrice yearly; 2. in Sindjār and in Mesopotamia twice a year; 3. in Aleppo once; 4. in Diyar Bakr once; 5. in Takrit, Sāmarrā etc. once; 6. in Nisibin, Bāyazīd, Wan and Caucasus once.

The travelling *sandjāk*s are taken by the *ḡawwāl* and Koçak in their own simple receptacles on the dangerous journey. If lost they seem to be replaced at once. They are kept in the treasury *Kāzimat al-Kāzimin* in Shaikh 'Adī.

Here one may deal with the often mentioned snake, of the height of a man, painted black, which

is cut into the wall at the entrance door of the sanctuary. On the same wall are carved a number of peculiar figures: rings, daggers, a peculiar kind of crozier or seven armed sceptre, hands, spoons, croziers, combs. They are probably family or tribal marks, as the little houses for pilgrims scattered all over the valley bear the same marks on the walls.

It is significant that at the present day in Sinjar the quarrels of the emirs for power seem to concentrate around the possession of a *sanjaf* guaranteeing a regular income.

Exclusiveness. The idea of their complete separation from the rest of mankind held by the Yazidis is remarkable. They are convinced that they are descended from a child (Shahid b. Djalil) or twins, developed from the seed of Adam only in a jar which was kept closed for nine months, while the jar with the seed of Eve who was disputing for priority produced only vermin. On this is based the belief of the Yazidis in their unique position which does not allow them to mix with the rest of mankind who are descended from Adam or Eve. One cannot become a Yazidi, one must be born one. This strict isolation is intensified by a rigid caste system within the Yazidis.

The most dreadful punishment for a Yazidi, which can only be completely realised when we remember this fact, is excommunication, expulsion from his people, because this also settles the fate of his soul.

Morals, religious usages. In spite of all the slanders of their neighbours, the Yazidis are really on a much higher level of morality than their Christian and Muslim neighbours. The superstitious anxiety of the Yazidis to have a circle described around them by which one can put them on oath seems to be a fact (cf. Goldziher, *Zauberkreise*, in the *Kuhn-Festschrift* and *Z.D.M.* 67, lxx, [1916]).

The prayers consist of a Kurdish main prayer and a morning prayer at sunrise, which has to be said at a distance from members of other creeds, and turned towards the sun (Creed, art. 3). They ought at the same time to walk round a stone put up for the purpose. The principal prayer is addressed to Malak Tê'ûs and shows that the latter is regarded as identical with the Christian and Muslim God. The seven divine angels are addressed. The erroneous view that the sun and moon are worshipped arose from the fact that the supreme deity (= Malak Tê'ûs) is called "Lord of the moon and of the darkness" and "Lord of the Sun and Light".

A three days' fast (سێ ڕۆژ - not ڕۆژ) is observed in December, the fast being broken by drinking wine with the proper Shaikh or Pir. The performance of prayer, however, is — apparently under Šafī influence — not regarded as a strict duty.

According to the Yazidi satechism, Saturday is the day of rest and Wednesday the holy day. Once to three times yearly the Yazidi villages are visited by the *sanjaf* amid great celebrations.

The annual pilgrimage to the tomb of Shaikh 'Adi on Sept. 15–20 of the Greek-Julian calendar is a strict religious duty. This pilgrimage to the national sanctuary is the principal expression of the national and religious isolation of the Yazidis. The feast of the pilgrimage is celebrated with ritual ablutions by bathing in the river, by washing or

dipping the *sanjaf*, with processions, music (flute, drum and tambourine), hymns, ecstatic songs and dances by the priests, which recall the Šafī *dhikr* and Shamanistic rites, the lighting of hundreds of sesame oil-lamps at all the saints' graves, by offerings and special foods (*harisa*, *lawê*), the cooking of a sacrificed ox (*halûk*).

The blessing of Shaikh 'Adi is important for the rites, i.e. little balls of earth or clay from the tomb of the saint, and consecrated water from the water in which the *sanjaf* has been dipped for the living and the dead.

The little balls of earth are used as talismans and as a medicine and as extreme unction for the dying. All eyewitnesses agree as to the devoutness and dignity of all these ceremonies in the outer court of the sanctuary. The ceremonies within the sanctuary, which seem to include the reading of sacred books, have never been witnessed by an outsider.

Trees, at the sanctuary mulberry trees, are also honoured, surrounded with walls and visited by the sick. These trees have their own personal names.

Non-obligatory pilgrimages are made to the tombs of several other saints, mostly Šafī shaikhs.

The most important festival of the year, the feast of the New Year: *sar-i sal*, *sarsull*, *sarsulliyê* on the first Wednesday in April, is celebrated with great solemnity, as among the Harranians, at the tomb of Shaikh 'Adi but without music. An attempt has been made to trace this to the Assyrian festival of *agmuê*. Red flowers over the doors play a great part in it.

The obligatory institution of the brotherhood of the next world, which corresponds to our system of godfathers (each Yazidi must have a brother and sister of the next world), binds one to a daily kiss of the hand and presence in the dying hour. The collar of the new shirt, which unlike other eastern shirts is always buttoned behind, must in any case be opened by a sister of the next world.

In marriage, endogamy is strictly observed and the limitations imposed by the caste system are very marked. Marriage is as a rule monogamous, except in the case of the emir, who is allowed several wives. It is marriage by purchase with simple ceremonies performed by the local shaikh or pir, who breaks a loaf in two and gives it to the two parties. The bride wears red clothes and has to visit all the places of worship including the Christian churches on the way. The bridegroom on her entering the house gives her a blow with a stone as a sign of her subjection. Drums and fifes are necessary. Here and there the old system of marriage by capture survives, but it is now forbidden.

The punishment for adultery used to be death. Divorce is rendered difficult through the necessity of having three witnesses. The widow may be remarried six times. If a Yazidi remains more than a year abroad, he cannot live with his wife again nor can he receive another Yazidi woman to wife.

Baptism is a characteristic ceremony: it is performed by a shaikh or pir plunging the child three times into the *zanzen* in a dark vault of the sanctuary in the first week after birth. In the case of Yazidis living at some distance away, consecrated water brought by the *kawwals* is used.

Circumcision, which takes place soon after baptism, seems to be more a matter of choice. In

some Yazidi tribes it is said to have fallen into disuse some time ago, probably to escape military service.

The burial ceremonies are peculiar. The corpse is buried immediately after death with arms crossed and pointing to the east. In the case of persons of rank, a rough wooden figure is hung with the deceased's clothes and carried for three days in procession with music. The tomb is repeatedly visited by the mourners. On the 3rd, 7th and 40th day and the anniversary memorial services are held.

After death an answer to the question of the rebirth of the soul of the deceased is sought from the interpretation of a dream of a priest or *koçak*. The Kurdish system of blood vengeance exists to the present day in a somewhat milder form among the Yazidis.

Theocratic structure of society: The whole structure of this people, small and scattered but extremely well organised, is theocratic. The Yazidis fall into two very distinct classes:

1. The laity (*murid*) who form one great caste without consideration of position or wealth and among whose members there is no distinction in principle, in spite of the division into common Yazidis and notables (*emirs*), so that marriage between them is possible and frequent. Every Yazidi is the novice or disciple of a definite *shaikh* or *pir*, whose hand he must kiss every day, with whom he must break his fast by drinking wine and who has to perform the various rites of worship for him. On the institution of brotherhood of the next world, see above.

II. The clergy, priests, *rûşân*, *kahuna*, who enjoy extraordinary respect and reverence. The cleric must not cut his beard nor crop his hair. As regards duties the clergy are divided into six classes and as regards exclusiveness into three rigidly marked classes. It is impossible to move from one caste to another and marriages between the different castes are forbidden. Still more unimaginable is it for a layman to enter the clerical class and vice versa. This rigidity is a dogma of belief as the Yazidis rely upon it for the purity of their sects. Every one must live and die in the caste in which he is born. In certain cases the priesthood may pass by inheritance to women.

The *rûşân* are divided into the following classes:

1. The *shaikhs* who are descended from only five families in all are believed to be descended from pupils or brothers of Shaikh 'Adi. Their dress is white with a black wound turban; a red and yellow or orange cloth is flung round the body. The houses of the *shaikhs* serve as the places of worship of their charges.

2. The *pirs*, priests of less exalted descent. Their dress is black, the turban white with black feather or wound round with red.

The *shaikhs* and *pirs* are the regular clergy and pastors, they enjoy immunity of person and various privileges. It is their duty to teach their charges good and restrain them from evil. They have to perform religious duties on festival days, at fasts, at marriages, births, circumcisions, in illness (treatment with sacred earth), at death and at anguishes, for which regular fees (*xykat*) are due them.

The so-called *mollâ* or *imâm*, who claims descent from Hasan al-Basri, is said alone to have the right to read and write. At one time he had charge

of the sacred books but they are now kept for safety in Sindjar.

Writing is strictly forbidden to the common Yazidis by custom, probably in order not to profane it, since according to the *Maḥṣaf*, xxxi., God himself puts creation on record.

3. The *faḡira* or *ḡarabash* ("blackheads", on account of their black headgear), a kind of order, a voluntary brotherhood, recruited from the *shaikhs* and *pirs* and under a head called *šak* "master", who lives in Aleppo and receives the income of the *sanjjaḡ* Yazidi. They wear a black garment of hair and a turban with red band. They live on alms and play a part as negotiators and peace-makers. A *faḡir* is said to act as deputy of the chief *emir*. There is also said to be a sisterhood called *faḡrya*, the head of which is called *kubana*.

4. The *ḡawwāl*: singers, clergy of minor rank. There is a guild of musicians said to number 50 men, which has to take part in all religious festivals by singing hymns (we have two of these hymns with the music), playing the flute, tambourine or drum. They also act as *muḡzi dominici* of the chief *shaikh* and chief *emir*. They are farmers of the sacred images, the *sanjjaḡ*, for which they had to pay an annual rent (before the war about £T 6,000) and with which they went regular definite circuits through the different Yazidi districts in order to strengthen the faith of the Yazidis and keep them together and to collect offerings. An undeniable similarity to the pardoners is found in the trade which they carry on in balls of earth from the tomb of Shaikh 'Adi and in holy water. Of the contributions levied on behalf of the *emir* half goes to the tomb of 'Adi, a quarter to the *emir* and a quarter to the *ḡawwāl*.

They wear white, rarely coloured, dress and black turbans. Many Yazidis consider it meritorious to sanctify their new clothes by giving them to the *ḡawwāl* for a time.

5. The *kolak*, dancers, who serve in considerable numbers at the tomb of Shaikh 'Adi (the estimates vary between 30 and 300) and as ministrants of the *ḡawwāl* carry the *sanjjaḡ* to the villages on their circuits and dance at festivals in frenzied ecstasy with their long hair unbound.

Not to be confused with them are the *kolak*, who have the same name and crop up occasionally; they were a kind of Mahdi, usually religious fanatics of the nomadic Yazidi tribes, who endeavoured to influence and impress those around them by interpreting dreams, falling into trances and seeing visions and believed they were called upon to play the part of religious leaders. In drought and famine they acted as rain-makers, in rebellions and military enterprises they sought like the old prophets to inflame their people and assume the leadership. At the same time they used to their own advantage the belief that Shaikh 'Adi will appear once again in a rebirth. For this reason therefore they were hated not only by the Turkish Government but also by the Yazidi chiefs themselves and not infrequently betrayed to the Turks who disposed of them without mercy.

6. The lowest class of clergy: the *awḡān* or *awān* (deacons) and *ḡulām-e odjakk-e Shaikh 'Adi*, the servants at the tomb of Shaikh 'Adi, together with a *ferrāḡ* (sacristan to look after the oil-lamps) and 4 or 5 *ḡulām-e (awḡān)*: doorkeepers who serve in the sanctuary. Each Yazidi village

also has a *ghāsiqā* to maintain order. The head of the servants at the tomb is the *khāyir* of Merke (Menzel, *op. cit.*, p. 147, note 1).

At the top of this theocratic organisation there are a religious and a secular head:

1. The chief Shaikh: *mir-i shāikhān*, known as *Shāikh Nāṣir*, who is said to be descended from the family of Hasan al-Baṣrī or from a brother of Shaikh 'Adi and lives in Lalash. He takes precedence of every one and the supreme spiritual power is in him. He is infallible on questions of belief. He is the chief authority on and expositor of the holy scriptures; he alone gives legal decisions, and — with the approval of the chief of the tribe — sentences to the severest punishment, excommunication. He can summon to the holy war — this recalls the *ghāsiqā* — but the leadership devolves on the chief emir. The *Mir-i Shāikhān* has a claim to tithes but their place is taken by voluntary offerings. He wears white and a black turban. Only the daughters of a family descended from 'Abd al-Qādir Gilāni are considered his equals in rank. His house is the most venerated *adīs* of the Yazidis next to the tomb of Shaikh 'Adi.

2. The Mirzā Beg or *emir al-umara'*, the prince of the Yazidis, who according to the *Maṣḥaf* is regarded as a descendant of Shāpur but is usually called a descendant of Yazid and exercises the highest political and secular power. He lives in Bī'adri. His person enjoys immunity and he receives voluntary offerings (according to Browski £T 8,000 a year). His word is final on all secular matters. He alone represents the Yazidis to the outer world. He occupies the same position with respect to all Yazidi tribes that the tribal chief has to the individual Yazidi.

Since the loss of independence in 1832 the emir has to obtain recognition from the Turkish Government. The present emir of the Yazidis is Sa'id Beg, son of 'Ali Beg, murdered in 1913, who was the son of Hussin Beg (d. 1878), son of 'Ali Beg murdered in 1832.

History. We are quite in the dark regarding the first appearance and early history of this people who reveal so many diverse elements. According to the chief shaikh, the Yazidis, Layard tells us, have a chronology of their own, an era beginning in 292 A.D. which could without difficulty be connected with the year of Mani's death (276). But as we have no further confirmation and no historical records or annals of the Yazidis are known which might throw some light on the point, the correctness of the statement may legitimately be doubted.

It is not clear what part the caliph Yazid b. Mu'awiya (60–64 = 680–693) really plays in Yazidism; according to the origin of the name already given, he can have had nothing to do directly with their foundation. Guidi however holds — in contrast to the views hitherto held by European scholars — that the connection of Yazidism with Yazid can no longer be doubted, and regards the Yazidis as having at one time been Muslims, a view which has always been held by Muhammadan theologians.

According to the Yazidi view, Yazid was not the real founder of the Yazidiya, but only the restorer of the original sect, founded by Shāhid b. Dīrāsh, the only son of Adam. According to the legend, Yazid abandoned Islam to devote him-

self exclusively in Syria to the sect named after him. It cannot be denied that there are historical relations in this connection between Syria and the 'Irāq and the Kurdish movement. There are still villages of Yazidis who speak Kurdish near Aleppo. By transmigration Yazid became Shaikh 'Adi, who will come to earth again and again. In *Maṣḥaf* xv., 'Adi alone is mentioned, whom God sends from Syria to Lalash, but not Yazid.

An attempt has been made to dispose of the difficulties which arise out of the caliph Yazid by making the Yazidis disciples of Yazid b. Unais, on the authority of a statement in *Shahraṣṭānī's* (469–548 = 1071–1153) *Kutub al-Milal wa'l-Niḥāl*, mainly because a prophet from Persia was expected by the Ismā'īlī sect of the Yazidiya founded by Yazid b. Unais. But even this does not remove the difficulty.

It seems no less peculiar that the Yazidis should have chosen as a national saint a Sufi Shaikh like 'Adi b. Musāfir [q.v.] recognised without qualification throughout the whole Muhammadan world, whose orthodoxy, as we find it in his works, could hardly have led to the foundation of a sect so heterodox and foreign to the nature of Islam as Yazidism actually is. It appears impossible that a Muslim Sufi order could degenerate into a religion so different from Islam as Yazidism is.

In any case, the Yazidi movement seems to have begun in the time of the Omayyads in Syria. According to the tradition still alive among them, they came from Bāḡra and the lower Euphrates in the time of Timūr at the end of the xivth century and gradually advanced into the Sindjar which they did not inhabit before the xvth century, and into Kurdistan and there became kurdisised.

As, strange to say, unlike Muslims, the Yazidis never laid stress on their possession of sacred books, they were not regarded as privileged *Ahl al-Kitāb*. Down to recent times, they were connected from their name with the hated caliph Yazid and branded as Muslim heretics.

It was from this point of view that the various authoritative *fatwas* were issued which unanimously declared the land of the Yazidis *dār al-harb* and proclaimed the destruction of the Yazidis and the confiscation of all their property permitted and meritorious from the religious point of view. These served as justification for the numerous attempts at conversion and extermination by the Turkish pashas and the Kurdish tribes. I may mention the *fatwa*, published by Sharaf al-Dīn of Mawlaṣā Sāliḥ for Shaikh 'Abd Allāh al-Rubṭakī (?) of the year 1159 (1746) and the *fatwa* of 'Abd al-Salām and that of Muḥammad al-Barklā' al-Kurdī.

The memory of these atrocities, which are unparalleled even in the bloody history of Kurdistan, may have played a part in the final separation of the Mūsul territory from Turkey. For the Yazidis were as determined as the eastern Christians to migrate if the disputed area became Turkish again. The union with the 'Irāq was therefore hailed with all the more enthusiasm.

The resolution and strength of character of the Yazidis is remarkable; in spite of centuries of persecution they have never abandoned their identity nor their faith.

Bibliography: I refer the reader to my Yazidi-Bibliography, published in my work *Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Yaziden*, in H. Grothe's

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AL-YAZIDJĪ, I. **AL-SHAĪKH** Nāṣif b. 'ABD AL-ĀZĪH, an Arab poet and philologist of the 19th century, born March 25, 1800 in Kafr Shmā (Lebanon, near Bairūt; see Baderker, *Palästina und Syrien*, seventh ed., p. 266 and map at p. 263), d. on 8th (not 5th as *G.A.L.*, ii, 494) February 1871 in Bairūt. Members of his family, mainly of the Greek orthodox confession, are mentioned as early as the 17th century in northern Syria, especially in Hims, Tarābulus etc. as capable secretaries of Turkish officials and the higher clergy, whence their family name *Āzīh*, Turk. *Yāzıdji* (see 'I. I. al-Ma'ālūf, *Dawāni 'l-Kuṣūf fi 'l-Turik*, Bani 'l-Ma'ālūf, Be'abdu-Lubnān 1907-1908, p. 199-200). The family later moved to the Lebanon where the father enjoyed a considerable practice as an old-fashioned physician of the school of Avicenna (see *Mach.*, xxvii, 1929, p. 363). Nāṣif received no regular education; when a child he had some lessons from a monk named Matthew at Bait-Shabbūh. He very early displayed a great love for books and poetry; in boyhood he had already learned the Qur'an and the *Dīwān* of Mutanabbī by heart. His younger brother Rāḍī (1803-1857) also left a *Dīwān* in MS. (see Cheikho, *La littérature arabe au XIX^e siècle*, Bairūt 1926, ii, 43). From 1816-1818, Nāṣif was secretary to the Greek Catholic patriarch at Dair Ḳarḳafa; his odes (from the year 1824 onwards) attracted the attention of the celebrated emir Baḥrī [q.v.] to him and from 1828-1840 he was employed in his secretariat at Bteḍḍin. It was probably he who was described by Lamartine in his travels in the east as one of the court-poets (see *Souvenirs, impressions, pensées et paysages pendant un voyage en Orient*, Leipzig and Stuttgart 1835, i, 242). After Baḥrī's banishment to Malta, al-Yazīdjī went to Bairūt where he became very active as a writer and teacher. He remained quite free from foreign influences of every kind; he knew no European languages. Nevertheless he assisted the American missionaries in their translation of the Bible, was a member of the Society of Syrian Scholars and taught in nearly all the larger and better schools. A number of schoolbooks (no less than 15) were composed and printed by him, particularly on grammar, rhetoric, poetics, logic (a carefully prepared list by F. A. al-Bustānī, *al-Shaikh Nāṣif al-Yazīdjī*, Bairūt 1929, pp. nūn-rā); several of these are still in use in old-fashioned schools.

As a poet al-Yazīdjī followed exclusively the classical tradition, especially under the influence of al-Mutanabbī [q.v.], to whose popularity in Syria in the 19th century he contributed not a little. All his life he collected material for a commentary on al-Mutanabbī, which was edited after his death by his son Ibrāhīm (al-'Arf, *al-fayḍ fi Dīwān al-Ḥi 'l-Tayyib*, Bairūt 1882). Al-Yazīdjī's odes are in form and matter modelled exactly on well known classical metres; even the *munshakh* type was foreign to him. The elegies are full of stock sentiments. He was particularly fond of chronograms and plays on words in which he could display his extraordinary command of language and form. His poems were collected in three volumes (on the first see Fleischer, in *Z.D.M.G.*, vii, 1853, p. 279); the best edition is that by his son Ibrāhīm (1. *al-Nubdhāt al-nāla*, Haddāth 1904, with the biography written by his grandson Amin al-Haddād; 2. *Nasbat al-Kaḥḥān*, Bairūt 1898; 3. *Zabālib al-Kamarain*, Bairūt 1903, not mentioned in F. al-Bustānī, *op. cit.*, p. 43n).

Al-Yazīdjī acquired particular fame in the east and in Europe as the last great representative of the writers of *maḥmas* [q.v.]. His collection of 60 *maḥmas*, *Maḥma' al-Bahrain*, still enjoys great popularity in Syria (first edition, Bairūt 1856, the best that by his son Ibrāhīm of 1872 and often reprinted). It arose gradually. Following a suggestion of the French consul in Bairūt he began to study the *Maḥmas* of Ḥarfī in Silvestre de Sacy's edition (1821-1822) and as a result put together his emendations (ed. by A. F. Mehren as *Epistola critica Nāṣif al-Yazīdjī Berytenis ad De Sacyum*, Leipzig 1848; s. also Reinand and Denenbourg, *Les stances de Ḥarfī*, 1853, ii, 72 sq.; cf. V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, ix, Liège 1905, p. 105, 130). In the early fifties he began to write *maḥmas* of his own; the whole collection was finished in 1855 and was very well received in Europe (Chauvin, *op. cit.*, p. 123, 234); one of them had been translated by Fleischer as early as 1851 (*Z.D.M.G.*, v, 1851, p. 96-103; also Russian translations by A. Krymsky, *Die arabische Poesie*, Moscow 1906, p. 322-328 and Ign. Krackowsky, in the periodical *Wostok*, ii, 1923, p. 31-34). Like those of Ḥarfī his *maḥmas* are not only of linguistic and lexicographical interest but they also contain much material of ethnographical value (see also Th. Chénery, *The Assemblies of al-Ḥarfī*, London 1837, i, 98-101).

Although his own outlook and works were very conservative and traditional, al-Yazīdjī nevertheless exercised a very great influence on modern Arabic literature. He is with justice reckoned with his younger contemporary Buḥrī al-Bustānī [q.v.] among the founders of the new movement in Syria. He was not a populariser of European knowledge or European methods like the latter or Rifā'a al-Taḥḥawī; language only in the wide sense was his field. By a mastery command of language, by his verses, *maḥmas* and schoolbooks, he showed and taught that the old saying *al-'arabiyya fī talanāṣur* (the Arabic language cannot be christianised) no longer held true. Every Arabic speaking Christian must as a member of the Arab race play his part in the renaissance of his fatherland. In this respect al-Yazīdjī did a great deal to pave the way for the later Arab nationalist movement.

2. Several members of the numerous family of

Shaikh Nāṣif attained a literary reputation. His son Ibrāhīm (b. March 2, 1847; d. Dec. 28, 1906) is especially celebrated as a sound philologist and a purist who did a great deal for modern Arabic terminology. He revised or edited many of his father's works and published a number of articles, mainly of a linguistic nature, in the periodicals edited by him in Syria and Egypt (e.g. *al-Taḥḥib*, 1884—1888; the article on Dory's Supplement was translated by Fleischer in 1881, see *Kleinere Schriften*, iii. 605—641; especially *al-Bayān*, 1897—1898, see M. Hartmann, *The Arabic Press of Egypt*, London 1899, p. 36 sq., 60 sq. and *O. L. Z.*, i., 1898, col. 225; *al-Diyā*, 1898—1906, s. M. Hartmann, *O. L. Z.*, ii., 1899, col. 57—59; iii., 1900, col. 311—316, 340—346); a number of his letters on literary matters and chronograms were collected by his friends (*Rasā'il al-Yazīdji*, Cairo 1920) as were his poems (*al-Shi'r*, *ibid.*, n.d., publ. in a facsimile of the original MS.). Most of his larger works were unfinished. He took a great interest in Arabic printing and even invented new types and signs. A monument was put up to him in Bairūt in 1924 (see *Maḥ.*, xii., 1924, p. 637—638; a description with photograph in the magazine *al-Mar'at al-ʿijādiyya*, iv., No. 8, p. 336).

3. The youngest son Khallīl (b. 1858, d. Jan. 23, 1889) is best known as the author of one of the first original tragedies in Arabic with a subject from ancient Arabia, *al-Murūwat wa 'l-Wafā'* (written in 1876; first produced in 1878; first edition 1884; second Cairo 1902); a second was never printed (see Sarkis, *op. cit.*, col. 1333). In 1881 for a time he edited in Cairo the *Mir'at al-Sharḥ*, later went back to his native land where he taught and prepared a new school edition of *Kaṭṭāb wa-Dimna* (1885). He is known as a poet from his collection *Nasāmāt al-Awraḥ* (Cairo 1888 — not 1880 as in *G. A. L.*, ii. 495 note — and 1908). His great dictionary of the spoken language was never finished.

4. A daughter of Shaikh Nāṣif named Warda (b. 1838, d. Jan. 28, 1924) was one of the first women writers in Arabic of the sixteenth century. She married Fransia Shīm'ūn in 1866 and lived most of her life in Egypt. Her collection of poems (*Hudūd al-Ward*, Bairūt 1867, 1887; Cairo, n.d. [1332 = 1913]) shows considerable fluency in the style of her father but of course without his power; as regards subject-matter they are mainly *vers de l'occasion* which are of no little value for the chronicles of the Yazidji family.

5. The Shaikh's eldest son Ḥabīb (b. Feb. 15, 1833, d. Dec. 31, 1870), author of a commentary on one of his father's books, was a translator; his death was the occasion of the last elegy written by his father, now crippled with age.

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3. Khallīl: Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 495, note; Kračkovsky, *op. cit.*, p. 63—64; Zaidān, *Tarāḥim*, ii.², 256—271; do., *Ta'riḥ*, iv. 240—241; Cheikho, *La littérature*, ii.², 36—38; do., *Catalogue*, p. 212, No. 826; al-Zurukli, *op. cit.*, i. 299; Sarkis, *op. cit.*, col. 1932—1933.

4. Warda: Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 495, note; Cheikho, *Ta'riḥ*, p. 415—416; do., *Catalogue*, p. 213, No. 829; al-Zurukli, *op. cit.*, iii. 1134; Sarkis, *op. cit.*, col. 1939—1940. The public lecture devoted to her by Mayy (Maryam Ziyāde) in May 1924 was printed in the same year in Cairo by Maḥāṭir al-Balāgh (62 pp. with portrait, not mentioned in Sarkis, *op. cit.*, col. 1607).

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(IGN. KRATSKOWSKY)

YAZIDJI-OGHLU or YAZIDJI-ZADE, the epithet of two early Ottoman poets and mystics, both sons of a certain *yazīdji* (i.e. *ānā*) Ṣāliḥ al-Dīn. He is said to have come from Boli and spent most of his later life in Angora. Ṣāliḥ al-Dīn wrote in addition to works on mysticism, a treatise on medicine called *Shemsiye* and a poetical calendar of 5,000 couplets of no literary value, but perhaps of linguistic interest, on the omens of certain phenomena in the heavens such as rainbows, eclipses, lunar rings, falling stars etc. The work was published in 841 (1412) and dedicated to a certain Kaṣṣāb 'Alī. The author mentions the celebrated physician Ḥādīdī Pāshā as his patron. It seems to be better known under the title *Muḥim*; manuscripts are rather rare (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. D.*, i. 73 sqq. with details of contents). There are old and good copies in Berlin,

Staatsbibliothek, fols. 3128 and 3397. The poet *Djewis* rewrote it in 1045 (1635) to suit the taste of his time; cf. Rieu, *Catalogue Turc. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, p. 93 sq.; other copies of this version are in Dresden, Gotha and Leipzig. Cf. on Yâzîdî Salâh al-Dîn also Brûsal Mehmed Tahir, *'Othmanîl Mîsâlihi*, I. 194, note. He seems to have lived for a time in Kâhî Köyi near Malghara in Thrace where his eldest son Mehmed was born.

1. Yâzîdî-Oghlu Mehmed, the elder of the two brothers, was born at Kâhî Köyi but seems to have been educated in Persia and Transoxania and to have completed his studies with Hâdîdî Bairâm in Angora. He retired into the solitude of a cell (*sâwîye*) built by himself at Gallipoli where he died in 855 (1451). His tomb is still pointed out and revered as a holy place. Yâzîdî-Oghlu Mehmed is still known everywhere as the author of the celebrated *Risâle-i Mehmedîye*, or briefly *Mehmedîye*. This long didactic poem contains a lengthy exposition of the doctrines and traditions of Islam based on the Kûrân and Hadîth. Considerable space is devoted to Muhammad's divine mission, his life, the end of the world, paradise, hell etc. (cf. the full account of the contents in J. v. Hammer, *G. O. D.*, I. 128-143). The epilogue contains a description of the visions in which Muhammad and his teacher Hâdîdî Bairâm appeared to him in a dream, also panegyrics of the sultans Murâd II and Mehmed II and of his patron, the grand-vizier Mahmûd, known as Kâzîb-ride. It was completed at the end of Djemâdî II, 853, i.e. middle of August 1449. The *Mehmedîye* is exceedingly common in manuscript, which suggests that it was once extremely popular. Since 1261 (1845) when Mirâ Kâjimbeg printed it in Kazan, the poem has been several times lithographed (e.g. Stambul 1258 and 1270; cf. *J. A.*, ser. iv., vol. III, p. 223 and *S. B. Ak. Wien*, xvii. 169). The commentary by Ismâ'îl Hâkîki entitled *Parh al-Kûb* (first edition Bulâk 1252, second edition in two vols. *ibid.* 1258, with text of the work and life of the author at the end of the second volume) is famous. 'Alî al-Dîn 'Alî b. Muhammad known as Mujañnifek (cf. *M. O. G.*, II. 244) translated the *Mehmedîye* into Persian (cf. G. Flügel, in *Jahrbücher der Literatur*, vol. 47, *Anzeigerblatt*, p. 21). As is known from the appendix to the *Amûr al-Akîfîn* of his brother Ahmad, Mehmed prepared at the latter's request under the title *Maghârib al-Zamân* a comprehensive exposition of the truths of religion in Arabic, which Ahmad then translated into Turkish as *Amûr al-Akîfîn*, while Mehmed put it into Turkish verse under the title *Mehmedîye*. On other works of Yâzîdî-Oghlu Mehmed cf. Brûsal Mehmed Tahir, *'Othmanîl Mîsâlihi*, I. 194 sq. No trace is to be found of other works attributed to him such as an *Oghuz-nâme* and a *Salâh-nâme*.

2. Yâzîdî-Oghlu Ahmad, usually called Ahmad Bidjân (on account of his excessive thinness), was the younger brother of Mehmed. Of his career we only know that he lived with his brother in Gallipoli and died there. His death must have taken place about 860 (1456); the date 855 often given is that of the death of his brother. Ahmad Bidjân was the author of several much esteemed mystical works of which the most important are: 1. *Durr-i mîknûn*, a cosmographical work in 18 fols., which deals with the wonders of creation. It exists only in MSS. which are not rare (e.g. Dresden, Gotha, Leyden, London, Paris, where

there is also a French MS. translation, and Vienna). 2. *Amûr al-Akîfîn* completed at the beginning of Muharram 855 (Feb. 1451) in Gallipoli, a Turkish prose version of his brother's Arabic *Maghârib al-Zamân* (see above). The work has been repeatedly printed: Stambul 1261, Kazan 1861, Stambul (1291 lith.) and Bulâk 1300. A detailed account of its contents is given by J. v. Hammer in the *S. B. Ak. Wien*, Phil.-hist. Kl., III. 129-133. 3. *Ajdâb al-Maghârib*, dealing with the wonders of creation. In the introduction the author says that in the time of Alexander the Great, the wise men of the earth arranged to describe the wonders of the universe. In the time of the Imam Shâfi this book was translated from Hebrew into Arabic. He himself at the suggestion of Hâdîdî Bairâm translated it, he says, into Turkish for the benefit of his countrymen who did not know Arabic, at the time when Sulân Mehmed captured Stambul, i.e. 857 (1453). A superficial comparison with Karwî's book of the same name shows its complete dependence on it, as Rieu has clearly shown (*Cat. of Turkish MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, p. 106 sq.). The book is quite common in MS. e.g. in Dresden, Leipzig, London, Upsala and Vienna. 4. *Muntahâ*, a mystical work on the exact content of which nothing has been published. There was a manuscript in the bookshop of Khâlis Efendi in Stambul. *Bibliography*: J. v. Hammer, *G. O. D.*, I. 127 sq., do., *G. O. K.*, I. 497, 601; Gibb, *H. O. P.*, I. 391 sq. and 395 sq. (with further references and many extracts from 'Alî's *Kunh al-Akîfîn*); Tashkoprûzâde, *Shâhîsh al-Nû-mâniye*, Turk. transl. of Mejdî, I. 127 sq. and 128 sq.; Sa'd al-Dîn, *Ta'îf al-Tawârîkh*, II. 460 and the sources mentioned in the text.

(FRANK BARINGER).

YÄZÜRİ, ABU MUHAMMAD AL-HASAN B. 'ALĪ, vizier and chief kâdî of the Fatimid caliph al-Mustanşir bi 'Īlāh. His father was a citizen in comfortable circumstances of Yâsir, a little town in Palestine near Ramla. It was in his native town that he began his administrative career in the office of kâdî. In this capacity he attracted the attention of an officer in the service of al-Mustanşir's mother, by reporting to him an injustice done by the chief kâdî of Egypt and it was probably as a result of this that he was transferred to the capital with a post in the official hierarchy.

After the assassination of the Jew Abū Sa'd al-Tustarî, superintendent of the estates of the caliph's mother, in 439 (1047), Yâzürî was appointed to succeed him. His ambition seems now to have been apparent, for the grand vizier Abū 'l-Barakât al-Husain Djarjarsiyî appointed him in 441 (1049) chief kâdî purposely to exclude him from the vizierate. Yâzürî retained his post as superintendent, the duties of which were performed by his eldest son Muhammad.

In the following year the caliph gave him the vizierate, which he was to hold for eight years. This period was marked by important events in foreign politics. The year 443 (1051) saw the breach between the Zirids and the Fatimid empire. Yâzürî in revenge sent the Banū Hill and Banū Sulaim to ravage North Africa. A rising of the tribes of the Buḥaira was suppressed. In the east there was the rising of Arslân al-Basāsiri against the 'Abbâsîd caliph al-Kâ'im, to which Yâzürî gave considerable financial assistance. These events are related elsewhere; we need only mention that

the taking of Baghdad by the Turkish adventurer caused the authorities in Cairo to lose their heads. To receive the captive 'Abbāsīd in the Egyptian capital, the caliph Mustanşir hurriedly had a new palace built. This unfortunate step was to have serious consequences for the Shī'ī lords of Egypt. The Saljuqs were not content with reestablishing the 'Abbāsīd caliphate in Mesopotamia but a few years later extended the boundaries of the empire as far as Damascus.

This affair also had a more direct result, the execution of Yāzırī; did he put to his own use a part of the considerable sums allotted to the enterprise or did he perhaps play a double game by conducting secret negotiations with sultān Tuğhril Beg in spite of his official position? Both charges weigh upon his memory. The caliph threw him into prison with all his family in Muharram 450 (March 1058), and the following month the former vizier was executed at Tinnīs.

The rise to power of Yāzırī marks the first disastrous stage in the reign of Mustanşir which began so well: cf. for example the enthusiastic descriptions by Nāṣir-i Khusrāw who spent the first year of Yāzırī's vizierate in Cairo. Yāzırī exhausted the resources of the state, as we have seen. The year 446 (1054) was also marked by a serious famine.

The Arab historians say that Yāzırī's name was put on the coins but so far no such coin has been found. On the other hand, his name appears on a piece of cloth in the Elsborg collection, as [*Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān*] (*J.R.A.S.*, 1930, p. 765 and pl. xii).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Sārafi, *Ṣūrah*, in *B. I. F. A. O.*, xxv, 68—73; Ibn Muḥasib, *Amāliq*, p. 2—9; C. I. A., *Egypt*, M. I. F. A. O., lii, 279, index, with a full bibliography; Wiet, in *Précis d'Histoire d'Égypte*, ii, 184, 191, 207—208. (G. WIET)

YEŊİCERİ. [see JANISSARIES.]

YESHİL-IRMAK (x., "green river"), a river in Asia Minor (the ancient Iris) formed by the combination of the Gīlīg coming from Kāra-Hisār-Shark and Nīgīār and the Tūānli from the west, i.e. from the direction of Amasia. It runs straight north, enters the sandjak of Džāntk (wilāyet of Trebizond) and flows into the Black Sea opposite Sāmsūn. Its length is about 60 miles from the confluence of the two rivers.

Bibliography: Sāmi-Bey, *Kāmus al-Aḥām*, vi, 4709. (CL. HUART)

YEZDEGERD. [see SĀSĀNIANS.]

YILDIZ KÖŞKÜ (r.), Yıldız Kiosk, properly the "Kiosk of the Star" or more popularly in Turkish usage, *Yıldız Sarayı* "Palace of the Star", or simply Yıldız, the imperial residence consisting of a vast and somewhat chaotic agglomeration of pavilions and gardens situated in the northeast of Istanbul (Constantinople) on the heights which command Beşiktaş (Beşiktaş) and Ortaköy.

The surrounding wall is adjoined in the east by the Ortaköy quarters, in the south by the Çerāghān (Çerāghān) quarter and in the west by the slopes known as *Serendip Bey yokuşu*. Yıldız may be reached from above by the west (gate: *Kaltuk kapısı*, *Saltanat k.*, *Harem* or *Wālide k.*), passing the Ḥamidiye mosque, which belongs to the palace, on the right, or from below (gate: *Meḥmediy kapısı*), by the gardens which run down almost to the road run-

ning along the European bank of the Bosphorus between Beşiktaş and Ortaköy. For the topography see the map of Dolma-Bağçe in Baedeker, *Konstantinopel und Klein-Asien*, Leipzig 1905, p. 84—5.

It was under Sultān 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II that Yıldız attained its greatest development and its greatest renown (up to 12,000 occupants), but at the beginning of the xixth century it was already a park as is evident from a fountain bearing the *tuğra* [y.v.] of Sultān Selīm III (1789—1807) (information supplied by Selīm Nūrhet Bey).

The earliest buildings date from Sultān Maḥmūd II who surrounded them with a garden. According to Dorys, they were built in 1822, but in reality they are before 1826, for Andréossy mentions "Yıldızkiosk" (as served by the Bağçe-Köy aqueduct) in his work *Constantinople et le Bosphore de Thrace pendant les années 1822, 1823 et 1824 et pendant l'année 1826*, Paris 1828, p. 424.

Maḥmūd II's kiosk was demolished by his son and successor 'Abd al-Majīd (1839—61) and replaced by others which were called *Malikā köşkü*, *Çadır k.* (Kiosk of the Tent) and *Adīm k.* (Persian Kiosk) or *Yeni köşkü* (New Kiosk). According to Dorys and 'Osman Nuri who wrongly followed him, the *Malikā k.* and the *Çadır k.* were only built under 'Abd al-'Azīz; according to the *Guide Joanne*, the same is true of the *Yeni köşkü*.

Sultān 'Abd al-'Azīz (1861—76) built the palace of *Mābeyn* (the Court). It was he also who joined the Çerāghān palace built in 1874 to the Yıldız park by a bridge over the Beşiktaş-Ortaköy road ('Osman Nuri, ii, 450).

All the other buildings belong to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II (1876—1909). This ruler, who never built a palace in the proper sense of the word, delighted in multiplying light buildings, often of cement, and these pavilions, chalets and kiosks were sometimes run up very quickly.

Before his time, Yıldız was a pleasure resort: only the mother of 'Abd al-Majīd, the Wālide Sultān Bezm-i 'Ālem (d. 1853), seems to have lived there regularly (Moritz Busch, *Die Türkei, in Lloyd's Reisebibliothek*, vi, Trieste 1860, p. 199).

'Abd al-Ḥamīd II moved there soon after the beginning of the Russo-Turkish war. He gradually stayed there more and more until he finally never left it and made a fortified camp and a regular town out of it. The park was extended and the surrounding wall raised (in 1898). The name of Yıldız contrasted or superimposed on that of Sublime Porte, became a synonym for the government of the Palace and the Ḥamīdian régime.

Three main portions of Yıldız are distinguished: 1. the Palace proper with its immediate annexes, 2. the Inner Garden (or Park) (*İç bahçe*) and 3. the Outer Garden (or Park) (*Dış bahçe*).

1. The buildings of the Palace in the strict sense comprise:

Mābeyn, already mentioned, an elegant building, the largest in the Yıldız (whence its name of *Büyük Mābeyn*), situated outside the walls so that it is seen in its entirety on arriving from the west, on the left of the Ḥamīdiye mosque. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd set it aside for the private secretaries (*mühürnâş*) of the Palace. It was also called the "Ambassadors' pavilion" or Yıldız par excellence (see illustration).

Selâlik, private apartments of the sultān (*künkâr*).

Haremlik or *Harem dairesi* "women's apartments".

Sakinde dairesi "apartments of the imperial princes", each of whom had a separate civil and military establishment (the private apartments of the sultan, his wives and princesses were included in the "small enclosure" surrounded by a wall 12 feet thick).

Theatre (Tiyatro).

Library (kütüphane), containing important manuscripts and Museum of antiquities and curiosities, with drawing-room, music room, photographic studio, museum of natural history (coleoptera) (the manuscripts have now been removed to the National Library; some of the bookcases are now being used by the Library of the Grand National Assembly in Ankara).

Silah-khane "arsenal or armoury", also a museum of arms, a long, low pavilion, adorned with columns.

Çit köşkü ("Kiosk of the Hedge"); here the ambassadors used to be received after the Friday ceremony of the Selâmlık (*salat*) at the Hamidiye mosque to which the sultan went ceremonially in a victoria driving in front of the terrace, under the Mibeyn, on which stood the ambassadors and other distinguished guests; it was the place of meeting of the *Komiseron-i askeri* "military commission"; here also took place in Ramadân the *hâfız dersleri* "religious instruction in presence of the sultan" (Tahsin Paşa, p. 16, 21, 95 and 129).

Kahtat köşkü "Kiosk of the Waterfall".

Various offices: *kazâ kütüphanesi dairesi* "offices of the First Secretary of the Palace" (Tahsin Paşa), *kâtip-i emînî dairesi* "office of the second secretary (Arap 'Isaet Paşa)", *teşrifât müdirinin dairesi* "office of the master of ceremonies", *ruvârân dairesi* "office of the aides de camp", *mühteriyet* "administration of the palace", *Servîs-i Fakîr paşanın dairesi* "offices of the T. P., commander of the facilities, bodyguard", *terfîs-i edalî* "office of the translators", *hâsîyat-ı emrîye* "archives", *mübağ* "kitchen" (list taken from 'Osman Nûri, in Tahsin Paşa, p. 18 sqq. will be found an account of the distribution of the various offices, fifteen in number).

2. The Inner Garden possessed a *Difkâr-nümâ köşkü* or "Belvedere" from which the sultan had a very extensive view.

3. The Outer Garden comprised:

Malta köşkü in which Murâd V was imprisoned for some time and Midhat Paşa was tried.

The *Çadır köşkü*, in which Prince Henry stayed; the commissions of the Hidjâz and of finance used to meet here; offices for the judicial enquiries and examinations conducted by Râghib Paşa.

Afîm köşkü or *Yeni köşkü* (these three, the oldest, kiosks have already been mentioned; the last was raised in height by 'Abd al-Hamid).

Merâsim köşkü "Kiosk of the Ceremonies" or *Shale köşkü* "Kiosk of the (Swiss) Chalet", in two stories, the largest in the Outer Park (cost £75,000), where the emperor William II and Alexander (Battenberg), king of Serbia, stayed; it was connected with the "little enclosure" and rooms were set aside in it for the chamberlains and for the meetings of the Council of ministers; the princes had their music lessons there.

Ta'lim-khane köşkü, built (of cement) in three days to enable the emperor William II to see a military review.

Çini fabrikası "porcelain works".

Marmara-khane "furniture factory" which em-

ployed 60 workmen and produced most of the furniture of Yıldız kiosk ('Abd al-Hamid had a passion for carpentry at which he himself worked).

İftâhî 'amir-i imarî köşkü at Yıldız ('Abd al-Hamid had a passion for horses).

Museum of (stuffed) animals, near the *Merâsim köşkü*, doves, poultry houses, not to mention greenhouses, menageries, bird cages, kennels, hospital for dogs, horse training ground, *hamâm*.

The palace had two mosques, a large work department (*ta'mir-khane*), with saw-mill, foundry, locksmiths' shops etc. which employed 300 workmen not counting the foremen; the princes used to work there sometimes.

The domestic staff (*hâne-i emrîye*) lived near the palace, but outside the walls.

Independent of the buildings above mentioned there were two which we have not identified: *Ferhâş köşkü* and the Little Trianon.

There were two ponds in the Outer Park, one called *Dere banyası* "pond of the valley" (between Beshiktash and Ortaköy), 300 feet long and 30—100 broad; the other near *Çadır köşkü*, about 5,000 sq. yards.

In the Inner Garden is a pond or rather an artificial stream, 300 yards long and 80 broad.

Yıldız now belongs to the prefecture of Istanbul (*J. Şehremânî*) which has leased a part of it (*Merâsim köşkü*) to a casino.

There is some talk of the resumption of the Merâsim Köşkü again by the municipality to give it to the National Assembly of Turkey which would make it a meeting-place for international conferences (Akşun of May 10, 1933). Several schools are established in the old buildings or annexes of Yıldız: *Harp akademisi* "Military school", *Mülkiye mektebi* "School of political sciences" (in the old *sevâler dairesi* "grooms' lodgings"), *Felli mektebi* "Police-school", *Harimiyeti mülkiye zaat mektebi* "Boarding-school of national sovereignty".

Bibliography: F. de Régle, *La Turquie officielle*, Paris 1889, p. 41—59; G. Dorys, *Abdul-Hamid intime*, Paris 1907 (7th edition), p. 101—121; Yıldız, with numerous illustrations (some reproduced in: G. Rivas, *Les Mystères de Yıldız ou Abdul-Hamid*, Constantinople, Palamary Press, 1909); 'Osman Nûri, *'Abd al-Hamid-i zâmi ve Dror-i Saltanatı*, 'Abd. II and his Reign", Istanbul, Kütüphâne-i İslâm ve-askeri, 1327, ii. 449 sqq.; *Yıldız Sarayı*; Guides-Joanne, *De Paris à Constantinople*, Paris; Tahsin Paşa, *Abdülhamid ve Yıldız Hâfızatı*, 'Abd. II and the souvenirs of Yıldız", Muallim Ahmet Halit Kitaphanesi, Istanbul, p. 18—24; *Yıldızda Teşkilât*; Sefer Bey, *Yıldız*, in *La Revue* (formerly "Revue des Revues") of Oct. 1, 1907, p. 351—63 (of no interest); Ch. de Mouy, *Lettres du Bosphore*, Paris 1879, p. 240—50; *Catalogue des prises, pierres, bijoux et objets d'art précieux, le tout ayant appartenu à S. M. le Sultan Abdul-Hamid II et dont la vente aura lieu à Paris... le lundi 27... novembre 1911...*

The melancholy reputation of Yıldız has produced several novels and pamphlets which however contain no information of definite value: Paul de Régle, *Les secrets de Yıldız*, novel in-8, 2nd edition; Mourad-Bey, former imperial commissioner of the Ottoman Public Debt, *Le Palais de Yıldız et la Sublime Porte*; — *Le véritable*



Art. Yildiz Kösmeç
Malatya and Hamidiye Mosque



mal d'Orient, Paris 1895, 27 pages in-8°; 'Abi Kemal, *Yıldız Köşkü-i cümâi* "Tragic-memories of Yıldız", Istanbul, İhtisâ-i Millet Matba'ası, 1326, 33 pages in-12; Morall-ıddü Wessâf, *Yıldız Fâşîkaları* "The crimes of Yıldız", drama in 4 acts, Istanbul 1327, 80 pages in-8°.

(J. DENY)

YOGHURT (T., *yoghurt*, to 'knead'), a preparation of soured milk made by heating. After putting into the heated milk a certain quantity of a *yoghurt* already made, which curdles it, it is left to cool slowly until it is solid. This is called *mast* in Persian and *laban* in Syrian Arabic. Various dishes are prepared by mixing it with vegetables, e. g. with cucumber: *mast-khiyâr* is much esteemed by the Persians (E. G. Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, London 1893, p. 175—178).

Bibliography: Polak, *Persien*, Leipzig 1865, I. 118; Radlof, *Opyt*, III. 412; Ahmad Wafik Pasha, *Lahije*, Constantinople 1293, II. 1265; Barthier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire turco-français*, II. 892.

(CL. HUAT)

YORGAN LADİK. [see **LADİK**.]

YUNUS AL-KATIB OF AL-MUGHANNI, whose full name was YUNUS B. SULAIMAN B. KURD B. SHAHRIBYK AND SULAIMAN, was a well known musician and writer on music in the 11th (eleventh) century. He was the first to make a collection of Arabic songs (*ghinâ*). He was a *murshid* of al-Zuhair b. al-Awwâm or of 'Amr b. al-Zuhair, his father being a lawyer (*faḥīh*) of Persian origin. Settling in Madīna, Yunus entered the municipal administration as a scribe, hence his surname al-Katib. Early in life however, he was attracted by music, and took lessons from the "four great singers", Ma'bad [q. v.], Ibn Suraidj [q. v.], Ibn Muhriz and al-Gharid, as well as from Muhammad b. 'Abbād, and soon became esteemed both as a musician and poet. Whilst on a visit to Syria during the reign of Hishām (724—742 A. D.) his fame in music and poetry brought him the patronage of the Amīr al-Walīd b. Yazīd who detained him three days and suitably rewarded him. This event forms the basis of a highly coloured story in the 684th night of the *Alf Layla wa-Layla*. Returning to Madīna, Yunus was unfortunate enough to get into trouble. A poet-friend named Ibn Rūhaima had composed some verses extolling the beauty of a young lady named Zaynab, the daughter of 'Ikrima b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Hārith b. Hishām. These songs, which Yunus set to music, were originally sung at private *seiries musicales*, but they soon spread to a wider circle and became the rage under the name of the *Zaynab*. This publicity greatly offended the lady's family and the Caliph was appealed to. The result was that the governor of Madīna was ordered to inflict 500 strokes of the lash on the shoulders of the musician and the poet. Being forewarned of the impending punishment they fled from the city, and did not return until the death of the Caliph. On the accession of al-Walīd II (743—744), Yunus was summoned to the Damascus court where he was treated with "high honour and munificence", as Yunus himself is said to have stated. Here his "wealth increased" sufficient not only for his own needs, but for his heirs after him. He remained at court until the death of this pleasure-loving ruler. After this we have little information about Yunus, save that he was alive under the early 'Abbāsids. Both *Siya* (d. 785)

and *Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī* (d. 804) are said to have been his pupils. Among his books were a *Kitāb waḥḥarad Yunus* ("The Unique Book of Yunus"), a *Kitāb al-Kiyān* ("Book of Singing Girls"), and a *Kitāb al-Naghām* ("Book of Melodies").

As a composer, Yunus has a place among the great musicians of the classical era, as we know from the high esteem accorded his *Zaynab*. As a singer, he must have had considerable ability to have roused the jealousy of so great a performer as Ibn 'Aṣḥa. It is however rather on account of his "famous books on songs and singers" as the author of the *Fihrist* says, that Yunus deserves particular praise. Abu 'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī, the author of the *Kitāb al-Aghāni*, testifies that Yunus' book concerning the songs was one of his chief sources of information. It was, in fact, the first attempt made to collect the Arabic verses which had been set to music, together with particulars of authors and composers, as well as information concerning the modes (*awāṣit*) in which the melodies (*alghān*) and rhythms (*alḥawāṣit*) were sung.

Bibliography: *Kitāb al-Aghāni*, ed. Böhlke, IV. 114—118; VI. 7, 15; *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 145; *Alf Layla wa-Layla*, ed. Macnaghten, III. 379; al-Nuwairi, *Nizāyat al-Arab* (1923), IV. 285; Kosegarten, *Libri antedictorum magni*, p. 17—18; Caussin de Perceval, *Notice anecdotique sur les principaux musiciens arabes* (J. A., Nov.—Dec. 1873); Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, p. 83—84, and index.

(H. G. FARMER)

YUNUS B. MATTAL, the prophet Jonah, son of Amittai (II Kings xix. 25). In the *Qur'ān* he is four times mentioned as Yunus, without his father's name being given, once as *Ḍhu l-Nūn* (xxi. 87), once (lxviii. 48) as *ṣābiḥ al-ḥūt*, "he of the fish". This epithet explains also why Yunus is the only one of the major and minor prophets who is mentioned in the *Qur'ān*; a prophet who is swallowed by a fish naturally attracts attention. Mahammad numbers Yunus among the apostles of God (iv. 161; vi. 86). *Sūra* x. is called after Yunus, and tells of the town which comes to believe and therefore its fate is averted from it (x. 98). Yunus, an apostle of God, fled on a ship which was overloaded. He was condemned by lot and a fish swallowed him. He was worthy of blame. If he had not praised God he would have remained in the fish's belly until the resurrection. So We threw him sick upon a barren shore, and caused a gourd to grow up over him, and he believed and We gave them respite for a further period (xxviii. 139—148). Remembers *Ḍhu l-Nūn*, how he departed in wrath and thought We could exercise no power over him; then he called out of the darkness: There is no God but Thee, praise be unto Thee, I was one of the sinners. Thus We heard him and rescued him (xxi. 87—88). Await patiently the judgment of thy Lord; be not like him of the fish, who cried out when he was in distress; had the grace of his God not been granted to him, he would have been shamefully cast upon the barren shore but the Lord heard him and he became one of the righteous (lxviii. 48, 49).

Bukhārī and Nawawī also quote as divine revelation not put in the *Qur'ān* the utterance: "No one can say he is better than Yunus b. Mattal, even if his genealogy goes back to his father" (Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qur'āns*, I. 257).

Muslim legend further develops this material.

Why was Yünus enraged? 1. He was angry with the sinners; 2. he was angry because the calamity he had prophesied was delayed at the last minute and he appeared as a liar worthy of death; 3. because the angel Gabriel did not even allow him time to mount a steed or put on a shoe. His ship could go neither forward nor backward. He confessed his guilt but the sailors would not throw him into the sea; three times they cast lots and then threw the arrow (Tha'lah). Finally Yünus throws himself into the jaws of the whale (Ibn al-Athir), which says he has come from India on account of Yünus (Kisā'). God commands the whale, saying: I do not give thee Yünus as food, I give thee him that you may shelter him (as in a mosque: Tahari, *Annals*, i. 683). The threefold darkness of the fish, the sea, and the night envelops Yünus. The fish is swallowed by another fish (Tahari, *Tafsir*, etc.). God makes the fish transparent so that Yünus can see the wonders of the deep. He hears the songs of praise of the sea-monsters just as the angels hear his from the inside of the fish. It is disputed whether Yünus remained 3, 7, 20 or 40 days in the fish. Hurled out upon the shore he is given shade by a gourd tree, and suckled by a goat (Ibn al-Athir), or antelope (Tha'lah), or a gazelle (Kisā'). When they disappear Yünus laments. Then God reproaches him for not having had sympathy with over 100,000 people. This admonition is impressed upon him deeply by other means also: by fruit-trees torn up, by the example of a potter who is anxious about his pots and a sower who is anxious about his seeds. The city of the prophet is in despair because he does not come back. Then Yünus has a shepherd announce his approach: the earth, a tree, an animal of his herd, all bear witness to the truth of the message.

Al-Kisā' extends the miraculous to the earlier history of the Prophet. His father was 70 when Yünus was born. His mother, who became a widow soon after, had nothing left but a wooden spoon, which proves to be a cornucopia. As a result of a miraculous dream he marries the daughter of Zakariyā b. Yahyā. He loses his wife, both his sons and his property. He therefore will not pray with the others on the ship. Everything is miraculously restored to him.

Bibliography: Tahari, Leyden ed., i. 782-789; do., *Tafsir*, Cairo 1321, on Kur'an x. 98, vol. xiv. 109-111; on Kur'an xli. 87, 88, vol. xvii. 54-58; on Kur'an lxxviii. 48, vol. xxix. 25, 26; Ibn al-Athir, *Bulāḡ*, i. 143-145; Tha'lah, *Ḥiqq al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1325, p. 257-260; al-Kisā', *Vita Prophetarum*, ed. Eisenberg, p. 296-311; Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judentum aufgenommen?*, Leipzig 1902, p. 188, 189; Noldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qur'ān*, i. 257; J. Horowitz, in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, ii. 1925, p. 170, 182, 183; do., *Koranische Untersuchungen*, p. 154 sq. (BERNHARD HELLER)

YÜRÜKS, the general term for the wandering Turkish tribes in Asia Minor, also found sporadically on the Balkan peninsula. The name in Turkish means "wanderers", i.e. nomads in general, and some scholars (first v. Strahlenberg [1730], then J. v. Hammer and H. Kiepert) held the view that the same word was contained in the name of the *Lykes* (Λύκες), a people described by Herodotus (iv. 22), who lived

by hunting, roughly in the southern Ural. J. H. Mordtmann has similarly referred the account by Kinnamos of the nomads driven by the Emperor Manuel I in 1175 from the region of Eski-Shehir (q.v.) to the Yürüks. According to Hasluck, the word Yürük was first applied by Rycant to the nomads of the Troad (*History of the Turks* [1687], ii. 138).

The Anatolian nomads are usually called by the settled Turks, Yürüks, Göçeks or Türkmen, or after the tribal confederation to which they belong (e.g. Afghārs, Bāyārs, Kafars, Sheikhli, Wazaks, etc.) or after the particular tribe (e.g. Aidinli, Anamasli, Gök Musalli, Harmandali, Kara-Keçili, Kara-Koyunlu, Khurumi, Kotonli, Sari-Keçili, Zili etc.). The tribal organisation is rather important. A tribal confederation (*aşiret*) at the head of which is a bey or shahk is divided into clans (*hülle*) and again into septets (*mahalla*).

A strong tribe often subdues a weak one and even down to the Tashmāt (q.v.) the Yürüks were usually ruled by their own beys. Some of these beys in Rumelia were given fiefs (*z'āmet*; q.v.) (cf. 'Ain-i 'Alī, in Tischendorf, *Das Lehnwesen* etc., p. 63; Ewliya Çelebi, iii. 394).

In his monograph on the Yürüks Dr. M. Tazkyoglu has given a full list of 88 tribes (reproduced by Hasluck, ii. 475-477) of whom the majority were in his official district of Smyrna and the adjoining wilāyet of Aidin. There are also numerous Yürük tribes in Southern Anatolia (around Menteshe (Mughla), Adalia, Alaiye and Adana) in the districts of Siwa and Konya; also in east and south-east Anatolia (in the wilāyets of Urfa, Diyarbakr and Mardin); their distribution is connected with the distribution of pastures.

As early as Bāyazid I's reign, the Yürüks were coming to Europe (to the district of Philippolis (Plovdiv)) and in time they spread over Thrace and Macedonia as a number of place-names show. Since the wars of recent years, however, these Yürüks have for the most part gone back.

Although they do not form a single homogeneous stock, the Yürüks are predominantly Turks and have retained the old Turkish type, as well as many old words better, than the settled Ottomans. They speak as a rule different "coarse" Turkish dialects, which are as a rule not essentially different from those of their settled neighbours (cf. iv. p. 921); only a few tribes speak Kurdish.

On the religion of the Yürüks nothing much certain is known. Under the influence of Sūnni or Shī'i propaganda they have become nominally Muslims, but they are more attached to their primitive (animistic) religion, in which the worship of trees, shrubs, springs and mountains plays an important part. In any case they pay more heed to their old rites and customs than to the prescriptions of Islām.

The occupations of the Yürüks are decided by local conditions. In the steppes and along the coast where they spend the winter, they rear sheep and goats, and sometimes cattle, which they take in the summer to high-lying pastures. Some tribes are good breeders of horses and camels. In forest country the Yürüks are more frequently woodcutters (*nahkdaḡs*; q.v.). Many tribes are hunters and in certain circumstances practise a little agriculture. The women engage in cooking, making clothes, spinning, basketwork, weaving of felt, mats and carpets. The Yürüks live in tents woven of dark goats' wool or in primitive huts.

Their total number is estimated at 300,000. According to 'Ain-i 'Alī (*op. cit.*), the Rumelian Yürüks in the xviii century had 1,294 *odjaks*, i. e. 38,820 men (1 *odjak* = 30 men). In the xviii century they provided a contingent of 57,000 troops under their own leaders (Perry in Hasluck, p. 136).

All attempts by the Turkish government to make the Yürüks settle permanently have had very little success for obvious reasons.

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(FEHIM BAJRAKTAREVIĆ)

YŪSHA' b. NŪN, the Joshua of the Bible. The Qur'ān does not mention him by name but alludes to him. When Moses wished to lead his people into the holy land and Israel was afraid to fight with the giants, they were encouraged by two God-fearing men (v. 23—29), who may be recognised as Joshua and Caleb. Neither can it be doubted that the young man (*fakā* = *na'ar*, Exod. xxxiii. 11) who accompanies Moses on a journey to Khadīr (not named) (Sūra xviii. 59—64) is no other than Joshua.

Muslim legend has supplied the figure of Yūsha' with features not found in the Bible. Yūsha' is given the task of summoning the Egyptians to the true faith. To enable Moses to depart this life without anxiety, Yūsha' is installed as prophet in his lifetime. The Arab tradition varies as to whether the victory over the giants was won in the time of Moses or not till that of Yūsha'. The credit is usually given to Yūsha'. Balaam supports the giants (in Ibn al-Athīr the story is embellished: Balaam's wife is bribed to incite him to evil). When Yūsha' is successfully fighting the giants, Friday evening comes. If the Sabbath begins, the fighting cannot be continued and the victory will be incomplete. Yūsha' wishes to stop the sun: at first it refuses, saying it is fulfilling divine orders just as Yūsha' is; finally the sun agrees. After the victory Yūsha' collects the booty as a sacrifice but no flame comes down from heaven to consume it. There has been some dishonesty, Moses summons the heads of the tribes. The hand of the sinner sticks to the hand of Moses (al-Kisā'i records another divine judgement; each tribe has a mark on Aaron's robe and the mark of the guilty tribe becomes twisted). A bull's head studded with pearls and jewels is found in the sinner's possession and added to the booty. Flames now consume the booty, the bull's head along with the sinner. Yūsha' cannot cross the Jordan for 40 days. At his prayer the two hills on the banks become a bridge, across which the people pass (al-Kisā'i). Jericho is besieged for six months and in the seventh the walls fall at the blowing of trumpets.

In Tabari (Leyden, i. 558) we have the isolated tradition that the dead man conjured up by Talut (Saul) was Yūsha'.

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YUSUF I. [see ALMOHADAES.]

YUSUF b. OMAR b. MUHAMMAD al-HAKAM b. Abi 'AḡIL b. MAS'UD al-DIAḤAFI, governor of the 'Irāk. Yūsuf was a parent of the famous al-Hadīdīd b. Yūsuf [q. v.] and governed the province of the Yaman for many years before he was transferred to the 'Irāk by the caliph al-Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik. On Ramaḍān 27, 106 (Feb. 15, 725) he arrived as governor in the Yaman and in Djumādā 1, 120 (April—May 738) he was appointed governor of the 'Irāk, and took up his quarters in al-Hira while his son al-Salt remained as his deputy in the Yaman. In al-Hira he acquired the reputation of a blood-thirsty tyrant; all kinds of stories, some almost incredible, are told of his cruelty. The first notable victim of his hatred was the former governor of the 'Irāk, Khālīd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ka'arī [q. v.]. In 122 (740) the 'Alid Zaid b. 'Alī b. Husain b. 'Alī raised a dangerous rebellion in al-Kūfa which, however, ended in a fiasco [cf. HISHĀM b. 'ABD AL-MALIK]. After order had been restored, Yūsuf is said to have asked the caliph for permission to lay waste the town of al-Kūfa, but the caliph refused. He endeavoured to bring suspicion upon the able Naṣr b. Saiyār, whom Hishām had appointed governor of Khurāsān on the fall of Khālīd, in the hope that he would succeed in getting him dismissed, and then combining his governorship with his own. For this purpose in 123 (740—741) he sent al-Hakam b. al-Salt to the caliph to turn him against Naṣr and ingratiate himself with him. Hishām, however, was not deceived but left Naṣr in office. After the assassination of al-Walīd II, the Kalbi Maṣū' b. Djumhūr was appointed governor of the 'Irāk and as Yūsuf found no support among the government troops and the Kaisis made common cause with the Kalbis, there was nothing left for him but to take to flight. He set out for Syria and reaching al-Balkā in Transjordan, he tried to hide among the women of the harem but was discovered by the soldiers of the caliph Yazīd III and brought to Damascus. Here he was imprisoned and remained there till the outbreak of civil war on the death of Yazīd. But when Marwān b. Muḥammad [q. v.] after his victory over Sulaimān b. Hishām, who led the followers of the late caliph, approached the capital, Sulaimān had Yūsuf as well as Walīd II's two sons murdered before himself seeking escape in flight. This happened in Dhu 'l-Hiddja 126 (Sept.—Oct. 744), or according to another statement not till the following year (beg. Oct. 744). Yūsuf was then about 60. According to the Muslim historians, he did not lack literary training; as to his appearance we are told that he was small in stature and had an unusually long beard.

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ed. Houtsma, ii. 353, 380, 387—392, 397, 400, 404; al-Baladhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 68, 281, 285, 314, 350, 365, 469; *Kilāb al-Aghāni*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques*; Weil, *Geschichte der Chälifas*, i. 623 sq., 627, 663, 666, 675, 683; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, new ed., p. 387, sqq., 404, 406, 410 sqq., 420; Wellhausen, *Das arabisches Reich*, p. 208—211, 216, 221, 223 sq., 229 sq., 234.

(K. V. ZETTERSTERN)

YUSUF b. TASHFĪN. (see ALMURAVIUS.)

YUSUF b. YA'KUB, the Joseph of the Bible, is a favourite subject of Muslim legend. In Sūra xii. Muḥammad deals with the whole story of Yūsuf, claiming that it is the most beautiful of stories. It is the most beautiful, says Ibn al-Jalā, because of the lesson concealed in it, on account of Yūsuf's generosity and its wealth of matter, in which prophets, angels, devils, jinn, men, animals, birds, rulers and subjects play a part.

Yūsuf in the Qur'ān. Yūsuf is mentioned twice outside of Sūra xii. Once (vi. 84) as one of the pious ancestors; further in Sūra xl. 36. Yūsuf came with clear proofs but they doubted him and after his death it was thought that God would never send another prophet. Sūra xii. contains more and less than the Bible. Let us first consider the additions to the Biblical story.

Yūsuf is warned not to tell his brothers his dream (verse 5). Ya'qub is afraid for Yūsuf on account of the wolf (13). Ya'qub does not believe the story of his death (17, 18). Yūsuf returns the love of the temptress; only a sign from his Lord keeps him from sin (24). Yūsuf's coat is torn from behind and a witness proves his innocence from this (25—28). The women who speak evil of Yūsuf's temptress are so dazzled by the angelic beauty of Yūsuf when he comes in that they cut their own fingers instead of the food (31). Yūsuf proclaims the true faith in prison (37—40). The seven fat and seven lean years are followed by a prolific year with a good rainfall (49). Yūsuf interprets Pharaoh's dreams while still in prison and will not come to court until his innocence is recognised (50, 51). Yūsuf asks Pharaoh to appoint him over the treasures of Egypt (55). Ya'qub orders his sons not all to come in at one gate (67). Yūsuf at once reveals himself to Benjamin (69). When the goblet is found in Benjamin's sack the brothers cry out: If he be a thief, his brother has already been a thief (77). Yūsuf sends his coat to his father. Ya'qub recognises the smell of it from a distance and regains his sight from it (93—95). Yūsuf's parents bow down before him thus fulfilling his dream (101).

For most of these additions to the Biblical story, Geiger, Grünbaum, Neumann and Schapiro have shown a Haggadic origin; on the other hand, we find Muḥammadan influence in the later Jewish legend.

On the other hand, we do not have in the Qur'ān the description of his character. Remarkable also is the omission of the dream of the brothers' sheaves which bow down before Joseph's sheaf (Gen. xxxvii. 5—7). This dream is placed in post-Qur'anic legend by a miracle. A tree grows near Ya'qub's house, on which a new branch sprouts whenever a son is born to him. None grows at Yūsuf's birth. At Ya'qub's prayer, Gabriel brings a branch from Paradise, which surpasses the others and blooms and bears fruit. The Yūsuf Sūra is strikingly uncertain and hesitating in that it

mentions no one by name except Ya'qub and Yūsuf and gives no numbers or times. The only references are to one of the brothers or at best the eldest of the brothers, a king, a noble, his wife, a witness. Yūsuf is sold for a paltry sum; the number of his brothers is not given. This gives the expositors of the Qur'ān an opportunity to search for the anonymous and undefined (*muḥammār*) (see Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koran-ansicht*, Leiden 1920, index, s. v. *Muḥammad*).

Yūsuf in post-Qur'anic legend. When the Qur'ān cautiously says "one of the brothers said or did something", in legend we find Reuben, Judah, Simeon and in Zamakhshari and Rāḍī also Dan; in course of time we have Benjamin with his ten or three sons. Sometimes Judah, sometimes Reuben, sometimes Simeon is represented as possessing a terrible temper which can only be calmed by a hand of the house of Jacob. The man who buys Joseph from his brethren is called Mālik b. Da'r and the Egyptian to whom he is sold Kifir, Iftir, Ifin, Kutifar, Kifin, Kifin; his wife is called Rā'd, later (as in Firdaws and Kisā'i) Zālika, Zulāika. The king of Egypt, whom Yūsuf converts to Islām, is called Raiyān b. Walid, his butler Nabū, his baker Muḥlīb. The *shahid*, the witness, becomes a relative of the temptress or even a baby who miraculously proves Joseph's innocence from his cradle. Even the names of the eleven stars which bow down before Joseph are given. Muslim legend knows how old Yūsuf was at the time of the dream, how long he was kept in the well, where the well was and what he was sold for on each occasion. The letter selling him and Ya'qub's letter to Yūsuf are both given in full.

A reason is given for everything that is explained in the Qur'ān. Why does Ya'qub suffer? Because he killed a calf before the eyes of its mother, because on one occasion he did not share his meal with a hungry man, because he separated a slave from her parents. — Why does Yūsuf suffer? Because of his vanity; later, because he appeals to the butler instead of to God. — When Yūsuf is warned not to communicate his dream, how do the brothers learn of it nevertheless? From Yūsuf's aunt, and so on.

We also find the legend developed by the storyteller's art without any foundation in Qur'ān or Haggada. Ya'qub touchingly recommends the little Yūsuf to the care of his brothers. They pretend to be very gentle when in sight of the father but very soon ill-treat him, break the jug out of which he wants to drink, tear his coat from his back which he begs as a shroud, and tell him to appeal to the sun, moon and stars of his dreams. Gabriel takes pity on the deserted boy, brings him the cloak with which Abraham was protected from the heat of the flames. A caravan loses its way and comes to the well. The brothers ask the purchaser to put Yūsuf in chains, nevertheless Yūsuf takes leave of them with dignity. On the way he throws himself from his camel on to the tomb of his mother Rachel, which they pass. — The efforts to seduce him are described in glowing language. Yūsuf sells corn to the Egyptians. During the years of famine however, Yūsuf starves also so that he may feel what it is like to be hungry; he partakes only lightly of Pharaoh's banquets. When Yūsuf is questioning the alleged magic cup, Benjamin asks him to enquire if Yūsuf still lives. — He lives, you will see him. — When

Ya'kub receives a message from Yūsuf, he asks how is it with Yūsuf? — He is king of Egypt. — That is not what I am asking; I mean how is it with his faith? — He is a Muslim. — Then my happiness is perfect. — Yūsuf enquires how his father could abandon himself completely to grief as if he did not believe in a reunion after the resurrection? — I believe in it but I was anxious lest you had abandoned your faith so that we should remain separated in the next world.

The Qur'ān tells nothing of Yūsuf's death and sarcophagus. Muslim legend, however, has taken stories of this from Haggada. Yūsuf's sarcophagus was sunk in the Nile. At the Exodus Moses went to take it with him but could not find it until an old woman (Serach, a daughter of Asher) showed it to him. In Islām, the legend seems to have been further developed, for we find the people living on the banks of the Nile disputing over the sarcophagus, which is finally sunk exactly in the middle of the river so that both sides may equally share its virtues.

Islām is very proud of its story of Yūsuf. Tha'labi says that the Yūsuf Sūra surpasses the Tora. Kīṣā'ī tells us that God has given the Yūsuf Sūra to every prophet, but the Jews concealed it until Muḥammad revealed it as evidence that he was a prophet. — The Shī'īs do not recognise Sūra xii.

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YUSUF KHĀṢṢ ḤĀDJIB of Balasaghūn, a Turkish author, who wrote the mirror of princes, *Kutadghū-Bilig* in 462 (1069-1070) for the sultan of Kāshghar, Tawghāt Kara Khān Abū 'Alī Hasan b. Sulaimān Arslān [see BUGHRA-KHĀN] and was given the title of chamberlain as a reward. This, the first classic of the Turkish poetry of Central Asia, is completely under the influence of Persian literature. The author no longer uses the syllabic measure of Turkish popular poetry but experiments with a new and somewhat clumsy imitation of the *mutakārib* and says in his preface

that the Iranians would call his work a *Shāhnāma*. In style also he is influenced by the Persian lyric, especially in the song of spring with which he introduces the praise of his prince. Whether the elaborate form which he has given his work is his own invention or what model he followed has not yet been discovered. There is no proof of the influence of Chinese literature which was at one time suspected. The author puts his instruction into the mouth of allegorical figures: the prince Kūn-Toghūū, who represents justice, the vizier Aī-Toldū, the representative of good fortune, his son Ōktūlmish and his friends Aīg and Ōktūrmish. For his social ethics and occasional medical references, the author is completely dependent on Ibn Sīnā, as O. Alberts first pointed out. The author cannot be denied a certain originality for the way in which he applies these principles to the conditions of his people. In spite of all their pedantry his expositions are a valuable source for the sociology of the Turks of Central Asia. The language of the book is apparently that of Kāshghar, but it is an artificial language which had become strictly conventional in form in court circles under Iranian influence and was already superior to the dialects; it is based on a somewhat younger form of Turki than that which Kāshghari gives in his *Divān Lughāt al-Turk*; really it is not strictly Uighur as was once thought. On the other hand, one cannot say with certainty in what script the work was originally written, whether in the so-called Uighur, which is based on the Nestorian Syriac alphabet, in which the Vienna MS., the only one known down to 1897, is written, or in the Arabic script used for the fragment in the National Library in Cairo and the manuscript found by Zeki Velidi Bey in 1914 at Nemengān. Sections of the Vienna MS. were published by Vámbéry as *Uigurische Sprachmonumente und das Kudatku Bilik, Uigur. Text mit Transcription und Übersetzung nebst uigurisch-deutschem Wörterbuch und Facsimile aus dem Originaltext des Kudatku Bilik*, Leipzig 1870. W. Radloff published a facsimile of the whole manuscript St. Petersburg 1890, the text in transcription in 1891 and in 1900 text and translation from the MSS. in Vienna and Cairo followed. While Radloff in his transcription and in the form of the title *Kudatku Bilik* had used the pronunciation of the northern dialects, V. Thomsen in his essay *Sur le système des consonnes dans la langue ouigour*, in *Kilätü Semle*, ii. 241 sqq. showed from the rhymes of the *Kutadghū Bilik*, that it had completely preserved the phonetic system of the Orkhon inscriptions with its wealth of sonants and spirants, which was confirmed by the MS. in Arabic script.

Bibliography: W. Barthold, *Kudatku Biligü Dikrü atığı Bughra Khān kimdir*, in *Turkiyat Matmū'at*, i. (1925), p. 221-226; Köprülüade Mehmed Fu'ād, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihü*, Stambul 1928, p. 194-204.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

MAWLĀNĀ YUSUFİ, *munshi* of the Great Moghul Humāyūn (1530-1556), probably identical with Yūsuf b. Muḥammad Yūsufi Harawī, the celebrated physician of Bābur and Humāyūn. He acquired a place in Indian literature with his well-known letter-writer *Bad' al-Inshā'*, which he composed in 940 (1533-1534) for his son Rafī' al-Dīn Husain and several other *ṭullāb*. The book begins with a *muqaddima* on the different

kinds of modes of address which must be regulated by the relation of the correspondents to one another in rank; Yūsuf then divides the different kinds of correspondence (*mukāwarāt*) into three parts: letters to persons of higher rank (*murāḥāt*), of the same rank (*murāḥāt*) and to those of lower rank (*riḥāt*). Then comes a series of forms of letters which are divided into sections, such as sultāns to sultāns of higher, equal or lower rank, princes to sultāns and princes, princesses to princesses, amirs, grand-viziers, viziers, officials of the Dīwān, secretaries (*munshī*), scribes (*ṣāḥib*), shākhās, judges, poets and astronomers. Then come what one might call private letters: to relations and friends on various occasions, e.g. if a reply has not been received, when on a journey, on grief at separation, longing for home, on returning soon, faithlessness, reconciliation, excuses, congratulations, condolences etc. A *ḥātima* gives examples of addresses (*unwān*). The book, which is also known

as *Inshāʾi Yūsufi*, was lithographed in Delhi (1843?); manuscripts are fairly common. If Yūsuf is really the same man as the physician Yūsuf, he is also the author of a number of medical works among which we may mention the *Tibb-i Yūsufi* (lith. Cawnpore 1874), *Ilāhī al-Amrāq* (lith. 1863), *Mulḥakāt-i Ilāhī al-Amrāq* (lith. 1879), *Dalāʾil al-Nahj* (lith. 1874).

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(E. BERTHELS)

Z

ZĀ, **ZĀY**, 11th letter of the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical value of 7. For its palaeographical pedigree, see ARABIA, plate i. It belongs to the sibilants (*al-ḥurūf al-ṣāliya*) and corresponds to the same sound in the other Semitic languages. It is pronounced like English and French *z*. In the spoken Arabic of to-day *z* may also represent other sounds of the classical language, such as *dh* and *ḡ*. In Persia and Turkey Arabic *z* is often pronounced *z*.

Bibliography: W. Wright, *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, Cambridge 1890, p. 57 sq.; A. Schaefer, *Sibawīh's Lautlehre*, Leyden 1911, index; C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergl. Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, Berlin 1908, I. 128 sqq.; do., *Précis de linguistique sémitique*, transl. by W. Marçais and M. Cohen, Paris 1918, p. 71; *Lisān al-'Arab*, vii. 167. (A. J. WENINK)

AL-ZĀB, the name of two left bank tributaries (al-Zawāb) of the Tigris.

1. The Upper or Great Zāb (*Zāb al-a'la* or *al-akbar*) was known already to the Assyrians as *Zabu ilā*, the "Upper Zāb". The Greeks called it *Lykos* (Weissbach, s. v., No. 12 in *Panly-Wissowa, R. E.*, vol. xiii., col. 2391 sq.; on the name see J. Markwart, *Sudarmenien*, Vienna 1930, p. 429 sq.), the Byzantines however have again *ἡλύος* *Zābas* (Theophan., *Chron.*, ed. de Boor, p. 318, 320). In Syriac it was called *Zābā*, in Armenian *Zaw* (Thomas Arceus, ed. Patkanian, iii/iv., p. 143; transl. Brosset, in *Collection d'hist. Arménienne*, I. 122). The Kurds at the present day call it *al-Zā* (G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 236, note 1884). On account of its torrentious course the Arabs called it *al-Mudjūn*. According to the Arab geographers, it rises in the mountains of Adharbāydjān in the district of Mushaghar (in al-Mas'ūdī, *Kitaḥ al-Tamīm*, p. 52 and Yāqūt, *Ma'ājam*, ii. 902

read this for Mushaghar; cf. G. Hoffmann, *op. cit.* p. 228). Its water there is said to be red at first (cf. however G. Hoffmann, p. 234, note 1866). It then flows via Zarkūn and Bāghāsh (Syr. Bāgh Bāghāsh in Hedhāyah, now probably Bāgh Ḳal'a in Albāḡ), then via Bāghāzā, two days' journey from al-Mawjil, to the district of Ḥafṣūn, where it makes a turn before leaving the hills and flows through the *bāra* of al-Mardj until finally it enters the Tigris at the monastery of 'Umr Bārḳān below al-Mawjil, a farsakh above al-Ḥaditha. Ḥādīdī Khālifa says it is formed by the streams of Kawar (now Nehl-tai) and Dīnāmark. After their junction it flows along the hills past the Sandjak Çall (at the turn of the river to the S. E.) and through the district of Zihār of the region of al-Imādīya. Then it turns again S. W. at its junction with the Rāwānduz-tai. Shortly before joining the Dīdja below Nimrūd, the ruined site of the Assyrian Kalakh, it is joined by its right bank tributary, the Khāzīr, which has previously been increased by the waters of the Gōmel-ai (Greek: *Bamblos*) from Tell Gōmel (Gaugamela).

The Great Zāb plays an important part in military history. It is several times mentioned in the campaigns of Maurice and Heraclius (Theophyl. Simok., ed. de Boor, iv. 1, 2, according to whom the lower course is navigable (*ναυπηγος*, p. 150), 2, 5, 9, 11; v. 5, 6, 6, 11, 8, 11; Georg. Kedren., ed. Bonn, i. 730; Theophan., *Chron.*, loc. cit.). On its tributary al-Khāzīr was fought in Maharram 67 (Aug. 686) the battle between Ibrāhīm and 'Ubad Allāh (Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, Fasc. v., p. 781, A. H. 67, § 2). On the Great Zāb itself Marwān was decisively defeated in the battle of 22^d—11th Djumādā II 132 (January 16—25, 750) (Huart, *Hist. des Arabes*, i. 285 sq.; Caetani, *op. cit.*, p. 1698 sq., A. H. 132, § 12).

2. The Lower or Little Zāb (*al-Zāb al-asfal* or *al-asghar*) is called in Assyrian *Zābu šupālū*, "the lower Zāb", in Greek *Kapros* (Weissbach, art. *Kapros*, No. 2, in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyclopädie*, vol. 2, col. 1921), Byzantine Greek *ἡ μικρὴ Ζάβας* (Theophan., *Chron.*, ed. de Boor, p. 320, according to whom there were four bridges over it) or *ἡ ῥεσπὴ Ζάβας* (Theophyl. Simok., ed. de Boor, v. 8, 1). According to the Arab geographers, its source was in the district of Dāhūr (Syriac *Dēhwar*, *Dēbor*, on the modern Dībār-*qū* near Sidikān) and in the mountains of Salāk (Syr. *Salak*), in Adharbāidjān not far from Shahrāzūr, and it flowed into the Tigris 1 *mil* above al-Sinn (Syr. *Sheennā*) at Dair Ibn Gāmīsh (Syr. *Dairā dhā-Bar Gāmīsh*). The Little Zāb is formed by the confluence of a number of small streams, which rise in the hills between Lahidjān south of Lake Urmīya and the pass of Awromān. The main stream is now called Altun-*qū*, in its upper course *Aksh* or *Kalwi*. On the lower course is Altun-köprü; just below its junction with the Tigris is Kal'at Dhabbār.

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(E. HONIGMANN)

ZĀB, a region of Algeria. The name Zāb (plur. *Zibān*) is given to the area around Biskra measuring about 125 miles from W. to E. and 30 to 40 from N. to S. It is a rather flat plain shading in the south into the Sahara and bordered on the north by the southern slopes of the Saharan Atlas, but having easy communication with the depression of the Hodna and the plateaus of Constantine through a wide gap which opens up between the hills of Zāb and the Awrās. Being subject to desert influences Zāb has only rare and irregular rainfall, insufficient in ordinary times for the cultivation of cereals, but the streams from the mountains and subterranean supplies sustain an oasis vegetation at many places, which contain nearly 800,000 palms.

Three parts of Zāb are usually distinguished: Zāb Sharqī or Eastern Z., between the foot of the Awrās and the Shott Mel'ir; the Dahrawī or northern Z., between the hills of Zāb and the Wād Djedi; and lastly Zāb Guebli (*ghibls*) or Southern Zāb, separated from the preceding by a strip of sand and marshes. Zāb Sharqī is watered

by the waters of the Awrās, Wād al-Abiad, Wād al-'Arab which irrigate on leaving the mountains the oases of Zeribat al-Wād, Badis and in the plain those of Sidi 'Okba, Seriana and Oumache. The Zāb Dahrawī, owing to the springs which are dotted along the foot of the hills, contains the most prosperous oases, Bu Chagrūn, Lichana, Farfar and particularly Tolga, which is regarded as the capital of this part of the Zibān. To Zāb Guebli belong the oases of Wād Djellal, Ourellal and Doucen, the magnificent palm-groves of which form a striking contrast to the miserable oases of Mili and Bigu which are half buried in sand.

The population (93,000, not counting the inhabitants of the commune de plein exercice of Biskra) is for the most part settled in the oases but we also find in the Zibān wandering shepherds belonging almost all to the tribes of the Arab Sheraga, who in the spring go up into the Hodna and the Tell with their flocks. The settled population does not find sufficient resources in the country. They have therefore always been in the habit of migrating temporarily to the towns of the Tell. In the Turkish period natives of the Zibān under the name of Biskris formed an important corporation in Algiers, where there are still about 2,000 of their compatriots.

History. We know practically nothing about Zāb in the pre-Islāmic period and during the first four centuries of the Hijra. The Romans never occupied and colonised the country but were content to establish forts on the Wād Djedi, at Biskra and at the southern exit of the valleys of the Awrās. As to the name Zāb itself, it should perhaps be connected with Zābi, a Roman town in the region of Hodna, which was in the fifth century A. D. the see of a bishop. Al-Bakrī (*Marātib*, p. 64, transl. Fagnan, p. 133) mentions among the towns of Zāb, Tobna, Tolga, Tahūda, Doucen; Idrisi (transl. de Goeje, p. 109) describes Tobna [q. v.] as the capital of Zāb. It seems however that at this period, or in any case in the period immediately after it, political preponderance passed to Biskra [q. v.] in which lived influential families like the Banū Rumman and the Banū Sijidji who controlled the region's affairs in turn. The country suffered greatly from the Arab invasions of the xth and xiith centuries. A Hilālī group, the Athbedj, ravaged the country and drove out a number of the former inhabitants. Driven back into the south at the beginning of the xiith century by the Almohads, they abandoned their nomadic for a sedentary life; they were forced to recognise the suzerainty of the Wād Muhammad (Dawawida), a section of the Sulaim, who settled in Western Zāb while another group, the Karfa, settled in Eastern Zāb. An Athbedj family finally became supreme; this was the Banū Mozni to whom the Hafids entrusted the government of Zāb and who took advantage of the troubled times in the xivth century to make themselves almost independent (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Barbar*, transl. de Slane, iii. 125; History of the Beni Mozni). In this period the name of Zāb is no longer applied only to the region south of the Atlas between Doucen to the S. W. and Badis in the N. E. Ibn Khaldūn credits it with a hundred villages each called Zāb (distinguished as Zāb of Tolga, Zāb of Biskra etc.; cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, i. 77). Leo Africanus gives Zāb the same boundaries as Ibn Khaldūn and mentions in it 25 towns in addition to large

numbers of villages (Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Schefer, iii. 250).

Freed from Hafsid authority, Zāb escaped Turkish rule in the xvth century although a garrison was established at Biskra. Effective power for two centuries and a half was in the hands of the chief of the Arab family of Bā Okkar to whom the Turks allowed the title of *Shāikh al-'Arab* but against whom in the second half of the xviiith century, they opposed another family, that of the Ben-Gann. The rivalry of these two families kept the country in a state of anarchy, aggravated between 1835 and 1840 by the intervention of 'Abd al-Kādir. Disorder came to an end only in 1844 with the occupation of Biskra by the French and the suppression of the rebellion stirred up in 1849 by Bū Zian at Zaatcha, from which date the Zāban may be regarded as definitely pacified.

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(G. YVER)

ZĀBAG (زَابَج), inaccurately transcribed *Zābaj* < Sanskrit *Jāvaka*, the name of an island. The Arabic transcription, so far as I am aware, goes back to the ninth century A. D. We do not see why the Arabic has rendered by a sonant the guttural occlusive *av* of the Sanskrit. The fact that we might be dealing with a form borrowed from a highly sonorous Prakrit hardly seems to me to require to be considered here. The Chinese knew this place-name as early as the seventh century under various forms which are reproduced in Chinese characters in *L'empire sumatranais de Śrīvijaya*: *Shē-li Fo-shē* < Skr. *Śrī Vijaya* or shortened form *Fo-shē* < Skr. *Vijaya* (Yi-tsing, Hōsei-je and Vajrabodhi); *Shē-li Fo-shē* = *Śrī Vijaya* (*Sin t'ang shu, Tang hui yao, T'ien fu yuan kuei*); *San-fa-t'i* (*Cu fan shi* of Cao Ju-kua, *Sung shi* or History of the Second Sung, *Ming shi* or History of the Ming, *Tao yi shi* of Wang Ta-yuan, *Ying yai sheng lan* of Ma Huan, *Sing fa sheng lan* of Fei Sin, *Tong yi yang k'ao*). In Malay, the island of Sumatra is called *Pulau Emas* "Island of Gold" (cf. Chin. *kin iow*, Arabic *zawarn dīh*, an arabicised form of the Sanskrit *suvarṇadvīpa*, with the same meaning). We only know the early history of *Jāvaka* = *Zābāg* = *Śrīvijaya* = *Shē-li Fo-shē* from inscriptions and a few oriental texts. We need not then be surprised that there are many lacunae.

At the beginning of our era, the *Rāmāyana*, composed some time earlier not definitely known, places in the Far East a *Yava-dvīpa* "Island of Yava", the island of gold and of silver (*suvarṇa-rūpyakadvīpa*), embellished with gold mines (*suvarṇākaramaṇḍitam*), which has usually been identified with Java. Its wealth in gold however makes me identify it with Sumatra for which alone we have evidence of extraordinary wealth in precious metals. In 132 A. D. Chinese texts mention an embassy from the king of Ye-tiao, old pro-

nunciation **Yap-dī* = *Yavadvīpa* = Sumatra, to the court of China. It is this form that Ptolemy reproduces some years later in the Prakrit form *Yāpāḍava* < *Yavadvīpa*.

240—252 A. D. In the surviving fragments of the *Fu-nan lu* in *juan* of K'ang T'ai, there are several references to the land of Ca-po, old pronunciation *Cu-lu*, defective transcription of **Shē-lu* < Skr. *Jāvaka*. It was probably about this time that Madagascar was colonised by Sumatrans who had been influenced by Hindu culture. The modern Malagasy language still bears clear traces of this.

In 410 on the occasion of the Synod of Isaac, there is mentioned a metropolitan of Dābag and of Cū and Macin (J. B. Chabot, *Synodicon orientale*, Paris 1902, p. 620). Four years later, Fa-hien returning from India via Ceylon arrived in a country which he calls *Ye-p'o-t'i* = *Yavadvīpa*, which I also locate in Sumatra, as well as the *Shē-f'o* mentioned in the *Kao sing iuan* composed in 519.

According to a Malay inscription of 605 Śaka = 683 A. D., an unnamed ruler who ruled in Śrīvijaya went on an expedition to institute a magic ritual, i. e. to seize the suzerain state of which he was a vassal. In Śaka 606 = 684 A. D., a king called Śrījayanasa (read: Śrījayaniga) ordered a garden to be made called Śrīkṛṣṇa = "auspicious field". In 608 Śaka = 686 A. D. another Malay inscription records that the stone was engraved at the time when the army of Śrīvijaya was setting out against the land of Java which was not in subjection to Śrīvijaya.

From 670 to 741, the *Shē-li Fo-shē* sent embassies to China. In 724, *Shē-li T'o-lo-po-mo* = Skr. *Śrīrājamarman*, king of Śrīvijaya, sent an ambassador to China. In 742, the king of *Fe-shē* = Vijaya, Lien-t'eng-wei-kong (F), sent his son to the Chinese court.

At a date which is uncertain, the Tamil poem *Manimegalai* mentions a town Nāgapuram (city of the *nāga*), in *Cāvaka-nāda* or land of *Cāvaka* < Skr. *Jāvaka* and the names of two of its kings: Rūhmizandin and Puyurāja, who claimed descent from Indra.

In 671—692 A. D., the famous Chinese monk Yi-tsing went from China to India and back. He made his first stay of six months in *Shē-li Fo-shē* in 671—672 and another of four years in 685—689 and a third, equally long, on his return from Canton. There he studied Sanskrit grammar. "In the fortified town of Fo-shē", he says, "there are over a thousand Buddhist priests, whose thoughts are devoted to study and good deeds. They examine and study all possible subjects just as in India; the rules and ceremonies there are identical [to those in India]. If a Chinese priest wishes to go to India to hear lectures there and read the original Buddhist texts, he would do well to spend [first] a year or two at Fo-shē and to practise the proper rules there; he could then go on to Central India". But this is not all. This mastery in the teaching of Malay, of Sanskrit and of the Law which is a sure sign of a high level of intellectual development was accompanied by equal skill in naval and military matters. Trade and the mercantile marine were no less flourishing. Lastly if we may judge by the attitude of the mahārāja of Zābag to the conquered Cambodians, the noble morality and political wisdom of these Sailendra rulers can-

not be too highly admired. Such was the position of the Samatran empire at the end of the seventh century A. D.

In 717, Śrīvijaya was visited by the monk Vajrabodhi and probably about the same time by the Chinese monk Hsü-je on his way from China to India.

A Sanskrit inscription found in Java of 654 Śaka = 732 A. D. mentions "an excellent island, incomparable, called Yava, fertile in cereals and other grains, rich in gold mines (*kaṇṭhāṇḍa*) . . .". This looks like a repetition of the *Kāmapūya*.

A Sanskrit inscription from Ligor (eastern Malay peninsula) and dated 775 A. D. celebrates a supreme king of kings, head of the family of the Śailendra, called Śrī Mahārāja (the rest is wanting).

In 844—846 we have the first mention known to me of the Mahārāja of Zābag in an Arabic text (Ibn Khordādhbeh). The merchant Sulaimān (851) also mentions Zābag and adds that the land of Kalāh (= Kra on the western Malay peninsula) and Zābag are ruled by the same king, Ishāk b. 'Imān, d. in 907, and mentions the camphor of Zābag. Ibn al-Fakih (902) and Ibn Rosteh (ca. 903) give some information about the location, products and customs of Zābag. Abū Zaid al-Husayn (ca. 916) gives a somewhat detailed description of Zābag and the mahārāja's court, and tells how the victorious campaign of the mahārāja against Cambodia was carried through (Mas'ūdī, *Prairies d'or*, i. 169 *qq.*), expresses himself in identical terms. Cf. on this subject my suggestions in *J. A.*, Oct.-Dec. 1932, p. 275 note).

The *Libre des merveilles de l'Inde* (ed. van der Lith, transl. Marcel Devic, p. 174—175) records that in 334 (945) the Wāk-wāk [q. v.] i. e. Sumatrans, came with a thousand ships on a raid on the east coast of Africa to procure the products of the country and Zandj slaves (cf. *J. A.*, Oct.-Dec. 1932, p. 298).

In 960 and 961, the king *Sā-lī ku-tu Hia-lī-tan* = Malay: Śrī kuta Haridana (?) sent an embassy to the court of China. In the following year another embassy was sent by the king *Sā-lī Wu-ye* = Skr. Śrī Vāja (?). Other embassies arrived in China from *Hia-te* = old Malay *hadji* "king" in 980 and 983. In 1003, the king *Sā-lī Ču-lo-wu-mi-fo-mu-tiao-kua* = Skr. Śrī Cūlamayivarmadeva and his son and successor *Sā-lī Ma-lo-ŋi* (sic) = Skr. Śrī Maraviyottungavarman in 1008 sent an embassy to the emperor of China. These two Sumatran sovereigns are also known from the Tamil inscription known as the "large Leyden scroll" which commemorates the donation of a village to a Buddhist temple at Negapatam. The building of this temple was begun by Cūlamayivarmadeva and finished by his son and successor. It may be noted that this temple was built at the "town of the *nāga*" and that the Malay rulers who built it, belonged to a royal family, the Śailendra, who were descended from a *nāga*. The choice of this Indian town was a very natural one for their pious works.

In 1017 there came to the court of China, ambassadors from *Hia-te Sa-wu-ŋa-p'u-mi* = Hadji Samatrabhūmi "king of the land of Sumatra". The modern name of the island appears here for the first time.

In his geography of the world compiled in 1154, Idrisi records that "the people of the isles of Zābag come to the land of the Zandj on small and large ships . . . for they understand one another's

languages". And also: "The people of Komr (= Madagascar) and the merchants of the land of the Mahārāja (= Sumatra) come among them (the people of Sofala and the east coast of Africa), are well received and trade with them (*J. A.*, Oct.-Dec. 1932, p. 299—300)".

The other Arabic and Persian texts (Yāqūt 1224, Kazwini 1203—1284, Ibn Sa'īd xiiith century, Kaṭib al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī d. 1311, Dimashki c. 1325, Abū 'l-Fida' 1273—1331, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfi 1340, Ibn al-Wardī c. 1340, Bākawi at the beginning of the xvth century, etc.) only supply a few notes on the actual or imaginary flora and fauna of Sumatra and the products of the country, especially gold and camphor. We have to come down to the xvth and xviith centuries to get accurate and detailed information in the *Instructions nautiques* of Ibn Maṭṭijid and Sulaimān al-Mahiri which I have translated and published.

From the xiiith century, the oriental texts of other origins should be studied and annotated again. They will be given in the *Bibliography* but no use has been made of them here as our space is limited.

Ceu K'ü-ŋi in his *Ling Wai tai ta* (1178) and Čao Ju-kua in his *Ču fan te* (1225) deal at length with *San-fo-t'i*. The latter includes even the foreign countries dependent on him and mentions Ceylon among his conquests, which is unexpected and does not appear to be confirmed by history. The statement by Mas'ūdī (*Prairies d'or*, i. 170) that "the Mahārāja is king of the islands like Zābag, Kalah (= Kra on the eastern Malay peninsula), Sirandib (= Ceylon) etc. . .", three centuries before the publication of the *Ču fan te* is also devoid of historical value. The only thing that seems certain is that in the xiiith century A. D., the glorious Sumatran empire collapsed. Malāya with the help of the Javanese regained her former suzerainty which had been lost in the seventh century; and the Thais of Sukhothaya came down on the lower Menam and seized all the colonial possessions of *San-fo-t'i* on the Malay peninsula.

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ZABĀNIYA. [See MALĀYKA.]

ZĀBID, a town in the Tihāma of Yaman, on the road running from north to south from Mecca to 'Aden, halfway between the Yaman highlands and the Red Sea, about 16 miles from the coast. At this distance the country is suitable for agriculture in view of the better water-supply, and the town itself is adjoined by two wādīs, in the north the Wādī Rima' and the south the perennial Wādī Zabid, from which it has taken the name which has replaced the original al-Husailb. In contrast to the rest of the Tihāma it is famous for its gardens with date-palms,

a little corn, indigo and various medicinal plants; the hides of Zabīd are also well known. Along with Bait al-Faḡh and a few smaller places, it is an important centre for the weaving of garments.

Zabīd has always been the capital of a district (*mihālā*). It adopted Islām in the year 10 (631) and its first governor was Khālid b. Sa'īd b. al-'As. It took no part in the *Ridda* wars. It became important under the Ziyādids as the capital of an independent province. Muḥammad, a descendant of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān (b. Abīh), granted the Tihāma by the caliph al-Ma'mūn, gave the town in Shābān 204 (beg. 820) its circular form with four towers (it is still called *al-Mudawwara*) and made the aqueducts from the wells. The Ziyādids were followed from 412—554 (1021—1159) by the Abyssinian Mamlūks, the Banū Naḡḡāb. Both dynasties remained under 'Abbāsid suzerainty and were Sunni; but the capital itself was for a time in Shī'ī hands; at the end of the third century it was burned by the Ḳarmatian 'Alī b. al-Faḡl and about 379 (989) taken for a time by 'Abd Allāh b. Kaḥlān of the Banū Ya'fur [q. v.]. The latter acknowledged the Fātimid caliphate, as did the ḡulayh [q. v.] who came down from the highlands and interrupted the rule of the Banū Naḡḡāb in Zabīd for the greater part of the years 432—481 (1060—1088). They did not however become their successors; but after the interlude of the Khāriḡī Maḥdīs [q. v.] the Egyptian successor of the Fātimids, the Ayyūbid Salādin, sent his brother Tūrangshāh there at the beginning of 570 (1175), and he had the Maḥdī 'Abd al-Naḥī executed. When the third Ayyūbid of the Yaman, Ismā'īl b. Tagh̄tegin, who wanted to play the part of an independent caliph, was murdered in 598 (1201) by his own Kurdish soldiers at Zabīd, rule practically passed into the hands of Aḡlābs until 'Umar, son of 'Alī b. Rasūl, the Ayyūbid governor of Mecca, in 626 (1229) founded the Rāṣid sultānate. This was followed in 858 (1454) by the Tūḡhrīds who claimed to be Umayyads descended from the caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. After a temporary occupation by the Meccan Shāfi' Abū Nuḡayy Muḥammad (922—1516) and then by irregular troops during the fighting between the Egyptian Mamlūks and the Ottomans, the latter had governors there from 943—1045 (1536—1635). The Zaidīs [q. v.], the only Yaman power that had survived all previous dynasties and had made a previous attempt to gain a footing in the Tihāma, were able to drive the Turks from the coast also. After the second Ottoman occupation (1289—1338 = 1872—1918), the Zaidīs again became lords of the Tihāma after fighting the Idrīsids [q. v.] of 'Asir.

Zabīd has many important buildings dating from the days in which this town was a royal residence. These buildings have stood very well as they are mostly built of brick, which gives the town a rather gloomy look. Even in Niebuhr's time however, the town had decayed considerably and the chronicles record much damage by fire and also from wars and even numerous showers of volcanic ash that have fallen upon it. When the Turks moved the capital to Ṣan'ā' and made the road run further north, starting from the fort of Ḥudāids [q. v.], and not touching Zabīd, its trade fell considerably. In the new Zaidī state which has expanded into the kingdom of Yaman, Zabīd is merely a provincial town. It retains a certain importance as the home

of Shāfi'ī tradition, from which the spiritual welfare of the non-Zaidī part of the country is cared for. The *nisha* Zaidī is still a common one among Yaman scholars.

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(R. STROTHMANN)

ZABŪR {A.}, probably a loanword from the South, but already used by pre-Islamic poets in the sense of "writ"; in this sense it is still found in al-Farazdaq, *Nuḡā'iq*, lxxv. 1. From the second Makkian period onwards, Muḥammad uses the plural *zabūr* in order to denote the revealed books (Sūra xvi. 196; III, 181; xvi. 46; xxxv. 23) as well as the heavenly writings, in which human deeds are recorded (Sūra liv. 43, 52). The singular *zabūr*, on the other hand, occurs in the Ḳur'ān exclusively in connection with Dāwūd. In the early Sūra xvii. 57 Muḥammad says that Allāh has given Dāwūd one *zabūr*. The same *zabūr* he mentions another time, viz. in Sūra iv. 161, and in Sūra xxi. 105 he quotes from this *zabūr* Psalm xxxvii. 29, in an almost literal translation. Possibly the pre-Islamic poets were already acquainted with Dāwūd as the author of the *zabūr*; it is e.g. not impossible that this is meant by Imrā' al-Ḳāis when he mentions a "zabūr in the books of the monks" (*ka-kḥaṣrī zabūr in fī maḡāḥifī ruḥānī*, lxi. 1). At any rate, this use of the term *zabūr* (apart from the question whether Muḥammad was the first to make use of it) is based on its affinity in sound with Hebrew *sevivim*, Syriac *musmār* or Aethiopic *musmār*; it was this term that by Muḥammad or others before him, in analogy with Arabic *zabūr*, was identified with the latter's meaning "writ". Apart from Sūra xxi. 105 the Ḳur'ān contains other passages bearing a close resemblance to verses from the Psalms, especially from Psalm civ. Moreover the majority of the passages in the Ḳur'ān which remind us, by sense or sound, of the Bible, are from the Psalms. The commentators on the Ḳur'ān recognise that the *zabūr* mentioned in Sūra iv. 161 is the book of Dāwūd bearing this name; it is only some of the Ḳufic commentators who propose to read the plural *zabūr* in the sense of "writings". Tabari rejects this view (Tabari, *Tafsīr*, vi. 18). Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Salām, a *marwī* of the caliph Ḥārūn, it is said, identifies the *zabūr* with "the *musmār*

which are in the hands of Jews and Christians", to the number of 150.

A fragment of a translation of the Psalms, dating from the (viii) century, the oldest known specimen of Christian-Arabic literature, was discovered in Damascus by B. Violet. It contains the Arabic translation of Psalm lxxviii, vs. 20—31, 51—61 in Greek majuscule writing. Al-Kindī, in his *Risāla* (composed about 204 = 819), and Ibn Kūṭalba, as cited in Ibn al-Djauzī's *Waṣf*, quote verses from the Psalms in literal translation. The Nestorian renegade 'Alī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī, who had the Syriac translation at hand, devotes to the Psalms an entire chapter of his "Book of Religion and Empire" (written about 240 = 854). Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 112, mentions Arabic translations of the Bible which also contained the Psalms. Of these translations the one by Sa'īd al-Fayrūmī (*Fihrist*, p. 23, 7, 13; cf. also H. Malter, *Saudia Gaon*, p. 318 sqq.) has come down to us. Even a free translation of the Psalms in Arabic verses is still extant, viz. the *Urḡūza* of Ḥaṭṭāb b. al-Birr al-Ḥuṣaynī, which goes back at least to the vii (xth) century. Muḥammadan apologists find the coming of Muḥammad prophesied in the *Zabūr* as they do in the *Tawrāt* [q.v.]. Ibn Kūṭalba takes a number of verses in the Psalms to refer to Muḥammad; 'Alī b. Rabban in the section "Prophecies of David concerning the Prophet" collects similar references, some identical and others different, and al-Sinhādī adds a few more. On the other hand, Ibn Ḥazm criticises acutely the Psalms as well as other books of the Bible and says several passages are forgeries which he as a result of erroneous translation condemns as blasphemous. In contrast to the translations of the *akīd* 'Ishāq al-Muḥḥallifā, the *Kitāb al-Manāmir Turjumāt al-Zabūr* offers the translation said to have been made by the *ulamā'* al-Islām; it is preserved in several manuscripts, and Krarup and Cheikho have published selections. In reality however, this book has nothing to do with the Psalms, which only the two first sections recall; the author took the Qur'ān as his model and indeed calls his separate sections *Sūras*. The oldest MS. bears the date 666 A.H. and perhaps the *Kitāb Zabūr Dawūd* ascribed to Wahb b. Munabbih in Ibn al-Jayy's *Fihrist Bibliotēca Arabo-Hispana*, ix. 294 is identical with this work.

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(J. HOROWITZ)

ZACHARIAS. [See ZAKARIYĀ.]

ZAFĀR, 1. now a group of ruins near an insignificant village in southern Yaman, about 10 miles S.W. of Yarim, celebrated in ancient times as the capital of the Himyar kingdom (also called ZAFĀRĪ; see Yāqūt, *Muḥḥam*, iii. 576; i. 196; South Arabian inscriptions give the radical *z-f-l*); it is reproduced in Ethiopic as *Safār*.

The royal city is mentioned by Pliny, *Natur. Hist.*, vi. 104 as *regia Sapphar* and in the *Periplus Mar. Erythr.*, § 23 as *μετρόπολις Σαφάρ* in which *Χαριβαλ* (Karib'il), "king of the Homerites (Himyar) and Sabaeans" ruled, of that dynasty which, succeeding the kings of Saba under the name "kings of Saba and Qūṣ Rāidān" was predominant in South Arabia from, at earliest, the end of the second century B.C. According to this evidence of the *Periplus*, the Sabaeans were already subjects of the Himyar kings and there was still a Himyar kingdom in the time of Pliny's sources.

The next reference to the capital Zafār in Graeco-Roman literature is Ptolemy, vi. 7, 41 (viii. 22, 16) where among the towns of the interior of Arabia Felix *Σαφάρ* (vulgo *Σαφάρα*) *μετρόπολις* is mentioned i.e. exactly as in the *Periplus*. Of the two variants in the MSS. for the longitude in Ptolemy, 78° and 88°, the former is to be preferred; it is also given by al-Ḥamīdī, *Sifa Ḍiḥāṭ al-'Arab* (ed. D. H. Müller, Leyden 1884, p. 28) while in his *Itin* (in D. H. Müller, *Die Burgen und Schlösser Südarabien*, in *S.B. Ak. Wien*, xciv. [1879], 417) he gives 77°. As the coast town *Mokha* in Ptolemy has the longitude 87° 30' (var. 88° 10' and 88° 30') and the same latitude 14°, as Zafār, E. Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, Berlin 1890, ii. 180 said this variant in the longitude of *Σαφάρα* was clearly only a mistake by a copyist of the post-Ptolemaic period, who confused this Yaman Zafār with the Zafār which had meanwhile arisen in the east near Moscha. This supposition is based on Glaser's erroneous location of Moscha (see N^o. 3); it is also from the first probable that in the transmission of Ptolemy we have had a mistake in the numeral for 7 just as in the variant in the longitude of Moscha. His statement that "we can only allocate to the Sabaeans" the Metropolis mentioned by Ptolemy, "because its situation will not fit the then undoubtedly very limited Himyar territories" and that "in the period of the 'kings of Saba' and Rāidān Mārib was undoubtedly the royal residence" and that this city had been in ruins "for centuries by Ptolemy's time" (*op. cit.*, p. 240, 242) are only the results of his views on the chronology of the development of the Himyar kingdom and are moreover in contradiction to the testimony of the classical sources just quoted, with which latter the inscriptional evidence can best be reconciled [cf. also the article *MA'ĀRIB*].

The *Σαφάριται* (in most MSS. *Σαφάριται*) according to Ptolemy, vi. 7, 25 living near the Homerites were the inhabitants of the town and district around it, i.e. the ruling stock. There are also references to Zafār as a district in Arabic literature, e.g. in Idrisi, but it is no longer found as a tribal name (Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, p. 311). A road may have branched off to Yarim and Zafār from the road mentioned in the *Periplus* which led east from the port of Mokha; that the capital played a part in commerce is intelligible. On the road in Ptolemy's map see Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 183 sq.

It is to this Zafār that Philostorgius (first third of the fifth century), *Hist. eccl.*, iii. 4, refers in telling of the conversion of the Homerites to Christianity c. 354—355 in the time of Constantius II (357—361; cf. the extract in Nicephorus Callistus, ix. 18) at whose instigation Theophilus,

later bishop, obtained from the Himyar ruler permission to erect churches in *Tāḡaṣṣ*, 'Aden and Hormūn. In opposition to this definite statement, Glaser (*op. cit.*, p. 181) considered that *Tāḡaṣṣ* did not mean the Himyar town but the one on the coast (No. 2) (similarly before him Ritter, *Erdbunde*, Berlin 1846, viii/xii, p. 65). There is however not the slightest probability that Philostorgius was wrongly informed; and besides the capital is a more probable place for the building of a church. G. W. Bury, *Arabia Infelix*, London 1915, p. 10, wrongly identifies this Zafar with Yafim. The conversion of the Himyars to Christianity is put by Theodorus Anagostes, ii. 58 (cf. Nicephorus, xvi. 37) in the reign of Anastasius (491–518). An apocryphal literature is connected with the name of Gregentius, bishop of Zafar about the middle of the sixth century. Zafar is also mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus (end of the fourth century) xiii. 23 as Tapharon, and by the Ravenna geographer (seventh century), ii. 6, as Tafa; the latter calls Himyar Omaritis; it finally appears as *Tāḡaṣṣ* in Stephanus Byzantinus, s. v., who, as a grammarian, is only concerned with the form of the name.

About the middle of the fourth century the Himyar kingdom had been conquered by the Axumites, but by the last quarter of the century native kings again gained the upper hand. The ruler of Zafar mentioned by Philostorgius as friendly to the Christians was therefore either a governor appointed by the Axumites (cf. *mutatis mutandis* Glaser, *Die Abessinier in Arabien und Afrika*, Munich 1895, p. 166) like Sumaifa in the year 525, or the reconquest of the country, the rulers of which were still the Axumites according to an inscription put up shortly before 356 (cf. SARA, iv, p. 95) had already been successfully begun by the Himyars about 355. It was not till 525 that the Abyssinians again won supremacy over Himyar but about 370 they were overthrown by the Persians. Till then Zafar had been the capital of South Arabia. The last Persian governor in San'a became a convert to Islam in 628.

According to Ibn Khurdaḍḍbih, p. 145; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, iii. 178; Yāqūt, iii. 577 (ii. 722) there was an inscription on the gate of Zafar to this effect: "Who held royal sway over Zafar? The excellent Himyars. Who became lord afterwards? The wicked Abyssinians. Who came next? The noble Persians. For whom had they to make way? The Kuraish, the traders. Who will next win the lordship of Zafar? It will again fall to the Himyars". This expresses very neatly the history of the changes in the hegemony of South Arabia. That Zafar was the capital of the Himyar kings is testified, in corroboration of the Greek and Roman authors, by the Arab geographers, historians and lexicographers, e.g. Ibn Khurdaḍḍbih, vi. 140; al-Mas'ūdī, iii. 177; Ḍiḥwārī, s. v.; Yāqūt, iii. 577 (812 in the quotation from a poet); the *Kūmūṣ*, s. v.; *Taḍj al-'Arūs*, iii. 370; the *Zikr al-mumā*. The royal castle of Raidān in Zafar is mentioned by Ibn Khurdaḍḍbih, p. 140, who quotes the verse of Imru' al-Qais (206, 32 in Ahlwardt, *The Dione*), al-Ḥamdānī in *Iḥṣā*, p. 410 and 414 (in the verse from As'ad Tubba'), al-Bakrī's *Muḍjam*, s. v.; Yāqūt, ii. 885; iii. 422 (where the form Zaidān is altered by D. H. Müller on *Iḥṣā*, p. 410, p. as a misreading, to Raidān [cf. the same form in Ritter, xii. 258 from Idriṣi];

see below on Glaser's explanation of the Raidān of the inscriptions). Idriṣi, i. 148 *sq.* (ed. Jaubert, Paris 1836) also describes Zafar as one of the most important and most celebrated towns in Yaman, which was the residence of the kings of Yaman. According to him, it is in the district of Yahyib, which was also called Zafar. Muḥaddasī, *B. G. S.*, iii. 70 (53) in his survey of the two parts of the Yaman, al-Tihām and al-Naḡḡā, mentions Yahyib among the towns of Naḡḡā. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiseverhältnisse des Orients*, in *Abh. f. L. Kunde des Morgenl.*, iii. 53, Leipzig 1864, p. 109 thought that this referred to Zafar. This identification which is also found in H. C. Kay, *Yemen, its early medieval history*, London 1892, p. 246 (and on his map) is not convincing; he also wrongly writes Yahyib, Yahyib (Yahyub) is the name of Miḥlāf (cf. besides Idriṣi also Yāqūt, ii. 885, who says the castle of Raidān is in this Miḥlāf and gives the further detail that Raidān is in Zafar and quotes the verses of As'ad Tubba' in *Iḥṣā*, *op. cit.*, p. 414, according to which Zafar with the tribal citadel of Raidān lay in the plain of Yahyib. According to *Iḥṣā*, p. 410, Zafar was known as Ḥakl (plateau of) Yahyib. In Yāqūt, iv. 436 there is a reference to Yahyib al-*al-w* in Zafar. Sprenger's explanation of the statement in Ibn Khurdaḍḍbih (*op. cit.*): "Yahyib is the name of the town, and the castle where the king... lives is called Zafar" (*Pestercuten*, *op. cit.*, p. 147) is wrong. The meaning is rather: "Yahyib, (in it) the town of Zafar and its castle Raidān".

According to Idriṣi, this castle was in his time a remnant of the royal palace there; he speaks also of other traces of its ancient prosperity. In Tabari, ed. de Goeje, i. 326, the foundation of Zafar is traced to the Himyar kings. Al-Ḥamdānī gives in *Iḥṣā* (*op. cit.*, p. 412) a description of the situation of Zafar on the slope of a hill near the town of the Sakhtiyūn (Mankath); there are still ruins in the village of Mankat, near Zafar with Himyarite inscriptions found by Seetzen; cf. D. H. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 370; he quotes there (p. 414) a line of 'Amr b. Tuthba' who mentions inscriptions in Zafar and lines from 'Alqama which refer in laudatory terms to Zafar. In the *Sifa*, p. 203, he mentions Zafar among the celebrated places of the Yaman with old castles. As an illustration of his remarks on the reduction of degrees of longitude in Ptolemy to those of the eastern astronomers, he chooses the position of Zafar and deals (*op. cit.*, p. 27) with the Ptolemaic positions of this town and of San'a, both of which are on the same meridian (so also p. 28 and 44; cf. also 45), Zafar being about 3 days' journey farther south (which on the whole agrees with Niebuhr's estimate that Zafar is 1° 12' south of San'a). On p. 201 he gives from the geographical point of view nothing more definite than that Zafar is in the neighbourhood of San'a, similarly Yāqūt, iii. 577 (where he adds that some hold the view that Zafar was San'a itself), the *Kūmūṣ*, s. v. (cf. Ḍiḥwārī, s. v.) and the *Taḍj al-'Arūs*, iii. 370, which quotes Yāqūt. D. H. Müller, *Burgen*, p. 369 shows that Yāqūt, iii. 422 compares Zafar with San'a (but see No. 3). The Arab tradition of the history and genealogy of the Himyar kings, the Tubba' is for the most part unhistorical.

Yāqūt distinguishes in the *Muḍjam* (cf. iii. 577) between this Zafar and the place of the same name on the coast (No. 4); in the *Muḥṣarrik* the

distinction is not pointed out. Arab writers occasionally confused the two towns, as have some modern authorities. C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 236 and Ritter, *op. cit.*, p. 254 and others have lamented this; the latter however makes the same mistake, cf. p. 65 and 253. Abu 'l-Fidā' in his description which confuses the two towns (other cases under N^o. 4) only says that Zafār is in Yaman; all his other statements apply to the coast town.

Al-Hamdānī in *ihlil*, *op. cit.*, p. 416 and with variations, al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, p. 464 and Yāqūt, iii. 577 give in the form of a brief anecdote to explain the saying "Who comes to Zafār must understand Himyar" (or "Zafār belongs to the Himyars") an example of specifically Himyar idiom. The Arabs distinguish between the sons of the older, younger and 'nearest' Himyars, i.e. between Himyars, in the widest, usual and strictest sense (Sprenger, *Geographie*, p. 72 sq.). One can only speak of a Himyar dialect (on some peculiarities, see Sprenger, p. 74) among the Himyars in the narrowest use of the name. In the tenth century A.D. are mentioned as districts in which pure Himyar was spoken, the territory west of San'a and south of Dhawār as far as Hagi Kitāb, an area which includes Yarim and Zafār (references for Himyar areas in Sprenger, *Das Leben...* der Mohammed, Berlin 1865, iii. 438). Himyar and the mixed speech of the adjoining districts used, according to Fresnel, to be inaccurately called Ehlil, a term which was wrongly extended also to Mehri and the Karā dialect (Hakili) or to what Glaser calls Shohrāt. The language of the old Himyar inscriptions in the strict sense is closer to Sabaean than the language of the second great group of South Arabian inscriptions, Minaean.

These two pure Himyar districts are fertile and well suited for agriculture. The soil of Zafār also yields a semi-precious stone: the onyx of Zafār is mentioned by al-Hamdānī, *ihlil*, p. 415 (with quotations from the poets); Dhawār; Yāqūt, iii. 577; *Lisān al-'Arab*, vi. 192; *Kāmil*, *Taḍī*, *loc. cit.* (cf. Lane s.v. *ḡaṣa'* on the meaning of the word and Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 62).

After the last occupation of Zafār by the Abyssinians, of which we have a full account in the *Martyrium Aristae* and after the extinction of the South Arabian kingdom and still more after the rise of Islām the former royal capital gradually fell into decay, especially as it was cut off from the main routes of traffic. In the later history of the Yaman it plays with its mountainous surroundings, a subordinate role as a fortified place in connection with military operations. When for example after the Ziyādi dynasty had died out (409—1015) and Najdā had taken Zabīd and assumed the royal title (412), the walls there held out to their strongholds in the mountains; among these were (according to 'Umīra al-Hakāmī, *Ta'rikh al-Yaman*, ed. Kay, *op. cit.*, p. 12) al-Nakīl ('pass'), which Kay, p. 246 explains as Nakīl Sumāra near Zafār.

The information supplied by modern travellers agrees with the statements of the Arab authors. Cf. also: Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 94, 236, 290; do., *Beschreibung von Arabien*, i. 400; the article SABA, iv. p. 3—18; D. H. Müller, *Sabäische Denkmäler*, Vienna 1883, p. 85, Plate VI (inscription); W. Harris, *A Jour-*

ney through the Yaman, Edinburgh-London, p. 25; Glaser, *Die Abessinier*, p. 53, 100, 116; do., in *M. V. A. G.*, 1897, vi. 41; do., *Skitzen*, ii. 241; Nielsen, *Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde*, Copenhagen-Paris-London 1927, p. 21, 88; Hommel, *Ethnologie und Geographie des Alten Orients*, Munich 1926, p. 656, 711; Osiander, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xix., 1865, p. 180; G. J. S., IV/5, N^o. 312.

2. A ruined site S.W. of San'a. The *Taḍī al-'Arūs* (iii. 370) mentions from al-Saghānī, in addition to the two towns of the same name (see N^o. 4), also two castles named Zafār, one north, the other south of San'a.

3. A fortified hill about 20 miles N.W. of San'a near Kawkabān.

4. Name of a very old town, which has been in ruins since the end of the middle ages, and of the plain around it, in the corner of S.E. Arabia on the Indian Ocean now usually reckoned to Mahra. Ibn Khaldūn, *'Ibar* (see the extract in Kay, *op. cit.*, p. 133) gives the vocalisation Zafār and al-Makrīzī, *De valle Hadhramaut*, ed. Berlin Noskowsky, Bonn 1866, p. 29, says it should be pronounced Zafār as does Maltzan in the introduction to his edition of *Wrede's Reise in Hadhramaut*, Braunschweig 1873, p. 24, 39; it is pronounced Zāfār, Zāfā, and now occasionally also Dofār. That the town is already referred to in Greek literature is practically certain; it is to be sought among the places mentioned by Ptolemy on the sea-coast. Sprenger, who emphasises that Ptolemy used information given by travellers from India and along the Arabian coast for his description of the south east coast of Arabia, is probably right (*Geographie*, p. 95 sq.) in pointing to the place on Ptolemy's map (vi. 7, 12) which corresponds to the location of Zafār, namely the *μῆτις Ἀρραβίας* mentioned among the towns of the *Σαγγάριον* which contains a translation of al-Kamar ("Diana") which we also find in *Lisān al-'Arab* "Mountains of the Moon", *Ḥubb al-Kamar* "Bay of the Moon", on which Zafār actually lies. The position of the "Oracle of the Moon" according to Ptolemy's statements brings us quite near Raisūt (called *Kawāḍi* [*Pureḍi*] *ḡaṣa'* in Ptolemy just before), the former port. From this place stretches a well watered plain about 9 hours' journey in length and an hour's journey wide at Tāḡa, where it is broadest. It also runs into the hills and is now called Zafār (Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 96). Carter (see below) found the ruins of some six towns there. Whether these were the successive capitals of Zafāria, as Sprenger thought, is another question which can no longer be answered. Sprenger also conceded the impossibility of ascertaining where the "Oracle of the Moon" had been. With reference to the statement of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*op. cit.*, ii. 203) that there was a sanctuary with the tomb of Hind (see also I. 295) half a day's journey from (the later) Zafār (i.e. Manṡūra) and a mosque on the coast in a fishing village, Sprenger thought that this mosque and tomb were the "Temple of the Moon". The latter however could only be recognised in one of the two buildings, presumably only in the former. Its position, according to Sprenger, agrees with Tāḡa in 54° 22' East Long., 17° 2' N. Lat. "on an inlet, which could be used as a harbour for rafts and boats". This location should be modified in the light of Bent's statements and the ancient

Zafār be sought in a ruined site east of Tāka (see below).

We cannot support Glaser's view (*Seize*, ii, 97, 180) that the *Ḥabara wāda*, mentioned by Ptolemy immediately after *ḥabara* 'Aqrūdā, which Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 97 said was the port of Zafār and identified with Mirbat, was Zafār itself and Moscha, *Periplus*, p. 32, its harbour (the latter already suggested in Ritter, *op. cit.*, iii, 329; also Glaser, *Absissinier*, p. 90 *sq.*; Hommel, *Ethnologie*, p. 654), identical with Khōr el-Belid, and that the name Zafār probably only appeared in the district after the time of Ptolemy, either for Abissa polis or for Moscha (*Seize*, p. 180; *Absissinier*, p. 187 *sq.*). Against these topographical arguments, which, by the way, still leave undecided the place to which the name Zafār is said to have been transferred, is the fact that there is not the slightest probability in its favour and also that it is in direct contradiction to Ptolemy's map and that of the *Periplus* and that, as Glaser himself has to confess, Moscha, which Ptolemy puts west of Cape Syagros (Rās al-Fartak) must, according to the *Periplus*, which Glaser prefers to Ptolemy for the description of the Shīr coast, be sought about 10 miles west of Mirbat. There is now no harbour at Khōr el-Belid, but a lagoon (Glaser, *Seize*, p. 181); on the other hand Moscha in Ptolemy as well as in the *Periplus* is described as *ḥabara* and this significance is particularly emphasised in the latter. Moscha is probably Maḥḥā, a harbour in East Long, 51° 55' "less than an hour's journey west of Rās Fartak and sheltered from the south wind" (Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 85). Sprenger's assumption that in the transmission of Ptolemy the true position of Moscha has been dropped out is possible but not, it seems, necessary. His location agrees with the statement of the Arab authors, e.g. Yāqūt, iii, 577; iv, 481, that the harbour of Zafār which had no suitable anchorage (so also Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, p. 133, ed. Kay) was Mirbat, about 5 parasangs distant and much visited by merchants, and also with the fact that the Rās Fartak near which he would locate Moscha and of which Ibn al-Mudāwir tells us that it is built at the entrance to the 'Gulf of the Moon' and that there is a landing-place there for ships from India, is in modern times the first landmark for which steamers from Bombay make (Sprenger, *op. cit.*). New material for a confirmation of this view is given, in part unintentionally and unconsciously, by Th. Bent, *Southern Arabia*, London 1900, p. 246 *seq.* He says it is certain that the ruins on the coast at the modern al-Balad (el-Belid, according to Glaser, *Seize*, p. 181; also *Absissinier*, p. 184 [so also Fresnel, Al. tillad of the English chart]) about 2 miles east of the present capital al-Hāfa (Iḥāfe) are those of the old capital of this territory. When he adds that there is no difficulty in following Sprenger in identifying this town with the *ḥabara* 'Aqrūdā, he is inaccurate in as much as Sprenger expressly distinguishes Tāka, where he sought the original Zafār, from al-Balad to the west of it, the presumed site of the later Maḥḥā. This ruined site, according to Bent, containing remains of Sabean temples, last inhabited during the Persian invasion about 500 A.D., is the largest and most imposing in the whole plain. Bent who (p. 268) gives inaccurately Glaser's identification of Abissa polis and Moscha, further says that the point on the coast near the river Rori, which is particularly broad at its mouth (so in the map

he gives of the Zafār territory [*from a survey by Imam Sharif, Khan Bahadur], his travelling companion]; the description of the water as Khōr Koury in Bent, p. 270 is wrong; see Glaser, *Absissinier*, p. 185; the English chart has Khōr Reiri, Cruttenden: Khōr Ririe) and the rocky island of Khātīya on the coast is Abissa polis and also Moscha. But only a little west of this point in 54° 25' is Tāka (54° 22') at which Sprenger sought to locate the *ḥabara* 'Aqrūdā and later Glaser, *Absissinier*, p. 187, Abissa polis, which left him for 'the Oracle of the Moon', which Bent very arbitrarily thought lay in the ruins of a Himyar town in the Wādī Nakast not far from al-Hāfa, "only 'Abḥad or Robat or one of the ruined sites farther inland, e.g. in the Wādī Neḥas" which is not plausible. We may look for the site of the ancient Zafār and of the "Oracle of the Moon", perhaps also of the sanctuary mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūta, in the ruins which Bent (p. 269) found east of Tāka a little further west than Sprenger and at the adjacent river mouth, the Khōr Rori, the landing place for the town. Glaser's statement (*Seize*, p. 181) "the ruins of Zafār are at 'Abḥad, 'Aḥad, Rēst and Khōr el-Belid" is insufficient. Bent was also wrong about Maḥḥā, which he identified with Mokhā, "a not unusual name for harbours on the Arabian coast". He took no account of the inaccuracy of the statements about the Shīr coast in the text of the *Periplus* as transmitted to us (§ 32). That the latter means Raḥḥā by the centre of the Sakhali frankincense trade is not so certain as it is usually assumed to be. The mistake, which is repeated by Bent, arises from the fact that this place is called Moscha.

The lord of the frankincense country under Himyar rule at the time of the *Periplus*, § 32 was the king of Ḥaḍramūt. That Ptolemy refers to Ḥatabānians between the Omanites and the mountains of Aabon does not justify the deduction that the frankincense coast proper (from Zafār eastwards) was wholly or in part a Katabānian colony.

The coast town of Zafār is most probably older than the Himyar capital; it was long ago with great probability identified with "Sephar, a mount of the east" of Genesis 2. 30.

The Arabs sometimes place Zafār in Mahra, with which the present attribution agrees, sometimes, which comes to the same thing, in the Shīr territory (coast of Mahra), so Yāqūt, iii, 577, Abu 'l-Fidā' (see Hommel, *op. cit.*, p. 30), Ibn Khaldūn (ed. Kay, *op. cit.*, p. 132), Tāfi, iii, 370, sometimes, less accurately, in 'Omān (Sprenger, *Geographie*, p. 92). According to Ibn Baṭṭūta, ii, 196, it is at the extreme end of Yaman (l. 205, it is simply called a town of Yaman); in a note in a manuscript of the *Marāḥiḍ* (quoted by Wüstenfeld, Yāqūt, v, 24) it is described as the remotest town of Yaman; Mahra [q.v.] is included by the Arab geographers in Yaman. Yāqūt, iii, 577, after mentioning the capital of Yaman, speaks of the celebrated town of his time of the same name on the coast of the Indian Ocean (this location also in iii, 422, iv, 481 [where the form Zifār is used; cf. the reading in Ibn Khurādādhbih, *B.G.A.*, vi, 146], in Ibn Baṭṭūta and Tāfi, iii, 370); in the last mentioned passage Yāqūt describes it in general terms as situated between Ḥaḍramūt and 'Omān (cf. i, 196 and the addenda in *B.G.A.*, iv, 432 to Ibn Hawḥal, p. 32 [also on the distance between

Zafar and Mirbāt]; the *Ḥamān* briefly: near Mirbāt). In the principal passage, Yāqūt tells us that in the mountains at some distance from the town of Zafar frankincense grows and a share in the proceeds is given to the independent lord of the town who has established a monopoly of trade in it; then follow remarks on the gathering of the frankincense which has to be taken to the town (a similar account briefly in iv. 481).

Zafar is in the frankincense district proper; its extent as given in Yāqūt is much too small, as is evident from the statements of other Arab geographers and especially from Carter's investigations, whose western boundary at 52° 47' to 55° 23' East Long. is too far east, as we know from Glaser's survey, who corrected his own figures in course of time and from Bent, Hirsch and the South Arabian expedition of the Vienna Academy.

The name Zafar ("aromatic plant") originally perhaps meant simply the idea which the Greeks expressed by *ἀρωματισμός*. Fresnel's idea (*Sur la géographie de l'Arabie*, *Lettre*, iv., in *J.A.*, ser. iii., vol. v., 1838, p. 518), followed by Ritter (xii. 252, 260), that the Himyar town was called Zafar after the coast town out of rivalry of it, was wrong. Probably this name was used for the former in another sense, as the "victorious", as in the lines of Aḥmad Tabba', *Ḥikl*, *op. cit.*, p. 410 (= al-Bakri, p. 464). Accounts of the frankincense country were brought to Europe by Portuguese sailors; we find an echo of these in Camões, *Os Lusíadas*, x. 101, 1: "Olha Dofar insigne, porque manda O mais cheiroso incenso pera as aras".

Yāqūt (ii. 881) speaks in almost the same words as al-Ḥamdānī (*Djastarat*, p. 51) of a coast road that leads from 'Aden via Zafar passing Rašūt on the left to 'Omān. Ibn al-Muḍāwir who visited Zafar c. 619 A.H., gives the various stages on the road from Shihām in Ḥaḍramūt to Zafar with the distances (fuller details in Sprenger, *Portouten*, p. 144; do., *Géographie*, p. 164). He observed that pepper, sugar-cane and numerous kinds of fruit flourished at Zafar and that between Ḥaḍramūt and 'Omān there were traces of old terraces on which the frankincense tree had been planted; this latter remark is confirmed by Bent. He tells of a safe caravan route from Baghdad (through the desert) to Mirbāt and Zafar, by which the Beduins twice a year bring horses which they exchange for spices and costly robes. According to him, Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh (618 = 1221) destroyed Zafar and built Manḡra not far from it to which the name Zafar later passed; in his time the district was in possession of the Ḥaḍramūtis. According to Ibn Khaldūn (*Kay*, *op. cit.*, p. 133), the destruction took place in 619 and the name (al-Aḥmadiya) of the new Zafar was given it from the name of the destroyer.

In Abu 'l-Fidā's account, the confusion in which (see above) was recognised by Niebuhr, *Beschreibung*, p. 236 and Hommel, *op. cit.*, p. 30 *sqq.* (with references to the earlier literature) showed in more detail, without being himself completely free from errors, we are told of the coast town in addition to what has already been mentioned, that it lies at the top of a gulf and has trade with India, is surrounded by gardens (cf. Ibn al-Fakḥ, *B.G.A.*, v. 109) and betel and cocoa grow there. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's description is similar (ii. 196 *sqq.*). The

latter about 730 (1329—1330) sailed from Kilos to Zafar, over a century after the destruction of the old town. He tells us that the town stood isolated on a wide plain (cf. Yāqūt, iv. 481) but gives noteworthy details about the rich orchards and spice yielding trees and plants (betel, cocoa) in the neighbourhood and their economic importance. The Zafar described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was also an important commercial centre.

With reference to the ancient history we may here mention a suggestion by Glaser, that Zafar was the old Ḥabashi capital (cf. *Skizze*, p. 181; Hommel, *Ethnologie*, p. 654). It is certain that in the early middle ages, like South Arabia generally, it passed for a time under Persian influence. Of importance at a later date was the Persian attempt at invasion in 664 (1265) when the emir Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-Kūstī, lord of Ḥormūz, conquered and plundered Zafar. Soon afterwards Salīm b. Idrīs, ruler of Zafar, quarrelled with al-Muḡaffar, the second ruler of the Muḡaffarid dynasty. His troops were defeated by those of Yaman in 678 (1278) and Zafar surrendered (*Kay*, *op. cit.*, p. 311, on Ibn Khaldūn, p. 132). In Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's time, Zafar was independent of Yaman.

Marco Polo, the contemporary of Abu 'l-Fidā, had heard of Zafar as one of the most important sources of frankincense. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung*, p. 236, 262, rightly distinguishes between the two towns of the same name but he could learn nothing of the second except that there was "on the S.E. coast of Arabia a town and harbour" of Zafar, similarly p. 286 where he refers to the export of frankincense (p. 143 *sq.* on the growing of frankincense). The first more accurate particulars of this region in modern times were given by the English Coast Survey Commission. J. R. Wellsted who came here in 1833, describes Mirbāt and the coast west of it (*Travels in Arabia*, London 1838, ii. 453 *sq.* and *Travels to the City of the Caliphs*, London 1840, ii. 129 *sqq.*). In 1837 C. J. Cruttenden went by land from Mirbāt to al-Dahārta, the chief town of the coast region of Zafar (see *Journal of an Excursion from Morbat to Dyreeh*, in *Proceedings of Bombay Geogr. Soc.*, 1837, p. 70 *sqq.* [*Transactions* ... 1844, p. 184 *sqq.*]). He established what Fresnel from his informant in Ujda and Haines confirmed that in his time there was no longer a town of Zafar but that, as is still true, the district from Mirbāt to Rašūt bears this name. At about the same time Fresnel (see his *Lettre*, iv., *op. cit.*, p. 251 *sq.*) learned from Muḥsin, his adviser on linguistic points, that the ruins at el-Belid which the latter had visited, still retained traces of the splendour of an old city of Zafar (i.e. probably Manḡra) and that there were now only three or four houses standing. Fresnel wrongly took this Zafar for the Himyar capital (like Ibn Khaldūn) and el-Belid for its harbour. Wellsted's *Travels* are supplemented by Capt. S. B. Haines, *Memoir of the South and East Coasts of Arabia*, in *J.R.G.S.*, London 1845, xv. 104 *sqq.* Wellsted's information came partly from the observations made by Haines's expedition and published prematurely without the latter's authority (see Ritter, xii. 608 and the extract p. 645 *sqq.*). H. J. Carter, whose account (*A description of the frankincense tree of Arabia*, in *J. Bombay Br. R.A.S.*, 1847, ii. 380 *sqq.*) was too late for Ritter, xii. 356 *sqq.* to use, gave further details of the occurrence of the frankincense tree. Glaser gives (*Skizze*, p. 180 *sq.*;

Abessinier, p. 184 sq.) from his own explorations several places on the coast called Zafar of which the majority had already been mentioned by Frenzel, Crutenden and Haines.

Our knowledge of the plain of Zafar was amplified by Bent who travelled in 1894—1895 along the coast (see the section *Ushfar and the Gora Mountains* in his book p. 227 sq.). He gives several places hitherto unknown and fixes the frankincense area more definitely; its size, he says, is not much bigger than that of the Isle of Wight. The Wāḥ of al-Hāfa is the *de facto* lord of the plain of Zafar; the land is only nominally under the suzerainty of 'Omān, as belonging to the intimate of Maḥṣar (cf. also Glaser, *Abessinier*, p. 126). Yāḥūt, Ibn al-Muḍāwir and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (see above) also mention an independent sultan of Zafar and of modern travellers, Niebuhr (*op. cit.*, p. 287) already mentions the "independent shah" there. The district never came under Turkish rule; the Turkish attempt to subdue it towards the end of the last century failed. Bent describes the frankincense trade as unimportant; the Karā Beduins (Glaser, *Abessinier*, p. 185) also gives the native pronunciation Kāz bring the frankincense from the mountains to the coast on camels (this recalls Yūḥūt, iii. 577). He saw stores of frankincense at al-Hāfa. The road to the mountains runs through an area which is full of frankincense trees and has a rich vegetation generally. In ancient times the cultivation of frankincense was probably not much more extensive. Myrrh also is found in the mountains. He tells us, like Carter, that the savage Beduins live in caves in the mountains; this gives modern confirmation of the statement in the *Periplus*, § 32 regarding the Troglodytes (see Wādāḥ). They seem to be the representatives of the earliest inhabitants. Their language is not understood by the Arabs; this recalls what al-Iṣṭakhri, al-Idrīsī and Ibn al-Muḍāwir say about Meḥit (see MAHRA). — Bent is supplemented by C. Cranford, *The Dhoḥar District*, in *Geogr. Journal*, London 1919 (p. 101 sq. a description of the ruins of al-Beld).

Glaser was the first to devote attention to the language of the people of the plain and mountains of Zafar (cf. *Abessinier*, p. 184); on his accurate reproductions of Sheḥrāt see Hommel, *Ethnolegit*, p. 153. The specimens of language in Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 275 sq. are to be used with a certain amount of caution. A series of texts was taken down by N. Rhodokanakis from the mouth of a native in 1904 in Vienna; they are published in vol. viii. of the *Südarabische Expedition*, Vienna 1908 (*Der südarabische Dialekt im Dhoḥar (Zafar)*); vol. x. (1911) contains the glossary and grammar. In vol. vii. of the same series D. H. Müller published texts in the language of the hill people from the same native authority (*Shauri-Texts*, 1907); see also M. Bitner, *Studien zur Shauri-Sprache*, i–iv., in *S.B. Ak. Wien*, 1915–17).

Bibliography: The information in the Arabic, Greek and Roman authors and the works of Sprenger, D. H. Müller, Glaser, Hommel has already been quoted with bibliographical details. We may further mention on 1. and 4. the references to earlier literature in Ritter, xii. 64 sq., 251 sq., 260 sq., 293 sq., 311, 323, 650 sq., 728, 770 (with many inaccuracies in view of the insufficiency of his sources, quoted in the index to vol. xiii. under 10 different heads) and in A. Zehme, *Arabien und die Araber*

seit 100 Jahren, Halle 1873, passim. On 1. see the article RIMYAR, ii. p. 310–311 by J. H. Mordtmann; on 1. and 4. my full treatment of many details in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll's *Realencyclopädie der class. Altertumswiss.*, s. v. Saba (col. 1372 sq., 1378, 1427 sq., 1457 sq., 1461 sq. [cf. SABA, iv. p. 3–15]); on 4. the articles of Bent *The Exploration of Southern Arabia*, in *Journ. for the Advancement of Science*, 1895, p. 492 sq., *Exploration of the Frankincense Country, Southern Arabia*, in *Geogr. Journ.*, London 1895, vi. 109 sq.; *The Land of Frankincense and Myrrh*, in *Ninth Century*, 1895, p. 595 sq.; finally the *Bibliography to MAHRA*. (J. TRATSCHE)

AL-ZAFAYĀN, nickname of the raḍḡa poet 'Aḥ' b. Usaid Abu 'i-Mikāl (according to another reading: Mikām). He belonged to the Banū 'Uwāḥ, a branch of the tribe of Sa'd b. Zaid Maḥāt b. Tamīm, whence he was known as al-Sa'dī or al-Tamīmī. It is clear from one of his poems that he went through the rising of Abū Fadaik (73 = 692) and was roughly a contemporary of al-'Adjdjdj.

Bibliography: A few quoted fragments of his *urghuḥ* from a defective copy of the *Diwān*, ed. by Ahlwardt in *Sammlungen alter arab. Dichter*, Berlin 1903, vol. ii. (H. H. BRÄU)

AL-ZĀFIR. [See FAYYIMIS, above ii. 91.]

ZĀHID. [See ZUHĪD.]

ZĀHIR. [See BĀḤIN.]

AL-ZĀHIR RA'ĪS ALLĪKH ABU NAṢR MUHAMMAD b. AL-NĀSIR, an 'Abbāsīd Caliph. As early as Šafar 585 (March–April 1189) the caliph al-Nāsir had designated his eldest son Muḥammad as his successor. Later however, he changed his mind in favour of his younger son 'Alī but since the latter died in 612 (1215–1216) and al-Nāsir had no other male heirs, he had to come back to Muḥammad and again have homage paid to him as heir-apparent. Regarding the treatment given the future commander of the faithful in his father's house we are told in Ibn al-Athīr, xii. 287: "He was watched and guarded and could do nothing of his own accord". After the death of al-Nāsir at the end of Ramaḍān 622 (beg. October 1225), Muḥammad ascended the caliph's throne with the name al-Zāhir bi-Amr Allāh but his reign lasted only nine months and fourteen days; for he died on 24th Raddj 623 (July 11, 1226). He was succeeded by his eldest son al-Mustansir. The Muslim historians bestow the highest praise on al-Zāhir for his high moral qualities. He is described as god-fearing, benevolent, just and gentle and compared with the Umayyad 'Omār b. 'Abd al-'Azīz who is celebrated for his piety. In politics however, he played an insignificant and subordinate part, after his accession as before, and he exercised no influence worth mentioning on the course of affairs.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, xii. 26, 287–289, 298 sq.; Ibn al-Tiktākī, *al-Faḥrī*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 443–445; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iii. 451, 453.

(K. V. ZETTERSTERN)

AL-MALIK AL-ZĀHIR GHĀZĪ, an Ayyūbīd, second son of Salāḍīn [q. v.]. Born in 568 (1172–1173) he was installed as nominal governor of Ḥalab immediately after its conquest by Salāḍīn at the beginning of 579 (1183), but a few months later Salāḍīn handed over the town to his brother al-'Adīl [q. v.]. Three years later al-

Zāhir was definitely given Ḥalab and several other towns so that his rule extended northwards to the frontier of Armenia, eastwards as far as the Euphrates (at Manbij) and southwards to near Ḥamāt. He therefore had the task of defending the northern frontiers against any incursions of Byzantines, Armenians and Crusaders; he strengthened the fortifications (cf. li. p. 233) and Ḥalab remained a bulwark of Islam and one of the most prosperous places in the Ayyubid kingdom. In the wars with the Crusaders he loyally assisted his father and later his brother al-Aḥḍal [q.v.] and his uncle al-ʿAdil [q.v.]. In Djumādī II 584 (Aug. 1188) he took the fortress of Sarmin from the Christians, liberated many hundreds of prisoners and had all the inhabitants who could not pay their ransom massacred and the defences razed to the ground. In the fighting that followed for Akkā and Jaffa al-Zāhir played an energetic part and displayed great bravery. After the death of Saladin on the 27th Šafar 589 (March 4, 1193) he hesitated in loyalty between al-Aḥḍal, who had inherited Damascus and Syria, and al-ʿAdil who had received the two fortresses of al-Kerak [q.v.] and al-Shawbak [q.v.] with other places in Mesopotamia and who played the part of mediator in the war between his nephews. After al-Aḥḍal in 592 (1195–1196) had to give up Damascus and Saladin's third son, al-ʿAzīz who had inherited Egypt, had died in Muḥarram 595 (Nov. 1198), there was nothing left for al-Zāhir but to recognise al-ʿAdil's suzerainty along with the other members of the family; nevertheless he supported but without success al-Aḥḍal's attempt to reconquer Damascus. At the end of 597 (1201) the two brothers besieged this town which might have fallen into their hands if they had not quarrelled and al-Aḥḍal dismissed the troops under his command, and when al-ʿAdil threatened Ḥalab in the following year, al-Zāhir was forced to submit once more and surrender some of his possessions. In Šubān 599 (April/May 1203) by threats he forced al-Aḥḍal to surrender Kaḥat Naḍīm to him without compensation. Al-Zāhir died on the 7th Djumādī II 613 (Sept. 3, 1215) after arranging that his three year old son al-Malik al-ʿAzīz Maḥammad, with whom his wife Dāʿifa, the daughter of al-ʿAdil, had presented him, should succeed him to the exclusion of an older son. His atābeg Shihāb al-Dīn Toghril took over the government as guardian of the young prince. Another daughter of al-ʿAdil's, al-Ḡāziya, whom al-Zāhir had married in 582 (1186–1187), had predeceased him without leaving male heirs. Ibn al-Aṯīr praises al-Zāhir for his benevolence to poets and for his eminent political gifts, but at the same time says he was hard hearted and little scrupulous in his choice of means.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Aṯīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, xl. 330 sq., 366; xii. 7, 34, 63 sq., 71, 77, 79, 94 sq., 98 sq., 102, 105–107, 110 sq., 117, 119, 131, 158 sq., 181, 189, 204 sq., 227; Kamāl al-Dīn, *Histoire d'Alep*, transl. Blochet, *passim*; Weil, *Geschichte der Chälfen*, iii. 402, 406, 433–435; Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem*, see Index; cf. also the article ḤALAB. (K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

AL-ZĀHIR [See the articles BAHRAS I, BARKŪṢ, FAYMUS, *Supra*, ii. 90.]

ZĀHIR AL-DĪN (Saiyid) **AL-MAR'ASHI**, son of the Saiyid Naṣir al-Dīn, descendant of a family of

Saiyids, Persian statesman and historian, born in 815 (1412), was at the court of Muḥammad, Sultān of Gilān, for whose son Kārgā Mīrzā 'Alī he composed the Chronicle of Tabaristān from the earliest times to 881 (1476). The sovereign employed him on various missions, sent him to the help of Malik Iskandar, son of Malik Kayumārth of Rustamdār, who was fighting his brother Malik Kā'ūs and entrusted him with other military expeditions; among these he led an army against the fortress of Nūr which he besieged unsuccessfully in 868 (1463).

Bibliography: J. von Hammer, in *Fundgruben der Orient*, Vienna 1813, iii. 317; B. Dorn, *Schir-eddin's Geschichte von Tabaristān, Kujan und Masanderan*, St. Petersburg 1850, p. 13–17. (CL. HUART)

ZĀHIR-I FĀRYĀBĪ, **ABD L-FAQL** [ZĀHIR E. MUHAMMAD], a Persian poet of the xiith century, born at Fāryāb near Balkh in 551 (1156), a pupil of Rāshidi of Samarqand, entered the service of Ardāshīr b. Ḥasan, *ipādshāh* of Māzandarān (d. 607 = 1210), then went to the court of Togḡhān, prince of Nishāpūr (d. 582 = 1186); after being imprisoned for six years, he left Khūsmān for 'Irāk 'Adjami where he wrote panegyrics on the Atābeg Kīlī-Arslān b. Ildigiz about 583 (1187). Towards the end of his life, he retired from the world and led a life of devotion in Tabriz where he died at the end of 598 (1201) and was buried in the cemetery of Surkh-Āb; he was a Sunnī. His *Divān* includes *ḡazals*, some *ghazels* and a few fragments, in all 115 pieces and 97 quatrains. His style resembles that of the court poets; it is polished and graceful but somewhat insipid. On him was made the verse which has become a proverb: "If you find Zāhir's *Divān*, steal it, even in the Ka'ba".

Bibliography: 'Awfi, *Luṭb al-Aḥbāb*, ed. Browne, London 1903, ii. 298–307; Dawlat-Shāh, *Tugh̃hira*, ed. Browne, p. 109–114; Lutfi-'Alī-Beg, *Atir-i-Ard*, Bombay 1277, not paginated, chapter on Tūrān; Rīdā-Kulī-Khān, *Maḡma al-Fuṣṣāḥ*, i. 330; Hammer, *Gesch. d. schen. Riddikunst Persiens*, p. 130; E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, ii. 412–425. (CL. HUART)

ZĀHIR AL-ʿOMAR. In Syria, he is called Zāhir (local pronunciation of Zāhir) al-(al-)ʿOmar, from the name of his father 'Omar, *shāikh* of the Banū Zaidān, nomads who had settled in the district of Šafad [q.v.]. In 1750, Zāhir lord of Tiberias and the upper Jordan, came to an arrangement with the Metwallis of Galilee to drive out the Turkish officials by degrees; after which he seized the ruined port of Akkā which was to serve him as an outlet for the export of cotton and silk. He repopulated the town and hurriedly rebuilt the strong walls made by the Crusaders, which were not completely demolished at their departure. Zāhir did not wish to break with the Porte, to whom he continued to pay the taxes (*mīrī*) without their going through the hands of Turkish agents. He bore no resemblance to the typical marauding Beduin. Wishing his authority to endure, he endeavoured to base it on the prosperity of the country. He protected the peasants and encouraged their production. Tremendously active, spending his life on horseback, he was never daunted by reverses.

His establishment in Akkā earned him the hostility of the *Wāḥid* at Stambul. To help him

to face the storm, Zāhir entered into relations with 'Alī Bey [q.v.] who had just revived in Egypt the government of the boys or Mamlūks. Abū Dhahab, 'Alī Bey's lieutenant, hurried to Syria, took Damascus and then rebelled against 'Alī Bey whom he forced to seek refuge with Zāhir, his recent ally. The latter quite undaunted began by routing the troops of 'Othmān Paşa, Turkish governor of Damascus; after which he took Ṣaidā. The Porte raised a large army; Zāhir could rely on the help of the Mewālīs, of a few hundreds of Mamlūks who had accompanied 'Alī Bey, and finally on the Russian squadron under Admiral Orlov which had been cruising in the eastern Mediterranean since 1770. The encounter took place along the coast, near Ṣaidā. The fire of the Russian ships decided the day (May 1772). The Russians then went on to bombard Bairūt which they plundered. Taking advantage of this great success, Zāhir hastened to extend his authority over the Palestinian provinces. From Ṣaidā to Ramla all the country acknowledged his authority. The tide now began to turn against him. 'Alī Bey foolishly allowed himself to be drawn back to Egypt, where he was defeated and put to death. 'Alī Bey being disposed of, Abū Dhahab reappeared in Palestine. After taking the places on the coast which belonged to Zāhir, he was advancing on 'Akkā when death overtook him (June 1775). The Turkish fleet however after taking Ṣaidā, blockaded 'Akkā, where Zāhir had shut himself up. The bombardment had no effect on the old walls built by the Crusaders but Turkish gold had more success. During a mutiny in the garrison a shot killed instantaneously the old Beduin chief (Aug. 1775) who had for over a quarter of a century defied the authority of the Porte. His name remained popular in Syria. The Christians whom he had protected were not the last to regret him.

Bibliography: Diarbarī, *Tārīkh*, Cairo 1880, I, 371 *app.*, 413 *app.*; Tannūs Shidyāk, *Aḥkām al-'Aḥyān fī Dīyar Lubnān*, Bairūt 1859, p. 360—361, 388—391; Volney, *Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte*, Paris 1807, II, 5 *app.*; Abbé Mariti, *Voyages dans l'île de Chypre, la Syrie et la Palestine*, Paris 1791, II, 85 *app.*; Ed. Lockroy, *Ahmed le Boucher, la Syrie et l'Egypte au 18^{me} siècle*, Paris 1885 (interesting for its local colour; otherwise valueless). References to manuscript authorities are given in H. Lammens, *La Syrie, précis historique*, Bairūt 1921, II, 103—112. (H. LAMMENS)

AL-ZĀHIRIYA, a school of law, which would derive the law only from the literal text (*ẓāhir*) of the *Kur'ān* and *Sunna*. In the "branches" of law (*furū' al-fiqh*) it still further increased the number of contradictory detailed regulations by many divergencies, peculiar to it alone. More important is its significance for the principles of legislation (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), the development and elucidation of which it considerably furthered by its uncompromising fight against *ra'y*, *fiyān*, *istiḥkāk*, *istiḥsān* and *taqlīd* [q.v.]. In the 12th the Zāhiri *madhhab*, also called *Dā'udī* after its founder [see DĀ'UD b. KHALAF], became organised as a regular school the influence of which spread to Persia and Khurāsān while in Spain the Ḥazm remained practically isolated. Only in the reign of the Almohad Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr (580—594 = 1184—1199), was the Zāhiri school recognised as

the state code. But there had always been Zāhirs in outlook, although not organised as a school or called one, and there continued to be such, after the school itself, in spite of all the concessions it was forced to make to the principles of its rivals, had failed in the solution of problems, which had not cropped up in the circle of the Prophet or the earlier transmitters of the *Sunna*. As late as 788 (1386) a Zāhiri outbreak is recorded in Syria, where the *madhhab* itself never was and in Egypt we still find Māyrist writing in the Zāhiri spirit. The Zāhiriya attitude could be maintained, especially in theory, by people who were not in contact with the little matters of everyday life and disliking the canastery and quarrels of the schools did not adhere to a particular school. It is therefore not remarkable that it is a mystic, Shā'rānī [q.v., No. 1], who has preserved many decisions of the historical Zāhiriya. It is true that commentators on the *Kur'ān*, notably Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, and on the collections of traditions frequently note the particular Zāhiri exegesis, but on the other hand, the later jurists no longer take their former rivals seriously and are silent about them, at least in the special literature of the *ḥaḥīṭ* *al-fiqh* that has survived. Shā'rānī however puts Dā'ud in the radiant rosette in his *Miṣbāḥ* (see *Bibl.*), p. 44, between Ibn Hanbal and Sufyān b. Uyayna and on the parallel roads to the gate of Paradise (p. 47) between Ibn Hanbal and Abū Laith b. Sa'd. As no manuscripts of a Zāhiri law-book are available we give as specimens of the distinctive features mentioned by Shā'rānī from Book I those relating to ritual purity.

Details. P. 98, 22: Gold and silver vessels are forbidden for eating and drinking. According to Nawawī, commenting on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim (Cairo 1284), IV, 416 and Abū 'l-Fidā', *Annales* (ed. Relake, II, 262), the Zāhirs on the authority of the *ḥadīth* in question, which only mentions drinking, permitted eating from such vessels. — P. 98, 23: The use of the toothstick is necessary; according to Ishāq b. Rāhwaihi, Dā'ud's teacher, deliberate neglect of this actually renders the prayer invalid. — P. 99, 12 *app.* and II, 163, 15: Wine is not impure although forbidden. — P. 103, 27 and 107, 22: A person in a state of minor ritual impurity (*ḥadath*, q.v.) may take up and carry a copy of the *Kur'ān*. — P. 105, 32: Any contact of a man with a strange female, even a baby girl an hour old, produces *ḥadath* and the minor ablution (*wuḍū'*) is necessary. — P. 107, 28: There is no regulation that in relieving nature we should turn the face or the back in the direction of the *ḥibla*; it is therefore permitted. — P. 108, 27 and 113, 20: 1. *Wuḍū'* is according to 'Ubad Allāh al-Nakha'ī, a Zāhiri *ḥaḥī* in Khurāsān (d. 376 = 986), only valid for 5 prayers (a certain 'Ubad b. 'Umar laid it down that it was only valid for one). — P. 109, 24: The mentioning of the name of God at the *wuḍū'* is not only recommended but necessary. — P. 109, 33: According to some Zāhirs, this also applies to the washing of the hands whenever purification is necessary. — P. 110, 25: The *wuḍū'* does not extend to the elbows (Zufar b. Hudhail, d. 158 [774], who was in close contact with Abū Hanīfa, however also held this). — P. 113, 20: The major ritual ablution (*ghusl*, q.v.) is only necessary after actual effluxus seminis. — P. 114, 21: If a woman is in a state of major ritual impurity (*ghayṣa*, q.v.) and then enters

the *ḥud* [q. v.] she must perform two *ḥud*. — P. 114, 20 and 122, 22: In spite of *ḥud* any one, even a woman during *ḥud*, may recite the *Kur'ān* as he pleases. — P. 115, 11: Rubbing with sand (*ḥammam*, q. v.) actually removes a *ḥud*. — P. 120, 23: The wiping of only the foot-gear is valid even if it is much torn. — P. 122, 2: A similar partial *ḥud* suffices for the woman to fulfil the demands of *Kur'ān* ii. 222 so that intercourse is permitted even during the *ḥud* (so also *Awāṣī*).

As these examples show, the *Zāhiri madhhab* cannot be briefly summed up as "light or heavy". *Shar'ni* has sometimes to describe it as the mildest and sometimes as the strictest of all. The field in which many of the jurists found their main object, to make alleviations, was one it could not enter upon and for example it insisted upon the literal text of the passages in the *Kur'ān* and Tradition against unbelievers to a degree of complete intolerance. It does not work systematically, for it forbade inquiry into the reason for a regulation and did not allow it to be extended to an analogous case or from the individual to the class. It absolutely refused to weaken the words of the religious sources by parallels from passages in pagan poets, and aimed at creating the true *ḥikm al-ḥadīth* out of the religious texts with the assistance of a special Muslim philology and lexicography. That of *Malik* seemed to it to be *ra'y* equally with that of *Abū Ḥanifa*; *Shāfi'i*, from whom it had itself started, had only disciplined, not abolished *ra'y*. *Ijmā'* [q. v.] could only be defined as the consensus of the early Companions. It made no distinction in degrees of prohibition or commandment; the imperative, in other systems not infrequently interpreted as mere permission and recommendation or simple disapproval, meant for it the absolutely obligatory or completely forbidden. It naturally used a great mass of Tradition and it has been charged with not examining carefully what it took over; on the other hand, it was itself forced to criticism of tradition against many *ḥadīths* favourable to *ra'y* which were finding recognition or against that of difference of opinion as a grace, but the school saw in this rather the disruptive influence of subjective methods against which it regarded itself as the champion of the lost unity of primitive Islam. In spite of Ibn Ḥazm, the *Zāhiriya* never attained theological unity. In general it maintained an attitude of cautious neutrality and aloofness in theological disputes and in keeping with its respect for the literal sacred text accepted the utterances about God without going into any exegesis.

Bibliography: *Shar'ni*, *al-Muḥḥab*, Cairo 1317, *ḥurim*; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, i. 216—219; *Sam'ani*, *Kitāb al-Ansāb* (in *G. M. S.*, xx.), s. v. *Dā'ūd*, fol. 220^r, s. 10, ult.—220^v, s. further s. v. *Zāhiri*, fol. 376^r, s. 30; Ibn al-*Albīr*, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, xii. 95 sq.; I. Goldziher, *Die Zāhiriya. Ihr Lehrsystem und ihre Geschichte*, Leipzig 1884. — Cf. also the art. *IX'ŪD b. KHALAF* and *IBN ḤAZM*.

(R. STROTHMANN)

Zaid b. 'Alī Zaid b. 'Alī b. 'Abīdīn [q. v.] gave his name to the *Zaidiya* [q. v.] who revere him as a political and religious martyr; he was the first 'Alid after the catastrophe which overwhelmed his grandfather al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī

[q. v.] at Kerbela to endeavour to deprive the Umayyads of the caliphate by armed rebellion when he placed himself at the disposal of the Kūfans as Imām. Except for an interval of two months when he was secretly seeking adherents in Basra, he spent a year in preparation in Kūfa, hidden in constantly changing hiding-places. But when he was ready to begin, the governor Yūsuf b. 'Omar al-Thakafī, although at the time away in Hira, proved so well prepared that only a few hundred men joined Zaid, although many thousands had taken the oath of loyalty to him. After several days' street fighting he was mortally wounded; the place of concealment of his body buried under water was betrayed and the body exhibited in Kūfa, the head in Damascus, Mecca and Medina. Tabari has preserved from *Abū Mikhnaf* very vivid and full accounts from the few survivors of the details of the fighting. The date, beginning of 122 (740), is however not quite certain, apparently because Zaid had to begin his revolt a few days before the date arranged in view of the excellence of the official secret service; when 121 or even 120 is given, this presumably neglects the long period of preparation. The Umayyad police force, by no means large, owed its success to the remarkable irresolution of the Kūfan conspirators. They had gathered together in the great mosque, allowed themselves to be shut in and did not support Zaid's efforts, which several times promised to be successful, to release them. They were not homogeneous but simply a mass of discontented opponents of the government, including even *Khārijīs*, while further all those who simply wanted an 'Alid to be caliph did not come to the support of Zaid, although the story that many deserters appealed to his brother Muḥammad al-Bakir as the true imām is probably coloured by ante-dating later troubles within the *Shī'a*. Moreover Zaid himself was not the real leader of the movement; he did not come to Kūfa of his own accord. He was in al-Rasāfa with the caliph Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik [q. v.] to whom he had turned in his poverty, when the governor had summoned him to Kūfa about a debt case. Zaid himself had misgivings about his prospects; after the first four months he wanted to withdraw completely from the enterprise and had reached al-Bāḍiya on his way back to his native city of Medina, when he was persuaded to return by some *Shī'a* who had hurried after him.

A number of writings and fragments have survived which go under Zaid's name; these include elucidations of passages of the *Kur'ān*, and of problems of the imām and the pilgrimage and especially a complete compendium of *fiqh*; but in its present form, they contain too many theological, ritual, legal and political contradictions within themselves and to such principles of the later *Zaidi* literature as are given the authority of Zaid. There is however some evidence that he had a certain amount of learning; while we need lay no special stress on his honorary title, *ḥafīẓ al-Kur'ān*, or on the *Zaidi* tradition that *Abū Ḥanifa* studied under him and supported the rising by a few and money, yet it is evidence of legal experience that he conducted as a skilled advocate for the *Husainids* long suits against the *Hasanids* about the family endowments.

Zaid was much celebrated in song, even as early as by al-Saiyid al-Himyari [q. v.] and in old *maṣṭal* books (martyrologies); legend ends—

vowed to stone for the shameful treatment of his corpse by stories of miracles; in general however, the descriptions, in keeping with the Zaidi attitude, are relatively moderate in tone. At his death he was still in the forties; like all the 'Alids he inclined to corpulence. His mother was a slave-girl. He himself married Raha, a grand-daughter of Muhammad b. al-Hanafiya (q.v.); she bore him Yahyā, who fought in the rising and was able to escape to Khurāsān, where Zaid's supporters had been working, but in 125 or 126 (743 or 744) he met the same end as his father. The leader of the Zaidi [q.v.] professed to be the great-grandson of this Yahyā. As a matter of fact the line of Yahyā was by then extinct, and the descendants of Zaid at this time were those of Yahyā's half-brothers, whose mother was a slave-girl. To secure a following, Zaid married in Kūfa a woman of the Banū Fāriq and another of the Aqd; the latter bore him a daughter who however died before him.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, v. 239 sq.; Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, ed. Houtsma, ii. 390 sq.; Tabari, *Annales*, ii. 1667—1688, 1698—1716; al-Nāṭiq Abū Ṭālib Yahyā b. Husayn b. Hārūn al-Buḥārī, *al-Isṭiṣāṭ fi Tārīkh al-'Aṣma al-Sāda*, MS. Berlin, No. 9665, fol. 13^v sq.; Berlin No. 9666, p. 39 sq.; Leyden No. 1974, fol. 10^v sq.; Hamid b. Aḥmad al-Mahallī, *al-Hudūd al-wādīya fi Maḥallāt al-'Aṣma al-Zaidiya*, MS. Munich No. 86, fol. 75^v sq.; Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. al-Husayn b. al-Mahallī, *Umdat al-Ṭālib fi Aḥwāl Abī Ṭālib*, Bombay 1318, esp. p. 230 on the date of his death; Abū 'l-Faraj al-Isṭiṣāṭī, *Mafāḥil al-Talibiyyin*, Tehran 1307, p. 50—61; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, ed. B. Meynard, v. 467—473; Ibn al-Aṭhār, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Torberg, v. 171—177, 181—186; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, in *Abh. G. W. Gott.*, N.S., vol. 4, No. 2, 1901, p. 95 sq.; C. van Arendonk, *De opkomst van het Zaiditische Imamāt in Yemen*, Leyden 1919, p. 25 sq.; 281 sq.; E. Griffini, *Corpus Juris di Zaid ibn 'Alī*, Milan 1919; R. Strothmann, *Das Problem der literarischen Persönlichkeit Zaid b. 'Alī*, in *Isl.*, xiii. (1923), 1—52. (R. STROTHMANN)

Zaid b. 'AMR a. NUFAL, a Makkan and Qurashi, one of the religious seekers known as the *ḥanīf*, died before Muhammad's mission, when the Prophet was about 35. He had abandoned the pagan religion without embracing either Christianity or Judaism, objected to female infanticide, refused to eat the flesh of animals sacrificed to idols or slaughtered without invoking God's name, and considered himself the only true believer in Makka and a follower of Abraham's religion. A cousin of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, he was married to Saṭiya bint al-Hadrami and to Fātima bint Ba'diya, and had a son, Sa'd b. Zaid, who told traditions about him.

Persecuted by his family on religious grounds, he travelled in search of the true faith as far as Mawṣil, and visited Syria; in Maifa'a, in al-Balka, a learned monk (a double of Bahīrā?) predicted to him the rise of a true prophet in Makka. Zaid hurried back, but was assaulted and killed while crossing the region inhabited by the Lakhm tribe. According to another tradition, Zaid had himself predicted Muhammad's mission and career. Ibn Ishāq quotes poetry attributed to him, but its authenticity is doubtful.

Though dead before Islām, Zaid was considered by *ḥadīth* a true believer; Muhammad, declaring him to be in heaven, allowed prayers to be said for him.

Bibliography: Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, Introd., § 104, 180, 182, No. 2, 186, 187; Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, *ib.* 105; Ibn Ishāq, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 143—146, 149.

(V. VACCA)

Zaid b. Hāritha a. Shahrīl al-Kalbi, Abū 'Udayna, was brought as a slave to Makka by Hakeem b. Hizām b. Khuwailid, a nephew of Khadija's, who had bought him in Syria and sold him to her. Khadija made a gift of Zaid to Muhammad before his mission. His father Hāritha came to Makka to obtain his freedom, but Zaid refused to leave Muhammad, who thereupon freed him and adopted him. He was thenceforward known as Zaid b. Muhammad, and was often associated in his adopted father's commercial enterprises.

About ten years younger than Muhammad, Zaid was one of the very first converts to Islām, perhaps the first. He came from a tribe settled near Dumat al-Jandal, where converts to Christianity were plentiful and Jewish influences felt; his influence on the Prophet's religious development may have been considerable.

In Medina Zaid was joined in brotherhood to Hamza b. 'Abd al-Muttalib. In 1 A.H. he went to Makka to accompany Sawda bint Zam'a and Muhammad's daughters to Medina. A brave warrior, Zaid fought at Badr, Uhud, al-Khandaq, was at al-Hudaybiya, commanded several expeditions (al-Karada in 2 A.H., al-Djauṣ and al-'Is in 6, etc.) and was often left in command at Medina when Muhammad was on some military expedition. For his marriage to, and divorce from, Zainab bint Jhāsh see ZAINAB. Following this divorce, the verse in the Qur'an abolishing adoption (xxxiii. 40) was revealed. After Zainab, Zaid married Umm Kulthūm bint 'Uṭba, who bore him Zaid and Ruḳaiya, and Durra bint Abī Lahab, both of whom he divorced; Hind bint al-'Awraḥ and Muhammad's freedwomen, the negroid Umm Aḥuan, who bore him 'Uṭayna.

Zaid died in 8 A.H., aged about 55, as commander and standard-bearer of the unfortunate expedition of Mu'ta. Muhammad mourned him and planned to avenge him [see USAMA b. Zaid]. His place in *ḥadīth* is important, both on account of Muhammad's affection for him, which induces orthodox tradition to set him up as the Prophet's favourite, against 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and by reason of his name being mentioned in the Qur'an.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, *ib.* 26—31; Ibn Ishāq, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 160—161, 801—802; Ibn al-Aṭhār, *Ud al-Ghāba*, ii. 224—227; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, Introd., § 175, 223, 226, 227; 1 A.H., § 15, No. 50, § 50, § 51, 5 A.H., § 201; 8 A.H., § 7—15; Lammens, *Fatima et les filles de Mahomet, passim*.

(V. VACCA)

Zaid b. Thābit a. al-Daḥḥāk b. Zaid b. Lawdhīn a. 'Amr b. 'Abd Manāf (or 'Awf) a. Ghannam b. Mālik b. al-Naḥdīj al-Anṣārī al-Khazraji, one of the Companions of Muhammad, best known through his part in the editing of the Qur'an. His father was killed in the battle of Bu'ath (q.v.), five years before the *hidra*, when Zaid was six years old. His

mother was al-Nawār, daughter of Mālik b. Nu'ayziy b. 'Adī, also of a Madīndjadī family.

It is said that the boy knew already a number of Sūras when Muḥammad settled in al-Madīna. At any rate he became his secretary, who recorded part of the revelations and settled the correspondence with the Jews, whose language or script he is said to have learned in 17 days or less. His quickness of understanding, his sagacity and his knowledge are praised by his contemporaries; he was called "the rabbi of the community".

After the death of Muḥammad, Zaid acted in several capacities of greater or lesser importance. He was entrusted with the government of al-Madīna by 'Umar and by 'Uthmān, when they went to Syria. He regulated the division of the booty after the battle of the Yarmūk [q. v.]. He made the lists of those who were inscribed in the *diwān*, when 'Umar founded this institution. He was *ḥāfi* in al-Madīna and finance minister to 'Uthmān. After the latter's death he kept aloof from 'Alī, although he showed him due honour. It is said, however (Tabari, I. 3070, 3072), that he refused to do homage to him.

Best known is the part he took in the editing of the Qur'ān [cf. *Qur'ān*, §§ 7, 8]. — He was a specialist on the subject of hereditary law.

Zaid died in 45 (665–666); the years 42, 43, 51, 52, 55, and 56 are also mentioned. The *ḥāfi* over his corpse was held by Marwān b. al-Hakam.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 560; Va'kili, ed. Houtsma, index; Tabari, ed. de Goeje, I. 2937, 3058, 3070, 3072; II. 836; see also indices; Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, II. 115–117; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Aṭimā*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 259 sq.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣṣalāḥ wa'l-Ikhlāḥ*, II. 221–223; Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalāmi, *Iṣṣāḥ*, No. 2865; do., *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, Haidarabad 1325, III. 399 sq.; Noldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qur'ān*, II. 54; Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Muḥammad*, III. p. xxxix. sqq.; L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, index to vols. I.–II. and III.–V.; do., *Chron. Islamica*, p. 505; Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Mus. Tradition*, s. v.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

ZAIDĀN (in modern pronunciation ZIDĀN), *Djirān*, an Arab scholar, journalist and man of letters, born in Bairūt on Dec. 14, 1861, died in Cairo on Aug. 21, 1914. Born in a poor Christian family, he had no regular education and in almost all branches of learning he was self-taught. He spent some time at the Protestant College and received the diploma in pharmacy. Soon afterwards he went to Egypt where for about a year he was on the staff of the newspaper *al-Zamīn*. In 1884 he served as a dragoon on the expedition to the Sūdān to the relief of Gordon, and then returned to Bairūt. After a brief stay in London (1886), he finally settled in Cairo where for some years he taught and was on the staff of the *Muḥarrir* newspaper. Except for his two journeys to Europe (1886, 1912), his literary activity was in Egypt; for political reasons it was only after the revolution that he was able to visit Turkey (Istanbul 1908, Palestine 1913).

His first work was of a linguistic nature: "Philosophy of Language and the Arabic Language" (1886, 2nd ed. 1904). Rather naive on some points,

it represents the first meritorious effort to apply the principles of comparative philology to the Arabic language. He returned again to the same subject in his book "The History of the Arabic Language" (1904). He then turned to historical works and textbooks: "History of Modern Egypt" (2 vols., 1889), "History of Free-masonry" (1889), "General History" (first vol.), "History of Greece and Rome", "History of England", "Geography of Egypt", "Genealogy among the ancient Arabs". They had no great success. — In 1891 appeared his first historical novel "The last Mamlūk" (German transl. by Martin Thilo, Barmen 1917), and in 1892 he began the publication of his literary periodical *al-Hilāl*. From this date till his premature death his life was closely bound up with this work. He displayed tremendous activity. Not only were the majority of the articles written by himself (the most important of them were republished by his sons in three vols. *Muḥarrir*, 1919–1921; he himself collected and published the articles of a biographical nature in 2 vols. 1902–1923; 2nd ed. 1910; 3rd 1923); every year he wrote a new novel and a volume of a popular educational nature. *al-Hilāl* gradually became the most widely circulated Arabic periodical and Zaidān's name as a novelist and historian became known not only in Arabic speaking countries but throughout the Muslim east.

The majority (17) of his novels (22 in number) deal with the earlier history of Islām from the Arab conquest to the dynasty of the Mamlūks (xiiith cent). The scene of three others is laid in the xviiith–xixth centuries, one in the nineties in Egypt and in the period of the Turkish revolution. Several went through several (up to four) editions; almost all were translated into Persian, Turkish, Hindustani and Aḡharbāidjānī, some into other Oriental and European languages (besides Thilo's translation cf. for example "La sœur du Khalife" with Claude Farrère's introduction, Paris 1912, and "Allah veuille", Paris 1924). The main value of these works lies in their popularising of history. Written in easy and fluent language, they afford pleasant and interesting reading. To European literary taste they do not appeal greatly. Their style of composition is somewhat old fashioned and sentimental.

Of his numerous historical works by far the most important is his "History of Muslim Civilization" (5 vols. 1902–1906). It is based on the well known European works by Sedillot, Kremer, Goldziher and others with many additions from Arabic sources and supplemented by the author's knowledge of the modern life of the east. For Muslim lands it was an achievement of the first rank and it was natural for the book to be translated into other languages (Persian, Turkish, Hindustani) (cf. Bonvat in *J. A.*, ser. x., vol. xix., 1912, p. 401–402). Even a European scholar can frequently find details which are not given elsewhere (cf. de Goeje, in *J. A.*, ser. x., vol. iii., 1904, p. 356–359). The fourth volume was translated into English by D. S. Margoliouth (*G. M. S.*, iv., Leyden 1907). A supplement to this work is his unfinished "History of the Arabs before Islām" (1908) which has all the merits and demerits of the larger work.

No less important for the east was his last great work "History of Arabic Literature" (4 vols. 1911–1914, with index 1922; abbreviated edition

in one vol. 1924). This was the first work in Arabic, designed on European principles. Basing his work on those of Brockelmann, Hart etc., Zaidān also used Egyptian collections of MSS. and here and there produced new materials for European scholarship. His use of the European sources is not always above criticism as was shown by the reviews by Shaikhū (*al-Maṭṭih*, xiv, 1911, p. 582—595; xv, 1912, p. 597—610; xvi, 1913, p. 792—794) and P. Anastase (*Lughat al-Arab*, i, 1912, p. 392—397; ii, 1912, p. 52—62, 139—146, 205—209; iv, 1914, p. 82—90; cf. also M. H. Halkal, *Fi Arḥāt al-Furāḥ*, Cairo 1925, p. 221—247). The fourth volume is the most important for European scholarship; it gives a good survey of Arabic literature in the sixteenth century and with the corresponding works of Shaikhū and Tarrāṣī is our only source for the study of this period.

Of his other works the following may be mentioned: "Science of Physiognomy", "Categories of Nations", "Wonders of Nature" and the description of his journey to Europe (in *al-Hilāl*, reprinted separately 1923). His "Memoirs" which he left, and which to judge from the extracts published are very interesting, are shortly to be published by his sons, who are continuing the publication of *al-Hilāl*.

Zaidān was not an original investigator yet he was of epoch-making significance for Arabic-speaking countries, acquainted with European methods. He made accessible many and varied subjects and showed that every Arab must take an interest not only in the advance of European technique and exact sciences but also in his history and literature. He was no revolutionary in the intellectual field, but of a very fine and noble character. The sharp criticism, which his works frequently met, was for the most part superficial (cf. e.g. Amm al-Madani, *Nahḍ al-Hadḥayā min Ta'rikh al-Jirḍi Zaidān*, Bombay 1307, or Yūsuf Ṭabāḥī, *al-Burḥān fī 'alīyāt al-ḥadḥayāt al-ḥadḥayāt*, Cairo 1900, and particularly Shibli al-Nu'mānī, *Intiḥād Kitāb Ta'rikh al-Tamaddun al-Islāmī*, Cairo 1330). Conservative Muslims could not forgive the fact that he, a Christian, wrote on specifically Muslim subjects, as was amply shown by the attacks on his being offered a professorship in the Université Égyptienne. The purists (like Ibrāhīm al-Yazīdī) criticised his language and style in the most fault-finding spirit. The first quarter of the 20th century has shown how great a part Zaidān played; his name will never be forgotten in the history of modern Arabic literature and society.

Bibliography: European accounts of Zaidān are not complete (e.g. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii, 483); the most important are those of Hartmann, *The Arabic Press of Egypt*, London 1899, p. 35—36, 72 and so on; *Die arabische Frage*, Leipzig 1909, p. 386—388; Margolin, in *J. R. A. S.*, xxxvi, (1904), 382—386; Desormaux, in *R. M. M.*, iv, (1908), 838—845; H. A. R. Gibb, *Studies in contemporary Arabic literature*, in *B.S.O.S.*, iv, 759—760; G. Kampffmeyer, *Index sur nouveaux arabiques Littérature*, in *M.S.O.S.*, xxi, sect. 2, 1928, p. 205. Cf. also L. Shaikhū, *Ta'rikh al-Adab al-Arabiya fī 'alīyāt al-ḥadḥayāt min al-Karn al-ḥadḥayāt*, Beirut 1926, p. 71; J. Saraka, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de bibliographie arabe*, Cairo 1929, p. 985—987. A

general characterisation and biography based on personal relations with special reference to his novels is given by Ign. Kratckowsky in the article *Der historische Roman in der modernen arabischen Literatur*, Leipzig 1930 (= *W. J.*, vol. 12, p. 69—79); the Arabic biography with portrait in Ilyās Zakhūrā, *Mirāt al-Ay ft Ta'rikh wa-Rawāq al-Hijāl bi-Maṣr*, Cairo 1897, p. 457—464 and in the appendix to the fourth posthumous volume of his *History of Arabic Literature* (Cairo 1914, p. 325—326; a list of his works is also given there). The biography has been reprinted in an extended form (with five portraits) as an introduction to the first volume of his *Muḥḥararāt* (Cairo 1919, p. 7—16); cf. also *al-Hilāl ft 'arḥāt al-Sana* (Cairo 1922, p. 9—40). His personality is undoubtedly worthy of a systematic monograph.

(IGN. KRATCKOWSKY)

AL-ZAIÐIYA, the practical group of the Shī'a, distinguished from the Ithnā 'Ashariya [q. v.] and the Sab'iya [q. v.] by the recognition of Zaid b. 'Alī. After the latter's death they took part in several 'Alid risings but were not a united body. Writers on heresy distinguish eight schools among them: from Abu 'l-Djārid, who combined warlike activity with apotheosis of the imāms and belief in a Mahdī, to Sulama b. Kuḥail whose Zaidism was watered down to a simple Shī'a point of view. It was the same as regards theology. The Zaiḍiyya only became a united community when 'Alid claimants to the imamate themselves took over the spiritual leadership. As far as can be ascertained this was the work of two men: 1. al-Ḥasan b. Zaid [q. v.], founder about 250 (864) of a Zaiḍi state in the south of the Caspian Sea, and 2. al-Kāsim al-Rasāḍ, Ibn Ibrāhīm Ṭabṭabāḥ b. Ismā'īl al-Dibādī b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 246 = 860). While the works of al-Ḥasan b. Zaid are only known indirectly from quotations, we possess some by al-Kāsim, who was however quite unsuccessful in the political sphere, although his name has only recently become better known in connection with his polemics against the Christians (Di Matteo, in *R.S.O.*, ix, 1921—1923, p. 301—364) and against Ibn al-Muḥallaf (M. Guidi, *La lotta tra l'Islām e il manicheismo*, Rome 1927). The school founded by al-Kāsim and developed by his successors, now the only surviving school, is Mu'tazilī in theology, in ethics anti-Murji'ite with a puritanical trait in its rejection of mysticism; indeed orders are forbidden in the modern Zaiḍi state. In worship it has certain "sectarian" features in common with the other Shī'a: the call to prayer "come to the best of works"; the fivefold *ṭaḥr* in the funeral service; rejection of the *maṣ'ala 'l-ḥuḥūfain* (wiping the covered foot as a substitute for washing), of the impious leader at prayer and of the eating of the meat, killed by a non-Muslim. In family law they prohibit mixed marriages, on the other hand they do not allow *mu'ra* [q. v.]. As their opponents were almost entirely Muslims they observed in theory at least the regulations for dealing with *bagāt*, those who refused obedience to the imām; but as there was in addition the distinction Mu'tazilī and Sunnī, the Zaiḍis often called themselves simply the believers in contrast to them, just as they called their wars *qīḥād* with the corresponding legal consequences. As a result of the scattered distribution of the original Zaiḍis, we find the most

diverse views on legal questions, which were not fundamental for the sect as such. These are registered by later writers without the accusation of heresy in their simple delight in *ihitlaf al-fihh*, and we find individual Zaidis appearing with individual Sunnis against other Zaidis and other Sunnis in changing combinations, so that the Zaidi *muḥḥab* in practice is a fifth alongside of the four. The Zaidi Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Abd Allāh b. Miṭṭāh gives a vivid picture of this in his *al-Muntazam al-muḥḥab min al-Ḥaḥith al-midrār* (vol. I, Cairo 1328). In the present day Zaidi state there must of course be greater uniformity; this is brought about by the use of *al-Aḥḥūr fī Fihh al-A'imma al-aḥḥūr* (Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, II, 187, 6, 7) of Ahmad b. Yahyā b. al-Murtadā (see below) and *al-Ruḥḥ al-muḥḥab* (see *Bibl.*) as official text-books.

The essential demands on the imāms are: a. Membership of the *Ahl al-Bait*, without any distinction between Ḥasanids and Ḥusainids, i.e. no succession by inheritance; b. ability to resort to the sword if necessary for offence or defence so that neither a child nor a concealed Mahdi can be considered; c. the necessary learning: how seriously this is taken, is shown by the vast mass of writings of imāms at all times. As there could therefore be no dynastic tradition, and individual success was in the end the deciding factor, we have no series of imāms without a break; we find rather the possibility of "an age without an imām" recognised with a sense of the realities, while we also have the opposite: "several imāms at one time", i.e. the frequent appearance of an anti-imām; if the latter can oust his predecessor, the former's deposal or abdication is recognised as legal; if there is a turn in the tide he may however come back. If the qualifications for the imāmate are not completely possessed, he cannot be recognised as full imām; we thus have imāms of war or of learning only. Leaders whose strength is only sufficient to keep alive the Zaidi claim are called *ḥāḥi*, *muḥḥab*, *muḥḥab*, etc. The uncertainty as to who is really to be considered an imām is seen in the list of those among 'Alid pretenders who have been chosen by the later Zaidiyya as a state to preserve a connection with the original Shī'a. In the first list preserved, that of the founder of the Zaidi kingdom in the Yaman, we have: 1. 'Alī; 2. al-Ḥasan and 3. al-Ḥusain; then 4. Zaid b. 'Alī and his son 5. Yahyā; then the three brothers 6. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh [q.v.], 7. Ibrāhīm [q.v.], also 9. Yahyā who appeared in Dailam after fighting alongside 8. al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan; lastly 10. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Ṭabāṭabā who rebelled with Abu 'l-Sarḥā and 11. his brother, the already mentioned al-Ḥusain al-Rasṣi. Later lists add as many as 10 more names; among them the most interesting for the theory of the imāmate is Idrīs [q.v.], another brother of 6, 7 and 9, who, although he fulfilled the qualifications for an imām, founded a kingdom in the Maghrib which remained Sunni.

The political ambitions of the Zaidiyya have been realised in two places: On the Caspian Sea about 20 imāms and *ḥāḥi* appeared from al-Ḥasan b. Zaid down to about 320 (1126) at irregular intervals and sometimes also in opposition to one another. The Zaidis there afterwards became merged in the little sect of Nukrawis. The founder of the Zaidi state in the Yaman was al-Ḥādī b. 'l-Ḥaḥḥ Yahyā b. al-Ḥusain, grandson of al-Ḥusain

al-Rasṣi. It has survived all the kingdoms of the Yaman although it has frequently been driven back into its starting point Sa'da, for example at the beginning of the fourth (tenth) century on the death of al-Nāḥir Ahmad, son and second successor of al-Ḥādī, and in the course of this century only minor efforts at expansion could be made by sons and grandsons of this Ahmad and also by collateral lines descended from al-Ḥusain but not through al-Ḥādī; among the latter were the 'Aiyān. One of these was the prolific writer the imām al-Mahdi al-Ḥusain b. al-Manṣūr al-Ḥusain whose death in 404 (1013) in view of the hopeless outlook produced a schism at which a group which expected the Mahdi at the end of a millenium broke off. About 447 (1055) al-Nāḥir Abu 'l-Faḥḥ b. al-Ḥusain fell in battle against the Sulāhidis [q.v.]; he was called al-Dailamī because his original sphere of activity had been among the Caspian Zaidis. He was a descendant of Zaid b. 'Alī; it is therefore inaccurate to describe the Yaman imāms as Rasṣids. It was not till 535 (1138) that a successor to him appeared (till 566 = 1170) in al-Mutawakkil Ahmad b. Sulaimān of the family of al-Ḥādī; in addition to his military campaigns which took him as far as Nadjrān, he conducted a literary campaign against the theological heresy of the Muḥāfiḥ. The disorder of the viii (xiii) century is seen in the fact that al-Mahdi Ahmad b. al-Ḥusain of the family of Abu 'l-Barakāt b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain al-Rasṣi was murdered in 656 (1258) by his own people after being imām for ten years. Al-Mahdi Ibrāhīm b. Ṭāḥī al-Dīn Ahmad had a rival imām in Yahyā b. Muḥammad of a quite unknown Ḥasanid family of al-Sarḥā and he himself ended in the prison of the Rasṣids [q.v.] al-Muḥaffar Yūsuf in Ta'izz while al-Mutawakkil al-Muḥaffar b. Yahyā, again of al-Ḥādī's line (d. 699 = 1299), is famous as al-Muḥaffar b. 'l-Ḥamama, because a cloud enabled him to escape from the pursuing Rasṣid al-Mu'ayyad Dhawūd when he was on a dangerous retreat into Khawlan. The succession in the imāmate to his son al-Mahdi Muḥammad and his grandson al-Muḥaffar was interrupted by several strangers, for example al-Mu'ayyad Yahyā b. Ḥamama, descendant of the "Twelver" Imām 'Alī al-Riḥā [q.v.]; his writings filled "as many sheets of paper as there were days in his life". No less prolific as a writer was al-Mahdi Ahmad b. Yahyā b. al-Murtadā (d. 836 = 1432), imām for several days only. After several imāms had fought with one another and with the Ṭāhirids for Ḍhimār and Ṣan'a, his grandson al-Mutawakkil Yahyā Sharaf al-Dīn had to retire for a time to Thulā before the invading generals of the Egyptian Mamlūks (in 933 = 1527). His son al-Muḥaffar was temporarily able to regain all land lost as far as al-Thāma. In the meanwhile Ottoman suzerainty had been established and his grandson ended in prison in Istanbul, as did in 1004 (1595) al-Nāḥir al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī of a different line from al-Ḥādī, after maintaining himself in al-Aḥḥim for seven years as imām.

At the end of this year al-Manṣūr al-Ḥusain b. Muḥammad, also of the house of al-Ḥādī, opened a new era in Zaidi history with his call to arms and fought successfully till his death in 1029 (1620), and in the reign of his son al-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad (d. 1054 = 1644) the Ottomans abandoned the Yaman (1045 = 1635). As a rule, the imāms since then have belonged to the family

of this al-Kāsim, although genuine Zaidi families which had once produced imāms, successfully came to the front again after centuries; there were however frequent domestic feuds in which the different Arab tribes were played off against one another. The death of al-Mu'ayyad Muhammad b. Ismā'il b. al-Kāsim (1097 = 1686) was for example attributed to poisoning by his nearest relatives. A state of order was restored under al-Mahdi 'Abdā b. al-Manṣūr al-Husain (d. 1189 = 1775); San'a' to this day bears witness to his activity as a builder. Although his son al-Manṣūr 'Alī (d. 1224 = 1809) in whose time the Wahhābīs penetrated into al-Tihāma, was incapable, his grandson al-Mutawakkil Ahmad was able to restore order in San'a', although al-Tihāma passed to the Sharifs of Mecca; he built a treasury and a library. The latter's grandson al-Manṣūr 'Alī b. al-Mahdi 'Abd Allāh (from 1251 = 1835) is unfavourably described even by the Zaidīs themselves as by C. J. Cruttenden who calls him a drunkard (*J. R. G. S.*, viii., 1838, p. 284). His by no means incapable grandson Muhammad b. Yahyā, threatened by an anti-imām, took the fatal step of summoning the Turks from al-Tihāma and they entered San'a' in 1264 (1847) but were driven out by the people who had risen in rebellion. Rincings of the tribes and raids by the Ḳarāṭīs increased the general disorder. Then three deposed imāms, originally enemies, joined against the imām al-Mutawakkil Muḥsin b. Ahmad and on Šafar 16, 1289 (April 25, 1812) played San'a' again into the hands of the Turks. While Muḥsin's son Muhammad wanted to be imām there with Turkish approval and in Turkish pay, the Husainid al-Hādī Šaraf al-Dīn Muhammad, a descendant of the above mentioned Yahyā b. Ḥamza of the viith (xivth) century, maintained an independent imāmate in al-Aḥsān and Sa'da from 1296 to 1307 (1879—1890). Then al-Manṣūr Muhammad b. Yahyā Ḥamīd al-Dīn, starting from Sa'da and al-Aḥsān by mach fighting and also diplomatic negotiations with the Turks, contended for the right of the Zaidīs in Yemen generally to live according to the Zaidi Šari'a. His son al-Mutawakkil Yahyā who succeeded on Rabī' I 20, 1322 (June 4, 1904) was still more vigorous. In obedience to his summons the tribes at once attacked the Turkish strongholds. San'a' was surrendered in 1904 and could only be reconquered after a regular war. Yahyā did not take advantage of Turkey's difficulties after the war in Tripolis, but in Šafar 1337 (Nov. 1918) he was able to occupy San'a'. In 1341 (1925) he successfully resumed his fight for al-Tihāma with the Idrīsids of 'Asir. This proximity to the protectorate of 'Aden involved the new king of the Yaman, Zaidi imām and *amīr al-mu'minīn*, in the wider sphere of international politics. His latest attempt at expansion is directed against the Ḳarāṭīs of Najrān just as one of his earliest victims was the Zā' of the Ḳarāṭīs around Menākhā. This fighting makes the imāmate of the present Yahyā recall, as in many other points, even the true Zaidi tenor of his encyclicals (see in 'Abd al-Wāṣi', cf. *Bibl.*), that of the first Yahyā al-Hādī. He is reckoned — which may help to throw light on the theory of the imāmate — his descendant in the 26th generation, but counting partially recognised and anti-imāms about his 100th successor in office. Of his ancestors his father al-Manṣūr Muhammad was an imām. His

grandfather Yahyā Ḥamīd al-Dīn was a vizier and in 1293 (1876) was imprisoned by the Turks in San'a' with many other scholars and notables. For ancestors of note we have to go back to the seventh, Muhammad, and the eighth, al-Ḥusain, both learned commentators on legal works; it is not till the ninth that we have another imām, al-Manṣūr al-Kāsim (d. 1039 = 1620) who fought the Turks. Going further back still we find in the viith (xiiith) century, the sixteenth ancestor al-Husain al-Aghar, who had however only the rank of *emīr* and as imām, whose title was however not undisputed, in the fourth (tenth) century the 22nd ancestor al-Kāsim, the 23rd *al-Ḥāfi* Yūsuf and the 24th Yahyā; the 25th was the full imām al-Nasir Ahmad and the 26th al-Hādī Yahyā himself.

Bibliography: On the original sources cf. *Int.*, i. (1910), p. 354—368 and ii. (1911), p. 49—78; since then there has been printed: al-Husain b. Ahmad al-Hamīd al-San'āni, *al-Kawf al-nadīr*, a commentary with glosses on *Maḥfūz al-Fiqh al-Zaidī* (4 vol., Cairo 1347—1349). Of the collections, numbering many hundreds, of Zaidi manuscripts in Europe, a catalogue of MSS. in Vienna has not yet appeared and that of those in Milan by E. Griffini (in *R. S. O.*, from vol. II., 1908) has not been finished. — Cf. also the articles SAN'A', UTRUHI, AL-MANṢŪR III 'ALĀW AL-KĀSİM (two imāms), AL-MAHDĪ 'ID-DĪN ALLĪH AHMAD (three imāms), ZAID B. 'ALĪ and the references there given: especially on the latter see C. van Acrendonk and E. Griffini; Ash'arī, *Maḥfūz al-ḥikāma*, ed. Ritter, index; Shahrastāni, ed. Cureton, p. 115—121; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Faṣl fī 'l-Mīlāl*, Cairo 1325, iv. 179—188, and thereon J. Friedländer, in *J. A. O. S.*, xxviii. (1907), p. 1—80 and xxix. (1909), p. 1—183; R. Strothmann, *Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen*, Strassburg 1912; do., *Kultus der Zaiditen*, Strassburg 1912; Amīn al-Raḥmān *Mulūk al-'Arab*, Beirut 1924, p. 69—196; M. Gaidi, *Gli scrittori Zayditi e l'arabico ceramico Maṭṭallita*, Rome 1925; A. S. Tritton, *The Rise of the Imams of Saana*, Oxford 1925; 'Abd al-Wāṣi' b. Yahyā al-Wāṣi' al-Yamānī (sic), *Tārīkh al-Yaman*, Cairo 1346; Muhammad b. Muḥammad b. Yahyā Zubāra al-Husaini al-Yamānī (sic) al-San'āni, *Nail al-Waṭar min Tarāḥim Rūḥ al-Yaman fī 'l-Ḳarn al-thālith 'ashar*, Cairo 1348.

(R. STROTHMANN)

ZAILA', a port on the African coast of the Gulf of 'Aden. It lies on a narrow tongue of land, which is cut off from the mainland at high water and is the only harbour of importance in British Somaliland. Formerly an important trading centre and one of the largest ports of export for the slave trade with Arabia, the town now only possesses modest remnants of buildings of the middle of the xvth century like the tomb of *Shaykh* Ibrāhīm, and also the fort erected to the west of it by the Indian government, the palace of *Sharmakal* 'Alī of which only the ground-floor and the first story survive and a mosque. Alongside of the ruins of the old Arab houses, of which only one or two are habitable, stand hundreds of rectangular huts of straw (*'arkāh*). The town covers an area of 40—50 acres; the part built of stone covers barely a fifth of this. The town was formerly surrounded by a stone wall; its ruins were used to build the quay of the harbour which can only be approached by

Arab sailing ships at high water. At the entrance to the harbour is the customhouse and the gund-house as well as the old residency, southeast of this was a mission station which later fell into ruins. Numerous tombs of *shaykhs* surround the town, among which that of *Shaykh Dini b. Sa'd al-Din* is held in special veneration. The population reveals a considerable mixture of Hamitic and Semitic blood and is estimated at 7,000. The coral reefs around Zaila* which contain many pearl oysters, give the inhabitants a remunerative industry. Merchants of Zaila* finance the pearl fishers who come from Zaila* and the opposite Arabian coast. The yield is quite considerable. Until the rise of Djibuti about 35 miles N.W. of Zaila*, which is now connected by railway with Hatar, Zaila* was the port of export of Abyssinian coffee, but its trade has now declined considerably. The main articles of export are the smaller domestic animals and hides, which go mainly to the Yaman.

In ancient times Analites occupied the site of Zaila*; it attained increasing importance after the foundation of the Axumite kingdom and was in direct relations with India. The Arab geographers *Istakhri*, *Ibn Hawkal* and *al-Muqaddasi* describe Zaila* as the port of Abyssinia for trade with the Yaman and *Hidjaz*. Goat-skins were the chief exports which the Yaman market absorbed in great quantities with the tremendous development of the leather industry under Persian rule.

When *Ibn Battuta* visited the town, it was considered the metropolis of the kingdom of 'Adal; at the beginning of the 17th century, it fell into the hands of the Turks, who however were defeated in 1516 by the Portuguese, who burned the town. About 1525 it attained a new importance under Muhammad *Grañ* (q.v.), ruler of 'Adal, then passed into dependence on the sherifs of *Mukhā*. In 1848, it passed to 'Ali *Sharmakal* who paid tribute to the governor of *Mukhā*. On his death it went to *Abukr Muhammad Pascha*, was conquered by Egyptian troops in 1870 and visited by General Gordon in 1878. The town was then very prosperous and controlled the whole trade with the interior. In 1884 the Egyptian troops vacated the town and since 1885 it has been an English possession first under the India Office, then the Foreign Office and now under the Colonial Office.

Bibliography: *al-Istakhri*, *B.G.A.*, i. 36; *Ibn Hawkal*, *B.G.A.*, ii. 41; *al-Muqaddasi*, *B.G.A.*, iii. 102, 242; *al-Hamānī*, *Sifat Dīqārat al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller, Leyden 1884—1891, p. 57; *Yāqūt*, *Ma'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 966; A. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reisewege des Orients* (Abh. K.M.), iii. 3, Leipzig 1864, p. 150; Ralph E. Drake-Brockman, *British Somaliland*, London 1912, p. 1—30, 264, 270 (pictures of Zaila* at p. 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 30).

(A. GROHMANN)

ZAIN AL-'ĀBIDĪN. [See 'ALĪ b. AL-ḤUSAYN, AL-TUNĪSĪ.]

ZAIN AL-DĪN ABU BAKR MUHAMMAD b. MUHAMMAD AL-KHAWĀRĪ, founder of an order called after him *Zainiya*, which traced itself to *Djunaid*, was born in 757 (1356) at *Khawāf* (between *Buḥayr* and *Zazan*) in *Khurāsān*, and was buried in 838 (1435) at the village *Mālin* (two parasangs from *Herāt*), whence his remains were transferred to *Darwāshābād*, and thence to the 'Idgāh of *Herāt*, where a mosque was built over them. He obtained authorization (*ijāza*) in Egypt

from *Nūr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Misrī* (*Nafahāt al-Uns*, No. 505), and returned to Central Asia, but visited Egypt again, whence he sent in 822 (1419) a gravestone for *Khawāfja Muhammad Pārsā*, who died in *Madina*, and from one of whose letters our authorities derive some of their information about him. In Egypt he made a disciple of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Amīr al-Marāḥīnī, who accompanied him to his home; in Jerusalem of 'Abd al-Latif b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Makhlisī, and one 'Abd al-Ma'ūn, a Maghribī. A fourth disciple was *Khawāfja Sa'd al-Dīn of Kashghar*, the most celebrated native of that place (d. 860 = 1456; *Relation de l'Ambassade au Khacem*, transl. C. Schefer, 1879, p. 164). *Zain al-Dīn* was the author of several works: *Risālat al-Wajāyā al-Kudīya*, composed in Jerusalem, *al-Awḍā al-Zaynīya*, and a treatise on asceticism. A grandson of his, also called *Zain al-Dīn*, was a courtier of *Bābur*, and translated his *Memoirs* into Persian.

Bibliography: *Nafahāt al-Uns*, No. 506; *al-Shaykh al-Nu'māniya*, transl. O. Reischer, Constantinople 1927, p. 38—41; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 206. (D. S. MARCOGLIOUTH)

ZAINAB. [See *ALMORAVIDS*.]

ZAINAB BINT DJAHSH b. *K'āb*, AL-ASADIYA, one of Muhammad's wives, was the daughter of *Umayma bint 'Abd al-Muttalib*; her kunya was *Umm al-Hakam* and her name had been *Barra*. One of the first emigrants to *Madina*, she was a virgin (some traditions say a widow) when the Prophet gave her in marriage to his freedman and adopted son *Zaid b. Hāritha*.

In 4 A.H. Muhammad, calling on *Zaid* in his home, saw *Zainab* alone and fell in love with her. *Zaid* divorced her in order that the Prophet might marry her; the latter's scruples were set at rest by the revelation of *Kur'an* xxxiii. 36—39. *Zainab* received a dowry of 400 dirhams. She was proud of the circumstances of her marriage, and used to say that Muhammad's other wives had been given to him by their fathers and brothers, while her union had been brought about by special divine revelation. The *ḥadīth* al-khaṣṣ (xxxiii. 53) is said to have been revealed on the occasion of *Zainab's* wedding feast, and *Kur'an* lxvi. 1 is also referred by some to *Zainab* and to the other wives' envy of her.

Zainab was a friend of 'A'isha's, and, next to her, Muhammad's favorite. She accompanied him on the expedition against *Khaibar*. Her charity is celebrated; Muhammad's prediction "the longest-handed of my wives shall be the first to join me in paradise" alludes to this. She had received 12,000 dirhams from 'Omar in 20 A.H., but left no money, having given all to the poor.

Zainab was about 35 on her marriage to Muhammad, and died at about 50, in 20 or 21 A.H.

The episode of the Prophet's infatuation with his adopted son's wife was made much of by Christian propaganda (see *Marracci*, *Refutation Alcorani*, p. 562); modern Muslim biographers and commentators of the *Kur'an* have tried to present the episode in a secular light, e.g. Muhammad 'Abduh in *Tafsi al-Fātiha wa-Mukhlisat al-Kur'an*, Cairo 1330, in the chapter entitled *Tawfiḥ Mar'at Zaid wa Zainab*; and *Mawānā Muhammad 'Alī* in his biography *Muhammad the Prophet*, Lahore 1924, p. 249—250.

Bibliography: *Ibn Sa'd*, ed. Sachau, viii. 71—82; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, I A.H.,

§ 15, N^o. 25; 3 A. H., § 20—27; 8 A. H., § 13, N^o. 2; 10 A. H., § 139, N^o. 8; 20 A. H., § 267, 298, 400—406; Ibn al-Balk, ed. Wattenfeld, p. 1004; a literary portrait: Enrico Rota, *Visioni d'Oriente e d'Occidente*, Milan 1924, p. 35—45; Zainab. (V. VACCA)

ZAINAB BINT KHUZAIMA b. al-Harith al-Hakliya, one of Muhammad's wives, had borne the name of Umm al-Mas'kin since the Djibilla. Her first husband, al-Tufail b. al-Harith, had divorced her; the second, Ubaid b. al-Harith, was killed at Badr. Muhammad married her in Ramadan 4 A. H. and gave her a dowry of 400 dirhams; she died 2 or 3 months later, the first of his Madinese wives to die before him, and was buried in the cemetery of al-Baki.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, vii, 82; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, 4 A. H., § 16 and § 22; al-Tabari, ed. de Goeje, i, 1775—1776; Ibn al-Athir, *Usd al-Ghaba*, v, 466—467. (V. VACCA)

ZAINAB BINT MUHAMMAD, one of the Prophet's daughters, said to have been the eldest, was married before her father's mission to her maternal cousin Abu 'A' b. al-Habib.

She was in al-Baki at the time of Muhammad's *Ajda*, and did not follow him to Medina; her husband, still a pagan, was taken prisoner at Badr. Zainab sent a necklace which had belonged to Khadija to ransom him, and Muhammad freed him on condition that Zainab should come to Medina. On her way thither she was maltreated by al-Habib b. al-A'wad and had a fall which caused her to miscarry (some authors place this accident in 8 A. H. and attribute her death to it).

Her husband was taken prisoner a second time in 6 A. H. in the expedition of al-'Is, and freed by his wife's intercession. He became a Muslim in 7 and was reunited to his wife by a second marriage.

Zainab died in Medina in 8 A. H. She had two children, 'Ali who died in infancy, and Ummama, married to 'Ali b. Abi Talib after Fatima's death.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, vii, 20—24; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, Intro., § 160, N^o. 1; § 349, N^o. 1; 2 A. H., § 82; 6 A. H., § 9; 7 A. H., § 3; 8 A. H., § 80, 81, 201; al-Tabari, ed. de Goeje, iii, 2303—2307; H. Lammens, *Fatima et ses filles de Mahomet, par.* (V. VACCA)

AL-ZAINABI, ABU 'L-KHUSIM 'ALI b. TURK b. MUHAMMAD, a vizier of the 'Abbāsids. He and his family had the name Zainab because they were descended from Zainab bint Salama b. 'Ali b. 'Abd Allah b. al-'Abbas, the cousin of the two first 'Abbāsids, who was held in great honour among the 'Abbāsids. In Rajab 453 (July—Aug. 1061) his father Turk was appointed chief inspector (*nakib al-amṣār*) of the 'Abbāsid shari'as and after his death in Shawwāl 491 (Sept. 1098), 'Ali al-Zainabi inherited this office with which was combined in 517 (1123—1124) that of the 'Alid chief inspectorate (*nakib al-'alamayn*). After the dismissal of the vizier Djahil al-Din b. Sadaka in Djumādā I 516 (July—Aug. 1122), al-Zainabi administered the vicariate for some months but was not actually appointed vizier. It was not till Rabī' II, 523 (April 1129) that the caliph al-Mustashid gave him this office; in 529 (1135—1136) however, al-Zainabi was dismissed and Ansharwan b. Khalid appointed in his place, in the meanwhile al-

Mustashid was assassinated and his son al-Rashid succeeded him (529—1135). But the very next year the latter was declared unfit to rule by an official *fatwa* of a number of theologians and legists at the instigation of al-Zainabi and when the Sultan Mas'ud b. Muhammad applied to al-Zainabi to ask who was best fitted to be caliph he proposed al-Rashid's uncle Muhammad b. al-Mustashir, and the latter was proclaimed commander of the faithful under the name of al-Muqtafi; he then made al-Zainabi his vizier. But the new caliph and his vizier quarrelled after a time. The latter therefore went to the court of Sultan Mas'ud with whom he was on particularly good terms and although the caliph summoned him to return and resume his official duties, he refused to do so and was therefore dismissed in 534 (1139—1140). Through the intervention of Sultan Mas'ud however, a reconciliation took place and in 536 (1141—1142) al-Zainabi was allowed to return to Baghdad. The caliph however had no further use for him and in Ramadan 538 (March—April 1144) al-Zainabi died in great poverty.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil* (ed. Tornberg), v, 431; vi, 310; X, 12, 157, 191, 307, 309, 377, 425, 435, 460, 480; xi, 27, 50, 59, 64; Ibn al-Tikriti, *al-Futuh* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 406, 411, 414—418; de Slane in his translation of Ibn Khallikan, iii, 153. (K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

ZAITÜN, a town in the southeast of Asia Minor. It is the chief town in a *kaza* of the wilayet (formerly sandjak) of Mar'ash and is (or was before the recent persecutions) inhabited for the most part by Armenians, who call it Zethun or Ulnia, usually however simply Keph ('village'). The name Ulni (Ulnia) is also used for the whole of the mountainous country on the Djahlan between Karatili (S. W. of Albistan) and Bertis. Whether Ulnia was originally the name of Zaitün or Farnas to the S. W. of it, in the neighbourhood of which is mentioned a monastery of the martyr Stephen of Ulni, is doubtful. An Agharip, i. e. 'Abd al-Karib, of Forns is mentioned at the beginning of the reign of Leon I of Little Armenia (1129—1137) (*Re. Hist. Cris., Dec. Arm.*, i, 636; iii, 636). On the other hand, the town of Zaitün is first mentioned after the capture of the last Rapanid (1375). According to local tradition, the inhabitants came from the fortress of Ani or An-dzor, which probably lay in the Cilician plain. The earliest mention of the town which Alghian could find is in 1526 (Bishop Narses of Zethun; *Sirozian*, p. 199, 201). Paul of Aleppo calls Zaitün in 1699 'the well-known town of the Armenians'. The inhabitants, a brave, liberty-loving, mountain people, were for long (till about 1864) able to maintain a certain independence. A rising broke out in 1819 as a protest against the heavy taxes imposed by the Porte. The people of Zaitün resisted Ibrahim Pasha on behalf of the Turks. The troubles of 1862 lasted till 1872 and broke out again in 1878 and 1884. In the summer of 1876 the residence of the governor was burned down; it was rebuilt in 1877. The conflagrations of Sept. 22, 1884 and July 26, 1887 were much worse and almost the whole of the town was destroyed. New unrest was caused by the outbreak of smallpox, from which 400 children in Zaitün died in 1890; its spread was ascribed to the carelessness of the Turkish doctor. The worst was the rising in 1895—

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1896 following the general persecution of Armenians in Turkey. The governor of Mar'ash besieged the little town in which 15,000 fugitives from the surrounding country had taken refuge; completely exhausted by bombardments, epidemics and lack of munitions, the defenders were only able to secure peace and an amnesty from the Porte, through the intervention of the European Powers notably France; they had to surrender their arms and were granted government by a Christian *gouverneur*.

The persecutions of Armenians during and after the world war have doubtless had considerable effect in Zaitün also; part of the Armenian population must have been deported and perished on the way and others have migrated to Syria.

Zaitün lies in terraces on the slopes of a steep hill; it has narrow, zigzag streets. On the top of the hill is the Turkish fort which commands the surrounding country. The town consists of four quarters: Yenishanian, Surénian, Ghurghular and Box Bayir. West of Zaitün is the hill called Gankhof (Kangrot 'artichoke hill'; perhaps in *Z. D. M. G.*, xi. 188 Darb al-Kankarüt should be read for -rüt). About 1880 the number of inhabitants of Zaitün and the country round was estimated at 17,000, that of the whole hill country at nearly 36,000 (including 27,500 Armenians and 8,300 Turks). The 'Zaitünis' were mainly engaged in exploiting the iron-mines of Bairüt (Barid) Dagh to the north of the town and in the manufacture of arms, while the women cultivated silkworms (according to Léon Paul who stayed there from June 27-29, 1864). The botanist Haussknecht studied the flora of the Barid Dagh in 1865, where he found over 200 varieties; his fine collection he sent to Edmond Boissier who published it in his *Flora Orientalis* (Geneva and Basle 1866-1884).

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AL-ZAIYÂNÎ, ABU 'L-KÂSİM b. AYMAL b. 'ALÎ b. ISRAHÎM, Moroccan statesman and historian of the xviiith century. Al-Zaiyânî, a member of the great Berber tribe of the Zaiyân

in Central Morocco, was born in Fās in 1147 (1734-1735). He received his education in this city. At the age of 23, he accompanied his parents on the pilgrimage to Mecca and after an exciting journey, coming as well as going, which lasted over two years, he returned to Fās, where he obtained a position as secretary to the *makhzen* [q.v.] of sultān Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh. His ability, his knowledge of Berber dialects and the course of events rapidly brought him to the front; having played an active part in the suppression of a rising against the tribe of the Ait Amālū, he gained the confidence of his ruler and was entrusted with negotiations with the various unsubdued Berber elements of the empire. We now find him travelling up and down Morocco incessantly and making several journeys to distant Tafilalt. In 1200 (1786) al-Zaiyânî was charged by the sultān Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh with a mission to the sultān of Constantinople 'Abd al-Ḥamid [cf. *ib.*, p. 39]. He reached the Ottoman capital after many vicissitudes and spent over three months there, which enabled him to write on his return a very full description of it. On his return after carrying out several confidential missions, he was appointed governor of Siḡilmāsa [q.v.], where he remained till the death of sultān Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh in 1204 (1790).

The sultān's successor, his son al-Yazid, put an end to the political career of al-Zaiyânî whom he hated. It was only by a miracle that the latter escaped death when al-Yazid in 1206 (1792) himself succumbed to a wound received in a fight against the pretender Hishām. Al-Zaiyânî, at the time a prisoner in Rabāt, was set free and immediately took an active part in the proclamation at Meknes of another son of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh as sultān, Mawlaī Sulaimān (Silmān). The latter gave him the office of governor ('*amīl*') of the district of the town of Uḡḡda [q.v.; Ar. Uḡḡda] but on taking up his post, al-Zaiyânî was attacked and defeated by the people he had been sent to govern. This misfortune gave him a distaste for public life and he retired to Tlemsen, where he spent 18 months in studious seclusion, which only ended when he decided to make once more the journey to Constantinople, this time in a private capacity and to perform the pilgrimage for a second time. On his return in 1210 (1795-1796), he was summoned by sultān Mawlaī Sulaimān and returned to Fās. In spite of his great age, he was now employed on a number of important missions and received the title of *shayḥ Yawizratūn*, as the head of the sovereign's *makhzen*. He remained in office for several years, then was dismissed and died at Fās in 1249 (1833) at the age of 99. He was buried in the *sāmiya* [q.v.] of the brotherhood of the Naḡiriya in the al-Siyādī quarter.

Famous in Morocco as a statesman, al-Zaiyânî was no less celebrated as a writer. In the course of his stirring life, he found time to write some fifteen books, almost all on history and geography. The first in date of these works was a general history of Islām entitled *al-Turajūmān al-maḡribī 'an Dima al-Maḡrib wa 'l-Maḡrib*, in which he paid most attention to the Ḥammān dynasties of Morocco and which he later continued, keeping pace with events down to the year 1228 (1813). The part of the *Turajūmān* relating to the Sa'dian dynasty is still unpublished; on the other hand, that relating to the 'Alids of Morocco

was published and translated into French in 1886 by O. Houdas under the title: *Le Maroc de 1631 à 1872* (P.E.F.O.V., 2nd series, vol. xviii). It is a narrative, in parts a résumé, of events in Morocco from the foundation of the 'Alid dynasty to the early years of the sixteenth century. A more detailed version of this part of the *Turjuman*, in which he dealt specially with events in which he had himself played a part or of which he had been a witness was later prepared by al-Zaiyân, and he gave it two different titles: *al-Bustân al-parif fi Dawlat Awlad Mawlaya 'Alî al-Sharif*, and *al-Rawda al-sulaimaniya fi Dhikr Af'ân al-Dawla al-imaniya wa-man tafaddalaka min al-Dawal al-islamiya*. — Another important work by al-Zaiyân was a very full account of his various journeys to which he added all kinds of digressions, literary, historical and biographical, and gave it the title of *al-Turjuman al-kubrâ allatî fîmâ 'at Abhâr Mudun al-'Alam kari-ma-lakrâ*. This book which is of the nature of both *rihla* and *fatrawa* is also a very curious geographical treatise, with maps (e.g. a map of the sea, which is reproduced in my *Histoire des Chérifs*, between p. 188 and 189). All these works of al-Zaiyân are to be found in manuscript in Morocco in various private libraries. A complete list is given, *ibid.*, p. 167—168.

Al-Zaiyân's work is the principal source we possess, with the recent *Kitâb al-Ittîfâq* of al-Nâsir al-Salâwî [cf. the article *AL-SUKWÎ*], for the history of the 'Alid dynasty of Morocco. It is full of valuable details and deserves serious study. It gives throughout an impression of accuracy and precision in historical as well as topographical matters. Information is given about innovations and social reforms and about the monumental history of the towns of Morocco. Al-Zaiyân also shows a very remarkable acquaintance with events in Europe. Finally all that he tells us about what he saw on his journeys to Constantinople is worth publishing in full.

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ZAKĀNĪ UBAID. [See *URĀDĪ ZKĀNĪ*.]
ZAKĀRIYĀ, the father of John the Baptist, is reckoned in the Qur'ân (vi. 85) along with John, Jesus and Elias among the righteous. Muhammad gives the substance of Luke i. 5—25 as follows: Zakāriyā guards the Virgin Mary in the niche (*mihrāb*) and always finds fresh fruits there. He prays to God; angels announce to him that a son will be born to him, Yahyā, a name never previously given to anyone, a pious man, a prophet, Yahyā's heir, pleasing to God. Zakāriyā

thinks he is too old. As a sign to him he is struck dumb for three days (Sûra iii. 32, 36; iii. 4—13; xli. 89—90).

Later legend expands the Gospel story and says that Gabriel was the announcer (Luke i. 19) and that Zakāriyā was struck dumb as a punishment for his doubts (i. 20). It elaborates the details as follows: 19 people anxious to take charge of Maryam write their names each on a reed; these are thrown into the pool of Siloam and the reed with Zakāriyā's name comes to the top. Zakāriyā grows old and resigns his office of custodian which Kalamaslos gives to Joseph the carpenter (Tha'labi, p. 236). In Mary's niche there is winter fruit in summer and summer fruit in winter; this encourages Zakāriyā to pray that his aged body also may be fruitful out of season (Tha'labi, p. 237).

Muslim legend makes Zakāriyā as a prophet die the death of a martyr. After Yahyā's death he escapes into a tree which opens for him. But the beam of his cloak remains outside the tree. This betrays him, the tree is sawn down and with it Zakāriyā (Tha'labi, p. 240; Ibn al-Athîr, p. 120). This is modelled on the Haggada and the martyrdom of Isaiak (Pal. Sanhedrin, i. 28; Bab. Sanhedrin, 107a; Kautsch, *Apocryphen und Pseudepigraphen*, ii. 123; Isaiak, Djemshîd, Zakāriyā).

Muslim legend seems to identify the Zakāriyā of the Gospel with the prophet Zachariah of whom the Haggada records that his blood boiled until Nebuchadnezzar's general Nebuzaraddan came. The latter sought to calm it with the blood of the sacrificed victim and with the best of Israel, but in vain. Only his appeal calms it. Muslim legend tells this of the blood of Yahyā b. Zakāriyā.

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(BERNHARD HELLER)

ZAKĀT (أَكْ), the alms-tax, one of the principal obligations of Islām. By this the law means a tax, which is levied on definite forms of property and is distributed to eight categories of persons. Muslim scholars explain the word from Arabic as meaning "purity" or "increase". In reality it was borrowed in a much wider sense by Muhammad from Jewish usage (Hebrew-Aramaic *zakkāt*). In the east among the religiously inclined, the giving away of worldly possessions was regarded as a particularly pious act, the possession of earthly riches on the other hand almost as an obstacle to salvation; the same word that denoted virtue and righteousness in general could therefore also be used for benevolence and charitable gifts. Muhammad, who had become acquainted with this form of piety as one of the marks of the religion of revelation, from the first laid stress on the practice of benevolence as one of the chief virtues of the true believer; cf. Sûra xiii. 22; xxv. 26: "(those who) of what we have given them spend out secretly and openly" (many similar passages); Sûra lxx. 24 sq.: "those, who acknowledge that the beggar and the needy have a determined claim on their possessions"; also

Sūra lxxvi. 8 *sq.* (all of the Meccan period). Muhammad at any rate already uses the word *zakāt* in the Meccan period along with several derivatives of the stem *zakkā* "to be pure", which to the Arab mind were related to it. Even the latter have in the *Kur'ān* almost exclusively the meaning "to be pious", which is not pure Arabic, but borrowed from the Hebrew. The term *zakāt* means not only virtue in general but also with an almost imperceptible transition of meaning (cf. Sūra lxxvii. 14; xlii. 4; xcii. 18) giving (e.g. Sūra xix. 32, 56) and the pious gift (e.g. Sūra vii. 155; xxi. 75; xxx. 38; xxxi. 3; xli. 6). During the whole Meccan period, in which Muhammad had only a few, but these enthusiastic, followers any regulation of private charity was unnecessary and indeed impossible. The Muslim view also makes the *zakāt* as a legal obligation first be introduced in Medina, but varies, as regards the date, between the year 2 and the year 9; the earlier general prescriptions are regarded as thereby abrogated. The uncertainty regarding date weakens the positive statements of this tradition; the following is the idea we get, mainly from the *Kur'ān*, of the further development of the *zakāt*. Charity, sometimes referred in general terms and sometimes by the word *zakāt* (both in turn e.g. Sūra ii. 263—281), continues to be one of the chief virtues of the believer, and must be based on a corresponding frame of mind. In this word the general meaning gradually falls into the background to be replaced by that of gift. *Ṣadaqa* [q. v.] occurs as practically synonymous with *zakāt*. Muhammad must have become more closely acquainted with it from the Jews in Medina. In this town altered conditions soon influenced the nature of the *zakāt*; the poor believers who had migrated from Mecca had to be supported and charity increased as accessions took place from motives no longer purely religious. On the other hand, the Prophet was now able to introduce a kind of organisation for the reception and distribution of pious gifts, as laid down in Sūra ix. 60, but at first no change was made in the character of the *zakāt* as an individual offering, in spite of the obligatory character of certain *ṣadaqa's* (in Sūra ii. 172 both kinds of gifts are mentioned together). Finally Muhammad used the yield of these collections not to support the needy only but also, and if necessary preferably, for his military enterprises and other political purposes. The raising of the considerable sums necessary for this caused great difficulties; therefore we have repeated admonitions in the *Kur'ān* to give "for Allāh's purposes", supported by promises and threats of a religious nature and accompanied by complaints about the insufficient contributions. The use made by the Prophet of the voluntary offerings aroused the criticism of the believers; and there was a fierce dispute, when Muhammad, after the surrender of Mecca, endeavoured to reconcile prominent Quraysh with the new order of things by gifts from the *zakāt* fund. The discontent had to be appeased by a special revelation (Sūra ix. 58—60): "Some of them make reproaches to thee on account of the *ṣadaqa's*; if they receive anything of them, they are satisfied, but if they receive nothing, they murmur... The *ṣadaqa's* are for the poor, the needy, their collectors, those whose hearts are to be conciliated, for slaves, debtors and for Allāh's purposes and for the traveller, as a duty prescribed by Allāh". The

passage became the basis for the later laws about the distribution of the *zakāt*. The collectors here mentioned had to receive the *zakāt* of the Beduin tribes who had adopted Islam; for the latter the *zakāt* from the first was hardly anything but an obligatory impost, the amount of which was usually fixed definitely in the agreements made with the Prophet; the reluctance of many Beduins to pay it is fought in Sūra ix. 99 *sq.* The transformation of the *zakāt* into a state treasury, now beginning, was limited by Muhammad to the irreducible minimum; essential elements of the later regulation are unknown to the *Kur'ān* and a part of the traditions. The *Kur'ān* answers the question of the believers as to what they should give without any limitations: "the superfluity" (Sūra ii. 217), and a further revelation of the last year of the Prophet's life threatens with the punishment of hell "those who hoard gold and silver and do not spend it for Allāh's purposes" (Sūra ix. 34 *sq.*). Tradition also ascribes to the Prophet utterances which imply no limitation to the obligation of *zakāt*; among the Companions of the Prophet, Abū Dharr is held to have championed the view that one should only keep as much property as one needs. 'Alī is said to have fixed the maximum value of property allowed at 4,000 dirhams, and the opinion is even ascribed to so late an authority as Mālik b. Anas that all wealth is forbidden (*ḥarām*). The *Kur'ān* (e.g. Sūra ii. 211) and Tradition repeatedly describe as recipients of the *zakāt* parents, relatives, orphans, poor, travellers, beggars and slaves; but according to Tradition, a *zakāt* given to the rich, thieves and prostitutes can also be meritorious, since it is the mere fact of giving which is the first consideration. The nature of the objects liable to *zakāt* is not further defined in the *Kur'ān*. Tradition knows of cases of paying *zakāt*, which cannot be fitted into the later system. In any case, the character of *zakāt* in the time of the Prophet was still vague and it did not represent any of the taxes demanded by religion. After Muhammad's death many Beduin tribes therefore refused to continue to pay *zakāt* as they considered their agreements cancelled by the death of the Prophet, and many believers, among them 'Omar himself, were inclined to agree with this. Only the energy of Abū Bakr made the *zakāt* as a regular tax a permanent institution, which through the establishment of a state treasury contributed greatly to the expansion of Muslim power. Ardent believers continued as before to regard it as their right to bestow their *zakāt* as they thought fit; but very soon the development and centralisation of the state made this impossible in practice. When the obligations of a Muslim had been definitely laid down the *zakāt* was established as a religious tax and regulated in all its details; the views put forward on this occasion have left their effect in Tradition. In this connection may be mentioned the detailed regulation of *zakāt*, which is usually ascribed to Abū Bakr, sometimes to the Prophet or to 'Omar or 'Alī.

According to the Shāfi' school, the main regulations of the *zakāt* laws are as follows. Only Muslims pay *zakāt* (according to the Hanafis only those who have attained years of discretion and are in full possession of their faculties) and on the following kinds of property: 1. fruits of the field, which are planted for food; 2. fruits, grapes and dates being especially mentioned in Tradition; 3. cattle, i.e. camels, oxen and smaller domestic

animals (according to the Hanafis also horses); 4. gold and silver; 5. merchandise. On the two first classes the zakāt is to be paid at once at the harvest, on the last three after one year's uninterrupted possession; a condition for liability to zakāt is the possession of a certain minimum (*niṣāb*). On the first and second class the zakāt is $10\frac{1}{2}\%$ (when artificial irrigation is used $5\frac{1}{2}\%$), the *niṣāb* 5 camel-loads (*ḥamḥ*). There are complicated rules for the third category, which are based mainly on Abū Bakr's zakāt ordinance and take into consideration not only the number but also the kind of animals; the *niṣāb* is 5 camels, or 20 cattle, or 40 smaller animals; the animals are only liable to zakāt if they have grazed freely during the whole year and not been used for any work. The zakāt on the fourth and fifth category is $2\frac{1}{2}\%$; the *niṣāb* for precious metals is calculated according to the weight and amounts for gold to 20 *mithqāls* (or *dirhams* = c. 84 grammes = 1,320 grains), for silver seven times this, 200 dirhams (for gold and silver ornaments the commercial value is the deciding factor); the value of merchandise must be estimated at the end of the year in gold and silver; in this case also there is no liability to zakāt if the precious metal or merchandise has not been kept for a full year unused "as treasure". Lastly the surrender of precious metals obtained from mines as well as of treasure trove is regarded by the best authorities as zakāt (cf. F. F. Schmidt, *Die usulfi im islamischen Recht*, in *Jil.*, i, sect. iv. and v.). It is permitted to hand the zakāt direct to the persons who have claims to it; it is however preferable to hand it to the Muslim authorities for regulated distribution. If the zakāt is collected by the government, one is bound to pay it to the collector (*ʿamil*) even if the character of the government is no guarantee of a proper distribution (according to some, especially Hanafī scholars, in this case to satisfy one's conscience, the zakāt should be collected a second time and distributed direct). The right of the government to demand the zakāt is however limited to the so-called *ṣakīr* possessions, i.e. the visible articles of the first three categories, in the case of which the *ʿamil* can fix the amount of the zakāt from his own observation; the so-called *ḥifn* properties on the other hand, i.e. the hidden articles of the two last categories, are expressly withdrawn from this control and the zakāt is left entirely to the conscience of the individual. — The yield of the zakāt is destined only for the eight classes mentioned in Sūra ix. 60 (excluding the family of the Prophet, in contrast to the *ghawṣ* and *ḥai*), and after deducting a fixed salary for the collectors is to be distributed in equal parts to the other seven categories so far as they exist in the country (so according to the Shāfiʿis, while according to the other schools various necessities may be considered). The distinction that is made between "poor" and "needy" is quite an arbitrary one; at any rate, the legists usually interpret the definition in such a way that they themselves belong to one of these classes. Whether after the time of the Prophet there were still persons "whose hearts have to be conciliated" is disputed among the schools. By the slaves who have a claim to a share in the zakāt are understood (except by the Mālikīs) such as have concluded (except by the Mālikīs) such as have concluded a contract to purchase their liberty (*mukāṭaba*), by debtors (with the Shāfiʿis) especially such as have taken upon themselves to wipe out a debt for God's

sake. The part set aside "for Allāh's purposes" is to be devoted to the fighters for the faith who voluntarily take part in the *ḡibāḥ* without belonging to the regular troops. These categories have been drawn up as a result of a schematic interpretation of the passage in the Qurʾān. — The artifices (*ḥifn*) to avoid payment of zakāt are according to the Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs invalid, according to the Hanafīs and Shāfiʿis sinful but valid.

Actual practice differed considerably from the theory of zakāt in the different Muslim countries. The high imposts and taxes (*mukāṭ*) not foreseen by the Shariʿa made the collection of the zakāt usually difficult or impossible so that it, particularly on *ḥifn* property, was either not paid at all or not to the prescribed extent. Frequently its collection led to extortion and other abuses. Nor was the yield in the majority of cases applied according to the law; the collectors themselves or the *ḥāḍis* kept the larger portion. Sometimes the zakāt on the fruits of the field under the name of "tithe" (*ʿushr*; q. v.) became a purely secular tax. Nevertheless the legal obligation to pay zakāt is everywhere recognised and where the peasant is not overburdened with other taxes, he pays it at least on *ṣakīr* property as far as circumstances permit, although with many abuses in details.

By *zakāt al-ḥifn* (zakāt of the breaking of the fast) is meant the obligatory gift of provisions at the end of the month of Ramaḍān, which according to Tradition was ordered by the Prophet in the year 2 and fixed as regards the amount (the latter is however not certainly historical). There were differences of opinion regarding the relation of this zakāt to the general one and regarding the question whether it was obligatory. According to the view which finally prevailed, the zakāt al-ḥifn is obligatory (according to the Mālikīs only *sunna*) and has to be handed over by every free Muslim for himself and all persons whom he is legally bound to support at latest on the first of the month Shawwāl which follows Ramaḍān. A man is exempted only if he possesses the bare necessities of life for himself and his family. The amount of this zakāt is $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ (= $\frac{1}{60}$ *ḥamḥ*) or 4 *ḥamḥ* of the usual foodstuffs of the country for each member of the household. The recipients according to the Shāfiʿis are the same as in the case of the general zakāt, while the other schools, more in keeping with the original character of the zakāt al-ḥifn, approve its limitation to the poor and needy. — Throughout the Muslim world the regulations about the zakāt al-ḥifn are observed with particular scrupulousness; the people feel that it is part of the duties of Ramaḍān and will serve to atone for any involuntary negligence during this month.

In conclusion we may note that freewill, not obligatory offerings (*ṣadaqāt*) have been always considered very meritorious in Islam.

Bibliography: On the etymology: Noldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 25; Horowitz, *Jil.*, vol. viii, p. 137. — On the Qurʾān: Soouck Hurgroon, *Verpreidte Geschiedenis*, ii. 9 197; i. 346 197. (discussed by H. Grimme, *Mohammed*, part 1.). — On Tradition: Wenainck, *Handbook of early Mohammedan Tradition*, s. v. — On Fikḥ: Jaynoll, *Handbook des islamischen Geistes*, p. 94 197; do., *Handleiding*, p. 77 197; Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, s. v. — On the practice, esp. in the

Dutch East Indies: Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschied.*, ii. 380 sq.; Juynebol, *Handelsiding*, p. 85, 89 sqq. — On the allegorical interpretation of the zakāt law by the Bāḥinā cf. Goldsieber, *Sitzberichts der Gassā*, p. 23, note 4.

(JOSEPH SCHACHT)

ZAKĀZĪK, an unimpressive, but busy commercial town in the Egyptian Delta, in the administrative division (*mudiriya*) of Sharḥiya. Along with Damanhūr it is one of the towns which do not constitute fiscal units for purposes of land tax. The town, an important railway centre, has an extensive trade in grain and cotton. There are oil refineries and a large market for dates, oranges and onions. It is 46 miles from Cairo, and is connected with it by rail. Its inhabitants in the time of Boinat Bey numbered 35,715 but in 1927 the total population had increased to 52,357. Tuesday is market day. There are several mosques and a modern Theological Institute (opened 1925); while the various Christian bodies Coptic, Greek, Catholic, Maronite and Protestant (American) have their places of worship. There are also government and community schools, hospitals and missions. The place is well supplied with and irrigated by canals which join with the Nile. The Mo'izz Canal (*Bahr Mo'izz*) is the former Tanitic branch. A certain kind of small fish which is caught thereabouts is called a *zakhāzīk*. The situation of the town is very favourable owing to the fertility of the surrounding country. Within the last century it has accordingly developed considerably in importance and wealth. In the neighbourhood are the ruins of *Tell Bayta* (the ancient *Bubastis*) where amid fallen granite blocks and masonry lies all that remains of the famous Temple of Bast.

Bibliography: Baedeker, *Egypt* (1929), p. 181, 183, 192; Boinat Bey, *Géogr. Economique*, p. 226 sq.; Wallis Budge, *By Nile & Tigris*, i. 79 sq.; D. Tambacopoulos, *De la Peste de Zakhāzīk en 1901*; Amélineau, *Géogr.*, p. 89; René Francis, *Egyptian Antiquities* (London 1911), p. 33 sq.; Barron and Hume, *Topography and Geology of the Eastern Desert of Egypt* (1902), p. 128—9. (J. WALKER)

ZAKKUM. [See *DIJAHANNAM*.]

AL-ZALLĀKA, the name given by the Muslim historians to the place near the town of Badajoz ([q. v.] *Ar. Badalyaw*) where the armies of the Almoravid sultan Yūsuf b. Tāghīn [q. v.], assisted by Andalusian contingents, inflicted a memorable and severe defeat on the troops of Alfonso VI of Castille on Friday 12th Raddj 479 (Oct. 23, 1086). This famous battlefield is now known as *Sagrajas* on the banks of the Rio Guerrero about 8 miles N. E. of Badajoz.

Almost all the Muslim historians of Spain devote a large space in their works to the account of the battle of al-Zallāka, but the most circumstantial account is that incorporated by Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Himyari in his historical and geographical compilation entitled *al-Rawḍ al-mi'fār* reproduced almost in its entirety in his *Nafḥ al-Tib*. On the circumstances which led up to the battle of al-Zallāka and resulted in the landing of Yūsuf b. Tāghīn in Spain as well as for an account of the battle itself see the article *Yūsuf b. Tāghīn*.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ii. 484; 'Abd al-Wahid al-Marrakushi, *al-Mu'djib*, ed. Dozy, p. 93—94; transl. Fagnan,

p. 113—115; Ibn Abi Zar', *Rawḍ al-Kāfi*, p. 94—98; al-Ḥulal al-mawḥiyya, (Tunis), p. 40—41; Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Himyari, *al-Rawḍ al-mi'fār*, Spain, ed. in preparation, i. v. al-Zallāka; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, x. 99 sqv.; Dozy, *Script. ar. loci de Abbadid*, ii. 8, 21—23, 36—39, 134—136, 196—201; al-Makḥzari, *Nafḥ al-Tib* (Analectes), ii. 673 sqq.; al-Nāṣir al-Salāwi, *Kitāb al-Iḥkām*, i. 166 sqq.; transl. G. S. Collin, in *A. M.*, xxxi. Paris 1925, p. 165 sq.; Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, new ed., Paris 1932, p. 126—130; A. González Palencia, *Historia de la España musulmana*, Barcelona 1925, p. 71; C. F. Seybold, *Die geographische Lage von Zallāka und Alarcos*, in *Revue Hispanique*, xv., 1906, p. 647; R. Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, Madrid 1929, i. 357—365. (E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-ZALZALA OF AL-ZHILZIL, title of sūra xcix., taken from the opening words.

AL-ZAMAKHSHARĪ, ABU 'L-KKXIM MAHMUD b. 'OMAR, a Persian born Arabic scholar, theologian and philologist. Born in Khwāzism on 27th Raddj 467 (March 8, 1075), in the course of his travels as a student he came to Mecca, where he stayed for some time as a pupil of Ibn Wabbāsa, hence his epithet *Djār 'l-Hāḥ*. He must however have achieved a literary reputation before this; when he passed through Baghdad on the pilgrimage he was welcomed there by the learned 'Alid Hibat Allāh b. al-Shadjari. As a theologian he followed the teachings of the Ma'tazila; as a philologist, in spite of his Persian descent, he championed the absolute superiority of Arabic and used his mother tongue only in instructing beginners. He died at al-Djurdjāntya in Khwāzism on the day of 'Arafāt 538 (June 14, 1144). Ibn Baṣṣāṭa (Paris ed., iii. 6) was still able to see his tomb there.

His principal work, completed in 528 (1134), is his commentary on the Kur'an, *al-Kaḥkūf 'an Ḥaṣṣat al-Tanzil*, which in spite of its Ma'tazila bias — at the very beginning he declares the Kur'an created — was widely read in orthodox circles. The author devotes most attention to dogmatic exegesis of a philosophical nature, paying only slight attention to tradition. Besides giving the purely grammatical exposition, he devotes special attention to pointing out rhetorical beauties and thus supporting the doctrine of the *ṣifāt* of the Kur'an. He gives particular care to the lexicographical side of his work, going fully into the readings and supports his explanations by ample extracts from the old poetry. His work still retained a place in literature when Balḍawī produced his own as the orthodox counterpart and tried to surpass him in the accuracy of the grammatical exposition and in quoting variant readings. Even in the western lands of Islām, where his dogmatic point of view gave particular offence to the Mālikis, Ibn Khaldūn placed it high above other commentators; it is not however an accident that manuscripts of his work are rarer in the west than in the east. The first edition by W. Nassau Lees and the Mawlawis Khādim Hussain and 'Abd al-Hay (Calcutta 1856, 2 vols.) was followed by the printed editions at Bilāq 1291, Cairo 1307, 1308, 1318. To the 15 glosses quoted in Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 290, of which that of 'Alī al-Djurdjānt (d. 816 = 1413) was printed on the margin of the Cairo editions of 1308 and 1318 we may add — setting aside uncertain statements in

Stambul library catalogues — glosses on Muh. al-Firmāsī's (d. 817 = 1414) preface *Nagħd al-Kashshaf min Khat al-Kashshaf* by Muhammad al-Dawūdī (d. 907 = 1501) in the Escorial (s. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Mss. ar. de l'Esc.*, iii, N° 1283) and superglosses by al-Khayālī (d. 863 = 1458) on the glosses by Dītharī (cf. *cit.*, N° 4) in Cambridge (Browne, *Suppl. Handlist*, N° 1037). On the illustrative verses, in addition to Muhibb al-Dīn b. Taqī al-Dīn al-Maṭī al-Hamawī (d. 1016 = 1605), we now have al-Dīnawālī's *Tamāl al-Āyāt*, composed in 1011 = 1602, Bulaq 1281, Cairo 1307, 1308, on the margin of the *Kashshaf* 1318, and a work, dealing at the same time with Baidāwī, by Khidr b. 'Alī Allāh, *al-Īrāf fī Sharḥ Sharḥ al-Āyāt wa 'l-Kashshaf*, written in 974 (1566) in the Edinburgh MSS. N° 2—3. In addition to the synopses given in *G.A.L.*, may be mentioned the *Tafīr al-Kashshaf wa Ziyādāt Nahḥ al-Īrāf* of the Zaidī Dīnawālī al-Dīn 'Alī b. Maḥammad b. Abī Ṭ-Ḥasīm b. al-Hādī Ḥa Ṭ-Ḥaḥḥ b. Rasūl Allāh, composed in 795 (1393) in Ṣan'ā in the Brit. Mus. Or. 5752 (s. *Descriptive List*, N° 4) and in the Ambrosiana (Griffini), B. 304, 104, also *al-Dīnawālī al-Sharḥ al-muṭlaq min Maḥḥ al-Kashshaf* of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Hādī b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza b. Rasūl Allāh, about 810 (1407) in the Ambrosiana, B. 47—48, 99 (*R.S.O.*, iv, 105), as well as the *Khat al-Kashshaf* of Abū Ṭ-Tayyib Ḥ. Sīdīq al-Kamawālī, Naṭb of Bhopal (d. 1307 = 1890), Lucknow 1289. Of the counterblast, the *Kitāb al-Intiqāf min al-Kashshaf* of Ahmad b. Muhammad b. al-Muṣṭayyir al-Mālikī (d. 683 = 1284), pr. Cairo 1307, 1313 on the margin of the *Kashshaf*, there is a second synopsis *al-Intiqāf* by 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Alī al-Farīq al-Aṣṭarī in the Escorial (Lévi-Provençal), N° 1278 and in Stambul, Selim Agha, N° 34.

A *Kitāb al-Kashshaf* *fī 'l-Kirā'āt*, so far as I know mentioned nowhere else, is according to *R.A.D.*, viii, 758 in the library of Rihāt Sayyidā 'Oḡmān in Medina.

Of his grammatical works, *al-Mufaṣṣal* written in 513—515 (1119—1121) has become celebrated for its succinct yet exhaustive and lucid exposition; it was published by J. B. Broch, Christiania 1859, 1879, with glosses and appendices by Mawlawī Muhammad Ya'qūb Rāshīdī, Delhi 1891, by Ḥamza Faṭḥ Allāh, Alexandria 1201, Cairo 1323, with Shawāhid commentary by Muhammad Baḥr al-Dīn Abū Firas al-Nas'ānī al-Ḥalabī. To the commentaries mentioned in *G.A.L.*, i, 292, of which that published by G. Jahn, Leipzig 1882 in 2 vols., written by Ibn Ya'qūb (d. 643 = 1245) is the best known, may be added: 1. *al-Mufaṣṣal* by Abū Ṭ-Ḥaḥḥ 'Abd Allāh b. Abī 'Abd Allāh Ḥamām al-Ukharrī (d. 616 = 1219), *Fihrist*, Cairo, ii, 157; 2. *al-Mufaṣṣal* by 'Abd al-Wahīd b. 'Alī al-Aṣṭarī, Escorial, Derenbourg, N° 61; 3. *al-Mufaṣṣal* by Muhammad b. Sa'īd al-Marwazī (Ḥajjī Khalīfa, vi, 38, 43), Brill-Houtma, N° 134; 4. *Uḥḥ Ma'ānī al-Aḥyāt al-Aḥyāt al-mawḥidāt fī 'l-Mufaṣṣal* by Ibn Mālik (d. 673 = 1273) in Damascus, s. Zaynī, *Khawāṣṣ al-Kutub*, p. 64, 55; 5. on the verses by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Kharrāzī, *ibid.*, p. 86, 41; 6. by Muhammad b. Muhammad Fakhr al-Farakhānī, Brit. Mus. Or. 7472 (*Descr. List*, N° 50); 7. *al-Muṣṭawī fī Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal* by Muhammad 'Abd al-Ghānī, Calcutta 1322 (1904); 8. by 'Abd Allāh al-Ṭarḥī, Lucknow 1323; 9. by Abū Ṭ-Ḥasīm Ahmad al-Siddīqī al-Aḥṭafī

in Stambul, Selim Agha, N° 1157. An imitation of the *Mufaṣṣal* with the same title was written in 670 (1271) by Ahmad b. Bahrām b. Maḥmūd, MS. in the Brit. Mus., s. *Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Browne*, p. 148, N° 826.

In addition to a treatise on syntax, *al-Mufaṣṣal wa 'l-Mufaṣṣal fī 'l-Nagħd*, which had a small circulation and is only known from the Stambul MSS. Köprülü, N° 1393, Lilliet, N° 3740 (see Rescher, in *M.S.O.*, iv, 31), he also wrote the short handbook *al-Ummūdhaf*, which attained great popularity; see de Sacy, *Anthologie grammaticale*, p. 99 opp.; A. Fischer, in *Continuatio d. nov. di M. Anvari*, i, 337—363, autographed by Broch, Christiania 1867, pr. Tihān (i) 1269, Tabriz (i) 1275, Cairo 1289, Stambul 1299 (following al-Maḥḥīnī's *Nagħd al-Sharḥ*), in a *Dīwān al-Muḥaddithīn*, Tihān 1884. Among the commentaries on it the best known is that of Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Ghānī al-Ardabīlī, whose date of death is not known (certainly not 647, as in the *Fihrist*, Cairo?, ii, 123, as no MS. is known before the year 1000), printed Bulaq 1269, in a Persian *Maḥmūd* 1279, on the margin of the main work, Kazan 1901. In addition to the commentary of Sa'īd al-Dīn al-Bardā'ī (for MSS. see *G.A.L.*, i, 292) may now be mentioned that by his pupil Dīyā' al-Dīn al-Muḥḥīnī, Brit. Mus. Or. 6260 and the two modern ones *al-Fairūzī fī Sharḥ al-Ummūdhaf* by Muhammad 'Alī 'Askar, Cairo 1289, and *Ummūd al-Sarī* by Ibrahim b. Sa'īd al-Kharrāzī, written in 1298 (1880), Bulaq 1312. For a work on grammatical puzzles and another on prosody see *G.A.L.*, *loc. cit.* Here also may be mentioned his commentary on the *Lamīyat al-'Arab* of Shamsar: *Adḥak al-'Adḥak fī Sharḥ Lamīyat al-'Arab*, printed with the commentary of Muḥarrar, Stambul (Djāwā'ib) 1300, alone Cairo 1324, together with a series of other commentaries, Cairo 1328.

He made the Arabic vocabulary available to his countrymen in the *Muḥaddithat al-'Arab* with explanations in Persian, dedicated to the Sipāhshāh Atsiz b. Khwārizmshāh (*Somachchārū Lexicon arabico-persicum*, ed. J. G. Weitzel, 2 vols., Leipzig 1844). A dictionary of the classical language remarkable for its methodical arrangement is his *Adḥak al-Balāgha*, printed in 2 vols., Cairo 1299, 1341 (*Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya*), Lucknow 1311. He collected the peculiarities of the language of the traditions (*Ghāṣṣ al-Ḥadīth*) in the *Kitāb al-Fatāḥ*, printed Haidarābād 1324. The geographical dictionary *Kitāb al-Aḥḥām wa 'l-Dīyāl* = *'l-Miyāh* was published by M. Salverda de Grave (auspice T. G. J. Juynboll), Leyden 1856. Of his *al-Durr al-Aḥḥ (i) al-muḥaddithat fī Kināyat wa 'l-ḥadīth wa 'l-ḥadīth al-'Arab* only a fragment has survived in Leipzig (Vollers, N° 873, i).

His wonderful knowledge of the language was shown in a series of collections of sayings which enjoy great popularity. A collection of old proverbs is contained in the still unprinted *al-Muḥaddithat fī 'l-Aḥḥām*, which exists in numerous MSS. in Stambul, in addition to those given in *G.A.L.*, i, 292 (see Rescher, in *M.S.O.*, xv, 23; *R.S.O.*, iv, 708; *M.O.*, vii, 97, 102), in Brusa (cf. *Z. D.M.G.*, lxxviii, 50) and Scutari (*ibid.*, 58); a selection from it entitled *Zuhāt al-Aḥḥām* was made by Muḥḥāḥ b. Ibrahim al-Gallipoli (d. 1024 = 1615) in 999 (1591) with Persian commentary and Turkish glosses (see *G.A.L.*, ii, 423). He made three collections of apophthegms, composed by

himself with particular care and all the fine artifices of rhetoric: 1. *Nawāḥiḡ al-Kalīm* (*Anthologia sententiarum arabicarum cum scholiis Zamaksharī*, ed., verit., illustravit H. A. Schultens, Leyden 1772; *Les Pensées de Z.*, texte arabe... par C. Barbier de Meynard, in *J. A.*, ser. viii, vol. vi., p. 313 sqq.; cf. de Goeje, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxx, 369 sqq.; lith. Stambul 1866; pr. Cairo 1287, 1303; Bairūt 1306). Of the commentaries the best known is that of Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftazānī (d. 792 = 1389) entitled *Nifaw al-Sawāḥiḡ*, lith. Stambul 1866, Cairo 1287, with glosses by Muḥammad al-Bairūtī, Bairūt 1306; that of Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Khāwāḡī, written about 770 (1368), was printed in Kusan in 1314. In addition to the commentaries mentioned in *G. A. L.*, i. 292 by al-Kābīdī (viii century), the prince of Yaman al-Nāsir b. 'l-Ḥakḡ al-Mubīn, written in 782 (1380), and by al-Konawī about 1000 (1591), we have also those of Muḥammad b. Dīḡkān 'Alī al-Nasāfi, which Schultens, *loc. cit.*, used, and that of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Rabā'ī (d. 971 = 1564; see *G. A. L.*, ii. 368), written in 967 (1560), see Lévi-Provençal, *Les Mss. arabes de Rabat*, N^o. 421, and the Turk. transl. by Yusuf Sīdīkī Efendi, pr. Stambul 1283; 2. *Rabī' al-Abḡār fī mā yasurū* 'l-Khāwāḡī wa 'l-Aḡḡār (cf. v. Hammer, *Wiener Jahrb.*, lxxiii, *Ann. Bl.*, p. 231), pr. Cairo 1292; a synopsis with additions from other sources was prepared by Muḥammad b. al-Khatīb Kāsim (d. 940 = 1533; see *G. A. L.*, ii. 429) and entitled *Rawḡ al-Aḡḡār*, pr. Bulāḡ 1279, 1288, Cairo 1292, 1306, 1307; 3. *Aḡḡāḡ al-Dhāḡḡ* (*Samachshari Goldene Halsbänder als Neujahrgeschenk arabisch und deutsch von J. v. Hammer*, Vienna 1835; new translation by H. L. Fleischer, Leipzig 1835; again transl. by G. Well, Stuttgart 1863; *Les colliers d'or, allocutions morales de Z.*, ed. and transl. by C. Barbier de Meynard, Paris 1876 as *al-Nawāḡ al-tiḡḡār*, by which name it is also cited in the *Aḡḡāḡ*, in Leyden MSS. N^o. 2153 and Brit. Mus. Suppl. N^o. 1003 (see de Goeje, in *Z. D.M.G.*, xxx, 369), pr. Bairūt 1314, with Turk. transl. Stambul 1286, with commentary *ḡalā'id al-Adāb* by Mirzā Yusuf Khān Astr (d. 1307 = 1889; see *Hilāl*, iii. 869), Bairūt 1293, 1322; Cairo 1321. Imitations entitled *Aḡḡāḡ al-Dhāḡḡ* were compiled by the otherwise unknown Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Maḡmūd al-Nawḡī, see Cat. Brill-Houtma, N^o. 496, 13, and the Persian poet Abd al-Mu'min b. Hibat Allāh al-Isfahānī, who flourished about 600 (1203), printed along with the *Aḡḡāḡ* Stambul 1289, alone Cairo 1329, on the margin of Muḥammad Efendi Sa'd's *Tuhfat Ahl al-Fuḡāḡ* f. 'l-Munāḡama wa 'l-Muḡāḡa, Cairo 1307, 1326, with commentary by Muḥammad Sa'd al-Rāḡī, Cairo 1328, with glosses by Yusuf b. Ima'd al-Nabāḡī (President of the High Court in Bairūt), Bulāḡ 1280, Cairo 1880, Bairūt 1309.

He composed a series of moral discourses opening with the address *Yā Aḡā 'l-Kāsim* to himself and called *Maḡmūḡ*, after the older meaning of this word [q.v.]; they are also known as *al-Nawāḡ al-kibḡ*, and he added 5 pieces of a different nature, on grammar, prosody and the *Alfaw al-'Arab*, after recovering from a severe illness in 512 (1118); printed with the author's commentary Cairo 1313, 1325, transl. by O. Rescher, *Beiträge zur Maḡmūḡliteratur*, fasc. 6, Gieselswald 1913. The *Kitāb Nushat al-muḡāḡanna wa-Nahḡat al-muḡḡatib* also belongs to *adab* literature; it is a kind of

*lexikographische Beliettristik, preserved in the Aya Sofia N^o. 4331 (cf. Rescher, in *Z. D. M. G.*, lxiiv, 508).

Of his poems, which were collected into a *Diwān*, *Fihrist*, Cairo², iii. 131, a *Marḡḡya* on his teacher Abū Muḡar has been printed in al-'Izzī's *Maḡmūḡ*, ed. by Yahūda, p. 16 sqq.

He composed only two works on the field of Tradition: 1. *Muḡḡḡat al-Muḡḡḡaḡa bain al-Bait wa 'l-Saḡḡa*, in the library of Ahmad Taimūr, see *R. A. D.*, x. 313; 2. *Khaḡḡat al-'Aḡḡa al-Kirām al-Barāra*, see Ahlwardt, Berlin MS. N^o. 9656; *Herpiris*, xii. 117, 991.

Bibliographie: al-Aḡḡār, *Nushat al-Allāḡ*, p. 469—473; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Bulāḡ 1299, ii. 107; Yāḡḡū, *Irḡḡḡat al-'Arab*, ed. Margoliouth, vii. 147—151; Suyūḡ, *Buḡḡat al-Wū'at*, p. 388; *Liber de interspectibus Karani*, ed. Meursinge, p. 41; Ibn Kutūḡḡḡa, *Kronik der Lebensbeschreibungen*, ed. by G. Flügel, N^o. 217; Muḡḡḡḡḡ 'Abd al-'Iḡḡ al-Laknawī, *al-Faḡḡ'id al-'Aḡḡa*, p. 87; Djami' Bek, *'Uḡḡat al-Diḡḡḡar*, i. 294 sqq.; Ibn Tagḡḡḡirdī, ed. Popper, iii. 34, 7—17; Barbier de Meynard, in *J. A.*, 1875, ii. 314 sqq.; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 289 sqq.; Satka, *Maḡḡḡḡ al-Maḡḡḡat*, col. 973 sqq.; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. der Qurān*, ii. 174; Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koran-auslegung*, p. 117—177. (C. BROCKELMANN).

ZAMĀN (A.) is the word generally used in the terminology of philosophy to express the conception of time. *Dahr*, *waḡt* and *ḡin* are synonyms. To distinguish it from time as perceived of the senses, time in the abstract is often called *dahr* (Pers. *zardān*) or described as *zamān wa'nawā*, *zamān muḡḡat*, *zamān 'alawī* etc.

Speculations on time (or space) as the highest principle of the world, with which Islām was acquainted from Hellenistic and Persian tradition, were of course strictly avoided. The doctrine that time, like space, was one of the five principles of the All was widely known, if it found little acceptance. Similar pentads, with different components and names, are found among the followers of hermetic wisdom (cf. J. Kroll, *Die Lehren des Hermes Trismegistos*, in *Beitr. u. Gesch. d. Philos. d. M. A.*, xii. 2—4, Münster 1914, p. 67 sqq.), among the ḡāḡḡians of Harrān, among the Ismā'īlīs, Druses etc. (S. Guyard, *Fragmente relatifs à la doctrine des Ismā'īlīs*, in *N. E.*, xxii, Paris 1874, p. 331 sqq. and *Die Drusenschrift Kitāb Almuḡḡat Waldawāḡ*, ed. Chr. Seybold, Leipzig 1902, p. 68). The physician Rāḡī (d. 923 or 932) gives them in the following order: 1. God-Creator; 2. World-Soul; 3. Original Matter; 4. Absolute Space; 5. Absolute Time (*Alawmī*), India, ed. E. Sachau, London 1887, p. 163; Ibn ḡāḡm, *Kitāb al-Milāl wa 'l-Niḡāl*, Cairo 1317, i. 24 sq. [where *muḡḡat* should be read for *muḡḡat* for absolute time]. As, according to Muslim belief, only God is absolute, infinite, eternal, this doctrine was condemned as heresy.

The metaphysical pentad (God, etc.) found an analogy in physics. Al-Yāḡḡū (second half of the third = ninth century) says with reference to the Aristotelian system of physics that there are five things (*aḡḡḡ*) in all the beings of nature, namely matter, form, space, motion and time; the last three however are accidents (al-Yāḡḡū, ed. Houtma, i. 148). Al-Kindī (d. after 870 = 1466) wrote a small book, which survives only in the Latin

translation, *De quinque essentiis* (in *Die philosophischen Abhandlungen des Ja'qub ben Ishaq al-Kindi*, ed. Alh. Nagy, Munich 1867, p. 28-40) in which after a general introduction the same five things are discussed, mainly on the basis of Aristotle's *Physics*, iv. These five things are discussed more fully but in the same order by the Ikhwān al-Sa'at (Bombay, II., *Riḥla* xv.; in Dielerici's selection Leipzig 1883, I. 24 sqq. It is *Riḥla* xiv.). They give various views about time. It is however clear that they not only give form precedence to matter, but put space as an accident of the body below motion and time which are in the soul and proceed from it. It is probably from this point of view that we are to understand the problem which we find in Tawhīd's *Muḥāsana*, Cairo 1929, p. 172 sq.: "Which is better, space or time?" The answer is: "Time is better, for space is of the senses but time is spiritual, space is in the world but time surrounds it"; etc.

While the older literature is often satisfied to detail the different views about time, acquaintance with Aristotle's exposition seems to have produced agreement among the philosophers. The matter is however complicated because the neo-Pythagorean and neo-Platonic distinction between perceptible and abstract time is retained. The physical treatment of time in connection with place and motion in space is based on Aristotle's *Physics*, iv. although not without Stoic influence. Metaphysics, in which the relation of the temporal to the eternal is dealt with, is influenced by neo-Platonism, mainly transmitted through the so-called *Theology of Aristotle*, the *Liber de Causis* and neo-Platonic commentaries on the works of Aristotle.

Physical time is distinguished as past (*samān māḍī*), present (*an, z. hāḍir*) and future (*z. mustaḥbal* or *mustaḥaḥ*). Since time, like motion, is according to Aristotle a continuous quantity, it does not consist of separate moments (contrary to the theological atomic theory). Consequently the present is strictly not time. Nevertheless the present moment is the only real one in time. This paradox led either to scepticism or to speculations about a real continuation of the past in the present.

With Aristotle, time was more nearly defined as the number (*adad*), measure (*miqḥar*) and the quantity (*ham, kamya*) of motion in its before- and afterness. Vice versa, motion was defined as the number or measure of time. Aristotle, who was concerned with pointing out the functional relation between motion and time, gives in one passage (*Physics*, iv. 12, 220^b, 14-16) the latter definition but it becomes the regular one among the neo-Platonists. Finally it may be mentioned that time, as defined by Aristotle, has, like motion, neither beginning nor end. World space is limited and the point in space may be the point at the end of a line, because this line is at rest, but time as a measure of motion flows always on.

The definition of time as interval or duration (*mudda, tawīdāt, maḍū'*) differs from this Aristotelian conception. Most probably we have here translations of *διαστήματα* and *διεσπασμός*, which mean interval among the Stoics and are explained by Plotinus in the higher sense as duration of the life of the soul (cf. H. A. Wolfson, *Critique of Aristotle's Problems of Aristotle's Physics in Jewish and Arabic Philosophy*, Cambridge-Harvard 1929, p. 638 sqq.). It is called interval, when Abu 'l-Ḥadīd al-'Alāf defines *maḍū'* as *farḥ* or *maḍā'*

between the separate acts (*af'āl*) (*Die dogmatischen Lehren der Anhänger des Islams* by al-'Alāf, ed. H. Ritter [Bibl. Isl., I], Constantino 1930, I. 443). Similarly Maṭṭhar b. 'Ishir al-Maḍdī says that in the Muslim view time (*samān*) is the movement of the sphere of heaven and *maḍā'* between actions (*af'āl*) (*Le livre de la création et de l'histoire d'Aḥmad Zāid Ahmad ben Saḥl al-Baḥḥā*, ed. C. Huart, Paris 1899, I. 41). On the other hand, *mudda* means duration in the *Kitaḥ Maḥāṣil al-'Ulūm* (ed. G. van Vloten, Leyden 1895, p. 137 sq.) where we read: "Time is a duration (*mudda*) which is counted i.e. measured, by movement, as by the motion of the spheres of heaven and other things in motion". Strictly we have here the above mentioned distinction between perceptible time measured by bodies in motion and abstract duration which cannot be measured, but is perceived by the soul and directly experienced (cf. H. Bergson's distinction between *temps* and *durée*; *mudda* is also found in Rāzī's terminology [cf. al-Bīrūnī, *op. cit.*], and the Ikhwān al-Sa'at. In the *Riḥla* xv., already mentioned, they speak of [physical] time as a duration which is measured by the motion of the sphere of heaven).

Mudda as the pure duration of life of the soul should probably be described as a mean between *samān* (accident of bodily motion) and *ḍahr* (duration of the spirit). This leads us to metaphysical considerations of the relation between time and eternity. The terminology here varies not only because they endeavour to bring Aristotle and Plato into harmony with one another but also because each writer and especially the mystic likes to use his own terms.

In a metaphor in the *Timaeus* Plato conceives of time as the image and emblem of eternity (cf. *Die sogenannte Theologie des Aristoteles*, ed. Fr. Dielerici, Leipzig 1882, p. 107, with *Timaeus*, p. 37 sqq., and H. Leisegang, *Die Begriffe der Zeit und Ewigkeit im späteren Platonismus* [Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Philos. im M. A., xiii. 4], Munich 1913, p. 1 sqq.). Only after the creation of the world-soul and the arrangement of the chaotic matter of the world did time begin with the regular movement of the sphere of heaven. The beautifully planned world and with it time will probably not come to an end. From Platonic tradition, especially through the intermediary of the Pseudo-Platarch and Galen, came the doctrine of beginning without end, and also speculations about time as identical with the motion of the sphere of heaven or with the sphere of heaven itself or even with the world-soul. If time was identified with the sphere of heaven and with the world-soul, it was called a substance (contrary to Aristotle who called it an accident).

After Aristotle became known, the suspect philosopher was recognized by his doctrine of the beginninglessness of time. Following the neo-Platonists, the followers of this doctrine were convinced that it was a reality in the form of a stair-case and it was therefore obvious that every kind of being has its own time or eternity. Only God is in the proper sense eternal, if not supereternal. That being and doing coalesce in the first cause (God) was certain to the philosophers, following Aristotle. God is eternal and therefore creates the world. The first creation, intelligence (*'aql*; *Le livre de la création* [see above], I. 154 sq. gives it as a Muslim conception, that higher time was the first creation,

i.e. the moment of the act of creation, while lower time comes from the motions of the sphere of heaven), is less eternal but in everlasting duration (*dhār*) and rest. The soul arising out of the intelligence is above time for it is the cause of time. This is the teaching of the so-called *Theology of Aristotle* (ed. Dielerici, p. 13 sqq.) with Plotinus. It is formally stated in the *Liber de causis* (Proklos): God as first cause is above duration, intelligence is equal to duration, the soul is below duration but above time, and nature is the field of the temporal (ed. O. Bardenhewer, Freiburg i. Br. 1882, p. 61 sq.). The activities of a being who is above time are, of course, carried on without consideration of time. They are compared with the activity of human thought, with the combination of form and matter, with the transmission of light through the world, all of which are timeless (on the question of sudden change, taking place in a flash, i.e. timeless, cf. H. A. Wolfson, *op. cit.*, p. 498 sqq., 543 sqq.).

For the theologians the question was at first very simple: an eternal God and a temporal world; there is no mean. The followers and opponents of the Muslim atomic theory were alike agreed on this. It was the fundamental principle of the atomists, to assert most emphatically that space contains a finite mass of atoms, and the duration of the world is limited to a finite number of moments of time.

The doctrine of a beginning and end of the world in time was defended by Ghazālī in the name of Muslim community against Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā in his *Tahāfut*. He attacks with vigour the Aristotelian doctrine of the beginninglessness of the world but a concession is made to Platonism. He cannot agree with Abū 'l-Hudhail when the latter asserts that an infinite number of revolutions of the sphere of heaven can be imagined in the future as little as in the past. Ghazālī finds the endlessness of the world conceivable but appeals to religious dogma, which clearly points to an end of the world (Algazel, *Fahāṣat al-Falāsifa*, ed. Bouyges, Bairūt 1927, p. 80 sq.).

Ibn Rushd rightly insists in his *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* (ed. Bouyges, Bairūt 1930, p. 64 sqq.; also *Kitaḥ Falsafa*, Cairo 1313, p. 10 sqq. and L. Gauthier, *La théorie d'Ibn Rushd sur les rapports de la religion et de la philosophie*, Paris 1909, p. 103 sq.) that much in this polemic is a matter of words only. Theologians as well as philosophers distinguish between the eternal unending being (God) and the changing world: this is the main thing. It is a minor point whether this world as a whole is called temporal or eternal or always arising and decaying.

Only for the mystic, who lives in the eternal, does time in every form disappear. In a state of grace (*ḥāl*) the changing *waqt* in him becomes consolidated in the life in the eternal presence of God (*The Kaḥf al-Mahjūb*, transl. Nicholson, Leyden 1911, p. 367—370).

Bibliography: There is no monograph on the subject. We may mention the following in addition to the works already quoted: P. Duhem, *Le Système du Monde*, I. 271 sqq.; II. 465 sqq.; H. Junker, *Über iranische Quellen der hellenistischen Atom-Vorstellung* (*Verh. d. Bibl. Wartburg*, I.), Hamburg 1923; see also the articles DAHR, KBALĪ, ŠIDAM, MIŠĀT, WAQT. (T. DE BOER)

ZAMĀN (pl. *zamān*, *azmān*, *azmīna*), time. As a guide to the distinction in use between *zamān* (common to the Semitic languages) and *waqt* (only Arabic with the meaning of "time") the following rules may be deduced from the Arabic works of a scientific nature, although they appear to be not infrequently broken even in works that have been compiled with great care. *Zamān* is used predominantly for time as a philosophical or mathematical conception in contrast to *māhān*, "space" (the similarity in sound between these two words has possibly not been without influence on the preference given to *zamān* over *waqt* in this connection), for longer periods, centuries, length of reign of dynasties, historical epochs, and also in astronomical usage for the numerical value of a period of time which is variable by nature, e.g. the longitude, which differs with latitude and season of the year, of the "temporal hours" (*al-sā'at al-zamāniya*, Gr. *ḥorai kanonikai*, Lat. *horae temporales seu inaequales*) which, in contrast to our "equinoctial hours" which are always of the same length (*al-sā'at al-'isfālā*, Gr. *ḥorai isopsephai*, Lat. *horae equinoctiales*), are obtained by dividing the period of daylight into twelve; in this case they also talk of *azmān* (more rarely *amḥāt*) *al-sā'at al-naḥr wa 'l-lail al-zamāniya*. In contrast to this, *waqt* (pl. *awqāt*) means in astronomy definite points in time, also (usually constant) spaces of time (*waqt intiqāf al-naḥr*, the astronomical noon; *waqt intiqāf al-lail*, midnight; both meanings are found together in al-Battānī, *Opus Astronomicum*, ed. Nallino, III. 192; *al-waqt* ["space of time"] *alladhī ta'addu fihī 'l-ḥamsa 'lā 'l-djuz' alladhī kanat fihī fi waqt* ["a point of time"] *al-'isfālā*), and in general, periods of time of short duration, e.g. the length of a man's life or of a generation. *Waqt* is also used with the meaning of *καρπός* for the "correct time"; it may also mean the astronomical time of observation, but in this meaning the technical term *miḥāt* (pl. *manāḥit*) from the same root is more usual, which in turn can also mean the art of compiling calendars and the time of prayer [see *MIḤĀT*]. *Zamān* and *waqt* are also both found meaning "seasons of the year" as synonyms of *faṣl*.

In his *Amwār al-Tamīl wa-Aṣṣūr al-Ta'wīl* (ed. Fleischer, Leipzig 1846, I. 105) al-Balḥāwī, discussing the word *manāḥit* in the *Kuṣṣan*, Sūra II. 185, gives the following definition of *mudda*, *zamān* and *waqt*: "*al-mudda* means, strictly speaking, the period of revolution of the sphere from beginning to end (i.e. it means the totality of time, "from eternity to eternity"); *al-zamān* is subdivided *mudda* (i.e. a considerable space of time) and *al-waqt* the *zamān* chosen for any purpose (i.e. *waqt* arises out of *zamān* by further subdivision and means definite shorter intervals or points)". This schematised definition coincides in essentials with that above given.

Calculation of time. 4. The pre-Muḥammadan Calendar. Our knowledge of the early Arab method of reckoning time, which is based on scattered references in what remains of the old poetry is still very incomplete and cannot by any means be regarded as satisfactory on all points. There is much in favour of the view — especially the meaning of the majority of the old names of the months (Šafar I, II, Rabī' I, II, Djumādā I, II,

Ramadan) — that the old Arab year was lunisolar in character and resembled in some degree the Jewish year ("Tibrit year"). We must however make this limitation that it is hardly safe to assume a uniform division of time for the whole of Arabia in the early period. Among the Arab Beduin tribes as well as among other nomad peoples, there was originally a calendar based on the moon only — a so-called pure lunar year, and the adaptation to the solar year only took place later. This assumption is also supported by the statements of various Muslim scholars (used by Mahmud Effendi in his article in *J. A.*, 1858, ser. v., vol. xl.); for example al-Biruni (*Āḥḥār*, ed. Sachau, Leipzig 1878) agreeing with Abū Ma'shar Dīfār b. Muḥammad al-Balkhī (*Kitāb al-Ulūf fi Bayāt al-Badā'ī*) with whose work he was acquainted, mentions that the transition from pure lunar years to lunisolar years took place about two centuries before the Hijra under the influence of the Jewish year. The later theory adopted by F. K. Ginzel (*Chronologie*, i. 248) from Mahmud Effendi (*Mém. des savants étrangers de l'Académie royale de Belgique*, xxi., 1861) which assumes the existence of a pure lunar year in the period immediately before the Hijra cannot be quoted as a sound argument against the preceding, as it is not sufficiently established that the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in March 571 — the "conjunction of religion" (*ḡirān al-dīn*) — actually took place immediately before the birth of the Prophet and that we have not here to deal with a later conjunction. The Arab lunisolar year, like the Jewish, began in autumn; the year itself consisted of 12, in leap years 13 months, which were reckoned from *hiḥāl* to *hiḥāl* (new moon). The intercalation of the thirteenth month which was necessary to fix the beginning of the year at a definite period in the solar year was done empirically from time to time, on the average every two or three years. The much disputed word *naḥḥ* (*Sūra* ix. 37) indicates, as Moberg has recently conclusively shown (Axel Moberg, *Al-Naḥḥ in der islamischen Tradition*, Lund 1931), this intercalation of the extra month; this was first expressly prohibited by Muḥammad in the year 10 A. H. (*Kur'ān*, loc. cit.). The time of the *ḥajj* [q. v.] originally associated with autumn — i. e. fixed by the solar year — was fixed presumably by the cosmic setting (*nuḥḥ*, pl. *anḥḥ*) of one of the 28 stations of the moon (*manāzil*); this method of fixing solar dates is also found at a later period (cf. the *Calendrier de Cordoue de l'année 961*, ed. Dory, Leyden 1873) and we find it also in early periods in other parts of the world (China, India, Egypt). In Muḥammad's time however as a result of insufficient skill in observing and intercalating, the lunisolar year had advanced so far in front of the solar year that the beginning of the year, with the month *Dhu 'l-Hijja* which preceded it and the time of the *ḥajj*, fell in the spring.

In the later period of the Dīhīliya the names of the months were already fixed as we know them in the Muslim period, except that al-Muḥarram [q. v.] in the latter took the place of *Safar* I; they were *Safar* I, *Safar* II, *Rabi' I*, *Rabi' II*, *Djuma'd I*, *Djuma'd II*, *Radjab*, *Shā'ban*, *Ramadan*, *Shawwāl*, *Dhu 'l-Ka'da*, *Dhu 'l-Hijja*; it is to be noted that the first half year consisted of three double months. The names of the early Arab months as given us by al-Biruni are quite different;

these, supplanted by those just mentioned, were al-Ma'tamir (= *Safar* I), *Najjir*, *Khawwān*, *Bupān*, *Hantam* or *Hanam* (vocalization uncertain), *Zabba* or *Zabba*, al-*Aḥamm*, *Adil*, *Nazh*, *Waghil*, *Huwa'*, *Barak*; some of them are still occasionally found later as epithets of the corresponding Muhammadan months, e. g. al-*Aḥamm* for *Radjab*, *Adil* for *Shā'ban*. In addition to these, al-Biruni, al-Ma'sudi and the Sabaean inscriptions give many other names of months, which differ considerably with the different tribes and sources so that no deductions can be made from them about the earliest period of the Arab calendar.

According to Wellhausen (*Reise arabischen Heidentums*, Berlin 1897, p. 96 ff.), the year was originally divided into three months: the period of rain, of drought and of heat. In the old Arab poetry we find a division into four, *Kharif* or *Rabi'*, *Shit'*, *Saif* and *Kaif*, roughly corresponding to our autumn, winter, spring and summer; it is possible there was also a sixfold division into *Rabi'* (late harvest), *Kharif* (autumn), *Shit'* (winter), al-*Rabi'* al-*thāni* (early harvest), *Saif* (early summer) and *Kaif* (summer).

The use of the week of seven days can be proved to have existed at a very early period among the pagan Arabs. According to al-Biruni (*Āḥḥār*, p. 64), the old names of the days of the week were *Awwal* (Sunday), *Aḥwan*, *Duḥār*, *Dubār*, *Mu'nīs*, *Arūba* and *Shiyār*. It should not however be assumed that the seven day week was an original invention of the Arabs; on the contrary, many things point to its having been taken from Babylonia or the Jews, among whom it was established at a very early period.

The days were grouped within the month into ten groups of three each, the names of which, reckoned from the new moon (*hiḥāl*) were *Gharar*, *Nufal*, *Tumā*, *'Uḥar*, *Bid*, *Dura'*, *Zulam*, *Ḥanḫā* or *Dahm*, *Da'āl* and *Mihāk* (cf. al-Biruni, *op. cit.*, p. 63 ff.). The day itself began at sunset, as among the Jews and as was later the custom in Islām. There is no evidence of the division of the day into 24 hours in the pre-Muhammadan period.

Epochs. The fixed points or epochs used in the pre-Muhammadan period from which to reckon years seem to have been very numerous. Al-Biruni mentions battles, memorable events, the year of the restoration of the Ka'ba etc. as epochs of the different tribes (*op. cit.*, p. 34). More general seems to have been the reckoning from the "days of treason", *ayām al-ḥajjār* (probably between 585 and 591 A. D.), and from the "year of the Elephant", *am al-fil* (probably about 570 A. D.), the latter, being according to some authors, the year of Muḥammad's birth (571).

1. The Calendar in Islām. By the already mentioned prohibition of the *naḥḥ* in the year 10 A. H. by Muḥammad there came into use the system of reckoning by pure lunar months which is characteristic of Islām (one pure lunar month = 12 synodical months of 29^d 12^h 44^m 3^s = 354^d 8^h 48^m 36^s; the term lunar year is really stupid!). An adaptation to the annual course of the sun was now no longer possible and the beginning of the Muhammadan year therefore falls about 11 days behind each solar year, coming back to the same solar time in about 33 years; 33 lunar years are therefore almost equivalent to 32 solar years. From this proportion we get the approximation formulae

for transforming years A. H. into years A. D. and vice versa:

$$A. D. = \frac{1}{2} A. H. + 622 \text{ or } A. H. = \frac{1}{2} (A. D. - 622).$$

For exact calculations the *Vergleichungstabellen* by Wüstenfeld and Mahler are indispensable (see *Bibl.*).

According to the *Kāri* (Sura x. 5, etc.) which expressly makes the moon the measurer of time, the beginning of the month and of the year must be established as in ancient times by actual observation of the new moon and as a matter of fact the popular calendar still does this at the present day. For reasons which are readily intelligible, at quite an early period a cyclic reckoning established itself which, starting from the fact that the period of two lunations is approximately 59 days, gave the months alternately a length of 30 and 29 days so that 1 (Muharram), 3, 5, 7, 9, 11 have each 30 days and 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12 have 29 days. The ordinary year thus has 354 days. The difference of $365 \frac{1}{4} - 354$ (almost exactly $\frac{1}{4}$ day) by which the astronomical lunar year is longer was made good by intercalating 11 days (*yawm al-halal*) in every 30 lunar years. The most widely disseminated in Muslim lands is the practice of making years 2, 5, 7, 10, 13, 16, 18, 21, 24, 26 and 29 in the cycle of 30 leap years (*sana kabila*). The intercalated day itself is always given to the month *Dhu l-Hijja* which in the ordinary year has 29, in leap year 30 days (on other systems of intercalation, especially the Turkish eight year cycle, see Ginzel, *Chronologie*, i. 255).

The day (i. e. the *vayḡḡam*, *al-yawm al-lailatihi*) in the period of the *Djishiliya* was reckoned from sunset; as al-Farghānī emphasises, this method of counting comes from the fact that the first day of the month is fixed by the *hīlāl* (first light of new moon) which is always to be observed at sunset. The division of the *vayḡḡam* into 24 hours is however to be traced to Greek influence. In ordinary reckoning of time temporal hours (see above) alone are used, on the other hand the astronomers very often use equinoctial hours and always expressly describe them as such.

Instead of the old names of the days of the week, we find in Islām simply the cardinal numbers in altered form (from Sunday to Thursday). Friday becomes "the day of assembly" and Saturday the "Sabbath"; as follows: *Yawm al-Aḥad* (Sunday), *Yawm al-Ithnain* (Monday), *Yawm al-Thalāthā* (Tuesday), *Yawm al-Arbaʿa* (Wednesday), *Yawm al-Khamis* (Thursday), *Yawm al-Djumʿa* (Friday), *Yawm al-Sabt* (Saturday). (In the days of the week it should be remembered as already explained that *Yawm al-Aḥad* begins on the evening of our Saturday, *Yawm al-Ithnain* on the evening of Sunday, and so on, so that the Arabic and European names do not cover exactly the same 24 hours).

In Muslim chronology the year begins on 1st Muharram of the year in which the Prophet made his Hijra from Mecca to Yathrib (not the day of the Hijra itself or of the arrival in Medina, which is usually taken to be the 8th Rabiʿ I, i. e. Sept. 20, 622). It was Thursday (*Yawm al-Khamis*) July 15, 622 A. D., called *Taʾrīkh al-Hijra* (in the Julian reckoning by days, day 1, 948, 439). The introduction of this era only took place under the Caliph ʿUmar.

Besides the reckoning by years from the Hijra the most varied foreign eras were also in use

(see *TAʾRĪKH*). The most important was the Alexandrian era (called *Taʾrīkh al-Kibt* — "Coptic", Egyptians — or *Taʾrīkh al-Shuhada* — "of the Martyrs") reckoned by the *shuhūr al-Kibt* which was the earliest in use. This is a solar era, unlike the Muslim. The year, the length of which, like the Julian, is $365 \frac{1}{4}$ days, has 12 months of 30 days not dependent on the phases of the moon, in which 5 days were added to the last month and 6 in leap years. Every fourth year is a leap year. The Egyptian names of the months, some in corrupt form, were used. According to al-Battānī (*Op. Astr.*, iii. 100) they were: Tūt (in the Greek historians *ῥώθ*), Bāba (*ῥωβή*), Atūr (*ῥωτῆ*), Kiyahk (*ῥωκε*), Tūba (*ῥωβή*), Amāhīr (*ῥωχῆ*), Barmahāt (*ῥωμωτῆ*), Harmūdha (*ῥωμωτῆ*), Bashans (*ῥωχῆ*), Bawūna (*ῥωβή*), Abīb (*ῥωβή*), Misri (*ῥωσῆ*). The five or six intercalated days were called as among the Copts the "little month", *al-shahr al-qagḡir*. The years of this era are generally reckoned from 284 A. D., the year of the accession of the emperor Diocletian; on the other hand in al-Battānī from Friday, Aug. 29, 25 A. C. (Nallino, i. 244 gives an explanation of this). — Another era in frequent use is the Seleucid called *Taʾrīkh al-Rūm* or *Taʾrīkh Iskandar*, usually *Taʾrīkh Dhi l-Karnain* after the "two-horned Alexander". It is usually reckoned from Monday, Oct. 1 (in al-Battānī from Saturday, Sept. 1) 312 A. C. and uses the Julian year and the Julian intercalation, with the Syriac-Arabic names of the months, *shuhūr al-Rūm*, so-called because each of these months corresponds to one in the Roman calendar, as follows:

Tishrin al-awwal . . .	October	31 days
Tishrin al-thāni . . .	November	30 "
Kānun al-awwal . . .	December	31 "
Kānun al-thāni . . .	January	31 "
Shahād	February	28 or 29 days
Adhār	March	31 days
Nisān	April	30 "
Aiyār	May	31 "
Ḥazirān	June	30 "
Tamūz	July	31 "
Ab	August	31 "
Alīl	September	30 "

These names of months are also used in the calendar of the Syrian Christians. — On other eras see al-Battānī, ch. xxxii. and Nallino's notes, i. 242 sqq.

The Arabo-Egyptian land-tax year (*al-sana al-kharāʿiyya*), which was introduced after the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs and used for long periods, was a solar year, the beginning of which coincided with that of the Egyptian solar year. The years were counted from the date of the Hijra; there thus arose differences between the number of Hijra years and those of the *kharāʿi*-years, which frequently caused confusion in dating. In Egypt itself this form of year was also in everyday use among the people (for further information see Ginzel, *op. cit.*, i. p. 264–265).

The Turkish financial year (*mālīye year*) which, along with the Hijra (lunar) year used mainly for religious purposes, was the official year, is in form — apart from its date of commencement — identical with the Julian year. The names of the months are with slight variations the same as those of the Syrian-Arab year already mentioned. The year begins on March 1; Feb. 29 is the intercalated day and also the last day of the year;

the leap-years are therefore, as can easily be understood, always a year in advance of those of the Christian era. The Turkish financial year goes back to an Arabic year introduced in the 14th (15th) century under the 'Abbasids; it was introduced among the Turks in 1087 (1677). The years themselves are numbered by Hijra years; in order to equate, in this system of counting, with the shorter lunar years, a year is dropped every 33 years, which is called *sivish* (Turk. = cancellation). The year 1285 (1871) which ought strictly to have been Sivish was deliberately counted as a full year which threw the *mâlîye* years out for a time. — Quite recently the Gregorian calendar has been officially adopted in Turkey.

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ZAMINDĀR (P.), a landholder, the possessor of a landed estate. In Bengal these holdings are usually extensive and the zamindār is responsible to the Government for the rent of his estate and also in some degree for the maintenance of order therein. In other parts of India zamindārs have smaller estates, held sometimes in common, under a settlement periodically renewable.

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(T. W. HAIG)

ZAMORA (Ar. SAMMURĀ), a town in the N. W. of Spain, capital of the province of the same name, 2,130 feet above sea-level on the left bank of the Duero, has now a much reduced population (16,000). The Arab geographers of Spain describe it as a town in the country of the Galicians (al-Djalālīka). It was, after the conquest of al-Andalus, peopled by Berbers and had to be evacuated at the beginning of the eighth century as a result of the territorial gains of the Christian kingdom of Leon. Retaken by the Muslims, it was reconquered and rebuilt in 280 (893) by Alfonso III. 'Abd al-Rahmān III attacked it in 327 (939) but without success; at the end of his reign he assisted Sancho of Navarre to reconquer it on his own account in 348 (959). When the *ḥudūd* al-Manṣūr [q. v.] Ibn Abi Amir, after disposing of his father-in-law, the general Qhalib, undertook in 371 (981) an expedition against Galicia, he gave the Umayyad prince 'Abd Allāh called "Dry Stone" the task of taking Zamora. He was not able to take the citadel of the town and contented himself with ravaging the country round and carrying off 4,000 prisoners. When al-Manṣūr had conquered Galicia and Bermudo II had arisen

there again, the *ḥudūd*, in 378 (988–989) after taking Leon, laid siege to the Christian prince in Zamora; Bermudo fled and the inhabitants handed the town over to al-Manṣūr. A little later in 385 (999) the *ḥudūd* placed a Muslim population in Zamora and gave the government of the town to Abu 'l-Aḥway Ma'n b. 'Abd al-'Aziz [q. v.] al-Tudjibī. This occupation did not last long, for Zamora was attacked by the second 'Amirid *ḥudūd* 'Abd al-Malik al-Manṣūr in his expedition of 395 (1005) against Galicia. After this the Muslim chroniclers make no mention of Zamora, which was now to play an important part in Castilian history down to the end of the middle ages, especially in the period of the Cid.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ZAMZAM, the sacred well of Mecca, also called the well of Imā'il. It is in al-ḥaram al-sharīf S. E. of the Ka'ba opposite the corner of the sanctuary in which the Black Stone is inserted. It is 140 feet deep and is surmounted by an elegant dome. The pilgrims drink its water as health-giving and take it home with them to give it to the sick. Zamzam in Arabic means "abundant water" and zamzama "to drink by little gulps" and "to mutter through the teeth".

Muslim tradition connects the origin of this well with the story of Abraham. It was opened by the angel Gabriel to save Hagar and her son Imā'il, who were dying of thirst in the desert. Hagar was the first to catch its water by building a wall of stone around it. It is at least certain that it was held in reverence at a very early period. In the pre-Islamic period the Persians used to come there as a line of an old poet shows: "The Persians muttered their prayers around the well of Zamzam from the earliest times". According to another poet, the well was visited by Sā'ad son of Bihak, the ancestor of the Sāsānids.

In the period of paganism, the Djurhumīs filled in Zamzam and threw all their treasure into it. Ma'ūdī however remarks that the Djurhumīs were poor and that the treasures buried there must have been brought not by them, but by the Persians.

The well was rediscovered and dug out by 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the ancestor of the Prophet, who provided it with walls of masonry; he took out of it two gazelles of gold, some "Ka'biya" swords and some cuirasses. With the swords he made the door of the Ka'ba, which he covered with plates of gold made from one of the gazelles and he put the other inside the sanctuary. The water of the well was distributed to the inhabitants of Mecca.

In 297 (909) Zamzam overflowed, a thing which had never been known before and several pilgrims were drowned.

Bibliography: Cf. the art. KĀ'BA, i. and iii.; Mas'ūdi, ed. and transl. Barbier de Meynard, s. index; H. Kazem Zadeh, *Relation d'un Pèlerinage à La Mecque en 1910—1911*, Paris 1912; descriptions by various travellers: Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschiedenis*, Naam- en Zaak-register, s. v. Zamzam; picture in Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilder aus Mekka*, Leyden 1889, Nrs. i., iii.; *The Travels of Ali Bey*, ii., pl. lvii. (B. CARRE DE VAUX)

ZANDAQA. [See ZINDĪQ.]

ZANDJ, the name of the negro tribes of the east coast of Africa, given by the Arab historians to the rebel slaves who, having previously rebelled in 75 (694), for fifteen years (255—270 = 868—883) terrorised lower Mesopotamia.

This rising is very important for it is a war of a classical type, a regular "social war" directed against Baghdad like those of Eunus (140 B.C.) and Spartacus (73—71 B.C.) against Rome, like that of Toussaint Louverture in Haiti (1794—1801), like the strikes of Natal coolies led by Gandhi (1906—1913) against European colonisation.

The rebels were, according to Tabari, our principal source, employed as navvies (*ḥasān*); their task was to make lower Mesopotamia arable, to remove the *ṣabāḥ*, and to pile it up in mounds to make the nitrous lands of the Shatt al-'Arab cultivable (*ḥasān*), from *ḥasān*, nitre, a Persian term used also in 'Omān; cf. de Goeje, *Glossaire de Tabari*, s. v. *ḥasān*, following the *Kitaḥ al-'Uyūn*. They were mainly recruited from imported negro slaves and from the peasants of the country, grouped in gangs of 500—5,000 labourers and penned there homeless and hopeless, all their food being a few handfuls "of flour, semolina and dates". Through contact with the Islam of their masters, by a process of spiritual induction, these unfortunate creatures learned that they had a right to exist and to a minimum of justice; the influence of the Muslim cenobites of the neighbouring hermitages of 'Abbādān was perhaps also felt.

These slaves then found a leader who was resolved to put an end to their misery, an 'Alid pretender with a disputed but perhaps genuine pedigree, for al-Bīrūnī says that the Shī'is still celebrated his festival on Ramaḍān 26; he took the name of 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Isā b. Zaid b. 'Abbās b. 'Alī b. Husain b. 'Alī and was called al-Burḡū'ī "the veiled". Assisted by a certain Rashīd Ḳarmāḡī (perhaps connected with the Ḳarmāṭian propaganda then just beginning), by a miller and a lemonade seller, he had the oath of fealty sworn to him by his runaway slaves (*ḥabīb*) in an oath *bi 'Aḥlāḥ* in the Ḳarmāṭian fashion [cf. *ḲARMĀṬIANS*, SURĀḤIYĀ]; he raised the standard of rebellion on the 7th Ramaḍān 255 (868) and uttered the Ḳur'ānic verse called of the *ḥurūt* (ix. 112) devoting himself to war to the knife (*ḥurūtī ḥudūd bi 'Nāḥ*).

Our sources unfortunately give few details of his system of government which was of a communistic type. They refer almost exclusively to the course of the war which was waged mercilessly on the Zandj by the 'Abbāsid regent Muwaffaq. Setting out from Djuḥḥā, the Zandj leader divided his forces, armed with slings, into two divisions (1. the *Zandj* in the strict sense, 2. *Furūṭiyā*, *Ḳarmāṭiyā*, *Nāḥ*)

and supported by the Arab tribe of the Banū Tamīm with a fleet he took in succession Ubulla, 'Abbādān, southern Ahwāz and finally the great city of Baṣra. He advanced as far as Wāsiṭ (264 = 877), Qjabbul, Nu'māniya, Djardjān'iya and Rām-hurmus. The regent, realising the greatness of the danger, mobilised all his forces for a second offensive. It took him three years to finish the war; first he broke through the five enclosures of the camp of Maṣra, then laid siege to the Zandj headquarters at Maḥḥāra (268 = 881), on the canal Abu 'l-Khaṣīb south of Baṣra; it only capitulated in 269 (882) and al-Burḡū'ī was killed on 2nd Šafar 270 (883). The rebellion was savagely suppressed, those who had fled returned and the old order was restored.

Bibliography: Tabari, ed. de Goeje, iii. 1742—1787, 1835—2103; Th. Noldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, p. 146—175; P. Casanova, in *Revue Numismatique*, 1893, p. 510—516; J. Walker, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1933, p. 651—656.

(L. MASSIGNON)

ZANDJĀN, a town in northern Persia, capital of the province of Ḳhamsa which lies between Ḳarwīn, Hamadān, Aḥarḥādījān and Gilān.

Geography. The town of Zandjān is situated on the river Zangīnārūd (the old name of which, according to the *Nuḥat al-Ḳulūb*, p. 221, was Mādī-rūd), which runs from east to west and joins the Safīd-rūd [q. v.] on its right bank. Zandjān is an important station on the great road from Aḥarḥādījān to Ḳarwīn and thence to Tīhrān and Ḳhurāsān. Zandjān is also at the junction of several other roads; to the north, that to Ardabil [cf. TĀROM] and Gilān (via Maṣāla); to the S. W., that to Marāgha [q. v.] and to Sa'īn-Kāi'a [q. v., No. 1]; to the south, that to Hamadān. This last road used occasionally to be used by pilgrims coming from the north who wished to avoid the proximity of Ḳurdīstān.

The country to the south of Zandjān which is under it has been rarely visited by travellers but is represented on our maps with sufficient clearness. In 1880 several engineers worked there on behalf of the Persian government, who had learned that there were deposits of gold there.

The 17 districts of the province of Ḳhamsa are as a rule named after the rivers of the Safīd-rūd basin (H. Schindler): Aḥar-rūd [cf. Yāḳūt, i. 104, in Persian: Awhar, explained as "mill water"; its waters flow to the plain of Ḳarwīn], Do-dānge, Khodā-bāndelū, Soḡḡs-rūd [cf. Yāḳūt, iii. 40 and Iṣṭaḥrī, p. 196; the present capital is Maḥḥād-ābād], Sohrāward (Yāḳūt, iii. 203; سهرورد often confused with شاهرورد, Shahrāzūr; q. v.), Idjārūd (to the south

of the Zandjān-Takht-i Sulaimān road), Kīlīf-gāci-rūd, Angūrān, Ūryād (< Oyrat), Golbāsrūd, Bīzīnārūd, Ḳāni-beglu, Armoghān, Tārom [q. v.], Khuyūn-āy, Garmāb, Zandjānārūd.

Although Zandjān lies considerably to the east of Aḥarḥādījān, it belongs to the Turkish linguistic zone (cf. Fortescue, *The Western Elburz*, in *G.* 7, 1924, April, p. 310). The province is mainly inhabited by Afshārs [q. v.] whose amirs were still able to play a part in politics in 1914—1916. Besides the Afshārs, there is the tribe of Dowsyārān, who consider themselves Shāh-sewān [q. v.].

History. Andreas (Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl.*, i. 731) has very ingeniously identified Zandjān with

'*Arzū Zanj*' (*Arzū Zanj*) in Ptolemy, vi. 2, 11. Thomas Arisaron (transl. Brossier, p. 193) calls it Zangon. According to the *Nuḥāt al-Kulūb*, p. 61, the town was built (rebuilt) by Artashir Bābān under the name of Shāhin. Zandjān is rarely mentioned in history. The Muslims coming from Raiy took it in 24 (= 645; Baladhuri, p. 322; Yāqūt, ii. 928).

Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 57, includes Zandjān in the "Pahlawi" countries (*bilād al-Bahlawīya*) and it is curious that according to the *Nuḥāt al-Kulūb* the people of Zandjān "speak pure Pahlawi", i.e. a northern Iranian dialect. The intermediary position of Zandjān is reflected in the Arab geographers, who treat it sometimes under al-Djibāl (Iṣṣakht, p. 198), sometimes under Dailām (*ibid.*, p. 195) sometimes under Ḥaḥarabādjān (Muḥaddas, p. 386), sometimes under Raiy (Muḥaddas, p. 386).

In the tenth century, Zandjān came within the sphere of the activities of the Dailāms (cf. *ibid.*, p. 195). The stronghold of Sar-djāhān is often mentioned in the N. E. of Zandjān (to the north of the Kōhrūd; cf. *SA'IN-SAL'A*, No. 2; *Nuḥāt al-Kulūb*, p. 64). Under the Mongols Zandjān was ruined and the region between Zandjān and Tabriz attracted the tribes of the conquerors. The name of the district of Uryād still preserves the memory of the Oyrat. The Ilkhān Arghūn was buried in the district of Sudjān (*ḥorūḡi Arghūn*, "Arghūn's sanctuary"; *Nuḥāt al-Kulūb*, p. 64; transl. p. 69). At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Zandjān was close to the new capital Sultāniya (q.v.). The *Nuḥāt al-Kulūb*, written in 1340, contains many details about the region of Zandjān (p. 56, 61, 106, 182, 217, 221). At this time the revenues of the town were 12,000 dinars and those of the district 8,000 dinars. In the post-Safawid period, the arena of Turco-Persian struggle extended as far as Zandjān. In the sixteenth century Zandjān was best known as one of the centres of the Bābis who in 1266 (1850) there offered armed resistance to the government (cf. *Tārīkh-i Jafārī*, transl. Beuzun, p. 135-169).

Bibliography: Morier, *A Journey*, 1812, p. 261; Ouseley, *Travels*, 1819, iii. 386 (reckons 10,000 inhabitants in Zandjān); Ritter, *Erdbunde*, viii. 623-624; *Hommage de Hell, Voyage*, iii. 91-94; Khanikow, *Khodeniye v Kebeles*, in *Trudi Vost. Otd. I. Arkhiv. Obzr.*, 1864, viii. 353-383 (journey of a pilgrim from Tabriz to Karhālā via Zandjān-Hamadān; the distance between the two last named places is estimated at 30 farsakhs); de Filippi, *Note di viaggio in Persia*, Milan 1865, p. 180-193; Houtum-Schindler, *Neue Angaben d. Mineralreichthümer Persiens und Notizen über die Gegend westlich von Zandjan*, in *Jahrbuch d. K. K. geol. Reichsanstalt*, Vienna 1881, p. 161-191; do., *Reisen im n.-w. Persien*, in *Z. Ges. Erdk.*, Berlin 1883, xviii, p. 320-331 (gold at Kāwand; 20-24 thousand inhabitants in Zandjān; altitude 5,185 feet); cf. *ibid.*, 1875, xiv, p. 65; Browne, *The Bābi insurrection at Zandjān*, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1897, p. 761-827; do., *A year amongst the Persians*, p. 72-74; Stahl, *Reisen in Zentral- und West-Persien*, in *Peterm. Mitt.*, li, 1905, map 2 (roads west of Zandjān); do., *Reisen im Nord- und West-Persien*, *ibid.*, liii, 1907, p. 121-126, map (road: Tabriz-Zandjān-Hamadān; 25-30 thousand inhabitants in Zandjān); Le Strange, *The Lands of the East, Caliphate*, p. 221, 223; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, p. 729-731. (V. MINORSKY)

AL-ZANDJĀNĪ, 'IZĪ AL-DĪN 'ABD AL-WAHHĪD b. 'IMRĀHIM b. 'ABD AL-WAHHĪD b. 'ABD 'L-JĀ'ALY AL-KHAIRĀDĪ, also called AL-'IZĪ, an Arabic grammarian, who lived in the first half of the sixth (xiiith) century. The place and date of his birth are unknown and the date of his death is also uncertain. The few facts that we know of his life are given us by Ḥādījī Khālifa, who in giving the works of al-Zandjānī adds what the latter says about their date and place of composition. We thus know that he stayed in Mōsal in 637 (1239) where he finished his *al-Maḥrīḥ 'ammal* i. 'L-Niḥāḥ = 'L-Maḥrīḥ, a work on the dictionaries *Niḥāḥ* and *al-Maḥrīḥ*. Later he was in Bagdad, where, as he tells us at the end of the work, he finished the commentary called *al-Hādī* on his grammatical work *Mahādī* i. 'L-Taḥrīf in 654 (1256) and the two volume commentary *al-Kaḥf* on his grammatical work *al-Hādī* i. 'L-Naḥw. He also finished his *Minan al-Hādī* i. 'L-Naḥw wa 'L-Taḥrīf at the same time. Next year he completed a commentary on the *Kaḥf* i. 'L-Aḥwāl of al-Zamakhsharī, called *Taḥrīḥ al-Miḥyā* i. 'L-Taḥrīf al-Kaḥf. According to Ḥādījī Khālifa, he died some time after 655 (1257) but we do not know the exact date. Besides these and other works on grammar, he wrote a book on the use of the astrolabe and made a collection of Arabic poems. The latter book, called *al-Maḥnūn bihi 'alā ghairi Ahlāḥ*, is an anthology on the lines of the *Hamāsa* of Abū Tammām or of al-Baḥtūrī. It contains verses by Arab poets of the time of the Djāhiliyya, of the Muḥammadīn (see *MOHAMMAD*) and of the post-classical period, which he took from their diwāns and earlier anthologies. A commentary on it was written by 'Uḥaid Allāh b. 'Abd al-Kāfi b. 'Abd al-Majīd al-'Uḥaidī. Neither Ḥādījī Khālifa nor al-Suyūṭī, who mentions al-Zandjānī in the *Bughyat al-Wuḥāt* i. 'L-Taḥrīf al-Lughawīya wa 'L-Nuḥāt (Cairo 1326, p. 318), mentions this collection.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 283, 474; Ḥādījī Khālifa, ed. Flügel, cf. index, vii. 944; E. J. Sacks, *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique de Bibliographie Arabe*, Cairo 1928-1930; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuḥāt* i. 'L-Taḥrīf al-Lughawīya wa 'L-Nuḥāt, Cairo 1326, p. 318; al-Zandjānī, *al-Maḥnūn bihi 'alā ghairi Ahlāḥ*, ed. I. B. Yahuda, Cairo 1913-1915.

(ILSE LICHTENSTÄDTER)

ZANQI. (See ZENGI.)

ZANZIBAR (AL-ZANZIBĀR), capital of the island of the same name, which lies off the east coast of Africa in 6° South Lat. The town is on the west side of the island 26 miles N. E. of the harbour of Bagamoyo in 6° 9' S. Lat. and 39° 15' East Long. and forms a triangular peninsula 1½ miles in length, which runs from east to west and affords a roomy anchorage, one of the best in Africa. The peninsula is connected with the mainland of the island by a narrow isthmus on which there is a cemetery; on the bay is the native quarter u'Gambo and there is also an Indian and a European quarter. The town which, since the Anglo-German agreement of July 1, 1890, has been the centre of the judicial, military and administrative authorities of the English protectorate and at the last census (1931) had 45,276 inhabitants, owes its rise to Sulṭān Sa'īd Sa'īd of Maskat and Zanzibar who made it his capital in 1832 and by able policy made it the principal commercial centre of

East Africa from Cape Guardafui to Delagoa Bay. He and his successors have also done a great deal for the architectural development of the town. Sa'ïd himself built a palace in Zanzibar and at Mtoni, three miles away, Sul'fîn Barghash built a new palace in Chukwani, which was connected with Zanzibar by a railway, and other buildings in the town and brought water from Mtoni to Zanzibar. The town is noted for its fruits: bananas, lemons, mangoes, oranges, coconuts; it is connected by good motor roads with the towns of Mkokotoni, Chwaka, and Fumba and by seven miles of railway with Bububu. The Eastern Telegraph Company maintains a cable between Mombasa [q. v.] (Mombasa) and Zanzibar which secures communication with the ports of East and South Africa, 'Aden, Egypt, India, China and Europe. There is wireless telegraphy between Pemba and Zanzibar, which are also connected by telephone. Connections by sea are maintained by a number of steamship lines, such as the Clan-Ellerman-Harrison and Ellerman-Bucknall lines, the German East Africa line from Hamburg via the Cape of Good Hope and Socx, the Compagnia Italiana Transatlantica with Genoa, Majawwa, 'Aden, Italian Benadir and Kenya, the Navigazione Libera Triestina with Venice via the Cape of Good Hope and Socx, the United Netherlands Navigation Company with the Dutch Indies and Holland, the Koninklijke Paketvaartmaatschappij with Java, the Osaka Shose Kaisha with Japan and South America, the Cowasjee Dinshaw & Brothers with Kismayu, the British India Steam Navigation Company with Bombay and Durban. In 1931, 346 ocean steamers with a total tonnage of 1,467,000 tons called at Zanzibar as well as 316 coasting steamers of 125,000 tons, 3,562 dhows with a total of 69,000 tons. The principle article of commerce is the clove, the cultivation of which was introduced by the Arabs in 1820, and copra. It is to these that Zanzibar owes its wealth. The other local products play a smaller part in the export trade, hides and leather, pepper, soap and copal. Articles imported for export to the mainland are cotton goods, rice, colonial products, petroleum, soap and provisions. Imports from Africa consist mainly of copra, ivory, hides, leather, copal resin, which are sent to England, India, America and Europe. The harbour is a base for whale-fishers in the Antarctic seas and as such of considerable importance. Zanzibar is also the headquarters of all the firms that trade with the mainland, English, German, Portuguese and Indian. Among the population the industrious Indians with 10,926 take second place after the 26,646 Africans. The Parsis, mainly from Bombay, are the largest contingent. Some of them engage in intellectual professions but they are mainly merchants and officials in the English service. The Muslim population is Sunni of the Shâfi'î school; only the ruling dynasty and its relatives are of the Ibâdî sect (see ANAPOSTES). Zanzibar has three Christian missions. The Church of England Universities' Mission to Central Africa (founded 1864) maintains a hospital, a training school for teachers and a high school; there is also a cathedral. The Roman Catholic Pères du Saint-Esprit have had a mission in Zanzibar since 1856.

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(A. GROHMANN)

II. The Swahili population.

Swahili, a name "nowadays generally accepted to mean the mixed race — a blend of the aboriginal coast natives, slaves brought from the up-country region, and Arabs — which lives in most of the towns on the coast and in Zanzibar" (Ingrams, p. 30; for a list of the principal tribes referred to, see p. 220). The word is evidently derived from *Sawāhili* (pl. of *Sāhili*), a name used from the earliest times by Arab writers to denote the east coast of Africa, but it is not clear when it was first applied to the people, who are usually called *Zandī* [q. v.]. Strandes points out (p. 161) that the name "Swahili" nowhere occurs in the Portuguese records. The mixed race originated as early as the beginning of the Christian era, probably earlier; since the author of the *Periplus* mentions it as an established fact that Arab traders settled on the coast and married native women (Schoff, p. 28). Of post-Islamic settlements, the most northerly would seem to be the oldest; Pate, if tradition can be trusted, was founded in 69 (689). Swahili in general seem to look to this northern area as the country of their origin (*nchi ya asili*) and consider the dialects of Lamu and Mombasa as, in a sense, classical. The language of the older poems, which has supplied the conventions of modern poetry, is called *Kingwi* and is said to have been spoken in the district about Malindi (Steere²). Duarte Barbosa mentions that the "Moors" of Kilwa spoke Arabic, and this has continued to be the case with recent immigrants and those Arab families who have kept this descent unmixed; but, with the prevalence of slavery and the multiplication of half-castes, many, if not most of whom attained the status of free men, a language gradually grew up, African in structure, but strongly influenced by Arabic as regards vocabulary. The language, naturally, would vary locally, according to the tribes with whom the Arab settlers were chiefly brought in contact, or whence their slaves were drawn, but it is clear that these were mainly, if not entirely, Bantu-speaking. It is true that, according to Lamu tradition, the natives found by the first settlers on the island of Pate were Wabont, a hunting tribe who still inhabit the forests of the Tana Valley, speaking a non-Bantu language, of which very little has hitherto been recorded. Whether this is so or not, no trace of Bani speech seems to be discoverable in Swahili.

It is clear that no distinct "Swahili" tribe existed prior to and apart from the extraneous infiltrations above indicated — Arab, Persian (possibly pre-Islamic and certainly dating from, at least, the settlement of Kilwa, 975 A.D.; Ingrams, p. 76, 126; Hollis, p. 275, 282), possibly Indian and Indonesian. — A Swahili, at the present day, may be pure African, without a trace of Arab or other foreign descent.

As might be expected from the circumstances, there is no uniform physical type, but nearly all,

except a minority of pure Arabs, show definite African characteristics. Within the same family there may be various gradations of colour, while some members have woolly hair and others wavy or straight. Burton's description (p. 414 *agg.*) appears somewhat of a caricature, and this applies still more to his account of their character; but he was apt to look on everything African with a jaundiced eye (cf. Ingrams, ch. xvii.). All Swahili, with insignificant exceptions (conversions to Christianity are very few), are professed Muslims, usually Sunnis of the Shāfi'ī school; the Arabs are all, or mostly, Ibādī (Ingrams, p. 188—193, 434). But, as elsewhere, among the less instructed, there is a considerable infusion of animism. At Mombasa, e.g., vows and offerings are made at the grave of a saint known as Shehe Jundani, usually in order to injure some enemy. Ingrams (p. 435 *agg.*) enumerates various superstitions and magical practices, with references (p. 501, 505) to some abnormal occurrences (apparently related to good authority), which have never been satisfactorily explained.

The Swahili language, as already stated, is essentially African — and specifically Bantu — in structure, though it cannot be said to be based on any one Bantu language. The Pokomo of the Tana Valley would probably be the tribe with whom the early settlers of Pate and Lamu came most in contact; and, certainly, the influence of their language on the Lamu dialect of Swahili is unmistakable. On a superficial view it would seem that they were the only Bantu-speaking tribe within the reach of the northern Arab settlements until the sixteenth century, when, according to their tradition, the "Nyika" tribes moved southward from "Shugwaya". But there is no evidence that this place (now included in Italian Somaliland) was their original home. There is no reason to doubt that this migration was preceded by unrecorded movements from the south or the west. Ingrams's argument (p. 64) that the natives mentioned in the *Periplus* could not have been Bantu is hardly conclusive; it must be borne in mind, *inter alia*, that "Bantu" is no more a racial designation than "English-speaking peoples" would be.

The general characteristics of the Bantu languages may be summarised as: agglutinative structure, the system of noun-classes and absence of grammatical gender. The noun-classes in Swahili have undergone considerable attrition, indicating a long course of development and, also, extensive foreign contact. One is struck by the comparative rarity of vocal images (*Lautbilder*), so remarkable a feature in e.g. Zulu, Nyanja and Yao, and also by the development of the relative clause — a stumbling-block to European students, which is absent in the more primitive forms of Bantu speech.

Of foreign elements in the Swahili vocabulary, the Arabic is obviously the most conspicuous. It has played the same part in Swahili as Latin in the Teutonic tongues, more especially in English. As might be expected, many such are technical terms of theology or ritual: *dina*, *kusali* (*ku-* being the infinitive prefix), *harufutu*, *imamu*, *ketuba*, etc. The adoption of such words as *sultani*, *amiri*, *dola* is an obvious necessity; also names of objects introduced by the Arabs: *sakani* = plate, *ufuria* = metal pot, *erefa* = upper story of a house, *jahazi* = sailing-ship, and many more. In some cases the

introduction of an Arabic word seems quite unnecessary, e.g. *zamani*, for the old Swahili *amri* = fish (found in Pokomo as *amri*), *wasili* for *hika* = arrive, *vuli* for *aya* = return (cf. Zulu *buya*), *zamani* for *dale* = long ago, *nahali* for *pantu* = place. Arabic influence on Swahili grammar is confined to the introduction of prepositions and conjunctions (parts of speech noticeably wanting in Bantu), such as *kutika*, *labini*, *wala*, (*kwa*) *sababu*, *hika*, etc., which may be said to supply a felt want and certainly facilitate literary composition.

The pronunciation of Arabic words has, naturally, been considerably modified, largely by the introduction of vowels between two consonants, as *riiki* from *riq* since all Swahili syllables are open. An interesting point emerges in connection with the words *kurafa* ('arf) and *kurasi* ('ars), where the aspirate, in popular pronunciation, has taken the place of ' (it is omitted by some speakers, which, indeed, is considered more correct). Elsewhere ' is reduced to a mere glottal stop, or simply disregarded; *ga* — except by pedantic Arabisers — is pronounced sometimes as *g*, sometimes as *k*. The vocalisation of Arabic verbs has occasioned some perplexity: *rusuku* from *rasaka*; *safiri* from *safara*. But, as Seidel has pointed out (p. 101), Arabic verbs in Swahili are taken from the imperfect, not from the ground-form. Persian loan-words occur sporadically, some, possibly, imported at an early stage, e.g. *loma*, "a fortified enclosure"; *pemba*, "cotton"; *kiboko*, "hippopotamus" (but primarily the whip made from the animal's hide), from *balut*. Some have probably come through Arabic, as *turwali*, "trousers"; *marifani*, "coral"; *hustani*, "garden". Loan-words from Portuguese are not numerous: *mesa*, "table"; *garca*, derived from *igreja*, but now used to mean "fort" or "prison"; *winaya*, from *vinda*, and several words connected with card-games. Recently there have been extensive borrowings from English.

It is uncertain how long the Arabic script has been in use for writing Swahili; no MSS. as yet discovered would appear to be more than 200 years old, yet such a poem as the *Tabika*, which Taylor (Stigand, p. 94) conjectures to have been composed earlier than 1498, can hardly have been orally transmitted, and, in fact, presupposes a long period of culture. The Arabic script is still extensively used for correspondence, especially at Zanzibar and the towns north of Mombasa, though an increasing acquaintance with the Roman character, acquired in Mission and Government schools, is tending to displace it. Indeed, it is far better adapted for rendering the sounds of Swahili. The Persian *پ* and *ف* are very generally used for *p* and *f*, though less educated writers sometimes employ *ب* and *ف*; e.g. *بَیْت* and *فَیْت* for *pepe*, *fitu*. *Ch* (*ch*) is rendered, sometimes by *ش* sometimes, chiefly by Northern scribes, by *چ*; *g* by *غ* occasionally by *ج* and *گ*, *ng* by *نْغ*. A nasal before another consonant (as in the common combinations *ma*, *ny*, *me*) is usually omitted (thus *nyumba* is written *نِیْب*), but *nd* is frequently rendered by the sign *نْ* (*نْ* for *ndenda*). It follows that Swahili in Arabic script cannot be read with-

out the vowel-points, and even with them, if carelessly placed. An example of the confusion thus produced is quoted by Steere¹ (p. 6).

The existing Swahili literature (apart from that produced, under European encouragement, during the last few decades) is confined to poetry. The lyrics ascribed to Liongo Fumo, if genuine, probably go back to the thirteenth century at latest. Of the numerous poems collected by the late C. G. Büttner, three were published by him in *Anthologie*, and one, since his death, by Meinhof, in *Z. K.* (ii. 1911—1912). The collections of the late W. E. Taylor still remain in MS. The art of poetry is still being cultivated, as shown by the recent work of Muhammad b. Abū Bakr b. 'Omar (Kijuma) at Lamu and Bwana Silimu at Mombasa.

The metric system, originally borrowed from Arabia, has been modified in accordance with the genius of the language, with its uniform penultimate stress and richness of vocalisation.

It must not be forgotten that, side by side with these products of conscious literary art, we find a living stream of folk-poetry, comparable to that of Southern Europe. Specimens of such folk-songs have been collected by Zache, Velten and others.

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(ALICE WERNER)

ZĀR is in Arabic a loanword from Amharic, as the popular beliefs in the genii *zār* were imported from Abyssinia into the Islamic world. Similar ideas about genii who may temporarily become incarnate in particular human beings, are found in various Muslim countries of Asia and Africa where they have special names: such as *shūl* (Nigeria and Tripolitania) and *amōō* (Malaya). This article, however, is concerned only with the habits of the *zār* adopted with that name in Egypt, Hijaz and 'Omān, besides Abyssinia.

In Abyssinia itself the name *zār* is of non-Semitic origin. *Zār* is very probably derived from the name of the supreme divinity of the pagan Kughites, the God-Heaven called in Agau (Bilen): *gār*; and in Sidama languages (Kaffa): *yār*; (*Baro*): *darō*. The ancient pagan god became in christianized Abyssinia a malevolent genius; and in this way the animistic practices, which in the paganism of the Kughites were

directed only to the minor superhuman beings, passed into Abyssinian Christianity (and then into Islam) with the proper name of the God-Heaven who had been reduced to a minor rank.

In Abyssinia Christians and Muslims believe that the *zār* (who lives especially in rivers, streams and other running waters) may be driven out of the body of the possessed person by the use of amulets or rites common to the followers of both religions. During these rites the *zār* is summoned "to tell his name"; because that would cause him to lose his power.

By the peoples of Southern Ethiopia (Galla and Sidama), however, besides these exorcistic rites, there are other ceremonies intended to force the evil spirit to enter the bodies of initiated persons. When the evil spirit has possessed these persons, they prophesy and each word or gesture by them is believed to be a revelation by the spirit.

In Egypt the ceremonies connected with the *zār* were probably imported in the sixteenth century; and their Amharic name *zār* and their exorcistic character are clear evidence of their origin from Northern (Semitic) Abyssinia. (The popular Arabic etymology recorded by Zwemer: "*zār* because he is a [sinister] visitor" has, of course, no real basis). The exorcistic ceremony is often conducted by a woman: the *zāriša* or *'arīša al-zikka*. The spirit must be differently treated according to its place of origin (they distinguish genii from Cairo, Upper Egypt, Sūdān etc.). It is necessary, therefore, to get "the right melody, the right song and right clothes", all these things being different for the Cairne or Sūdānese etc. spirits. The songs are accompanied by little drums and dances. A sacrifice of fowls is also usually offered to the spirit. The ceremony may last, in special cases, many nights. Pamphlets condemning the *zār* practises have been printed in Cairo.

In the Hijāz the belief in the *zār* was imported, according to Snouck Hurgronje, by Abyssinian slaves. It has the same characteristics as in Egypt and is widely diffused among Meccan women. The *zāriša*, who conducts the rites, tries to ascertain the nationality of the *zār* by questioning him either in vulgar Arabic or in a particular *zār*-language known only to initiated persons.

To 'Omān the *zār* has come in the same way. A plural (*zāriin*) of the name *zār* in the dialect of 'Omān seems to be unknown elsewhere.

In Somaliland only do we find, besides the exorcistic rites, other ceremonies intended to procure the incarnation of the genius (called in Somali: *zār*).

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(ENRICO CERULLI)

ZARANDJ, a town in Persia, the former capital and principal town of Sijistān to the south of Herāt, at a distance of ten days' journey in a desert traversed by canals led from the river Hindimend (Hilmend). Attacked by al-Rabi' b. Ziyād al-Harithi in 30 (651), he left it to the satrap Parwiz on payment of 200 slaves, each carrying a basin of gold. At the end of 2½ years, al-Rabi' was replaced by 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Samarra who besieged the satrap in the citadel and made peace on payment of 2,000,000 dirhams and 2,000 slaves. At one time fortified and surrounded by a ditch as was its suburb, it had five iron gates: the new gate and the old on the Fars side in the west, the gate of Karkōye on the Khūstān side in the north, the gate of Nāhak on the Hot side and the gate al-Tā'im towards the villages. The houses were built in vaulted porticoes of brick (*maḥḥāḥ*) because wood there was eaten by ants. It had been a palace of Ya'qūb b. Laith, the white Saffarid (cf. *ṣaḥḥāt*) and of his brother 'Amr; inside the town was a building called Arg (fortress, *arx*) which was the treasury built by 'Amr. There were markets around the principal mosque; one of them was built by 'Amr who made it a *waḥf* of the mosque; a hospital, and a mosque called Ḥaram. There were canals inside the town. Two great reservoirs of running water supplied the greater part of the private houses and gardens. The two minarets of the great mosque were famous.

It was taken by Timur in 785 (1383) and destroyed; its inhabitants were massacred. Its ruins lie around the modern villages of Zabīdān (remains of a tower) and Shahrīstān, along the old bed of one of the canals led from the Hilmend and dried up since the middle ages.

Zarandj was, in early times, the name of the province (*zarandj*) and of the people who inhabited it (*Zarandjīyār*, Arrian).

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AL-ZARNUDJĪ, BOBHĀN AL-DĪN, an Arab philosopher. His *tem* is not known and his period can only be approximately stated. Ahlwardt in the Berlin Catalogue under N^o. 111 says that Maḥmūd b. Sulaimān al-Kāfawī (d. 990 = 1562) in his *ʿAḥd al-Akḥyār min Fuḥūḥ al-Muḥḥad al-Nu'mān al-Muḥḥad* puts our author in the twelfth class of the Hanafis and from this calculates that he flourished about 620 (1223). In agreement with this is the fact that Eduard van Dyck, *Ikhtisār al-Kawā'ir li-mā ḥawla maḥḥāḥ*, Cairo 1896, p. 190, describes our philosopher, in agreement with Ḥādīdī Khālifa, N^o. 3134, as a pupil of the author of the *Ḥidāya fi Fiqh al-Fiqh*, i. e. Buhān al-Dīn 'Alī b. Abī Bakr al-Farghānī al-Marghīnīnī (q. v.). The latter died in 593 (1197); and al-Zarandjī in fact quotes him in his *Ta'lim al-Muta'allim* several times as his teacher and with the eulogy for the dead. The other authorities cited in this book, so

far as their dates are known, also confirm Ahlwardt's date. For example al-Zarandjī mentions Fakhr al-Islām al-Ḥasan b. Maḥmūd al-Farghānī Qāḍīkhān (q. v.), who died in 592 (1196), as his teacher. In another passage he records that the Shāikh Zuhīr al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Marghīnīnī recited verses before him (Irookeimann, *G. A. L.*, i. 379 puts him rather too late, for his father died in 506 [1112] and the above mentioned Qāḍīkhān was his pupil; see vol. iii., p. 280, N^o. ii.). He further tells us that he heard a story from Shāikh Fakhr al-Dīn al-Qāḍī. The reference is certainly to Abū Bakr Maḥmūd b. Ahmad (*G. A. L.*, i. 375, d. 587 = 1195). Finally he tells us that Rukn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr Imām Khwāzma recited something to him and according to *G. A. L.*, i. 429 he lived about 560 (1165). If we take all these data together, we come to the conclusion that our author flourished a little earlier than Ahlwardt thought but his work was certainly composed after 593.

The only known and only surviving work of al-Zarandjī, *Ta'lim al-Muta'allim Farīq al-Ta'lim*, is a little vademecum for students to teach them the ethical outlook of the man of learning. The whole book consists simply of utterances of earlier writers but they are not unskillfully chosen and presented in an attractive way. This fact and the brevity of the book are the causes of its tremendous popularity, on the details of which see *G. A. L.*, i. 462. It is interesting to notice that the authorities cited by the author, so far as they do not belong to the first century, are almost without exception Hanafis, although the subject matter has practically nothing to do with the doctrine of any *madhhab* — Ibn Ismā'īl's commentary was printed at Cairo in 1311.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(M. PLEMINER)

ZĀTĪ, one of the most important Ottoman poets of the preparatory classical period. His real name was 'Iwās or Bakhshī or Yakhshī (according to Laṭīf). Born in 876 (1471—1472) in Balikesir in Karam, the son of a shoemaker, he followed the same trade. He had no education. In spite of all obstacles his poetical ability displayed itself. He was a horn poet. In the time of Sulṭān Bāyazīd he came to Constantinople. As his original plan of becoming a *kaḥḥ* after some training fell through on account of his deafness, which also prevented him from obtaining any public appointment, he lived the life of an unattached poet, supporting himself by the presents his poems brought him from the sultan and the notables. He dedicated *kaḥḥ* to the three sultans in whose reigns he wrote, Sulṭān Bāyazīd, Selīm I and Sulaimān al-Kānūnī, in return for which he received presents and even a *fief* which was however later taken from him as he did not give military service.

His talent brought him a large number of patrons and friends (the grand vizier 'Alī Paḥā, the *Qāḍī*asker Mu'ayyad-udde, the Nishāndjī-ade Tādī-ade Dja'far Çelebi, the Defterdār and later grand vizier Piri Paḥā, Kadri Efendi, etc.). But as they in turn lost their offices or their lives, he was left penniless. He therefore worked as a fortune-teller (*rammāl*) and wrote amulets (*taḥḥ*; q. v.). He had his booth first of all in the court of the Bāyazīd mosque and later besides Koḥja Ibrāhīm Paḥā's baths. There the intellect of Constantinople used

to gather, including the poets Khayyâl, Yahyâ, Bâkî and others. Zâtî was for a period a recognised leader and master. He lived in great poverty, besides he drank. He was celebrated for his ready wit and in spite of his ugliness was a popular companion. He died in Ramañan 953 (Nov. 1546) and was buried outside of the Adrianople Gate.

Zâtî's poetic output was prodigious. This was partly the result of his poverty which forced him to write. Laifî credits him with 3,000 ghazels, 500 kasidas and 1,000 rubâ'î's and kî't'a's. Zâtî's own figures however are 1,600 ghazels and over 400 kasidas (according to Kınalı-râde). In the *Divân* collected by Piri Celebi there are 600 ghazels and 80 kasidas.

Zâtî also wrote two mesnevis: *Şemî u-Perwân* (*heavly*) and *Ahmed u-Mahmûd* (*friend*); a *Sheh-rings* of Adrianople; a *Ferrûh-nâme*; *Bâkî-kurân*; *Siyer-i Nebî*; a *Mevlâd*; *Laghu-lar* (puzzles); a *Madjma' al-La'if*, and a collection of anecdotes about his contemporaries. None of his works has been printed. His *Divân* is very scarce; there is a copy in the Hamidiye Library in Constantinople.

In view of his lack of training and education, Zâtî's high poetic gifts are surprising: the vigour of his poems and the power and richness of his language especially in his best period. Later he became feeble and artificial and continually repeats himself. With Ahmad Pâshâ and Nedjâtî he is considered a master in the use of proverbs. Many of his sayings have in their turn become proverbial.

Zâtî was the chief of those who prepared the way for the perfect classical style, as typified in Bâkî. After Ahmad Pâshâ and Nedjâtî, he is the third founder of the Ottoman poetical language. He surpassed all his predecessors in power of language and poetic conception. The depth of his religious conviction, which is evident in his poems, may be mentioned. He belonged to the *Wefâ*' order.

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ZÂTÎ (SULAIMÂN), a Şûfî Ottoman poet, of Gallipoli (not Brusa, as often stated), *khâlif* of Shaikh Ismâ'îl Hakkî. He died in 1151 (1738) as *pârt-nîshân* of the Khalwati monastery in Keshan. He left a *Divân* with Şûfî poems and a treatise in verse: *Samânih al-Nawâdir ft Mârifat al-Anâir* (printed together); and two prose works: 23 *Es'elâ-i müte'awwifânîye* *Djwâb-nâme* and *Miftâh al-Mawâ'il*.

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ZÂWA, a town in Persia, in Khôrâsân near Naisâbur. In the time of Muqaddasî, it was a rural district which did not contain a town; but later (xivth century) there was a fine town there with a citadel built of brick. It contains the tomb of the Shaikh Kâth al-Dîn Haidar, who was still alive in 617 (1220) whence the name of Turbat-i Haidarî now given to the town. Muqaddasî mentions a town of the same name near Ghazna (*B. G. A.*, iii. 50, 297).

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(CL. HUART)

AL-ZAWÂWÎ. [See *INN MU'RI*.]

ZAWILA, the name of two towns in North Africa.

1. **Zawilat al-Mahdiyya** (according to al-Bakrî: Zuwalla) built by the Fâtîmid 'Ubad Allâh al-Mahdî (d. Rab' I 14, 322) situated a bowshot distant from al-Mahdiyya, of which it was a suburb. According to Idrîsî the two towns formed one. It had five bazaars and buildings and many merchants resided there who went to their businesses in Mahdiyya in the day. The town was surrounded by a wall even on the side facing the sea; the land side was further protected by a great ditch. The wall built by al-Mu'izz b. Bâdis Shâraf al-Dawla (d. Shawwâl 1, 453) was 2 miles long and had iron gates weighing 1,000 cwts, 30 spans high, each studded with 6 lbs. of heavy nails. In the vicinity of Zawila were hamlets, farms and country houses, belonging to the people of the town who practised agriculture and cattle-rearing here; the principal products were barley and olives, the oil went to the Levant.

2. **Zawilat al-Sûdân** (according to Idrîsî: Zawila), capital of Fazzân, 10 days' journey north of Waddân on that frontier of the Bilâd al-Sûdân which adjoins the province of Africa. The town, which lay at an important road junction in the middle of the desert, had no walls, had a mosque, baths and bazaars, palmgroves and cornfields, which were watered by camels. The Muslims who lived here were Ibâdîs. Many traders from Khurâsân, al-Kûfa and Bagra used to come here. The exports were slaves and leather. The town was taken by 'Ukba b. Nâfî, a general of 'Amr b. al-'Âs. The poet Dî'îl b. 'Alt al-Khurâ'î is buried here.

Bibliography: On 1: Yâkût, *Madjma*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 961; al-Idrîsî, *Nushat al-Mughrib*, French transl. by Jambert, i. 258 sq.; al-Bakrî, *Kitâb al-Mughrib ft Dhikr Bilâd Ifrâjiya wa l-Maghrib*, ed. G. de Siane, Algiers 1911, p. 29 sq.; al-Istakhârî, *B. G. A.*, i. 40, 44, 46; Ibn Hawkal, *B. G. A.*, ii. 66; al-Muqaddasî, *B. G. A.*, iii. 246.

On 2: al-Yâkûbî, *B. G. A.*, vii. 345; al-Idrîsî, *Nushat al-Mughrib*, French transl. by Jambert, i. 115; Yâkûbî, *Madjma*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 960 sq.; iii. 890; iv. 911.

(A. GROHMANN)

ZĀWIYA, properly the corner of a building, was at first applied to the cell of the Christian monk (cf. the Greek *zōnē*), then to a small mosque or praying room; the word still has this meaning in the Muslim east in contrast to a more important mosque (*maḥallid* or *ḡāmī*). On the other hand the term *zāwiya* has retained a much more general meaning in North Africa and is applied to a building or group of buildings of a religious nature, which resembles a monastery and a school. An excellent definition of the Maghribi *zāwiya* was given as early as 1847 by Dammas (*La Kabylie*, p. 60) and it seems to be essentially appropriate at the present day (cf. the quotation in Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v.). All or several of the following are found in a *zāwiya*: a room for prayer with a *mihrāb*; the mausoleum of a marabout or Sharīfian saint, which is surmounted by a dome (*ḡudba*); a room set aside exclusively for the recitation of the *Qurʾān*; a *maktāb* or *Qurʾān* school; finally rooms for the guests of the *zāwiya*, pilgrims, travellers and students. The *zāwiya* is usually adjoined by a cemetery with the tombs of those who have during their lifetime expressed a wish to be buried here. "The *zāwiya*," says Dammas, is, to sum up, a religious school and a free hostel, in these two respects it has much in common with the mediaeval monastery".

The conception of a *zāwiya* has, it seems, undergone a somewhat characteristic change since the middle ages, at least in the Muslim west; in the east on the other hand the term very soon acquired a definite meaning so that it was applied only to the more humble mosques and is not there used as an alternative for the more precise terms like *ḡudba*, *ḡāḡāḡā* or *ḡāḡā*, which are used particularly for monastic institutions which as a rule owe their origin to Persian Muslim mysticism. In the Maghrib on the other hand the term *zāwiya* appears about the xiiith century as synonymous with *ḡāḡā*, i.e. hermitage, to which a holy man retired and where he lived surrounded by his pupils and devotees (cf. G. S. Colin, transl. of al-Bāḡidī's *Maḡḡad*, in *A.M.*, xxvi [1926], p. 240, s.v.). This *zāwiya* or *ḡāḡā* is however not always identical with the *ḡāḡā*, an institution which served another purpose and was primarily of a military character. In this connection however we may note a statement of Ibn Marīḡ of Tlemcen (d. 781 = 1379), who in his monograph on the Marīḡid Sulṭān Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī, *al-Muḡad al-ḡāḡā al-ḡāḡā*, devotes the 42nd chapter to the *zāwiya* built by this ruler and says the *zāwiya* corresponds to what in the east is called *ḡāḡā* or *ḡāḡāḡā*. It may be added that the word *ḡāḡā* is also found in Morocco used for institutions in which the military activity was particularly directed to spreading Islam among heretics with the sword: this for example was the case with the *ḡāḡā* Asfi (cf. *Asfi*) and Sidi-Spiker on the Wādī-Tanūḡ. The first *zāwiya* hermitages undoubtedly developed very quickly and became not only places of refuge from the world but also centres of religious and mystic life, where the *ḡāḡāwūḡ*, hitherto the sole possession of urban scholars, was to be brought nearer the masses. They now became centres of attraction, religious schools and to some extent free hostels for travellers in search of spiritual perfection. This explains how Ibn Marīḡ could say when speaking of the *zāwiya* of his time: "It is clear that with us in the Maghrib the *zāwiya* serve to give shelter to

wanderers and food to travellers" (cf. also *ḡāḡā*).

In Muslim Spain we find no *zāwiya*s before the time of the Naḡḡids of Granada. They therefore belong to the same time as those of the Marīḡid sulṭān Abū l-Ḥasan and their foundation must have met the same needs. In 1903 W. and G. Marçais put forward the attractive hypothesis that the Maghribi *madrasas* were in the intention of their founders, the Marīḡid and 'Abd al-Wadīd rulers of the xivth century, only an "official recognition" of the schools attached to the *zāwiya*s. It is perhaps more possible that these rulers endeavoured by their foundations alongside of the great centres of religious instruction (notably the *ḡāḡā* al-ḡāḡāwīn in Fās) to weaken to some degree the competition already caused in the towns and outside of them by the *zāwiya* schools.

At the present day the most important North African *zāwiya*s, whether they are now in the large towns or in the country — where little townships have almost always grown up around them — are the mother houses or branch settlements of the Marabout or Sharīfian religious brotherhoods [see *TARIQA* and *SHARIFA*].

In addition to their religious and intellectual influence the *zāwiya*s of the Muslim west have exercised a direct political influence on the population of the country in areas remote from the seat of the central government. The most striking example of this is the *Zāwiya al-Dīlā* (in the district of Tidda, in Central Morocco on the banks of the Umm Rabi), the heads of which took advantage of the troubled times after the fall of the Sa'dian dynasty (in the second half of the xviith century) to extend their secular power over the greater part of the district which was dependent on Fās. In more recent times the example of the Berber *zāwiya*s of Igh in Tazawalt and Ahmāḡ in the Central Atlas can be quoted.

Bibliography: M. van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, p. 1, *Égypte*, Paris 1903, p. 174, 244; W. and G. Marçais, *Les Monuments arabes de Tlemcen*, Paris 1903, p. 270-272; G. Marçais, *Note sur les ḡāḡā en Berbérie*, in *Mélanges René Basire*, Paris 1925, II, 395-401; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Le Muḡad d'Ibn Marīḡ*, Paris 1925, p. 70-71; R. Dozy, *Suppl. aux dict. arabes*, I, 615-616. — On the modern North African *Zāwiya*s there are a number of monographs, e.g.: E. Doutte, *Les Maraboutes*, Paris 1900; L. Rinn, *Maraboutes et Khawān*, Algiers 1884; O. Dupont and X. Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers, 1897. (E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL) ZĀY. [See ZĀ']

ZAYĀNIDS (BASU ZAYĀN or BANU ZIYĀN, the two vocalisations *zayān* and *ziyān* are classical; we also find *zāyān*), a Berber dynasty of kings of Tlemcen, who reigned over Central Maghrib from the xiiith to the xvth century A.D., whose claim to noble descent from Idris is disputed (cf. *Hist. des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, III, 328 and *ibid.*, the words attributed to Yaghmurāḡān). They are called by the chroniclers also 'Abd al-Wadīd (q.v., I, p. 64^b). This is because 'Abd al-Wadīd (q.v.) and Zāyān were two of the ancestors of the kings of Tlemcen, centuries apart however, the former living before Idris and the latter being the father of Yaghmurāḡān (end of the viiith [xiiith] century).

After Yaghmurāsān (first independent king of the dynasty from 633 = 1236) and beginning with his son Abū Sa'īd 'Othmān I, four kings, all direct descendants of Yaghmurāsān, occupied the throne in succession till 737 (1337). The kingdom of Tlemcen was then twice conquered and occupied by the Marinids from 737 to 749 (1337–1348) and from 753 to 760 (1352–1359).

The first Zayānid restoration (749 = 1348) brought to the throne the brothers Abū Sa'īd 'Othmān II and Abū Thābit but it was their nephew Abū Hammū I (son of their brother Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf) who in 760 (1359) restored the dynasty to its old position; his descendants ruled till the Turkish conquest in 962 (1554).

The only genealogical difference between the two ruling branches of this dynasty is that the first consisted of the direct descendants of Yaghmurāsān, through his eldest son 'Othmān I while the second line consisted of the direct descendants of his younger son 'Abd al-Rahmān.

There is no reason — and no document to justify it — to believe with Barges (cf. *Tlemcen, anc. sup. etc.*, p. 194 and *Hist. des B. Zéyan*, transl. *Introd.*, p. xli.) that it was only the kings of the younger line who took the name of Banū Zayān (from 794 = 1348); all being direct descendants of Yaghmurāsān, were Zayānids as well as 'Abd al-Wādīda, for both lines included among their ancestors 'Abd al-Wād and Zayān.

As to the relationship of these kings to the Marinids [q. v.] of Fās, it has been established by the Muslim genealogists who place Wādīn, grandfather of 'Abd al-Wād, among the ancestors of Marīn b. Wurtūdjīn, ancestor of the Marinids (cf. especially Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, II, 240; transl. IV, 25; *al-Dhakhīrat al-saniya*, p. 10).

Bibliography: To the *Bibl.* in the articles 'ABD AL-WĀD and 'ABDALWĀDĪDA, the following can now be added: Ibn al-Ahmar, *Rundat al-Nisrin fi Dawlat Banī Marīn*, ed. and transl. Gh. Bouali and G. Marçais, Paris 1917, with a *Histoire des Banu Zayān de Tlemcen* (from the transl. by Dozy in *J.A.*, 4th series, vol. III, p. 382–416); *al-Dhakhīrat al-saniya*, *Chronique anonyme des Merinides*, ed. Moh. Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1921; Alfred Bel, *Tlemcen et ses environs* 2, Toulouse n. d.

(ALFRED BEL)

ZĀYIRDJA, an astrological magic table common in Morocco, the making and use of which is fully described by Ibn Khaldūn in the *Muqaddima*. The word is connected with *Zayd* [q. v.]; its fuller name is *Zāyirdjat al-'Alam*. The inventor is said to have been the Sūfī Abū 'I. 'Abbās al-Sūhī (l. e. of Centa) who lived in the time of the Almohad Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr, i. e. at the end of the 12th (13th) century. The table has on one side a system of concentric circles with divisions corresponding to the signs of the zodiac and others for telling fortunes and answering questions on important matters, with a corresponding system of radii, filled with numerals and letters. On the reverse of the table is a rectangle, divided into 55,131 small compartments, some empty, some with letters in them. Two verses by Malik b. Wuhāib are used in connection with it; the letters in them are used as starting points in the consultation.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima*, transl. de Slane, I, 245–253 and III, 199–205; Dozy, *Suppl.*, s. v. (J. RUSKA)

ZE'ĀMET (A.), popular form for *zā'ima*, Turkish pronunciation *zamet* and *zimmet*: 1. the quality of *zā'im*, 2. (military) fief of a *zā'im* (the other meanings of *zā'im* will be found in the Arabic dictionaries). — The word *zā'im*, plur. *zā'imā*, has several meanings which may be grouped round that of "person who puts forward a claim, who intercedes for or answers for one or more weaker individuals". It means, in effect: 1. "caution, surety" (Qur'ān, *Dīwān* of Imrū'u l-Kālā, treatises on Muslim law); 2. "spokesman of a group of individuals or metaphorically of animals, acting in name of the group", as in the *Kur'ān al-Fahmān al-Safā*, Cairo 1928, II, 117 199; 3. "the head of a non-Muslim community" (therefore not enjoying full civil rights). *Kalkaşhandī* (*Subb al-Aḥbā*, IV, 194) gives the name *zā'imā* *ahl al-dhīmā* to the various "patriarchs of the Christian communities"; 4. "the two provosts-marshal or chiefs of police or of the watch in Cairo and Balāḡ", a synonym of the Arabic *wāḥī* (*al-ḥurfa*) and the Turkish *rubāḡlī* (cf. J. Deny, *Sommaire des archives turques du Caire*, Cairo 1930, p. 39, notes 1 and 2). — These officials had the supervision of the Christians especially; 5. "honorific title given in Egypt to high military officials and to certain foreign Muslim sovereigns" (for details, cf. *Kalkaşhandī*, VI, 51); cf. the title *zā'im al-djuyūsh* given to the Turkish prince of Germiān [q. v.] (*ibid.*, VIII, 13); the expression *al-zā'im al-a'zam* was applied to the highest imām, even to the caliph (*ibid.*, IV, 444 and 448); 6. (modern Egypt usage) "leader of a political party" (e. g. the late Zaghāl); 7. (Turkish usage, probably since 1375) "holder of a military fief, of an annual revenue of at least 20,000 aspers (*akāḥ* or *akār*)". — This development of the meaning is perhaps analogous to that given under N° 5 above (thence meaning of "more important leader than a simple timariot"), but it is more probable that it is due to the fact that the *zā'im* had under this jurisdiction, mainly fiscal, groups of rāfas or peasants, for the most part Christians. We know also (cf. *ṬIMĀ*) that some of the holders of fiefs had the rank of *rubāḡlī*. Now the *rubāḡlī* were not simple timariots but *zā'im*. Besides the *rubāḡlī* [q. v.] in as much as they were police officers dealt mainly with the Christians. We have already given above under N° 4 another example of the similarity of meaning between *zā'im* and *rubāḡlī*.

It is with the seventh and last significance that we are here concerned.

Details of the Turkish military fiefs in general and of the *zamet* in particular are to be found in the article *ṬIMĀ*. Here we shall mainly confine ourselves to adding that this article has been criticised by the eminent scholar Köprülüāde Mehmed Fu'ād who rightly reproves the author for not having cited the article *ṬIMĀ* in this Encyclopedia and the articles by C. H. Becker (*Bizans Müssirelerinin Osmanlı Müssirelerinin Tefsiri* *kaklında bazı mülahazalar* "Some remarks on the influence of Byzantine institutions on Ottoman institutions", in *Türk Hukuk ve İktisat Tarihi Mecmuası*, "Review of the History of Turkish Law and Political Economy", İstanbul, Ewkaif Matba'ası, 1931, vol. I, [all that appeared], p. 165–313; ch. X, of this important contribution is devoted to the *Timar sistemi* ["the Timar system"], p. 219–241).

According to Köprülüāde Mehmed Fu'ād, the system of Ottoman military fiefs was not borrowed

from the Byzantines but from the Saldjûks. I ought indeed to have mentioned the latter [cf. 187A, p. 462b] and it was quite natural for the institution to have been transmitted from them to the Ottomans.

It is nevertheless true that it is difficult to admit that an organisation so closely bound up with the soil as this could have disappeared from Anatolia with the fall of the Byzantine empire to be replaced by another of the same kind. The Byzantine organisation was not only amalgamated with the Saldjûk organisation but continued to exercise its influence on that which the successors of the Saldjûks in Asia Minor adopted. The fiscal system of the *timâr* bears clear traces of this. This Byzantine influence was perhaps less strong than western scholars, who have not had direct access to the Oriental sources, have thought, but it seems indisputable.

It is not however certain that the organisation of the military fiefs of the Saldjûks themselves was not influenced by that of the Byzantines who preceded them (the use of cuirassiers, in full armour or *gibelli*, in particular, goes back to Rome itself). At the present day, we can see how easily military practices are borrowed from one country by another and Turkish military organisation at a very early period attained a perfection which enabled it to accept improvements from foreign countries without hurting the national amour-propre.

While giving due credit to the importance of the Saldjûk organisation we would ask that the Byzantine elements should not be omitted in a study of the Turkish *timâr*.

The few notes that follow are intended to supplement the article *timâr*.

Za'im. — According to a MS. note by the late René Basset in his copy of Kazimirski's Arabic-French dictionary, the word *za'im* also means "supervisor, convict guard" (*Gharawât*, p. 4). It would have to be investigated how far this term is connected with *sa'imet* or maritime fief. The same remark applies to the word *za'im* used for a kind of ship in the Red Sea.

A Turkish saying has it: *üstü başlı za'im iadilema vânda* "he is dressed like a *za'im* tent"; cf. the French "comme une chaise" (Tekerrâde M. Sait [Said], *Atalar sözü*, 1312, p. 55). This saying shows that the tents of the *za'im* were very luxurious.

There was a style of head-dressing called *za'imet* (cf. Ahmet Rasim, *Ormanlı tarihi*, p. 236 and 473).

The name *za'im müteferrika* was given to the *müteferrika* of the Palace chosen from the *za'im* (of the province). Cf. Ahmad Râfi, *Fatih'in sarayı*, *İbâdât* of June 8 and 12, 1923.

A specimen of an imperial *berat* granting a *sa'imet* is given in Belin, *On régime des fiefs*..., p. 109.

Timâr. — Köprülüâde Mehmed Fu'âd (*op. cit.*, p. 238—239, note) observes rightly that, contrary to what I have said, the word *timâr* has in Saldjûk texts the meaning of "grant of lands" but he himself adds that this term has a vague meaning in the passages cited. The same vague meaning is found in texts referring to the beginnings of the Ottoman Empire (cf. *Âshîk-pashazâde, passim*).

On the expression *tapu ilmaş* "to pay homage" cf. *Âshîk-pashazâde*, ed. Gliese, p. 68, l. 15.

Bibliography: Cf. the bibliographies to the articles 187A, *timâr* and *timûl*. We may add: R. V. Suda, in Helmholtz, *Weltgeschichte*, vol. v. (cited by Köprülüâde Mehmed Fu'âd); Sokolov, *Zemelnaya stroitsya v Turcii do Timuriata*, Noviy Vostok, Moscow 1924, No. 7 (cf. also the same periodical, 1925, No. 8—9); Jouannin and van Gaver, *Turquie (L'Univers)*, Paris 1840, p. 35: à propos of the *bedel gibelli*; cf. however: *nahuri bedeli timar* in Na'imâ, v., p. 8 (events of the year 1060); Hammer, *Histoire*, li. 206 of the French edition (à propos of the demi-fiefs created by Mehmed I); *Histoire des Turcs à Chalcédoine*, Paris 1662, ii., illustrations..., col. 100; J. H. Seyfried, *Imperiî Turcici imago, das ist Beschreibung etc.*, Solitzbach 1685, p. 75; W. Björkman, *Öfen zur Türkenzeit*, p. 85; C. Jirceek, *La civilisation turque au Moyen-âge*, French transl. by Eisenmann, Paris 1920; article *karast*, *supra* (after the conquest of Karast in 735—736, the fiefs were left to the Timariots); de la Gailletière, *Athènes ancienne et nouvelle*, Paris 1675 (first edition of this year), p. 354 sqq., 438; Rich. Pococke (Pococke), *Voyages*, French transl., iv. 202; Alfo Grassi, *Charte Turque*, 2nd ed., Paris 1826, i. 104—134; K. J. Jirceek in British Museum Catalogue. (J. DENV)

ZEIBEK, the name of a Turkish tribe in the region of Smyrna. The origin of the Zeibek has not yet been fully explained. Just as it used to be the custom to say the Tekimili [q. v.] were descendants of the earliest inhabitants of Asia Minor, so the ancestors of the Zeibek were sought in the remnants of Thracians who had settled around Tralles. In favour of this we have also the fact that they were called *Gjaur* by orthodox Turks (Lord Keppel, *op. cit.*, li. 266). This view however is undoubtedly wrong; we must rather see in the Zeibek one of those Yürük tribes, who settled in considerable numbers in the west of Anatolia although their descent still requires elucidation in detail. Religious reasons may have played a part in the settlement of the Yürüks [q. v.] in the particular district of Aidineli [q. v.] and F. W. Hasluck has called attention to the connection in his study *Hittaradax Tribes of Asia Minor* (in the *Journal of the Royal Anthrop. Institute*, li. [1921], p. 310 sqq., reprinted in *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, i., Oxford 1929, p. 124 sqq., cf. esp. p. 127; cf. at the same time F. Babinger in *lit.*, xi. [1921], 100 and xii. [1922], 103). Older views on the origin of the Zeibek have been collected by M. Taakyroglious in his little book *İslâmî Tarih* (Athens 1891), p. 13 sqq. and 22. The name has been connected in meaning with the Greek *gallikari* (γαλλικάρι) (cf. W. v. Diest, *Reisen und Forschungen im nordwestlichen Kleinasien*, i. 27), but hardly with justice. So far we have no early notices of the coming of these warlike and turbulent highlanders whose peculiar dress — disproportionately high head-dress, short trousers, which leave most of the legs uncovered, brightly coloured vests, richly embroidered, called *şepken* — distinguishes them from their neighbours. The earliest references to them are found in the travellers of the xviiith and xixth centuries. It looks as if the Zeibek were at one time connected with the Derebeys [q. v.] around Smyrna and with the Kara 'Othmân-oghlu's [q. v.] and served them as

soldiers. With the disappearance of this family under Sultān Murād II the Zeibek militia was disbanded; the Ottoman governor Tahir Pāshā forbade them to serve as soldiers and also prohibited their striking dress. The result was a dangerous rising under their leader (*efe*) Kel Mehmed, in the course of which many Zeibek lost their lives and they had finally to yield to superior force. Down to modern times the Zeibek were recruited as a kind of auxiliary police to support the *sabtyrs*, whose chief duty was to convoy travellers. They were remarkable not only for their dress but also for their usually slim, powerful figures. Gradually they adapted themselves more and more to the life of their neighbours and their picturesque dress fell more and more into disuse. In the post-War period the name Zeibek again attained notoriety when the Turkish president Mustafa Kemal Pāshā endeavoured to make the dance peculiar to this tribe (*Zeibek aşnu*) a Turkish national dance.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text cf. George Keppel, *Narrative of a Journey across the Balkan etc.*, London 1831, ii. 124 (history), 253, 263, 265, 316, 322, 339 (on their dress); Lord Arundell, *Discoveries in Asia Minor*, London 1834, ii. 212 sqq.; V. Guinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii. 349 sqq. (full details of the dress of the Zeibek with its distinguishing features). Pictures of Zeibek in Keppel, *op. cit.*, vol. i, coloured frontispiece; Eugen v. Philippovich, *Nikolai v. Philippovich, das Leben und Wirken eines österreichischen Offiziers*, Vienna and Tübingen 1913, p. 26 (wrong title "ein Vornehmer aus Kleinasien"). The Zeibek plays a great part in the Turkish shadow-play; cf. the picture 48 of one of these Zeibek figures in H. Ritter, *Karagöz, türkische Schattenspiele*, Hanover 1924. — Further literature is given by W. Hefening, in *Isl.*, xiii. 251, where reference is made to further illustrations; J. H. Mordtmann, in *Vier Vorträge über Völkerverhältnisse und die Türkei*, Berlin 1917, p. 101 (according to whom there were also Zeibek in the wilayet of Brussa).

(FRANZ BABINGER)

ZENĀTA. The Arab historians of the middle ages give this name to one of the two great groups into which the population of Barbary falls. According to the genealogical fiction which formed the frame-work of their ethnical classification, the Zenāta, who are descended from Madghis al-Ahtar, are distinguished from the Sanhādja who are descended from Bernes; Bernes and Madghis were the sons of one father, Berr. Other theories connect the Zenāta with a certain Shana or Djana, who was said to be either of the line of Kana'an, son of Shem, or of that of Goliath (Djilut). The desire to have an imposing Biblical pedigree is sufficient to explain this claim which seemed to be to some extent justified by the kind of existence led by the majority of the Zenāta. While the majority of the Sanhādja led a settled life, the Zenāta groups were mainly nomads "in the manner of the Arabs", rearing camels and living in tents. They were found scattered throughout Barbary but mainly in the steppes and deserts from Ghadimes to the extreme Maghrib. The west of the central Maghrib and the adjoining Saharau regions seemed to be and were to remain their particular domain. They were distinguished from other groups by language. The

Berber dialects spoken in the oases of Māsb, Wargla, Wed Righ, in the west of Algeria, including the massif of Wargenis, and in the east of Morocco are still called *Zenātiya*.

As in the case of the Sanhādja [q. v.] the chroniclers distinguish several Zenāta stocks or rather several waves of population which after living obscurely in the nomad state emerged in succession to the light of history, favourable circumstances enabling them to found empires or impose themselves upon the great existing empires, either as allies or as enemies.

To the first stock of Zenāta belonged the Djārāwa, the Banū Ifren, the Maghrāwa, the Wamānū and the Illūni. The Djārāwa were said to have their main centre in the Awrās, where the celebrated Kāhina [q. v.], their queen, played in the second (viiith) century her well known part in the resistance to the Arab conquest. When this resistance, of which the Awrās was one of the strongholds, took the form of the Khārījī heresy, the Zenāta Banū Ifren [q. v.] were its most stubborn champions. Abū Karra the Ifrenid founded in the second (viiith) century a Khārījī kingdom at Tlemcen. In the fourth (xth) century, the Ifrenid Abū Yazīd, "the man with the ass" [q. v.], raised the people of eastern Barbary, including the Awrās, against the Fātimid caliphs in the name of the ancient heresy. At the same time Iḡrān (12 miles S. W. of Mascara) and Shella near the site of the future Rabat were capitals of two principalities of the Banū Ifren.

The most powerful of the Zenāta of the first wave were those who belonged to the great tribe of the Maghrāwa. Among the latter special mention may be made of the Banū Khazar, whose lands lay in the plains of Orania and eastern Morocco. Vassals of the Omayyads of Cordova, they resisted not without difficulty throughout the tenth century and a part of the eleventh (ixth—xth A. H.) the repeated attacks of the Sanhādja, supporters of the Fātimids of Ifrikiya. One of the chiefs of the Banū Khazar, Ziri b. Atiya, had installed himself in Fās, after the fall of the Idrisids, and held out there till the coming of the Almoravids (455 = 1063). The eleventh century also saw the flourishing of the other little Maghrāwa kingdoms, that of the Banū Ya'īl of Tlemcen, that of the Banū Khazrūn of Sijilmāsa, to which the Almoravid conquest was to put an end.

After this, the history of the Zenāta of the Central Maghrib enters upon an obscure period. We have a struggle between two clans of the same stock: the Illūni and the Wamānū. The latter were to bring the Almohads into the country of Tlemcen.

The Zenāta only became important again with the decline of the successors of 'Abd al-Mu'min, when the Zenāta of the second wave came to the front. They were regarded as forming part of the group of the Banū Wāṣṣn, whom the thrust of the nomad Arabs (Banū Hilāl), at first lords of Ifrikiya, had driven westwards, in the south of Orania and Morocco. In the course of the first half of the viiith (xiiith) century, the Zenāta Banū Wāṣṣn, who had only just abandoned a nomadic life, took from the Almohads the central Maghrib and the extreme Maghrib. The Merinids founded the kingdom of Fās [q. v.], the 'Abd al-Wāḥids the kingdom of Tlemcen [q. v.]. The latter who were in the traditional territory of the Zenāta tribes, had much difficulty in subduing their brethren,

especially the Banū Tūǧġa. The latter, much weakened in the plains where they had become the serfs of the nomad Arabs, were still quite powerful in the Wārsenā, but they led a settled existence there. Their descendants are still to be found in these mountains. The name given to the Berber dialect which they speak survives as one of the few memories retained by the Zenāta of the period of their glory.

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(G. MARÇAIS)

ZENDE-RŪD

one of the principal rivers of Central Persia. Its source lies about 90 miles W. of Isfahān in the province of 'Arabistān (Khūzistān) in the Zardēh-Kūh, "the yellow hills" (so-called after the yellow limestone found there) which are included among the Bakhtīrī mountains, in which also rises the Kārūn [q. v.], the greatest river of southern Persia. After leaving the mountains the Zende-rūd flows through the district of Isfahān after which it is often called Isfahān-Rūd, "the river of Isfahān", and flows about 80 miles E. S. E. of Isfahān into a large brackish swamp called Gāo Khāneh. According to the erroneous view of the mediaeval Arab and Persian geographers, the river continued on a subterranean course and reappeared about 60 *farsakh* (= ca. 40 miles) from where it disappeared and then flowed to the sea; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī was the first to point out this error (cf. thereon; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, iii. 216—217).

On entering Isfahān the Zende-Rūd separates Isfahān proper on its north bank from its southern suburb, Djulfā [q. v.] or New Djulfā. The connection between the two is maintained by three great bridges (cf. ii. p. 529 and also the descriptions in Ouseley, *op. cit.*; Stack, *op. cit.*, p. 23; C. J. Wills, *In the Land of the Lion and Sun*, London 1883, p. 194 sq.; J. Dieulafoy, *La Perse, la Chaldée et la Suse*, Paris 1887, p. 154—155; J. Basset, *Persia, the Land of the Imams*, London 1887, p. 154—155; Curzon, *op. cit.*, ii. 44—50 and E. Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1908, p. 289). In Isfahān during the summer months the bed of the river, which is much used for irrigation purposes, is frequently dried up completely. The river-system of the Zende-Rūd, especially its upper part, still requires more careful exploration; cf. Stack, *op. cit.*, ii. 23, 84 sq., and Bishop.

The name Zende (Zinda)-Rūd (cf. Vallaers, *Lexic. Persico-Latin.*, i. 151, 152) means "river of life", the form Zāyinde (Zāyende)-Rūd = "life-giving river", i.e. the river that invigorates or fertilises the land, is now more common. At an earlier period we also find the name Zarin-Rūd = "golden river"; on the reason for this name nothing definite is known; it may be added that a valley quite near the source of this river is called Zarin valley (cf. Bishop, *op. cit.*, i. 269).

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(M. STRICK)

ZENĠ, IMĀD AL-DĪN b. KĀNĪN AL-DAWLĀ

AKSONĠOR b. 'ABD ALLĀH, atābeg of al-Mawālī and one of the most distinguished emirs of the Saldjūk period. His father AksonĠor al-Hādīb ("the chamberlain"), a Turkish Mamlūk in the service of Sultān Malikshāh [q. v.], had received from the latter the town of Ḥalab as a fief; but when AksonĠor on the death of Malikshāh rebelled against his brother Tutuḡh [q. v.], he was taken prisoner and put to death (487 = 1094) and the young Zengi, who was then only ten years old, lost his father's estates which went to Tutuḡh and the emirs who had aided with him. Zengi several times distinguished himself under the next rulers of al-Mawālī and as a result was appointed governor of Wasīt in 516 (1122—1123) by the governor of Baghdad AksonĠor al-Bursuḡi, who then supervised the whole of Irāq, and later received in addition the governorship of Bagra. In 518 (1124—1125) AksonĠor was transferred from Baghdad to al-Mawālī but in Dhū l-Ka'da 520 (Nov. 1126) he fell a victim to the danger of the Assassins, who hated him as an ardent supporter of the caliphs and Saldjūks. In the following year his son Mas'ūd also died, probably poisoned by one of the Syrian princes with whom he was on terms of enmity. A minor brother of Mas'ūd now came forward as heir to the governorship of al-Mawālī and his claims were supported by the commander in al-Mawālī, one of AksonĠor's Mamlūks, named al-Djāwālī. When the latter sent the kadi of al-Mawālī and a chamberlain of AksonĠor's to Baghdad to recommend Mas'ūd's young brother to the sultān Maḥmūd, the two envoys to whom al-Djāwālī's plans seemed by no means free from difficulties, were won over by a relative of Zengi's to his side and he was appointed governor of al-Mawālī and made his formal entrance into the city in Ramaḍān 521 (Sept.—Oct. 1127). The sultān gave him his two sons Alp Arslān and Fatruḡhshāh to educate and Zengi therefore received the title of atābeg. In the same year he took possession of Qazirat Ibn 'Omar, Naḡlīn, Sinḡār and Harrān. In Muḥarram 522 (Jan. 1128) he took the town of Ḥalab [q. v.] where utter anarchy reigned until Zengi appeared and restored order. In the following year he got possession of Ḥamāḡ [q. v.] through treachery; on the other hand, he failed against Hims and Damascus. Of his other enterprises in this period special mention may be made of the capture and destruction of the fortress of al-Aḥḥarī between Ḥalab and Anṭakya, which was occupied by the Crusaders. In the struggle for the sultanate between the Saldjūk prince Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad [q. v.] and his brother Saldjūk, Zengi aided with

the former (526=1131—1132) and when the uncle of the two brothers Saūfār [q.v.] wished to exert his suzerainty he was joined by Zengi and Dubais b. Ṣadaka [q.v.]. The attacks of the two latter on Baghdad were however unsuccessful and the caliph al-Mustarshid was equally unsuccessful in his attempt to take al-Mawṣil, which he besieged for three months (527=1132—1133). When his successor al-Rāshid quarrelled with Sulṭān Maṣ'ūd, Zengi at first joined the former but was persuaded to approve of the deposition of al-Rāshid and paid homage to al-Muktafi. In 531 (1137) Zengi after besieging Hims for several months in vain, attacked the fortress of Ba'rin (Monsferrandus). The Christian commander appealed for help to king Fulk of Jerusalem but the latter was routed and Ba'rin had to surrender. A new enemy now appeared in the field, namely the emperor John II of Constantinople, who had first of all intended to reduce to obedience the rebel ruler Leo of Little Armenia and his ally Raymond of Antioch, but after making peace he made an alliance with the leaders of the Crusaders. After taking the fortress of Būmā, he advanced against Halab but soon abandoned his plan of subduing it by a long siege and attacked Shaizar. But when the inhabitants defended themselves bravely, the emperor accepted the commander's terms and returned to Antioch (Ramadān 532=May—June 1138) pursued by Zengi who took many prisoners and much booty. In the same year after long negotiations, the ruler of Damascus Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd handed over to Zengi the town of Hims. In Dhū l-Ka'da 533 (July 1139) Zengi undertook a campaign against Baalbek; after a vigorous resistance the garrison had to capitulate and were for the most part massacred, although Zengi had promised them liberty to depart. The object of all his efforts was still however the rich city of Damascus and in Rabi' I 534 (Oct.—Nov. 1139) he laid siege to the town. The ruler of Damascus Djamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad was not inclined to exchange Damascus for Hims and Baalbek and after what had happened at the latter town could not fully trust Zengi. When he died a few months later, the new commander Mu'īn al-Dīn who acted for the minor Maḥmūd al-Dīn b. Djamāl al-Dīn applied to the Crusaders and offered them the town of Baniyās if they would assist him, whereupon Zengi raised the siege and returned to al-Mawṣil. After he had taken several strongholds in Northern Mesopotamia, he quarrelled with Sulṭān Maṣ'ūd, who finally declared war on him. Zengi gave in however and purchased peace (538=1143—1144). In Djumādā II 539 (December 1144) he took the important town of Edessa from the Crusaders and two years later attacked Ḳal'at Dja'bar in Mesopotamia when he was murdered by some Mamlūks on the night of 4th—5th Rabi' II (Sept. 13—14), or according to another story, on the 15th Rabi' II 541 (Sept. 24, 1146). He was succeeded in al-Mawṣil by his son Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī I and in al-Halab by another son, Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd.

The Oriental historians bestow the highest praise on the political qualities of al-Beg Zengi; on the other hand they are well aware of his unscrupulousness. Ibn al-Athīr (xi. 72) vividly describes how prosperity returned under his care to lands which had been threatened by the Franks and impoverished by the extortions and frequent changes of governors.

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ZENITH, the vertical point, i.e. the highest point in the visible sphere of the heavens in the direction of the vertical (plumb line) above the observer, at the same time the upper (visible) pole of the horizon.

The technical astronomical term for zenith in Arabic is *samt al-ra's* or *samt al-ra'is*, which means "direction (*samt*) of the head", corresponding to the Greek *κεφαλή* or *τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνατολή*. Plato Tiburtinus reproduces *samt al-ra's* in his Latin translation as *zenith capitis* or *zenith caputem*, the Spanish translation of al-Battāni by *el zente* (*el zent*) *de la cabeza* (cf. al-Battāni, *Opus astronomicum*, ed. Nallina, ii. 357, s.v. *samt*). — As Gollus early noticed, the form *zenith* seems to owe its origin to a slip of the pen which made the *m* in *samt* (*samt*) into *ni*: *zamt* > *zenith*. (The same word *samt* — in the plural *samāt* — is found in the astronomical term *azimut* [q.v.], Ar. *samt*, i.e. *min dā'irat al-ufq*, "direction on the circle of the horizon", calculated in degrees. The *Libros del saber de astronomia* translate *samt* usually by *zente*, and *samt al-ra's* by *cent*).

The (invisible) pole of the horizon directly under the observer, the counter-pole of the zenith, is called *nadir* [q.v.], from Ar. *naḍr*. The largest circles which go through zenith and nadir are called vertical circles; among them two are specially distinguished, the meridian (*falak niḡ al-naḥār*, *ῥῆ μαστιγίου*) in whose plane the axis of the earth lies and which cuts the horizon in the south and north points and the first vertical which stands perpendicular on the plane of the meridian, cutting the horizon in east and west. The east and west points are also the poles of the meridian, south and north points the poles of the first vertical.

The spherical coordinates of a star calculated in the horizon-zenith system are *azimut* (*al-ḡamē*) and *altitude* (*irtifā'*, i.e. *'an dā'irat al-ufq*); while modern astronomy defines the *azimut* as the length of the arc between the vertical circle covered by the star and the meridian, measured on the horizon from S. to W. N., E. to S. from 0°—360° — or, if the direction in the heavens is given, from S. via W. and S. via E. to 180° — the Arab astronomers (which it is important to remember) take the first vertical as the circle of reference, i.e. reckon from the east or west point of the vertical. The altitude of the star is the length of the arc of the star from the horizon, measured on the vertical circle which passes through the star. It is calculated from 0° (on the horizon) to +90° (on the zenith) or —90° (on the nadir); negative altitudes are frequently called depressions. The altitude is

frequently replaced by its complement, the distance of the zenith which represents the length of the arc measured on the same vertical circle from the zenith. The zenith distance of the pole of the heavens is equal to the altitude of the equator in the meridian and equal to the complement of the altitude of the pole or geographical latitude ϕ , i.e. $Z = 90^\circ - \phi$.

A plane parallel to the horizon intersects the visible sphere of the heavens in a circle, which connects all points of the same altitude. Such a circle is called in astronomy a horizontal circle or — using an Arabic loanword — *Al-mukantarāt* (i.e. *al-muqannara*) [q.v.].

(WILLY HARTNER)

ZENTA (formerly Hungarian *Szenta*; Turkish *سنته*, *سنته*; [Kāmūs al-ʿAṣm, iv. 2425] and also *جنته* [in Khālil Edhem, *Duʿar al-ʿilāhiyya*, 1927, p. 323]; Serbo-Croat *Senta*), a flourishing town on the right bank of the Theiss in the Bačka (since 1929 in the Danube banate) in Yugoslavia, with 30,044 inhabitants (1931), first mentioned in 1216 and made a free city in 1526. After the battle of Mohács (1526) Zenta became Turkish and belonged to the sandjak of Segedin (Szigedin; cf. e.g. Fekete, *Türkische Schriften... des Palatin N. Esterházy*, 1932, p. 110 and 324). Ewliya Celebi (vii. 363) who visited Zenta in the xviii century, describes it as a small *palanka* (fortress) in the above mentioned sandjak and proposes a childish etymology (*سنته* *باش* *يعني* *سنته* *باش* *يعني* *سنته*) of its name.

Zenta is celebrated in history as a battle-field. When Mustafa II was retiring from Peterwardein, where Prince Eugene of Savoy had shut himself up, after an unsuccessful siege, he wished at first to attack Szegedin but soon decided to cross the Theiss at Zenta and go to Temesvár. Küçük Dja'far Pasha (on him see *Sijill-i 'ahmânî*, ii. 75) was taken prisoner by Prince Eugene and being threatened with death betrayed the Sultan's plans. Prince Eugene then advanced rapidly to Zenta and surprised the grandvizier Elmas Mehmed Pasha (cf. above iii, p. 692 and the article MUHAMMAD FAKHĀ ELMAS) just as he was about to transfer the remainder (the greater part) of his army to the left bank. After the onslaught of the imperial troops, the Turks made a wild rush for the bridge, which was being heavily bombarded and it soon collapsed; the Turks were thus cut in two and by evening utterly routed (Sept. 11, 1697). Besides the grandvizier, four other viziers, 13 beglerbegs and about 30,000 men fell or were drowned. The Sultan himself only escaped with difficulty. In the popular mind this defeat became a synonym for any disaster, as may be seen from the Serbo-Croat proverb *Prošepao kao turci car na Senti* ("he has met the fate of the Turkish emperor at Zenta"). The defeat at Zenta forced the Turks to the peace of Carlowitz [q.v.] and meant that they were now definitely driven back into the Balkan Peninsula.

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1929), 113; *Almanah kraljevina Jugoslavije* (Zagreb, since 1930), I. 691.

(FETHI BAŞKANTARAVIC)

ZER MAHBŪB, "beloved gold", a Turkish gold coin (sequin). In the reign of Ahmad III (1115–1143 = 1703–1730) a new gold sequin was issued weighing 40 grains (2.6 grammes), in addition to the older sequin of 53 grains (3.44 grammes) (*funduk altını*) which continued to be issued alongside of it. This coin, known as the *zer mahbub*, remained in circulation till the great Mejdidiye recoinage of 1280 (1844), being reduced in weight to 37 grains (2.4 grammes) by Selim III (1203–1222 = 1789–1807) and to 25 grains (1.63 grammes) in the last years of Mahmūd II (1223–1255 = 1808–1839). Double, quadruple and half and quarter pieces of this denomination were also issued.

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(J. ALLAN)

ZI'AMA. [See ZI'AMET.]

ZIKRAWAH h. **MIHRAWAH**, a Karmatian. After 'Abdūn, the brother-in-law and secretary of the founder of the Karmatian sect Hamdān Karmat [q.v.] had been disposed of in 286 (899), Zikrawah took his place as a Karmatian missionary. Out of fear of the energetic caliph al-Mu'tadid [q.v.], he had however to remain in concealment and is said to have lived in a hiding-place for four years and only to have come out into the light of day after al-Mu'tadid's death in Rab' II 289 (April 902). In the meanwhile the Karmatian emissaries had succeeded in winning numerous followers among the Banu 'l-Ulayh, a clan of the great Beduin tribe of Kalb b. Wabara in the Syrian desert, and towards the end of 289 (902) a large army set out against Damascus. Syria was at this time under the rule of the Tālmūdī, but the general Tughdī in Damascus was almost independent of the central government in Egypt. On the approach of the Karmatian troops he set out against them but underestimated the greatness of the danger and when he came to give battle, was forced to flee and return to the capital. Soon afterwards the grand-master of the Karmatians (*ṣāhib al-ṣawāḥib*) fell at the siege of Damascus; he was succeeded by his brother, the *ṣāhib al-ḥāḥil*, who forced the people of Damascus to purchase peace and then continued northwards, plundering and murdering as he went. Several towns like Hamāt, Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, Basalbek and Salamiya were sacked, the men massacred and the women and children carried off as slaves. Finally however, the new caliph's general Muḥammad b. Sulaimān succeeded in completely defeating the Karmatians; the *ṣāhib al-ḥāḥil* was taken prisoner and brought to Baghdad where the caliph had him executed in the cruellest fashion. But the power of the Syro-Iraqian Karmatians was not broken. A disciple of Zikrawah's, 'Abd Qhānim 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'īd who had taken the name Naṣr, stirred up the Kalbi Beduins; they joined the Karmatians proper and ravaged the country east of the river Jordan as far as Damascus. When the caliph's troops approached, the Karmatians retired into the desert, filling up the wells so that their pursuers could not reach them for want of water. But when an army under Muḥammad b. Ishaq b. Kundajik finally penetrated to their

camps in the desert, they had to give in, murdered Naḡr and sent his head as a token of submission to the victor. Zikrawaih then at last came out of his hiding-place, appointed al-Kāsim b. Aḥmad leader of the 'Irāqī Karmāṭians and had himself worshipped as a saint, never allowing himself to be seen unveiled. In Dhū 'l-Hijja 293 (Oct. 906) they advanced on Kāfa, entered the town and massacred the people in the streets but after desperate fighting with the troops of the governor Ishāk b. 'Imrān had to give way and return to the district of Kādīsiya. In the very same month an army which the caliph sent against the Karmāṭians at Ishāk's request was defeated near Kādīsiya; but when al-Muktāfi equipped a new army under the command of Muḥammad b. Ishāk b. Kundādīk, they retired into the desert to waylay caravans. In Muḥarram of the following year (Oct.—Nov. 906) Zikrawaih fell upon the great pilgrim caravan returning from Mecca; his people killed not only the men but also a number of the women and carried off the rest. In Rabi' I, according to the most probable statement on the 22nd (Jan. 10, 907), the caliph's troops led by Waṣīf b. Suwārtagīn came upon the Karmāṭians near Khaffān in the district of al-Kādīsiya and fought them till sunset without a decision being reached. On the following day Zikrawaih was wounded in the head, whereupon his followers fled on all sides. On the way to Baghdad he succumbed to his wounds and his corpse was exhibited in the capital. — Cf. also the article KARMĀṬIANS.

Bibliography: al-Tabari, ed. de Goeje, see Index; 'Arīb, ed. de Goeje, p. 9, 10, 12, 14–15, 36; Ibn al-Aḥlir, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vii, 311, 353, 368, 374–381; al-Mas'ūdī, *Kitaḥ al-Zanāh wa 'l-Iḥrāf*, B. G. A., viii, 374–376; de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahrein*, *passim*. (K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

ZINĀ (A.), fornication, i.e. any sexual intercourse between persons who are not in a state of legal matrimony or concubinage. To the pre-Islamic Arabs, zinā was not a sin but regarded in certain circumstances as an injury to the rights of property of a fellow-tribesman. In the Qur'ān, however, apparently under Jewish or Christian influence, warnings are uttered against zinā and chastity represented as a mark of the believer, e.g. Sūra xvii. 34; xxv. 68; xxxiii. 30. Zinā is then dealt with more fully in Sūra iv. (probably of the period after the battle of Uhud in the year 3): "(19) If your women be guilty of whoredom, then bring four witnesses against them from among yourselves: and if they bear witness to it, shut them up in their houses until death releases them or Allāh gives them a way. (20) Punish both of those among you who commit this sin; but if they repent and mend their ways, let them be: for Allāh is the pardoner and the merciful. . . (29) . . . (The believing slave-girls whom you marry) shall be chaste and modest and have no lovers". Verse 20 is sometimes with less probability referred to sodomy. A new law was made as a result of 'A'isha's celebrated adventure in the year 6 in Sūra xxiv.: "(2) Scourge each of the fornicators with a hundred lashes and have no mercy upon them in Allāh's religion, if you believe in Allāh and the last day; a number of the believers shall attend their punishment. (3) The whoremonger shall only marry a whore or an idolatress and the whore shall only marry a whoremonger or an

idolator. Such marriages are forbidden to the believers". Sūra iv. 30 must be later than the law in xxiv. 2, of which it is a continuation: "But if after marriage they commit adultery then inflict upon them half the punishment of chaste (free married) women". Sūra xxxiii. 30 (probably dating from the last part of 5 A. H.) refers to the punishment in the other world. Sūra xxiv. 33 cannot be exactly dated but certainly Medinese ("Force not your slave-girls to prostitution, if they wish to remain chaste, from a desire for gain in this life; if any one forces them, then after they have been compelled, Allāh will be forgiving and merciful to them") and Sūra lkv. 1 is also later (divorced women must not be driven out of their houses during the 'idda "unless they have committed proved adultery"). The so-called "verse of the stoning" is said to have been an original part of the Qur'ān as it was acknowledged as such by the caliph 'Omar: "If a man and woman who by have reached years of discretion commit adultery, stone them in every case, as Allāh's punishment". It is improbable that this verse is genuine, the traditions relating to it and the mention of 'Omar are clearly tendentious; the stories that the Prophet punished by stoning are also unworthy of credence. This punishment, which must have entered Islām quite early, certainly comes from Jewish law (Deut. xxii. 22) as can still be seen in a *ḥadīth*. Other traditions emphasise the rules of the Qur'ān and develop them; zinā is a very grave sin and not compatible with belief; profit from zinā and prostitution is unclean; sodomy etc. are included under zinā; the flogging which remained as a punishment alongside of stoning is combined with a year's banishment. In the system of fiqh and already in many traditions stoning and flogging are separated as *ḥadd* punishment for zinā in two categories of criminals, according as they are *muḥṣan* or not. By *muḥṣan* the law means in this case every individual who has reached years of discretion, is in possession of his faculties, is free and has had sexual intercourse in a legal marriage; they however always remain *muḥṣan* even after their marriage is dissolved; the distinction is therefore not based on any moral grounds. According to Hanafis and Hanbalis, both the guilty parties must fulfil these conditions; the Hanafis also demand that the *muḥṣan* should be a Muslim, while the Mālikis consider neither of the punishments applicable to a non-Muslim. The banishment for a year after the flogging is limited by the Mālikis to the man, by the Hanafis left to the discretion of the imām. Slaves are punished with fifty lashes, and according to the Shāfi'is banishment for six months. Zinā can only be proved by the evidence of four male, competent witnesses; as they must report all the details of the incident and, if their evidence is not sufficient, are liable to the *ḥadd* for *ḥadīf* [q. v.], the *ḥadd* for zinā in practice can hardly ever be inflicted, unless the culprit himself confesses his guilt. According to the Hanafis and Hanbalis, this confession must also be made four times, and according to the general teaching can be withdrawn. Marriage within the forbidden degrees is simply zinā as is rape, which can also be regarded as doing bodily harm. If the husband kills the guilty couple in *flagrante delicto* he is not liable to punishment. In practice the place of the legal regulations was often taken by summary and usually secret action either by the authorities

or by the relatives of the guilty woman; in this case drowning was a common form of punishment.

Bibliography: Lammens, *Le Berceau de l'Islam*, p. 279; Noldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qur'ān*, I, 248 sqq.; Wansinck, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, s.v. 'Zinā'; Jeynhol, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, p. 301 sqq.; do., *Handleitung* 2, p. 305 sqq.; Kresmarik, *Beiträge zur Beleuchtung des islamischen Strafrechts*, in *Z. D. M. G.*, LVIII, p. 101 sqq.; Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, s.v. adultery and fornication; Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, chap. VII (end) and XIII (towards the end). (JOSEPH SCHACHT)

ZINDĪK (pl. *zanāḍika*; abstract *zanādika*), the term used in Muslim criminal law to describe the heretic whose teaching becomes a danger to the state; this crime is liable to capital punishment (by the application of *sūra* v. 37: xvi. 49; cf. *R. M. M.*, 1909, ix, 99—103) and to damnation (the *Māliki*s think it useless to ask the culprit to recant [*istisāba*] contrary to the *Hanafi*s; *tabṣir*, often theoretical, is not so strong a term as *zanādika*).

The term was borrowed in the *Irāk* from the *Iranian* vocabulary of the *Sāsānian* administration; Schaefer, correcting Darmesteter, has shown that *Ma'sūdī* (followed by *Hudjwiri*) was right in saying that among the *Mazdaeans*, *zanādika* was the heretic, who introduced a new gloss, an allegorical interpretation of a passage in the *Avesta* (cf. in the ninth century, the *zanādika* *Alāḥīh*, studied by Berthelémy; cf. *Muskhārat*, xxxvi. 16; *Shāyast nā Shāyast*, vi. 7); and more especially the *Manichaean*, follower of *Mani* (testimony of the *Armenian* writer on heresies *Eznik*, of the fifth century, transl. Schmidt, p. 95), or, in a more restricted sense still, the follower of the *Manichaean* schismatic *Mazdak* (according to *Khwarizmī*).

The term being *Iranian*, A. Siddiqi has shown that we must reject the *Aramaic* etymology (*zanādika*) suggested by *Bevan* as well as the *Greek* (*γυναικας*) proposed by *Vollers*. The word *zindik* must have become *arabized* in the mixed *Arabo-Iranian* society of the *ṣawādī* *Hamra* of *Hira* and *Kūfa* (cf. the exiling of the *Mazdakis* to *Hira*, in which we can see the explanation of the *Shi'a* gnosticism of *Kūfa* in the following century). Indeed it appears for the first time in the *Irāk* in 125 (742) in connection with the execution of *Dja'ūd b. Dirham*; then from 167 (783) to 170 (786) as an official inquisition was instituted by the *Abbasid* caliph under a special judge (*ṣarf*); it was then that *Bashshār b. Burd* and *Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Ḥudūd* were executed. The term became a technical one and literary tradition designates three famous writers, *Ibn al-Rāwandī*, *Tawhīdī* and *Ma'arri*, as the "three *zanādika* of *Islam*". But in general use, the term lost its precision and if the official definition of the *zindik* (a dualist ascetic, then a Muslim who is secretly a *Manichaean*), according to the caliph *Mahdī* (*Tabari*, ed. de Goeje, III, 588), is already carelessly applied to the three first men executed mentioned above, it is clear that it does not at all explain the psychology of the three "*zanādika* of *Islam*". In practice, the polemics of the conservatives describe as a *zindik* or "free thinker" any one whose external profession of *Islam* seems to them not sufficiently sincere (cf. the poet *Dj. S. Zahāwī* in *Baghdād* or the critic *Taha Husayn* in *Cairo*). This is the meaning in which it is already used by *Ma'arri* in his *Riḥlas al-Ghufra*. The

chief works representing this free, radical way of thinking have been brought to light by P. Krans (*Erkänghabir*, *Abū 'Isā Watrak*, *Ibn al-Rāwandī*, *Rān*, *Thaghrī*); they are preserved in *Isma'ilitic* refutations.

The evolution of the term is explained by its political character; it brands the heresy which imperils the Muslim state (this is already clear in the trial of *al-Hallāj*); and as the only crime systematically punished by the Prophet himself by death had been *zabā al-razā*, the jurists more and more made *zanādika* an intellectual rebellion insulting to the Prophet's honour (cf. *Ibn Taimiya* and *Ibn Ḥajjar al-Haitamī*).

The stages of this evolution can be brought closer together by summing up the definitions given of the word *zanādika* by the various Muslim schools.

The *Hanbalis*, according to *Khazhāh* (d. 253 = 867), recognise five sects of *zanādika*: *ma'afī'a*, who deny the creation and the Creator, reducing the world to an unstable mixture of the four elements; *māwriya* (*Manichaeans*) and *mandakya* who are dualists; *'ahzākya* (vegetarian *Isma'ili* ascetics of *Kūfa*; cf. *Massignon, Recueil*, ..., p. 11—12) and *ruḥāniya* (four ecstatic sects, who seek to free themselves from the constraint of observances and laws by an amorous union of the soul with God, a union denounced as implying identity of nature between the Creator and his creatures: in it *Sunni* mystics like *Rabāh* and *Rabī'a* are ranged alongside of an *Isma'ili* alchemist like *Ibn Ḥayyān*). *Ibn Ḥanbal* himself describes *Djahm* as a *zindik* for having maintained that the spirit (*ruḥ*) is an immaterial emanation, therefore divine.

The *Māliki*s of the west (Spain and Morocco) studied by *Millot* and *Lévi-Provençal* instituted trials for *zanādika*, especially for "insults to the honour of the Prophet" (trial of *Abū 'Isā Khair* at *Cordova* in the reign of *al-Hakam II*, of *Ibn Ḥatim al-Asti* at *Toledo* in 457 (1064) and later of *Ibn Zakūr* at *Fās*). Similarly the *Hanafis*, especially during the Ottoman empire (*fatwas* against the *Shi'a*; trial of *Kāhid* in 934 (1527); cf. *Nābulusi, Ghāyat al-Maṭlūb*, Pers. MS., folio 77).

As to the theologians, the *Mu'tazilis* at first saw in *zanādika* an amorous devotion seeking liberation from obligatory duties (cf. *Thumama*, in *al-Baghdādī, Fārḥ*, abbr. and ed. *Hitti*, p. 105), then a tendency to the *lūḥa* of the *Khurramiya*; *Ghazālī* defines it as a tendency to atheism.

The *Sāfis* were early persecuted as *zanādika* in view of their doctrine of the divine love (trial in the year 262 (875) of *Nūrī*; execution of *al-Hallāj*); *al-Hallāj* (cf. *Tawāṣit*, v. 2) himself recognises in a curious psychological analysis that on the threshold of transforming union, mysticism obtains a feeling of identity with God, which is *zanādika* (*Al-Bihar*, No. 52, p. 80, l. 7).

The moderate *Shi'a*s like to describe the extremist *Shi'a*s, for an analogous reason, as *zanādika* (emanations that give union with the divine: *dawā ilā 'l-rubūbiya*). The *Zaidī* *imām Kāsim* is credited with the authorship of a refutation of the *zindik* *Ibn al-Muḥaffa* [q. v.] which *Guidi* has edited and translated.

Lastly, in his *Fikrist* (ed. *Flügel*, p. 338), *Ibn al-Nadīm* has given a very heterogeneous list of *zanādika* (the value of which is sometimes overestimated, it is rather imaginative; G. Vajda in

preparing a critical study of this subject) in which Marwān II and the Barmecides are found alongside of Isma'īl, like Abū Shākir and Dhahhān, an Imām like Nāghī and an independent critic like Abū Isā al-Warrāq [q. v.].

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(LOUIS MASSIGNON)

ZINDJIRLĪ, a village in Northern Syria in the valley of the Karāsī between the Amanos and the Kurd Dāgh not far from Iṣṭāṭiye. Near the village is a tell, the ruins of the old Aramaean town of Sham'al, the capital of the little North Syrian state of Ya'dī (Assyr. *Yandi*). It was discovered in 1883 by Hamdy Bey, F. v. Luschān and O. Puchstein and excavated in 1888, 1890—1891, 1894 and 1902 by the Berlin Orientkomitee under the leadership of K. Humann, F. v. Luschān and F. Winter with the co-operation of J. Euting and W. Koldewey.

The citadel of Sham'al was surrounded by two concentric circular walls. In addition to reliefs, colossal lions and bulls, there were found at Zindjirli and the adjoining tells of Gerdin (Gerdin) and Takhtāṭī Baṭār several Aramaic inscriptions in old Canaanite script and a stela of Asarhaddon of Assyria from which we learn the names of several rulers of the 9th and 8th centuries B. C. of Sham'al-Ya'dī, namely Gabbārā, Bamaḥu, Khayyā, Shā'el, Kilamūwa, Karal, Panamūwa (Pa-namū) I, Barṣur, Panamū II and Barrekub. The finds from Zindjirli are for the most part preserved in the Vorderasiatische Abteilung of the State Museums in Berlin; the remainder are in the Museum in Stambul.

In the Arab period there is no trace of Zindjirli rulers unless we have a corruption of this name in that of the fortress of Zandjara (mentioned in al-Nuwairi, Paris Bibl. Nat., Ms. arab., No. 1579,

fol. 161r, quoted in Mufaḍḍal b. Abi 'l-Faḍā'il, *Histoire des Sultans Mamelouks*, ed. Blochet, in *Patrol. Orient.*, xiv. [1920], 602, note 2).

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(E. HONIGSMANN)

ZIRIDS, the name of two mediæval dynasties of the Muslim west.

I. ZIRIDS or BANU ZIRI, a Berber dynasty which held a part of Eastern Barbary from the end of the fourth (tenth) century to the middle of the sixth (eleventh) century. The Zirids were connected with the great confederation of the Sanhādja [q. v.] and led a settled existence in the central Maghrib. Zir b. Manād had founded Aghir [q. v.] in the mountains of Titter about 940. He made it the capital of his territory and a bulwark against the attacks of the Zenāta Maghrawa [q. v.], allies of the Umayyads of Cordova. By their resistance to the Zenāta, the Zirids rendered considerable service to the plans of the Fāṭimids of Ifrīkiya. Their most signal service was the relief of al-Mahdiya when it was besieged by the Khārijī agitator Abū Yaṣīd. The timely assistance which they rendered to the Fāṭimids on this and several other occasions was rewarded. When the Umayyad caliph al-Mu'izz left Ifrīkiya for Egypt in 363 (973) he appointed Buluggin b. Ziri governor of Ifrīkiya and gave him by anticipatory investiture all the lands which he might conquer from the Zenāta.

Against these hereditary enemies the struggle was continued under Buluggin [cf. *BULUGGIN*] who marched victoriously through the Maghrib and seized all the important towns with the exception of Ceuta, under al-Manṣūr b. Buluggin (373—385 = 984—995) and under Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr (385—406 = 995—1016). During the latter emir's reign took place the division of the Zirids into two kingdoms: one in the west went to the Hammādids who lived in the Kaṭa and the other in the east to the Zirids with Kairawān as capital. An amicable arrangement regularising the division was made in 408 (1017) under al-Mu'izz b. Bādīs [q. v.]. In spite of this loss of territory, eastern Barbary enjoyed an undeniable economic prosperity during the reign of al-Mu'izz (406—454 = 1016—1062) which enabled the emir to enrich Kairawān and Sābra, the official city, with very fine buildings (ceilings and *maḥḥāra* of the great mosque of Kairawān). This wealth encouraged al-Mu'izz to cast off Fāṭimid suzerainty and to repudiate their doctrine which the people of Ifrīkiya had only accepted with great reluctance. The caliph in Cairo punished this secession by sending in 444 (1052) against the rebels the Arab nomad tribes of the Banū Hilāl and Banū Sulaim [q. v.]. This was the great disaster. The open country was ruined completely; al-Mu'izz had to leave Kairawān

and seek refuge in al-Mahdiyya. While the Arabs held the plains, the towns formed republics and independent little principalities. Al-Mu'izz's son Tamim (454-501 = 1062-1108) tried without much success to regain possession of his kingdom and to thwart the ambition of the Hammāda. His successors were to continue this difficult task. What really gives interest to the later Zirids, Tamim b. al-Mu'izz, Yahya b. Tamim (501-569 = 1108-1166), 'Ali b. Yahya (509-515 = 1116-1121), al-Hasan b. 'Ali (515-563 = 1121-1167), is the maritime activity developed by these former lamellans now paralysed on the mainland and the repeated attempts made by them to retake the command of the sea from the Normans of Sicily. This struggle which generally took the form of piratical enterprises did not however end to the advantage of the Zirids. After an effort to come to an arrangement with the Normans, the emirs could not prevent the enemy raiding the coast of Ifrīkiya and plundering the coast towns. In 543 (1148) al-Mahdiyya was taken by George of Antioch. Al-Hasan driven from his capital sought refuge at Bône, then in Algiers. He was reinstated in al-Mahdiyya by the Almohad caliph 'Abd al-Mu'min and spent eight years there before being again exiled, to die in obscurity in the extreme Maghrib in 563 (1167).

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(G. MARÇAIS)

2. ZIRIDS OF SPAIN, a secondary branch of the Berber family of the Banū Zīr of Ifrīkiya, who founded an independent principality with Granada as capital at the time of the dismemberment of the Umayyad caliphate of Cordova.

The establishment in Spain of the Ṣanhādja family had taken place only a few years previously. It originated in the rebellion in Ifrīkiya of the members of the family of the Zirid princes Balaggin and al-Manṣūr who had been deprived of their positions. These malcontents gathered round one of Zīr's sons, Zāwī, who persuaded them to leave Ifrīkiya. They offered their services, which were at first welcomed, to the 'Amīr al-ḥaḍra of Cordova, 'Abd al-Malik al-Muḥaffar [q.v.]; accompanied by numerous followers they went to Spain where they soon played an important part in the Berber army raised by the 'Amīrīds in which they formed one of the main elements. When the caliph Sulaimān al-Musta'in at the beginning of the 10th century distributed lands to his principal auxiliaries, he gave the Banū Zīr the district of Elvira [q.v.], the old capital of which was gradually being supplanted by Granada, a town of quite recent foundation mainly peopled by Jews. Zāwī b. Zīr without adopting the

sovereign title at once began to act as an independent ruler in Granada. Taking up the cause of the pretender to the caliphate 'Alī b. Hammūd [q.v.], he inflicted on the supporters of another pretender, 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Murtadja, in 407 (1016-1017) a serious defeat in the region of Granada. His authority was naturally strengthened by this success; it is therefore all the more difficult to explain the decision he soon took to abandon his principality and return to his native land of Ifrīkiya. It was dictated no doubt by the ancient hatred, still alive in Spain, which had divided Africa into anti-Fātimid Zenāta and pro-Fātimid Ṣanhādja. The Zenāta were daily gaining ground in Spain, where they occupied the mountainous region of the centre and west of Andalusia. Zāwī however retook Kairawān with only a very small body of followers in 416 (1025).

On the departure of Zāwī b. Zīr, his nephew Ḥabbūs b. Mūsā assumed command of the Zirids in Granada. He adopted a sovereign title, that of *ḥaḍra*, and the honorific *ḥaḍra* of Saif al-Dawla. He reigned for over 10 years until 429 (1038). He concluded alliances with the petty neighbouring dynasties and at his death had increased his kingdom by the districts of Jaen [q.v.] and Caba. He had entrusted the conduct of his kingdom to a Jewish vizier, Samuel Ibn Naghziā, a thing unprecedented in Muslim Spain. The fame of this vizier, not only an able minister, but author of many original works in Hebrew, spread far and in 1027 the Jews of Spain revived for him the princely title of *ḥaḍra*.

On the death of Ḥabbūs b. Mūsā, power passed to his son Bādīs b. Ḥabbūs, whose long reign marks the culminating point of Zirid power in Spain. He began by inflicting a bloody defeat on the prince of Almería, his former ally Zuhair [q.v.] who lost his life in the battle fought in the pass of Alpuente (429). Emboldened by this success and by the victories which he won without difficulty over the troops of the prince of Valencia and Seville, Bādīs b. Ḥabbūs threw off the suzerainty (at best only nominal) of the petty Hammūdīd caliph of Malaga and annexed his dominions (c. 450 = 1058). The years following were marked by the anti-Berber policy of the Arab king of Seville, al-Mu'tadīd [q.v.] Ibn 'Abbād, who successfully annexed the little Berber kingdoms of Ronda [q.v.], Jerez (Ar. Sharrāh [q.v.]) and Acrois. As a result the power of the Arabs in Spain increased considerably and the only bloc of Berber resistance which was still really solid was that of the Ṣanhādja Zirids of Granada. Bādīs could not help being disturbed by this advance of the 'Abbādīd kingdom in the east of Andalusia and at the same time by the increasingly marked signs of disaffection among his own Arab subjects. Bādīs in these unpropitious circumstances and against the advice of the vizier Samuel, whom he had retained on his accession, went to war with Seville, but without success. A Seville army led by the prince al-Mu'tamid was fortunately checked in its advance on Malaga.

On the death of the vizier Samuel, his son Joseph succeeded him as Bādīs's first minister. Unlike his father, the new vizier soon turned against himself not only the Arabs of the Zirid kingdom but also the Berbers themselves, by his extravagance and the luxury with which he surrounded himself and the favours he bestowed on his co-religionists. If

we may believe the Arab historians, his ambitions increasing, he had the heir presumptive of Bādis poisoned, his son Balugḡta, succeeded in exalting himself with his master and for a time thought of creating a Jewish kingdom in Spain for his own advantage. He was in secret correspondence with the lord of Almería, Ibn Sumādih, and offered to surrender Granada to him, on condition that Almería became the capital of a Jewish principality of which he should be ruler. The reaction was inevitable and rapid. On the appeal of the Arab poet Abū Ishāq al-Ilbiri in a poem that became famous, a conspiracy was got up against the Jews of Granada and on 9th Šafar 459 (Dec. 30, 1066) Joseph Ibn Naghalla and 3,000 Granada Jews were massacred and their homes plundered.

The reign of Bādis b. Ḥabbūs lasted till 466 (1073). Granada had now become an important city grouped around the citadel which stood on the west bank of the Darro; it had been built by Ḥabbūs b. Māksan and enlarged by Bādis. The residence of the latter, according to local tradition, was called "house of the weathercock" (*dār dīk al-riḡ*) which is preserved in that of "casa del Gallo". A bridge over the Darro still called "Puente del Caill" was built in 447 (1055) by the kādī of Granada 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Tawba. A mawla of Bādis b. Ḥabbūs, Mu'ammil, left his memorial in Granada in several public works also built in the Zirid period.

When Bādis b. Ḥabbūs died, he left two grandsons, Tamīm, then governor of Malaga, and 'Abd Allāh; the latter assumed power in Granada while his brother set up as an independent ruler in Malaga. This division was to be maintained till the end of the Zirid dynasty. Events were however soon to move rapidly with the advance of Christian arms. The taking of Toledo [q. v.] in 1085 by Alfonso VI was followed next year by the famous victory won by Yūsuf b. Tāshfin at al-Zallāka [q. v.] in which Tamīm and 'Abd Allāh took part with their contingents. When in 1090, Yūsuf returned to Spain, one of his first cares, after the failure of the siege of Alledo, was, on the advice of the kādī of Granada Abū Dja'far al-Ḥulālī, to seize Granada and dethrone 'Abd Allāh. The latter abandoned by all had to go to the Almoravid sultān who made him a prisoner and soon afterwards dethroned his brother Tamīm in Malaga. 'Abd Allāh was exiled to Aghmāḡ [q. v.] on the northern borders of the Moroccan Great Atlas. Tamīm was forced to live in Marrākush where he died in 488 (1095). Almoravid governors were installed at Granada and Malaga to mark the completeness of the fall of the Zirid dynasty in Spain.

Bibliography: The principal source is Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-maḡrib*, iii., ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1930, index. Cf. also Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥṣā*, Cairo and MSS. in the Escorial; Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhira fī Maḡrib al-Ahl al-Djānira*, i.; the texts collected by Dozy, *Script. arabum loci de Abbāsidis*, Leyden 1846; al-Maḡkarrī, *Naṣṣ al-Ṭib (Analectes)*, index; Munk, in *J. A.*, 4th serie, vol. xvi., p. 210 sqq.; Graetz, *Les Juifs d'Espagne*, transl. Stenue, Paris 1872; Dozy, *Hist. Mus. Esp.*, new ed., Leyden 1932, vol. iii., index; Dozy, *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne au Moyen-âge*, Leyden 1881, i. 282 sqq.; A. Prieto y Vives,

Los Reyes de toifas, Madrid 1926, p. 28 sqq.; A. González Palencia, *Historia de la España musulmana*, Barcelona 1925, p. 60-64, 72-73. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ZIYÂ GÖK ÂLP (MEYMAN ZIYÂ BEY), Turkish author and poet, sociologist and nationalist leader. Born in Diyarbakır in 1875, from a family of Ottoman government officials, he attended the veterinary school in Constantinople; becoming compromised through his relations with the Revolutionary Committee, he was obliged to leave the capital, and return to his province. After the revolution of 1908 he figured among the members of the Union and Progress Committee, took part in the Salonica Congress (1909), and began to spread his social and nationalist ideas through the review *İkinci Kalem*, which was published in that city. From 1912 he occupied the chair of Sociology at the University of Constantinople, was among Enver Pasha's supporters during the European war, and was exiled to Malta during the Allied occupation of Constantinople.

In spring of 1921 he returned to Anatolia and remained a year at Diyarbakır, where he published the review *Kutub Medjide*; he was then appointed president of the "Translation and Composition Committee" at Angora; he was among the heralds and supporters of the People's Party (*İnkılâp Fırkası*), founded by Muṣṭafā Kemal Paşa, and resumed his teaching at the University of Constantinople, where he died, still young, October 25, 1924. His funeral, celebrated by the Great National Assembly of Angora, to which he belonged as member for Constantinople, was a tribute from the whole nation to his memory.

Ziyâ Gök Âlp was a son of his times, and in a certain sense an anticipator of events, which his strong national feeling foresaw in examining the history of the people and the fortunes of the Ottoman Empire. Especially after his death he was recognised as the father of Turkish nationalism. There is however an evolution in his thought from 1908 to 1924, which bears a relation to the events in his country. From his early manifestation of a spirit of modernism and freedom, justified by 'Abd al-Hamīd's tyranny, he passed, under the influence of books and of currents already dominating the westernized Turkish classes, to the preaching of Pan-Turanism. This programme appears in almost all his early works, it still prevails in the later, and is embodied especially in the poem *Turan*, published in 1914 in the collection *Küll Elma*, which ends with the lines: "The fatherland of the Turks is neither Turkey nor Turkestan, our fatherland is a great and eternal country; Turan". Ziyâ Gök Âlp dreamed of an Ottoman fatherland, an Ottoman empire, comprising the provinces it still possessed in 1914, a Muslim empire with a constitutional Sultān, where Ottomans would be preeminent politically and intellectually, and which would give rise to a new civilisation, capable of influencing the other peoples of Turkish race, and absorbing them to the point of creating an immense Turanic empire. These same ideas are poetically rendered in the poem *Küll Elma*, which gives the volume its title, and in the prose writings mentioned below. Prose and poetry, for Ziyâ Gök Âlp, are slightly different expressions of an identical idea.

In his later years, after the loss of the Ottoman

Empire's provinces, the writer's hopes centred around Mustafa Kemal's form of democratic dictatorship; the Pasternakian idea remains in the distance, as a far-away goal, and he tries to strengthen a pure Turkish nationalism, modernising and westernising: Ziyâ Gök Alp departs from the *Edibiyât-ı Fîlîye* school and opens the contemporary movement; he has, however, a singular individuality, which distinguishes him from his contemporaries and from his latest imitators. In his works, which are the fruit of individual study and feeling, it is not difficult to discern the influence of European writers, especially French, whom he mentions, e.g. the sociologists G. Tarde and E. Durkheim, and, in history, L. Cahen. An interesting side of his literary activity is its simple and melodious form; some of his poems seem deliberately written with a pedagogical purpose, but they are inspired by strong feeling, and between the lines flash bold conceptions.

Ziyâ Gök Alp is also, one of the first, if not the first Turkish writer to have perceived the importance of folk literature as a fount of inspiration for a sincere national culture; in his works are also to be noticed mystical motives. In language, he favours simplicity and a thoroughly Turkish vocabulary and syntax.

He was a supporter of modernisation in religious and social matters; in this he has been far surpassed by recent Turkish reforms.

Works. Ziyâ Gök Alp's writings are partly scattered in many Turkish reviews of the last 20 years, some of which, like *Ünvanı Kalem*, *Yeni Mecmû'a*, and *Türk Yurdu*, received from him their special character. Many of these articles have been reprinted in his chief works, which we enumerate in chronological order:

1. *İlmî-i İhtimâ Derleri* (Constantinople 1329);
2. *Kâzî Elna*, collected poems (Constantinople 1330);
3. *Türkîleşme, İslâmîleşme, Müâvîleşme*, eleven chapters in prose (Constantinople 1918);
4. *Yeni Hayât*, collected poems (Constantinople 1918);
5. *Altın İhtâr*, fables, partly in prose and partly in verse (Constantinople 1339);
6. *Türkçülüğün Esasları*, in prose, lengthy treatise on the principles and programme of Turkism (Angora 1339);
7. *Türk Tarehi*, in prose, study of the Turks' ancient beliefs and customs (Constantinople 1339);
8. *Doğru Yol*, in prose, commentary upon the nine points of the People's Party's programme (Angora 1339);
9. *Türk Medeniyeti Tarihî* (Constantinople 1925).

Bibliography: M. Hartmann, *Aus der neuen osmanischen Dichtung* (M.S.O.S., xix, 124—179; xx, 86—149; xxi, 1—82); O. Hachtmann, *Die türkische Literatur der zwanzigsten Jahrhunderte*, Leipzig 1916, p. 52—56; A. Fischer, *Aus der religiösen Reformbewegung in der Türkei*, Leipzig 1922; Ahmed Muhiddin, *Die Kulturbewegung im modernen Türkentum*, Leipzig 1921, passim; Safvet Urfi, *Ziyâ Gök Alp ve Mevkûrî aralarında Münâzâat* *Wetâ'ile* *ber Tedbîk Tedrîsî*, Constantinople 1923; E. Rosal, *Une scrittore turco contemporaneo: Ziyâ Gök Alp* (O.M., iv, 1924, p. 574—595); *Türk Yurdu*, December 1924 (obituaries); K. Hartmann, *Ziyâ Gök Alp's Grundlagen der türkischen Nationalismus* (O. L. Z., September—October 1925, col. 578—610); J. Deny, *Ziyâ Gök Alp* (R. M. M., lxi, 1925, p. 1—41); İsmâ'il Hâbib, *Türk Tefekkürü Edibiyâtı*, Constantinople 1925, p. 682—685; *ibid.*, in the new latin alphabet; *Edibi-*

Yenilişim, vol. 2, Constantinople 1932; 'Ali Nûzhet, *Ziyâ Gök Alp'in Hayâtı ve Mîlî Mîstupları*, Constantinople 1931; Enver Behnâ, *Ziyâ Gök Alp*, Constantinople 1933.

(E. Rosal)

ZİYÂD b. ABÎHÎ, viceroy of the 'Irâk.

The sources call him sometimes son of Sumaiya or son of 'Ubad, sometimes son of Abû Saifân, most frequently however Ibn Abîhî: a solution which can only be described as one of despair but it is the most non-committal of all as regards historical truth. Partisans and enemies of the Omayyads have for different motives confused the genealogy of this individual as they pleased. Ziyâd's mother was Sumaiya, a slave girl of Tâif, a courtesan by profession, adds the anti-Omayyad version. Abû Saifân is said to have known her and thus would be explained the mystery of Ziyâd's being classed with the Omayyad family. Whatever we may think of this, the young Ziyâd incorporated in his person all the intelligence, alertness and the strength of mind attributed to his kinsmen, the Thakafis. Settling in Baṣra with his very near relatives, the Abû Bakra [q. v.], Ziyâd early found himself attached as secretary to the service of the first governors of the 'Irâk. 'Alî, becoming caliph, decided to make use of his talents and employed him on very delicate missions. After the death of 'Alî he attracted the attention of Mu'âwiya. The great Omayyad was anxious to gain an auxiliary of this ability. His first advances were rejected and Mu'âwiya then resorted to a plan, which showed what this ruler was capable of when dynastic interests were at stake. This was the *istilâk*, the official recognition of Ziyâd as a son of Abû Saifân.

A little later, the caliph appointed his half-brother governor of Baṣra. A central camp in which were being organised the forces destined to complete the eastern conquests collected from the most restless Beduin tribes whose turbulence constituted a continual threat of anarchy, the post at Baṣra demanded a man of the first rank. Mu'âwiya intended to devote all his attention to the west of the caliphate. The discourse pronounced by Ziyâd on his arrival in the mosque of Baṣra has remained celebrated in Arabic literature. It is called the *khutba ṣatrâ*, the "truncated speech", the orator having, we are told, begun *ex abrupto*. In it he developed his programme, announced the rigorous measures to which he would have recourse if necessary. Examples followed to show his threats were not mere words. Order, which none of his predecessors had been able to establish, soon reigned throughout the vast province of Baṣra. In return the caliph hastened to entrust Ziyâd with the government of Kûfa also. This town, entirely 'Alid in sympathies, could not after the death of 'Alî be consoled for having lost the title and the advantages of capital of the caliphate. As he had done in Baṣra, Ziyâd succeeded in restoring promptly in Kûfa the prestige of the Omayyad régime.

Governor of all the 'Irâk and of the provinces depending on it in Arabia and eastern Asia, Ziyâd was able to justify to the end of his life the unlimited confidence shown him by Mu'âwiya. In the Arab historians, he shares with this sovereign the honour of being quoted as the typical statesman, gliding with an experienced hand, without a trace of effort, the reins of government, his ear

to the ground, his eye ever open for events happening in his immense viceroyalty. Annalists and collectors of aphorisms frequently hesitate between the two, when they do not quote both, to point a lesson of high politics; Ziyād is numbered among the four *dāhiya*, great statesmen, of the century. The other three are Mu'āwiya [q. v.], al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba [q. v.] and 'Amr b. al-'Ās [q. v.]. In Kufa he had to keep an eye on the 'Alid meetings. He came into conflict there with the agitator Hudjir b. 'Adi [q. v.], an everyday incident exaggerated out of all proportion by anti-Omayyad tradition, especially by the Shī'a. To checkmate the 'Alid opposition and that of the Arab tribes settled in the 'Irāk, Ziyād had recourse to transplantation. He moved 50,000 Beduins to Khurāsān. He died of the plague at Kufa in 56—57.

For our information about Ziyād we have to rely upon the historical school of the 'Irāk. The bias of the 'Irāk annalists, very hostile to Ziyād, is inclined to place his birth several years after the Hījra, in order to be able to dispute his claim to the title of *ṣaḥābī*, Companion of the Prophet. As, on the other hand, he could not have been born long before the Hījra we may credit him with being about 60 at his death. The best testimony to Ziyād's ability is seen in Mu'āwiya's decision to hand over to his charge the eastern half of the Arab empire, notoriously the most difficult to govern, the most rebellious against Omayyad ideas, the great manager of men, the active ruler, so strong-willed in the case of his own relatives, summoned Ziyād to assist him in the exercise of his power and imposed upon himself, so to speak, the obligation of not interfering in the affairs of the 'Irāk in the lifetime of his lieutenant. The constant favour, the loyal support given by Ziyād to the Omayyad dynasty are sufficient to explain the bitterness of the 'Alid writers against the memory of the Thaqafi statesman.

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ZIYĀD ALLĀH n. IBRĀHĪM. [See AGR-LANDES.]

ZIYĀDĪ, a Yaman dynasty of 204 to 371 (819—981) or 409 (1018) with capital in Zabīd [q. v.]. They were regarded as descendants of Ziyād b. Abīhi [q. v.]. But as the latter's genealogy is uncertain, so not even the name of the father of the founder of the dynasty, Muḥammad, has been handed down with certainty.

The caliph Ma'mūn was harassed by his uncle Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī; at the same time tribes in the Yaman became rebellious. The fact that there were 'Alid schemes afoot there and indeed shortly before Ibrāhīm al-Djazzālī, a brother of 'Alī al-Riḍā [q. v.], had been plundering in Ṣan'ā', may

have decided the caliph to abandon completely his previous 'Alid policy and to entrust the affairs of the Yaman to a member of the Banū Ziyād, whose hostility to the family of 'Alī was well known, even if he had been himself in the service of the house of Umayya. A scion of the latter house was associated with Muḥammad, as was Muḥammad b. Hārūn of the tribe of Taghlib, whose descendants, the Banū Abī 'Aḥāma, held the office of *ḥāḍi* in Zabīd during the whole rule of the Ziyādīs and of the Banū Naḍjāh who followed them. The execution of all three men may have been already decided upon in the interests of 'Abbāsīd policy; they now became its supporters. The Ziyādīs always recognised the suzerainty of the 'Abbāsīds.

Accompanied by trustworthy Khurāsān troops and cavalry and in particular supported by an able freedman Dja'far, Muḥammad b. . . . Ziyād was able to get a firm grasp on the coast, as far, it is said, as Shīhr in Hadramawt. The lords of the fortresses in the highlands, in Djanad and al-Muḥallakhira, recognised him. But in the interior of the highlands the Baghdad government continued to send special governors to Ṣan'ā' until the Banū Ya'fur [q. v.] made themselves independent there from 247 to 289 (859—901). The second Ziyādī, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad (245—289 = 859—902), had to hand over Hadramawt and Djanad to Muḥammad b. Ya'fur, although in return for tribute. The first interruption followed Ibrāhīm's death. While the possession of Ṣan'ā' alternated between Zaidī and Ḥamḥānī Shī'a, the latter under 'Alī b. al-Faḍl took possession not only of Djanad and al-Muḥallakhira but for a time of Zabīd itself also. Neither the name nor the length of reign nor fate of the third Ziyādī is exactly known. The dynasty revived under Ibrāhīm's other son Abu 'l-Djā'ish Iḥḥāk b. Ibrāhīm in his 80 years' reign (c. 291—371 = 904—981). About 350 (961) even the Hamḥānī chief al-Dahḥāk, then lord of Ṣan'ā', paid homage to him. But in 379 (980) 'Abd Allāh b. Kaḥṭān, who restored the power of the Banū Ya'fur for a short time, by taking and burning Zabīd put an end to the dynasty of the Ziyādīs.

The actual ruler was by now no longer the young fifth Ziyādī, whose name also is uncertain, who followed Abu 'l-Djā'ish, but the Abyssinian Mamlūk vizier al-Ḥusain b. Salāma, who was able again to save the land from catastrophe and secured a fame which has lasted to this day by making pilgrim roads with mosques and wells through the mountains and the plain. Of no importance was the transfer of the title to a sixth minor Ziyādī, probably Ibrāhīm II, as Ibn Salāma was followed by his Mamlūk Ma'rjān as independent vizier, who in turn divided the government between his two slaves: Naḍjāh in the northern provinces and Nafīs (or Anīs) for the southern including the capital. The latter seized the crown himself and had the young king and his aunt Hind immured alive (409 = 1018). It was however not he that founded a dynasty but Naḍjāh [q. v.].

Bibliography: see that of the article *ZANĪS*, especially Kay; also E. v. Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie*, Hanover 1927, p. 115. (R. STROTHMANN)

ZIYĀNIDS. [See ZAYNĪDĪS.]

ZIYĀNIYA, branch of the Shādhilī Order, has its headquarters at Kenādha; lists of the heads are given by Rinn, *loc. cit.*, Dupont and Coppolani, *Confréries*, p. 498, and Cour, *loc. cit.*

in the second work a specimen is given of the diploma of *muḥaddam* conferred by the head of the order, with seal. Their practice is said to differ from those of the other Shādhīlīs only in details; their ordinary *ḥikr* is reproduced by Rinn, *loc. cit.*, p. 411, and consists in the repetition of certain formulas, a hundred, others a thousand times. Their speciality is the guiding and protection of caravans and travellers against brigands; in Rinn's time (1884) "no trader would venture to send a consignment of goods southwards" without having secured protection in the form of a Ziyānī rider bearing a letter with the seal of a *muḥaddam*, whom the brigands would be afraid to offend. Hence he calls them the pilots of the Sahara. Much the same is said by A. Bernard, writing in 1931 (*Le Maroc*, p. 205). The community appears to be little known outside French Africa; lists of their *shaykhs* in Algeria with an account of their diffusion in Morocco are given by Depont and Coppolani, *loc. cit.*

The order was founded by Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Abi Ziyān, died 1145 (1733). In the *B. M. M.*, xii, 360–379 and 571–590, A. Cour published in French some extracts from a MS. biography called *Tahḍrat al-Anfus wa 'L-Aswāb al-Jīnānīya fī 'L-Tarīq al-Ziyānīya al-Shādhīlīya*, itself an abridgment of an earlier work. This is chiefly a record of miracles, but furnishes certain details supplementing those collected by L. Rinn, *Marabouts et Khawm* (1884, p. 408–415). He was born at Thatha near Kenādja (S. W. of Figuig in Morocco), studied with Sidi Mubārak b. 'Azza in Sijilmassa and after his death went to Fez, where he studied for eight years under Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Kādir al-Fāsi (died 1116 = 1704), Ahmad b. al-Hādīdī (died 1109 = 1697), and others; according to Rinn, he was expelled from Fez by the emperor on the ground of sorcery, fled to Tūfīlāt, where the *muḥaddams* of the Nāṣiriya branch of the Shādhīlīya admitted him to the order, after which he made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and then on his return established himself at Kenādja, where he founded a *ṣūfiya*. Besides introducing some modifications into the Shādhīlī ritual, and acquiring a reputation for saintliness, he appears to have dug wells and organized irrigation; his most celebrated miracle, which determined the future of his community, consisted in the suppression of brigands. His fame and talents attracted numerous visitors, who presently formed a flourishing colony. Like other Islamic saints, he was the head of a family, and left the headship of his order to his son.

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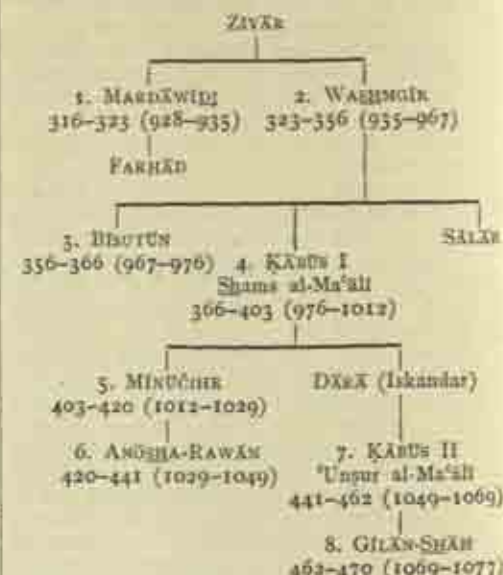
(D. S. MARGOLINETH)

ZIYĀRA (A.), visit, in the religious sense the visit to a holy place or to the tomb of a saint, especially to Muhammad's tomb in the mosque of al-Madīna, which even under the Wahhābī rule is paid by those who perform the *ḥajj* [q. v.]. The ziyāra paid to the tombs of the saints was among the *ibāda* which were combated by Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb [cf. WAHHĀBĪYA]. For details cf. W. R. van Dieën, *De leer der Wahhābieten*, doctoral dissertation, Leyden 1927. That the Wahhābīs were not the first in Islam to question the legality of visiting tombs, and of the practices connected therewith, appears from the materials preserved in *ḥadīth* (cf. Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*,

s. v. Grave[s]) and from later literature (cf. *IRN TAMĪYA*).

(A. J. WENSINCK)

ZIYĀRIDS, a dynasty of vassals of the Sāmānids [q. v.] which reigned over Irāq 'Adjam and Tabaristān, then over Ḍjurdjān from 316 to 470 (928–1077). It took its name from Ziyār, father of Wardān Shāh ruler of Gilān, who was the father of Mardāwīd, its founder. The following is the genealogical table:



1. MARDĀWĪD, see the separate article.
2. WĀSHMĪR, see the separate article.
3. His son ZAHĪR AL-DAWLĀ Abū Manṣūr Bīsutūn made peace with Rukn al-Dawla; he died in 366 (976) in the town of Ḍjurdjān.
4. KĀBŪS I, see the separate article.
5. MĪNŪCHĪR, by arrangement with 'Alī al-Dawla, had returned to Ray; there he was attacked by Sulṭān Maḥmūd who pursued him into the mountains but made peace on payment of 300,000 dinars and recognised Maḥmūd as his suzerain (420 = 1029). It was to this prince that the poet Mīnūchīrī [q. v.] dedicated his early poems and from him he took his name.
6. ANŪSHĀ-RAWĀN [cf. ANŪSHĀRAWĀN] recognised the suzerainty of Ma'ūd, son and successor of Maḥmūd; but in 433 (1041–1042) he was attacked by Taghrīl Beg the Salḡūk who took Ḍjurdjān from him. He shut himself up in a fortress where he died in 441 (1049). During his reign his uncle Dārā, also called Iskandar, was governor of Ḍjurdjān and Tabaristān in the name of Sulṭān Ma'ūd (c. 426 = 1035).
7. The son of Dārā, KĀBŪS II 'Unsur al-Ma'ālī, son-in-law of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, accompanied the latter on his Indian campaigns. He died on an expedition led by the emir Faḍlūn Abū T-Sowār of the dynasty of the Banū Shaddād against the Abkhāz, which ended disastrously in 462 (1069). He was the author of the *Ḍāḥiṣ-nāma*, a book of good advice addressed to his son Gilān-Shāh, which was translated into German by Fr. v. Dies (Berlin 1811) and into French by A. Query (Paris 1886).
8. His son GILĀN-SHĀH reigned over the moun-

tainous country only, for Tughril Bey before marching on Baghdad had occupied Tabaristan. He was dethroned by Malik-Shah and died in 470 (1077).

FAHRĀD is given as the son of Mardawidj but his paternity is uncertain and he was not summoned to succeed his father or any of his cousins. In 414 (1023), when he must have been at least 88, we find him a vassal (*mukāf*) in Borsajird. In 427 (1026) he accompanied 'Alā' al-Dawla the Kakāyid on his campaign against the Kurds and remained his faithful ally. He fell in battle against the army of Sulṭān Ma'sūd (425 = 1034).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, viii, 59, 139, 172, 195, 201, 207, 226, 262, 276, 291, 333, 353, 378, 402, 411, 426 *qq.*, 506, 519; ix, 8, 97, 111, 251, 262, 284, 340; Ibn Miskawaih, in *G. M. S.*, v, 271, 345; 367, 435 *qq.*, 479 *qq.*, 572; vi, 9, 33, 55, 204, 270, 296 *qq.*; Ibn Khaldūn, *Ta'rikh*, Bulak, iv, 423, 432, 444, 497; Defrémery, *Samanides*, p. 130, 137, 247, 289; Ibn Isfandiyyār, *Hist. of Tabaristan*, transl. Browne, p. 202, 205, 217, 220, 228; Zahir al-Din, *Geschichte von Tabaristan*, ed. Dorn, p. 174, 196, 216, 311; F. Justi, *Iranischer Namenbuch*, p. 441; Cl. Huart, *Les Ziyarides*, in *Mém. de l'Acad. des Ins. et Belles-Lettres*, vol. xlii, Paris 1922. (CL. HUART)

ZOTT (pronounced *Zoff* in Damascus), the name of a people (cf. also *SAWĀ*). The etymology is certain: *zoff* > Pers. *zūt* (for a similar change cf. Pers. *khān* 'house' > Arabic *khān* 'rumb-line').

Firdawsi (d. 1024) relates in his *Shāhnāme* that Bahram Gūr, king of Persia (420–438 A.D.), asked the king of India to send him 10,000 Luri, men and women, expert at playing the lute (transl. Mohl, vi, 60 *qq.*).

In his *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, transl. from the Arabic text of Tabari (829–323), Noldeke has full confidence in this tradition. De Goeje quotes his opinion and adds that there is no reason to suspect Firdawsi's statement (cf. the contrary view expressed by John Sampson, *The Dialect of the Gypsies of Wales*, Oxford 1926, p. 29, note 1, who wrongly regards the statements as pure legend).

At an earlier date than the Persian poet, Balādhuri (d. 892) says that "the Sayābidja [q. v.] had been settled in the ports [of the Persian Gulf since] before Islam. It was the same with the Zoff" (ed. de Goeje, p. 373, l. 2 *infra*). The historian Ḥamza al-Isfahāni (early tenth century) who, he tells us, "was very well acquainted with the history of the Sasanids", says the same thing (ed. and transl. by M. E. Gottwaldt, p. 55 text and p. 40 transl.) as Firdawsi who wrote half a century later.

Many Zoff had settled in the marshes between Wāsiṭ and Baṣra. In the reign of al-Ma'mūn (813–833) they were strong enough to rise in open rebellion against the caliph's authority and cut communications between Baṣra and Baghdad; they only submitted in 834 on condition that their lives and property were spared (de Goeje, p. 23 *qq.*).

In his *Mémoires sur les migrations des Triganes à travers l'Asie* (Leyden 1903), de Goeje used these texts which he supplemented from the *Lisān al-'Arab*, the *Taḍj al-Arūs* and a number of Arab geographers. As the title of his *Mémoires* shows, he follows the migrations of the gypsies through Asia, which I need not do here. We need only remember

that, according to Arabic and Persian texts, the Zoff migrated for some reason or other from India into Persia and from Persia into Hither Asia and Europe.

On the east coast of Madagascar there is a tribe called *Ondrat*, generally written in Arabo-Malagasy

أَدَت or أَجَت or أَجَة. The old pronunciation of the three forms is **on-dāt*. *On-* (pron. *o-*) is the Malagasy toneless article; *dāt*, in modern Malagasy *dāt*, goes regularly back to an original **dāt* (the change of *-t* to *-l* in a toneless final is regular). These are a people, whose ancestors came, they say, from beyond the sea. Although I have been in personal relations with them for several years, I have a feeling that they have not informed me fully about their manners and customs; they have always shown themselves reticent. Their Malagasy neighbours in the southeast say that the Ondrat practise incest in secret. The identity of the forms *Ondrat*, *Djāt* and *Zoff* is too complete to be accidental; it is worth recording.

The region in Asia in which the modern Djāts are mainly found is defined roughly as follows: in the north by the lower ranges of the Himalaya; in the west by the Indus; in the south by a line extending from Haidarabad (Sindh) to Ajmer and Bhopal; in the east by the Ganges. Beyond the Indus there are a few Djāts at Peshawar, in Baluchistan and even west of the Salaman range. Finally in Kirmān and the 'Irāk we have a mixed population of Djāts and gypsies. There are some 50,000 more in Makran and Afghanistan (Kalika-Kanjan Qanungo, *History of the Jats*, Calcutta 1925, i, 1).

Bibliography: given in the article.

(GABRIEL FERKARD)

ZUBAIDA BINT DJA'FAR B. ABĪ DJA'FAR AL-MANŠŪR, UMM DJA'FAR, wife of the caliph Ḥārūn al-Rashīd and mother of his successor Muḥammad al-Amin [q. v.]. She was born in 145 (762–763) and her real name was Amr al-'Aziz "the slave of the Almighty", but on account of her youthful and fresh complexion she was nicknamed by her grandfather, the caliph al-Manšūr, *zubaida* (diminutive of *subda* "cream", "fresh butter"); also the name of the marigold, *Calceola effluens*. Her marriage with Ḥārūn was celebrated in 165 (781–782) and she died in Baghdad in Jumādā I 216 (June–July 831). On account of her love of splendour, her liberality to poets and scholars and the public works carried out by her, she is little less famous than her husband. Among other things, she had an aqueduct ten miles long laid into Mecca, when it was suffering from a dreadful lack of water.

Bibliography: *Kitāb al-Aghāni*, ed. Gindī, *Tabat al-Aghāni*; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, ed. Watenfeld, No. 241 (transl. by de Slane, i, 532 *qq.*); Tabari, ed. de Goeje, iii, see index; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ed. Tornberg, v, 437; vi, *passim*; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, ii, 164, 182. (K. V. ZETTERSTEEN)

AL-ZUBAIR B. AL-'AWWĀM B. KHUWAILID B. ABAD B. 'ABD AL-'UZĀY B. KURAYY B. KILĀB ABĪ 'ABD ALLĀH, with the surname of *al-Hawārī* (i.e. the Apostle, an Aethiopic loanword). His mother was Sāfiya bint 'Abd al-Muttalib, so that he was a cousin of Muḥammad and a nephew of Khadija (bint Khuwailid).

Al-Zubair was one of the earliest converts to Islam; according to tradition, he was the fifth who, while still a child, recognised Muḥammad as a

prophet; he is also one of the ten to whom Paradise was promised by Muhammad.

Of his wives *Aṣmā*, the daughter of Abū Bakr, is renowned for her spartan attitude to her son 'Abd Allāh [q. v.]. Another son she bore him was 'Urwā [q. v.]. The third of al-Zuhair's sons who also plays a part in the history of Islām, is Muṣ'ab [q. v.]. Al-Zuhair is said to have stuck to Muhammad under hardships and to have taken part in the two hijras to Abyssinia. After the hijra to Medina he was united in brotherhood with Ibn Mas'ūd, or, according to other reports, with Talha or with Ka'b b. Malik. He further took part in all the great battles and campaigns during Muhammad's career, being renowned for his gallantry. His epithet *al-Hawārit* (cf. above) was given him by Muhammad on account of his services as a spy in the conflict with the Quraysh [q. v.], with the words: "Every prophet has an apostle and my apostle is al-Zuhair". For his attitude, exploits and death (the latter took place in the Battle of the Camel, at an age which is given with variations from 60 to 67) under the caliphate of Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān, we may refer to the art. TALHA, because what is said of the latter holds also good of al-Zuhair.

Tradition emphasizes the high esteem in which Muhammad held him, by pointing to the fact that Muhammad in speaking to him, once made use of the formula *ṣāḥib al-ṣawānima*. He obtained, it is said, special permission to wear silk. For his testament, cf. Ibn Sa'd, *ii*, 75 *top*; Bukhārī, *Khuṣṣ*, 13.

Bibliography: Ibn Ishāq, *Stras.*, ed. Wistenfeld, index; Wāḥidī, transl. Wellhausen, Berlin 188a, index; Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtsma, index; Tabarī, ed. de Goeje, indices; Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, *iii*, 70–80; Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, index; Mas'ūdī, *Marwī*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, general index; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Iṣāba*, No. 2774; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ḡāba*, Cairo 1286, ii, 196 *top*. The passages from Ḥadīth are registered in A. J. Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muh. Tradition*, s. v. — Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed*, i, Berlin 1861, p. 374 *top*, 422 *top*; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads*, Leipzig 1930, p. 251, 173; Caetani, *Annali*, indexes in vols. ii/ii, vi; further vol. vii, § 70; viii, § 374 *top*; ix, § 30–225 *passim*, 616–690; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, Berlin 1883, p. 306 *top*; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, index in vol. iii; W. Muir, *The Caliphate*, ed. Weir, index; G. Levi Della Vida, in *R.S.O.*, vi, 440 *top*, 448 *top*. (A. J. WENSINCK)

ZUBUR. [See ZABUR.]

ZUHĀIR B. ABĪ SULMĀ RAḤ'Ā B. RAḤ'Ā

B. KURRA AL-MUZANI (the genealogy in Ibn Kutilba is wrong, as it is frequently the case) was an Arabic poet of the time before Islām and by native critics considered, together with Imrū' al-Qais and al-Nāghis, as one of the three great poets of antiquity. Though he was of the tribe of Murāna, he was born among the tribe of 'Abd Allāh b. Ghafafān and spent the whole of his life among them. His father Raḥ'ā had married a sister of a certain Ka'b b. As'ad of the clan of Murra b. 'Awf b. Sa'd b. Dhubyān and had settled among them. He left them owing to a quarrel over some plunder taken in a raid against the tribe of Tayi' and took up his residence among

the kindred tribe of 'Abd Allāh b. Ghafafān. Here Zuhair was born and married his first wife, a sister of the poet Baḥlīmā b. al-Ghadrī. This may be the Imrū' 'Awf whom he mentions in several of his poems, and to whom he addressed a poem of regret when he had divorced her. All children by this wife died in infancy. The second wife, Kālgha bint 'Annāt, of the tribe of 'Abd Allāh b. Ghafafān, was the mother of his sons Ka'b, Badjair and Salīm. The first two were poets like their father and lived into the days of Islām, Badjair being an early convert, while Ka'b [q. v.] had to atone for his hostility to the Prophet by his celebrated poem, often called the *ḥurūq*. The third son, Salīm, died as a youth through falling from a horse sent to his father as a present. Zuhair lived during the period of the disastrous war between 'Abū and Dhubyān, two clans of Ghafafān, called the war of Dāḥis. His most celebrated poem, which has found a place in the collection of the *Ma'allakāt*, is in praise of the two chiefs of the tribe of Murra b. Ghafafān, al-Hārith b. 'Awf and Harim b. Sinān. They had undertaken to pay the whole of the blood-money due to families in both clans for those slain in the fratricidal struggle and even undertook a further payment when the action of al-Husain b. Daudam nearly doomed the treaty of peace to failure. In earlier poems Zuhair celebrates the father of one of these two chiefs, Sinān b. Abī Hārith, and his *ḥimā* also contains an elegy upon his death. His poems, as far as they are contained in the collections preserved, do not contain a single poem dealing with his own tribe of Murāna, though his poems are perhaps preserved better than those of any other ancient Arabic poet. Nearly all his poems refer to affairs of the tribe of Ghafafān or personal events. There are three poems concerning a slave and cattle robbed from him by al-Hārith b. Warqā' al-Saidawī of the tribe of Asad. Others are addressed to various tribes with a view of deterring them from making raids against Ghafafān; one is addressed to the tribe of Tamīm (Ahlwardt, No. 6), another to the Banī Shāshān (Ahlwardt, No. 19) and another to the Banī Sulaim. There is also one poem addressed to the king of al-Hira, al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhīr (Ahlwardt, No. 17), but according to al-Aṣmā'i, it is not in the style of Zuhair and is by Sirma al-Anṣārī, a poet otherwise unknown. Two poems in the collections of his poetry are also attributed to his son Ka'b (Tha'lab, No. 17 and 41). Of the former verses are cited in the *Lisān al-'Arab*, and elsewhere sometimes in the name of one or the other. As Zuhair is stated to have been a man of wealth, we do not find in his *ḥimā* poems in which he tries to obtain presents from rich persons. Native critics praise him for not indulging in undue praise nor using uncommon words in his verses. In his poems we find also a pious strain which has by some modern critics been assumed to be an indication of his being a Christian, but all we can assert, is, that probably he may have been influenced by Christian thought, which must have been not unknown in the Arabian steppe. In Zuhair and his family we have an example of the art of poetry inherited for several generations, an instance which is by no means isolated in early Arabic poetry. Zuhair is reputed to have been the *ra'īs*, transmitter of poetry, of 'Awf b. Ḥadjar, who in turn was *ra'īs* of Ṭufail al-Ghazawī, but from several sources we

learn that he inherited the art from his brother-in-law Baḥḥāma b. al-Ḥaḍir. As already stated, his two sons Ka'b and Buḥayr were poets; so his father had been before him, so was his sister Salmā (*Kiṭāb al-Aghāni*, ix. 148). His grandsons Sa'īd and 'Ukha, surnamed al-Muḍarrab, were also poets, so were his great-grandsons 'Amr b. Sa'īd and al-Sawwār and al-'Awwām, sons of 'Ukha. The latter three had forsaken the desert and lived in al-Baḥra and with them the poetical talent seems to have died out in the family. The poems of Zuhair have come down to us, apart from the *Mu'allafā*, in three collections, the oldest by al-Sukkārī (died 275 = 888) preserved in the unique MS. Socin in the possession of the German Oriental Society, the recension by the Kāfi grammarian Tha'lab (d. 291 = 904) preserved in two manuscripts in the Escorial and two or three copies in Istanbul and a third abbreviated text with the commentary of the Spanish scholar al-A'lam (d. 476 = 1083). The printed editions all are based upon the latter, which is supposed to contain the text as edited by the Baḥrian grammarian al-Asma'i. As the latter employed methods which obscured the ancient tradition rather than elucidated it, by making selections, it is highly desirable that we should have a new edition of the poems of Zuhair based upon the two older recensions, which are in the spirit of the older school of Arabic scholars. The work of K. Dyroff has only partly cleared the issue, especially as he did not recognise that we had two entirely different recensions in the texts which he used.

Bibliography: The various editions of the *Mu'allafāt* [q.v.]; the *Diwān of the six ancient Arabic poets*, ed. Ahlwardt, London 1870; Landberg, *Primæurs*, vol. ii. (contains the *Diwān* in the recension of al-A'lam), Leyden 1889; K. Dyroff, *Zur Geschichte der Überlieferung des Zuhairdiwāns*, Munich 1892; Ahlwardt, *Bemerkungen über die Echtheit der alten arabischen Gedichte*, Greifswald 1872; Ibn Kutiiba, *Kiṭāb al-Shi'r*, Ma 'l-Su'arā', ed. de Goeje, Leyden 1902; Abu 'l-Faraj al-Isbahānī, *Kiṭāb al-Aghāni*, Boldt, ix. 146—158 and *passim*; al-Marzubānī, *al-Muḥarrir*, Cairo 1343; Djama'i, *Tabaqāt al-Shu'arā'*, ed. Hell, Leyden 1916; Cheikh, *Peintre Chrétien*, Beirut 1890, p. 510—595 (contains abbreviated text of the *Kiṭāb al-Aghāni* and the *Diwān* in the recension of al-A'lam).

The name of Zuhair is not uncommon among Arabic poets and as their verses are sometimes incorporated among the fragments added to the *Diwān*, as e.g. by Ahlwardt, a short notice of the most important may be added.

ZUHAIR b. DJANĪH b. HUḤAL AL-KALBĪ, also a poet of the time before Islām and belonging to a generation earlier than Zuhair b. Abī Sulmā. He is reckoned among the long-lived ones (*mu'ammirūn*) and as he is brought into contact with Kulāib W'il and Muḥallil he must have lived in the earlier part of the sixth century of the Christian era. The accounts concerning his life are however so legendary that no reliance can be placed upon them. Also in his family the art of poetry was inherited for several generations and Abu 'l-Faraj al-Isbahānī enumerates several, the latest in date being perhaps al-Musaiyab b. Rifāl b. Ḥarīṭha b. Djanāb b. Kaīs b. Imru' al-Kais b. Abī Dī'ālir b. Zuhair b. Djanāb who in some verses, cited

in the *Kiṭāb al-Aghāni*, boasts that one of the members of his family had slain Yasīd b. al-Muḥallab in 112 A.H. (*Kiṭāb al-Aghāni*, xxi. 93—104; *Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, ed. Lyall, N° 117);

ZUHAIR b. DJANĪHMA b. RAWḤHA AL-'ABD, one of the chiefs of the tribe of 'Abe, was slain by Khālīd b. Kilāb (*Nakā'id*, p. 384; *Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, ed. Lyall, p. 788; *Kiṭāb al-Aghāni*, x. 12—17);

ZUHAIR b. HAKĀM AL-HUDĀLĪ, called al-Dāḥil (*Carmina Hudailiarum*, ed. Kosegarten, p. 263);

ZUHAIR b. 'ALAS AL-DURĀ', better known by his nickname al-Masaiyah (*Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, ed. Lyall, N° 91);

ZUHAIR b. MAS'UD AL-DABĪ (*Kiṭāb al-Tan-nā*, by Abū 'Ubaid al-Bakrī, ed. Ṣāliḥānī, N° 22).

The native lexicons cite verses of all these poets. (F. KERNKOW)

ZUHAL, the planet Saturn. Zuhā (without nūn) is derived from the Arabic root *z-h-l* "to remove"; the planet takes its name, according to the *Taḍj al-'Arā'*, from the fact that it is "far removed, in the seventh heaven". Another name found in texts from Spain and N.W. Africa is *al-Muḥallil* "the warlike", just as we have there *al-Kātib* "the writer" alongside of the usual name *'Uḥūrīd* for the planet Mercury (cf. the note on *al-Kātib* in the article 'UḤRĪD).

In Sumerian, according to Kugler, the name of Saturn was *Lu-lim*, in Accadian *Lu-bat Sag-ul* = *Kaimūn* (*Neuman*); the latter is obviously the source of the Hebrew name of the planet *כִּיּוֹן*

Kiyūn (Amos v. 26) = *כִּיּוֹן* and the modern Persian *Kaimūn*. According to Maspero, *Hist. anc. des peuples de l'Orient*, Paris 1884, p. 78, the Egyptians called Saturn *Har-ka-ker*, i.e. the "Creator from above", but according to the same author in his *Hist. anc. des peuples de l'Orient classique*, published 15 years later, they called it *Kahtri* (cf. I. M. Antoniadis, *L'astronomie égyptienne*, Paris 1934, p. 94). Achilles Tatius in his *Isisogoe*, ch. 17, mentions that the Egyptians called Saturn "star of Nemesis" (*ἡ ἑρμηνεία*), i.e. that it was sacred to the corresponding Egyptian deity. The Greek name of Saturn is *Φαίω*, "the brilliant", also (but only in the later period) *ἡ ῥεῖ* *ῥεῖ* *ῥεῖ* *ῥεῖ*; the first name, according to Achilles Tatius, *loc. cit.*, was also used in Egypt "in spite of the low degree of its brilliance". The Latin name is *stella Saturni* or *Saturnus*. In the Talmud it is called *Shabbetai*.

In Arab astronomy, Saturn (as in Pythagoras and Ptolemy) is placed in the seventh sphere (*falāḥ*) from within, which is also the outermost sphere of the planets: its inner surface is bounded by the sphere of Jupiter while its outer surface touches the sphere of the fixed stars. The period of sidereal revolution of Saturn is, according to Kāzwīnī, *'Aḥḍāḥ*, 29 years, 5 months and 6 days, a total of 10,750 days; this is about 9 days less than the true figure (10,759 days, 23 hours). Al-Battānī (*Opus astronomicum*, ed. Nallino, ch. 50) observes that the apparent diameters of the planets in perigee and apogee are as $1\frac{2}{3} : 1$, i.e. 7 : 5. From this he calculates, on a basis of the distance of the apogee of Jupiter which he — it being taken to be identical with the perigee distance of Saturn — had previously calculated to be 12,024 radii of the earth on a basis of successive reckonings by

analogy (cf. AL-MUHĪTARĪ), the distance of Saturn in apogee at 18,094 radii of the earth and from these two data he gets the mean distance from the earth as 15,509 radii of the earth. The actual

geocentric distance is about 14 times larger (224,000 radii of the earth). The corresponding figures of other Arab writers for the least, greatest and mean distance of Saturn are given in the following table:

	Least distance (Perigee)		Mean distance		Greatest distance (Apogee)
al-Battānī	12,924 radii of the earth	15,509 radii of the earth	18,094 radii of the earth		
al-Farghānī	14,405 " " " "	17,257 " " " "	20,110 " " " "		
Im Rūstā	14,187 " " " "	17,033 " " " "	19,880 " " " "		
Bar Hiyy	12,400 " " " "	15,200 " " " "	18,000 " " " "		
Indian (al-Bīrūnī)	13,733 " " " "	15,447 " " " "	17,161 " " " "		
Modern		224,000			

(for the authority for the above figures and for the assumptions of the various authors regarding the magnitude of the earth's radius, see the article AL-MUHĪTARĪ).

The apparent diameter of Saturn in mean distance is, according to al-Battānī, following Ptolemy and later authors, $\frac{1}{16}$ of the sun's diameter. From this he calculates with the help of the numerical value of the distance the true diameter at $4\frac{1}{2}$ times the diameter of the earth (modern: 9.4 radii of the earth); this figure raised to the third power gives the volume of Saturn as 79 times that of the earth (modern: 830 times).

The motion of Saturn is represented, as in the *Almagest*, by four circles ("spheres" *afāḥ*) (cf. al-Battānī, *Op. astr.*, ch. 31). The astronomical tables take for its mean daily sidereal motion the value 2'. The greatest observed northern geocentric latitude is given by al-Battānī (ch. 47) as 3° 2', the greatest southern at 3° 5' (according to Ptolemy).

Zuhāl in astrology. Zuhāl is ruler of the *Buyūt al-Diyā* (Capricorn, dayhouse) and *al-Dalw* (Aquarius, nighthouse), also day-ruler of the third *muḥallatha* (*triquetrum*) consisting of *al-Diyūḥ* (Gemini), *al-Miṭān* (Libra) and *al-Dalm*, the night-ruler of which is Mercury. He is also the companion (*sharik*) of the ruler of the first *muḥallatha*. He has his *ḥaraf* (exaltation) in the 21st degree (in Ptolemy, Firmicus and the Hindu Varāha-mihira erroneously in the 20th degree) of *al-Miṭān*, his *ahdūf* (declination) in 21° of *al-Hamal* (Aries). According to al-Kāwātī, *Aḥdūf*, p. 27, "the astrologers call Zuhāl 'the larger star of misfortune' (*al-naḥs al-akbar*), because its malevolent influence is greater than that of Mars (called *al-naḥs al-aṣḥar*) and they ascribe to it 'devastation, ruin, grief and cares'. The Arab astronomers refer to Saturn and Mars together as *al-Naḥsān* 'the two planets of misfortune' and contrast them with 'the two planets of good fortune', Venus and Jupiter, *al-Sādān* [q. v.]. In alchemy Zuhāl means lead.

Bibliography: see the articles *زُحْرَان* and *مِنْطَاقَا*. (WILLY HARTNER)

ZUHARA, the planet Venus. The Arabic name comes from the root *z-h-r* 'to shine, to illuminate' and is given on account of the extraordinary brilliance of the planet. In Sumerian it was called (according to Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sternnamen in Babel*), *Zib*, in Accadian *Dilbat* (identical with *Ashtar* in Hesychius, v. 558). The Egyptians called it (according to Maspero, *Hist. anc. des peuples de l'Orient classique*) *Benu* 'bird', and as evening star *Uḫti* and as morning star *Tiu-nutiri*. (Maspero, *Hist. anc. des peuples de l'Orient* of 1884 gives *Binnu* as evening star and *Duhū* as morning star; cf. E. M. Antoniadi, *L'astronomie égyptienne*, Paris 1934). According to Achilles Tatius, *Tragoe*, ch. 17, and Plutarch,

Isotria, ch. 19, Venus was worshipped by the Egyptians and Greeks as the personified goddess of love (*ἡ Ἐρμῆς Ἀφροδίτη*; Aristotle also uses this term as well as *ἡ Ἐρμῆς Ἥρα*). The Greek name of the planet is *Ἐσπερος* or *Φωσφόρος* (for Venus as morning star); we also find (in Plato *Epinomis*) *Ἐσπερος* (evening star). Ibykus is said by Achilles Tatius to have contracted the two names *Ἐσπερος* and *Φωσφόρος* into one. In Latin the planet is called *Stella Veneris* or simply *Venus*; Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, ii. 8, 6) further gives the synonyms *Lucifer*, *Vesper*, *Hesperus* (see this article in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*), also *Stella lunaris*, *matris domus*, *Iulide*. In Persian, Venus is called *Nāhid*, in Hebrew *Malkat ha-Shamayim*, 'Queen of the Heavens'. *Hital ben Shohar*, 'the morning-star' (Is. xiv. 12) is sometimes identified with Venus and sometimes also with the moon (= Arabic *Hital*, 'new moon'; in the text of the Bible however the reference can only be to the crescent of the old moon visible in the morning sky) or with the sun; the assumption that *Meni* (Is. lxx. 11) refers to Venus is hardly tenable (cf. B. Suter in *Enc. Jud.*, Vol. iii. art., *ASTRONOMY*). The Talmud calls Venus *Kochab* 'star' or *Naga* 'splendour' or *Kochab Naga*.

Venus in astronomy. The identity of the morning with the evening star was well known to the ancients — Babylonians, Egyptians and Greeks — and we very early find the same name applied to both appearances of this planet. In Pythagoras, Ptolemy and the Arab astronomers, Venus occupies the third position from the centre (in the geocentric system). Its sphere (*falak*) is bounded on the inner side by that of Mercury and on the outside by that of the sphere of the sun. This arrangement was already familiar to the Egyptians (according to Dio Cassius, *Hist. Rom.*, xxxvii. 19); on the other hand Macrobius (*Comm. in Somn. Scip.*, i. 19) gives the following order: Moon, Sun, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, but mentions immediately following — in a way that is not quite clear — that Mercury and Venus according to the Egyptians appear sometimes above and sometimes below the sun; it would certainly be going too far if we were to deduce from this passage alone that the Egyptians regarded these two planets as satellites of the sun and had broken down the geocentric system. The Babylonians moved Venus to the second innermost place: Moon, Venus, Mercury, Sun, Mars etc. Plato (*Timaeus* and *Epinomis*) to the third in the order: Moon, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Mars etc., but according to Plutarch, *De plac. philosoph.*, ii. 15, Plato put Venus fourth: Moon, Sun, Mercury, Venus, Mars etc. (as above in Macrobius).

The following table gives a view of the least,

mean and greatest distances of Venus from the centre of the earth, expressed in terms of radii of the earth, according to al-Battānī, al-Farghānī, Ibn Rūstā, Abrahām bar Hiyyā, also for India, ac-

cording to al-Bīrūnī; in the last row we give for comparison the modern values (for the references and the length of the earth's radius in the authors named see the articles AL-MUGHṬARĪ and 'UṬAYYID).

	Least distance (Perigee)		Mean distance		Greatest distance (Apogee)
	radii of the earth		radii of the earth		radii of the earth
al-Battānī	166		618		1,070
al-Farghānī	167		643½		1,120
Ibn Rūstā	166		622½		1,079
Bar Hiyyā	166		623		1,080
Indian (al-Bīrūnī)	256½		675½		1,095½
Modern	6,500				40,500

The Arab values are only about 1/40 of the correct values; it should be observed however that the figure of the proportion of the least to the greatest distance (2/12) as given by al-Battānī, with the help of which the latter was calculated from the former, agrees remarkably with the modern figure. Al-Battānī gives the apparent diameter of Venus in mean distance (*Opus Astr.*, ed. Nallino, ch. 50) as 1/10 of the diameter of the sun, the true diameter of the sphere as 2/10 of the diameter of the earth (both from the *Almagest*); from this the volume of Venus is calculated as 1/20 of the volume of the earth (modern figures, proportion of diameter of Venus to that of the earth = 0.97, proportion of the volumes = 0.91).

The motion of Venus is represented like that of the other planets by Ptolemy by four circles (spheres, *qūṭb*). The inclination of the deferent measures 0° 10', that of the epicycle 2° 30'. The maximum value of the observed Northern or Southern latitudes is according to al-Battānī (*Op. Astr.*, ch. 47) 8° 36'. For the mean daily motion in anomaly the tables give 0° 37'. This corresponds to a synodic period of revolution of 584 days, which agrees with the actual figure (The synodic period of revolution of Venus was already known with considerable accuracy to the ancients; it is given as 587 days in Assyro-Babylonian texts).

Venus in Astrology. Zuhara is ruler (*raḥb*) of the *Buṣṭā al-Miṣr* (Libra, day-house) and *al-Thawr* (Taurus, night-house), also day-ruler of the second *muthallaṭha* (*triquetrum*), consisting of *al-Thawr*, *al-'Aḍrā'* (Virgo) and *al-Djady* (Capricornus) as well as day ruler of the fourth *muthallaṭha* (*al-Sarāṭān*, Cancer, *al-'Akrab*, Scorpio and *al-Hūt*, Pisces). Zuhara has its *ḥarāf* (exaltation) in 27° of *al-Hūt*, its *kuḥūf* (declination) in 27° of *al-'Aḍrā'*. The astrologers call it (according to al-Karwīnī, *Aḥḥār*) "the smaller star of good fortune", *al-Sa'd al-Aḡḡar*, in contrast to *al-Muḥṭar* (Jupiter), "the larger star of good fortune", *al-Sa'd al-Aḥḡar*; the two auspicious planets are comprised under the term *al-Sa'dān* (q.v.).

In alchemy al-Zuhara means copper.

Bibliography: See *Bibl.* to the articles 'UṬAYYID and MINṬAḤA are the articles AL-MUGHṬARĪ and ZUHĀL. (WILLY HARTNER)

ZUHD, a technical term in Muslim mysticism, the virtue of a *zāhid* (pl. *zāhidūn*, *zāhidāt*; *Sīra* xii. 20 seems very far from this meaning): abstinence: at first from sin, from what is superfluous, from all that estranges from God (this is the extreme that the Hanbalis admit); then abstinence from all perishable things by detachment of the heart (and here we enter into the mystic), complete asceticism, renunciation of all that is created. Thus the term *zuhd*, taking

the place of *nisk* (its synonym in the older texts), clearly means more not only than *ḥamā'a* (moderation and control of one's desires), but also than *warā'*, scrupulous abstention from the use of everything doubtful in law (a Hanbali virtue). In arranging the gradation of the virtues, Mīrī notes that the "stage of *warā'* brings one to *zuhd*" which Ghazālī places after *faḡr* and before *tawakkul*.

It was in the second—third century that the conception of *zuhd*, deepened from Ḥasan al-Baḡrī to Dārānī, became fixed: renunciation not only of dress, lodging, and pleasant food but also of women (Dārānī). Then introspective analysis progressing with Muḥāsibī (and with the *Molamatiya*), stress is laid on inner and subjective asceticism, renunciation of intentions and desires, which leads to the concept of *tawakkul*.

Interesting examples of *zuhd* taken from the biographies of the most illustrious Sūfīs will be found presented in an ironical and hostile way in Ibn al-Djauzī, and in the *Shāḥih* Ibn 'Abbād Rūndī a carefully considered collection of cases of ascetic conscience. On the question of borrowing by Islām of ascetic observances from Christianity, Manichaeism or Hinduism, cf. L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du laïque technique*, Paris 1922, p. 45—80.

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(LOUIS MASSIGNON)

AL-ZUHRI, MUHAMMAD b. MUḤSIN b. 'UBAYD ALLAH b. 'ABD ALLAH b. SHIHAB, known as Abū Shihab, a celebrated traditionalist, was born probably in 50 (670) or 51 — according to others, 56, 57, 58 — and received his *niskā* as a member of the Meccan clan of Zuhra. His grandfather had fought at Badr on the side of the Qurāish against Muhammad and inflicted a wound on the Prophet at Uhud; his father had been a partisan of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zuhair but the son made his peace with the Umayyads. When still quite a youth, he had paid his respects to Marwān

(d. 65 = 684) (Ibn Hajar, *Tahdith*, ix. 445), and later went to the court of 'Abd al-Malik. This had perhaps taken place before 73 (692); for according to al-Ya'qubi, ii. 313, 'Abd al-Malik replied to the pious who protested against his prohibition of the pilgrimage to Mecca: "This al-Zuhri transmits to you the utterance of the Prophet: *la tughaddu 'arṣūn ilā aḥdā min ḥabibihā masājida*". As a matter of fact, this alleged saying of the Prophet in which the mosques of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem are given together as objects of pilgrimage, is quoted in the canonical collections of Ḥadīth with the *isnād* "al-Zuhri from Sa'd b. al-Musayyab from Abū Huraira" (cf. Bukhārī, *Faṣl al-Salāt fī Maṣājid Makka*, bāb 1; Abū Dāwūd, *Manārik*, bāb 94; Nasa'i, *Maṣājid*, bāb 10; Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii. 234 and *passim*), but in other passages with another *isnād*, in which al-Zuhri is not mentioned (e.g. Tirmidhī, *Manārik*, bāb 126; Ibn Māja, *Ḥama*, bāb 196; Ahmad b. Hanbal, iii. 7, 34, 45, 51, 64 and *passim*). Al-Zuhri's teacher Sa'd b. al-Musayyab, from whom he got the ḥadīth, had interpreted a dream of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair as meaning the final victory of 'Abd al-Malik and the reporter in Ibn Sa'd, v. 91, *cc. lxx*, himself tells how he hurried to Damascus to obtain the favour of 'Abd al-Malik by bringing this news. It might be suggested that al-Zuhri had gone to Damascus filled with similar hopes to give the caliph the ḥadīth, so useful to his cause, in the name of his teacher. If Ya'qubi's story is worthy of belief, al-Zuhri must have brought the ḥadīth to Damascus at latest in 73 (692), the year in which the anti-caliph fell, and could not have been more than 23 then. This stay of al-Zuhri in Damascus, if it is historical at all, could only have been a temporary one; his permanent settlement in Damascus only took place at a considerably later date. He arrived there at a time when Ibn Ash'ath was in rebellion (Bukhārī, *Tarikh*, p. 93), i.e. 81 = 700 (see Wellhausen, *Das arab. Reich*, p. 145 *sq.*) — he had left Medina in dire necessity — and was introduced to the caliph by Kabisa b. Dh'ālib, keeper of 'Abd al-Malik's seal. The latter is said to have asked Ibn al-Musayyab about al-Zuhri — but if Ya'qubi's story is true he must have known him long before — then paid al-Zuhri's debts and allotted him a regular income. Al-Zuhri was particularly grateful to a grandson of 'Alī's, 'Alī b. al-Husain, because the latter had lifted from his conscience the weight laid on it by his having killed some one through negligence (Ibn Sa'd, v. 158; Tabari, iii. 2478); perhaps it was the feeling of gratitude to this 'Alid that strengthened him when the caliph — according to some, Walid I, to others Hishām — tried to extort from him the opinion that the unnamed slanderer of 'A'isha in *Sira* xiv. 11 was 'Alī. Al-Zuhri insisted that the reference was to 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayd. A visit which al-Zuhri paid the caliph Walid I on the business of his cousin (Bukhārī, *Tarikh*, p. 104) seems to have given rise to a romantic story which puts the event in the reign of the caliph Hishām (Fihrist, p. 307, *sq.*). To the caliph Yazid II (101–105) who made him a judge al-Zuhri also made himself useful by his knowledge of poetry (*Kitaḥ al-Aghāni*, iv. 48). His successor Hishām (105–125) entrusted al-Zuhri with the education of his sons and in conversation with him al-Zuhri once spoke critically of the prince al-Walid b. Wasīd, the later Walid II. He decided to flee the

country on the latter's accession when he learned that some one had reported his words to the prince. But al-Zuhri died before this could take place in 124 on his estate at Adānā near Saghb, the possession of which, like many other things, he owed to the munificence of his royal patrons. Even after moving to Damascus, al-Zuhri used to make frequent and long visits to his native place; he was in the Hijāz as late as 119 (737) (Tabari, ii. 1635).

As a result of his untiring enquiries among young and old, men and women, high and low, al-Zuhri collected vast masses of traditions and not only endeavoured to establish the sunna of the Prophet but also that of the Companions. He is described as the first to fix ḥadīth in writing; but this was only done under pressure from his sovereigns; in an utterance given by his pupil Ma'mar, he says: "We had a disinclination to write down the knowledge, but these emirs forced us to do so". Unlike many of his teachers, who could only be brought to speak with difficulty, al-Zuhri was very ready to communicate his knowledge to others; he even went so far as to allow his hearers who had copied down the traditions given by him, to transmit them again without we may examine their copies. Among his teachers even specially mention 'Urwa b. al-Zuhair and Sa'd b. al-Musayyab; for ten years he never left the latter's side (Ibn Sa'd, ii/ii. 121). When he had added his own knowledge to that of his teachers, he was regarded as the most learned traditionist by later generations. "What a man is al-Zuhri, would that he had not harmed himself by intercourse with princes" says Makhlūf. Al-Zuhri's interests were not entirely devoted to the transmission of ḥadīth; he also dealt with chronology and was a critic of poetry (see above; cf. also Fischer, *Biographien*, p. 71). He is also one of the chief authorities for the *Sira* and was Ibn Ishāq's most important teacher. The latter, like al-Wāḥidī, Ibn Sa'd and Tabari, owes much of his information to al-Zuhri; in Tabari he also appears not infrequently as an authority for the events of the two first decades after the death of the Prophet. According to older authorities, he only wrote one book, a *Kitaḥ Nawāḥi Karamih*. Hishām Khalifa is the first to credit him with a *Kitaḥ al-Maghāni*, but it is clear that al-Zuhri's compilations were confined to collections of traditions; he did not write a regular book like his pupil Ibn Ishāq. In the stories traced to him he often gives his authorities but as frequently omits them; and when he gets from several authorities a record that agrees in essentials in all of them, he does not separate the different versions but makes one out of them, giving the names of all the authorities; this was the first modest attempt at an independent editing of the material transmitted.

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Z.D.M.G., l. 474; Sachau, introduction to Ibn Sa'd, iii/l, xiii, xix; do., in M.S.O.S. Az., vii. 11 sq.; Fück, *Muhammad Ibn Isḥāq*, p. 9 sqq., 28. (J. HOROVITZ)

ZUHURI NUR AL-DIN MUHAMMAD TURKIZI, a Persian poet of the school of Herāzī, who lived for a long time in India and was assassinated in a rising in the Deccan at the same time as his father-in-law Malik of Kāmm (1024 = 1615, 1025 = 1616 or 1027 = 1618). His poetry is not much esteemed in Persia but is admired in India as is especially his prose with its very florid phraseology. His chief works are a *Divān*, *Gulzar-i Herāzī*, *Khawāṣṣ-i Khosrū*, *Ruḡāt*, *Abdūliya*, lithographed several times in India, and a *Sāḥi-nāme*, "Book of the Cup-bearer", dedicated to Burhān Niḡām Shāh II of Ahmadnagar (999—1003 = 1590—1594). His works in prose have been annotated by Abu 'l-Yamin 'Abd al-Razzāk b. Muḥammad Ishāq Husaini Sūrati (lithographed at Calcutta 1873).

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ZULALI, a Persian poet at the court of Shāh 'Abbās I, born at Khwānsār to the north of Isfahān, died in 1024 (1615), wrote seven *mathnawīs* which were collected after his death under the title *Sab'ī Saiyāra*, "The seven Planets"; they include *Mahmūd u-Ayūz*, begun in 1001 (1592—1593), finished shortly before his death in 1024 (1615), lithographed at Lucknow in 1290, *Mai-khāne* "The Tavern" and *Kharrā u-Khūrshīd* "The Atom and the Sun".—Lutf 'Alī Beg (*Atish-kade*, p. 139) mentions a poet of the same name, born at Herāt.

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ZUN, an Indian (?) deity, of whom there was a famous idol at Zamin-Dāwar in the country of Zābul, east of Sistān.

In 33 (654—55) 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Samura, appointed governor of Sistān, arrived at Dāwar and laid siege to the hill of Zūn ("Jabal al-Zūn"). He entered the sanctuary of Zūn where there was an idol of gold with two rubies for eyes. 'Abd al-Rahmān cut off an arm and took away the rubies but left the remainder to the local marzubān, saying that his only object was to show the impotence of the idol (Balādhuri, p. 394).

Marquart found in Chinese sources a mention of the temple of Deva Sun in the kingdom of Tso (= Zābul) before which was placed the skeleton of an enormous fish through the ribs of which one could ride on horseback. The king of Tso wore a crown decorated with the head of a fish in gold and sat on a throne adorned with a

golden horse (*Pi-shi*, ch. 97, fol. 3, where the position of Tso is not well indicated). On the other hand, Christian sources also mention a stronghold of Tzovdazet (Theophanes, *Chronography*, ed. de Boor, p. 163) or of Zandāber (Victor's *Tenimensis chronica*, *Chron. minora*, ed. Mommsen, II, 194). Marquart restores these names as *Zūn-Dāwāwar "Zūn the Judge" and thus derives the name of the district of Zamin-Dāwar (in Arabic *Blād Dāwar*) as well as that of king Zūnbil or Zānbil (sic), in place of *Rāzīl* given by al-Djāwāliqī, *al-Mu'arrab*, ed. Sachau, p. 73).

The name of the god Zūn (sometimes al-Zūr) is mentioned in the Arab poets such as Ḥumaid and Djarir and it seems that there was another sanctuary of this Indian (?) deity in the Iraq, at Uballā which was a port which traded with India (cf. Abu 'l-Faḥr Naṣr b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Iskandari, d. in 360 [1164—1165], quoted in Yāqūt, ii. 960). According to the *Lisān al-'Arab*, xvii. 62, in Persian the name al-Zūn is pronounced Zūn. Marquart locates the sanctuary of Zūn north of Hilmand, east of Bishlag.

Bibliography: Marquart, *Eranjahr*, p. 39, 289 (under Zābul) and do. [with J. J. M. Groot], *Das Reich Zūn und der Gott Zūn vom 6.—9. Jahrhundert*, in *Festschrift E. Sachau*, Berlin 1915, p. 248—292 (a work of prodigious erudition and perspicacity); Markwart, *A Catalogue of the provincial Capitals of Eranjahr*, Rome 1931, p. 89. (V. MINORSKY)

ZUNNÄR. In the form *zunnārā* this word occurs in Aramaic; in Syriac it is as old as Ephraem and means a girdle worn by monks. It comes obviously from a derivative of the Greek *zōnē*. In classical Arabic it denotes any girdle, especially that worn by *dhimmīs*, Christians, Jews, Magians, etc. (As a rule only one or two of the protected religions are named by our authorities but, unless the contrary is stated, it is to be assumed that the statements apply to all). In modern Arabic it means the locks of hair worn by Jews on the "corners of the head" (Lev. xix. 27), in Persian the sacred thread of the Brahmans, and in Suḥf poetry the external practices of religion. The *zunnār* was thick and it is usually distinguished from *minjaba*. *Qhṣār* is also used as a synonym though properly it means the patch worn on the dress and not the belt. The Patriarch Māranna (c. 26 = 647) is said to have bidden scholars wear the *zunnār* (Pat. Or. 13, 630).

The imposition of this badge was commonly ascribed to 'Umar I, but it is not mentioned in the early treaties. If these are later fabrications, the argument against the early use of the *zunnār* is strengthened. In 39 (708) the Djarādmā bound themselves to wear Arab dress. So we must agree with the conclusion reached by Caetani: "I do not think it possible to accept the traditional statement that he ('Umar) imposed on the conquered the use of a distinctive dress". Bar Hebraeus says that 'Umar II vexed the Christians, forbidding them to ride on saddles and to wear the dress of soldiers, i.e. Arabs. It is also stated in the *Ḥidā'at* that he forbade Christians to wear turbans or to copy the dress of the Muslims in any way. Ḥārūn al-Rashīd ordered the *dhimmīs* in Baghdad to differ from the Muslims in dress and manner of riding. Apparently then 'Umar II forbade the *dhimmīs* to copy Arab dress and Ḥārūn introduced distinctive badges for them. Later the enforcement

of these rules depended on the temper of the ruler, were the caliph or governor. The colour peculiar to the *dhimmī* was that of honey, yellow. In the time of Mutawakkil they had to wear yellow scarves (*ṭalāṣiān*) with belts, and two buttons on the tall cap (*ḥalāmīn*), and their slaves had to wear two yellow patches, one on the front and the other on the back of the outer garment. So Christians were called "spotted". The colour of the cap was different from that worn by Muslims. In Egypt yellow was at first the *dhimmī*'s colour, though blue is mentioned, but under al-Hakim the Copts wore black turbans and belts. At one time he ordered the Christians to wear round their necks crosses one cubit long and five *raṭā* in weight and the Jews to wear black turbans and to carry billets of wood weighing five *raṭā*. He also commanded the Christians to wear crosses and the Jews bells in the baths. At times *dhimmīs* were not allowed to wear the Persian jacket (*ḥabā*) or turbans or silk clothes.

Other restrictions were imposed on them. They might use only a special kind of saddle, or one marked with two balls behind it, donkeys or mules and not horses. They had to cut their hair short on the forehead. When tribute was due they were marked by a leaden seal on the wrist; this, it seems, was removed when the whole payment was completed. It is not possible to say whether all these regulations were in force at one time and all over the caliphate.

Other meanings of the word will be found in the dictionaries.

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ZURKHANA (v.), "house of strength", the Persian gymnasium.

There are *zurkhāna* in many Persian towns and often also in several quarters of a large town. From the architectural point of view these gymnasiums recall an eastern bath lit by a skylight in the centre of the little dome. The arena (*ḥamā*) lies below the level of the floor. The superintendent and the spectators take their places in niches cut in the walls; sometimes there is a kind of gallery reserved for the public.

Among the members of a *zurkhāna* various degrees are distinguished: a *novice* "novice", *ḥāṭṭe* "beginner", *pāshāwān* "athlete", *miyān-dār* "referee and instructor" (usually the champion of the establishment), *morīsh* "director" (also called

ḥāṭṭe-dār) who conducts the exercises by beating a little drum and reciting appropriate verses (the quadrains are called *gōse ḥāṭṭi*).

The wrestlers wear drawers (*long*) or short trousers of leather or some strong material (*ḥawā*) on which a hand is often represented (that of 'Alī?). These are supported by the strap of the belt with which the wrestlers catch one another (this is unknown in western wrestling). From the arm are hung amulets against the evil eye and with the same object the *morīsh* burns seeds of wild rue (*ṣepānd*).

The programme at each performance begins with exercises for suppleness and exercises with weights (*zang*) and with Indian clubs (*ḥul*). The wrestling comes at the end of the performance; it goes on until one of the competitors touches the ground with his shoulder blades (*ṣṣāre-ḥamār āndāḥṭān*: "is made to count the stars"). The wrestling is followed by exercises with a kind of bow on the cord of which are strung very heavy rings (*ṣab-ḥāḍe*); the bow is not drawn but is moved from side to side above the head.

The organisation of the *zurkhāna* is marked by a very elaborate terminology, by a spirit of chivalry and by a strictly observed semi-religious ritual.

In putting on or taking off the *ṭonak*, the combatants embrace (cf. *ṣirwāl*). Only the permitted blows may be used; the contest finished, the wrestlers touch their foreheads; the one who has been wrestling with the *miyān-dār* kisses his hand.

There are a number of patron saints of wrestling whose names are invoked. The principal patron of wrestlers is Pirāyā(i) Wāl. Among famous wrestlers, Husain Wā'iz mentions the Prophet who wrestled with Abū Ḥāshim; the imāms Hasan and Husain; the gnostic (*ṭarīf*) Mahmūd Mukhār (or Bilkyār) and the Shaikh Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Hamawī. The same author distinguishes two kinds of wrestling: *ḥāṭṭ* (or *ḥāṭṭe-wāz*) in vogue in Ghurān and the *irāḥ* and *iqṭirār* (or *dālam-wāz*) cultivated in Dailam and Shīrwān.

Wrestling is a noble exercise. In Niebuhr's time the notables of Shīrwān devoted the mornings to it and their afternoons to riding. A monument in the form of a lion used to be built on a champion's tomb.

The beginnings of wrestling in Persia go back to a very early period. In the *Shāh-nāma* (ed. Mohl, iii. 203—4 = Vullers, ii. 1040) the heroes begin fighting by seizing one another's hands (*ḥāṭṭ dāst ṣādānd bār yāḥ dīgār*) and then gripping one another by the girdle (*dāwāl-i ḥāmār*). In Sa'di's *Gulistan*, the old wrestler is represented as knowing 360 tricks (cf. in Husain Wā'iz: 1081 = 360 × 3); cf. several other quotations in Canard.

The organisation of the *zurkhāna* gives wrestling very special features. As M. Canard rightly points out, the *zurkhāna* seems to have grown up out of the corporate movement and its special chivalry (*ṭutuwān*). This movement is closely related to Shī'i mysticism. In the course of a performance a collection (*ṭarḡḡ*) is taken twelve times in the name of each of the 12 imāms. It is worth noting that H. Wā'iz's treatise is called *Futurwān-nāma*; cf. Thorning, *Beiträge z. Kenntnis d. islam. Verfassungsverhältnisse*, Berlin 1913 and the articles *ṭutuwān* and *stāwāl*; Tamschner, *Futurwān-Studien*, in *Islamica*, v., 1932, p. 285—333; do., *Die islamischen Futurwān-Bünde*, in *Z.D.M.G.*, 1933, p. 6—49.

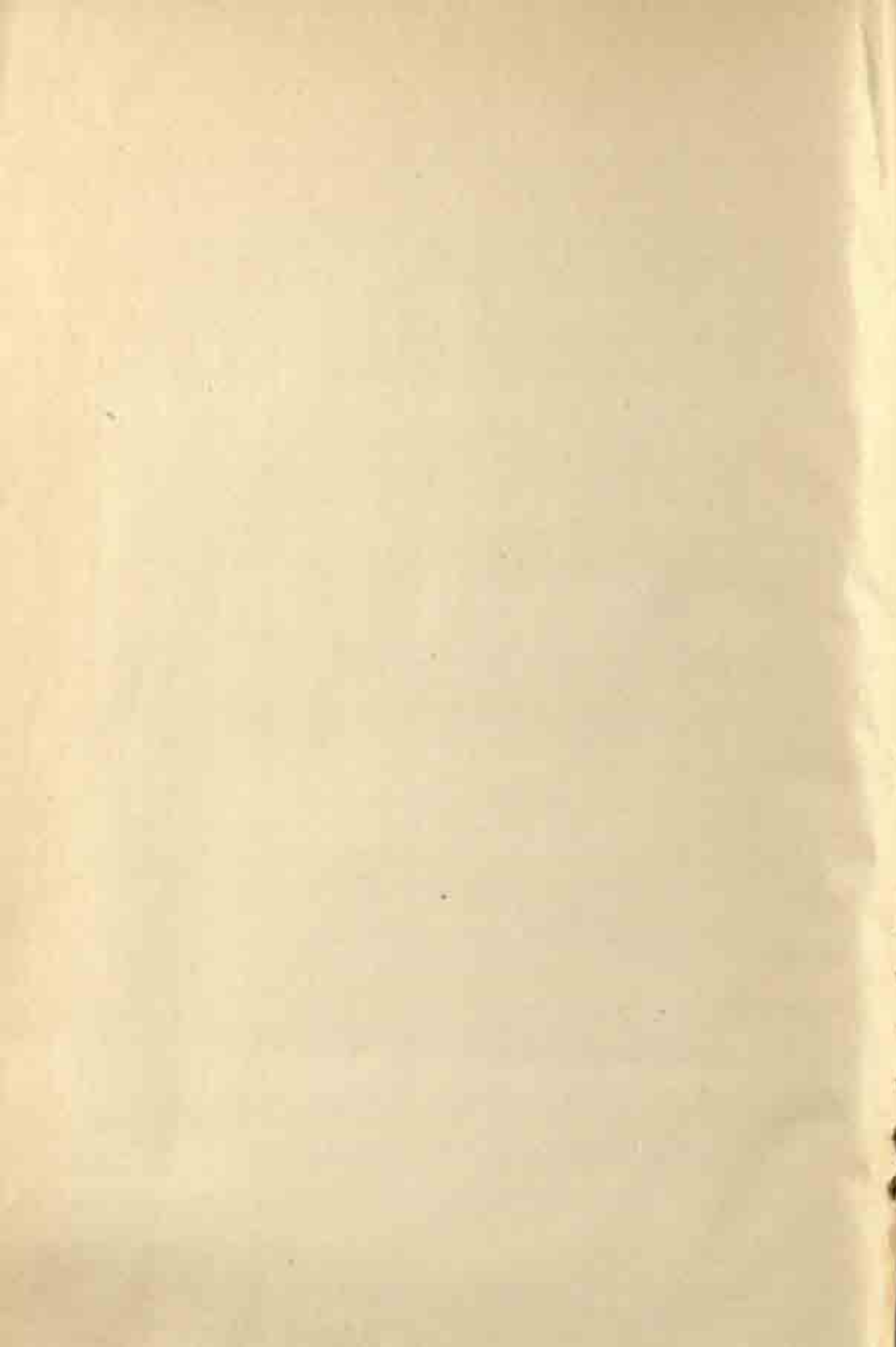
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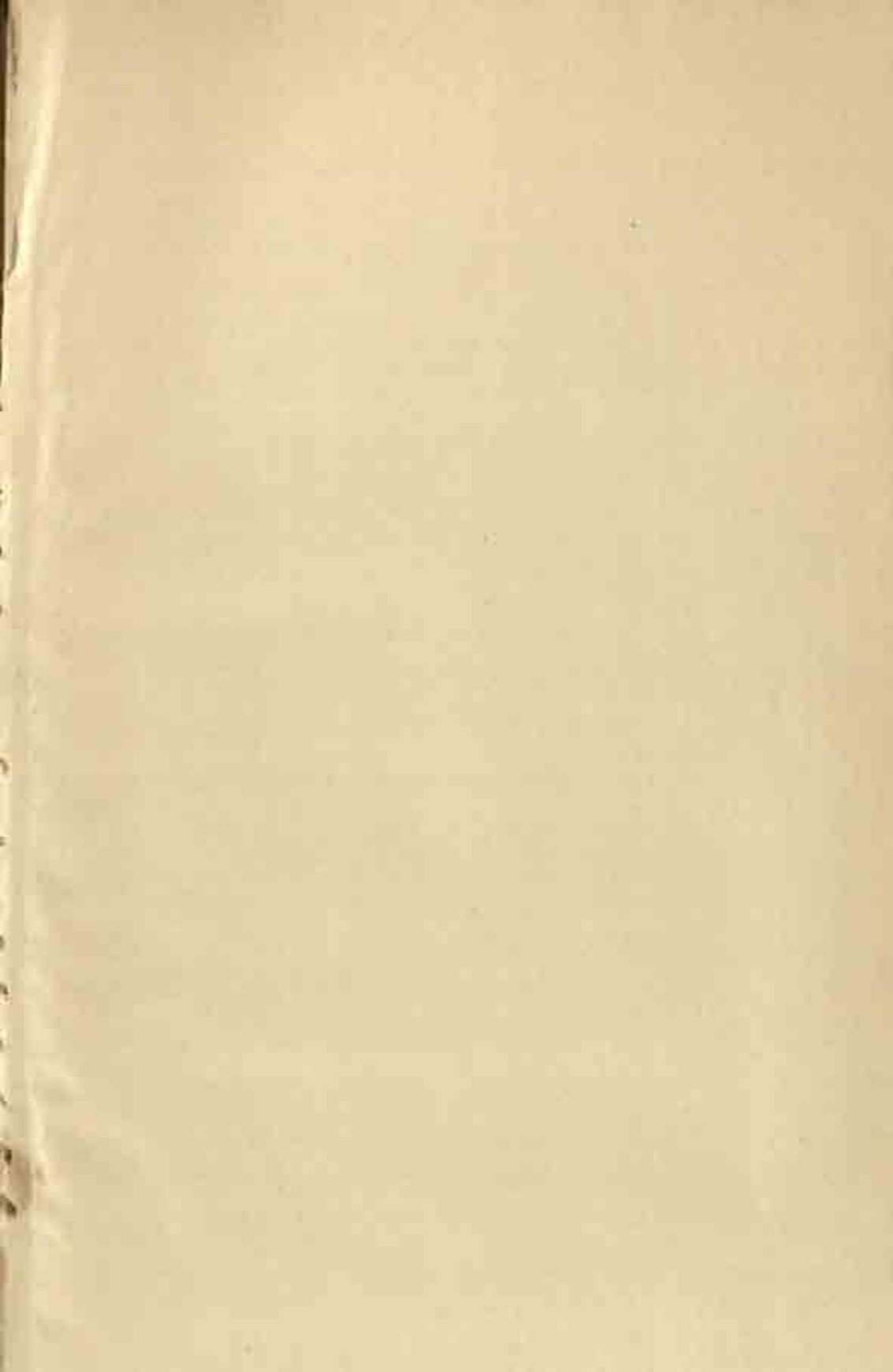
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(V. MINORSKY)









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